PRAKRIT DHARMAPADA
Prākrit Dhammapada
Based upon
M. Senart's Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript
With
Text, Translation & Notes

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"KO DHAMAPADA SUIDEŠITA KUŠALO PUṢAVIVA PAYEŠITI ?"
To
The Hon'ble Sir ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE, Saraswati,
Sastra-Vachaspati, Sambuddhagama-Chakravarti,
Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., D.Sc., Ph.D.,
the avowed champion
of
the cause of Buddhistic Researches in this country,
but for whose effort, sympathy and support
Buddhistic studies would not have found place
in the University of Calcutta,
this work is dedicated
in token of the devotion, heart-felt esteem and gratitude
of the authors.
This work of which the first instalment is now published, grew by way of a digression from our monograph—'Asoka's Dhamma, a landmark of Indian literature and religion', which is still in course of preparation. The digression took place at a point where the question of the bearing of Asoka's inscriptions and teachings on the Dhammapada class of Buddhist literature had to be discussed. The original plan was to re-adjust the verses and fragments and correct the readings in M. Senart's edition, wherever necessary and possible, chiefly in the light of the extant Pāli and the Sanskrit parallels. The idea of a complete edition with notes, translation and introduction was not conceived until after an interview with the Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, President of the Post-Graduate Councils, who was kind enough to discuss with us the detail of the plan of the work; inspiring us to undertake the work and finish it by all means. We are happy that the undertaking is now fulfilled, although we do not doubt that the execution of the work would have been far more satisfactory, if placed in better hands.

It is especially gratifying to us that we have been able to re-edit a work which excited so much interest since its first publication about a quarter of a century ago and publish a greater portion of it fortunately during the lifetime of the illustrious M. Senart who ushered it into existence. The world will
also remember with gratitude the labours of the Russian and French travellers—Petroffsky and Dutreuil de Rhins—who had discovered the fragments of the Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript and taken them to Europe. It is to Serge d'Oldenbourg that we owe the adjustment of a few fragments of the few verses, incorporated in M. Senart's Plate marked B.

In order to facilitate comparison, we have felt it necessary to reproduce in Part I of our work M. Senart's edition with his valuable notes translated into English. His parallel quotations have been omitted in Part I, but reproduced in Part II, marked with a †. The few alphabetical types used by him in paleographic discussion had to be omitted in our translation for the simple reason that they would be quite out of place without the fac-simile of the plates. So much about the reproduction of his work. Our part in the work consists in a radical shuffling and re-arrangement of his plates, fragments and, in some cases, verse-lines, consistently with the colophons indicating the total number of verses contained in a group, with the result that the whole work has been divided into so many distinct chapters. No fragment has been left unadjusted and no verse left incomplete, although there are one or two doubtful cases. Numerous new identifications and parallels have been supplied from all possible sources corroborating our adjustments and readings. The verses have been commented on by notes explaining their position in a chapter, and bringing out their literary, linguistic and historical significance. Part III contains the text as adjusted and restored in Part II, with translation. Part IV contains a short dissertation on the genesis, development and historical importance of the Dhammapada class of texts, while in Part V an attempt has been made to construct a comparative grammar of the language of the Prakrit text and that of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions and documents. In the Introduction will be found an account of the various recensions of the Dhammapada with special reference to their history, place and significance in Buddhism, while the
Glossary contains an index of words with their meanings and Pāli and Sanskrit equivalents.

It will be seen that the plan of the chapters appearing in Part II of this instalment was worked out independently of the very valuable suggestions of R. Otto Franke in his article *Zum Manuskript Dutreuil de Rhins* contributed to the *Z. D. M. G.* (60), 1906, and of Sylvain Lévi in his Study of the Recensions of the Dhammapada (J. A. September-October, 1912). We have the satisfaction to note that our readjustments and identifications coincide in numerous instances with theirs. The names of scholars who have contributed in manifold ways to the knowledge of the Dhammapada texts will be found in the Bibliography of references which follows.

Our obligation to Sir Asutosh is too great for words, and we shall ever remain grateful to him for the personal interest he has taken in the progress of the work. Our thanks are also due to Kabibhaskar Srijut Sasankamohan Sen, B.A., the Gopaldas Chowdhury Lecturer in Bengali, who has offered us from time to time important suggestions particularly with regard to the interpretation of the text. We have profited a great deal by some useful suggestions from Prof. Sylvain Lévi who was good enough to read the proofs of the latter portion of the Introduction. We are no less thankful to Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda, B.A., Superintendent, Indian Museum, Calcutta, Mr. B. C. Majumdar, B.A., Lecturer in Indian Vernaculars and in Comparative Philology, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, Professor of Comparative Philology and Dr. F. W. Thomas, Librarian, India Office Library, who have also shown interest in the preparation of an edition like the present, and to Mr. Ramaprasad Chaudhury, M.A., and Mr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi, M.A., who were kind enough to assist us in various ways.

It must be said to the credit of Mr. A. C. Ghatak, B.A., Superintendent, Calcutta University Press, that but for his able
management the work could not have been printed in the form in which it is now brought out. Lastly, we cannot close this Preface without a word of thanks to Babu Probodhchandra Chakravarti of the University Press who was entrusted with the work of setting up and who has acquitted himself of his task so well.

SENATE HOUSE, CALCUTTA:}

The 20th February, 1922.}

B. M. BARUA

S. N. MITRA
BIBLIOGRAPHY

The list of important texts and articles consulted:

1. Dhammapada edited by V. Fausböll, 1900.
2. Dhammapada (P. T. S.)
7. Documents Sanskrit De La Seconde Collection M.A. Stein edited by de la Vallée Poussin in J. R. A. S., 1912. These together with the three folios in the Pelliot collection comprise the following chapters and stanzas: (1) Anityavarga, st. 24-42 (fols. 3-4); (2) Kāmavarga, st. 1-19 (fols. 4-5); (12) Mārgavarga, st. 18-20; (13) Satkāravarga, st 1-11 a-b (one folio); (21) Tathāgatavarga, st. 8-18; (22) Śrutavarga, st. 1-2, 19 (Pelliot); (23) Ātmavarga, st. 1-26 (Pelliot); (24) Sahasravarga, st. 1-2 (Pelliot); (29) Yugavarga, st. 39-53 (fols. 52); (30) Sukhavarga, st. 26-52 (fols. 55-7); (31) Cittavarga, st. 1-38 (fols. 57-9); (32) Bhikṣuavarga, st. 3-14 (Pelliot). 15-29 (fols. 62-3).


14. A. Stein's Ancient Khotan, Vol. I., particularly Appendix E.


N. B.—So far as our information goes (J.R.A.S., 1899, p. 429) there is still a portion, perhaps a larger portion, of the Kharoṣṭhī Ms. under the disposal of Serge d'Oldenbourg and we can never doubt that when the contents thereof are made known, they will serve to enrich our knowledge of the Dhammapada. Nothing could be more regrettable to us than the fact that the prospect of seeing the portion in print has to be indefinitely deferred. It also pains us to confess that Beckh's edition of the Tibetan version of the Udānavarga, so much praised by Lévi and other Tibetan scholars, is a sealed book to us. In going through Rockhill's translation of the Tibetan work one is apt to feel embarrassed by the tentative character of it, and the first suspicion is strengthened when it is compared with the portions of the Sanskrit original now within our reach. But by far the most bewildering is Beal's translation of the
Fa-kheu-pi-u, although the original translators in Chinese are very largely responsible for a violent distortion of the contents and sense of the Indian original. If the Fa-kheu-pi-u or its text portion the Fa-kheu-king be the specimen of the Chinese rendering of Indian texts, the student of Indian literature will surely labour in vain in grappling with the super-human and almost unsurmountable difficulty of mastering a knowledge of the Chinese alphabet and diction—a pursuit which, to put in the words of a witty Bengalee friend, will amount to breaking one's teeth in cracking the nut for so scanty and strange a kernel.

Grünwedel, Stein and Pelliot have placed humanity under a deep debt of gratitude by their successive missions into Central Asia, or more correctly to say, the Chinese Turkestan, for bringing together numerous fragments of the manuscript of the Udānavarga which is undoubtedly a Buddhist work of the Dhammapada class. We cannot but agree with M. de la Vallée Poussin in thinking that the text of this Ms. is a recension of the original of the Tibetan text attributed to Dharmatrāta and bearing the name of Udānavarga. But one must naturally be tempted to join issue with him when he describes the language of the text as "quasi-Sanscrit," for although in certain verses the older Pāli or Prakritic forms are retained, obviously for the sake of metre, the attempt at Sanskritisation appears to have reached in this text a stage well-nigh perfection as compared with previous attempts.
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PART I

Senart's Edition of the Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript

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Introduction

1. Discovery of the Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript of the Dhammapada.—The Dhammapada, now edited and translated with improved readings and readjustments, is the only text of which a fragment has been preserved in Kharoṣṭhī, a script in which two recensions of Asoka’s Rock Edicts, at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra, are inscribed, and this is the only Buddhist text which has been hitherto found composed in a Prakrit dialect. The manuscript is one of the earliest finds from Khotan. Among later finds in Khotan, we have to mention a few documents containing “dispositions and reports of local authorities, instructions, regulations, official and private correspondence—all inscribed in the Kharoṣṭhī script and drawn up in a Prakrit dialect.”¹ Prof. Lüders says, “the date of the Prakrit documents is fixed by the Chinese wooden tablets which have been mixed with the later, and one of which is dated A.D. 269.”² The first discovery of the Prakrit text of the Dhammapada in Kharoṣṭhī was made in 1892 by the French traveller Dutreuil de Rhins, who found altogether three fragments in Khotan, which he despatched to Paris. With regard to these fragments Prof. Lüders notes: “In 1897 Senart made known their contents and value. . . . Senart’s communication created a sensation in the Aryan section of the Oriental Congress held in Paris. The find represented a Kharoṣṭhī manuscript.

¹ These we owe to Sir Aurel Stein. See his monumental work, The Ancient Khotan, in two big volumes.
² Lüders’ paper Über die literarischen Funde von Oosturkestan, translated by Mr. G. K. Nariman in his Literary History, p. 298.
The Kharoṣṭhī character till then had been known only from inscriptions in the outermost boundary of North-West India. Epigraphical comparison proved the date of the manuscript to be the second century. As to its contents, it was a recension of the Pāli Dhammapada in a Prakrit dialect, which was till then unknown in literary compositions. The manuscript was only a fragment. Another portion of the same manuscript was brought to Petrograd." The portion which was taken by a Russian traveller to St. Petersburg (now called Petrograd) was, as M. Senart says, deciphered and adjusted by Serge d'Oldenbourg, who later on placed the documents at his disposal. This courtesy on the part of the Russian servant was all the more welcome to M. Senart at a time when he himself was engaged in deciphering and adjusting the fragments in the Rhins collection. On examination M. Senart found that Serge d'Oldenbourg's documents filled some gaps in the fragments of the Paris manuscript at which he was working. In Senart's edition, published in 1897 (Journal Asiatique), Serge d'Oldenbourg's documents have been incorporated intact (see B, li. I-15, pp. 24-31).

Since the publication of M. Senart's edition in 1897, several European scholars headed by Lüders have taken pains to make improvements on it and discuss the paleographic linguistic and literary importance of the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript. We shall never forget the day when in going together through M. Senart's edition we were struck by some inaccuracies of both identification and adjustment of the fragments as well as of particular verses, the first impression gradually deepening into settled conviction of certain drawbacks in the otherwise excellent work of a scholar whose name is in the very forefront of Oriental scholarship. At an opportune moment we chanced upon two incomplete couplets in his arrangement, numbered as 'line 1 in his plate A' and as

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1 Nariman, Literary History, p. 227.
2 Le Manuscrit Kharoṣṭhī du Dhammapada, Preface.
line 17, or the last line, in his plate A². These lines, considered by him as two separate verses, appeared to us to be but integral parts of one single verse. To be clear, let us quote the lines as manipulated by him:

.madenamakabha devanasamidh(i)gat.

(A², 1)

apra u

apramada praśajhati pramadu garahitu sada

(A², 17)

He has taken A², 1 to be the remnant of a verse for which he could find no parallel in Pāli or in Buddhist Sanskrit. It is obvious that in commenting upon it he completely lost sight of the Dhammapada verse 30, which reads:

Appamādena Maghavā devānaṁ setṭhatam gato
Appamādatāṁ pasāṁsanti pamādo garahito sada

—or else he would not have been led into equating kabha of makabha with a Sk. garbha (see pp. 5-6), but would have easily suggested that the Prakrit makabha is the counterpart of the Pāli Maghavā. But coming to A², 17 he made a right hit on the aforesaid Pāli parallel, forgetting, however, to enquire whether A², 1—which he had already come across—with the reading madena makabha devanasamidh(i) gat., which sounded so close to the Pāli (appamādena Maghavā devānaṁ setṭhatam gato), could be referred back to in order to fill up the gap. But he could not possibly do so without putting the Plate A² immediately after A², and thereby impairing his adjustment of the plates arranged in the order A², A³. His failure to combine A², 17 and A², 1 into one verse is, it seems, due to a fatal oversight, and this oversight on his part led us to examine the fac-similes appended to the text edited by him, and we found that the top of the fragment A² was broken in such a way that it could be exactly fitted into the bottom of the fragment.
A³, so as to give us a complete Prakrit counterpart of the Pāli verse 30, quoted in the last page. Thus we were tempted to place A² immediately after A³ and complete the Prakrit verse, by linking together A³, 17 and A², 1, as follows:

apramada praśajhati pramadu garahitu sada

We felt further justified by the fact that, for the commencement of the first foot, we had in A³, 17 exactly two letters, a pra, answering to the two dots of omissions in A², 1, and for the last letter of the second foot, we had u in A³, 17, answering to a dot of omission in A², 1. Proceeding to test the result of this preliminary examination, we had to satisfy ourselves whether the proposed inversion of M. Senart’s Plates A³ and A² could justify the unreconciled colophons “ga 25” (at the end of Plate A¹), and “ga 30” (in the middle of Plate A³), which indicated that the four plates, arranged by M. Senart in the order A¹, A², A³ A⁴, contained two groups of Dhammapada verses, one consisting of 25 stanzas, and another of 30 stanzas. It was indeed a very happy moment when we found that by completely reversing M. Senart’s order the verses and the four plates could be systematically arranged in two groups or chapters, consistently with the colophons “ga 30” and “ga 25”—a procedure ensuring a logical sequence of thought in the teaching of the groups and the verses alike. Taking our cue herefrom, we have made bold to dispute the whole arrangement of M. Senart’s edition, which leaves colophons unexplained. Nay, we have ventured to reconstruct a number of hopelessly mutilated verses, particularly those at the end of Plate B, and to adjust and readjust a host of fragments and verses, testing almost every case in the light of a Pāli or a Sanskrit parallel; and the results of our investigation have been embodied in the following pages, to be judged for what they are worth.

2. The title “Prakrit Dhammapada”.—M. Senart’s edition, entitled “Le Manuscrit Kharoṣṭhī du Dhammapada” is
commonly known as 'the Kharoṣṭhī Recension of the Dhammapada,' which is a misnomer. The title chosen by the French scholar implies a meaning quite different from that which is conveyed by 'Kharoṣṭhī recension,' a name which suggests at once to the mind the idea of a copy of the Dhammapada in the Kharoṣṭhī language,' while, as a matter of fact, Kharoṣṭhī is only the name of a script in which the text has been preserved. They also speak of a 'Turfan Recension' since the publication of a specimen of the Sanskrit Udānāvarga, of which a manuscript in fragments has been found in Turfan. As Prof. Pischel, who was the first to bring this specimen to light, explains, the title "Die Turfan-Recensionen" refers only to a manuscript, found in Turfan, of a Sanskrit recension of the Pāli Dhammapada. ¹ 'Turfan Recension' must be regarded as a misnomer until it is definitely proved that there was a redaction made of the Udānāvarga in Turfan. When, for instance, we speak of the Bengal, Benares and Bombay recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa we understand no more than so many editions of a single epic in Sanskrit, varying with one another according as they are based upon different readings in the different provinces, that is to say, upon texts as altered or modified by the scribes and repeaters of the three localities. The same holds true of the recensions of the Mahābhārata and other texts. But the case of 'the Dhammapada recensions' is somewhat different; for, in speaking of the Dhammapada recensions we cannot mean so many redactions of the same text in the same language, but so many different texts with different titles, composed in different languages, but belonging to a common literary type. To name one Dhammapada recension, in this special sense, after the script (e.g., Kharoṣṭhī recension) and another after the place of find (e.g., Turfan recension) cannot but be misleading and unscientific. This way of naming the Dhammapada texts would go to unnecessarily add to the number of recensions in the case of every new find in a new script or in a new place. The best way to have a consistent

¹ Die Turfan-Recensionen des Dhammapada, para. 1
method of naming them would be, we think, to apply to them the name of the language in which they are composed. So far as the Tibetan or Chinese versions of some of these Dhammapada texts are concerned, they are to be considered as translations of one or other recension of the Dhammapada. The Chinese Fa-khen-king, as may be judged from Beal's English translation of its commentary, the Fa-khen-pi-n, is neither a faithful translation nor entirely a new compilation, but bears the character of both. A special case is therefore to be made out for it. It may be put down as a 'Chinese Recension in translation' and considered along with a Pāli, Prakrit or Sanskrit recension, upon which its translation portion is based. If, in the case of a particular Dhammapada recension, or text, as we should also call it, e.g., the Sanskrit Udānavarga, the faithful translations differ in expressions or in ideas, if it happens that there are two or more Tibetan translations of certain originals in Indian language which generally agree in contents and differ slightly here and there, we cannot but admit that their originals were only so many recensions of only one text. If, applying this consideration to the study of two or more translations of a particular Dhammapada text, it appears that they differ either in regard to the arrangement of chapters, the number and arrangement of verses and expressions, then we have to regard them as different versions based upon different recensions of the same text, leaving a sufficient margin for the errors of the translators as well as for the blunders in the original manuscripts of the text from which the translations were made.

Now, coming to the question of the title of our text, it is clear and admitted on all hands that it is composed in a Prakrit dialect, and, as will be shown anon, it is on the whole an original compilation, having some verses and ideas in common with other Dhammapada texts that are now known to us in Pāli, in Mixed Sanskrit or in Classical Sanskrit. It is this common substratum of the Dhammapada texts and the uniform plan and literary principle which they conform to wherein
lies the justification of classing our text as a Dhammapada Recension, although the fragments of the Kharoshthi Manuscript on which it is based, leave us in the dark about its title. Further, we prefer to call it a 'Prakrit Dhammapada' inasmuch as the logical differentia of the text as a copy of the Dhammapada can be derived from its linguistic characterization.

3. Recensions and Copies of the Dhammapada.—In order to determine the place of our text in the history of the Buddhist literature it is essential that we should have a closer acquaintance with the various 'recensions' and 'copies', of the Dhammapada that are now extant. Strictly, we can speak only of four recensions, viz., the Pāli, the Prakrit, the Mixed Sanskrit and the Sanskrit, to which a fifth might be added, viz., the Fa-khen-kung, which is a Chinese Recension in translation. The four Indian recensions comprise not less than six copies of the Dhammapada and three commentaries incorporating the text.

(i) Pāli Dhammapada.—Of the existing copies of the Dhammapada this is the best known and most complete. We have several editions of it in Sinhalese, Burmese, Siamese, Devanāgarī, Roman and Bengali characters, of which the latest and best is the one published by the Pāli Text Society. The excellence of this edition is in a large measure due to Fausböll's edition, so well-known to the students of Buddhist literature. Fausböll was perhaps the first to collect numerous references containing parallels from Buddhist works in Pāli, Prakrit, Mixed Sanskrit, Sanskrit and from a few important Brahmanical works like the Mahāyāna and the Mahābhārata. Fausböll occupies the foremost place alike as an editor and a Latin translator. But Max Müller was the first to translate it into English. We have another English translation of the text by James Gray, three German translations by Profs. Weber, Schröder and Neumann, and a French translation by M. Fernando Hüb. The text contains 423 stanzas distributed into 26 groups, each of which is named according to the main theme of its component verses. It represents a book of the
Khuddakanikāya of the Theravāda (Sthaviravāda) canon preserved in Ceylon, Siam and Burma. There is a commentary which tradition attributes to Buddhaghosa, though, judging by its style, one cannot help doubting if Buddhaghosa was its real author. It is stated in the opening verses that the existing commentary in Pāli was based upon an older commentary in Singhalese and that the author undertook the work at the instance of a Thera Kumāra Kassapa (of Ceylon). The commentary itself consists of 26 chapters, each one of which appertains to a chapter of the text. One or more verses of a group are encased in a prose story setting forth the occasion on which the Buddha uttered the verse or verses. A prose exegesis forms a sequel to the moral verse or verses and is itself followed by an identification of the Buddha with the hero of the story if it happens to be an account of his previous birth, and by a statement of the psychological effect of the discourse on the mind of the hearer. Indeed, the method of the Dhammapada Commentary is precisely like that of the Jātaka Commentary, edited by Fausböll. We have three editions of the Dhammapada Commentary, one in Singhalese character, published in Ceylon, another in Roman, published by the Pāli Text Society and a third in Devanāgari, published by the Buddhist Text Society, the last one containing the text and the prose exegesis.

(ii) Prakrit Dhammapada.—Of this copy we have preserved only one fragmentary manuscript in Kharoṣṭhī, found among the ruins of the Gośringa-vihāra, 13 miles from Khotan in the circle of Indian colonies. In the absence of a complete record it is impossible to say exactly how many chapters and verses the text contained. It is equally difficult to ascertain the arrangement of its chapters from detached plates and fragments on which M. Senart’s edition is based. The chapters and verses, as they occur in our arrangement, are as follows:

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<td>3</td>
<td>Citavaga</td>
<td>5 (chapter incomplete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Puṣavaga</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of Chapter</td>
<td>Name of Chapter</td>
<td>Number of Verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sahasavaga</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Panitavaga or Dhamașthavaga</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Balavaga</td>
<td>7 (Chapter incomplete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jaravaga</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Suhavaga</td>
<td>20 (Chapter almost complete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Tapavaga</td>
<td>7 (Chapter incomplete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Bhikhuvaga</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bramanavaga</td>
<td>50 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number</strong></td>
<td><strong>251</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We do not know if there is any Tibetan or Chinese translation of it. Its author's name is unknown. No information is yet forthcoming if any commentary was written on it. The utmost that we can say is that this copy of Dhammapada is compiled in a dialect of the Gandhāra region, having a close kinship, in orthography and other linguistic traits, with the dialects of Asoka's Rock edicts at Shabbazgarhi and Manshra.

(iii) The Mixed Sanskrit Original of the Fa-khen-king.—It is stated in the preface of the Chinese translation, known as the Fa-khen-king, that its original, consisting of 500 verses and 22 chapters, was carried by Wai-chi-lan from India to China "in the third year of the reign of Hwang-wu (A.D. 923)," and was translated into Chinese by the same Indian Shaman with the help of another Indian named Tsiang-im.¹ From a comparison of the Fa-khen-king with the Pāli Dhammapada, Samuel Beal is led to suppose that "the original manuscript brought to China was the same as that known in Ceylon, the differences which occur between the two being attributable to special reasons existing at the time of the translation."² He has sought to explain away the difference as to the total number of the verses,—423 of the Pāli text and 500 of the original of the Fa-khen-king—by the assumption that "in the Buddhist calculation the next highest round number is frequently used to denote the exact number intended."³ We cannot surely venture to

¹ Beal's Dhammapada, p. 34.
Khuddakanikāya of the Theravāda (Sthaviravāda) canon preserved in Ceylon, Siam and Burma. There is a commentary which tradition attributes to Buddhaghosa, though, judging by its style, one cannot help doubting if Buddhaghosa was its real author. It is stated in the opening verses that the existing commentary in Pāli was based upon an older commentary in Singhaless and that the author undertook the work at the instance of a Thera Kumāra Kassapa (of Ceylon). The commentary itself consists of 26 chapters, each one of which appertains to a chapter of the text. One or more verses of a group are encased in a prose story setting forth the occasion on which the Buddha uttered the verse or verses. A prose exegesis forms a sequel to the moral verse or verses and is itself followed by an identification of the Buddha with the hero of the story if it happens to be an account of his previous birth, and by a statement of the psychological effect of the discourse on the mind of the hearer. Indeed, the method of the Dhammapada Commentary is precisely like that of the Jātaka Commentary, edited by Fausböll. We have three editions of the Dhammapada Commentary, one in Singhaless character, published in Ceylon, another in Roman, published by the Pāli Text Society and a third in Devanāgarī, published by the Buddhist Text Society, the last one containing the text and the prose exegesis.

(ii) Prakrit Dhammapada.—Of this copy we have preserved only one fragmentary manuscript in Kharoṣṭhī, found among the ruins of the Goṣringa-vihāra, 13 miles from Khotan in the circle of Indian colonies. In the absence of a complete record it is impossible to say exactly how many chapters and verses the text contained. It is equally difficult to ascertain the arrangement of its chapters from detached plates and fragments on which M. Senart's edition is based. The chapters and verses, as they occur in our arrangement, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order of Chapter</th>
<th>Name of Chapter</th>
<th>Number of Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Magavaga</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Apramadavaga</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Citavaga</td>
<td>5 (chapter incomplete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Puṣavaga</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order of Chapter</td>
<td>Name of Chapter</td>
<td>Number of Verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sahasavaga</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Panitavaga or Dhamaṭhavaga</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Balavaga</td>
<td>7 (Chapter incomplete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jaravaga</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Suḥavaga</td>
<td>20 (Chapter almost complete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Taṣavaga</td>
<td>7 (Chapter incomplete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Bhikhuvaga</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bramanavaga</td>
<td>50 (†)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total number</strong></td>
<td><strong>251</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We do not know if there is any Tibetan or Chinese translation of it. Its author's name is unknown. No information is yet forthcoming if any commentary was written on it. The utmost that we can say is that this copy of Dhammapada is compiled in a dialect of the Gandhāra region, having a close kinship, in orthography and other linguistic traits, with the dialects of Asoka's Rock edicts at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra.

(iii) The Mixed Sanskrit Original of the Fa-khex-king.—It is stated in the preface of the Chinese translation, known as the Fa-khex-king, that its original, consisting of 500 verses and 22 chapters, was carried by Wai-chi-lan from India to China "in the third year of the reign of Hwang-wu (A. D. 923)," and was translated into Chinese by the same Indian Shaman with the help of another Indian named Tsiang-im. From a comparison of the Fa-khex-king with the Pali Dhammapada, Samuel Beal is led to suppose that "the original manuscript brought to China was the same as that known in Ceylon, the differences which occur between the two being attributable to special reasons existing at the time of the translation." He has sought to explain away the difference as to the total number of the verses,—423 of the Pali text and 500 of the original of the Fa-khex-king—by the assumption that "in the Buddhist calculation the next highest round number is frequently used to denote the exact number intended." We cannot surely venture to

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1. Beal's Dhammapada, p. 34.
dispute Mr. Beal's surmise until the original of the Chinese translation is discovered or an authentic tradition makes it known that the text used by the Chinese translator was other than the Pāli. But we find it difficult to subscribe to his opinion when it is expressly stated in the preface to the Chinese translation that the original consisted of 500 verses distributed into 26 chapters, and in the 'Memoirs of Eminent Priests' (Kāo-sun-kwhān, A. D. 519) that the original was a Sanskrit text.\(^1\) Remembering, moreover, that the original of the Fa-khen-king is said to be a work of a Dharmatrāta or Dharmarakṣita, a name so famous in the tradition of the Sārvāstivāda sect of Buddhism, it does not seem improbable that the Indian text, a book of the Kṣudraka-nikāya of the canon, was a Sarvāstivāda work. We are, however, aware that such an opinion as this cannot be shown to harmonise with the account of the development of the entire Dhammapada literature. Reserving this important point for discussion in a separate section, we may do well to give, on the basis of Beal's study, a tabular statement of the chapters and verses composing the Pāli Dhammapada and the Fa-khen-king Original respectively with a view to facilitate comparison between the two.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Chapter</th>
<th>No. of Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pāli Dhammapada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Yamālavagga (Twin Verses)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Appamādavagga (Chapter on Earnestness)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cittavagga (Mind Verses)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Pupphavagga (Flower Verses)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bālavagga (Chapter on the Fool)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Paññitavagga (Chapter on the Wise)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Arahangavagga (Chapter on the Arahang)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Sahassavagga (Number Verses)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Pāpavagga (Chapter on Evil)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Dāpavagga (Chapter on Punishment)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1365.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Chapter</th>
<th>No. of Verses</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11. Jaravagga (Chapter on Old Age)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Ativagga (Chapter on elf)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Lokavagga (Chapter on the World)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Buddhavagga (Chapter on the Buddha)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Sukhavagga (Chapter on Happiness)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Piyavagga (Chapter on the Agreeable)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Kodhavagga (Chapter on Anger)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Malavagga (Chapter on Impurity)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Dhammaṭṭhavagga (Chapter on the Just)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Maggaṇavagga (Chapter on the Way)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Pakippakavagga (Miscellaneous Verses)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Nirayavagga (Chapter on Hell)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Nāgavagga (Elephant Verses)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Taṇhavagga (Chapter on Desire)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Bhikkhuvagga (Bhikkhu Verses)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Brāhmaṇavagga (Brāhmaṇa Verses)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number</strong></td>
<td><strong>423</strong></td>
<td><strong>502</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Fa-kheu-king Original had a commentary of the Avadāna type, which was translated into Chinese "by two Shamans of the western Tsin dynasty (A.D. 265 to A.D. 313)" under the title of "Fa-kheu-pi-ū,—i.e. parables connected with the book of scriptural texts." With regard to this work Beal says: ".....it contains certain parables, or tales, connected with the verses which follow them, and which prompted their delivery......The method adopted in this work is to give one or two tales, and a verse or more, as the Moral. The chapters are identical with the Fa-kheu-king—the only difference being that the verses or gāthas are fewer—they are, in fact, only a selection from the whole to meet the requirements of the story preceding them. This arrangement is in agreement with the original design of the work. Buddhaghosha, we are told, gives for each verse a parable to illustrate the...
meaning of the verse, and believed to have been uttered by Buddha in his intercourse with his disciples, or in preaching to the multitudes that came to hear him. And so here we have a tale for each verse, delivered by Buddha for the benefit of his disciples, or others. As to the character of these stories, some of them are puerile and uninteresting. But if I mistake not, they are of a description not opposed to the character of the age to which they are assigned by the Chinese". Beal's English version is made from the Chinese Fa-kheu-pi-u, which is a commentarial selection from the Fa-kheu-king, differing from the Pāli commentary by the absence of prose exegesis.

(iv) Dharmapada quoted in the Mahāvastu.—A whole chapter, viz., the Sahasravarga, containing 24 stanzas, has been quoted in the Mahāvastu (III., pp. 434-36) expressly from a Dharmapada text ("dharmapadeśu sahasravargah," ibid, p. 434). Besides, in the same work a few consecutive verses, numbering not less than 15, have been cited apparently from the Bhikṣuvarga of the same Dharmapada text. Here we may leave out of consideration the isolated verses which are quoted throughout the Mahāvastu and of which the parallel can be traced in other copies of the Dhammapada. The Mahāvastu edited by M. Senart professes to be a Mid-land Recension of the first Book of the Vinaya Piṭaka and belongs to the Lokottaravāda sect, an off-shoot of the Mahāśāṅghika. The language of the Sahasravarga quoted has no claim to be called pure classical Sanskrit but deserves, on the other hand, to be just what M. Senart called Mixed Sanskrit. It remains to be seen if this copy of the Dhammapada, so much cherished in the Lokottaravāda or Ekavyavahārika literature, can be identified with any one of the three copies of the Dhammapada (one with 500 verses, another with 750, and another with 900), which were known to the authors of the Fa-kheu-king (3rd cent. A.D.).

1 Beal's Dhammapada, pp. 25-26.
2 Mahāvastu, I., p. 2: "Āryamahāśāṅghikānāṁ Lokottaravādināṁ Madhyadesśikānāṁ pāṭhena Vinaya-piṭakānāṁ Mahāvastuye ādi". See also the colophon at the end.
3 Beal's Dhammapada, p. 33.
(v) The Fa-khen-king, a Chinese Recension in Translation.—The Fa-khen-king is, according to the Chinese translators' admission,¹ not a faithful translation of the Indian text which the Shaman Wai-chi-lan carried from India to China in 223 A.D. It is to be regarded as more than a translation, because the Chinese translators had not only tampered with the number and distribution of the verses in the original, but added 13 new chapters in Chinese, making up a total of 39 chapters, 752 verses, and 14,580 words. Similar additions and alterations are also to be met with in the Chinese version of its commentary, the Fa-khen-pi-n (A.D. 265-313), although in the absence of an English translation of the former, it is difficult for us to compare the text with the commentary and find out how far they agree or differ. It is clear from the Preface to the Fa-khen-king that the Chinese translators were acquainted with three copies of the Dhammapada,—one with 900 verses, another with 700, and another with 500.² The arrangement of the thirteen additional chapters with their titles and verse-numbers is shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Chapter</th>
<th>No. of Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Impermanence</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Insight into Wisdom</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Sāvaka</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Simple Faith</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Observance of Duty</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Reflection</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Loving Kindness</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Conversation</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33*. Advantageous Service</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36*. Nirvāna</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Birth and Death</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Profit of Religion</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Good Fortune</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Beal's Dhammapada, p. 35.
² Ibid, p. 33.
³ Chapters 9-32 of the Fa-khen-king correspond, with regard to arrangement of chapters, to Pāli chapters 1-24.
⁴ Chapters 34-35 correspond to Pāli chapters 25-26. See ante, pp. x, xi.
We may here point out that instead of one chapter containing reflections on Impermanence or Old Age, the Fa-khun-king, as appears from its commentary, contains two chapters with titles that can be restored in Sanskrit as anityavarga and jarāvarga. Counterparts of most of the verses contained in these two chapters can be found in the Prakrit Jaravaga as well as in the first chapter of the Udānavarga, dealing with Impermanence. The last chapter of the Fa-khun-king is nothing but a Chinese translation of some Indian recension of the Maṅgalasutta. Similarly, chapter 38 appears to be a translation of some Indian Recension of the Mahāmaṅgalacarita. As to the remaining chapters, one cannot but be struck by a few chapters in the Udānavarga, bearing similar titles though not containing the same number and identical verses, e.g., the chapters dealing with Words, (‘Speech’ in the Udānavarga), Srāvaka (‘The Hearer’ in the Udānav.). Thus it appears that the Fa-khun-king is no mere translation of an Indian text, but a recension by itself in translation.

(vi) The Sanskrit recensions:—

(a) Original of the Chinese version of the Dhammapada incorporated in the Chuh-yau-king.—Beal says that the Chuh-yau-king is a third copy of the Chinese version of the Dhammapada which is so much expanded as to consist of 7 volumes, comprising 20 kionen or books. The translation was made by Chu-fo-nien (or, Fo-nien=Buddhasmṛiti), the Indian who lived during the Yaou-tsin period, about 410 A. D. "In the preface to this version we are told that Dharmatrāta was uncle of Vasumitra, and that he was the original compiler of the stanzas and stories known as Fa-khun-king. It informs us, moreover, that the old term ‘pi-u’, i.e. Avadānas, was the same as ‘the Dawn,’ …… The preface goes on to state that Shamañ Saṅghbhadanga of Ki-pin (Cabol) came to Tehangan (Siganfu) about the nineteenth year of the period Kien-Yuen. Having travelled back to India and returned with a copy of the present work, it was evidently translated by Fonien, with the assistance of others… the whole number of chapters in
this work is thirty-three, and that the last is, like the Pāli, on 'the Brāhmāṇa.' There are ample commentaries attached to many of the verses...”

Rockhill is inclined to identify the Dhammapada text in the Chuh-yau-king with the Udānavarga. "The Udānavarga," says he, "is found also in the Chinese tripitaka. The title of the work is there 'Chuh-yau-king,' or Nidāna sūtra." It is also divided into thirty-three chapters, the titles of which agree with those of the Tibetan, with the following slight differences:—Chap. iv. is 'Absence of Careless Behaviour'; Chap. v. 'Reflection'; Chap. vi. 'Intelligence'; Chap. xxix. 'The Twins (Yamaka).': The contents of the two works, as far as has been ascertained, are identical. Both the Chinese and the Tibetan versions attribute the compilation of Udānavarga to Dharma-trīṭā.

Dr. Nanjio, on the other hand, notes: "In A. D. 388, there was a Sāramaza of Ki-pin (Cabal) Saṅghabhūṭi by name, who came to Khāṇ-ān, the capital of the Former Tshin dynasty, A. D. 380-390 (bringing with him the Ms. of this work?) According to the K'-yuen-lu (fasc. 9, fol. 26 a), this work is wanting in Tibetan." Dr. Nanjio also says that the original was a Sanskrit text.

The Chuh-yau-king, as its title implies, is an avadāna-sūtra, i.e., a Dhammapada commentary rather than a Dhammapada text.

(b) The Udānavarga, another Sanskrit Dhammapada.—This is another Dhammapada text in pure classical Sanskrit, of which a fragmentary manuscript in a later variety of the Gupta script has been found at Turfan. Prof. Pischel was the first to edit portions of this manuscript under the title 'Die Turfan-Recensionen des Dhammapada.' That this manuscript is

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2. According to Nanjio, the Sanskrit equivalent of the Chinese title is 'Avadāna-sūtra'.
4. Nanjio's Catalogue, see under No. 1321.
of a recension of the Dhammapada of which the Tibetan version has been translated by Rockhill under the name of 'Udānavarga', will be evident from the close agreement between the Sanskrit manuscript and the Tibetan version, in regard to the arrangement of chapters and the number of verses, as shown in the following table taken from Pischel's edition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pali</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II 20</td>
<td>II 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI 12</td>
<td>V 27</td>
<td>V 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VIII 15</td>
<td>VIII 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI 16</td>
<td>XVI 24</td>
<td>XVI 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII 14</td>
<td>XX 22</td>
<td>XX 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XXIX 57 (66[65])</td>
<td>XXIX 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XXX 51 (62)</td>
<td>XXX 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III 11</td>
<td>XXXI 60</td>
<td>XXXI 64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Tibetan translation was made by Vidyāprabhākara probably, as Rockhill suggests, during the reign of King Ral-pa-chan (A.D. 817-842). There is a Tibetan version of its commentary, which was composed by Prajināvarman, who lived in Kashmir in the 9th century A.D. There is a fourth or last copy of the Chinese version of a Sanskrit Dhammapada, known as the Fātsi Yāo-kiū (Dharmasaṅgraha-mahārtha-gāthā), compiled by Dharmatrāta, and translated by Thien-si-tsāi (A.D. 980-1001) of the later Sun dynasty (A.D. 960-1127.) According to Dr. Nanjio, it is a compilation of the verses of the Khu-yāo-kiū. Beal has nothing more to say regarding this Chinese version than that the authorship of its original is assigned to Dharmatrāta, and that it shows no resemblance to the earlier translation, i.e., to the Chu-yāo-king. Having regard to the fact that this Chinese version is almost synchronous with the Tibetan version of the Udānavarga, it remains to be seen if there is any closer similarity between their originals.

(vii) Miscellaneous.—There are a number of small collections of maxims or apophthegms conceived wholly in the spirit

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1 Udānavarga, Introd., pp. xi-xii.
2 Ibid, p. xii; cf. Tārānātha, p. 204 (Schiefler).
3 Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1439.
of the Dhammapada'. Vasubandhu's Gāthāsaṅgraha may be regarded as the prototype of the same. There are two Chinese versions of this Gāthāsaṅgraha, besides two Tibetan versions, in one of which the text is reproduced with the commentary. The collection consists of just 24 stanzas, and what these stanzas are like can be ascertained from Rockhill's English translation of them, appended to his 'Udānavarga.' With regard to this Gāthāsaṅgraha, Mr. Nariman says: "It is a collection of maxims with an intelligent commentary, excerpts from which have been cited by A. Schiefner . . . the commentary shows us the philosopher Vasubandhu also as a humourous evangelist." Vasubandhu, who flourished in the 4th century A.D. is famous in the history of Buddhism not only as a compiler of a standard Sarvāstivāda work, the Abhidharma-kośa, but also as the writer of a standard manual of Yogācāra philosophy. But we must remember that the compilation of such a Gāthāsaṅgraha was in no way peculiar to Vasubandhu, or even in Sarvāstivāda tradition of Vasubandhu's time. It appears from Takakusu's analysis of the Jñāna-prasthāna-sūtra (which is the most authoritative of the seven Abhidharma books of Sarvāstivāda, and dated 2nd century B.C.) that its closing section was a collection of similar maxims, composed in a Mlecchabhāṣā, say, Tamil. Similar isolated collections of maxims can equally be traced within the four corners of the Pāli Nikāyas.

4. Chronology of the Dhammapada Texts.—The Pāli Dhammapada is one of the recognised books of the Khuddaka-Nikāya which represents one of the five divisions of the existing Sutta Pitaka. The oldest known Pāli work in which the Dhammapada is expressly referred to is the Milinda panha. The traditional date of this work is placed 500 years after Buddha's demise, i.e., in 43 B.C., while Professor Rhys Davids places the

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1 Literary History, p. 268.
2 Milinda, p. 3.
date a considerable time before Buddhaghosa. The Kathāvatthu which according to tradition belongs to the 3rd century B.C. contains many quotations of verses, some of which can be found only in the Dhammapada, and not in any other canonical texts, but none of the sources of the quotations are mentioned. The same remark holds true of the Nettipakaraṇa and the Peṭakōpadesa, which like the Kathāvatthu abound in quotations from the canonical works with this difference that in the former two works some of the sources are mentioned by name, although the verses there that are peculiar to the Dhammapada are quoted without any mention of their source. The Netti and the Peṭakōpadesa are the two companion works of exegetical type which are ascribed to Mahākaccāyana, the putative author of all the earlier works of the Nirutti and Niddesa class. Prof. E. Hardy is inclined to place the composition of the Netti in the 1st century, A.D., but we have reason to believe that the date can be pushed back to the 2nd century B.C. The Mahānīddesa which is a canonical commentary on the Aṭṭhakavagga, now found incorporated in the Suttanipāta and forming its Fourth Book has been modelled upon Mahākaccāyana's exposition found in the earlier Nikāyas, and is not wanting in similar quotations of verses which cannot be found anywhere else in the canon than the Dhammapada. But even an earlier work, the Cullanīddesa, which must have been a pre-Asokan book of exegesis, older than the Suttanipāta and later than the canonical Jātaka Book, contains similar quotations of verses not to be found in any other text than the Pāli Dhammapada. Considering that the closing date of the Pāli canon is not later than the 2nd century B.C., the latest date for the Mahānīddesa can not be later than the closing period of the canon. Further, in one of Buddhaghosa's commentaries, viz., the Sumanīgalavilāsinī, there is reference to two schools of enumeration, the

1 Questions of King Milinda, S. B. E., Pt. I. p. xxv.
2 Netti, p. xxvii.
3 Mahānīddesa, p. 198.
4 See passim.
Dīghabhāṇaka and the Majjhimaṁbhāṇaka, of the books of the Khuddakanikāya, which, though different in some respects, agree in so far as they distinctly mention the Dhammapada among the books of the Lesser Collection.¹ These two schools along with the Samyutta Aṅguttara and the Khuddakabhāṇakas point to a time earlier than the inscriptions at Bharhut which cannot be dated earlier than the 3rd century and later than the 2nd century B.C. The tradition that Appamādaṭṭhaka was recited to king Asoka justifies the presumption that the Pāli Dhammapada existed in the 3rd century B.C. So much about the lower limit of the Pāli Dhammapada.

As regards the lower limit of other copies and recensions, we have seen that the Chinese Fa-kheu-king, dated A.D. 228, presupposes three different Dhammapada selections in Sanskrit: one, its Indian original, with 500 verses, another text with 700 verses, and a third with 900 (p. ix). It has already been shown (pp. x-xi) that the Fa-kheu-king original in Sanskrit was a text different from the Pāli as regards language and number of verses, though agreeing with it in its general form, name, number and succession of chapters. Again, the agreement of the Prakrit Dhammapada with the Pāli and the Fa-kheu-king original in respect of the number of verses and succession of chapters is by far closer than that of the Udānavarga (pp. viii-ix). But there are a number of verses in the Prakrit Dhammapada, notably the 'Uraga' verses at the end of the chapter on the Bhikṣu and some in the Sahasa and Jara Vagas, which are to be found neither in the Pāli nor in the original of the Fa-kheu-king, but occur in the Udānavarga in the chapters on Bhikṣu, Number and Impermanency. The Prakrit Dhammapada stands distinct from the rest in one respect, viz., that its first chapter is devoted to Mārga—the Buddhist Eightfold Path, combining into one group two separate chapters of the Pāli as well as of the original of the Fa-kheu-king, viz., the Magga and the Pākiṇṇaka (Miscellaneous). The first eight of

¹ Sum. VII, I. p. 15.
² Mahāvibhāṣa, V. 68.
the additional chapters of the Fa-kheu-king have their counterparts in the Udānavarga, as will be clear from the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fa-kheu-king</th>
<th>Rockhill's Udānavarga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ch. I</td>
<td>Ch. I Impermanency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>II Purity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>III The Disciple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>IV Faith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>V Moral Duties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>VI Morality (śīla)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>VII Words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>IX Reflection (śānti)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>VIII Speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>XII Nirvāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>XXVI Nirvāṇa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These additional chapters of the Fa-kheu-king force us to look for an earlier Dhammapada text other than the Pāli, its Indian original and the Prakrit, and we are driven in the last resort to trace their immediate background to one of the two Dhammapadas with 700 and 900 verses, known in 223 A.D., to Wai-chi-lan, the author of the Fa-kheu-king. The text must be one closely resembling the Udānavarga, if not identical with it. It is the text portion of the original of the Chuh-yau-king which alone can satisfy this test. We have reason to believe that the text portion was extant before the time of Wai-chi-lan, i.e., roughly speaking, before the 3rd century A.D. For the Chuh-yau-king which is a Chinese version, dated 383 A.D., presupposes an Indian commentary in Sanskrit that in its turn presupposes an earlier work, i.e., the Sanskrit text comprising 33 chapters similar to those of the Udānavarga. Here we have got to make allowance not only for the interval of time separating the Chinese version from its original, i.e., the Sanskrit commentary, but also for another interval separating the latter from a still earlier work, which is no other than the Sanskrit text. In ascertaining the latter interval one must also consider that before the commentary was written, the text must have enjoyed some amount of popularity and made its importance sufficiently felt in the community. At any rate, the interval of just 100 years (383 A.D.—223 A.D.)
is the shortest possible time which is needed to make the text earlier than Wai-chi-lan's visit to China.

Even if this surmise as to the possibility of Wai-chi-lan's acquaintance with the Sanskrit text portion of the Chuh-yau-king be correct (as we believe it is), one must yet enquire whether the total number of its verses justifies its identification with the text with 900 verses above referred to. Unfortunately, as we are informed by our colleague Mr. R. Kimura, the task of ascertaining the total number of verses in it is far from easy for the simple reason that the verses in the existing Chinese edition are not numbered, nor properly kept distinct from one another. But counting the verses in so far as they are separated by the commentary portion intervening in each chapter, he finds himself in a position to assure us that whatever the exact total, it certainly exceeds 900, though it is by no means over 1000. If so, of the two texts with 700 and 900 verses, known to Wai-chi-lan, the latter must be said to approximate the text portion of the Chuh-yau-king.

Now, arguing from the close resemblance which exists between the text portion of the Chuh-yau-king and the Udānavarga, so far as is known to us in its entirety through Rockhill's translation from the Tibetan, we can accept the information supplied by Mr. R. Kimura regarding the total in the former as correct. For, although the latter is dated 982-1000 A.D., the total in it does not exceed 989 verses, or 1000 in round numbers. But it must be noted that the total in Rockhill's Udānavarga cannot be regarded as a precisely correct number, and that for three reasons: (i) that there is a slight difference as to the number of verses in almost each chapter common to Pischel's edition of the manuscript fragments of the Udānavarga and Rockhill's translation of the Tibetan version of the same text; (ii) that at least in two instances we notice that a verse which would be counted as one in the Pāli Dhammapada, has been counted as two (cf. Rockhill, III. vv. 12-13, XXIII, vv. 82-83); (iii) that there are in it a few repetitions of which six have been noticed by Rockhill. Thus its total 989 can
be reduced to 981 [989—(2+6)]. How far this process of reduction can proceed in the text itself it is difficult to say. There are no doubt a number of mechanical multiplication of verses which has practically no raison d'être, and has a marked tendency to swell up the volume without bringing out any new idea. We have no right to deduct the verses thus multiplied from the Udānavarga, but must on the other hand count them as they occur in it. General reduction is however possible in relation to earlier texts, if any, where certain verses forming a sub-group in a chapter of the Udānavarga are found less in number. The case in hand could be fairly proved, if by the process of reduction, just mentioned, the total 981 could be further reduced to a number approximating 900.

Dr. Nanjio says that the fourth or last Chinese version of the Dhammapada, the Fā-ṭsi-suñ-yáo-kiñ, dated A.D. 982-1000, is no other than the text portion of the Chuh-yau-king (p. xvi). But from a comparison of a few chapters of the two Chinese versions with the kind help of our friend Mr. R. Kimura, we are constrained to admit some differences between them, though we can only so far readily concede to Dr. Nanjio that they show a general agreement in many respects. Remembering that a similar agreement can also be shown to exist between the text portion of the Chuh-yau-king and Rockhill’s Udānavarga, as well as judging by the dates of the Tibetan version and the fourth Chinese version, we may be justified in holding that their originals were the same, making due allowance for slight variation as may exist between two manuscripts of one and the same text. With regard to the date of the Sanskrit Udānavarga, one can definitely say that it was compiled some time before the time of its commentator Prajñāvarman, who lived in the 9th century A.D., while this much is certain as regards the text portion of the Chuh-yau-king that it was extant before the 3rd century of the Christian era. Not knowing any other copy of the Dhammapada than one with 900 verses which Wai-chi-lan could avail himself of in adding a few chapters resembling those in the Udānavarga, we
are naturally tempted to identify the same with the text portion of the original of the Chuh-yau-king, and we are confident that we shall not be found far too wrong in doing so.

Turning to the copy of the Dhammapada with 700 verses, known to Wai-chi-lan, we at once see that it was different from the Pāli with 423 verses, the Fa-kheu-king original with 500 verses and the text portion of the Chuh-yau-king just identified with the text with 900 verses. Thus only two texts are left to be examined, viz., the Prakrit and the Dhammapada in Mixed Sanskrit of which a complete chapter has been quoted in the Mahāvastu (p. xii). As regards the Prakrit Dhammapada, it is impossible for us, in the absence of a complete manuscript thereof or of a tradition supplying a definite information about it, to say exactly how many verses it altogether contained. But judging by the proportion of verses in the chapters common to the three recensions, viz., the Pāli, the Fa-kheu-king original and the Prakrit, we feel inclined to think that the total of the Prakrit verses stood midway between 500 and 700. The following table will make our position clear:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pāli</th>
<th>Original of Fa-kheu-king</th>
<th>Prakrit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II 12</td>
<td>II 20</td>
<td>II 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 16</td>
<td>IV 17</td>
<td>IV 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 14</td>
<td>VI 17</td>
<td>VI 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII 16</td>
<td>VIII 16</td>
<td>V 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI 11</td>
<td>XI 14</td>
<td>VIII 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV 12</td>
<td>XV 14</td>
<td>IX 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX 17</td>
<td>XX 28</td>
<td>I 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV 23</td>
<td>XV 32</td>
<td>XI 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI 41</td>
<td>XVI 40</td>
<td>XII 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>198</strong></td>
<td><strong>232</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bearing in mind that the total number of verses in the Pāli Dhammapada is 423 and that in the Fa-kheu-king original 500,
we can test whether the above three totals are in keeping with the ratio of 500 : 428.

(1) \[ \frac{103 \times 128}{102} = 517 \] which roughly gives the total verse-number of the Fa-kheu-king original.

(2) \[ \frac{103 \times 272}{102} = 605 \frac{5}{9} \], i.e., 606 which roughly gives the total verse-number of the Prakrit text.

The totals obtained (Pa. 428; F. O. 517; Pr. 606) might be further tested by a standard ratio provided by the verse-numbers of the Śakṣara-group in the 5 recensions mentioned in the sub-joined table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pāli</th>
<th>Fa-kheu-king original</th>
<th>Prakrit quoted in the Mahāvastu</th>
<th>Dhammapada</th>
<th>Udānavarga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taking in succession the total of the Pāli text and that of the Fa-kheu-king original as the standard number, the relative position of the recensions will appear as follows:

(1) \[ \frac{103 \times 17}{10} = 449 \frac{7}{10}, \text{ i.e., } 450 \text{ (Pr.)}; \]
\[ \frac{103 \times 24}{10} = 634 \frac{4}{5}, \text{ i.e., } 635 \text{ (M. V. D.)}; \]
\[ \frac{103 \times 24}{10} = 898 \frac{7}{9}, \text{ i.e., } 899 \text{ (U. V.)}. \]

(2) \[ \frac{103 \times 17}{10} = 531 \frac{1}{4}, \text{ i.e., } 532 \text{ (Pr.)}; \]
\[ \frac{103 \times 24}{10} = 750 \text{ (M. V. D.)}; \]
\[ \frac{103 \times 24}{10} = 1062 \frac{1}{4}, \text{ i.e., } 1063 \text{ (U. V.)}. \]

Comparing these two series of totals and taking all the recensions of the Dhammapada into consideration, we cannot but persuade ourselves to believe that there were no less than six Indian copies of the Dhammapada with 423, 500, 600, 700, 900 and 1000 verses, and that these copies are no other than those represented respectively by the Pāli, the Fa-kheu-king original, the Prakrit, the Mahāvastu Dhammapada, the text portion of the Chuḥ-yau-king and the Udānavarga. Of these copies, the first five were well-known before the 3rd century A.D., while the date of the Udānavarga falls in between the 4th and the 9th century A.D. Applying the verse-total as a test of priority and posteriority, we feel justified in concluding
that the Pāli with the minimum total 423 is the oldest
copy of the Dhammapada and the Udānavarga with the
maximum total 1000 (in round numbers) the latest. The
copy which stands close to the Pāli is the Sanskrit original
of the Fa-khuen-king; the copy which is one degree removed
from the latter is the Prakrit, while the Mahāvastu Dhamma-
pada and the Sanskrit original of the text portion of the
Chuh-yau-king occupy in order two intermediate positions
between the Prakrit text and the Udānavarga. This chronol-
ogy cannot, however, be taken to be conclusive until it
is further tested in the light of other evidences and harmonised
with the general history of Buddhist literature and thought.
We propose to examine these evidences under the following
heads:

(a) argument from the number and succession of
    chapters;
(b) argument from the multiplication of particular
    verses;
(c) argument from traditions.

(a) Argument from the number and succession of chapters—
The four Indian copies of the Dhammapada of which the
tables of contents are definitely known to us fall into two
pairs, each showing a complete agreement in regard to the
number and succession of chapters: (1) the Pāli and the
Fa-khuen-king original containing altogether 26 chapters, and
(2) the text portion of the original of the Chuh-yau-king and
the Udānavarga containing 33. All these copies agree in so
far as the succession of two closing chapters is concerned.
For in each of them the last chapter is the Brāhmaṇavagga
and the last but one is the chapter on the Bhikkhu. Further,
they must be said to resemble one another, inasmuch as
they have many chapters bearing same titles. The two
pairs differ, however, widely from each other regarding the
order of succession of the remaining chapters, particularly
that of the first three. As regards the first pair of texts,
their first three chapters are arranged in the following order:

1. Yamakavagga forming the 29th chapter in the 2nd pair.
2. Appamādavagga forming the 4th chapter.
3. Cittavagga forming the 31st chapter.

On the other hand, the first three chapters in the second pair of texts are arranged as shown below:

1. Anityavarga corresponding with the Jarāvagga—the 11th chapter in the 1st pair.
2. Kāmavarga having its counterpart in the Piya-vagga—the 16th chapter of the 1st pair.
3. Trṣṇāvarga being an amplified version of the Taṇhāvagga of the 1st pair, placed immediately before the Bhikkhu.

It is impossible to make a definite statement regarding the number and succession of chapters in the Prakrit text and in the Mahāvастu Dhammapada, though we are on a somewhat surer ground as regards the former work. As we have already noticed, the Prakrit Dhammapada shows a far closer kinship in its general form with the 1st pair of texts than it does with the 2nd pair, particularly the arrangement of three chapters in it, viz., 2-4, is exactly on a par with that in the Pāli and in the Fa-kheu-king original. Moreover, whatever the precise succession of the Tassavaga, the Bhikkhu and the Bramana in it, M. Senart's Fac-simile of the Plate B of the Kharoṣṭhī Ms. goes to prove that they are closely bound up in thought as in the texts of the 1st pair. Arguing from the arrangement of the 1st three chapters, the two pairs of texts can be shown to represent two distinct periods of literary growth within Buddhism, the earlier period being represented by the Pāli Dhammapada and the Fa-kheu-king original. For the sequence of thought in the first three chapters of these two texts is so much in line with that in a Chāndogya passage that one can not but think the former was merely a systematic carrying
out of the latter. In other words, the sequence can be regarded as a proof of these Dhammapada texts standing close to the Chândogya Upaniṣad and representing an earlier stage of Buddhism. The first chapter of Twin-verses (Yamakavagga) teaches that mana in the sense of cetāna—volition or intention—is psychologically the motive for action and determines its moral effect according as the intention of the agent is good or bad. It is followed by a chapter on ‘Earnestness’ (Appamādavagga) which inculcates the necessity of an active exercise of the will or religious aspiration for the attainment of the highest good which is the quintessence of the older Indian conception of faith (saddhā). This naturally leads to another chapter, the Cittavagga, where the nature of mind, as commonly known, is described in order to bring out the idea that the necessity of constant striving, mindfulness and self-control implied in ‘earnestness’ arises from the very constitution of mind. How this trend of thought was anticipated in the Chândogya passage will be clear from the quotations below:—

I (a) “Mano vāva vāco bhūyo...... vācaṁ ca nāma ca mano' nubhavati—sa yadā manasa manasayati mantrān adhiyāyeti, athādhihite karmāṇi kurvīteti, atha kurute putrāṁśca paśūṁśca icceyeti, athēcchata imaṁ ca lokāṁ amuṇ ca icceyeti, athēcchate mano.”

(Chândogya, VII. 3. 1.)

(b) “Manopubbaṅgamā dhammā manoseṭṭhā manomayaṁ, manasa ce paduṭṭhena bhāsati vā karoti vā, tato naṁ dukkham anveta cakkataṁ vā bahato padauṁ. Manopubbaṅgamā dhammā manoseṭṭhā manomayaṁ manasa ce pasannena bhāsati vā karoti vā tato naṁ sukham anveta chaṁ vā anapāyini.”

(Dhp. I. vv. 1-2.)

II (a) “Saṁkalpo vāva manaso bhūyān, yadā vai saṁkalpayate atha manasyati, atha vācaṁ irayati, tāmu nāṁnirayati, nāṁni mantrā ekam bhavanti, mantrēṣu karmāṇi...... Sa yāḥ saṁkalpaṁ brahmētī upāste, kliptānvaṁ sa lokāṁ dhruvāṁ dhruvaḷī pratiṣṭhitān.”

(Chândogya, VII. 4. 1-3.)
(xxviii)

(b) "Appamādo amatapadaṁ, pamādo maccuno padoṁ, appamattà na miyanti, ye pamattā yathā matā.

(Dhp., II. v. 1).

III (a) "Cittam vāva saṁkalpād bhūyo, yadā vai cetayate atha saṁkalpayate, atha manasyati, atha vācām irayati, tāmu nāmnirayati, nāmni mantrā ekāṁ bhavanti, mantreśu karmāpi."

(Chāndogya, VII. 5.1.)

(b) "Na taṁ mātāpātā kayirā aṁne vápi ca nātākā Sammāpaṇihitaṁ cittam seyyaso nam tato kare."

(Dhp. III. v. 11).

This sequence of thought is entirely lost sight of in the second pair of texts—the text portion of the Chuh-y u-king original and the Udānavarga—the first three chapters of which deal respectively with impermanence, vanity of human wishes and desire. The trend of thought is that when a man reflects upon the fact of impermanence all around, he cannot but realise the vanity of human wishes and discover its root in a natural craving for pleasure and enjoyment. Thus the two pairs of texts present a radical change in tone from the optimism of earlier thought to the ascetic or pessimistic outlook of later reflection. But was this change sudden or it came about gradually? The Prakrit Dharmapada bears out the fact that the change did not come about surreptitiously. As we have already noticed above, its first chapter is devoted to the praise of the Buddhist Eight-fold Path, while the succession of the following two chapters is the same as that of the Pāli. The trend of thought implied is that Nirvāṇa or the Supreme goal of Buddhism is reachable by the Eight-fold Path which is but a symbol of 'earnestness' which aims at complete control over mind. Viewed in this light, the Mahāvastu Dharmapada seems to fall in line with the Prakrit text, though nothing can be definitely stated regarding the former work. If, however, this surmise is found to be correct, the six copies will fall into three pairs representing three successive periods or stages of literary
growth. A happy result of such a classification will be that it will enable us to form a definite idea about the contents of all the Dhammapada texts by the aid of those which are now accessible to us. If we know the Pāli Dhammapada, we are expected to know almost the whole of the Fa-kheu-king original; a knowledge of the Prakrit text will help us in knowing the contents of the Mahāvastu Dhammapada; lastly, if we have read the Udānavarga, we have really known the whole of the text portion of the Chuh-yau-king original.

In order to justify the chronology of the three pairs we must enquire as to whether or no the Prakrit text serves as a link of transition between the Pāli and the Udānavarga as regards the multiplication of the number of chapters. The following investigation will make it clear that it does serve as a connecting link. It is a curious fact that the additional chapters of the Fa-kheu-king, i.e., the chapters which were added by the Chinese translators to the translation of a text of 26 chapters similar to the Pāli, presuppose a Buddhist anthology like the Pāli Suttanipāta as the subjoined table will set forth:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fa-kheu-king</th>
<th>Suttanipāta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sec. I Impermanency</td>
<td>III 9 Sallī Sutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; II Insight into Wisdom</td>
<td>II 10 Uṭṭhāna Sutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; III The Disciple</td>
<td>I 5 Cunda Sutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; IV Simple Faith</td>
<td>I 10 Ājavaka Sutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; VII Love</td>
<td>I 8 Metta Sutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; VIII Words</td>
<td>III 3 Subhāśita Sutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; XXXIX Good Fortune</td>
<td>II 4 Mahāmāgala Sutta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the same way we can account for the additional chapters in the Udānavarga and a posteriori for those in the text portion of the Chuh-yau-king original. If we scan their additional chapters, we at once discover that they are modelled upon certain poems of a work similar to the Sutta Nipāta, and that so far as their component verses are concerned, they are nothing
but a combination of a Sutta Nipāta, a Dhammapada and a Jātaka Book. We subjoin a table in illustration of the point:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Udānavarga</th>
<th>Other texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chap. 1 Impermanency</td>
<td>Salla Sutta (S. N. III. 9) + Dasaratha Jātaka + Mugapakkha Jātaka + Jara-vagga (Dhp.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kāmasutta (S. N. IV. 1) + Kāma Jātaka + Piyavagga (Dhp.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Subhāsita Sutta (S. N. III. 3) + Koka-liya Sutta (S. N. III. 10) + Puppha-vagga (Dhp.) + Nirayavagga (Dhp.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Uraga Sutta (S. N. I. 1) + Bhikkhu-vagga (Dhp.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly the Sutta Nipāta and the Jātaka Book can be pointed out as canonical sources of most of the additional verses in Prakrit, e.g., the additional verses in the Bhikkhu-vagga are similar to those in the Uraga Sutta (S. N. I.), while those in the Jara-vagga presuppose the Salla Sutta (S. W. III. 9) and such Jātakas as the Dasaratha, the Ayoghara and the Mugapakkha.

The Pāli Dhammapada (and a posteriori the Fa-kheu-king original) differs from the Prakrit text and the Udānavarga, inasmuch as it does not contain a single verse of which the canonical source is no other than the Sutta Nipāta as we now have it. For instance, its Brāhmanavagga is mainly constituted of verses from the Vāsetṭha Sutta which is incorporated not only in the Sutta Nipāta, but also in the Majjhima Nikāya. The Nāgavagga contains a few verses which can be traced in the Khaggavisānasutta, but seeing that this particular sutta has been commented upon in the Cullaniddesa along with the poems of the Pāraśāna Group, one may be justified in thinking that it existed as a separate poem before its incorporation in the 1st book of the Sutta Nipāta. At any rate, as we proceed from the Pāli Dhammapada towards the Udānavarga, it becomes increasingly clear that the Sutta Nipāta came to occupy a more and more prominent place in the later texts.
(b) *Argument from the multiplication of particular verses*:—Besides the common verses, each copy of the Dhammapada contains some that were evidently drawn upon canonical sources, left untouched by the compilers of other copies. Further, each copy contains a number of verses peculiar to itself, and these, in the absence of evidence proving the contrary, must be regarded as compositions of its compiler. In discussing the question of chronology we have to leave out of consideration the verses that were either newly added or composed on a new model, because chronological data can be derived only from those verses which were multiplied, rather mechanically, on a common basis. The process of multiplication just referred to is twofold: (1) the insertion within one original verse or group some new lines constructed out of some set Buddhist expressions, and (2) the substitution of new expressions. Three instances may suffice to illustrate the first process:—

I Pāli—Mā pamādam anuyuñjetha mā kāmaratisanthavah
Appamatto hi jhāyanto pappoti paramaṁ sukhaṁ.

Prakrit—apramadi pramodia ma gami ratisabhann
apramato hi jhayatu chaya dukhasa pramuni ○
apramadarata bhoda khano yu ma uvacai
kaherita hi soyati niraṣu samapita ○
apramadarata bhoda sadhami supravedite
drugha udhvaradha atmana pagasana va kuñhara ○
nai kalu pramadasa aprati asavachaye
pramata duhu amoti siha ba muyamatia ○
nai pramadasamayu aprati asavachayi
apramato hi jhayatu pranoti paramu suhu ○

One must note how the counterpart of one Pali verse has been multiplied in Prakrit to five by the insertion of 8 extra lines. But a more apposite instance is afforded by the second set of verses (p. 208)—

II Pāli—Yānimani apatthāni alāpuneva sārade
Kāpotakāni aṭṭhīni tāni disvāna kā rati ?
Prakrit—yanimani avathani alapuniva šarade
saghavarnami šiṣani tāna diśṭāni ka rati ○
yanimani prabhaguni vichitani diśodīśa
kavotakani athini tāna diśṭāni ka rati ○

Fa-kheu-pi-u—"When the body dies, and the spirit flees, ..........." the flesh and bones lie scattered and dispersed. What reliance, then, can one place on the body?"
"When old, like autumn leaves, decayed and without covering, life ebbed out and dissolution at hand, little good repentance then!"

Divyāvadāna—Yānimānyapaviddhāni viksiptāni diśo daśa
Kapotavargānasthāni tāni dṛṣṭvēha kā ratiḥ?
Imāni yāṇyupasthānāni alāburvā śarade
Saṅkhavargāni sirṣāni tāni dṛṣṭvēha kā ratiḥ?

Gāthāsaṅgraha—"They (the bodies) are thrown away and scattered in every direction, like those pigeon-coloured bones; what pleasure, then, is there in looking at them."

Udānavarga—"Those pigeon-coloured bones are thrown away and scattered in every direction; what pleasure is there in looking at them."

It is clear that in place of one verse in the Pali Dhammapada we have two verses in the Prakrit and in the Divyāvadāna, while only one of the two verses occurs in Vasubhandhu’s Gāthāsaṅgraha and the Udānavarga. We at once notice that the Prakrit text has driven two lines in between the two lines of a counterpart of the Pāli verse, thus making altogether four lines and two complete verses. The order in the Prakrit is not followed in Divyāvadāna verses, but inverted. We are unable to determine the order of verses in the original of the Fa-kheu-kung and in that of its commentary for these two reasons: (i)

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* The portion omitted reads, "as when a royal personage rejects a (broken) chariot, so do ", The Chinese translators have apparently confused a counterpart of the second Prakrit verse quoted above and that of the first foot of the Pāli verse (Jarṣa 6); "Jiranto ve vajrathā suvittā"
that the Chinese versions, as confessed by the translators themselves, are far from being faithful\(^1\): (ii) that as appears from Beal's translation of the Fa-kheu-pi-u, some of the verses of the Pāli Jarāvagga are hopelessly confused and the order of some has been violently tampered with.\(^2\) It is quite likely that the order was tampered with even in the original commentary. The number of 'Jarā'-verses in the Fa-kheu-king is said to have been 14, i.e., 3 in excess of the Pāli, while comparing Beal's translation with the Pāli Jarāvagga, we suspect that the right number is not 14, but 12, i.e., just 1 in excess of the Pāli. The total number of verses in the Fa-kheu-king original was, according to the translators' own statement, 500, whereas we have seen on p. xi that by adding up the additional number of verses as distributed in the chapters corresponding to the Pāli we get a total of 502. If the above calculation of the 'Jarā'-verses be correct, we at once get the traditional total of 500 by subtracting 2 from 502. The total number 12 of the verses of the Jarā-group can be accounted for by the fact that the one verse resembling the Pāli was expanded into two distinct verses. If we can rightly suppose that the Divyāvadāna verses were quotations (perhaps a little more sanskritised form of quotations) from an older Avadāna work such as the original of the Fa-Kheu-pi-u, the order of the verses must have been inverted in the older work itself, and this conjecture is fully borne out by the grouping in the Chinese translation. The fact of inversion itself requires a word of explanation. One must admit that it

\(^1\) Beal's Dhammapada, p. 34: ".....the words of Buddha are naturally hard of explanation. Moreover, all the literature of the religion is written in the language of India, which widely differs from that of China....So to translate them faithfully is not an easy task". (Translators' Preface).

\(^2\) The order of first 3 verses is exactly the same as in Pāli. The 4th verse is a combination of the first foot of the Pāli verse No. 6 and the counterpart of a verse like the first in Prakrit. The order of the next 3 verses does not differ from that of the Pāli. The next 2 verses correspond with the 10th and 11th of the Pāli. The verse No. 10 is nothing but a counterpart of the second Prakrit verse. The last 2 verses correspond with the Pāli, Nos. 8 and 9.
presupposes an earlier process of multiplication and improvement on an older verse similar to the Pāli. We have seen that the Prakrit verses amply attest and illustrate the required process. Two distinct verses resulted from an attempt to expand the ideas of the two Pāli lines, taken separately, thereby improving the simile of the pumpkins and the decaying bones in the first line (pp. 209-210). Even then, the direct source of the Prakrit verses would not be fully determined by the model of the Pāli verse. For there are very many dialectical forms which have a tinge of Mixed Sanskrit. At the same time we cannot hold that the Prakrit had drawn upon the Divyāvadāna and the Avadāna original of the Fa-kheu-pi-u, as in these two works the order of the two verses, betraying a process of their growth from one verse by thrusting two lines into it, has been inverted. Failing to obtain the much-needed order in Mixed Sanskrit in these two works, one must in the last resort look for it in the Fa-kheu-king original. The Udānavarga verse seems to represent a stage later than the inversion of the verse-order, that is to say, later than the Fa-kheu-pi-u original and the Divyāvadāna verses. Seeing that the Udānavarga verse occurs in the same form in Vasubandhu’s Gāthāsaṅgraha, itself but a selection from a Dhammapada in Classical Sanskrit, we are led to think that the verse similarly occurs in the original of the text portion of the Chuh-yau-king (the Sanskrit Dhammapada with 900 verses).

Thus the entire process of multiplication and reduction suggests the following links of change and points of enquiry: (1) the origin of a Mixed Sanskrit counterpart of the Pāli verse, (2) the manipulation of two distinct verses in Mixed Sanskrit by thrusting two new lines into one original verse, (3) the transliteration of these verses into Prakrit, (4) the inversion of their order in Mixed Sanskrit, (5) the further Sanskritisation of the verses in their inverted order, (6) the inclusion of the Classical Sanskrit form of the first verse in inverted order, (7) the quotation of it in Vasubandhu’s Gāthāsaṅgraha, and (8) its final incorporation in the Udānavarga. If this process be
applied as a test of chronology, the Pāli Dhammapada will appear to be older than the Fa-kheu-king original in Mixed Sanskrit, the latter than the Prakrit text, the Prakrit text than the Avadāna original of the Fa-kheu-pi-u, the Avadāna original than the Divyāvadāna verses, these verses than the Sanskrit text with 900 verses, this Sanskrit text than Vasubandhu’s Gāthāsaṅgṛaha, and the Gāthāsaṅgṛaha than the Udānavarga which is the latest copy of the Dhammapada. The chronological position of the Mahāvastu Dhammapada in Mixed Sanskrit, with the text of 700 verses, remains yet to be ascertained. Now we shall examine the third instance.

III Pāli—yo ca vassasataṁ jantu aggirih pariṣcere vane Ekañca bhavītattānasām muhuttam api pūjaye Sā yeva pūjanā seyyo yañ ca vassasatanā hutaṁ.

Prakrit—ya ja vaṣaṣata jatu agi pariṣcere vane chirena sapitelenā divaratra atadrita O eka ji bhavitatmana muhuta viva puas sameva puyana ōhha ya ji vaṣaṣata huta O

Fa-kheu-pi-u—“If a man lives a hundred years, and engages the (Se VI Metta, whole of his time and attention in religious offer- p. 71). ings to the gods, sacrificing elephants and horses, and other things, all this is not equal to one act of pure love in saving life.”

Mahāvastu—Yo ca varṣaṣatam jive agnīparicaranāḥ caret Dhammapada Patrāḥāro chavāvāsī karontō vividhāḥ tapaṁ Yo caikaṁ bhāvītātmanāṁ muhūrtampi pūjayet Sā eka pūjanā śreyo na ca varṣaṣatam hutaṁ.

Udānavarga—“If a man live for a hundred years in forest, wholly relying on fire (Agni), and if he but for one single moment pays homage to a man who meditates on the self, this homage is greater than sacrifices for a hundred years.”

In this instance we observe that the Pāli is the same as its Sanskrit counterpart in the Udānavarga, while there are two
complete verses in Prakrit as well as in the Fa-kheu-pi-u and the Mahāvastu Dhammapada. The two verses seem to have been constructed out of one older verse of three lines by thrusting one extra line within its first two lines. The added line differs in each case as regards its expressions. But seeing that the verse occurs in one of its additional chapters, we have reason to think that the model presupposed, in this particular case, by the Prakrit text, is rather the Mahāvastu Dhammapada or the text with 700 verses which was commonly used by the people, according to the Chinese translators' statement, in their time. If so, the Prakrit text must be taken to be later in point of date than and a combination of the Fa-kheu-king original and the Mahāvastu Dhammapada. Now let us examine the second process of multiplication in order to see whether any fresh light could be thrown on the point at issue.

The second process differs from the first by the fact that it has served to multiply the common verses by the substitution of certain set Buddhist expressions as well as by the construction of a new group of verses on the model of an older one. Its historical importance mainly consists in bringing into prominence some moral qualities or virtues implied in an older verse or in a group of verses, thereby setting forth a greater and greater analytical faculty and power of manipulation exercised by the later compilers. In illustration of it, we can first examine the famous 'Supraudhu'-group (p. 105-6). We notice that the Pāli group consists of six verses and the same is the case with the Fa-kheu-king original as can be inferred from Beal's translation of its commentary (Sec. III. "Śrāvaka", pp. 64-55).

The Prakrit group, as it now survives, is an exact counterpart of the Pāli, but 17 verses being absent from the existing Kharoṣṭhī Ms. immediately after the sixth verse, it is difficult to ascertain the number of verses contained in the whole group. Having regard to the fact that the group in the Udānavarga contains no less than 17 verses, i.e., 11 in addition to the six
that are common, it is natural to think that multiplication of the number passed through some intermediate stages, and it is clear from the arrangement of the Udānavarga that these stages were no less than four. Probably in the first two stages, the number was multiplied by constructing some additional verses within the original group, and in the third stage some additional verses were constructed by the substitution of one or two synonyms of Nirvāṇa, while in the Udānavarga a few more synonyms came to be substituted.

Turning to the Number-group (Sahasavaga) (p. 154-6.), we detect that it comprises some four sub-groups, typified by the following four catch-words indicated below by their Pāli forms:

(i) Sahassam api ce vācā,

(ii) Mūse māse sahasena,

(iii) Yo ca vassasataṁ jīve,

and (iv) Yo ca vassasataṁ jantu.

We have seen (p. xxiv.) that there is a complete agreement as regards the number of verses in the Number-group between the Pāli Dhammapada and the Fa-kheu-king original, that the Prakrit chapter contains 17 verses, the Mahāvastu Dhammapada 24 and the Udānavarga chapter 34. In the absence of a faithful translation of the Fa-kheu-king original, it is impossible to state as to what verses were really contained in its Number-group. Beal's translation of the Fa-kheu-pi-n shows that the chapter in the Chinese version contains a few verses of the second subgroup, specified above, of which the counterparts are met with in all the copies except the Pāli. The comparison of the Prakrit verses with those in the Mahāvastu Dhammapada reveals a very close agreement between them. Considering that some of the verses of this sub-group occur in one of the additional chapters of the Fa-kheu-pi-n, we cannot but suppose that they were derived from a text other than its original. The Pāli text supplies a counterpart of the first line
of each of these verses and that of the second line of one verse in Prakrit:

(i) Māse māse sahassena yo yajetha satam samam.
    (Sahassav., v. 7, 1st line).

(ii) Māse māse kusaggena bālo bhūjetha bhojanam,
    Na so saṅkhatadhammānaṁ kalam agghati sālasīm.
    (Bālav., v. 11, note 2nd line).

Judging by the arrangement of the Prakrit verses (6-16), we at once perceive that the multiplication passed through no less than two intermediate stages, in the first of which the number multiplied by the first process and in the second by the second.

The chapter on the Bhikkhu contains a sub-group which will seem highly important in determining the relative position of the Dhammapada texts. We quote it below with a view to facilitating comparison:

Pāli—Mettāvihāri yo bhikkhu pasanno buddhāsasane
Adhigacche padaṁ sāntam saṅkhārūpasamānāṁ sukham
Pāmojjabahulo bhikkhu pasanno buddhāsasane
Adhigacche padaṁ sāntam saṅkhārūpasamānāṁ
sukham.

Prakrit—Metravihari yo bhikhu prasannu budhaṣasane
tunati pavaka dharma drupattra ba marutu O
Metravihari yo bhikhu prasannu budhaṣasani
padīvijhu pada śata sagharavosamū suha O
Udagacitu yo bhikhu abhivuyu priapria
adhiyakhi padaśata akavuruṣasevita O
Pramojabahula yo bhikhu abhivuyu priapria
adhiyakhi padaśata aseyane ya moyaka O

Mahāvastu—Maitravihāri yo bhikṣu prasanno budhaṣasane
Dhammapada Adhigacchati padaṁ śāntam, asecanam ca mocanāṁ.
Karupāvihāri yo bhikṣu prasanno budhaṣasane
Adhigacchati padaṁ śāntam aprthahagjanasevitāṁ.
Muditavihāri yo bhikṣu prasanno budhaṣasane
Adhigacchati padaṁ śāntam akāpuruṣasevitaṁ.
Upeksavihari yo bhikṣu prasanno buddhaśāsane
Adhigacchati padaṁ śāntam nirvāṇaṁ padam
acyutaṁ.

Udagracaśīta sumano abhībhuyya priyāpriyaṁ
Tato pramodyabarhulo bhikṣu nirvāṇasantike.

Udānavarga—Maitravibhāri yo bhikṣuḥ prasanno buddhaśāsane
Adhigacchet padaṁ śāntam saṅskārośpaśamaṁ śivaṁ.
Maitravibhāri yo bhikṣuḥ prasanno buddhaśāsane
Adhigacchet padaṁ śāntam asecanaka mocanatū.

Pramodyabarhulo bhikṣuḥ duḥkhaḥkṣayam avāpynyat.

Rockhill’s—“The Bhixu who is kind, who has perfect faith in
the teaching of the Buddha, will find the perfection
of peace (āmatam padam), of which one can
never be weary.”

“The Bhixu who is kind, who has perfect faith in
the teaching of the Buddha, will find the perfection
of peace, the peace from the Saṃskāra (body).”

“The Bhixu who is kind, who has perfect faith in
the teaching of the Buddha, will arrive by degrees
at the complete destruction of all attachment.”

“The Bhixu who is kind, who has perfect faith in
the teaching of the Buddha, will pull himself out
of the evil way, as the elephant does himself out
of the mire,”

“The Bhixu who is kind, who has perfect faith in
the teaching of the Buddha, will shake off all
wickedness, as does the wind the leaves of a tree.”

“The Bhixu who is kind, who has perfect faith in
the teaching of the Buddha, is so near nirvāṇa
that he cannot possibly fall away from it.”

“The Bhixu who has subdued what charms the
heart, what is agreeable to the mind, what delights
and what does not delight (i.e., passions), is full
of delight, and will find the end of suffering.”

In this particular instance, we have four Prakrit verses in
place of two in the Pāli, while the Mahāvastu Dhammapada
and the Udānavarga verses are not exact counterparts of any previous group. They are on the contrary a combination of verses found in all the previous groups, supplemented by a few which were newly constructed by the compiler of the Sanskrit text. Though the counterparts of any of the groups is not to be found in the Fa-kheu-king and its commentary, it is very likely that some sort of transformation also took place in their originals. Nevertheless, the Prakrit verses cannot be satisfactorily accounted for otherwise than by the hypothesis that they are a combination of elements from two older texts, *viz.*, the Fa-kheu-king original and the Mahāvastu Dhammapada.

Thus applying the twofold process of multiplication of common verses as a test of chronology, we are led to think that the Prakrit text occupies a central position, it being later than the Pāli, the Fa-kheu-king original and the Mahāvastu Dhammapada, and earlier than the text portion of the Chuh-yau-king and the Udānavarga. The Prakrit text with some 600 verses was a combination of two older texts with 500 and 700 verses, just as the Fa-kheu-king, considered as a Chinese recension in translation, was a combination, with its 752 verses, of three older texts with 500, 700 and 900 verses.

(c) *Argument from traditions*—The reader has already been referred (on p. xix) to a tradition in the Chronicles of Ceylon proving that the Dhammapada was a well-known Pāli work in the time of King Asoka. The internal evidence of the work does not help us much in determining its date of compilation. The Nāgavagga contains an interesting verse moralising upon the behaviour of a state elephant, named Dhanapālaka, when the animal was first caught and put under training. It appears from the commentary that the elephant

1 M. Sylvaïn Lévi says, "The tradition that the Appamādavagga of the Pāli was constructed in the time of Asoka cannot but be a fiction, and the extraordinary variety of the verses in different recensions of the chapter proves it clearly" (J. A., xx. 1912, p. 220).

2 Nāgav. v. 5 Dhanapālaka nāma kuñjāro kaṭukappabhedano dunnivārayo, Saddho kahalācā na bhuñjati samarati nāgavanasa kuñjāri.
was in possession of the King of Kāśī. Subsequently the elephant came into the possession of King Bimbisāra, probably as part of the wedding gift from Mahāpasena, the King of Kāśi-Kosala. The elephant is no other than one called Nālāgiri in the Pāli Nidānakathā, set upon the Buddha by Prince Ajātasattu at the instigation of Devadatta. The earliest trace of the legend about the taming of this elephant by the Buddha can be found in a bas-relief at Bharhut, bearing the inscription "Dhanapāla hatthināgadamana". The legend must have come into existence sometime before the construction of the railing of the Bharhut Stūpa, i.e., before the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. But the Pāli Dhammapada has nothing to do with this particular legend which seems to have resulted from an after-thought on the part of the Buddhist theologians. The chapter on the Buddha goes, however, to prove that at the time of the compilation of the Pāli Dhammapada the Buddha was sufficiently deified and that the legends about the machinations of Māra and his daughters were yet in the making. As shown elsewhere, the process of deification of the Buddha through the Birth-stories was synchronous with the history of schisms within the Buddhist Order. Seeing that the date of composition of the Jātakas in their oldest form cannot be earlier than the first century of Buddha’s demise, one must admit that the date of the Pāli Dhammapada falls within the 4th and the 3rd century B.C.

Tradition attributes to one Dharmatrāta the compilation of each one of the three copies of the Dhammapada, viz., the original of the Fa-kheu-king or the text with 500 verses, the original of the text portion of the Chuh-yau-king or the text with 900 verses, and the Udānavarga or the latest Sanskrit copy with 1000 verses. In the Chinese preface to the Chuh-yau-king

1 "Tattha Dhanapālako nāmāti tadā Kāśiraṅgo hatthācariyam pesetvā ramanīya nāgavane gāhāpitassā hatthino etānaḥ nāmanā."  
2 In the Tibetan translation, the elephant is called, "Ratnapāla" or "Vasupāla," which is the same as Dhanapāla. See Rockhill’s Life of the Buddha, p. 9.  
3 Our Monograph on Asoka’s Dhamma.
Dharmatrāta is said to have been the uncle (rather maternal uncle, as M. Sylvain Lévi points out,) of Vasumitra. According to Tāranātha, there were two Dharmatrātas, a Sthavira and a Bhadanta. The Sthavira was a contemporary of the Brāhman Rāhula and one of the four teachers of the Vaibhāṣikas, the remaining three teachers being Ghoṣaka (Aśvaghosha), Vasumitra and Buddhadeva (?). Candrakīrti, too, mentions two Dharmatrātas, viz., a Sthavira and a Bhadanta. But Tāranātha emphatically says that one must not confound the Ārya or Sthavira Dharmatrāta with the Bhadanta, for the latter was really the compiler of the Udānavarga. Beal, however, points out that the compiler of the Dhammapada is all along spoken of in the Chinese versions as Ārya Dharmatrāta.

It will be going far away from the historical truth to suppose that one and the same individual compiled all the three copies of the Dhammapada, the first of which differed so widely from the rest in some important respects. The attribution of the texts with 900 and 1000 verses to one individual might be justified on the ground that they are substantially the same.

But even the Udānavarga as a distinct copy must have been the work of an individual other than the compiler of the Sanskrit text with 900 verses. The two epithets, Sthavira and Bhadanta, applied to the name of Dharmatrāta, must, therefore, be taken to imply a real historical distinction in the individual and in time. But the question is whether these epithets refer to two individuals or to three. If Tāranātha’s testimony is at all to be trusted, Bhadanta Dharmatrāta must be regarded as the compiler of the Udānavarga. Beal is inclined to think that Ārya Dharmatrāta, a contemporary of Vasumitra, was the compiler of the original of the Fa-kheu-king, recognised as a canonical

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2. Rockhill’s ‘Udānavarga’, p. xi.
4. Burnouf’s Introd. a’ l’ Hist., p. 566.
5. Rockhill’s ‘Udānavarga’, p. xi.
work of the Vaibhāṣikas at the Council held under the presidency of Vasumitra during the reign of Kaniṣka. He says, "It would not be surprising if we found that the edition of Dhammapada prepared by Dharmatāra, belonged to the Vaibhāṣika school, whilst that known in Ceylon was compiled by the Sautrāntikas."

Beal is the first to suggest that the terms Sautrāntika and Vaibhāṣika represent two distinct stages of a Buddhist canon, but his mistake lies in identifying the Sautrāntika with the Sthaviravāda. The name Sautrāntika in its generic sense was derived evidently from that of the Suttavāda school or sect which was the sixth in descent from the Theravāda through a schismatic line: Theravāda > Mahiṃsāsaka > Sabaṭṭhivāda > Dhammaguttika > Kassapiya > Saṃkantika > Sutta-vāda. Even if the term Suttavāda or Sautrāntika be taken as a generic name for the Mahiṃsāsaka or the Sarvāstivāda canon in its final redaction or stage of development, it must always be kept carefully distinct from the Sthaviravāda on account of its schismatic associations. The contents and arrangement of a Sautrāntika work might eventually be found almost identical with those of a Sthaviravāda, and yet, if we are to respect at all the tradition in the Dipavarga, there must remain a sharp distinction between the two works with regard to their languages. If in the case of a book of the Sthaviravāda canon we find that its language is what we now know as Pāli, then we must expect that the language of a corresponding Sautrāntika work will be something other than Pāli, say, Mixed Sanskrit. Granted this, we have got to answer which copy of the Dhammapada is technically a Sautrāntika work and which a Vaibhāṣika.

Beal seems to think that the Fa-kheu-king original with 500 verses was received into the Vaibhāṣika canon during the reign of Kaniṣka and that it was compiled by Ārya Dharmatāra, the

1 Beal's 'Dhammapada', p. 9.
2 Mahāvaṭṭha, Chap. V. vv. 6–9. Suttavāda = Vasumitra's Sautrāntika.
3 Dipavarga, Chap. V. v. 32 f., quoted in the Kathāvatthu-Comy., p. 6 f.
author of the Saṃyuktābhidharma Śāstra. His opinion is mainly based upon Huien Thsang’s account of the Buddhist Council in Kaniśka’s time which is no less open to dispute. In the Chinese traveller’s list of the Buddhist celebrities of Gandhāra Dharmatrāta, the author of the Saṃyuktābhidharma Śāstra, is associated with Pārśva, Manoratha, Asaūga, Vasubandhu and Nārāyaṇadeva, most of whom flourished in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., while in another list of Vaibhāṣīka teachers, quoted by Beal (supra), Dharmatrāta enjoys the company of Āsvaghoṣa and Vasumitra. If the tradition in the Chuh-yau-king deserves any credence, Dharmatrāta, the compiler of the Fa-kheu-king, was the maternal uncle of Vasumitra. According to Huien Thsang, Vasumitra, a native of Mid-India and a contemporary of Pārśva presided over the deliberations of the Vaibhāṣīka Council which was convened in Kashmir under the auspices of king Kaniśka and he was the compiler of the Abhidharmapratkaraṇapāda Śāstra. How can we believe that one and the same Vasumitra was the compiler of the Abhidharma treatise and the president of the Vaibhāṣīka Council in Kaniśka’s time? The three standard commentaries in Classical Sanskrit, compiled at the above council, presuppose an older redaction of the Sarvāstivāda canon consisting of three Piṭakas, viz., the Upadeśa or Śūtra, the Vinaya and the Abhidharma. Of the seven Prakaraṇas or treatises composing the Abhidharma Piṭaka, one is said to have been compiled 100 years and four 300 years after Buddha’s demise. It is the four treatises attributed to Kātyāyana and Vasumitra that are placed by tradition in the Chinese three centuries after the demise of the Buddha. Prof. Takakusu finds reasons to think that Kātyāyana’s

1 Beal’s ‘Records of the Western World,’ I. p. 98 f.
3 Ibid, I. p. 100.
4 Abhidharma Viṣṇunākāyapāda Śāstra by Devasarman.
5 Abhidharma Jñānapraṣṭhāna Śāstra and Prajñāpatipāda Śāstra by Kātyāyana (Beal’s Records, I. p. 195) and Vasumitra’s Abhidharma Pra-
6 karaṇapāda Śāstra and Dhātukāyapāda Śāstra.
Jñānaprasthāna Śāstra, which is the most important of seven Abhidharma treatises was composed in the 2nd century B.C. (i.e., four centuries after Buddha's demise) and that its language was a local Sanskrit' dialect of Kashmir. We cannot but admit that there is a discrepancy of at least one century in the Chinese tradition which can as well be detected by the aid of Vasumitra's own work, the treatise on 'The Points of Controversy among the Buddhist Schools.' This important treatise, now translated in three European languages from the Tibetan and the Chinese, goes to show that Vasumitra flourished at least four centuries after Buddha's demise. He was acquainted with the views of some of the schismatic schools and sects that sprang up during the 4th century B.C.E. These are the schools and sects which, according to the Chronicles of Ceylon, arose in post-Asokan times. The names of these schools, as also those of the Andhaka, the Āvantika, the Uttarāpathaka and the Vājirīya, are significant as pointing to a time when not only Buddhism was propagated outside the geographical limits of the Middle Country or 'Mid-India,' but so many influential local schools of thought were formed throughout India. King Asoka is justly credited with having sent Buddhist missions for the first time in history to various regions outside the Middle Country, and there must have elapsed some time before it was possible for so many local schools to come into being. From this it will appear quite reasonable to think that the closing date of the Abhidharma Piṭaka of the Sarvāstivāda or Sautrāntika canon was about a century after Asoka, i.e., the reigns of Puṇyamitra and Menander which might also be premised as a closing date of the entire Sarvāstivāda

1 J. P. T. S. 1905, p. 67 ff.
2 Wassiliev’s 'Buddhismus' of which there is a French translation.
4 Mahāvīra, V. vv. 12-13; Dīpanāka, V. v. 54; Kāthavatthu Comy, p. 6 f. and Index; Mahāvyutpatti, 275.
5 Dīpanāka, VIII; Mahāvīra, XII.
canon on the ground that in the Chinese version of one of the books of the Sūtra Piṭaka, viz., the Ekottarāgama or Anūguttara Nikāya, there is mention of king Puṣyamitra. Rightly or wrongly, Puṣyamitra figures in the Savāstivāda literature, notably in the Divyāvadāna,¹ as a persecutor of the followers of Buddhism. The date of Puṣyamitra’s accession to the throne of Magadha is, according to Vincent Smith, 184 B.C. The Chinese version of the Savāstivāda canon contains the translation of only four Āgamas which are in many respects the same as the first four Nikāyas of the Pāli Sutta Piṭaka. The Divyāvadāna, too, does not refer to more than four Āgamas.² Prof. Sylvain Lévi has, on the contrary, shown that there was a Kṣudraka Nikāya or Lesser Collection consisting of some books similar to the Pāli.³ That there were five Nikāyas and persons who got them by heart in the time of Puṣyamitra is conclusively proved by the votive inscriptions at Bharhut and Sanchi containing such personal epithets as Pañcanekayika, and Peṭaki.⁴ As regards the proof of a close resemblance between the Savāstivāda works of the Kṣudraka Nikāya and the Pāli, one can profitably compare the Fa-khuen-king original with the Pāli Dhammapada and see how much agreement there is between them. All this may suffice to show that the Fa-khuen-king original with 500 verses and written in Mixed Sanskrit belonged to an older redaction of the Savāstivāda canon, prepared probably during the reigns of Puṣyamitra and Menander. This is not to deny that a new redaction of the Savāstivāda canon was made during the reign of Kaniska along with the compilation of three Vibhāṣā Śastras or extensive commentaries which subsequently gave rise to the name Vaibhāṣika replacing the older name Saṅkrāntika. The new redaction was no more than a later Sanskrit recast of the Saṅkrāntika

¹ Divyāvadāna, p. 1434.
² Ibid, p. 333.
³ Tsong Pao, p. 115 f.; Winternitz’s ‘History of Indian Literature’ in German, Pt. II. p. 187.
⁴ Buddhist India, pp. 167-8.
canon in Mixed Sanskrit. But the difference between the two redactions was not merely that of language. The two redactions differed in manner as well as matter, so much so that the names of the texts of the Vaibhāṣika canon had to be changed in order to keep them distinct from their Sautrāntika originals. This fact is countenanced by the evidence of the original of the text portion of the Chuh-yau-king which was but a Sanskrit copy of the Dhammapada with 900 verses and 33 chapters, compiled on the basis of the Fa-kheu-king original with 500 verses and 26 chapters and as M. Sylvain Lévi seems to think, its title was Udānavarga.¹ We cannot persuade ourselves to believe that Ārya Dharmatrāta who wrote the Samyuktābhidharma Śāstra was really the compiler of the original of the Fa-kheu-king for the simple reason that he was a native of Gandhāra, while the latter, described as maternal uncle of Vasumitra, was probably a native of the Middle Country. We are also tempted to think that the Sanskrit text with 900 verses was amplified, though slightly, in the Udānavarga by an individual—Bhadanta Dharmatrāta or whatever the name may be, who flourished about the time of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, i.e., during the 4th or 5th century A.D. Thus we incline to regard the Buddhist Council in Kaniśka’s time as a landmark in the history of Sarvāstivāda Buddhism indicating a twofold transition: (1) that of the Sarvāstivāda literature from a Sautrāntika or Canonical stage to a Vaibhāṣika or Scholastic, and (2) that of the Sarvāstivāda canon from a Mixed Sanskrit redaction to one in Classical Sanskrit.

Beal is doubly wrong in regarding the Pāli Dhammapada as technically a Sautrāntika work and the original of the Fa-kheu-king as a Vaibhāṣika text, compiled during the reign of Kaniśka. Our contention is that the latter work was technically a Sautrāntika text in Mixed Sanskrit, substantially the same as the Pāli. If its author Ārya Dharmatrāta was uncle to Vasumitra, its compilation must be referred to a

date some four centuries after Buddha's demise, and this date is no other than the closing period of the Sautrāntika canon which is not earlier than the 2nd century B.C. The Fa-kheuk-king was subsequently recast in Classical Sanskrit by the Vaibhāṣikas during the reign of Kaniṣka and the text prepared was a Dhammapada with 900 verses, i.e., the text portion of the Chhuh-yau-king original. The Udānavarga was but a second edition of the Vaibhāṣika text—the Udānavarga of Kaniṣka's time, and its date does not seem to be later than the 5th century A.D. One must anxiously await the discovery of the stone receptacle containing the copper plates on which the Vaibhāṣika canon and commentaries were engraved by the order of King Kaniṣka. Hiuen Thsang tells us that King Kaniṣka had built a stūpa over this stone receptacle. After the examination of the traditions we feel convinced that the 2nd century B.C. was the closing date of the Sautrāntika canon. We have reasons even to believe that about this time the canon of each of the earlier schools was closed. It has been shown in our monograph on Asoka's Dhamma that a number of books were added to the Pāli canon in post-Asokan times, e.g., the Kathāvatthu, the Petavatthu, the Buddhavāraśa, the Cariyā Piṭaka, the Āpādāna and the Khuddakapāṭha. Vasumitra speaks of a second Mahādeva Council, convened, no doubt, during a post-Asokan period, on the lines of the Mahāsaṅghika. Two Mahādevas are important personages in the history of Buddhism, one who is said to have been sent as a missionary to Mahīśa-maṇḍala (Mysore) during the reign of King Asoka and another who was invited to Ceylon from the Pallava country in the time of King Duṭṭhagānam. There are two inscriptions on the railing of the Bharhut Stūpa recording the feats of miracle performed by a Mahādeva. It cannot, therefore, be doubted that there lived a great Buddhist leader, named

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1 Beal's 'Records of the Western World,' I, p. 150.
3 Mahāvaśana, xii. v. 3.
Mahādeva, in about the 2nd century B.C., and if Vasumitra's account of the Mahādeva Council be true, we can equally believe that a redaction of the Mahāsaṅghika or Lokottaravāda Canon was prepared in Mixed Sanskrit and formally recognised at this council. If so, the compilation of the Mahāvastu Dhammapada can be referred to the date of this council.

As regards the Prakrit Dhammapada, one must look for its place of origin either in Khotan where its manuscript in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet of the 2nd century A.D. was discovered among the ruins of Gośrīga or Gośrīsa Vihāra or in a North-Western region of India, round about Peshawar, where an Indo-Iranian dialect was current. So far as the tradition goes, the Buddhist missionaries cannot be supposed to have penetrated into these regions before the time of king Asoka. The Prakrit verses go to prove that they could not be read or intoned without waiving one's head, that, in other words, the manner of reading was akin to the Tibetan. If we can rightly suppose with Prof. Sten Konow that the place of find of its manuscript was the place of its origin, we must admit that its compilation in the local dialect of Khotan was not possible much before the time of Kaniṣka. Rockhill has prepared an interesting account of Khotan on the basis of Huen Thsang's travels and the local annals, preserved in Tibetan translation. It goes to show that not long after the reign of Dharmāśoka Khotan became the settlement of a population, half Chinese and half Indian, whose habits resembled those of China and whose dialect was neither Indian nor Chinese, but a mixture of the two. Buddhism was first introduced from Kashmir into Khotan.

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1 According to M. Jules Bloch the language of the Kharoṣṭhī Ms. was a dialect of the Western part of the Punjab or that of the North-Western Hills. His views are accepted by Lévi (J. A. xx. 1912, p. 214).
2 Festschrift Ernst Windisch, 1914, p. 94 ff.
3 Life of the Buddha, Chap. VIII.
in the 5th year of the reign of King Vijayasambhava who ascended the throne 165 years after the establishment of the kingdom in 234 B.C. It is during the reign of the eighth successor of this king that the doctrines of the Mahāsāṅghika school were brought into the country by the eldest son of the king who entered the Buddhist order under the name of Dharmānanda and went to India. The doctrine of the Sarvāstivāda school of the Lesser Vehicle was introduced into the country by the venerable Mantrasiddhi who was called from India during the following reign. Thus Khotan became a meeting ground of the doctrines of two Buddhist schools shortly before the invasion of India by Vijayakirti, the 11th successor of Vijayasambhava and Kaniska, the king of Gu-zan. These traditions are important as showing how it became possible to compile a Dhammapada in Khotan as a synthesis of two older texts in Mixed Sanskrit, one belonging to the Mahāsāṅghika school and another to the sarvāstivāda or Sastrapārī. The probable date of its compilation must be referred to a time about five centuries after Buddha’s demise, say, the 1st century B.C. or A.D. The result obtained is supported by the fact that the Prakrit Dhammapada differs from the Pāli and the original of the Fa-khetsu-king by the inclusion of many verses from the Suttanipāta, the Mahābhārata and the Jātaka Book. Curiously enough, most of the verses from the latter source are to be found in the Jātakas illustrated by bas-reliefs at Bharhut. Here we

1 Life of the Buddha, p. 237.
2 Ibid. p. 239. Dr. F. W. Thomas says that Dharmānanda was the second son, see his notes on Rockhill’s summary of the Annals of Khotan in Stein’s Ancient Khotan, Vol. I, App. E, p. 581. cf. Sten Konow’s views in the Festschrift Ernst Windisch, p. 95 ff.
3 According to Thomas, his name was Samantasiddhi. He seems to have brought about a reconciliation between the adherents of the Mahāsāṅghika and Sarvāstivāda doctrines.
must briefly state the results obtained from the foregoing investigation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Probable date of compilation.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Pāli Dhammapada ... (a Sthaviravāda work).</td>
<td>Between the 4th and 3rd century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Fa-kheu-king original in Mixed Sanskrit. (a Sautrāntika work).</td>
<td>2nd century, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Mahāvastu Dhammapada ... (a Mahāsāṅghika work).</td>
<td>2nd or 1st century, B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Prakrit Dhammapada ... (another Mahāsāṅghika work).</td>
<td>1st century B.C. or A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Text portion of the Chuh-yau-king original or the older edition of the Udānavarga (a Vaibhāṣika work).</td>
<td>1st or 2nd century, A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Fa-kheu-king (a Chinese recension).</td>
<td>Circa 223 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Udānavarga or the later edition of No. 5.</td>
<td>4th or 5th century, AD.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concluding Remarks.—The total result stated above can be further tested by a general history of the Tripiṭaka dealing particularly with the genesis and importance of the Dhammapada texts. This important subject has been separately dealt with in a supplementary section of this work. There it has been shown that M. Senart's inference as to the existence of a Dhammapada text older than the Pāli from a particular verse in Prakrit which, in his opinion, contains expressions better or more appropriate than those in the corresponding Pāli verse, is historically incorrect. The legitimate inference in such cases would be rather to say that that particular verse in Mixed Sanskrit or in some such language is older than its counterpart included in the Pāli Dhammapada. We need not be surprised to find that the Dhammapada or the Udānavarga is associated with the Jātakas and Avadānas or that the works of the Jātaka
or Avādana class came to be included in the Vinaya Piṭaka of a certain Buddhist school, such as the Mahāsaṅghika or the Sarvāstivāda, since from the very beginning, as the Mahāpadāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya goes to prove, these three classes of work were closely connected with one another. As a matter of fact, in this important discourse, called an Avadāna but classed as a Jātaka in the Cullanīddesa, two typical Dhammapada verses are intended to serve as model for the Pātimokkha par excellence (pātimokkha-uddesa). In going through this discourse one cannot but be struck by the fact that the Dhammapada as a type of literary composition, alike the Jātaka and Avadāna, grew up in the Buddhist literature by way of a protest against the orthodox code of morality—the Pātimokkha.

Among other important points, we have sought to show that the existing Pāli Tripiṭaka incorporates counterparts of several doctrines and treatises which had originated with other Buddhist schools and sects. It is not so much important in a discussion of the relative position of Pāli, Mixed Sanskrit, Prakrit and Sanskrit within the Ancient Buddhist literature of India to ascertain the dialect or dialects which the Buddha or his disciples generally used as the medium of instruction as to determine the language in which the original materials of the Buddhist canon were prepared during the life-time of the Buddha. We have specified throughout Part II of this work that Dhammapada verses lead us ultimately back to a number of prose discourses in the Dīgha or in the Majjhima Nikāya, constituted of some stock passages or highly crystallised exegetical fragments, which, as their names, Vibhaṅga, Niddesa and Khandha imply, appear as so many solid pieces of brick or blocks of stone with which the first fabric of the canon was constructed. Those who have ever cared to be acquainted with the language and phraseology of these fragments will always shrug their shoulders at the slightest suggestion that Pāli was derived from a Pallībhāṣā or popular dialect locally current in Magadha or
in the Middle Country. The progress of researches into linguistic developments within Buddhist literature has been much hampered in this country by a thoughtless and most absurd speculation about what we now call and know as Pāli language on the basis of the identity of the name Pāli with the word Palli meaning a village. This school of philologists, quite innocent of the literary history of India, always appear to err on the wrong side. The word Pāli has never been used in the Ceylonese Chronicles and Buddhaghosa’s commentaries in a sense other than the canon as distinguished from the commentaries. The significance of the name Pāli or Pāji as denoting the text is that the canon consists of the discourses of the Buddha and those of his disciples, characterised by a connected sequence of thought, (pariyāyena bhūsitarī, āhammapariyāyam) having a good beginning, a good middle and a good end. The primary meaning of Palli, Pañkāti, Pānī or Pāti is no doubt the same. Taken in this sense, Palli denotes a group of houses arranged according to a plan. The Bengali word ‘Pañkāti’ denotes a well-arranged row of seats and ‘Pānī’ denotes a well-reasoned opinion in a matter of dispute by a body of experts well-versed in the Sūtras. Thus if there is any Bengali word which can be philologically connected with Pāli or Pāji, it is pānī in the sense of a well reasoned view, expressed in words.

There is no reason to dispute the tradition, recorded in the Dipavanisa, that the literary language of the Buddhist Order until the breaking out of the first schism about a century after Buddha’s demise and the formation of the Mahāsamghika School was the same or uniform and that the history of the schisms is bound up with a violent tampering with the language and arrangement of the texts. The schismatic developments in language and literature followed two lines deviating from the Sthaviravāda and three recensions of the canon were closed, in about the 2nd Century B.C.—the Sthaviravāda canon in a language which is now commonly known as Pāli and the Saunāntika and Mahāsamghika recensions in two types of Mixed
Sanskrit. The Sthaviravāda line has continued in Ceylon, Burma and Siam until to-day, while the Sautrāntika and Mahāsaṃghika lines culminated in Classical Sanskrit. The various recensions of Asoka's Rock and Pillar edicts, distributed over a vast geographical area, from Gandhāra to Kaliṅga and from Nepal to Mysore, appear in history as so many indelible records of a reaction against the standardisation of Buddhist scriptural languages. The repeated attempts of the Buddhist emperor to adapt the language of each edict to local dialects were fruitful in more than one way. These suggested a possibility of translating the Buddhist Canonical texts into local dialects, outside the Middle Country and it was really left to his missionaries to accomplish the task. The compilation of a Dhammapada text, such as the Prakrit, in a local dialect of Khotan or in that of the countries round Peshawar, broadly the Gandhāra region, may be singled out as the first visible fruit of the reaction implied in Asokan edicts. Since Asoka the Buddhist missionaries penetrated into dark regions within and outside India with the torch-light of the truths of Buddhism. It is these missionaries and their successors and disciples who translated the sacred texts into several local dialects and thus raised those dialects to the status of literary languages and laid the foundation of many national literatures, characters, languages, arts and civilisations. The history of the subsequent Buddhist literature goes to show that the development of Prakrit became an undercurrent to manifest itself again in about the 10th Century A.D. in the songs and treatises of Sahājiyā and other schools of Buddhist Tāntrikas. The history of the Dhammapada literature covers some twelve centuries, from the 4th century B.C. to the 9th century A.D. The Dhammapada texts have an international importance, for it is through them that the lofty messages of Buddhism could be appealed to the various nations of Asia who were less
imaginative and by far the less speculative, although in some respects more practical, than the Hindus or Aryanised peoples of India. They are no less important for the fact that they afford us a clue for understanding the process of the origin and growth of poetry as well as of Nīti literature in India and other countries where Buddhism has spread.
I

The Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript of the Dhammapada

As read by M. Émille Senart, together with his Notes translated from French.

A

... pratasuhino apramadaviha ...

Aramadaviha is, I suppose, the remnant of apra-
madaviharinio, which we again find, for instance, in Itivut., ed. Windisch, p. 74, 1, 35, equally in the genitive. Pratasuhino must be in the same way a genitive singular = prapṭasuṣṭhinaḥ. It is clear that the two words might also be some nominative forms in the plural.

2 apramadi pramodia\textsuperscript{a} ma gami ratisabhamu\textsuperscript{b}
apramato hi jhayatu\textsuperscript{c} viṣeṣa adhikachatī\textsuperscript{d} O

Cf. Dhammapada, 27.

a. Pramodia = Pāli pamodeya, with the \textit{y} dropped (cf. niraeq, l. 4, sevea, A\textsuperscript{a}, 2, etc.), and with the change of \textit{e} into \textit{i}, which is so frequent in locatives like apramadi (A\textsuperscript{a}, 13), and not only at the end of words.

**
b. This reading appears to me to be in every way better than that of the Pāli Dhammapada. *Sambhrama* is better than *sahālava*, but especially *gami* is so obviously preferable to *kāna* (for the Prākrit text the hypothesis of a gross mistake is done away with by the absence of *mā* in the first pāda) that I can only doubt if the Pāli reading is not the result of a mistake. Probably this is an old error, and it may be thought that the Pāli redaction is based upon some version expressed in a Prākrit, analogous to that of the present text, where the substitution of the tenues for the sonant (cf. *adhikachati*, etc.) was frequent.

c. Above the letter read *ja* remains some trace of a horizontal stroke, which, according to an observation of M. d'Oldenburg, marks the aspiration of *j* in our manuscript.

d. One might be inclined to read *viṣeṣamḥ*; but the lower part of the spear in *q* or in analogous characters is so often twisted in the cases which exclude the interpretation *m* (cf. *gami* of the following line, the *q* of *savaṇa*, A 4, 6, etc.), and the probable notation of the *anusvāra* is so rare in our manuscript (I do not know of any sure instance of it in our fragments of Paris) that I do not hesitate to transcribe as I have done.

3 apramadi pramodia ma gami ratisabhamu apramato hi jayatu⁹ chaya dukhasa pramuni⁸ O

Cf. the Dhammapada verse referred to in the preceding line.

a. This time the sign of the aspirate is wanting above the *j*, as often elsewhere. But this curious peculiarity will be brought home to us by a paleographic examination.

b. The Sanskrit will be *kshayam, duḥkhasya prāṇasyat*. *Pramuni* = Pāli *pāpune*. In lines 6 and 7 we shall meet successively with *amoti* for *āpnoti*, and *pranoti* for *prāṇotī*. The nasalisation of *p* into *m* does not appear solely due to any memory of the compound *pun* surviving its disjunction into *pun*, for B, 24 has *mano* = *punah*, Pāli *pana*. 
4 . . . . rata bhodha⁵ khano yu ma uvacai⁶ khanatita (h)i śoyati niraesu samapi⁷.

Cf. Dhammap., 315.

a. No doubt it is almost restored: apramadarata as in the next verse. Bhodha for 'bhotha', as generally in this manuscript.

b. Yu = vah. In A⁰, 7 we shall find bhadraññu = bhodraṁ yu = Sk. bhadraṁ vah. Accordingly it should be written vo instead of ve (≡ vai) in the text of the Dhammapada. We shall again come across uvacai = upaccaṅga in B, 3; uvacai, that is to say, uvacaya, yu being frequently written i; cf. ll. 6, 7 nai = nāyam; pṛahāi = prahāya, A⁰, 6 (A⁰, 7 ?), etc. The y is sometimes totally dropped between two vowels: roa = roga (C⁰, 3), and may, with stronger reason, weaken into y.

c. Samapi is, of course, to be completed into samapitā.

5 apramadarata bhodha sadhami supravedite drugha udhvaradha⁵ atmana pagasana va kuñ⁷——

Cf. Dhammap., 327.

a. All the analogies demand the reading udhvaradha for uddharadha. We shall find elsewhere utvari for uttari (B, 37). As, in the two cases, the compound commences with an initial u, one may think that it is this nearness which accounts for this strange orthography, and that, in reality, it corresponds to a pronunciation vuddharadha, vutari, the v having been transposed in writing in the Prākrit text, like the r of drugha.

b. In spite of partial mutilation, the last letter is certain; it is kuñ[aro] that ought to be read, or, what recurs in the same way, kuñaru, which we shall presently find again in A⁰, 4.
nai kalu$ pramadasa aprati$ asavachayee
pramata duhu amoti$ siha ba muyamatia$ ○

a. This, as I have just pointed out, should be understood in Sanskrit as nāyana kālaḥ.


c. For amoti, cf. v. 3 above. The usual omission of the anusvāra does not permit us to decide if we are in the presence of the singular or the plural, if pramata = pramattah or pramattāh, and siha = svīnah or svaḥāh. I, however, adhere to the first solution on account of the next verse where the singular is assured and on account of the comparison, which, to all appearance, stands on the sense "a certain lion." The termination o is often represented by a. In l. 5, we have pagasana va kuṇ[a[r]. The reading mo cannot be doubtful, although the vowel appears to have been written in an exceptional way. We had dukha in l. 3, but the spelling duha is much more in use.

d. A comparison with Cvo, 2 will prove that it is right, as I believe, to read mn. It must be admitted, however, that m presents a form which is scarcely ordinary. It is true that if it is read kha—another interpretation easily suggesting itself, the form of the hh will not be any more regular, the bend of the ring towards the right being generally much more prominent. If ba is taken = va, iva, as elsewhere (e.g., A², 4), the two expressions khyamatia or muyamatia, both possible in Kharoṣṭhī writing, remain equally obscure to me, perhaps because I do not know or remember any story to which there might be an allusion here. According to the first hypothesis we should have kṣhayamatī, according to the second, I think, mṛyamatī. In the second case, one might imagine, for instance, a story where the lion killed himself by his negligence, in fancying to have to deal with a gazelle instead of some formidable enemy. In the absence of a parallel verse, which I have not hitherto been able to discover, I can only leave all conclusions suspended. The rest of the strophe is easily rendered: "One should not relax until one should have destroyed the passions in oneself."
7 nai pramadasamayu aprati asavachayi
apramato hi jayatu pranoti paramu sukhu 0

Cf. Dhammap., 27.

8 g<sup>a</sup> 25

a. Ga, that is to say, ꜗ(thāh), of course. The
chapter contains 25 stanzas.

I cannot make anything useful out of the three
small fragments that figure on the left of the Plate
and do not seem to tally with any part of the
principal fragment. The one in the middle gives
some sure characters:

... kama cithatu ... .

where cithatu may be = tisthanthah.

A'

1 ... madenamakabha devanasamidh(i)gat.

Not remembering any parallel passage either in the
Dhammapada or elsewhere, I do not see I have, for
the present, anything really useful to say on this
fragment. The very mutilation of the words is doubt-
ful. I should only like to remark that the letters t
and d are so very similar that one can never be
positive over the transcription of the one or the other,
as long as the sense of the context is wanting there to
guide the reading. The vocalization of the dh
of samidhi is only likely. Kabha may very well re-
present garbha. I should only like to dwell upon the
reading of the last character. It is usually read ph
(cf. Bühler), and I myself have read it so in the
name Gudupharasa in the inscription of Takhti
Bahi (Notes in Epigr. Ind., III). But it is, I
believe, a transcription that requires to be revised.
It is not the normal form of ph, nor its slight variant
which is used in this manuscript, e.g., in the word
phalana (C<sup>v</sup>o, 8) and elsewhere. Is it a double
ph or a double bh? Besides the present passage
where the interpretation of the sign remains doubtful, it reappears in abhai (B, 7), in salabhu (B, 20, 21), in sebhō=svayah (C°, 7, 18, 21) and in prabhavigna (C°, 3, 16, 17); in all these words it is bh that we expect, more particularly in sebhō which we also find clearly written as seku, where a hardening into ph would be quite odd. I have to add that in one case at least, viz. B, 21, we find the bh of apalabhō written in a character different from that which is in question and in which the bh of salabhu is written side by side. To speak without being positive, the orthography, so inconsistent in this manuscript, seems to indicate that our dialect generally preserved the bh. A sure solution would be possible only after all the monuments, where appears the character in question, will have been verified from this point of view. Meanwhile, I have decided to read it everywhere as bh and not ph. I have transcribed in conformity with this conclusion, but I have not failed to note, in every special case, the sign represented in the transcription.

2 na dhama na sev a pramadena na savasi michadiṭhi na roy a na sia lokavadhano

Cf. Dhammap., 167.

a. The comparison with Dh. 167 enables us to complete [ha]na and, probably, see [e]na.

b. For rocayati equivalent to sevyati, cf. Dhammap., p. 122, l. 15: kasa tevah dhammaṁ roceṣi: "whose law dost thou approve, dost thou follow?" We had sotati for sotati (A¹, 4). It is likely that the manuscript had rovea.

c. Childers (q. v.) declared that he had not any idea of the precise meaning of lokavedhāna. M. Fausböll transcribed the etymological signification: "mundi amplificator", and the rendering of M. Max Müller: "a friend of the world", is quite vague. I suspect that the term rests upon the expression kula- or vānasa-vardhana, and that our verse counsels not to increase the number of beings, that is to say, to renounce desire, on the one hand, and to attain to the perfection that closes the circle of sarāsāra, on the other.
3 yo tu puvi pramajati" pacha su na pramajati
so ita loku ohaseti abha muto va suriu" O

Cf. Dhammap., 172.

a. There is no doubt as to the reading tu. The ca of
Dhammapada has, as often, an opposite meaning,
entirely equivalent. The fold of the bark has
rendered the reading of the last two letters very
indistinct; it seems certain that the final t is accom-
panied by an i; what is on the top of j is,
on the contrary, very doubtful; I have accordingly
decided to transcribe pramajati. On the whole,
this reading affords a construction equivalent in
meaning to pamaaajitava of the Dhammapada, but more
correct; for it does not leave the relative yo alone
and without a finite verb. Meanwhile, the right
reading might well be pramajiti or pramajeti=
pamaaajitva; not that the form is justified without
difficulty, for it would be necessary to allow a
spelling ti for teaa which ill becomes analogy, but that
it seems that in line 8, parivaajeti may likewise be
=parivaajetva.

b. We have several times already met with i for e
in the middle of words. Although imaa may be
more natural, etaa has nothing surprizing; the
substitution of obhaaeti for pahhaaeti, and of the sun
for the moon does not require any observation.

4 arahadha nikhamadha yujatha budhaaasanea
dhunatha macuno sena nalagara" ba kuana O

Cf. Theragathaa, verses 256, 1147.

a. The incorrect spelling saasana is invariably reproduced
in this manuscript.

b. The second and third letters of nalagara are indistinct.
The parallel passages alone permit of a restoration
of the word, and the traces of the letter which I
restore as=ta, seem to me less favourable for a
reading daa, which, in itself, would be equally plausi-
ble. I have already pointed out the spelling ba for
va =ivaa (A1, 6).
5 apramata smatimata susīla bhotu bhichavi
susamahitasagapā sacita anurachadha pkt

Cf. Dhammap., 327.

a. The vocative bhichave in B. 53 (cf. Pāli, bhikkhavae) appears to support here the form bhichavi. But though the construction is differently modified in either hemistichs, I do not find any means to make out anything of bhichavi else than a nominative; unless the fault of the copyist be admitted, bhotu (bhontu) cannot be interpreted as a second person: "Let the bhikkhus be intent, conscientious, virtuous. The mind well-collected, guard your thought."

6 yo ima sadhamavinau apramatu vihaṣiti
prahai jatisansara dukhusata karisha[t]i.

Cf. Divya Avad., p. 68.

This verse in the Div. Avad. comes immediately after our verse 4 above.

a. Finau = vina[y]aṅṅ fits well. But there seems to be, before ri, a trace of the remnant of another letter. Besides that it gives a syllable too many for the pada, I scarcely imagine what it could be. Viharati is construed with the accusative, probably on the analogy of carati.

b. Vihaṣiti = viharisyati, with syncope of ri (i ?), and i = ya, as in prahai = prahāya, and frequently. Similarly vihaṣī, B. 19.

c. I do not see how the compound which I read viṣa can be interpreted otherwise. It is not difficult to find out the s there; as regards the ā, we have not, I believe, any instance of it in the inscriptions; it is, then, not easy to state precisely the analysis of the constituent elements. The value of the sign is attested by several instances.

d. The u of khu is perfectly clear; I can only see here a mistake of the scribe, which is explained by the u of the preceding syllable; it is, of course, dukhas' a[ṁ]ta[ṁ].
7 ta yu vadami bhadraṇu yavatetha samakata apramadarata bhodha sadhami supravediti

Cf. Dhammap., 337.

a. We have already met with $yu=vo$, vah (A¹, 4), and bhadraṇu is again $bhadrəṃ\, yu=\, bhadrəṃ\, vah$. We see that the reading in the Pāli text should not be $vo\, vədəimi=\, nyayəvədəimi$, but separated into two words. The two $vahs$ are not a double use; bhaddam does not qualify $təin$: bhadrəṃ vah is, in some sort, the plural of bhadrəṃ te, bhadante, and forms an independent expression. It is a different question, which I do not pretend to decide, namely, whether it is convenient to attribute to it all its etymological value or to consider it as a mode of address, and whether to render either simply "Lords!" or "welfare to you!".

b. For samakata, cf. adhikachati (A¹, 2, etc.).

c. Cf. Dhammap., 78: ariyappavedite dhamme... For supravedita compare, more particularly, one of the frequent epithets of the Dharma: srākhyāta.

8 pramada parivajeti apramadarata sada bhavetha kuśala dhama yokachemasa prataa

a. I have, in line 3, already suggested that parivajeti might be $parivajetəa$. The $t$ and the $i$ are clear; we cannot, then, look for the second person plural here, which would be expected side by side with bhavetha.

b. This expression is met with, for instance, in the Suttanipāta, 425: Yogakkhemassa pattiyā; "Extranged from all relaxation, true to a constant application, practise virtue to attain to Nirvāṇa."

Here is the transcription of what remains visible of the two verse-ends, that figure on the fragment reproduced up on the left of Plate A:

loke athatha dhiravenea dicha

lana sabrayano pratismato

a. It does not seem, as one would expect here, that the last letter is $ti$, which would give dichati, and,
supposing the separation of the words to be precise, it would permit of a transcription in Sanskrit: \(\text{loke 'rthārthaḥ dhīro } \*$\text{cineyo dīṣati}.\) But we are simply hypothesizing. The surest course is to wait till a parallel Pāli text is found.

b. That is to say, \(\text{samprajānāḥ pratismṛtah}.\) The two epithets are likewise contiguous in Suttanipāta, v. 413 (425?). Our dialect tends particularly to weaken the tennes that follow the nasal: we have had \(\text{sa(ṅ)gapa } = \text{ saṅkalpa}\) (l. 5 above); we shall have (B, 35) \(\text{ṣāv=siṅca}\), and (C⁰, 16) \(\text{annābisa=aṅu-kampī[ṣya]nāh, etc.; similarly subrayano};\) cf. C⁰, 43.

\[\text{A}^3\]

1 savī saghara anica ti yada praṇaya paśati
tada nivinati\(^a\) dukh

Of the two small fragments that follow, the first one applies well to this verse; there are to be found traces of the following: \(\text{eso magu vi[kōdhia]}\); the second surely belongs to another passage, since the verse ends with \(\text{vīḍhia}.\)

Cf. Dhammap., 277.

a. One of the peculiarities attaching to the dialect of this manuscript is that the compound \(nd\), dental or cerebral, is written \(n\), that is to say, if its appearance as it is written is to be believed, is changed into \(nn\): \(\text{panīta for pandīta}, \text{etc. Nibbindati dukkhe},\)
as Childers has rightly understood it: "Only does he conceive disgust for [existence which is nothing but] pain."

2 savī saghara dukha ti yada praṇae gradhati\(^a\)
tada nivinati dukha\(^b\) eso magu viśodhia\(^c\) O

Cf. Dhammap., 278.

a. In \(\text{praṇae}, ya\) is written \(e\) more than once (for instance, in l. 9), though much less frequently than \(i\).
Gradhati = granathati, in keeping with the observation just made on the A² fragment of the principal Plate. I understand the word here in the sense of "to deduce, to reason, to conclude."

b. Our manuscript gives, here and in the next verse, dukha, that is to say, dukham, the accusative as opposed to the locative of the Pāli. It is, very likely, the same in the preceding verse. This construction is, however, difficult to explain.

c. Viśodhi for viśuddhi is not surprising in this manuscript where the u and the o are constantly used, the one for the other. As regards the final letter, it is not impossible that it may be e instead of a, but there is no more certainty, the less so, as the next verse clearly has viśodhiā.

3 sarvi dhama anatma ti yada paśati cachumā
tada nivinatī dukha eśo mago viśodhiā ॐ

Cf. Dhammap., 279.

a. Above the letter chu appear traces of a sign, which is hardly distinct. I can only explain it as a kh, some reader having felt the necessity to note that, for chu, khu could also be written; in fact, the compound ko is changed equally into ch and kh in this manuscript. And the conjecture is so much the more plausible, as, just in the verse following, the word is written cakhuma. If it is verified, it will have this interesting character that this superadded kh, written, consequently, after the original execution of the manuscript, displays a form more archaic than what figures there ordinarily.

4 magana athagio śetho sacana cauri² pada
viraku śetho dhamana pranabhutana cakhuma ॐ

Cf. Dhammapada, 278.

a. Cēvāri, cattāri is in the Buddhist dialects readily used for the masculine. I do not believe that our
cāri may be the direct reflex of caṭvāri, but it may be rather of catu; the change of o into i may strictly be mechanical. Meanwhile, it is difficult to imagine that the analogy of the use of caṭṭāri should not have floated in the mind of those using cāri, and influenced this spelling, just as the memory of a Māgadhism bhīchāro has similarly aided the orthography bhīchāre, bhīchāri (cf. A², 5). As regards the elision of the t, see l. 10, phaṣati side by side with bhaṣati, etc.

6 utīthāna na pramajea dhamu sucarita cari dhamacari suhu ūṣati b asmi loki parasa yi c

Cf. Dhammap., 168.

a. The omission of the final e, utītha for utīthe, may only be due to the negligence of the scribe, not to any dialectic peculiarity.

b. The traces of the final u of suhu are not quite distinct; it is perhaps suha which the copyist wished to write. Ūṣati appears to rest, not on the usual formal ūṣi, but on the form ṣaṣati, aya being written e.

c. This last pāda is found again likewise in C⁰, 23, with the genitive parasa for the locative parasmiu. Similarly, namārūvāsa, B, 30; saγgaraudūsa, C⁰, 3. A mistake, simply clerical (parasa for paraṣi = parasmi) is hardly probable side by side with asmi loki. It is more natural to admit a perversion, a confusion in the use of cases, of which the following (l. 9. fg) will supply many instances, and of which the language of the Mahāvastu affords us so many evidences. For ca we find in this manuscript a regular scale of clerical modifications: ja, C⁰, 17; jī, B, 35; ya, A⁴, 4; yi, here and elsewhere; i, C⁰, 37; i for ya is explained well, and the orthography yi may be strictly understood as equivalent to ya; but in jī, for ja, it is difficult not to admit an abnormal action of the analogy of i-yi.
7 uthanena apramadena sañamena damena ca
divu\textsuperscript{a} karoti medhavi ya jara nabhimardati \textsuperscript{b} ○

Cf. Dhammap., 25.

\textit{a.} The weakening of the medial \textit{p} (and also initial) into \textit{v}, is most frequent in this manuscript.

\textit{b.} The comparison which this variant of the last \textit{pāda} involves with that of the Pāli recension, is in itself certainly less satisfactory. For an island, age is a factor of destruction less menacing than the surge (flood) to which it is a prey. I wonder why it should not be understood as \textit{jharā}, and why, on the analogy of \textit{jharī} meaning "river" (PWB q.v.), the word could not be taken, not in the precise acceptance of "cascade, waterfall," but in a generic sense bordering upon that of \textit{ugha}. Cf. the Kharoṣṭhī inscription where Bühler thinks he is able to read \textit{jharaṇī} and interpret it in the sense of "well." Whatever that may be, the substitution of the verb \textit{ahhimardati} is probably inspired by the desire to do away with the metrical inaccuracy of \textit{abhikirati}.

8 uthanamato smatimato suyikamas\textsuperscript{a} niśama-
[carino
sañatas\textsuperscript{a} hi\textsuperscript{b} dhamajivino apramatasa yaśidha
[vaḍhati ○


\textit{a.} \textit{Suyi}\textsuperscript{c} = \textit{suci}\textsuperscript{d} as in \textit{suyigan(dh)a}, C\textsuperscript{e} 3, not to speak of other analogous cases.

\textit{b.} \textit{Hi} is pretty nearly as good as the \textit{ca} of the Pāli text.

9 uthane alasa anuṭhahatu\textsuperscript{e} yoi bali alasievito\textsuperscript{f}
sañnasagapamano smatima\textsuperscript{e} praṇai maga alasu
[na vinati ○

Cf. Dhammap., 280.

\textit{a.} The manuscript has clearly \textit{uthane}, which would not permit of any other division of words. It is certain that we have here before us a confusion of
the scribe and that the original reading was uţhāna-
alasa, that is to say, uţhānakulasmi. Compare
note c to l. 6, where I have cited s-agarudasa=sanukārakute. I do not see how it can be read
otherwise than as anuthakatu; yet it must be
admitted that the tha has a somewhat unusual
form, which, the context permitting, might be
read the.

b. Yoi=yo ayaṁ. This reading is assuredly pre-
ferable to yurā of the Pāli—little matters youth,
since moral force, and not physical activity, is only
cconcerned—which must be due to a confusion of
the redactors. There is another confusion lurking,
I believe, in ālatesyā or ālatesyam (cf. Fausböll’s
notes), neither of which can be well construed
with upeta. In a dialect where the spelling—
and perhaps the pronunciation—e could be sub-
stituted for ya, as is the case with the language of
our manuscript, the compound alatesenpeta=ālates
apeta would save the metre; the Pāli redactors
have sought to restore it by an arbitrary
expedient.

c. Smatima can only be explained as=asmatima, the
negative a being dropped after the final e which
precedes. It is, if I am not mistaken, the only
instance of sandhi our fragments afford.

10 na tavata dhamadharo yavata bahoa bhasati
yo tu apa bi śutvana dhamu kaena pahasai ○
11 sa ho dhamadharo bhoti yo dhamu na pramajati ○

Cf. Dhammap., 259.

a. O for u is in this manuscript particularly common
after h, cf. for instance, bahojana, Ccro, 31 (30?);
Cro (Cro?), 12, etc. But we have already pointed
out some parallel cases, after other consonants.

b. Bi=(a)pi is met with elsewhere, as in Cro,9. The spell-
ing s for sr is by far the most common in this
manuscript.
c. The reading phasai is certain. The Pāli has passati, that is to say, pasātī. Ṣ might here be interpreted in the same way as ṣ (≡ ș) in phasenu (B, 25) from sprā, and, as I find that in the verse of the St. Petersburg manuscript which corresponds to Dhammapada 398, phalita is = palīha, we might strictly bring back our phasai to pasātī. But a double anomaly must have to be admitted in the word itself and immediately beside its exact spelling. I prefer by far to hold that ph is for bh and phasai = bhāṣati. I have myself sought to discard a whole series of apparent instances of this transformation (cf. A3, 1). That it is not produced from sporadic cases, is no reason, especially as the hardening of the sonant into tenues is more frequent in our text. The very resemblance which is manifest here between the letters bh and ph, might have caused an accidental mistake. With bhāṣati the sense is excellent: “it does not suffice to make fine speeches, he must speak by his acts (kāyena, in keeping with the classification of kāya-, vāk- and manahkarma)”, or, if you like, “to teach by example.” At the most we may question if bhāṣai = bhāṣati, as abhai = ābhāti (B, 7), or = bhāṣaye, bhāṣayet. Anyhow it is curious to think that such a substitution of ph for bh in the version which has served as the basis of the Pāli redaction, has been quite the cause of the confusion that has introduced passati in the text, and quite naturally, misled the interpreters.

d. Ho = kho, khālu, as in C2, 6.

2 apramadu amatapada pramadu mucuno pada apramata na miyati ye pramata yadha mutu


a. The singular mutu, mṛtāḥ, may strictly be understood as: “those who live in relaxation are as a dead man”; but it is very probable that our scribe has made a slip and that the original text read muta: “they are as those dead,” that is to say, sure to die, so as not to escape transmigration.
13 etā viṣeṣadhaṇā ṇatvā apramadasa panito ḍ apramadi pramodīa arīana goyarī rato O

Cf. Dhammap., 22.

a. I take viṣeṣadhaṇā as formed by the suffix dhū, which may in this case very well supply the suffix tah of the Pāli.

b. Apramadasa for the locative; cf. parasa in l. 6 above. I had at first read paniti=pandito, but I do not think that we are here forced to admit this sort of Māghadism. The vowel stroke is not lengthened upwards, and, if it crosses the transverse bar of the letter ī, it is, I think, only a simplification due to cursive writing, which has united, in the form of a ring, the top of the vowel stroke and the left hook of the consonant. It is certain, at all events, that the phrase is here construed in the singular and not in the plural as in Pāli.

14 pramāda anuyujati bala drumedhino ḍ jana apramāda tu medhavi dhana śethi ḍ va rachati O


a. Drumedhi, just as we have had already durgaha. Other analogous instances will be found afterwards.

b. The reading śethi appears to me decidedly better than the Pāli setthah, which gives here but a vague and colourless epithet, Sethi is the nominative of kresthin, and the half-verse should be rendered: "But the wise clings to diligence as a banker to his treasures." Although the vowel stroke does not descend below the lower transverse bar of tha, several instances prove that it is ī and not e that should be read. I am content with referring to dithi, A*/, 2. It is quite the reading kethi or kresthi which, in his text, the Tibetan translator of the Udānāvarga had before his eyes, as is shown by the version of M. Rockhill (Udānāvarga, IV, 18): "the wise man must be careful, as is the head of a caravan watching his treasures."
15 apramatu prameṣṭu suteṣu bahojagarau
avalaśa va bhādṛasū hitva yāti sumedhasu

Cf. Dhammap., 29.

a. This is, if I am not mistaken, the only instance, in our fragments, of the substitution of v for h. It is true that in verses A^2, 4 ff., we find h completely suppressed between two vowels: svrauḍhu, etc. In the same way, the compound ėv, reduced here into ē, is in several cases preserved in the form of ṝp: viśpa, B, 26; viśpaśu, B, 25.

16 pramada apramadena yada nudati panitu
prañaprasada aruyu aśoka śoino jana
pravatatho va bhumatha dhīru balabala avechiti

Cf. Dhammap., 28.

a. The y is sometimes more square, sometimes more angular at the top; materially, it will be perfectly lawful to read aruṇu; but it is allowable also to read aruny, and this is the only transcription which appears to me to give an intelligible form. We want, in fact, an equivalent for arunya. Yu=hya is peculiar. I must say that it is specially the u that astonishes me. As regards the consonant, there are several instances which reveal a particular affinity, in the language of this manuscript, between h and j, which is readily written y [cf. sahrayana (A^2 fragment) etc.]; in B, 34 we find day(h)amana for duhyamāna, and in the St. Petersburg fragments I have found y(i)samana=hirumāṇaḥ, and parvahita =pravrajita. We may also compare these instances with seku, Cvo, 8, seko Cvo, 9, etc. (śreyah), where y is represented by h. As for the vocalisation in u, if I cannot explain it, I am at least in a position to cite another instance of it, altogether similar: abhivnyu =abhībhyā (B, 30, 31). In both cases, the vowel in the preceding syllable is u. It seems then that it may be this nearness, which, by somewhat of an effect of vowel harmony, may have coloured our a.
b. Must we explain the first i of avechili for avechati similarly, or just take it to be a simple slip of the copyist having been influenced by the i of the following syllable?

17 apra........................................tu
apramada praśajhati a pramadu garahitu sada

Cf. Dhammap., 30.

a. The j is surmounted by a horizontal stroke, which, as I have said above, appears to mark the aspirate; we have, then, sajhati = saṁsati; and there is no doubt about the reading, for exactly likewise we find again praśaj(h)ati in B, 21.

A

1 .juo namo a so magu abhaya namu sa diṣa
radho akuyano b namu dhamatrakehi sahato c O


a. This verse is closely bound up with the two following, and completes with them a sort of allegory founded on the imagery which likens Buddhist teaching to a “vehicle”, yāna. The restoration must be: ujv(k)o. The reading of the vowel in the syllable mo of namo is not fully certain; it is so much the more probable that in the next pādas we have, of a surety, namu. We will find plenty of other cases where m labialises a following vowel into n.

b. Our akuyano confirms the reading akujano adopted for the Pāli by the editor, M. Feer. To me the explanation appears to be a-kujana, “where the wicked are none.”

c. Swuṁhata is as good as suṁyutta of the Pāli. The word that precedes is perhaps more doubtful. Fortunately, the Pāli text continues the comparison, which serves as the theme to these verses, speaking, as it does, of
the "wheels of the Law." But here our reading can only be "dhamatrakehi or dhamadrakehi. The second form gives us nothing intelligible; on the contrary, the first may be interpreted as "dhammatarkah, that is to say, "the reasonings, the thoughts of the Law." The Suttanipāta, 1101 rightly speaks of aṇācimokkhā, which is dhammatakappurejavan; the dhammatarkas are thus likewise represented as affording a quick impulse to religious progress. We are going to have, in the next verse, the expression samedithipurejava, which, on the other hand, has its counterpart in the Suttanipāta, and the first two terms clear up each other: samyagdrsti denotes "true, just ideas"; dhammatarka, in the same way, "the reasonings, the ideas conformable to religion," consequently just and right. It is probable that the reading tarka is older than the reading cakra, which, being more ingenious and piquant, could, once established, no more have been displaced. I translate therefore: "The path is the straight road, the country, the region of felicity, the chariot, the resort of honest people firmly established in truth."

2 hiri tasa avaramu\textsuperscript{a} smati sa parivarana\textsuperscript{b} dhamahu\textsuperscript{c} saradhi bromi samedithipurejavu\textsuperscript{d} O

Cf. Saṁy, Nik., I, V, § 6, v. 3.

\textsuperscript{a} For this verse and particularly for the meaning of apālambe, cf. Morris, Journ. Pāli T. Soc., 1886, p. 128. The form avarama is, I believe, the only example, found in our fragments, of the substitution of r for l; as for m = mb, we may compare udumareṇu = udumbareṇu in B, 40.

\textsuperscript{b} Smati sa = smati asa. It seems to me that parivarana ought to denote rather a part of the ear than, as M. Morris would have it, the escort which accompanies it; this is perhaps the roof which covers and protects it.

\textsuperscript{c} Although the character read ‘hu’ appears cut off by the transverse stroke of i, I doubt, as it seems to bear well the sign u at the foot, if this stroke, at all events shorter and less prominent than ordinarily, should be taken into account, and I am of opinion
that it is dhāmaḥtu that should be read, that is to say, dhāmaṁ adhāṁ, as in Pāli.

d. Samyak is, in this manuscript, always written same =samya. For the expression, compare note (c) of the foregoing verse. This verse is rendered: "Modesty is its skid; consciousness, the roof which protects it; and I call the Law, the driver that impels and quickens the truth."

3 yasa etadīṣa yana gehi parvaitasa va sa vi etina yanena nivanaseva satie 〇


a. It must be gehiau, in order that the construction might be correct. I venture only to affirm that the scribe may not have meant to write gihi, for the bar (i.e., the vowel stroke) passes slightly down the ring of the letter ga. This detail is of so little importance that the confusion between i and e is here complete, as can also be seen from vi=vai, ve and etina. The inversion parca for pravca is not rare; I have several times noted paravhita in the St. Petersburg fragments, where we moreover find the j replaced by an  unregisterd, which perhaps has no other role than to prevent hiatus, like the y of the Ardhamāgadhī orthography. I translate: "Whoever possesses such a car, layman or monk, proceeds to Nirvāṇa in that car."

4 supraudhu praujatai imi gotamaśavaka yesa diva ya rati ca nica budhakata smati 〇

Cf. Dhammap., 296.

a. I do not see here any trace of the upper stroke intended to mark aspiration, which the following verses present in that word. I have already pointed out this complete elision of b between two vowels (A³, 15).

b. The reading imi of our manuscript is evidently much better than śodā of the Pāli version, "These disciples of the Buddha are roused truly to the understanding which...." The theme is an exhortation, not a hackneyed praise, of all the disciples of the Buddha indiscriminately.
5 supraudhu praujhati imi gotamaśavaka
yesa diva ya rati ca nica dhamakata smati

Cf. Dhammap., 297.

6 [s]upraudhu praujhati imi gotamaśavaka
yesa diva ya rati ca nica sahaṇakata" smati

Cf. Dhammap., 298.

a. The form of the second letter (i.e., as much of it as is on a level with the line) does not denote gh (aspirated). In fact, the upper stroke which mounts the letter is intended to mark aspiration. We see then that the letter itself does not express it. Cf. B, 3, below.

7 [sup]raudhu praujhati imi gotamaśavaka
yesa diva ya rati ca nica kayakata smati

Cf. Dhammap., 299.

8 supraudhu praujhati imi gotamaśavaka
yesa diva ya rati ca ahiṇsai rato mano

Cf. Dhammap., 300.

9 supraudhu p[r]aujati" imi gotamaśavaka
yesa diva ya rati ca bhamaṇai" rato mano

Cf. Dhammap., 301.

a. I do not see any trace of the upper stroke. It is not, however, certain that it had not existed, the ink in this passage being a little effaced.

b. We shall again meet with other instances of the change of v into m, as uṇma = vāram (B, 35).
Fragments of A

Of these, I have collected twenty-seven in all, mostly very small. I attempt only to transcribe those which have preserved at least some complete characters.

I. These are four commencements of line.

[d]ur.(?)ga. e
vario a va thale chi
anuvāṭhitacitasa b
anuvāṣutacita

Cf. Dhammap., 37:
dūraṅgame m ekacaraṁ

Ibid., 34:
vārijo va thale khitto

Ibid., 38:
anavāṭhitacittassa

Ibid., 39:
anavāṣutacittassa

a. Vario for varijo, like parvaṭita for parrajita, as I have pointed out above (A 4 , 8).
b. The n of ann is perfectly certain, as much in this word as in anuvāṣuta of the next verse. In the Pāli, however, it has no place either in the one or in the other word; it is anuvāṣṭita and anuvāṣrūta which the sense requires and which are in the Pāli version. The scribe has, perhaps, been drawn into this blunder by the thought of annuvāṭhita = anupasthīta, which floated in his mind.

II.

unapanucirah

III. A verse-end, written on the darkest surface of the leaf [cf. p. 197 (?) — perhaps p. 19 i.e. A 2 Fragments of verse-ends].
ma(?) tvadadatasava?ya 0

To me the letters, almost all, are too doubtful for transcription.

IV. The letter no marks the end of a pada.

uhaśino yokama . e

The two fragments that follow belong to the leaf B, where they will be in their proper places in verses 42-45. They were found, when I was unfolding the the manuscript, mixed up with sheet A. Nothing can show better the disorder in which these fragments have come into my hands.

V. Cf. B, 42 fg.

??? so bhikhu jahati o

mahoho sa bhikhu jahati

s. bhikhu jahati o

VI.

vikaya so bhikhu jahati o

śaitha s... kh

VII. A commencement of line.

samadhimu . i

VIII.

la cita druracha drunivarana

u

Cf. Dhammap., 33.

a. This reading is certain, and of the rest, dunnivaraya seems to me to be least so well as dunnivaraya.

IX. A verse-end.

su gachati .
The top of this leaf exactly fits in with the end of one of the leaves of the manuscript, which have found their way to St. Petersburg; so that our first sixteen lines meet with their complement there, partially at least. I have thought not to exceed the reserve, imposed upon me by the very courtesy with which my learned colleague and friend M. d’Oldenburg placed his documents at my disposal, by adding any copy of the verse-pieces which have been joined to our own fragments; both of them form an inseparable whole. I have taken care to enclose within brackets what are thus borrowed from the St. Petersburg fragment.

1 yo cutiu vevi satvana ?vati ca"—[śana
budhu atimaśarira tam aho bromi bramanac O]

Cf. Dhammap., 419.

a. It is not possible to distinguish a. priori the t from the d in our manuscript. We might as well read vedi. Yet the present appears to me here much more probable than the past, and I should be more disposed to admit that the reading of the Dhammapada proceeds from some old confusion, based, perhaps, exactly on the similarity of those two characters. Of the letter which I have replaced by a sign of interrogation, the bottom of the stroke only remains. It has no significant hook permitting of reading it as u in order to represent uvacati, the upapatti of the Pāli. At all events, I believe that the last letter, though the vowel stroke may be a little clipped, bears well the notation of i.

b. M. d’Oldenburg transcribes the beginning of his fragment as [sa]vvaśana. In the facsimile, there is nothing but the end, of which the reading śana is surely possible, but not certain, so much the less because it is difficult to see how this form sarvaśana would be related to the form sarvaśaḥ, sarvaśo which the Pāli permits us to expect. On the other hand, with this reading, a syllable is wanting for the metre, and the facsimile, to a certainty, permits us to think that a small piece of the leaf is dropped between the
end of our fragment and the commencement of the other. The exact reading of this pāda-end remains, therefore, necessarily doubtful until further settled.

c. \textit{Atimāśariva} = \textit{antimāśarivaṁ}. Cf. Dhammap., 400.

\section*{2 akrodhu anuvayasa vipramutu p. n. a
\[\text{budhu vatamala dhira}^b \text{ tam aho bromi bramana }\circ\]}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Anuvayasa} = \textit{ānupāyāsam}. The last letters are half cut off; but the traces tally well with a restoration \textit{punabhava} = \textit{punarbhavāt}.
  \item With this pāda we may compare Dhammap., v. 261: \textit{sa ve vantamalo dhiro tī (thaviro tī) pavuccati. I translate: “The man without anger, without despondency, released from all future birth (= antimāśarivaṁ of the preceding verse), wise, stainless, and firm, it is that man whom I call [truly] a brāhmaṇ.”}
\end{itemize}

\section*{3 yo tu puñe ca pave ca a uhu şaga uvacai\textsuperscript{b}
\[\text{aşaga viraya budhu tam aho bromi bramana }\circ\]}

Cf. Dhammap., 412.

\begin{itemize}
  \item Let it suffice to note in passing the Māgadhisms \textit{puñe} and \textit{pave} i.e., \textit{pape}, for \textit{puñham} and \textit{pāpeṁ}.
  \item We should note the letter \textit{hu}, \textit{ahu} = \textit{uho}, \textit{ubhaun} \textit{[h = bh}, as often; cf. \textit{okaseti (A³, 3), etc.}]; the interpretation cannot be contested. It is decisive for the transcription of \textit{ahu} = \textit{aho}, \textit{aham}, which recurs so often in our St. Petersburg fragments. \textit{Şaga}, here as well as in the following pāda, presents a double peculiarity: \textit{s} for \textit{ṣ}, and the particular form of \textit{g}. One might be tempted to interpret this form as \textit{gh} aspirated; but, besides that the aspirate would not be justified here, we have already (A⁴, 6, note) met with an instance of a variant equivalent to the letter, with a stroke above, expressing aspiration. It is then much more natural to explain this base of the character as an accidental stroke of a habitual writing, which is very much generalized in certain numismatic alphabets. As regards \textit{uvacai} = \textit{upaccaga}, I refer to A¹, 4.
\end{itemize}
4 jai parakata¹ budhu jitavi akatagati²
[pruju devamanușana³ tam ahu bromi bramana O]

a. The initial 记者了解 has not the upper mark of aspiration; it is, however, \textit{jhāi=dhyāyin}, that we must understand, and \textit{parakata=parakrānta}.

b. Akatagati, that is to say, agatāgati, "who is not drawn into the four agatis", for which cf. Childers. A graceful scribbling without any special signification will here be noticed, whereby the scribe has finished off the spear of \textit{ga}, and which he has reproduced in the lower part of the vowel-stroke of \textit{mi} in the last pāda.

c. The reading \textit{pru} seems certain. For my part, I cannot account for the \textit{r}, and until a better interpretation should be found, I propose to understand \textit{pru devamanușana=pūjyam devamanûṣyaih}. The expression \textit{devamanuṣyapūjita} is, with its various equivalents, current in Buddhist phraseology. The change of \textit{manuṣya} into \textit{manuṣa} is, as will be seen later on, constant in our manuscript. I translate: "The man who applies himself to meditation, heroic and wise, who is a vanquisher [of passions], who does not force himself into evil ways, and who is worthy of the respect of gods and men, it is that man whom I call [truly] a brāhmaṇa."

5 jai¹ parakata budhu kitakica anasavu
[budhu daśabaluvetu² tam ahu bromi bramana O]

Cf. Dhammap., 386.

a. This time again the letter read \textit{j} is well = \textit{j}, without any sign of aspiration.

b. This pāda appears here to be quite out of place, inferior certainly to its Pāli counterpart: \textit{budhu} is twice repeated, figuring already in the first pāda, and \textit{daśabalopeta} is an epithet that only suits the "Buddha" in the technical sense, which cannot be aimed at here. "The man who applies himself to meditation, heroic, wise, true to his duty, and free from passions, the Buddha endowed with ten powers, it is that man whom I call [truly] a brāhmaṇa."
6 gamirapraña medhavi marga[ma]rgasa koi? 
[utamu pravara vira tam ahu bromi bramana]

Cf. Dhammap., 403.

a. I have already noted some spellings like gamira = gambhīra. The end of this pada presents some difficulty. It is hard to believe that our text does not correspond to that of the Pali. In the syllable which I transcribe as i, we could, it is true, admit the elision of v, just as we have ascertained that of the b in supradhu and pranajhati, A4, 4, 9. It does not yet appear to me certain, a little probable though it may be, that the reading should be bi, with the frequent change of v into b; although half of the last letter is destroyed, what remains of it does not seem to warrant the letter da, and I do not yet see any other reading to suggest, that may at the same time be plausible to the sense and consistent with the trace of the manuscript.

7 diva tavati adicu rati abhai " cadrimu sanadhu [chatrio tavati jhai tavati bramano adha sarva ahoratra budhu tavati teyasa 503 ]

Cf. Dhammap., 387.

a. The bh of abhai is written by the same character as the bh in A2, 1 (cf. note). For the elision of t between two vowels, cf. phogai, A3, 10, note e.

b. The cipher is here added on the margin, at the end of the line, and without the addition of ga[tha]. The scroll-mark that denotes the end of chapters is thrown into the next line, as can be seen from our fac-simile.

8 kaena savruto bhikhu atha vayai " s.v.to [manena savruto bhikhu sarva drugatio jahi 0]

a. Savruto=samvṛṭaḥ. For the change of ṛ into ru, we may compare l. 25: apru[tha]jana. I restore vayai=vācāya (although the transverse line of i
may have disappeared in the break), because of the sure reading in the next verse; \( i=ya \). Cf. \( vayaya \) in l. 10 (?). “The monk who is master of himself in his actions and in his words, the monk who is master of himself in his thoughts, would not fall again into any of the evil paths.”

9 kaena sañamu sadhu va[yai\(^{a}\) sañamu manena sañamu sadhu] [sadhu savatra sañamu sarvatra sañato bhikhu savadugatio jahi]

Cf. Dhammap., 361.

a. That which, in this verse and in those following, is enclosed between the first brackets, belongs to the detached fragment on the left of Plate B, and ought to have been connected with the principal fragment. “It is good to be master of self in one’s actions, good to be master of self in one’s words, good to be master of self in one’s thoughts; it is good to be master of self in all circumstances; the monk who is, in all circumstances, master of his self, would not fall again into any of the evil paths.”

10 hathasañatu padasañatu [vayasañatu savutidrio ajhatma][rato samahito eko satuṣito tam ahu bhikhu ॥]

Cf. Dhammap., 362.

11 yo muhena sañato bhikhu mana[\( bhani^{a}\) anudhato artha dhar][\( \text{mu ji}\^{2} \text{ deśetī maśuru}^{c} \text{ tasa bhaśita ॥}\]

Cf. Dhammap., 363.

a. This reading suggests the form \( \text{mandabhaṇīn} \), “who speaks little,” as understood from the Pāli texts; it is much more probable than the form \( \text{mantabhaṇī} \), which the scholiast takes great pain, though in vain, to explain.

b. The \( r \) is distinguished by the elongation of the right branch of the \( m \) (frag. of Plate B). I should not decide, with certainty, if the text has \( \text{rvu} \) or \( \text{rva} \).
c. The reading *māsrūr* seems very clear on the fac-simile of M. d'Oldenburg. There has been a confusion on the part of the scribe, but this confusion is easily explained; in the Kharosthi writing it is indeed a form of $s$, which is only distinguished from $dh$ by the terminal hook being drawn to the right. This hook is turned towards the right in $s$ and towards the left in $dh$. This detail seems to prove, as one would expect, that the scribe was working on a manuscript written in a hand similar to his own.

12 *suṇakare* $^{a}$ *pravīthasa satacit* $^{..}$ [bhikhuno amanuṣa rati] [bhoti same dharma$^{b}$ vivaṣātu $^{O}$]

Cf. Dhammap., 373.

$a$. I do not attempt to decide, at least for the present, if the final $e=ən$, or, what seems at first more probable, if we have to deal with an extension of the use of the locative.

$b$. The extremity of the tail of the $r$, attached—as one may see in verse 14—to the right arm of $m$, still remains visible below the gap.

13 *yato yato sammasaṭi* $^{a}$ kan($dh)a[na udakavaya$^{b}$ lahati priti][pramoju amatu ta vianatu$^{c}$ $^{O}$]

Cf. Dhammap., 374.

$a$. I should linger awhile over the reading. I suggest for this word; for the conclusion I have come to regulate a whole series of parallel cases; I would speak of the second character. It is certain that the $n$ is usually marked in this manuscript by a hook placed at the foot of the consonant and more or less inclined towards the right, besides more or less closed, so as to appear occasionally as a small circle, somewhat oblong. The sign which we have here below our $m$ is also a hook, but more rounded and more open than the other and, particularly, placed more towards the right of the consonant. If we consider this circumstance, viz., that the sound $mn$ is usually noted by a special character, it must be avowed, in spite of a certain similarity, that the sign
scribed below should be distinguished from the sign \( \nu \), and that therefore it is not \( \mu \) that ought to be read. Given the form of the anusvāra in the epigraphic alphabet, we might incline to find it here again; but surely, the anusvāra is not generally noted in our manuscript; and in the only case, absolutely certain, which I may have cited already—it is in the St. Petersburg fragments—it presents, on the contrary, the exact form of \( \mu \); I cannot, therefore, see in our hook an anusvāra, but simply an \( \mu \) final, written below, as often in the epigraphic texts in Dévanāgarī. The reading samāṇṣuṣṭi will, in itself, be unlikely; it is especially in the word brāhmaṇa that our sign reappears; the transcription brāmaṇa is equally inadmissible. The comparison which is forced with the anusvāra of the inscriptions is, however, instructive. Everyone admits that this form of the anusvāra is nothing but the \( \mu \) turned round. I think that, in the same way here, our hook is nothing but the \( \mu \) turned round, but preserving its normal value. The sign will be thus \( =\mu \mu \). In all the cases where I have pointed it out, this analysis is absolutely satisfactory. Had it appeared only in the word brāhmaṇa, one might surmise a compound \( \mu h \); but, apart from the unlikelihood in writing, there is no room for an \( h \) in the present case. There is an example which appears to me to be decisive for the interpretation I propose, and which I for my part am finally convinced of; it is in the St. Petersburg fragments, in the verse which corresponds to Dhammap., 82, where the word cannot but be read as gammīro = gaṁbhīro. Cf. also the two verses in the same fragment, which correspond to Dhammap., 81, where we are authorised in the same way to read sammījati (i.e., \( m m i \) instead of \( m m n \) = sammīṅjati) of the Buddhist Sanskrit and also of Pāli. As regards the \( \dot{s} \) of sammaṇṣati, it is explained perhaps by the nearness of the \( r \), somewhat like \( \dot{s} = \dot{s}r \) (cf. gantvāna A³, 10). Nevertheless, the ordinary transcription of Sanskrit \( r s \) is \( s \), as in ādēśa, I. 32.

b. The compound \( u h k \) is generally written \( n \) with the stroke of aspiration above, so that it might almost be interpreted as \( u h k \) or \( n k \), as baṇhāna = baṇdhana in I. 49 (?) and elsewhere. Here the mark of aspiration is wanting. Precisely in the same
way, the $k$ is for $kh=sk$. The spelling $udaka=udaya$, which is quite peculiar, is reproduced in $Cr^{o}$, 18. Similarly we will find $dhoreku^{c}$ ($Cr^{o}$, 37).

c. Neither do I construe nor understand this last pāda like the previous interpreters; I cannot believe that placed as it is, the pronoun tam may refer to priti-pramoja. I am of opinion that it is necessary to cut off the sentence at the end of the third pāda, and that the fourth should be translated literally: "liberation from death is [the lot] of him who knows [of those who know] it", that is to say, of those who, knowing it, practise it and destroy the skandhas. For the suppression of the medial $j$, suffice it to refer to parvaitasa of $A_{4}$, 3.

14 śuñakari pravīthasa śataci[tasa bhikkhuno ama][nuṣa rati bhoti same dharma vivāṣatu O]

This line is exactly identical with line 12. There is some confusion here of the copyist who must have repeated a line by mistake or neglected some partial variant, which in his text distinguished the two verses. Cf. p. 251-2.

15 ____________

________________________

[[same dhama vivāṣatuO]]

In spite of the traces that remain of the first three pādases, I have not succeeded in restoring the probable reading of it.

16 nathi jhana aprañasa praṇa nathi ajhayato

[’yasa’a jana ca praṇa ya soho] [nirvanasa satiabO]

[Foot-note: 1 Fr. B vii.]

Cf. Dhammap., 372.

a. This verse and the two following are completed by means of a detached fragment which I designate as fr. B viii. Yasa is genitive doing the function of the locative, as often in this manuscript. I cannot decide, on account of the break, if the letter read $j$ of jana bears or not the stroke of aspiration. $Ho=khālu$, for vai, ve of the Pāli.
b. The lower part of the last character is tolerably indistinct on the fac-simile. I dare not affirm if the true reading may not be satthi; it would be nearer to the Pāli and grammatically more justifiable.

17 tatrai adi bhavati tadhapraṇasa\textsuperscript{a} bhikkuno
[\textsuperscript{\textprime}idriagoti satuṭhi pratimukhe i\textsuperscript{b}]

\textsuperscript{Foot-note: \textsuperscript{1} Fr. B vii.}

Cf. Dhammap., 375.

\textsuperscript{a} The t is clear. We have, then, opposite to idka, iha of the Pāli, another variant latha praṇasa, whether lathā refers to the description in the previous verse ["the monk who thus, that is to say, by meditation, is in possession of the wisdom"], or whether this expression lathāpraṇā goes back to the general analogy of Buddhist phrases as tādrā (tādi, tāgin), lathāgala, etc., with one of which I have dealt elsewhere, JRAS, Oct., 1898, p. 866.

\textsuperscript{b} I = ca, as we have seen already. For the expression pālimokkhe ca saṅgevara, cf. saṅgha pātimukhāsa, fr. C, I\textsuperscript{vo}, 2.

18 mitra bhayca\textsuperscript{a} padiruva śudhayiva a\textsuperscript{b}
[\textsuperscript{\textprime}padisa?ra.tisa. aprak]\textsuperscript{c}

19 datu ayarakusalo suhu bhikhu vihaṣisi\textsuperscript{d} O

\textsuperscript{Foot-note: \textsuperscript{1} Fr. B viii.}

Cf. Dhammap., 375:
mitte bhajassu kalyāṇe suddhajīve atandite
\textit{Ibid.}, 376:
paṭisanthāravuttassa ācārakusalo siyā
\textit{Ibid.}, 379:
so attagutto satimā sukhām bhikkhu vibāhisi

\textsuperscript{a} On account of the break the reading of the character ye (=je) is not quite certain; but to me at least the reading seems infinitely probable.

\textsuperscript{b} The commencement of the pada can only be read in the light which the comparison with the Pāli lends us. The half-verse of the Dhammapada forms the
end of a hypermetric stanza of six pādās. Ours on the contrary forms, as can be seen, the first third of a stanza of that kind. It is obvious that the arrange-
ment of our text is the best: the half-verse mitte bhajasu, etc., connects itself, as badly as possible, with the śloka that precedes.

c. The lower part of the letters having disappeared, the reading in the first pāda, is not sure for all the characters; after puḍi we may allow sadhara which will be well—the Pāli santhāra; but the top of the next character has not at all the appearance of a v, but rather of a ṣ. Did our text read puḍisadharaguti?

d. Datu is, of course=dāntah, and ayara=ācāra. We have already met with vihasiti (A², 6). Our form is midway between that of Sanskrit and that of Pāli vihāhitī. In Pāli, besides the change of r(i)ṣ into h, which seems to surpass the middle level of phonetic degeneration in that dialect, we should notice the spelling i for ya, which appears also to have been derived from a habit of writing, more free and less regular than has generally prevailed with its literary fixity. Likewise has this only normal form been partly supplanted by spellings like kāhasi, kāhati, kāhanti side by side with kāhisi, kāhiti, kāhinti, which appear isolated and peculiar.

20 salabhu a natimañea nañesa smihao sia b
añesa smihao bhikhu samadhi nadhikachati O

Cf. Dhammap., 365.

a. For the character bh of salabhu, cf. A², note a. I need hardly remark that atimaññati should be understood in the sense of “to despise, to disdain”. Childers and M. Max Müller have already corrected the slight oversight of M. Fausböll.

b. I have discovered no means to distinguish a priori the m from the conjoint v in compounds like tv, tm, sm, sv. It is perhaps svihaọ=svaḥṣyaḥ, that ought to be read. The instances we have already cited, where p is changed into m (A¹, 3, note b.), have induced me to think that it might be the same here. But I do not
see that it would be to any positive purpose to decide between the two transcriptions. In verse 25, we will meet with the usual change of sp into ph. For the change into o of the final syllable of the present participle, we may compare anuvicī(ṃ)tao and anusmaro (ll. 22, 23).

21 apalahho tu yo bhikhu salabhu a natimaṇati
ta gu deva prāṣājhati b sudhayivu atadrita O

Cf. Dhammap., 366.

a. In the plate one might doubt if it is apalahho or apalahho that ought to be read; I should say that the original leaves no doubt, and it places us quite face to face with the character bh. In salabhu we again find the same form of the character bh (as in l. 20).

b. For prāṣājhati = praśājasanti, cf. the note on A³, 17. I take gu for ghu (with loss of aspiration as in kadha = skandha) = khu i.e., khalu, which is also represented by ho and hu.

22 kamaramu a kamaratu kamu anuvicitaọ
kamu anusmaro bhikhu sadharma parihaṇyaṭi O

a. This verse only differs from the next, which alone is represented in the Pāli Dhammapada and of which it forms the antithesis; by the substitution of kāma, “desire,” for dharma, “law, virtue,” and by the corresponding suppression of the negative.

23 dhāmaramu dharamatu dhamu anuvicitaọ
dhamu anusmaro bhikhu sadharma na parihaṇyaṭi O

Cf. Dhammap., 364.

24 na sīlavatamathrena bahoṣukena va mano o
adha samadhilabhena vivitaṣayanena va O
phuṣamu nekhamasukhu aprudhajanasevi. bhikhu viśpaṣa ma?? a?te asavachaye ē O


a. Bahosukena is well explained as=bahusukkena, bahu autsukya, and "energy, activity" is a satisfactory meaning. One would, however, expect s, rather than ṣ, for ts. To make amends, the Pāli bahussaccena, if it is, with Fausbøll, to be derived from bahu+sata (="snrta"), ought to double the s: bahussacca. As the compound dr is usually changed into ṣ in our dialect, one may almost ask if the original reading should, as Childers seems to suppose (Dict., q. v.), have been bahusacca=bahusrtya, so that our two variants would be parallel deformations from it. It is so much the more difficult to decide it, as, after all, our text bahosukena, such as it is, is irproachable for the sense, and—in view of the confusions between the sibilants, of which the only verse that follows exactly gives us two examples—very much acceptable for the form. Māno for pana(?), punah with p changed into m.

b. The plural phuṣamu is certainly preferable to the singular, by the more general turn it gives to the thought. For the substitution of ṣ for s, cf. summasati (verse 13).

c. Our text would confirm, if there were need of it, the correction that Childers (J. R. As. Soc. n. ser. V, p. 225) has rightly introduced in the Pāli text, viśāvān māpādi for viśāvam āpādi; for, the cases where the final m is, in this manuscript, preserved by Sandhi, are quite rare, however a priori the division viśpaṣa ma" may be by far the most probable. I scarcely doubt that the two letters, half lost, may have been pādi; but I am not quite sure, so as to represent them in the transcription. The medial compound in viśpaṣa hardly appears clear here. For the different aspects of the compound letter, cf. viśpa in the next line, and vi(t)āpaṣa, Cvo. 24 (23 ?). Striking is the resemblance of the normal form of the compound with the compound figuring on the monuments of Spalagadames, Spalashores, Spalirises, which is generally transcribed as sp and ṣp (Führer, pl. I. 1. 29); I dare not declare myself in a decisive way between
the two readings. Meanwhile, there cannot be any
doubt about the word, which is viśvāsa, to be sure;
the second dental (i.e., ś) is then unduly palatalised
into s in this text; and this irregularity is explained
beyond doubt, as in saśana (ll. 28, 29; A, 2 4), by the
nearness of another palatal s; there is thus but little
appearance that this palatal ś could have been
supplanted in the preceding syllable, where it is justi-
fied by the etymology. I therefore incline to the
reading śp, and introduce it in my transcription.
This compound figures here only as representing a
Sanskrit śv. It does not appear to me to be a suffi-
cient reason to transcribe it as śv and risk the dis-
appearance of a dialectic peculiarity which likens
itself to a well-known peculiarity of Zend. To be
sure, aprate asavakṣaye—aprūpe asavakṣaye is what
our manuscript read—a stereotyped verse-end which
we have already met with (A1, 6, 7) and which I
reckon more genuine than the turn adopted by
the Pāli.

26 na bhikhu tavata bhoti yavata bhichati para
viśpa dharma samadai bh. khu bhoti na tavata O
Cf. Dhammap., 266.

a. There can be no hesitation in reading it as para; I
cannot explain the elongation of the stroke of the r
below the small lower hook, which generally ends the
letter in this manuscript. It is clear that kena
of the Pāli text should be substituted by tāvata, as it
does not give the necessary measure nor furnishes
the usual correlative face to face with yanata.

27 yo tu baheti pavana a vatava brammayiyava b
saghai carati loku so tu bhikhu tu a vucati O
Cf. Dhammap., 267.

a. I do not decide if the copyist has, in pavana, forgot
the stroke of the i = pāpāni, or if we have to do with
a genitive, which the Buddhist style presents often
after a transitive verb and in the function of the
accusative (cf. Mahāvastu, passim).
b. For *vatavīra* cf. *vatavantārya*, Dhammap., 208, 400. *Bramnavayāvīya* = *brahmaacaryavān*; I have already pointed out the spelling *ya* = *ca* (A³, 6, note c); as for *ya = rya*, the verse Ccro, 17 will give us side by side *vīrya* and *hinnavyāya*. In the same way, I find *brahmaviryaṇa* in a passage of the St. Petersburg manuscript.

c. I have already pointed out the tendency of compounds commencing with the nasal to soften the surd into the sonant (cf. A² Frag., note b) whence *saghai = sañkhāya*. For *carati* construed with the accusative, cf. above, A³, 6, and Mahāvastu, I, 410.

d. *Ve* of the Pāli is preferable to our first *tu*, which by an unhappy redundancy is repeated from the first *pada*; as for the second, it is a mistake for *ti*, a mistake to which, it appears, our copyist had a natural proneness (cf. v. 38), always under the influence of a *u* close by.

28 metravihari yo bhikhu prasau budhasaśane
tunati pavaka dharma drupapatra ba maturu ○

Cf. Dhammap., 368, for the first half-verse.

a. If we read *tunati*, I can make nothing out of it but *tundati* = *tudati* (cf. the Middle Vedic *tundate*); but the sense “to strike” is vague, and the expression middling. It is also easy to read *dunati*, and one might believe that it is an accidental inversion of *mudati* “to drive away, to suppress”, which suits very well, just as at the end of the verse, *maturu*, which is certainly a gross error of the copyist, is for *maratu* = *mārutah*. It is perhaps a great deal to own two mistakes of the same nature in the same line. The general sense is in every way clear: “The monk who lives charitably, adhering to the teaching of the Buddha, chases the evil as the wind a tree-leaf.”

29 metravihara yo bhikhu prasau budhaśas—
padivijhu pada śata sagharavosamu suha ○

Cf. Dhammap., 368.

a. *Metravihara*, that is to say, *uitravihāro*, can very well be used as equivalent to *maitravihārin*. This
form of speech is added as grammatically possible and from a comparison with the verses following, so as to command the disjunction "vihārei yo in the Pāli text.

b. Paṭivijjhati is understood in Pāli to mean "to penetrate"; it is then a very good synonym of adhigacche. The termination only is surprising; in short, I can only see in it a present participle of paṭivijjham, which should be completed by the substantive verb understood.

c. In saha striker also, I cannot help admitting an inversion, but of the vowel only, for saha striker which exactly corresponds to the Pāli.

30 udagacitu yo bhiku abhivuyu priapria
adhikachi pada ātara akavurūsapasevita O

For the third pāda, cf. Dhammap., 368.

a. A similar case has already (cf. aruny, A³, 16) given me the occasion to cite this absolute in yu for ya. But I have not hitherto found any other example (save, of course, the repetition in the next verse) of r for bh. Be that as it may, abhivuyu cannot be anything but abhikāya. Abhivahya, which one might also think of, on the precedent of aruny, would give neither sense nor any allowable construction. "The monk who feels happy having dominated pleasure and pain, reaches the region of peace, inaccessible to the weak-minded."

31 pramojahahulu yo bhiku abhivuyu priapria
adhikachi pada ātara aseyane moyaka O

For the first pāda, cf. Dhammap., 381.

a. Note the regular form of the character ku.

b. A syllable is wanting in the last pāda, and this irregularity is complicated with the somewhat unforeseen Maghadism aseyane = asacanain, so that I scarcely dare to suggest anything by way of firm
conjecture. If we admit that the copyist might have omitted a letter, and restore it as aseyanekamoyaka, that is to say, asecanekamocakam, we would suppress at least the oddness of the final e; but I have no parallel examples for ekamocaka "the only deliverer." The general meaning is not affected by this uncertainty of detail: "The monk who feels plenty of joy having dominated pleasure and pain, reaches the region of peace, the region (which is) delicious, (and which is a) liberator."

32 apramadaratu yo bhikhu pramadi bhayadasima
abhavu parihanae nivanaseva satii O

Cf. Dhammap., 32.

a.- Between the character read śi and the character read ma, an oblique stroke will be noticed. If the case were not, to my knowledge, so isolated, I would propose to see in the form ma with the oblique stroke an example of the analogous variant of ma to which I have had occasion to call attention elsewhere (Inscriptions de Piyadasi, I, pp. 23-24). This is, at least provisionally, the only explanation I can offer on this peculiarity.

33 apramadaratu yo bhikhu pramadi bha


a. The traces of letters at the end of the line do not fit in exactly with the two lips of the break, and therefore I cannot read them with certainty; but it is very likely that our verse ends like the Pāli by agva gachati. As to the preceding pāda, nothing is certain except that the last letter but one was accompanied by a u which well corresponds to thu of thulaṁ. I have, in the Pāli text, substituted the correction dahāṁ for sahaṁ, rightly pointed out by M. Max Müller (Transl. of the Dhammap., S. B. E., p. 10).
34 jai bhikhu ma yi pramadi\textsuperscript{a} ma te kamaguna \[bhame\textsuperscript{b}c\] ma lohaguda gili pramata kana dukham ida ti da-
\[jhamano\textsuperscript{c}\]

Cf. Dhammap., 371.

\textit{a.} The construction of the nominative \textit{pamūdo} is not happy, and a finite verb would be more proper; but it appears to me difficult to take \textit{pramadi}, which might be \textit{pramaji}, for the Potential, and I am inclined only to find in it the exact counterpart of the Pāli with a Maghadism in the termination \textit{i=c}.

\textit{b.} Our text furnishes a sure correction of the Pāli, the incongruity in which had justly embarrassed the interpreters. The compound \textit{ās} in our (i.e., the Prakrit) alphabet has so much the appearance of a doubled \textit{s} that one would be tempted to imagine that it was on a text written in the same alphabet that the deformation of \textit{bhame\textsuperscript{b}c} into \textit{bhavasu} must at first have been produced. The identity, in the dialect, of the nominative and the accusative plurals, both in \textit{ā}, facilitates on the other hand, the change of \textit{kāmagunā} into \textit{kāmagunāe}, rendered necessary by the first alteration.

\textit{c.} \textit{kana, kanda}, that is to say, \textit{krandam}. The form \textit{dahyate} is explained in Hemacandra IV, 246. “Meditate, O Monk, have done with relaxation! Let not the attraction of desire make thy spirit stray. Do not make the folly to swallow a (red-hot) iron ball to groan afterwards and be burnt with the thought, “what a suffering!”

35 sija bhikhu ima nama\textsuperscript{e} sita ti lahu bhesiti chetva raka ji doṣa ji tato nivana esiti\textsuperscript{e} O

Cf. Dhammap., 369.

\textit{a.} I have already pointed out this change of \textit{n} into \textit{m} in \textit{nama=nāvanā} (A\textsuperscript{4}, 9).

\textit{b.} I need not go back to \textit{ji=yi=ca} (cf. A\textsuperscript{3}, 6, note \textit{c}; B, 27, note \textit{b}). The third person \textit{esiti} can be strictly defended if we admit that with the second
half-verse the turn becomes general and indeterminate. To be brief, however, the second person of the Pāli is more natural.

36 krodhana akitaña i drohi ni
?mayiya cara bhikhu sasani

a. Of the traces at the end of the second pada there remains too little to be restored with certainty. Nevertheless, the last letter but one appears to have been a ja. I suppose then that the pada had ended in jahi.

b. This last verse may, I think, be re-established with much certainty. I translate, therefore, omitting the short gap of the third pada: “Spurn the man of anger, the ungrateful, the hateful, the............. observe purity, O Monk, true to the teaching of the Buddha.”

37 paja china paja jahi paja utvari bhavai
pajasagadhio bhikhu ohatino ti vucati

Cf. Dhammap., 370.

a. Above the ja of the second paja can be discerned a small stroke; but it is short and thick, and does not appear to have been intended to mark aspiration.

b. I had occasion above to point out this transposition of v: utvari=vuttari (A, 5, note a).

c. Although I may have expressed before (l. 3) that I do not think it right to transcribe as gh the form of the letter read ga, which we have here, it is not the less singular that this form is met with again precisely in the same word, here and in l. 3, and that, in the two passages, the word (saga) should have been written incorrectly with s for s dental. It goes without saying that our compound is sangadhiko and that it well answers to the Pāli in sense,—“who is above the five bonds”,—though not in form.
38 savāṣu namaruvasa yasa nathi mamaita
asata i na soyati so hu bhikhu tu vucatī "O

Cf. Dhammap., 367.

a. Namaruvasa, genitive for the locative, as frequently;
hu = khabu; tu for ti, cf. v. 27 above.

39 alagito " ya vi carea dhamu datu satu sañatu
[brammayari
savisu bhutesu nihai dana so bramanoso "
[śamano so bhikhu O

Cf. Dhammap., 142.

a. Strictly, it is rather alageto that the manuscript has;
nevertheless, the vowel stroke appears to pass a little
beyond the hook of y. It is, besides, very difficult, in
most cases, to decide with certainty if the copyist
wished to write e or i; to judge of it by a host of
examples would not attach to it any importance save
a quite relative value.

b. The o is comprised in the upper hook of the s.

40 yo najakamo bh.v.s. s.r(?) "
bhikhu jahati o viva udumareṣu "

Cf. Suttanipāta, 5.

a. There is no trace of the stroke of aspiration above
ja. I am, I believe, sure of the reading mo. We
have already met with several proofs of the tendency
of this dialect to labialise the a into u after m. It
quite seems that our manuscript must have had a
reading wholly equivalent here to that of the Pāli.
Meanwhile, it is impossible to restore bhavesu saravī;
the stroke of the vowel is wanting above the v; as
the s which follows is certain, we are allowed to ask
if it is not a gross error of the copyist.

b. Our text appears to have transposed the second and
the fourth pādās. It is all the more singular that the
second half of the stanza forms, in this verse and
those following, a sort of stereotyped cadence. I do not see what sense the comparison might have at the end of the verse, where it seems to have been transported from the second páda. Be that as it may, we may, on the likeness of C\textsuperscript{o}, 1, 2, admit that it should be completed as \textit{puruṣa} viva Ṽ.

Here we come to a series of stanzas, which find their Pāli counterparts in the first chapter, \textit{Uragasutta}, of the \textit{Suttanipāta}. Unfortunately, the lines that are about to follow are still more fragmentary than these. Some fragments, several of which can be reconciled with certainty, enable us to fill up only a part of the gap; no line can be completed entirely. These restorations concern especially the end of verses, and this end is here uniform for all; what remains of the commencements is short and occasionally doubtful; lastly, although the threads along the margin may be preserved, the scraps which still adhere thereto in the principal leaf B, could not with certainty be re-instated in their proper places and with their respective intervals. In the circumstances, it will be understood that I have not been able to reunite in a decisive manner the beginnings and the ends of line.

It seems at least certain that the eight line-ends, as far as and including that which ends in the cipher on the margin, succeed one another without interruption. Above and below, the leaf is broken; some gaps are then, \textit{a priori}, allowable; but, as to the lower gap, the visible tension of the thread on the left appears to exclude it. The cipher on the margin marks, besides, the end of a chapter; with the line that is prolonged, the last of our eight lines,—ends then the series of stanzas of uniform frame.

If now we looked at the beginnings, it would not appear that, between the line \textit{yo uṇa} and the line \textit{vama vama}, there are missing more lines than one, viz., that of which the beginning \textit{yo ecu sarī} is preserved by the Fragment B vi.

This being granted, the fragment B xiii, which fits in surely above the end of line 42, preserves the remainder of a previous stanza of the same structure. A line, then, is certainly dropped after the one which we number 40. Is one only dropped?

To consider the beginnings of line, gaps scarcely seem to be noticeable. If we fill up with a line
(44)

(to each), we will have eight commencements as against eight ends, and all will appear to agree.

But the fragments A vi and A v, which hold together, apply with certainty to the ends of lines 42-45. It will be necessary then that the beginning yo upat should belong to verse 42. Now, if vikaya and suitha correspond well, which I cannot doubt, to vigayha and osadhaki of the Suttanipata, the commencements yo upa and yo mana, indisputably continued by Fr. B x, can only belong to ll. 43 and 44. This adjustment is, it will be seen, confirmed by the lines that follow.

It implies the omission not of one but of at least two verses. The fragments B iv and B iii, which make up the rest, should be joined to the commencement yasavana. The uncertainty which the comparison with Pali might raise on this last point and on the connection of the end of line kapa...with the commencement yo necasari of l. 48, does not appear to me to counterbalance the possibilities which I have pointed out. The real difficulty lies elsewhere.

The figure on the margin of l. 49 gives 40 as the number of the stanzas in this chapter. In our arrangement we should have 42. It is not probable that a figure marking the units should have been dropped. By supposing the loss of a single verse this contradiction can be partly reduced. It has been seen that verse 14 occurs twice. It might be said that our copyist has committed a very gross mistake and that the cipher was right. But the hypothesis of a gap of two verses does not support this explanation; for it must be 41. It only remains for us to take the cipher as a mistake. I understand how extreme this procedure is. But I have found no means as yet to avoid it. It is important, at all events, to remember that the agreement of Fr. B x with the commencement of lines 43-44, that of Fragments B vi and B xiv with the commencement of lines 45-47 and 48-50, and that of Fragments B xiii, A vi, A v, B ii, B v and B vii with the ends of lines 41-48 are equally unassailable.

I beg to be excused for having entered into such long details in connection with fragments which are very incoherent and of middling interest; but it should be the duty of an editor not to neglect them.
[orupa. urako jinav(i)va (t)vaya purana]

[Foot-note: ¹ Fr. B xiii.]

Cf. Suttan., 1 fg.

a. The first four letters that are readable can hardly be anything but orapara; but the n is quite visible at the foot of the second letter which has all the appearance of an r; the next one may be, though there is no certainty, the remainder of a p. As for the final r, it has left no trace in our fragment. The regular change of the final m of jinum=jirum into v will be noticed in all these passages. It is the counterpart of bhavana=bhāvam (A⁴, 9), nama=nāvam (B, 35).

[vikaya so bhikhu jahati] orapara urako⁹ jinaviva tvaya [purana]

[Foot-notes: ¹ Fr. A vi. ² Fr. B. xiii preserves the traces of the top of the letters orapara ura, whereby it agrees with Plate B.]

Cf. Suttan., 2.

a. I suppose that our vikaya=vigayha, vigāhya. The equation here is not constrained. At all events, this is the only serial verse of the Suttanipata with which ours appears fit to be connected.

[yo upat—"ineti kodhu visara"] [⁴saitha]
[³so bhikhu jahati] orapara urako jinaviva [tvaya purana]

[Foot-notes: ³ Fr. B x. ⁴ Fr. A vi, and fr. A v, which are adjusted below bear traces of the lower parts of the characters saitha s. bh. kh. ⁵ Fr. A vi.]
Cf. Suttan., l.
a. This last letter cannot be a ʈ, and has rather the appearance of an r, although the foot of the vertical line has not the hook which generally accompanies it. If such then is the true reading, it only remains to admit that the r is for the cerebral t, visara for visata = visita.

b. The reading sattha appears with certainty to result from joining the two fragments. The striking similarity which these characters have with (ā)satkehi of the Pāli and, at the same time, the difference which renders the interpretation thereof so doubtful, are misleading. If at least we had satthai, we could believe in a hardening of ḍh into ṭh, and in a spelling i = hi. It is useless to risk conjectures for which we possess only too narrow a basis.

44 yo mana udavahi a[śeṣa bisa] [mahoho] so bhikhu jahati] orapāra urako jinaviva tvaya [purana

[Foot-notes: ¹ Fr. B x. ² Fr. A v.]

a. Morris (Journ. P. T. S., 1887, p. 136) was of opinion that it should be read udabhahi in Pāli, and derived the word from ud-avahi “to extirpate.” Our text can only favour this conjecture. It seems that the mistake in Pāli rests upon a false interpretation of a more corrupt Pārkkrit which must have ordinarily weakened ḍh into h.

b. Mahoho = mahogo, just as we have obhatio in l. 37. I would have some difficulty to discern the first two characters without the comparison with the Sutta-nipāta.
45 yo taṣa [udachai aṣeṣa sa]a
[so bhikhu jahiti o]rapara urako jinaviva tvaya
[purana]b

[Foot-notes: a Fr. B vi. b Fr. A v. c Fr. B vii. bears traces of the foot of the characters at this line-end, after rako.]

Cf. Suttan., 3.

a. I take udachai = udachida, with elision of the d (in Pāli itself we come across kḥyati, kḥyita) and an approximate orthography ai for iya, somewhat as we have unacai = upātyagā, upaccagā.

46 yo sa [rvakelesa dalaiṭha na]c [ku]d
so bhikh][u jahati orapara u][ rako jinaviva [tvaya purana]

[Foot-notes: 1 Fr. B vi. 2 Fr. B ii. 3 Fr. B v. 4 Fr. B vii.]

a. The Suttaniyāta does not furnish any counterpart to this verse. Keleṣa is for kileṣa; dalaiṭha from dālayati: "He who has smashed all evil passions."

4. The consonant k is quite doubtful.

47 [yo ecasari na precasari sa]e [rva]
[so bhikhu jahati orapara u][rako jinaviva tvaya [purana]

[Foot-notes: 5 Fr. B vi. 6 Fr. B xiv. 7 Fr. B v. 8 Fr. B vii.]

a. The correction neça seems absolutely necessary.
48 yo necasari na pre[1 casari sarva vi]a.......[2? p.,
so bhikhu jahati orapara ura][3ko jinaviva tvaya
[purana]

[Foot-notes:  1 Fr. B xiv.
  2 Fr. B v.
  3 Fr. B vii.]


a. The formula which constitutes the first pāda, here and
in the preceding stanza, and which is reproduced in
verses 8-14 of the Suttanipāta, is embarrassing. This
time we have necca, as surely as we had eca in the previ-
ous line. In both cases we have preca, to be sure.
This ill agrees with the Pāli text such as M. Fausbøll’s
edition gives us. That text is in itself very doubtful
and obscure. M. Fausbøll analyses na-ati-sarati,
pratisarati. According to this hypothesis, neither the
long a, which however is contrary to metre, nor the
long i which the metre demands, is explained. As
regards the rendering “he who did not go too fast
forward nor was left behind” (S. B. E., X2, p. 2), it
only affords, over and above the difficulties too evident
to dwell upon, a very vague meaning, which hardly
satisfies me. Unfortunately, it is more easy to criti-
cize than to substitute a clear version for it. The
persistence of theowel c, and of the reading
preca in our Ms., appears to me at least decisive
against the reading of the Pāli. On the other hand,
the persistence of the n in the Pāli, face to face with
the divergences of our text, makes me inclined to admit
for both the cases necca, so that the antithesis between
na eca and na preca might be established, that is to
say, na etya na pretya. But what is to be done with
sari, for such is the spelling which the measure seems
to require? Sarin occurs in Pāli in certain composi-
tions, as aravasari (Suttanip., 685), to mean “he who
guides himself, who takes his course towards.” In
etyasarin and pretyasarin I propose to see some expres-
sions formed on this type and opposed to each other,
to mean “he who is never on the way to come to
this world or to leave it,” in other words, “he who is
freed from the round of rebirth and death.”
The letter $p$, though cut off mid-way, seems certain; as regards that which precedes, it might be the remainder of a $p$. This reading $kapa$, at the end of the second pāda, would make us think of verse 16 of the Suttanipāta, of which the second pāda finishes with netukappā; it is true that the first pāda does not contain the formula yo neccasari, etc. This is still one of the reasons that leave some doubt in me about the precision of agreement which I have attempted to show between the beginnings and the ends of lines. It is in some measure aggravated by the circumstance that the beginning of our line 50 appears to agree with the first pāda of verse 16 of the Suttanipāta, so that if the two adjustments were justified, it is to the commencement of line 50 that it would be suitable to join the present line-end. I have pointed out the difficulties with which a similar adjustment would be confronted; it would render impossible the combinations proposed for the preceding lines, several of which appear surer and more convincing than this one. Besides the uncertainty lurking in the reading $kapa$ and the possibility, quite open, of variations between our text and the Pāli version, it will be seen that the identification of our l. 50 with the Pāli beginning of stanza 16 is far from clear.

49 yasa anośeSa na [¹ sati keyi o] ¹
                      ————————[² urako jina] ———[³ tvaya purana]

On the margin: 40.

[Foot-notes: ¹ Fr. B xiv.
          ² Fr. B xli.
          ³ Fr. B vii.]


a. AnośeSa, for anuśeSa, affords again a particular spelling, $en = aya$. We see by the initial $o$, which is certain, that our redaction was deviating from the Pāli.
50  yasa vanasía\textsuperscript{a} na [\textsuperscript{1}sati keyi] \textsuperscript{b} \textsuperscript{a} \textsuperscript{b} \textsuperscript{c} so bhikhu jahati orap][\textsuperscript{2}sara urako jinaviva tva] u c o

[Foot-notes: \textsuperscript{1} Fr. B xiv. \\
\textsuperscript{2} Fr. B iv. \\
\textsuperscript{3} Fr. B iii.]

Cf. Suttan., 16:
yassa vanathajá na santi keci
and Suttan., 17:
..............(anígho tinnjakathamkato) visallo......

a. It is natural to think that the commencement corresponds well to the first páda of the Páli\textsuperscript{4}, and vanadhia = vanathajá should have nothing surprising in such cases, where the j is more than once eliminated between two vowels; \textsuperscript{b} for th would, on the other hand, have for its defence, the comparison of śiśila for śithila. The letter read \textsuperscript{c} which follows, has a slightly abnormal aspect and the upper hook is much more rounded than ordinarily. If the fac-simile is compared, it may be ascertained that vanasía, such as it is written, is not different from vanadhia. Perhaps the scribe had committed a mistake in the reading, which must necessarily have been reflected in his copy.

[Foot-note: \textsuperscript{4} The fac-simile might make us believe that it must be read yase vann\textsuperscript{e}; this would be a mistake. A very small piece of bark sticks above the s, and it is the shade that is reflected from it which, in photograph, appears as ink-mark.]

b. The character \textsuperscript{e} in half is still discerned before \textsuperscript{s}a.
Therefore, I can but little doubt that our two letters represent the end of the word visallo which occurs in the next verse of the Suttanipáta. If it is so, our text would represent, for the Páli, a variant which must have more or less completely associated a páda of verse 16 with a páda, or part of a páda, of verse 17. I have stated farther above (l. 40, note \textsuperscript{b}) the motives which, in spite of this difficulty, and although the fragments B iv and B iii may not be connected with the fr. B xiv by any external evidence, have persuaded me to tie up these diverse remains into a single stanza.
c. I like to remark, without attaching to the observation any more certainty than is proper, that fr. B iii seems to agree quite conveniently with the little that remains of this line in the principal leaf. I have already said farther above (l. 40, note b) why the figure 40, which marks certainly the end of a chapter and the number of verses it contains, appears inaccurate. It is, I am of opinion, 41 or 42 that ought to have been written, and the margin is so little affected that I dare not venture to admit that the index of these units was eaten away.

51

o. vanas ... ru

a. I can make nothing out of what remains of the last pāda. I regret all the more that the tail of the s, which is clearly recognizable, is traversed by a semicircular stroke, which undoubtedly formed with the auxiliary letter a compound, of which it might have been interesting to fix the value.

52

paśadha muto ban(d)hanam eva jayati

Cf. Dhammap., 344: yo nibbanatho1 vanādhimutto, etc.

[Foot-note: 'This is Childers' correction, J. R. As. Soc., n. s. V, p. 226.]

a. We have already met with, and will come across several times as we proceed, the n surmounted by the stroke of aspiration to express ndh of Sanskrit. I do not here decide what exact pronunciation this orthography corresponds to. The reading jayati appears very certain. We cannot think of jāvati, written by y for r, since the first syllable would be short. I can only see in it the equivalent of the Pāli yājati which I find, for example, in Mahāvagga, v, 9, 4, and which I interpret as a term derived by extension from yāti. The j is for y, just as we have often in this manuscript the inverse, y for j.
yi nivana bhodha bhichave

a. Nivana = nirvana. This word connects this stanza well with the preceding one. Nih-vana, "without concupiscence," is the synonym of nibbanatha of the Pali in the previous verse. "O monks, liberate yourselves from concupiscence!"

? cheravayo? tara

a. These few characters do not suggest to me any plausible restoration. We must wait for the discovery of the Pali counterpart.

FRAGMENTS OF B.

I have collected under this head twenty-seven fragments in all. I transcribe here only those which contain at least some certain letters. Although the most important ones already figure above in the partial reconstruction of lines 41 fg., I think I ought, in order to be clearer, to reproduce them here separately.

I. A few remnants of four lines; there is no pada-end to furnish even a rough indication of the place which the remaining words, more or less visible, occupy in the stanza, and out of which I regret not to be able to draw anything satisfactory.

ta° dhamidati ūna(t)va
ruakamanaipracea u
vinavananakavaihadu
????ga(?)ti ?
a. This letter is doubtful; I dare not decide if the trace which appears at the top, on the right, belongs to it or goes with the preceding letter which has disappeared. I need not repeat that for want of an intelligible context all the t's or d's may be taken, one for the other.

II. Cf. line 46.

ku so bhikh

III. Cf. line 50.

ra urako jinaviva tv

IV. Cf. line 50.

viśala so bhikhu jahati orap

V. Cf. lines 46-48.

??u

bh. u jahati orapara ur

o bhikhu jahati orapara ur

[ka ?]pa s. bhikhu jahati orapara urak

VI. Cf. lines 45-47.

....udachai aśeṣa sa?

...rvakeleṣa dalaitha na

yo ecasari na precasari sa

VII. Cf. lines 45-49.

?ko ?? ?? (t)v-u

rako jinaviva tvaya purana

rako jinaviva tvaya purana

ko jinaviva tvaya purana

tvaya purana
VIII. Cf. above, lines 16-18.

   yasa jana ca praṇa ya so ho (ni)r(va) 
   idriagoti satuṭhi pratimukhe i
   padisa?ra?tisa ayarak

IX.

   gamagasa

X. Cf. lines 43-44.

   ineti kodhu visara
   aśeṣa bisa

XI. Cf. line 49.

   urako jina

XII.

   saṇoṣya

XIII. Cf. above, lines 41-42.

   orup(?). urako jinaviva tva????
   orapara u

XIV. Cf. lines 47-50.

   sarva
   casari sarva vi
   sati keyi o
   sati keyi

XV.

   visa?
1 ["yamaloka ji"] ita'sadevaka
go dhamapada sud ситa kuśala puṣaviva payesiti

[Foot-note: 1 Fr. C vi.]

Cf. Dhammap., 44.

a. Ita, that is to say, etavim: the world of Yama and the
world of the Devas. Eta, as used here, is preferable to
imān of the Pāli, which is not happily associated with
paṭkāvin. The change of puṣpa into puṣa is to be
noticed. For the sandhi puṣaviva, cf. jinaviva
of verses B, 40 fg., and for payesiti compare
vihaśini (B, 19), etc.

2 budhu pradha{siti yamaloka ji eta sadevaka
budhu dhamapada sudesita kuśala puṣaviva

[payesiti O]

Cf. Dhammap., 45.

a. It is certainly to this line and to the next that the
commencements belong which, in the present con-
dition of the leaf, appear lower on the right. The
spelling pradha[vi] = prthivi is to be noticed.

b. I dare not affirm if it ought to be read puṣaviva or
puṣuviva. Meanwhile, I incline to the belief that
the scribe had the intention to efface the n which he
had at first traced. I incline thereto all the more, as
in the same word in the preceding line, a somewhat
miscarried intention to write su seems also to be
discovered.

3 yadha saga?udasa ujhitasa mahapathi
padumatu tatra jaea suyigan(d)ha manoramu O

Cf. Dhammap., 58.

a. To complete, sagaravudasa = saṅkārakāte, with elision
of the medial k. For the equivalence of saṅkāra-
kutā and saṅkāradhāna, cf. Childers s.v. saṅkāro.
The genitive here performs the function of locative.
The stroke of aspiration is well visible on the top of
the j of ujhit and of the n of gandha.
4 saghadhadhamaa andhate prudhijane
   abhi.o.ti prañai samesabudhasavaka

[Foot-note: 1 In every part of the line, Fr. VII helps us to complete the characters, the lower portions of which it has preserved in part. The initial e of the third pada is wholly preserved there also.]

Cf. Dhammap., 59.

a. The reading sagadhadhamaa appears to me certain, except the last letter which might be e or i; the lower part is not visible. The word remains difficult. I can only get out of the trouble by admitting that the scribe has, through mistake, written saghadha for sagara=saṅkāra. This is what follows from a comparison with the previous verse. Saghara =saṅkāra would, in itself, not be inexplicable. Cf., however, line 14. As regards the second part, it only remains for me to take dhamae=dharme, just as we have in the inscription of Takht i Bahi satatimae, etc. The expression “which is in the condition of dunghill,” “which is like the dunghill” can be justified. It seems that the reading is almost kote, which should be=bhūte. If it is not certain, it is at least highly probable. The transcription prudhi=prthak is remarkable.

b. The bh appears certain; abhirocati may very well be used=atrococi. Same=saṇya[k] is the usual orthography in our manuscript.

5 [ga 15]

[Foot-note: 2 Fr. C VII.]

6 yo .[3 hasa sahasani sagami manuṣa jīni
   eka ji] atmanasa so ho sagamu utamu O

[Foot-note: 2 Fr. C VII.]

Cf. Dhammap., 103.

a. The g of sagami has once more the form which one might, had it appeared only here, be tempted to interpret as=gr. To be right nearer the Pāli, it
should be admitted that sahasāni is an inversion for sahasāna. But the variant sahassatā sahassāni "thousand thousands" is at least as plausible as the other expression.

b. I am not at all convinced that the Pāli reading suṅgāmajuttamo may be something else than the result of a confusion of writing, skilfully arranged. At all events, there is nothing to look for in our text but the nominative suṅgrāma uttamaḥ.

7 saha\[sa bi ya gașana\[a\] anathapa][\[e\] sebhā yā ṣutva uvașamati

[Foot-notes: 1 Fr. C vii. 2 Fr. C xi.]

Cf. Dhammap., 100.

a. I should not dare, on the appearance of the character alone, to decide positively if it must be read sa or ya. But in several cases we find -hooks for -k, for instance, in sīṣīla, Cvo, 32 (C, 30 ²).

b. The character which I read bh is again the same as before.

8 \[a\] sata bhașe anathapadasahita\[a\] s.hu yā ṣutva uvașamati

[Foot-note: 3 Fr. C xi.]

Cf. Dhammap., 102.

da. Although there is nothing left but a faint part of the characters, the agreement of the main leaf puts the restoration of the verse beyond doubt. As regards the gaps, it is less certain that they can be filled up almost exactly from the Pāli; for in that case the present verse will be repeated, without variation, together with line 10. It is probable that some differentiation of detail may have been intended, sufficient to justify, in the not very scrupulous judgment of the Buddhists, the repetition of the stanza in two formulae very much bordering on each other.
9. sa bi ya gadhana anathapadasahita
   eka gadhapada śeho ya śutva uvasamati


10. ja gadhasata bhaśe anathapadasahita
    eka gadhapada śeho ya śutva uvasamati

[Foot-note: These first letters are partly completed by the lower portions in Fr. C ix.]

Cf. Dhammap., 102. Cf. line 8 above.

11. [²masamasi sahasina yo yacea] śatena ca
    nevi budhi prasadasa kala aveti śoḍaśa

[Foot-note: Fr. C ix.]

a. This verse and the next are cast in the same mould, the elements of which we recover, disjoined and loosely differentiated, in verses 106: māse māse sakassena yo yajetha sānasamaṇṇ, and 70: na so saṅkhāta-dhammānaṁ kalām ugghati sasāṁ of the Dhammapada. The equivalent of our six stanzas is found again exactly in the Udānavarga, translated by Rockhill, chap. xxiv, where it seems that the text must have been closely nearer ours. The first half-verse, however, is there translated: “Whoever performs month by month, a thousand sacrifices, for a hundred years”, which corresponds exactly to the Pāli text. I understand our reading sahasena śatena ca in the sense which the text, by multiplying the cipher, imposes upon the indefinite or infinite number of sacrifices.

b. In the verses following we have neva which is the only correct form, because, whether neva or navi, it must be = nāpi. “He who would, month by month, offer sacrifices by hundreds and by thousands, does not earn a sixteenth part of the merit that procures faith in the Buddha.”
12 ['samase sahasena yo yaea satina ca neva] prasa.sa kala aveti šoḍaśa°

[Foot-note: ¹ Fr. C vii.]

a. It is evidently to be completed as [dhama]prasadasa, and this stanza corresponds to Udānav., xxiv, 27.

13 masamase sahasina yo yaea satena ca neva saghi prasadasa kala aveti šoḍaśa O

Cf. Udānav., xxiv, 28.

14 masamasi sahasena yo yaea satena ca neva saghasadhamesu° kala aveti šoḍaśa O

a. This verse is to be compared with stanza 70 of the Dhammapada, which reads, according to the right correction of Childers: samkhātadhammānān. Here the reading saḥkhā° is excluded, and one can only hesitate between saḥadhā and saḥhasa; the last letter has suffered indeed. It seems very well, however, that the black point which still appears below, marks the end of the hook turned from left to right, which characterises the s. On the other hand, we have, in line 4, met with saḥadhadhama, where the dh is as certain as difficult to explain, and I was in that case obliged, for want of something better, to take dh for r as a copying mistake. I do not see any other alternative than to suppose an error similarly here, s for t. If it could be read dh, this peculiar transformation of t into dh should at least have a counterpart in samadhā of line 87 (16?) and, not to go so far, in kusidha = kusīda in line 17. At all events, in spite of their close exterior resemblance, it is quite unlikely that the two qualificatives should be identical in both verses: the sense required by the context is, in the one case, as unfavourable as it is necessarily favourable in the other. It may be admitted here that the use of an oft-occurring expression like saḥdhama has inclined the scribe, hardly learned, to a mistake, so as to render him guilty of it. To this
verse corresponds stanza 33 of the Udānavarga, of which the rendering "he who explains well the holy law" appears to reflect the expression svākhyaādharma.

15 masamase sahasena yo yae[a satena ca]

tēṣu a kala aveti śoḍaśa O

[Foot-note: 1 Fr. C xlii.]

a. The mutilated consonant to which is attached the e may be t or r. I know no means to decide between the two, any more than complete the line. The Udānavarga has four stanzas, 29-32, which may strictly correspond to the spirit of this; yet, as the numbers 29-31 are composed on a unique formula, slightly differentiated in each case, which is in keeping with the turn of the next stanza, and as, on the other hand, the termination eṣu suffices to prove that our present verse was not imitated from the next, it is likely that it was to verse 32 of the Udānavarga that this formed a pendant.

16 masamase sahasena yo yaea śatena ca

ekapanāñābisa a kala naveti śoḍaśa O

a. As I have just said, this stanza forms a pendant to the idea expressed, with slight variations, in the stanzas 29-31 of the Udāna. Ekapanāñābisa is indeed = ekaprāṇānukampināḥ; "he does not acquire a sixteenth part of the merit that belongs to him who takes pity on a single living being."

17 ya ja vaśāṣata jīvi kusīdu a hināvīyava

muhutu jīvita śebha virya arahato dṛḍha O

Cf. Dhammap., 112.

a. For kusīdu = Pāli kuśito, Sk. kuṣīda, cf. l. 14 above, (note a).

b. We will find drīḍha and vṛiddha in Cvo. II. 32 and 34.
18 ya ji vaśaśato jivi apaśu udakavaya
muhuta jivita śebh. paśato udakavaya

Cf. Dhammap., 118.

a. B, 18 has already made us familiar with the orthography udaka = udaya. Āṣato and apaśu represent side by side the two equivalents o and u for the termination aṁ, so often ascertained in this Ms. Ji and ja are spellings entirely equivalent; it can be ascertained by our ji being in the place of ja in the two verses which contain them.

b. This is the character which I read bh.

19 ya ja vaśaśata jiv. apaśu dhamu utamu
m.huta jivita .e.hu paśatu dhamu utamu

Cf. Dhammap., 115.

20 ya ja vaśaśata jatu6 agi pariyara vane
sa pi telena divaratra atadrito

21 [e ka ji bhavitatmana muhuta] viva p. a2b
sameva puyana śebha yaji vaśaśata hotu'

[Foot-note: 1 Fr. C xxix.]

Cf. Dhammap., 107.

a. The ślokā of six pādas of the Pāli appears in our manuscript under the form of a regular double ślokā; the third and fourth pādas develop the idea contained in the first two. I dare not propose anything to fill up the gap of three syllables. The reading jatu of our Ms. suggests instead a correction for the Pāli text, which appears to me to be certain. Jantu has only been explained as = jantu, a nominative, by some unacceptable devices. It is jatu that should be read in the Pāli, and understood here. The vowel has been omitted by the copyist in pariyara which must be pariyori or pariyare. "He who, for a
hundred years, continually keeps up the sacred fire in forest, day and night unwearied, .......... with oil

b. I take muhntaviva = muhutameva. For the last letter, the head of an “a” is still recognisable; the copyist had no doubt written puae with elision of the $y=j$.

c. Sameva = sayeva. Hota = hutam shows to what extent (though small) o and u are made equivalent easily in the eye of our scribe.

22 ['ya keja yathā va ho. va lok

ti ahivadana ujukatesu śihō

[Foot-note : ¹ Fr. C iv.]

Cf. Dhammap., 108.

a. Keja and yathā = kiji and yitha; the scribe cares little for the vowels.

23 ------------------------ ga 17

24 ['śilamatu suyisacho]$ ] dhamatho sadhujuvano
atmano karako sadhuni$¹$ ta jano kurati$¹$ priu$⁰$

[Foot-note : ² Fr. C IV completed by fr. C II.]

Cf. Dhammap., 217.

a. As parallel to śilamatu, seil. śilamantam I recall vatamata, C, 37. The reading suyisacho seems to be well established by the agreement of the two fragments IV and II. Suyi = veci is warranted by several examples; sacho can only be = saccain, satyaśin, but then it must be admitted that the aspirate is faulty. I do not see any other alternative. The compound vecisatya, although it is rendered well in French with a unique literalness “(he) who speaks the pure truth,” is not, however, a current expression. Sadhujuvana : “of good life.”

b. The resemblance with the Pāli is here only general. Kāraka appears to me used absolutely, as in the commentary of the Dhammapada, pp. 150-151; in co-ordinating kārakam and sādhvin I mean “who
is active and conscientious himself," that is to say, who does with zeal and conscience whatever concerns him.

c. The hook at the foot of the r not being exactly closed, as would suit to explain the u, I do not dare to affirm that the copyist may have wished to write kuruti, that is to say, kurute, though to me it may be very probable.

25 ['śadhu śilena sabano yaśabhahasamapitu']
yena yeneva vayatīb tena teneva puyita O

[Foot-note: 1Fr. C II, the top of the letters for the second pāda being completed by the main leaf.]

Cf. Dhammap., 303.

a. Śadhu=brāddhah. I find no trace of o in the k of yaśa. Bhōha is certain as far as the consonants are concerned. But it almost seems that the k is accompanied down on the left by a small hook expressing the vowel u. Must the scribe have written yaśabhohu for yaśnbhoha? Besides, I take bhōha=bhoga, through an intermediate form bhoya, just as we have seho=śreyah and as we shall in the next line meet with dharmīho=dhamīyo, for dharmīko.

b. Vayatī might strictly be explained after the analogy of abhīvnya, B, 30, 31 as=the Pāli bhajati. But it is more natural to think that it is=vrajati, and I should rather believe that bhajati of the Pāli, which it is very difficult to interpret, has sprung, by an inverse confusion, from an original sojati.

26 [‘yo natimahetu na parasa hetu pavani kamani
samaya]rea
na ichia
[‘samidhi atmano so śilava]
panitu bhūmihho sia

[Foot-note: 1 Fr. C II.
* Fr. C XXXII. These are nothing but a few traces; they do not appear to me sufficient for the purpose of restoring these few words with certainty.]

Cf. Dhammap., 84.
a. The construction of our text with an initial ya is more natural than that of the Pāli. Pavani kāmāni samayareya = pāpāni kāmāni samācareyya in Pāli.

b. Pānītu, that is to say, pānditaṭṭha replaces pāññāvā of the Pāli. For dhāmmmo cf. the note on the previous line.

27 ["sañatu suñati yati drugati yati asañatu ma sa viñpaśa"]

[Foot-note: 2 Fr. C 1.]

a. "The man who dominates his passions comes to a happy future; he who does not, to an unhappy future. Let not the former trust......" I translate as if it were viñpaśe; but this is a mere hypothesis.

28 ["savutu pratimukhasa idriṣu ca pajaṣu pramuni anu"]

[Foot-note: 1 Fr. C 1.]

The first two pādas are to be compared with Suttanip. 340: Savutto pātimokkhamiṁ ṭudriṣu ca pācaṣu; we may also compare Dhammap., 375: pātimokhe ca saṁvara. As for pramuni, we have already met with it in A¹, 3. "By restraining oneself according to the precepts and in respect of the five senses, one obtains......"

29 ["v.s.t. sudhaśa suyi] ?sa samajakavata" 0

[Foot-note: 2 Fr. C 1.]

a. Besides sudhasa and suyi, that is to say, perhaps suyikamaṁ (= sucikarma), I cannot make anything out of these fragments, the concluding part of which suggests to me no reasonable explanation. I expect a more faithful memory than mine to discover the Pāli reflex of it.
30 ["dhamu cari sucarita"] ["???carita cari
dhamayari suh."] šeti asmi loki parasa yi O

[Foot-notes: ¹ Fr. C xiii.
² Fr. C v.]

Cf. Dhammap., 169.

31 ["ah] ["o nako va sagami cavadhi vatita śara"
ativaka ti] ["drušilo hi bah]o jano O

[Foot-notes: ¹ Fr. C xiii.
² Fr. C v.
³ Fr. C xxii.]

Cf. Dhammap., 320.

a. The termination dhi, for tah, in cavadhi = cāpātaḥ
would again afford an instance of the change of t into
dh, if a direct transition could be admitted from te to
dhe, dhi, with the Māgadhism te for to. I have
nothing more convincing to suggest; this, however,
does not mean that the explanation satisfies me.

32 ["sa acata" drušilia malua vavi lata vanī
kuya su tadha].["tmana yadhna na višamu"
ichati O]

[Foot-notes: ⁴ Fr. C v.
⁵ Fr. C xxii.]

Cf. Dhammap., 162.

a. I know few cases in our Ms. where it would be
tempting to seek for an anusvāra under-written,
more than in the ca of acata, so much accentuated
is the hook at the foot. But that would be impru-
dent; if one compares dhi of cavadhi in the foregoing
line, and ca of carita in the line preceding that, one
will, I think, share this impression and conclude
that the scribe, while at work, readily amused him-
self with making manifest the minute details of
certain characters.
b. We see that in this pada our text deviates from the Pāli version, and simply says: “He whose malignity is extreme like (invāpi) [that of] the mālukā creeper in the forest”; and, in fact, a passage of the Lalitavistara (p. 250, l. 2) characterises this plant by the epithet anukhetā, without any other explanation; for my part, as I am ignorant of what exactly the plant in question is, I should not hope to elucidate the reasons for this vexations name; the verse on p. 207, l. 5 appears to indicate that it is a parasite plant and that it destroys the tree to which it attaches itself. The turn of expression in our recension seems to me more simple and original. Whatever it may be, given the Sanskrit form mālu. I suppose that māluna is = mālukā and that the Pāli māluna is only another spelling for mālukā, formed on the basis of the Pāli rule which does away with hiatus.

c. Kṛṣṇa = kṛṣṇāt. Na = naṁ, naṁ. Viṣamana has a sense, “vicious, wicked”, more vague and less expressive than the diso (= devis, “enemy”) of the Pāli.

33 [ˈyok.d.a bh]

a rathapina asañatu

[Foot-note: 1 Fr. C v.]

Cf. Dhammap., 308.

a. All that we can see from the commencement of verse is that in guḍa the ṣ has been hardened into k, as is so often.

34 [əga 10]

[Foot note: 2 Fr. C xli.]

35 ida ja mi keca ida ji karia ida kari

vinamana abhimadati muca?? saśoṣa

a. I have not discovered the Pāli reflex of this stanza. What remains of it would, I suppose, give in Sanskrit idaḥ ca me kṛtyaṁ idaḥ ca kāryaṁ idaṁ k

vinamāno ’bhimardati mytyu..., saśokam; which,
with the reservation of the necessary complements, can go back to a general sense like "by properly understanding one's duty, one crushes death and the pains of it."

36 ṭḍha vaṣa kariṣamu" ṭḍha h. matagi

Cf. Dhammap., 286.

a. It is not quite possible to decide if kariṣamu is, on the analogy of the Pāli, a first person singular with an inaccurate orthography (cf. phuṣamu, B, 25), or if it regularly represents the first person plural.

37 ta putrapaṣusamadha°

Cf. Dhammap., 287.

a. I have pointed out à propos l. 14 this particular orthography samadha for samata = sammatta, and cited analogies.

38 puve i kica parijaga ["??—kici kicakali adea° tata diṣa parika]["ma kicakari no ; kicakici ali adea]

[Foot-notes: ¹ Fr. C XXVII. ² Fr. C XXX.]

a. Although the gap is comparatively small, I have not been able to find out the exact sense of this stanza. The gap before kici should, beyond doubt, be completed by no i as in the fourth pāda, the two having, I think, been identical, and hence I conclude that the last one ought to be read no i kici kica[ṭ]ali adea which is transcribed: no ca kīci kīcakāle adeyam, and may mean: "and in the hour of duty he should not recoil from any sacrifice." But I do not know exactly how to complete parijaga, which must go back to the verb pari or pratijāgarati.
By applying *pūrve* to the time preceding the hour of sacrifice, we may, however, understand: “it is indispensable (for him) to be awake to his duty” (cf. stanza 35), and we might complete (the word) as *parijagareṇa* or *parijagariteva*. The third pāda has quite perplexed me. As for *kicakari* it must be a verb; we might assume that it is hidden in *dīsā* which stands for *dīse*, and that *tata = tatra* has, as occasionally in this manuscript, the sense of “in this world”; but the rendering “let the dutiful man teach in this world the preparation” would morally involve *parikarma* into a usage which appears to me little probable. and I think that the true analysis fails me. Here is what at all events would, according to these provisional hypotheses, be the general sense of the stanza: “He must at first be thoroughly convinced of his duty; for in the moment of performing it he must not shrink from any sacrifice; let the dutiful man teach in this world the preparation for it; for in the moment of performing the duty he must not shrink from any sacrifice.”

39 ya puvi karaniya [^[3]pachā sakaru ichati^[a]
atha dubakati^[b] balu] [^[4]suhatu parihayati^[a]]

^[b] Fr. C xxx.]

a. I admit that *sakara* is for *sāṅkara*, just as we have pointed out *sāga* for *sāṅga* in B. 8, 27, and I take the word to denote the trouble and tumult of the outer life contrasted with the tranquil duties of religious life.

b. The true analysis of *dubakati* fails me, I am afraid; if we take *kati = gati*, *duba* would be left, of which I cannot make out anything; so I am led to hold that *dubakati = dusprakṛti*; and on the strength of the use of *pakalatā* to mean “regular observer of his duties” (*Ṭāuka*, I, 236; S. B. E. xvii, 340 n.), I understand it to mean: “who does not observe the rule or the duty.” I should add that the letter which I transcribe *ka* might very well be interpreted = *kāp*. But what to make out of *dubakpati*? In short I translate: “He who, having once loved his duties, loves the tumult of the world, the fool, forgetful of the rule, loses happiness.”
40 akita kuki. [²še⁹hu² pacha tavati drukita kita nu sukita şeh]. [³ya kitva nanutapa(?ti)]

[Foot-notes: ¹ Fr. C xxvii.
² Fr. C xxx.]

Cf. Dhammap., 314.

a. Kukytaṇā for dukytaṇā gives no difficulty. I cannot, on account of the break, affirm if it is exactly şehu and not şeho that our copyist has written.

Below this line we have some slight, but certain, traces of at least two lines: the top of a first letter, and the bottom of three or four. There is, of course, absolutely nothing to draw out of it.

41 asava teṣa vadhati ara te asavacha

Cf. Dhammap., 253.

a. To complete, asavachaya, as in Pāli. We see that our recension has a plural (construction) instead of singular. Anyhow this half-verse can only end after a previous description of "those men," and in fact the Pāli half-verse forms the end of a stanza; in our manuscript it begins a line; whence it follows that either it formed the end of a sloka of six pādas, or the thought, collected into a single stanza in the Pāli, filled here two (of the pādas) which completed themselves.

42 yeṣa tu susamaradha nica kayakata sma

43 satana sabrayanana taṣa?

Cf. Dhammap., 293.

a. This is to believe that we had, as in the Pāli, a stanza of six pādas and that the third and the fourth pādas were at least very analogous to those of the Pāli. Yet, in the sixth, the two texts differ, and I cannot make out anything certain from our taṣa, perhaps a mistake for teṣa. It will be observed that the orthography satana is śapr̥tagnāṁ, side by side with smati.
1  ?? ?? ra athu?  

2 yo vi varṣaṣata jivi" so vi mucuparayano  
a bhaje pari

a. As can be seen from its commencement, the verse belongs to the series which we have had above (Crv, 17 fg.); this series is, as we have seen, represented in the Pāli recension; but there the present stanza has no exact counterpart. The beginning of the third pāda would appear to stand comparison with the commencement of Dhammap. 78; yet the identity is the more doubtful, as our fifth letter, though mutilated, well appears to have been, not va of paraka, but ri.  
Mucuparayana: compare, for instance, Suttanip., 578 (678 ?). "Should one live a hundred years, one would remain vowed to death."

3 parijinam ida ruvu roaniḍa ['prabhaguno"  
bheṣṇiti (b) p.ti]

[Foot-note: 1Fr. C xxxii.]

Cf. Dhammap., 148.

b. The compound which I read ṛṣ has exactly the appearance of the character to which I have already been induced to attribute this value (A², 6, note c; B, 34, note, b). It might be thought proper here to analyse it into ṛṣ, the t being added below the buckle of the s; but this explanation, perhaps acceptable here, would not do in other instances; the transcription bhemsiti = bhosayati (that is to
say, bhetyate) can, on the contrary, be justified by this tendency of nasalisation before the sibilant, of which Pāli and the Prākrits offer more than one trace. I should only like to recall an example here, viz., bhīṣama = bhīṣṇa. Anyhow our text has the future as against the present of the Pāli. In the Pāli verse I have introduced the certain correction maraṇṇatam, long since urged by Childers.

4 ko nu h? a [līte sati an.kar.? prachiti pra]

[Footer-note: Fr. C xxxiii.]

Cf. Dhammap., 146.

a. The sheet, torn in this place, is not exactly readjusted in the glass-case. This commencement is warranted by the fragment which contains a portion of what follows.

b. If the reading is not conclusive, it is at least certain that our text had a variant here. Pra, which begins the last pāda, seems to indicate that the termination was alike in the two parts. In all probability, we should have here had an equivalent of anākārena anādṛth. An(dh)akar fits well, and prachita = prakshipta equally; only the termination ti is astonishing; it is also sure that we had something else than the termination ṭāre or kāram; besides the metre, the traces that exist below the line after the letter r demonstrate it. I have not arrived at any convincing restoration.

5 yam eva padhama rati gabhirasati manavo avi thi

a. The transcription in Sanskrit: yam eva prathamān rātriṁ gabhirasametvā mānavaḥ api thi, appears to suggest itself; it gives no component parts of a construction permitting of a glimpse into the general sense,
6  yasa rātivivasina ayu aparato sia
   apodake°

   a. The gap, which extends too much, again renders the understanding of the remnants impossible here. I transcribe: yasya rātivivasena ayu aparatoṁ syat apodake. But I know no instance of the use of aparato, and aparātana would not, as far as I can see, give any sense. The bottom of the initial letter is perhaps not completely intact; it is perhaps n which the manuscript originally had. Even with aparato we hardly see what the subject can be: "whose life stops with the dawn."

7  ye hu dhayeṣu° dahara ye ca majhima poruṣa
   anupa ?  sa nica maranato bhayo° O

   a. The final y is joined to the following d in a cursive connection forming a ring, which marks perhaps an intention to denote u; anyhow it is necessary. Dhayeṣu is the potential of dhayati, "to suck."

   b. Cf. Suttanip., 576: evāṁ jātānāṁ maccānāṁ nīcānāṁ maranato bhayaṁ. I do not hope to fill up the gap, which does not this time hinder the understanding of the uniform sense. "Suckling infants or mature men (on all) always (hangs) the dread of death."

8  ?dha phalana pakana nica patanato
   ya ayu payeti panina° O


   a. Our verse seems to be made up by patching together, though quite incoherently, a half of each of these stanzas. The final u of ayu, however necessary it may be, is still more doubtful than that of dhayeṣu in the preceding line; somewhat of the same method appears briefly indicated.
9 yadha nadi pravatia racha vahati?

tavi oharanaseva satii

a. What we see more clearly here is that the verse is inspired by the same spirit as verse 18, chapter I of the Udānavarga: “Like the waters of a stream, the hours of man’s life lapse day and night; gradually it runs to its end.” I am not sure of the reading racha or rachha; anyhow I can only see in it a reflex of vṛkṣa, whether for eracha or for rukkha. Pravatia = pravarteya. Lastly, I take ohārana, not on the strength of any instances, for they fail me, but on the strength of the etymology and the evidence of the Abhidhānappadipikā, in the sense of “suppression, end.” “As a river beginning to flow, carries away the trees . . . . . towards its terminus.”

10 yadhavidanivikoti yayedevaoduopati
apakabhotivo

11 eman eva manus̄s(?)ti(?) pranayo
yaya avishati(?)rati(?) maranaseva satii

I regret not to be able to draw any continued sense from these two remnants of verse. The uncertainty weighing upon many readings gets complicated with the lacunae. Having nothing probable to suggest for the first two pādas of the first stanza, nor for the second and third pādas of the second, I prefer not to multiply conjectures, which the discovery of a Sanskrit or Pāli counterpart will, some day, render superfluous.

12 sati(?) eki na dišati pratu diitha bahojano
pratu eki na dišati sati diitha bahojano

Cf. Jātaka, IV, 127, st. 6 (Dasarathajātaka).

a. I do not know how to explain our form sati or sadi = sāgārī; sati would do well; but this intercalary dental is, at least, highly exceptional. I do not, however, see how there can be any doubt on the equation.
tatra ko viśpaśi mācu daharo dhītijivīt.?

?vi miyati nara nari ca ekadaO

a. Tatra, that is to say, "in this world." As viśpaśi requires a complement, I suppose it is necessary to read dhītijivīte, of which in fact I believe I recognise the traces; and I take dhītijivita, that is to say, dhītijivītām somewhat in the sense which would require jīvatādhyati, "the solidarity, the duration of life." Mācu = māriyāh.

b. I consider ri to be the second syllable of sarvī = sarve, of which the first letter appears still sufficiently recognisable. Before it, either mānuṣa or some equivalent is dropped. Above the ca appears a sort of ring, like the i of the Devanāgarī alphabet. I perceive neither the utility nor the possible signification of it. "What mortal, however young, could in this world rely on the duration of life? All (mankind), men or women, are destined to die one day."

ayireṇa vatai kāyu paḍhā [śiti ruchu] viṇana nīratha ba kādigaruO

[Post-note: 1 Fr. C xli50.]

Cf. Dhammap., 41.

a. Ruchō, Pāli rukkho "rough, rude," may very well take, in our text, the place of the Pāli chuddho, "vile, despicable." Our text appears also, in the compound apetavivaṅgū, to have replaced apēta by sūme synonym. We discover in fact a character besides, and none of the letter-heads standing apparent carry the vowel stroke e.

... ["avathani a .. u?????] [ni śīsani tani diṣṭani ka] rati5O

["yanimani prabhaguni vichitani diṣodiśa" (b) kavotaka]. ["athini tani diṣṭani ka] rati O

[Post-notes: 2 Fr. C xiv. 3 Fr. C xvi. 4 Fr. C xxi50. 5 Fr. C xxi50. ]
Cf. Dhammap., 149.

a. I have brought together these two stanzas, a half-verse from each of which makes up a whole stanza in Pāli. This line, I am indeed of opinion, can be confidently restored: [yanimani] arathani alapunī va sarade; none of the traces that remain contradict this hypothesis.

b. I have no means to re-establish the first syllables of this line; the result is that the interpretation of what remains visible, ni kisani, remains uncertain. The last pāda of the two lines has tanī distani as opposed to tanī dīscaṇa of the Pāli. The reading does not seem to be contestable, although the t affects a form which is purely conventional. It would seem rather derived from the dental t. The construction is therefore less normal, but not unaccepteable in this form.

c. Prabhāṅgumi (written in the same character as prabhāṅga of the next line) implies a base prabhāṅga, identical in meaning with prabhāṅga, which has given, in Pāli and in ou: dialect, prabhāṅgna. The verse that follows confirms this form. Viṣṭāṇi = vikship-tāṇi.

17 [‘imina putikaena aturena pabhaguna nicasuhavijinena jaradhamena s]

.. dha parama śodhi yokachemu anutaraś

[Foot-note: ¹ Fr. C xiv.]

a. This verse may be compared with stanza 321 of the Theragāthā, which, though not identical, is analogous in sense and quite similar in structure, and to which more precisely corresponds our line 20:
ajaram jirimānena tappamānena nibbutiṁ nimmissaṁ paramaṁ santim yogakkhemam anuttaram.

Certainly we have not in our manuscript the first person form nimmissaṁ; but as the third letter dha is certain, as an m (perhaps me?) appears also certain immediately before, and as an i accompanied the preceding consonant, nimadha or nimadhā would appear probable; it is assured by line 20; it will be rendered
"make." I understand nicaśuhavijinena = nityāṅ-bhavicīrya, "ever full of impurities." I translate therefore: "With this body, which is nothing but a rottenness, which is diseased, doomed to destruction, incessantly full of impurities, subject to decrepitude, obtain perfect purity, the supreme bliss."

18 [َimina putikaena vidvarena
[َ(nicaśuhavijinena)]
-----------
 dha parama śodhi yokachemu anutara O

[Foot-notes: ¹ Fr. C xii.
² Fr. C xiv.]

19 [َimina putikaena viśravatena putina ⁵
nica][َśuhavijinena jaradha]
[-[َmedha parama śodhi yokachem.] anutara ⁶]

[Foot-notes: ⁵ Fr. C xxl.
⁶ Fr. C 1.
⁷ Fr. C xlv.]

a. These fragments enable us to recognise that the two stanzas were generally cast in the same formula as verse 17.

b. Viśravatena, viśravatena, from vi-sru "flowing, being decomposed." Pāli, adjective.

20 [َayara] jiyamanena daṭhamanena nivruti ⁸
nimedha ⁵] [َparama śodhi yokachemu anutara]

[Foot-notes: ⁸ Fr. C 1.
⁹ Fr. C xxvi.]

a. I refer back to the verse of the Theragāthā which I have cited with reference to line 17.

b. For nimedha, cf. l. 17. "With this [body] doomed to decrepitude, to suffering, obtain the undiminishing joy, the perfect purity, the supreme bliss."
21 ["jyati hi rayaradha sucitra\^ adha \^ sarira bi jara
[uveti na ta tu dharma ca ja]["ra (u)veti\^] ka\^O

[Foot-notes: ^Fr. C 1.
\^ Fr. C xxvi.]

a. Jyati=jiryate.

b. The u which begins the third pada is of a somewhat peculiar form; I do not, however, see any other possible reading. I will say the same about the character which follows dharma, and which I transcribe as ca. Perhaps the verse-end would have explained the present tense here. I understand the verse thus: "The royal chariot, inspite of all its splendour, comes to destruction; similarly destruction invades the body; but destruction never invades this Law."

22 ["muj. p.rat. muj]["u pachatu majhatu muju\^ bhavasa parako sarvatra vi_________________](na punu jatijaravuvehisi)^b

[Foot-notes: ^Fr. C 1. For this beginning of line this fragment has preserved but few traces of heads of letters. I believe, however, that in the light of the Pali and on the analogy of what follows, the letters, such as I have transcribed, may be restored with certainty.
\^ Fr. C ii.]

Cf. Dhammap., 348.

a. The spelling muju corresponds not to the imperative mu\^ncan which the Pali has, but to the present participle mu\^ncan, which is so suitable to the construction.

b. I have enclosed the last pada in parenthesis; the traces that remain of it, permit, in the light of the Pali version, of an interpretation as I have given. But evidently I cannot vouch for the several details.
24 [*'aroga parama labha satutthi parama dhana vaśpaśa* parama mitra] nivana paramo suha

[Foot-note: ¹ Fr. C ii.]

Cf. Dhammap., 204.

a. In *vaśpaśa* instead of *vi*, we have a clear instance of negligence of vowel-notation. I believe that the word really contains two vowels and that it should be *vispaka*. I take *ārogya*, *saṇṭutthi* and *vissāsa* not as members of compound, but as nominatives, and I believe that the Pāli should have *ārogyam* and *vissāso* exactly as it has *nirbhānam*.

25 [*śagharā parama duha eta ṅatva ya]dhabhi. tu nivana paramo suha* ⁰

[Foot-note: ²Fr. C ii.]

Cf. Dhammap., 203.

a. In the Pāli we must choose between *jighacchāparamā rogā* with *saṇkāraṇaparamā dukhā* and *saṇkārā* *paramā dukhā* with *jighacchā paramo rogo*.

26 matrasuha dhiro sabaśu vi. la suha* ⁰

Cf. Dhammap., 290.

a. *Sabaśu = sampāskyā*, with the usual softening of the tenues into sonant after the nasal. The missing letter cannot be *pu*; on the other hand, as *vi* and *la* appear certain, it is most probably *nu* which we must read, *vivula* for *vipula*. 
(usu)esu manusesa viharamu anusua

Cf. Dhammap., 199.

suhai vata jivamu viranesu averana
[*veranesu ma]nucesu viharamu averana

[Foot-note: 1 Fr. C xxiv.]

Cf. Dhammap., 197.

a. Suhai=sukhaya, that is to say, "for happiness, in happiness." It quite seems that our copyist, who writes verana everywhere, may have had the impression of an adjective verana and not of verina derived from verin, vairin, which is reflected in avesino of the Pali. The locative veranesu of the Pali is indeed difficult enough. I would readily incline to allow an adjective averana as the original reading; perhaps it is not as improbable as it appears at first, if, to start with, the negative averana is taken as formed from a substantive verana, vairana, which might be explained as=vaira; the adjective kincana of the next verse would support this interpretation.

suhai jivamu kijanesu akijana*
kijanesu ma.. universe haramu akijana

a. In interpreting Dhammap., 200, which partially corresponds to this verse and the next, Childers (Dict., s. v.) hesitated on the translation of kincana. Was the word composed by means of the technical substantive kincana which comprises the triple category raga, dosa, moha? It seems that the de-emphasis of the stanza in our text indicates that the two possible ideas floated alike in traditional thought and were afterwards detached each into a particular strophe. Whatever it may be, the adjective kincana can, I think, be only explained, even as I have proposed to do in the case of verana, as derived from the negative akiincana. In the present case, the necessity for this periphrasis appears to me quite striking.
30 suhai vata jivamu yeṣa mu nathi kajani\(^{(a)}\) kijanesu manoṣeṣu viharamu akijana

Cf. Dhammap., 200.

a. The form \(mu, mo=νακ\) is known, for instance, in the language of the Mahāvastu. Kujani is a mistake of the copyist, for kijana.

31 na ta drīḍha ban(d)hanam aha dhira ya asa daruva \[babaka va\]
saratacita manikunalesu\(^{b}\) putresu dāresu ya ya \[aveha\]

Cf. Dhammap., 345.

a. I do not decide if the original reading was āhu dhira or āha dhīro. The metre proves that the error of the copyist does not consist in a simple inversion \(ya-asu\), for \(ayasa\), but, as the Pāli text indicates, in the omission of the second \(ya, ya asa\) for \(ya ayasa\). The first word being an adjective, I take \(dārnavā =dārnavā,\) for \(dārnyam,\) dārnyam and not for dāru followed by \(rā\). It is curious that in the next word babaka we find, inversely, the hardening of \(j\) into \(k\).

b. The reading svarattacittā is certainly preferable to the Pāli svarattarattā which is tolerably obscure. Knuča, that is to say, kuṇḍala.

32 eta drīḍha ban(d)hanam aha dhira oharina sīśila \[drupamuchu\]
eta bi chtvana parivra yatī anavekino kamasu Hu \[prahai\]

Cf. Dhammap., 346.

a. I have already pointed out the substitution of \(s\) for \(a\) etymological; the last letter might perhaps be strictly read \(jn\) instead of \(cbu\). Yet the transcription which I give is to me by far the most probable. The memory of words like mokṣa may have facilitated the mistake.
33 ye rakarata anuvatati\(^a\) sot\(u\) saigata
eta b. ch.tvana parivrayati anavēhino kamasuhā
\[prahāi\]

Cf. Dhammap., 347.

(a. But for the Pāli text, I would not have hesitated to
take it for \textit{anuvartanti} instead of \textit{anupatanti}. The
second expression appears to me so little natural that
I have to ask if \textit{anupatanti} is not the result of an
artificial restoration made on a text, oral or written,
which had \textit{anuvata(m)ti}, like our own.

34 ahivadanasālisā nica vriḍhavayarino\(^a\)
catvari tasa vardhati ayo kirt\(a\)\(^b\) suha bala\(ō\)


(a. The scribe has made a confusion between \textit{apacāyin} and
\textit{upacārin}. He ought to have written either \textit{vriḍha-
vayarino} or \textit{vriḍhavayagino}. A comparison with Pāli
turns the balance in favour of the second form.

(b. It should be \textit{kirti}, \textit{kirtī}.

35 d.l. bh.p.r.s.?
yati viru ta kulu suhu modati\(^c\)\(^o\)

Cf. Dhammap., 108.

(a. Mahāvastu, III, 109, 5, where this verse is repeated,
has \textit{vīra} like our Ms., which appears to me indeed
preferable. On the other hand, the repetition agrees
with the Pāli text and with the metre so as to
condemn our \textit{sukhān modati}, which is nothing but a
\textit{lectio facilior} introduced through the unconstraint
of our scribe or his predecessor, the meaning of
which, however, is hardly satisfactory.

11
36 ['?????? ya narethina* v.][* u.
suha sici]tasavas. kici teça na vijati

[Foot-notes : ¹ Fr. C ix.
* Fr. C xvi.]

a. I take narethina = narilhunam, "of men and women."

b. Of course it should be understood in Pâli as sukh
sikkhatasannivâso. The last pâda is less clear in sense
than in form. I take it as equivalent to te (that is
to say, the sikkhatas) akSanânâ bhonti, and I render:
"... The association with learned men is a blessing;
they have no stain."

37 ['suha darâna ariana sa]["vaso vi sada suho
adaśanena] balana nicam eva suhi sia

[Foot-notes : ¹ Fr. C ix.
* Fr. C xvi.]

Cf. Dhammap., 206.

a. The only variant of our stanza, noticeable from a com-
parison with the Pâli, is savaso pi for sannivâso; the
sense is equivalent, and the addition pi marks the
gradation, darâna, from accidental connection, in the
corporation of life.

38 ['hasagatacari drigham adhvana soyisu*
dukha balehi] ,vasu amitrehi va savrasi

[Foot-note : ¹ Fr. C xvi.]

Cf. Dhammap., 207.

a. Here we have the plural instead of the singular of
the Pâli. I take soyisu as a common aorist which
amounts to the sense of the present tense. The
omission must naturally be supplied as bala; it is
carino or carim that we expect to have. I do not
see any way to do away with the hypothesis of a
mistake by the copyist. It seems to me that the
simplest correction would be to admit that the copyist has written \( n \) for \( i \), the two characters differing only in the elongation, on the right of the vertical stroke, of the extremity of the lower hook; \( \text{cari} \ i \) would be \( \text{cari} \) (for \( \text{cari} \text{no} \)) \text{ca}. \( \text{In sangata} \) the form of the \( y \) will be noticed.

b. \( \text{Sarrosi} \) can only correspond exactly to \( \text{subbadā} \) if we admit a double irregularity, a Māgadhism and the substitution of \( s \) for \(  ś \), so as to get a form \( \text{sarvaso} \). To my mind it is much more probable that the scribe is mistaken and has read \( \text{sarrosi} \) for \( \text{savadhi} \) (\( \text{subbadhi} \) in Pāli), \( s \) and \( dh \) differing in this manuscript only in the direction of the lower hook.

39 \( \ldots * \text{suhasavasa} \text{ñatih} \text{va samakamo} \) \( \text{dh}]^{*} \text{ira hi prañai} \) bhayeya pauito dhorekaśīla 
\[\text{vatamata aria}^{a}\]

[\text{Foot-notes}: \( ^{a} \text{Fr. C xxxvi.} \)]

40 \[^{tadiśa} \text{sapuruśa} \text{sumedha bhay} \ldots \text{[nachatra-} \text{[patha va cadrimu} \text{O}\text{ra} \text{dhe arovacamasas parikica uvahana}\]^{a}

[\text{Foot-notes}: \( ^{a} \text{Fr. C xx.} \)]

41 \[^{3}jathati kamana tada sa majati] \text{[s.h.} \text{sarva ca suhu}] \text{ichia sarvakama paricai} \text{O}

[\text{Foot-notes}: \( ^{3} \text{Fr. C xx.} \)]

Cf. Dhammap., 207, 208.

\( ^{a} \text{We see that in these three lines the verses overlap one another. Inspite of the punctuation at the end of l. 38, the first two pāḍas of l. 39 of this manuscript belong, like verse 207 of the Dhammapada, to the preceding stanza, which is thus made up of six pāḍas. The metrical difference between the commencement of the line and the following does not leave any doubt in this respect. The comparison with Dhammap.,} \)
208 agrees with the punctuation that follows cādṛīmu, so as to prove that with this word ends a new stanza in the middle of l. 40. What follows must have been a fresh śloka of six pādas finishing with l. 41, and, moreover, our l. 40 has not the concluding punctuation at the end.

b. The traces preserved by Fr. xxxvi for the commencement warrant the reading susaraṇaṇa.

c. Inspite of its resemblance with the Pāli version, our text deviates in a manner which is sensible enough: the verb bhajati repeated in the last pāda appears from the first; it is here in the third person; I cannot decide if paramita is the subject or if it represents an accusative paramitam, coordinated with others. The hi that follows dhīra seems to be equivalent to tasmā hi, which by a singular exception precedes this strophe in the Pāli text. I do not doubt that our text had not a good tradition, and that the addition tasmā hi is not a minor extension of our simple particle, an extension that would quite explain the frequent use of this formula in other constructions. Our dhoreku is = Sanskrit dhavreya, with k for y, as we have already met with. I doubt very much if the Pāli dhoraṇa should veritably be = dhauravāhya (after Fausböll and Childers).

d. I regret not to have been able as yet to discover a counterpart of this stanza, so that the whole beginning remains quite obscure to me. It seems that the first pādas ought to be transcribed in Sanskrit ratha (the) āropycarmano pariṣkiyodvāhaneḥ; and supposing this transcription to be exact, we might draw out of it some sense like "having prepared the strap for the foot-board that helps to mount the ear," but besides the fact that this would be quite confusing I cannot imagine, given what follows, how the beginning was joined to the end of the stanza. I think that it is necessary to complete the commencement as yada. I take kamana either for kāmāṇi or for a genitive performing the function of the accusative, as is to be met with so often in the style of the Mahāvastu. Admitting then that majati = Sanskrit majjati and that s.e. represent suha, sukhām, I get this meaning: "when one suppresses the desires, one plunges into happiness: let a man wish for happiness and let him cast off all desires."
42 ["nena yo atmano"]

?? so duha na parimucati "O

[Foot-note: 1 Fr. C xix.]

a. "He (whose description is lost with the first pādas) is not freed from sorrow." This is what I can compare with, and what is more analogous to, Dhammap., 189: — na sabbadukkhā pamuccati.

43 jaya v. ra ["prasahati" dukhu šayati parayitu uvašatu sohu ša]yati b hitva jayaparyaya. O

[Foot-note: 2 Fr. C xix.]

Cf. Dhammap., 201.

a. The b of prasahati is very clear. I do not see how this could be anything else than a gross mistake of the scribe.

b. We see that our text has šayati or šeti without any differentiation.

44 anica vata ["sagbara upadavayadhamino upaji ti nirujhati] tesa uvašamo suho*

[Foot-note: 3 Fr. C xix.]

a. That is to say, antyā vata saṁskāraṁ utpādavaya-dharmiṇaṁ utpadya te nirudhyante teśām upakamah sukhah. "The saṁskāras are impermanent, subject to production and destruction; scarcely are they produced when they disappear: their suppression is a blessing." Upaji for upaja, like ji for ca.
FRAGMENTS OF C.

To preserve analogy, I mark by the sign ṛ (recto) the fragments of dark colour which must be connected with that face of leaf C which I have denoted in the same way, and by ṛo (verso) the fragments of brighter colour which belong to the opposite side.

Iro. fits below fr ii°. See Cro, ll. 27-29.

1 sañatu sukati yati drugati yati asañatu ma sa viśpaśa
2 savutu pratimukhasa idriṣṭu ya pajasu pramuni anu
3 v.s.t
śudhasa suyi


1. suhavijinena jaradha
2. yara jiyamanena ḍajhamanena nivruti nimeḍha?
3 jiyati hi rayaradha sucitra adha śarira bi jara uveti na ta tu dharma ca ja
4 (muj. p. rat. muj)


1 u…o
2 śadhu śilena sabano (yasabho)hasamapitu
3 yo natmahetu na parasa hetu pavani kamani

[samaya-
I
u pachatu majhatu muju bhavasa parako sarvatra vi

2 ga 25

3 aroga parama labha satutīhi parama dhana vaśpaśa parama mitra

sagharā parama duha eta ṇatva ya

III

Line-end.

1 avaja ida vidva samucariḥ O

2 pruvina savasaṇoṣyanachaya O

a. The fragment clearly has mu, although the use of samuccaratī be very rare, and that of samācarati, on the contrary, frequent. It may be transcribed: āvadya(m) idam vidvān samuccaret.

b. It may be transcribed: pūrveṇa sarvasaṁyojana-kahaya(m).

IV
fits above the fr. II, and with the commencement of ll. 22-24.

1 ya kej a yathā va ho. va lok

2

3 silamatu s. yis. ch

V. The top fits on the right with fr. xiii. Cf. ll. 30-33 of C.

1 carita cari dhmayari suh.

2 (aho) nako va sagami cavadhi vātita sara ativaka ti
sa acata drušilia malua vavi lata vani
kuya su tadha

yok. d. bh

VI°. fits with C°, 1.

yamaloka ji

VII°. belongs to ll. 4-7 of C°, and fits with the last line of fr. xi.

?ne

abhi. o

ga 15

hasasahasani sagami manusa jini
eka ji

sa bi ya gašana anathapa°

a. — Or anartha°; the foot of the character has disappeared.

VIII°. belongs to line 12 of C°.

samase sahasena yo yaea šatina ca
neva

IX°. fits below line 10.

gadha

masamasi sahasina yo yaea.

IX°. forms the commencement of lines C°, 36, 37, and fits on its left with fr. xv°.

ya narethina v

suhu daršana ariana sav
śudhasa hisadaśī gu śudhasa posarudra

a. We have already met with $gu = khala$ (B, 21); I suppose that it is the same here, and I propose to transcribe śudhasa himsādarśī khala; but the fragment is too short to permit of any attempt at interpretation until the Sanskrit or Pāli redaction of it be met with elsewhere.

XI°. agrees with fr. vii°.

1 padasahīta
2 śata bhaśe anathapadasahīta

XII°.

1 jini
2 kavyapada

XIII°. fits on the right with the top of fr. v.

dhamu cari sucarita
ah?

XIII°. fits below fr. xiv° and begins line C°, 18.

imina putikaena vidvarena

XIV°. fits below line C°, 14. Cf. ll. 15 fg.

1 avathani a.u
2 yanimani prabhaguni vichitani disodiśa
kavotaka
imina putikaena aturena pabhaguna
nicaśuhavijinena jaradhamena s

(nicaśuhavijinena)

XVth.

1 bhayo
emu jatasamaca

2 ya
emu ne(?)rayamuca

XVIth. fits with Cth., II. 36-38.

1 u.
suha sīchita

2 (sa)vaso vi sada suho
adaśanena

3 lasagatacariu drigham adhvana sōyisu
dukha balehi

XVIIth.
satohisasabhi pravera(ya)

XVIIIth. Line-end.

1 ti so gachu na nivatati ὦ
2 va maṇsana ki teṣa ukumulana ὦ
The transcription of these few remnants does not, at least with regard to the second line, afford any complete sense: *na vacchau na ujārtati*: "he never turns back from his course"; *māṁśāṁṁuṁ kīṁ teśāṁ okānaṁmaññanaṁ*. *Māṁsa* should be the part of a compound referring to *teśāṁ*. If the form only were taken into account, one would think at once of a form *uḷkā-umālana*; but this is a form of speech which is very little likely and I believe rather in the transcription which I have suggested: "The destruction of their abode...".

XIX⁷⁰. agrees with lines 42-44 fg.

1 nena yo atmano
2 sahati dukhu sayati parayitu
3 uvaśatu so hu ś

3 saghara upadavayadhamino
4 upaji ti nirujhati

XX⁷⁰. fits after fr. xxxv⁷⁰. ll. 39-41.

1 ?u.s.v.s
2 diśa sapuruṣa sumedha bhay
3 jahati kamana tada sa majati


iminaputikena viśravatena putina nicas

XXII⁷⁰. fits with line C⁷⁰, 31, on the left of fr. v⁷⁰.

1 ? drušilo hi bah
2 tmana yadha na viṣamu ichati
XXIIvo. fits with fr. C xivvo; cf. ll. 15-16.

1. ni sishani tani distani ka
2. athini tani distani ka

XXIIIvo. Line-end.

lapabhavabanana ○

XXIVvo. fits within line Cvo, 28.

veranesu ma

XXVvo.

1. radhamena savaasu ni
2. ??


1. ?????
2. parama sodhi yokachemu anutara
3. ra uveti

XXVIIvo. fits on the left with fr. xxxvo, and finds place in II. Cvo, 38-40.

1. ?? kici kicakali adea tata disa parika
2. pacha sakaru ichati atha dubakati balu
3. sehu pacha tavati drukita kita nu sukita seh

XXVIIIvo.

yati unadana pra
XXIX"w. Commencement of line C"w, 21.

eka ji bhavitatmana muhut

XXX"v. fits after fr. xxvii"w. Cf. ll. 38-40.

1 ma kicakari no i kica kiciiali adea
2 subatu parihayati
3 ya kitva nanutapa(?)ti

XXXI. fits with the fragments of letters preserved by line 26, in:

samidhi atmano so sílava

XXXII"v. fits with C"v, 3.

prabhaguno bheñsiti p. ti

XXXIII"v. fits with C"v, 4.

lite sati an.kar.? prachiti pra

XXXIV"v.

suruga

XXXV"v. fits on the left with lines 39-41, and on the right with fr. xxxvi and xx.

1 ira hi prañai
2 nachatrapatha va cadrimu 〇 ra
3 s.h., sarva ca suhu
XXXVI\textsuperscript{vo}. fits with the preceding.

\begin{quote}
\textit{s.h.s.v.s. \textit{natihi va samakamo}}
\end{quote}

\textit{dh}

XXXVII\textsuperscript{vo}.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l}
1 \multicolumn{1}{l}{j \ldots t.s} \\
2 \multicolumn{1}{l}{chirena}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

XXXVIII\textsuperscript{vo}.

\begin{quote}
\textit{rasa saga}
\end{quote}

XXXIX\textsuperscript{vo}.

\begin{quote}
\textit{ka parama. ok.}
ruha paricai
\end{quote}

XL\textsuperscript{vo}. Remnant of line 19; only the top of the letters is preserved.

\begin{quote}
\textit{medha parama\textit{\textasciitilde}sodhi yokachem}
\end{quote}

XLI\textsuperscript{vo}. belongs to \textit{C\textsuperscript{vo}}, l. 34.

\textit{ga 10}

XLI\textsuperscript{vo}. fits with \textit{C\textsuperscript{vo}}, 14.

\begin{quote}
\textit{siti ruchu}
\end{quote}

XLII\textsuperscript{vo}. fits with \textit{C\textsuperscript{vo}}, 15.

\begin{quote}
\textit{ea \textit{\textasciitilde}tena ca}
\end{quote}
M. SENART'S POSTSCRIPT.

I am happy to be able now to rectify the transcription which I was at first induced to suggest for the verse of the manuscript "Dutreuil de Rhins" that forms line 38 of Cœ. I had reasons to present my interpretations only as a provisional hypothesis. The discovery which I have made, in a recent reading, of a very analogous Pāli counterpart, though not wholly identical, has put me in a position to improve it sensibly.

I do not see any reason to change the material reading of the characters, but rather the divisions of the words, and I transcribe now:

pure i kicca pariñjaga — kicci kiccañi adea
ta tadisa paritakamakicakari no i kicca kicciñi adea

The Pāli verse is found in the Samuddavānijajātaka (Fausböll, IV, 166 fg.). This is the history of a thousand families of carpenters who, harassed by pressing creditors, expatriated themselves on a boat constructed by their own hands. The wind drove them into the open sea towards a fortunate isle where they settled down only to live in abundance. The company was divided into two, and each obeyed its chief; one of the chiefs was prudent and the other was swayed by greediness; the latter manufactured rum and through intoxication lost the condition which the deities of the isle had put on the sojourn of the new comers. The deities became inclined to avenge themselves by raising up a flood of the ocean that would sweep away the entire island. Warned by a compassionate deva, the wise carpenters prepared a vessel on which they escaped in the moment of danger, the others preferring to believe in the delusive promises of another deva; they perished victims to their idle optimism.

A moral in three stanzas is put into the mouth of the Buddha (abhināṃ buddhāgāthā), urging on the necessity of foresight. The third one is construed in the text of M. Fausböll as follows:

Anāgataṁ paṭikāyirātha kiccaṁ
mā maṁ kiccaṁ kiccañkāle vyadheshi
taṁ tādissāṁ paṭikatakicakārīṁ
taṁ kiccaṁ kiccañkāle vyadhethi

"It is necessary to anticipate future emergency, so that in the hour of need it may not lead us to suffering; he who acts thus, who does what should be done to prevent the occasion, him, in the hour of need, it does not lead to suffering."
I would prefer to have in the second pāda mā naṁ or mā taṁ; but strictly, by supplying iti at the end, the first person is left open to interpretation. Vṛddheti is, I believe, = vyathayati, although the scholiast may seemingly write vyādhesi, which the metre does not support and which he seems to take as a denominative from vyādhī.

Whatever it may be, the direct relation of this strophe with that of our Kharoshṭhī Ms. is not less apparent than the differences which distinguish it. From a comparison it follows that it must be understood, by restoring the anusvāras which the manuscript does not note, as follows:

\[\text{pure (h)i kica(n) parijaga—ma ta(th) kica(m) kicakali adea} \]
\[\text{ta(th) tadása(m) parikamakicakari(m) no (h)i kica(m) kica(k)ali adea} \]

The difficulties are not avoided though the general sense is certain. There is first of all the gap of four syllables: for the first two I can only provisionally maintain the conjecture by virtue of which I have proposed to complete parijagare; parijaga being perfectly clear, I do not see how a literal correspondence with patikaroti of the Pāli could be admitted. The next two syllables would be ma naṁ or ma taṁ.

In the third pāda parikama, parikarma is on the whole little removed from pratikṛta; but the substantive cannot exactly fill the function of the participle. If kṛtya were not wholly employed in all the strophes in the sense of “want”, parikarmakṛtya would very well be rendered: “what has to be done by way of preparation.” Inspite of the difficulties which the particular application of kṛtya in kicakale seems to present against this interpretation, I do not yet see anything else to suggest.

If we pass from the i, certainly wrong, of kicī for kīcī to the second and the fourth pādas, there still remains a stumbling block in adea. To judge it by the Pāli, it would be vādeha = vyathayeva. A similar deformation is too abnormal to be easily admitted, but the explanation which I have attempted = adeyaṁ failing necessarily, I have nothing satisfactory to suggest; adeyya, from adiyati, could be explained, in the sense of “to take, to dominer, to rule”, only by forcing the ordinary meaning in a troublesome way.
II

The Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript of the Dhammapada

With improved readings and readjustments

[i. Magavaga]

The heading here, as in other chapters, is our own, and is not to be found in the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript. But the title chosen suggests itself from the burden of the verses themselves. The chapter, as may be judged from its colophon "ga 30" (I. A 3, 5) consists of 30 stanzas, of which 17 (i.e., 10-26) are missing from the manuscript in hand. With the exception of the first three which are to be traced in the Saṁyutta-nikāya, all the stanzas are to be found in the Pāli Dhammapada, distributed in two chapters, viz., the Magga and the Pakiṇṇaka, verses 4-9 being in the Pakiṇṇakavagga and 27-30 in the Magga. The total number of verses may itself be regarded as a proof of the combination of two groups of verses of the Pāli recension under one chapter of the Prakrit. The Maggavagga which just precedes the Pakiṇṇakavagga in the Pāli recension, contains 17 stanzas and the Pakiṇṇaka 16. Rockhill’s translation of the Tibetan version of the Udānavarga shows that the verses under notice are distributed in the latest known Sanskrit recension in two chapters, the Mārga and the Smṛiti, of which the former contains 20 stanzas, and the latter 28. The Chinese recension, Fu-kheu-king, has two chapters, which are named and juxtaposed in the same way as in Pāli. But, as a matter of fact, the similarity between the two recensions is only in name, the stanzas being entirely different though the chapters bear the same title.
1 (u)juo namo so magu abhaya namu sa disa radho akuyano namu dhamatakehi sahato O
(A4, 1)*

2 hiri tasa avaramu smati sa parivarana dhamahu saradhi bromi samedithipurejavu O
(A4, 2)

3 yasa etadisa yana gehiparvaitasa va sa vi etina yanena nivanaseva satie O
(A4, 3)

Cf. Samyutta, ed. Feer, I. p. 33† :

Ujuko nama so maggo abhayã nama sa disã
Ratho akujano nama dhammacakkehi samyuto,
Hiri tassa apalambo saty-assa parivãranam
Dhammadham sarathim bruãi sammadhihipurejavam.
Yassa etãdisam yãnam itthiyã purisassa va
Sa ve etena yanena nibbãnasã eva santike.

—which Mrs. Rhys Davids ("Kindred Sayings," p. 45) renders:

"Straight is the name that Road is called, and Free
From Fear the Quarter whither thou art bound.
Thy chariot is the Silent Runner named,
With wheels of Righteous effort fitted well.
Conscience the Leaning Board; the Drapery
Is Heedfulness; the driver is the Norm,
I say, and Right Views, they that run before.
And be it woman, be it man for whom
Such chariot doth wait, by that same car
Into Nibbãna's presence shall they come."

Notes.—The Prakrit verses (1-3), as M. Senart points out,
are closely bound up in thought, as they complete together
a sort of allegory founded on the imagery which likens
Buddhist teaching to a yãna or 'vehicle'. The Páli

* The reference is to M. Senart's arrangement.
† An asterisk indicates M. Senart's identification.
§ Supplied by us.
* The Singhalese edition reads akãfano, and this reading is adopted in the commentary.
* The variant is sat'assa.
parallels of these verses are to be found in the Sarīyutta as belonging to a group of four stanzas, named Accharā (‘the nymphs’) from the catchword of its first verse which is left out in our text, and which reads:

Accharāgaṇa-saṅghuṭṭhaṁ, pisācagapasevitam
Vanan-tam mohanaṁ nāma, kathāṁ yātra bhavissatī ti?

The imagery developed in these verses serves to throw the Buddhist idea of the silent spiritual progress of man along the path of Righteousness into clear relief, by contrast with the popular aspiration to attain rebirth in the heaven where Indra, king of the gods, visits the enchanting Nandana-grove in a rattling chariot, surrounded by ‘troops of nymphs’ making the chariot and the paradise resonant with their music and melody⁴, and attended by a ‘guard of fiendish warriors’⁵; and a priori with the popular admiration of luxurious life of princes on earth,⁶ who frequent in the same way the royal pleasure grove, escorted by troops of women and bands of ferocious soldiers⁷; in other words, with a life of pomp and pleasure.

The central idea of these verses, divested of poetic imagery and spiritual contrast, i.e., in its more primitive natural

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1 The first of the Accharā-group, quoted above, expressly mentions the pleasance as the place which is resounded with the song and music of the nymphs. The idea that the chariot was made similarly resonant can be supplied from the second verse, where the description of the Buddhist Path compared to ‘a chariot rattling noislessly on’ (rathe u-kājano) implies by contrast the idea of a chariot of just the opposite character.

2 Buddhaghosa takes pisācagāna in the first Accharā-verse to be in opposition with accharāgana: “tam eva accharāganaḥ pisācagānaḥ,” i.e., “the troops of nymphs are but the troops of fiends.” The commentator can rightly suggest this in respect of a god who is surrounded only by the troops of nymphs, and his interpretation fits well, no doubt, into the context which he has supplied, though from what source of authority nobody knows. The Accharā-verses, taken together, seem to have reference rather to Indra’s visit to the celestial pleasance or paradise than that of an ordinary devaputta, “accosted as their lord by nymphs with song and music.” The grammatical form of the expression pisācagāna, ‘troops of male fiends,’ prevents taking it as oppositional with accharāgana, ‘troops of female nymphs,’ unless it be supposed that the former alludes to the female bodyguards, dressed and armed like men.

3 The text of the Accharā-verses, as the commentator rightly suggests, contrasts the life of the gods in the heaven of the Thirty-three with the sumum bonum of the Buddhists. But the mythological conceptions of heaven and hell being anthropomorphic, the imagery of the verses can be interpreted also as implying a contrast with the sensuous and luxurious life of princes on earth.

4 Of, the description of royal visit to the Buddha in the Dīgha, I, p. 49 Sec. 9; Samaṅgala-vilāsini, I., pp. 148–9; and Lakkāvatāra-Sūtra, Fasc. I., p. 2.
psychological form, can be traced in a few verses of the Suttanipāta e.g. 1103, 1107, 1109 and 1111, containing Buddha's replies to the questions of the Brāhmaṇ youth Udaya. The questions and replies together constitute a poem known as Udayamāṇavaṇṇaḥ belonging to the Pārāyaṇa-group, which as a separate entity constituted one of the oldest known materials of the Pāli canon.¹ In fact, our verses may be justly regarded as a later recast of the idea of the Pārāyaṇa discourse, and the link in the transformation is preserved in a few technical expressions which, though not exactly identical in both, have at least a striking likeness proving their kinship e.g. nirārañānaḥ (of the Suttanipāta) and parivrājana (of our Prakrit); dhammadakapurejana and dhammaṭṭakehi sahahe, samedhitipurejana; satassa and suṭisa; nibbānam iti eva and nirvānaseva satie; and here it may be noted with profit that the Suttanipāta verses themselves presuppose similar Indian ideas, such as those which can be traced in the Kathopaniṣad (I. 3, 3-9):

"Ātmānaṁ rathināṁ viddhi, sarfrām ratham eva tu
Buddhimūtu sārathināṁ viddhi, manah pragrāham eva ca.
Indriyāṇi hayān āhur viśayāṃstesvagocarān,
Ātmendriyamanoyuktāṁ bhoktētyāhur mapūśīnap.
Yastvavijñānavan bhavatayuktena manasaś sadā
tasyendriyāṇyāvyasyāni duṣṭāsvā iva sārātheh.
Yastu vijhānavān bhavati yuktena manasaś sadā
tasyendriyāṇi vaśāni sadaśvā iva sārātheh."

Compare also Maha (II. 88):—

"Indriyāṇāṁ vicarataṁ viśayeśvapahāriṣu
Sāmīyame yatnamatiśthedvidvānyantēva vājīnām."

Verse 1.—(U)nayo = ujiko. The initial ū stands for the Sk. ā exactly as in Pāli. The guttural k is elided between ū and o. The word is a derivative of ūj, Sk. yuj, 'straight.' Namo=Pāli nāmo, Sk. nāma (from nāman), 'by name,' 'called,'—the same as namo which occurs twice in this verse. The shortening of ūa into ūa is due to a special feature of the dialect of our text which completely does away with all long vowels. M. Senart is not fully certain about the reading o in the syllable mo of namo. The balance of probability lies with the form namo, but the change of ū into o in this exceptional form may have been

¹ Fausboll's Preface to the Suttanipāta, pp. iv-v; Buddhist India, p. 188.
due to euphony, as it is preceded and followed by words ending in o sounds. This is not to say, however, that a strong case is thus made out for the form namo in preference to namn, in view of the uncertainty of the reading. So—
the same as in Pāli. Magu = Pāli maggo, Sk. mārgah, road. Here is an instance of a nom. sing. form where a masculine stem ending in a is declined with the termination u, instead of o as in vjna and so. For u instead of o, cf. avaramu (verse 2). We meet with a regular form mago in v. 29 below. Magu is thence to be regarded as optional. Both the forms magu and mago stand nearer to Sanskrit (mārgah) than the more primitive forms where Māgadhism holds a greater sway and where the masculine and neuter stems ending in a are declined alike in the nominative singular, e.g., 'sukhe dūkhe jiraṅaṅtame' (Dīgha I. p. 56: extract from the Buddhist version of the doctrine of Pakudhakacāyana, an elder contemporary of the Buddha), and 'n'atthi attakāre, n'atthi parakāre, n'atthi purisakāre, n'atthi baloṭā, n'atthi viriy-a, n'atthi purisa-thāna, n'atthi purisa-parakkamo' (Dīgha I. p. 53: extract from the Buddhist version of the doctrine of Gosāla, the Ājivika teacher), of which the Jaina parallel reads: 'n'atthi utthāne i vā kamme i rā bale i vā virige i vā purisakkārapparakkame i rā' (Uvāsagadasā, Loc. VI., § 166). In our text such masculine and neuter stems are distinguished in declension, though not so distinctly as in Pāli, the masculine form mostly terminating in o and the neuter, as we shall see later on, in u. The underlying moral of the sentence vjna namo so mago (‘straight by name is the road’) is a familiar Indian idea which is expressed more clearly in the later Buddhist songs. Cf. vjna re vjna chадi mā leka re raūka, i.e., ‘leaving what is straight and straight indeed, O thou shouldst not take to what is crooked’ (Buddhā-Gān o Dohā, No. 32, p. 49). Abhaya = Pāli and Sk. abhayā, an instance of the feminine ā-declension in the nominative singular. For the shortening of the final vowel, see Namo above. Namu—see Namo above. Sa = Pāli and Sk. sā; for the final vowel, cf. abhayā. Dīṣa (feminine) = Pāli dīṣā, Sk. dīṣā. The ā makes the word more akin to Sanskrit than to Pāli, and supplies a bond of kinship of the dialect of our text with those of the Shabbazgarhi and Mansehra recensions of Asoka’s Rock Edicts [cf. Priyadarśina (Shah. 1), Priyadaśina (Man. 1)]. Radho = Pāli ratho, Sk. rathah, chariot,—an instance of th changed into dh, and of the regular form of the masc. nom. singular in o.
Akuyano = Pāli a-kujano according to the Saṁyutta reading; consequently, the Sk. would be a-kujanaḥ, and the meaning, as suggested by M. Senart, would be 'the resort of honest people' and the explanation, 'where the wicked are none.' This interpretation of akuyano and the Pāli reading akujano on which it is based, are open to dispute for the obvious reason that the meaning suggested and applied to the chariot is hardly in keeping with the appositional adjectives nyuṣa and abhaya, 'straight,' and 'free from fear,' as applied to the road and to the direction. The very expression ratho akujano, 'the chariot where the wicked are not,' is quite unprecedented in Indian literature, not to say, unidiomatic. The meaning which fits into the context, is 'that which is free from creaking,' i.e., 'runs noiselessly on;'—akujano, "the silent Runner."

In fact, the reading in the Singhalese edition of the Saṁyutta is akujano, and the same reading is followed in the commentary, which explains the word as follows:—"na kujati na viravati tasmā akujano ti." In the language of our text the form akuyano can also be allowed in the sense of Pāli akuyano, i.e., 'not a bad vehicle,' but such a word has not been met with in Pāli phraseology. Dhamatrakehi = Pāli dhammadakkehi (according to Saṁyutta) and Sk. dharmaḍakraiḥ. M. Senart has suggested with strong reasons on his side that the correct reading in Prakrit can only be dhamatrakehi or dhamadrakehi, the first of which may be interpreted as dhammatakkehi in Pāli and dharmatarkaḥ in Sanskrit. He cites the evidence of the Suttanipāta verse 1101, which speaks of abhārīnimokha as dhammatakakkametvajja, a form which is nearer the expression samedīthipurejaya in the next verse of our text. Considering that the Suttanipāta verse is found in the Pāvayajñ-group of poems, which as a separate entity formed one of the oldest materials of the Pāli canon (Buddhist India, p. 188), it is, as suggested by M. Senart, quite probable that the reading tarka is older than the reading cakra, which, to quote his own words, "being more ingenious and piquant could, once established, no more have been displaced." It must be readily conceded that the Prakrit form dhamatrakehi clearly preserves the memory of the Pāli expression dhammadakka, Sk. dharmaḍarka, although to complete the idea of the analogy of the Buddhist "Path" with the 'chariot rolling noiselessly on,' the substitution of cakra, 'wheel' for tarka, 'reasoning' was natural and inevitable. Even granting that there is no mistake on the
part of the scribe or in the reading, the Prakrit form must be taken in the sense of 'wheels.' The change of tarka into traka is accountable by the principle of Metathesis. Cf. drumbedhino for durmedhasah (Aramavadagama, v. 8); pravstatho for parvastasthah (ibid. v. 10); drugha for durgat (ibid. v. 23); druracha durnivarana for duraikya (dur-rika) durnivarana (Citavagama, v. 5); drugati for durgatih (Dhamathagama, v. 4); drugato (Bhihkvagama, v. 1); dirgham for dirgham (Suhavagama, v. 38). This kind of change is familiar to the student of Asoka's Rock Edicts, of which the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra recensions have so close a kinship, in respect of phonology and orthography, with the dialect of our text—a feature which goes to prove the common geographical location of the two dialects (cf. dhrama for dharma, drita for darshi Shah. i., Mans. i.; sarva for sarva S. M. ii; prava for pārva S. M. v.; Girnar v.; grāhaka for garbha, S. M. vi; kramata for karudatara, S. M. vi; kratavyag for kartaryā M. xi. The instrumental plural termination ehi is a common feature of all Prakrit languages and alike of their ancient prototypes the Pāli and Arhamagadhi. Sahato—Pāli saṁhato according to M. Senart, but it seems that saṁhito, sahito ('joined', 'linked') would be the proper Pāli equivalent. The Saṁyutta variant of the word—saṁyuto ('connected', 'fitted with') attests the correctness of the above suggestion. The Upanishad passage singled out above as the basis of the Buddhist verses contains the expression yuktāna, conveying the idea 'linked with', and the phrase yuktāna maunā, i.e., 'with mind linked to' is an older psychological counterpart of the Pāli dhammacakkhe saṁyuto, 'fitted with the wheel of Righteousness', and of the Prakrit dhammadakkhe sahato, 'rounded off with (the wheels of) reasoned discussions on the Norm', the phrases breathing the Buddhist intellectual bias and moral sentiments.

Verse 2.—Hiri—Pāli, hiri, Sk. hri, an instance of Epanthesis, meaning, according to the commentator, hiri-ottappati, modesty, conscientiousness. Tasa—Pāli tassa, Sk. tasya. Avaramu—Pāli, apalombo. This is the only instance, as noticed by M. Senart, where a is substituted for ē. As for m = m, compare udumbrava = udumbra in B. 40. The word means, according to Senart, 'skid.' The meaning which agrees with the commentary is 'leaning-board' (Kindred Sayings, p. 45: yodhānam apatanaththāya darumayam ṣramanakam, a wooden structure protecting
the soldiers from falling down). This is also an instance of sandhi *ava+aramu*, corresponding to Pāli *apa+ātumo*. Note also the change of *p* into *v*. *Smatisa*=*smati+asa*= Pāli *saly-asā*, or *sattasa*, or *sattasa* (*sati+assa*). The Prakrit form is more akin to Sanskrit śīti, a Buddhist technical term which means ‘mindfulness.’ *Parivarana*= Pāli, *parivarāṇa*, which M. Senart renders ‘the roof’; but Mrs. Rhys Davids, following the commentary translates it ‘the drapery.’ The absence of the cerebral nasal *nas* is a peculiarity of the language of our text. The word, as has been pointed out above, is a later counterpart of *nivaranaḥ* (*Suttanipātā* v. 1166) or ‘prevention.’ The sense is that mindfulness (smati) is like a drapery (parivarana) preventing the influx of impurities from outside. *Dhamahu*= Pāli *dhammāhun*, another instance of sandhi—*dhamu+ahu* corresponding to Pāli *dhammātu+ahu*. The scarcity of double consonants is a characteristic feature of the text. It is to be noted that final *an* of Pāli and Sk. is represented in our Prakrit, generally by *n* as here, or by *o* as elsewhere, and occasionally by *a* as in parivarana. *Saradhi*= Pāli *śāradhi*, charioteer, driver. For *dh = th*, see *radho* (verse 1). *Bromi*= Pāli *brumi*, I say. The Prakrit form is nearer to Sk. *bravīmi*; the shortening of *ava* into *a* is common in the Pāli and all Prakrit languages, but neither the Prakrit bromi nor the Pāli *brumi* may be said to square with this rule unless it be supposed that the vowels *o* and *i* are assimilated into *o* or *u*. *Samedithipurejavu*= Pāli *sammādithipurejavu*, a compound, meaning ‘the right views which like horses run ahead.’ The form *sama* stands closer to the Sanskrit *samyak* phonetically than to Pāli *sama*.

**Verse 3—Yasa=Pāli yassa, Sk. yasya. Etadiśa=Pāli etadiśaṁ, Sk. etadiśam, like this, such. The Prakrit has followed the Pāli in dispensing with *r*, but unlike Pāli it retains *s* and in this respect stands closer to Sanskrit. For *a = an*, see *parivarasa* v. 2. The significance of the word *saut* as implied in the Dhammapada verse 323, is ‘such a vehicle whereby a person can reach the untraversed region (agataṁ disoṁ), i.e., Nirvāṇa. Yana=Pāli and Sk. *gānaṁ*, vehicle. For the final *a*, see etadiśa above. The conception of the Path as a vehicle is a later imagery, later than ayana or magga of the older Buddhist discourses, both denoting ‘path.’ Cf. *Ekāyano ayam maggo* (*Sālipatthakasutta, Majjhik*). This imagery was consummated in the subsequent growth of the conceptions of
Mahāyāna" and 'Hinayāna,' distinguished as two prominent phases of the Buddhist faith, perhaps on the lines, in a sense, of the Vedic and post-Vedic distinction between Devayāna and Pitṛyāna, with this difference that the word yāna in the older texts does not imply the idea of conveyance but of the path along which the soul proceeds, after death, to its destined end. Ghehiparvaitasa va=Pāli yihino pabbajitasam vā. The genitive termination has been dropped in gehi meter causa. Here is an instance where Pāli t is represented by e. The opposite process, i.e., the change of Pāli e into Prakrit i is noticeable in etena below, which stands for Pāli etena; that is to say, i and e are interchangeable. Parvaitasa=Pāli pabbajitasam, Sk. pravrajitasya. The ren is a metathesis for the Sk. vṛṇ, probably on account of a false analogy with forms like sarva. Va=Pāli and Sk. vā. The whole expression means 'of the householder or of the recluse.' The Pāli verse has the variant ilthiīya purīsassā vā, i.e., 'of women or of men.' The Pāli idea seems to be older, as pointing to a time when Buddhism was considered fundamentally a religion of the Bhikkhus, while the Prakrit seems to belong to a time when the Buddhist community, as distinguished from a mere Bhikkhusamgha, having been formed, provision had to be made both for the householder and the Bhikkhu in one religious scheme, as was done by Asoka (See Bhābra Edict). Sa=Pāli so, Sk. sah. Vi=Pāli ve, Sk. vai, 'indeed.' The Sanskrit diphthongs ai and au are absent in our Prakrit. The a-i in parvaitsa is not to be regarded as a diphthong. As a matter of fact, M. Senart has noted a parvvahita in the St. Petersburg fragments, the intervening h preventing hiatus like the y of the Ardhamāgadhi orthography. For the i in ri=ē of Pāli, compare etina=etena following (in the verse). Yanena=Pāli and Sk. yānena, instr. of yāna. Nivanaseva=nivanasa+eva, an instance of sandhi corresponding to Pāli nibbānaseva=nibbānasam+eva. Satie=Pāli and Sk. sanīte, near. Note the elision of k between i and e. The occurrence of an alternative form satie (B. 32) is no more than an instance of the interchange of i and e in the Prakrit itself.

4 supraudhu praujhati¹ imi gotamaśavaka
yesa diva ya rati ca nica budhakata smati

(A¹, 4)

¹ The Khāraśthi Ms. reads praujai.
Cf. Dhammapada, 296† (Pakinnakavagga, v. 7):—

Suppabuddhāṁ pabujjhanti sadā Gotamasāvakā
Yesāṁ divā ca ratto ca niccaṁ Buddhagatā sati.

Cf. Udānavarga¹, ch. xv. ("smṛti"), 12:—

"The disciple of Gautama is always well awake, day and night reflecting on the Buddha."

5 supraudhu praujhati imi gotamasavaka
yeṣa diva ya rati ca nica dhmakata smati

(A¹, 5)

Cf. Dhammapada, 297† (Pakinnakavagga, v. 8):—

Suppabuddhāṁ pabujjhanti sadā Gotamasāvakā
Yesāṁ divā ca ratto ca niccaṁ Dhammagatā sati.

Cf. Udānavarga, ch. xv. ("smṛti"), 13:—

"The disciple of Gautama is always well awake, day and night reflecting on the law."

6 [s]upraudhu praujhati imi gotamasavaka
yeṣa diva ya rati ca nica saḥhakata smati

(A¹, 6)

Cf. Dhammapada, 298† (Pakinnakavagga, v. 9):—

Suppabuddhāṁ pabujjhanti sadā Gotamasāvakā
Yesāṁ divā ca ratto ca niccaṁ Saṁghagatā sati.

Cf. Udānavarga, ch. xv. ("smṛti"), 14:—

"The disciple of Gautama is always well awake, day and night reflecting on the church."

¹ Rockhill's translation of the Tibetan version of the Udānavarga.
7 [sup]raudhu praujhati imi gotamaśavaka yeṣa diva ya rati ca nica kayakata smati O

(A¹, 7)

Cf. Dhammapada, 299+ (Pakiṇṇakav., v. 10):—

Suppabuddhāṃ pabujjhanti sadā Gotamasāvakā
Yesamā divā ca ratto ca niccaṃ kāyagataṃ sati,

Cf. Udānavarga, ch. xv. ("smṛti"), 18 :—

"The disciple of Gautama is always well awake, day and
night reflecting on what appertains to the body."

8 supraudhu praujhati imi gotamaśavaka
yeṣa diva ya rati ca ahiṃsai rato mano O

(A¹, 8)

Cf. Dhammapada, 300+ (Pakiṇṇakav., v. 11):—

Suppabuddhāṃ pabujjhanti sadā Gotamasāvakā
Yesamā divā ca ratto ca ahiṃsāya rato mano.

Cf. Udānavarga, ch. xv. ("smṛti"), 21 :—

"The disciple of Gautama is always well awake, day and
night delighting in kindness of heart."

9 supraudhu p[r]aujhati1 imi gotamaśavaka
yeṣa diva ya rati ca bhamanai rato mano O

(A¹, 9)

Cf. Dhammapada, 301+ (Pakiṇṇakav., v. 12):—

Suppabuddhāṃ pabujjhanti sadā Gotamasāvakā
Yesamā divā ca ratto ca bhāvanāya rato mano.

1 The Kharoṣṭhī Ms. reads praujati, which is evidently an error of the
scribe.
Cf. Udānavarga, ch. xv. ("smṛti"), 22:

"The disciple of Gautama is always well awake, day and night delighting in meditation."

Notes.—The verses (4-9) correspond in wording and sequence to the six verses (7-12) in the ‘Miscellaneous’ group of the Pāli Dhammapada. The Udānavarga, which presupposes an older Sanskrit recension, contains all these verses in its Smṛti-group, the sequence being broken after the third verse, as well as after the fourth, by the intervention of some additional verses which seem to have been composed at some later date on similar lines. The total number of Udāna verses cast into the same mould are 17. There are three verses (9-11) in the same chapter of the Udānavarga, preceding the ‘Suprabuddha’ series, which, though not regular counterparts, are analogous in thought to the first three of our series, as will appear from Rockhill’s translation quoted below:

“They who day and night are reflecting on the Buddha, and who go to the Buddha for a refuge, these men have the profits of mankind.”

“They who day and night are reflecting on the law (dharma), and who go to the law for a refuge, these men have the profits of mankind.”

“They who day and night are reflecting on the church (sangha), and who go to the church for a refuge, these men have the profits of mankind.”

The ‘Supraudhu’ verses which are primarily intended to eulogise the disciples of Gotama, cannot be found in any other canonical text than the Dhammapada, a negative evidence, which has some bearing on the age of the Dhammapada. We have discussed in our “Asoka’s Dhamma” (loc. cit.) how the eulogium of the Three Refuges came to occupy a prominent place in the Buddhist faith and how the older conception of the Three Refuges (tisarpanas) in the Dhammādāsa (Dīgha, II. p. 93) changed into the later poetical ideas of the Three Jewels (tiratanas) in the Ratanasutta (Suttanipāta and Khuddaka-pāṭha). We have further shown that this change of idea took place in no less than a century. The ruling idea of the ‘Supraudhu’ verses which seems to have been a supergrowth of the tisarana or tiratana idea, must be relegated to a time when the sāvakas became the mainstay of the Buddhist faith. And judging from the optimistic
tone of the verses, it seems that these were the compositions of a time of active Buddhist propaganda when Buddha’s disciples deserved to be praised as ‘truly awakened’ only by carrying their master’s behest expressed in the words “ārabbhatha nikkhamatha yuñjatha Buddhhasāsane” (start, come out and flock to Buddha’s standard) and “Ko attho supitena vo” (what’s the use sleeping?). The Pāli Dhammapada contains the minimum number of ‘Supraudhu’ verses and the Udānavarga the maximum. Our text, the Prakrit Dhammapada, contains all the ‘Supraudhu’ verses of the Pāli text, and as 17 verses (10-26) of Magavaga are missing from the Kharoṣṭhī Ms., it is difficult to say how many of them belonged to the ‘Supraudhu’ group. But we have other instances where the number of verses of a particular group, e.g., the ‘Sahassa’ group, varies in different recensions, the minimum generally being in the Pali and the maximum in the Udānavarga,—the Prakrit and the older Sanskrit being 2nd and 3rd in order. It is, therefore, reasonable to think that of the verses missing in the Kharoṣṭhī Ms., some at least must have belonged to the ‘Supraudhu’ group,—in other words, that the Prakrit verses outnumbered the Pāli. One may look upon this multiplication of verses as a result of a most mechanical attempt to swell the number of verses without any new articulation. But to us it has a two-fold significance:—first, that it brings out certain ideas which are implicit in the central theme, and secondly, that it sets forth a chronology of thought as well as of literature.

Verse 4.—Supraudhu = Pāli, suppahuddhati, accusative adverb. The word is cognate adverbial object to the verb prajñhati, the idea being ‘they awake with a good awakening.’ The conjunct consonant pr is not to be found in Pali and Ardhamāgadhi and seems to be a special feature of the dialect of our text as well as of the Shahbazgarhi and Manschra recensions of Asoka’s Rock Edicts. In Pāli r combines with a preceding labial b in such exceptional cases as Brahmā, Brahmana, Brahmadatta, and with dentals t and d in a few words like yatra, tatra, bhudra and indrīya. The Prakrit has kept to the Sanskrit so far as pr is concerned. The omission of b between n and m can be explained by an intermediate change of the labial b into the semivowel r, which latter merged

1 See references under ‘Apramudavarga,’ v. 15.
2 Suttanipāta, v. 331.
into u, the two sounds ru and u being very much similar. The simplification of \( \text{dha} \) into dh is one of the many instances which exemplify the tendency of the dialect of our text to do away with double consonants. The final \( \text{u} = \text{um} \) (cf. purejavana, v. 2). **Praunjhati = Pāli pabojjhati**, Sk. prabhujyante, ‘they awake.’ The Prakrit and Pāli forms are in the Parasmaipada, while the Sanskrit is in the Atmanepada. For the omission of b between a and u, cf. supratah. The jh seems to have been simplified from jjh which corresponds to Sk. dhy. The ti which is a plural termination corresponding to uti, is an instance of phonetic decay. **Imi = Pāli and Sk. ime.** For the change of e into Prakrit i see etina (v 3). This reading is, according to M. Senart, much better than the Pāli sadā. But we cannot agree with him as imi is quite unintelligible here, the verse being detached from the context. We think that a general term like sadā is better. **Gotamasavaka = Pāli Gotamasavakā, Sk. āravaṇakā.** This is an instance of a genitive compound. The ā seems to stand midway between Sk. ār and Pāli ā. The final a of the plural is shortened, as all long vowels are, in your text. **Yesa = Pāli yesām, Sk. yesām.** The Prakrit stands closer to Sanskrit so far as the ā is concerned. For the final a standing for Pāli ām, see yana (v. 3). **Diva = Pāli and Sanskrit dive. Ya = en. Cf. ayana = ācāra (B. 19). Rati = Pāli ratti, Sk. rātri.** The idiomatic form ought to have been ratto. The form rati (nom. sing. instead of locative) is perhaps an instance of false analogy with dive considered as nom. sing. **Ca — We have an optional form ya above. Nica = Pāli niccām, Sk. nītyām. For tyā > ca > ca cf. dhya > jhā > jha in pranjhati above. Budhakata = Pāli Buddhaṅgata, ‘turned towards the Buddha’. The Prakrit ka is here equal to Pāli ga. The word is a compound. **Smati — See verse 2.**

**Verse 5. — Dhamakata = Pāli dhammakkatā, ‘turned towards the Dhamma’.**

**Verse 6. — Saṅkhakata = Pāli saṅkhagatā, ‘turned towards the Saṅgha’.** The gha corresponding to ūgha is perhaps an instance of phonetic decay.

**Verse 7. — Ahiṅsai = Pāli ahiṃsāya, Sk. ahiṃsāyam.** The final i replacing the yam is an instance of phonetic decay. **Rato = Pāli rato, Sk. ratah, ‘delighting in’. Mano = Pāli mano, Sk. manom.**
Verse 8.—Bhamanai = Pāli ṭhāvanāya, Sk. bhāvanāṁ m., 'in meditation'. For the change of v into m cf. Pāli nāvam = Prakrit nāma (B, 35).

27

savi saghara anica ti yada prañaya paśati
tada nivinati dukha(a) [eso magu visodhia] O
(A, 1)

Cf. Dhammapada, 277† (Maggav., 5), and
Theragāthā, p. 69:—

Sabbe samkhārā aniccā 'ti yadā paññāya passati
Atha nibbindati dukkke, esa maggo visuddhiyā.

Cf. Udānavarga, xii. ("The Way"), 5:—

"All created things are impermanent'; when one has seen
this through knowledge, he is no longer afflicted by pain:
this is the way to perfect purity."

28

savi saghara dukha ti yada prañae gradhati
tada nivinati dukha eso magu visodhia O
(A, 2)

Cf. Dhammapada, 278† (Maggav., 6):—

Sabbe samkhārā dukkhā 'ti yadā paññāya passati
Atha nibbindati dukkke, esa maggo visuddhiyā.

Cf. Udānavarga, xii. ("The Way"), 6:—

"All created things are grief'; when one has seen this
through knowledge, he is no more afflicted by pain:
this is the way to perfect purity."

1. M. Senart’s Fragment A* ends with our verse 9, and Fr. A* commences with our 27, that is to say, verses 10-26 are missing from the Kharoṣṭhī Ms.
2. Supplied by us.
3. M. Senart refers to two small fragments where he finds traces of the clause eso magu viśodhia] which completes the verse.
4. Supplied by us.
sarvi dhama anatma ti yada paśati caḥhuma
tada nivinatī dukha eṣo mago viśodhia O

(Cf. Dhammap., 279† (Maggav., 7) :—
Sabbe dharmā anuttā 'ti yadā paññāya passati
Atha nibbindati dukkhe, esa maggo viśuddhiyā.

Cf. Udānav., xii. ("The Way"), 7 :—
"All created things are empty (cunyata)'; when one has
seen this through knowledge, he is no more afflicted by
pain: this is the way to perfect purity."

Notes.—Here is another group of verses, three in number,
which inculcate the religious significance and necessity of
viewing 'all created things', in the light of the Buddhist
dogma of impermanence, suffering, and non-identity, as
constituting the path to Purity i.e., Nirvāṇa. These verses
cannot be traced in the older portions of the Nikāyas,
though the views of life which they embody can be ascribed
to the Buddha himself.

It is evident from Buddha's exhortation to his son
Rāhula¹ that he wanted to impress upon his son and to
others, who were in a similar stage of ignorance and
inexperience, the necessity of constantly being mindful
of the three supreme truths or facts of common experience
viz., impermanence, suffering and unsubstantiality. Not
that he was indulging in a pessimistic vein, but that he was,
viewing fact as fact, trying to incite and inspire the
thoughtless and indolent to be active and energetic for the
attainment of that tranquil and serene state of conscious-
ness which is possible to attain through the effort of human
will in this very life. There can be no mistake about this
cardinal motive of Buddha's admonition, and he was
consistent to the end, as may be judged from his
last utterance: "HANDA dāni bhikkhāre ānantāyāmi vo:
vayadhammā saṅkhārā appamādena sampādetā"² (Now I
charge you, O bhikkhus: subject to decay are created
things, be energetic in the performance of duties). A growing

¹ The Mahā-Rāhulavāda and the Culla-Rāhulovāda suttas of the Majjhima
Nikāya.
change in Buddha's doctrine of Appamādo is perceptible in the later moralizing tendency and pensive mood of his disciples and followers, and it is no wonder that the death of so great a man like him served to heighten the feeling of impermanence and excite a pessimistic mood, which held a permanent sway over the Buddhist mind till at last the spirit of the doctrine was lost sight of, and that which had been to Buddha a means to an end, turned out in the hands of his followers to be almost an end in itself. Thus Sakka, king of the gods, was made to sing perhaps long before the Dhammapada verses were composed:—

"Aniccā vata saṅkhāra uppādavayadhammino,
Uppajjitvā nirujjhanti, tesam vupasamo sukhā 'ti."

The result was that the Buddhists of subsequent ages came to regard the truths as formulas for mystic repetition and as mantras for counting beads.

Verse 27.—The second line may be restored, with the help of vv. 27-28 as follows:—tada nivinati dukkha esa mago viśodhita ( ). Savi = Pāli sabbe, Sk. saree. The correct reading appears in v. 29. In other instances also we meet with re instead of simply v. See, for instance, M. Senart's fragments B vi: [sa]rvakeleśa, and B xiv: sare. M. Senart, however, has nothing to say regarding this difference. If the reading savī be correct we have to regard it as an optional form of sare which makes a nearer approach to Sk. sare, the final i affording another instance of the interchange of e and i. Saghara = Pāli saṅkhāra, Sk. saṁskāraḥ, created things. Here it may be supposed to stand for 'organisms' or 'bodies with their different organs of sense and of action.' The substitution of the sonant gh for the surd kh with the guttural nasal ṅ is an instance of Compensatory. Anica = Pāli anicca, Sk. anityāḥ, impermanent. Cf. nica, v. 4. Anicati = anica + ṛiti, an instance of vowel sandhi. Yada = Pāli and Sk. yudd. Praṇaya = Pāli praṇāya, Sk. praṇāyā, with clear cognition. The optional forms are praṇā (v. 38), praṇai (I. a 3, 9). Paśati = Pāli pasyati, Sk. paśyati. The s makes the Prakrit form closer to Sanskrit. Tada = Pāli and Sk. tadā, correlative of yada. Nivinati = Pāli nivināoti, Sk. nireṇvindati or-te. The Sk. forms mean 'gains,' which is not applicable to the sense here. The Pāli and Prakrit bear

1 Digha, II, p. 157.
resemblance to Sanskrit only in form, but in idea they seem to be connected with Sk. nirveda, Pali nibbida, 'sense of indifference in regard to pain, arising out of a true knowledge of the real character of existence.' This meaning is suggested by Buddhaghosa, and is also borne out by the Tibetan version. M. Senart quotes Childers who interprets it: "only does he conceive disgust for [existence which is nothing but] pain." For the omission of ə compare savi above; u for ʊ is a phonetic decay. Dukh(a) stands for Pali dukkhe. The Prakrit seems to be an accusative singular corresponding to Pali dukkha, in which case the verb nirvinati must mean 'rightly understands'. As regards the Pali dukkhe, we might take it as an acc. plural, though a locative singular construction would have been more idiomatic.

Verse 28.—Dukhatai = dukha + iti, another instance of vowel sandhi. Cf. anatma ti (v. 29). Prañāṇa = prañāya of v. 27, the final e standing for ya. Gradhatai = Sk. granthati (according to M. Senart), to be explained on the analogy of saukhāra = sahāra (v. 27). Gradhatai stands for Pali passati, see. It may be necessary to inquire if the Prakrit word has anything to do with Pali gādhita (Udāna, p. 9), 'dives into,' 'penetrates.' Gradhatai = granthiti according to M. Senart, means, as he understands, 'deduces, reasons, concludes.' There is no such word as granthati in Sanskrit, the proper form being grathnāti, if we are to derive it from the root grath 'to link, to weave.' M. Senart's suggestion is ingenious enough, and would have commended itself to our ready acceptance if the form could be settled from the philological stand-point. The equation of grath with granthati would be quite on the lines of the change of saukhāra into sahāra (vv. 27, 28), i.e., the change of the first aspirate conjoined with the nasal of the group into the second aspirate. But the equation is not permissible in the present case by the meaning of the word. Gradhatai is apparently used in the same sense as pasati of the preceding verse. Accordingly, it must be equated with a Pali or a Sanskrit word of which the derivative meaning would be 'to see.' Such a Pali word we can think of is gādhita (Sk. gāhata) 'to dive,' hence 'to penetrate, to realise.' Cf. the Pali Udāna, I, p. 9: "Jattha āpo ca pathavi tejo vāyo na gādhita." The difficulty is to account for the gra in place of gā. This may be explained by a process of False Analogy with the Sanskrit form grhṇāti from √grah, 'to receive,' the familiar notion of the grāhya-grahaka relation of senses.
and objects being presupposed. A phrase "yattho paññā na gādhati" occurs in a Jātaka verse (Fausbøll, III. p. 508 f.), and gādhati is explained in the commentary as meaning "gādhavā pitithāmanā labhanti" i.e., "(where wisdom) gains no footing."

Verse 29.—Sarvi = Pāli sabbe, Sk. sarve. The Prakrit form almost coincides with the Sanskrit, the ē replacing the e, a feature which is very common in the Prakrit of our text. Anatmati = Pāli anutthita (anuttā + iti) Sk. anatmēti (anātmā + iti). This is another instance of vowel sandhi, similar to dukhati in v. 28, and anicati in v. 27. The Prakrit form keeps closer to Sanskrit. Such instances as these may, we think, have been the results of the process of Sanskritization of an older Buddhist dialect. No Buddhist conception has been so much misunderstood by critics, both ancient and modern, as that of anātmā, which literally means 'no-soul.' The negative form of the word ātmā or ātman does not imply the negation of all the idea of a perceptive. It implies indeed the negation of the older Upanishadic theory of the soul as an unchangeable substratum of all changes and mental functions as well as of the naive animistic notion of an in-dwelling spirit capable of going out and coming into the body at its sweet will, a notion which is prevalent among all ancient peoples. The Buddhist theory of 'no-soul' replaced these older ideas by a psychological theory of the mind as a stream of consciousness. The verse under notice does not seem so much concerned to bring out the philosophical idea of 'no-soul' as to accentuate the necessity of renunciation. Cachuma = Pāli cakkhumā, Sk. caksunmān, 'he who has eyes to see.' In this instance the Prakrit keeps closer to Pāli. For the change of kkh into ch, compare ruchati for rakkhati (I. 13, 14), and avèchi for avenkkhati (I. 13, 16). We also meet with a reading cakkuma in the next verse. The change is from kṣ through assimilation into kkh, which is first palatalised into ckh, and is then reduced to ch for facility of pronunciation. Mā for Sv. uṣn is an instance which shows that the Prakrit like Pāli has done away with the final consonant, so that the equation would be ma = mā, but since our Prakrit has no long vowel, the ā is shortened into a. The interest of the reading pakati cachuma instead of prañaya pakati as in verse 27, and prañāve grādhati as in verse 28, lies in the fact that it makes manifest the underlying metaphor of wisdom regarded as an eye or mode of perception, the prajñā being considered as the prajñā-cakṣa.
magana aṭhagio sēṭho sacana cauri pada
viraku sēṭho dhamana pranabhutana cakhuma

(Ą², 4)

Cf. Dhammap., 273=. (Maggav. v. 1.):

Maggān’ aṭṭhaṅgiko sēṭho saccānaṁ catturo padā,
virāgo sēṭho dhammānaṁ dipadānaṁ ca cakkhumā.

Cf. Udānavarga, ch. xii. (“The Way”), v. 4:

“Among truths the four truths (are the best); the
eightfold way is the best of ways; the best of bipeds
is he who sees; the greatest of virtues (dharma),
passionlessness.”

Notes.—This verse, as will appear from the first quotation above,
occur at the beginning of the Pāli Maggavagga. In our
text it is placed after the “anatma” verse, i.e., v. 29, while
in the Udānavarga it precedes the “anica” verse, i.e., v. 27,
and in the Pāli it is placed before three verses preceding the
“anica” verse. The verse under notice cannot be traced in
any other extant canonical work, though the underlying
idea is a familiar one. The praise of the Path which is the
theme of our verse serves to wind up the teaching of this
chapter.

Magana = Pāli maggānaṁ, genitive of the Prakrit maho
or magu. The genitive is in the sense of the locative; of the
Paths = among the Paths. The significance of the genitive
plural of the word maho or magu is that it makes explicit the
contrast of the Buddhist Path with those followed by others,
a contrast which is tacitly implied in many genuine utter-
ances of the Buddha. Compare, for instance, the expression
“Ekāyana ayam bhikkhave maggo”—“This, O bhikkhus, is
the only Path” (Mahāsatipatthāna-sutta, Dīgha II).
Aṭhagio = Pāli atthaṅgiko, Sk. uṣṭhāṅgikoh, an instance of
sandhi and compound (atha + agio), meaning that which has
eight parts, ‘the eightfold.’ Aṭha is simplified from Sk.
aṣṭha through the intermediate Pāli aṭṭha. Agio = Pāli
aṅgiko, Sk. aṅgikah. It has already been noted that ū
of Pāli and Sk. is dropped in our Prakrit in instances where it is conjoined with a surd of the same consonantal group, and the surd itself changes into the corresponding sonant (e.g., paga for Pāli paṅka [I. 5]; saṅghara for saṅkhāra, v. 27; saṅgopa for saṅkappa [I. 9]). But here we have an instance where the nasal of the guttural group is conjoined with the sonant g. The nasal is dropped but the sonant remains unchanged. Cf. saṅgama for saṅgāmo (I. c30, 6). The k is dropped between i and o here. For the omission of k between i and e, cf. satie (v. 3), between i and i cf. satii (I. n, 32), between n and o cf. Ṉnno (v. 1). But it is not dropped after a, as in okyana (v. 1), savaka (vv. 4-9). Athaṅgiko or 'the eightfold' is a Buddhist technical term denoting the Buddhist Path which leads to Nirvāṇa conceived in its negative aspect as the complete cessation of suffering, a generic name for all painful experiences of mankind. The significance of the term 'Eightfold' is that the Path is expounded as consisting of eight parts or categories, the right views, the right resolve, and so forth. This path is counted as one of the Four Truths, viz. the fourth, concerning the way. Setho = Pāli setho, Sk. svṛṣṭhāḥ. For the simplification of tha from Pāli thā, cf. athagio above. Sacana = Pāli soccānam, Sk. satyānam, genitive plural. For e see amica (v. 27). Cauri corresponds to the Pāli reading caturō. It strictly equates with Pāli cattūri, Sk. caturī. M. Senart rightly points out that cattūri or caturī is in the Buddhist dialects readily used for the masculine. He further suggests that though cauri appears to be the direct reflex of caturī, it may better be connected with caturō, the change of o into i being only mechanical. Indeed cauri is the result of a mixing up of the two forms—masculine and neuter—caturō and cattūri, caturī. See M. Senart's Notes (p. 12). Pada corresponds to the Pāli reading padā. The corresponding form in Sanskrit would be padāni (neuter pl.). But the question is whether caturō padā cannot be regarded as the Pāli counterpart of the Sanskrit 'caturāḥ padāḥ,' 'four portions or divisions,' taking padāḥ in the sense of mātrāḥ. For the conception of the 'four pādas' cf. the Māṇḍukya Upanishad: So'yaṁdattā catuṣpāṭa: prathamah pādah, dvitiyah pādah, etc. The masculine form of the Pāli will be well accounted for, if we trace it to the Upanishadic conception of 'four divisions.' The Prakrit pada, considered without the neuter numeral cauri, leaves us in the dark as to the gender it denotes, for it may stand alike for pāda and pādāni. In the case of cauri we have presupposed with M. Senart the intervention
of an intermediate form caturo. A similar confusion of two forms—masculine and neuter, pāda, pl. (Pāli), pādāḥ (Sk.), and pūḍāni (Pāli and Sk.)—can be said to hold good in the case of the Prakrit pāda, which appears to have retained a masculine form in an undetectable way. It seems that the history of pāda was forgotten in Pāli and the word came to be confounded with pāda. A glaring instance of such confusion is furnished by the Buddhist expression cattāri dharmapadāni (in the sense of dhammapadā), explained also as the four divisions of the Norm, that is to say, explained in the light of the old Upanishadic classification of four pādas, though in the garb of pāda. As a matter of fact, there is no difference in sense between pāda (masc.) and pāda (neut.), though there is much in respect of grammar. Saccānaṃ caturo pāda is another way of saying cattāri ariyasaucāni, the familiar expression for the Four Noble Truths. Viraku=Pāli virūgo, Sk. virūgha, ‘dispassionateness.’ For the change of the sonant y into the corresponding surd k, generally after a, cf. Buddhaata for Buddhakāta (v. 4.), and for the final u for o, cf. magu (v. 1). Pranabhutana would equate with Pāli pānabhūtanam, an instance of samāsa. The meaning is—‘of living beings.’ The Pāli reading is dipadāna (‘of the bipeds’), a narrower comparison which is implied also in the Udānavarga. The form pānabhūta equated with pranabhuta actually occurs in Pāli. Cf. the expression: ‘ye keci pānabhūt’ atthi’ (Suttanipāta, v. 146). The Prakrit pranabhutana and the Pāli pānabhūtanam seem to have been the result of a confusion of Sanskrit bhṛta with bhūta. Having regard to the fact that the older Upanishadic expression prānabhṛt denotes a living being (cf. prānabhṛtān, Ait. Aratīyaka II. 3. 2. 2), this theory of confusion would seem sufficient to explain the Pāli or the Prakrit form as corresponding literally to Sanskrit prānabhūtanām or prānabhṛṭānāṁ, the former of which, however, would not be free from objection on one ground or another. The Sanskrit genitive plural of prānabhṛt is prānabhṛtī. The form prānabhṛṭānāṁ will be justified if it is corroborated by the actual use of a stem prānabhṛta in Sanskrit literature. The proper Pāli form would have been pānabhūtanī and the corresponding Prakrit pranabhutānī. Cf. Pāli bhuto equating with Sk. bhṛta in the Nikāya expression “bhuto nevānu bhārisāmi” (Dţha III. p. 189). Cakkhuma keeps closer to Pāli cakkhumā than euchuma of the preceding verse. Indeed this reading is a typical illustration bearing out our hypothesis of the derivation of
many Prakrit words of this text through some intermediate Pāli forms.

Ga 30—M. Senart takes ga to stand for godha (gāthā), thereby interpreting it to imply that the group or chapter contains 30 stanzas. But unfortunately he has not made use of this numbering to systematise the verses according to chapters as has been attempted in the present edition. This has been the cause of a very serious drawback in his otherwise valuable work, and we shall see more of it when we deal with the next group of verses.

[2. Apramadavaga]

The group of verses under this head, all deal with ‘apramāda’, and this is the justification of the title we have chosen for it. The group consists of 25 stanzas, as may be judged from the number mentioned in the colophon “ga 25” (L. A¹, 8). In the Pāli recension the ‘Appamāda’ group has 12 verses, and forms the second chapter of the book. The Udānavarga verses grouped under ‘Apramāda’ (wrongly rendered “Purity” by Rockhill) number 35 and form the 4th chapter. These three recensions of the Dhammapāda have many ‘Appamāda’ verses in common. The title in the Chinese Fā-Khen-pi-n (see sec. x., Beal’s translation) is the same as in Pāli, but the chapter has hardly any verse in common with the latter. The Pāli ‘Appamāda’ verses can not be traced in any other canonical text, but there are some in the Prakrit text and the Udānavarga which can be traced. It will be noticed how M. Senart has laboured under a disadvantage in trying to number serially whole verses on a leaf, regardless of their central theme and of the number indicated in the colophon marking the close of a chapter.

1 utiṭhe¹ na pramajea dhamu sucarita cari
dhamacari suhu seati asmi loki parasa yi O

(A³, 6)

Cf. Dhammap., 168† (Lokavagga, v. 2):

Uttiṭhe nappamajjeyya dhammaṁ suciratam caro
dhammacāri sukham seti asmiṁ loko paramhi ca.

¹ The reading in M. Senart’s edition is utiṭha, but he says that the omission of the final e may be due to the negligence of the scribe and not to any dialectic peculiarity.
Notes.—This verse which marks the beginning, according to our arrangement, of the second chapter of the Prakrit text seems rightly included in the ‘Agramada’ group; the occurrence of it in the ‘Loka’ group of the Pāli text is hardly justifiable, as its relevancy to the general reflections on the world is very slight. The Pāli arrangement of verses, as noticed before, is generally loose, the compiler having in many cases made an injudicious selection of verses for a group, for he seems to have been careless of the distinctive tone of a particular verse justifying its inclusion in a particular group. For instance, in the present verse, though a greater stress is laid on Appamāda than on Loka, the verse seems to have been included in the ‘Loka’ group simply because it happens to contain a word about Loka. The compiler might as well have put it in the ‘Appamāda’ group, but so far as the device is mechanical, he is consistent. On the other hand, though the Prakrit text has quite consistently grouped together all the verses of which the main theme is apravada, it has a serious drawback in that it does not put in the beginning, as has been done in the Pāli text and the Udānavarga, the most important verse e.g., “apramadu amatapada” etc. (v. 6 infra), which brings out the essence of the teaching of the ‘Agramada’ discourse as a whole.

Utitthe = Pāli uttitthe, Sk. uttiṣṭheta (Optative), ‘one should rise up.’ The word reminds one of the exhortation in the Pāli uthānasutta:—‘Uttahathu nissidha ko attāko savitum eṣa’ (Suttanipāta, Bk. II. No. 101).
Na pramajeava = Pāli nappamajjeyya, ‘one should not relax,’ an optative form keeping close to the Pāli. Pramajeva, as opposed to utitthe, implies primarily an idea of sleep or dozing or a morbid state of body and mind as experienced by a person dead drunk, and secondarily, as here, that of a state of inactivity, indolence, thoughtlessness, moral cowardice or a want of will, energy and religious enthusiasm to strive for the best within human reach.

Cf. (i) Therag., v. 411:—
“Uṭṭhāhī nissida Katiyāna mā niddābhahulo ahu jāgarasau, mā tam alasam pamattabandha kūṭen’ eva jīnātu maccaurājā.”
(ii) Kathopanishad, I. 3.14:—
“Uttīṣṭhata jāgrata prāpya varān nibodhata
Kuśaṇaya dhārā nīśā durayāya durγaṃ pathastat karayo
vadantu”
(iii) Taittiṣṭya Aranyaka, I. 27. 2:—
“Uttīṣṭhata mā svapta agnim icchadhvam Bhāratib.”
Dhamu sucarita cari, which corresponds to the Pāli dharmamahoscaritam cary, reminds us at once of the Taitti-riya command dharmamahocary' (i.e., 'fulfil the law'—moral but not discordant with the cosmic). This expression, when coupled with na pramajena, reminds us of another Taitti-riya command 'dharmān na pramāditavyam', i.e., 'one should not swerve from the principle' (see Taitti-riya Up., I. 11. 1). In sucarita cari we have another instance of a Buddhist expression where a past participle sucarita is used as a cognate adverb (cf. supradhā pravijhati, Magava, v. 4 ff.). For dhmacari compare a variant dhmacari in I. 30, 30—another evidence of the interchange of e and y. As to satī M. Senart thinks that it rests: "not on the usual form sati, but on the form sayati, ago being written e". But it would have been, perhaps, more correct to say that it is a compromise between sati and sayati, evincing a tendency to incline to the latter form. That the normal use is sati is clear from I. 30, 30. The word sati is significant as showing how the Buddhist verse dwells upon the idea of sleeping; here it means the enjoyment of a blissful rest, i.e., Nirvāṇa.

Asmi=Pāli asmi, Sk. asmin. In the Prakrit of our text sm, unlike the Pāli, is nowhere changed into mī. Parasa=Pāli parasas, a form with a genitive termination but used in a locative sense (cf. sagaranāsa for saṁkārakūtasmin, I. 30, 3). Yi=Pāli ca, the usual form being ya (see Magava, vv. 4 f.). The i of yi is, perhaps, due to a desire to maintain a rhythm with the i of the previous word asmi.

2 utthanena apramadena sanāmana damena ca
divu karoti medhavi ya jara nabhimardati

(Cf. Dhammap., v. 25 + (Appamādav. v. 5):—

Utthānena appamādena saṁānena damena ca
Dipaṁ kairūtha medhāvī yaṁ ogho nābhikratī.

Cf. Udānav., ch. iv. ("Purity"), v. 5:—

"The wise man through earnestness, virtue, and purity makes himself an island which no flood can submerge."
Notes.—The Prakrit verse exactly corresponds to the Pāli, so far as its first line is concerned. In the second line we have, in karoti, a present singular form in place of the Pāli optative plural kāyirātha, and in medhāvi a nominative singular form in place of the Pāli plural medhāvī. The Udānavarga reading, so far as it may be judged from Rockhill’s translation, is similar to the Prakrit. The verse ends with the reading jara nabhimardati, of which the Pāli would be jara nābhiwaddati, ‘decay does not crush’, is peculiar to our text, while the Dhammapada and the Udānavarga agree in having a different reading. As it is, the Pāli expression ogha nābhikīrīti appears more appropriate than the Prakrit jara nabhimardati in a simile where the imagery of an island is present. But virtually there is no difference, for it is really a jara-oghā, ‘the flood of decay’, that is meant here, as is evident from the testimony of Therag., v. 412:—

“Sayathāpi mahāsamuddavego evam jātijarātivattate taṁ,  
So karohi sudipam attano tvam, na hi tāṇam tava  
vijjateva aññam.”

The sense of ogha in the Pāli reading is too indefinite, the Prakrit makes it explicit by jara, and abhimaṇḍati is as aptly used with jara as abhikīrīti is with ogho. M. Senart’s suggestions (I. 38, 7) seem rather laboured and far-fetched.

3 uthanamato smatinato suyikamasa niṣamacarino  
sañatasa hi dhamajivino apramatasa yaśidha  
vadhāti O  
(A. 8, 8)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 24 † (Appamādav., v. 4):—

Uṭṭhānavato satimato sucikammassa niśammakārino  
Saṁnatassa ca dhammajīvino appamattassa yaso ‘bhivadhāti.

Cf. Udānav., ch. iv. ("Purity"), v. 6:—

"'Tis the earnest that become far-famed by their diligence, reflection, the purity of their lives, their judgment, their perfect observance (of the commandments), by their whole life which is according to the law."
Notes.—This verse is in tone the same as vv. 1-2, and corresponds in form to the Pāli except for hi in place of ca after saññatasa and yaśidha vadhati in place of yaso'bhi. There is nothing more to notice than the change of e into y in suyikamas, the change of k into c in niṣamacarino, and a vowel sandhi in yaśidha (yāśa + iđha). The expression niṣamacarino might also be equated with Pāli niṣammacārino which is a synonym, in a narrower sense, of dhammacārino.

4 uthanaalasā anuṭṭahahato yoi bali alasieuvito saṃsanasagapamanosmatima praṇai maga alasu na vinati O

(A,² 9)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 280 † (Maggav., v. 8):—

Uṭṭhānakālamhi anuṭṭṭahāno yuvā bali Alasiyam upeto Saṃsanasaukappamamo kusīto paññāya maggaṁ alaso na vindati.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxxi. (“The Mind”), v. 32:—

“He who remains seated when it is time to rise, who, though strong and young, sits slothfully at home, who is always careless in his thoughts, will not find the road to wisdom.”

Notes.—This verse which sets forth the evil effect of indolence and thoughtlessness, exactly corresponds in form as well as in tone to the Pāli except for the word smatima in place of kusīto, ‘indolent.’ M. Senart rightly points out that the expression smatima is inexplicable, unless it be supposed that it is asmatima, the initial vowel being elided through a sandhi with the previous word. In this verse, as in many others, one cannot fail to notice the Buddhist method of defining a term by juxtaposing a host of synonyms differing from each other in slight shades of meaning, the total effect being the intensification of the main idea. Uthana-alasa anuṭṭahahato = Pāli utthānakālamhi anuṭṭahāno, “he who remains seated when it is time to rise” (Udānavarga), a

¹ The Ms. reads uthane alas. The alteration has been made above according to M. Senart’s suggestion.
² Smatima is joined to the preceding word because of sandhi.
negative expression followed by a positive synonym in the second foot. We fully agree with M. Senart that in *uṭhānālāsasā* we have another form with a genitive termination for the locative (cf. *parasa* in v. 1.). *Yoi* stands, according to M. Senart, for *yo ayaṁ*. He thinks that "this reading is assuredly preferable to *yuvā*." But in both the Dhammapada and the Udānāvarga we have *yuvā*, and we need not necessarily suppose that *yoi=yo ayaṁ*, since *yoi* may alike be equated with *yuvā*, *i.e.* being a change from *vā*, perhaps through an intermediate *ya*. *sānānasagapamano* = Pali *sānānāsasāviṁkappamano*, 'having an irresolute mind,' in a state of indecision.' In a few instances the nasal *n* is retained before *s* as in *ahiṁsa (=ahiṁśaya)*, Magavaga, v. 8, and *bhẹrisiti (=bhṛtya)*, Jaravaga, v. 5. As for the change of *ṅk* into *g* (sagapa = sāṅkappa), see notes on *abhagio* in Magavaga., v. 30, and *saghara*, op. cit., v. 27.

5 na tavata dhamadharo yavata baho bhasati
yo tu apa bi sutvana dhamu kaena phaśai O
sa ho dhamadharo bhoti yo dhamu na pramajati O

(A³, 10, 11)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 259 + (Dhammattṭhav., v. 4):

Na tāvatā dhammadharo yāvatā bahu bhāsati
Yo ca appaṁ pi sutvāna dhammaṁ kāyaṁ passatī
Sa ve dhammadharo hoti yo dhammaṁ na-ppamajjati.

Notes.—The expressions of the Prakrit verse are similar to those of its Pali counterpart except for *tu* in place of *ca* and *ho (= kho)* in place of *ve*. The verse undervalues 'much learning' without any original vision or perception of truth. In the Pali Dhammapada we have two other verses, vv. 18-19, where this Buddhist view of learning is inculcated more emphatically and with a direct reference to the established method of Vedic study: cf. "Bahumpi ce sahītah bhāsamāno" etc. A man who can recite many hymns (saraṁhitā) but does not act according to the injunctions laid down therein, is compared to a cowherd who counts the cattle of others without being able to claim them as his own. In course of time when Buddha's doctrine and discipline were rehearsed and put together, or when the Buddhist texts were compiled, the old evil crept into the Buddhist system. The lack of insight and originality of
conception have been the bane of all Sanskritic studies. The Buddhist judgments on two contrasted types are well worth consideration: (1) a Dhammadhara without an original vision, and (2) a Kāyasukkhi who has a direct perception of truth. Dhammadhara = Pāli ḍhammadharo, a custodian of the Buddhist faith. In a passage of the Mahāparinibbānasuttanta a Dhammadhara, i.e., a custodian or rehearser of the Sutta Pitaka in later nomenclature, has been distinguished from a Vinayadhara or a mātkadhara, the terms being replaced in later phraseology by Vinaya Pitaka and Abhidhamma Pitaka. Dhamu kaena phasa would strictly equate with a Pāli dhamman kāyena phussati, 'touches the law with his mind.' Nevertheless the Prakrit reading phasa is as good as the Pāli pissa, 'sees.' Here we have a description of a kāyasukkhi (see Aṅguttara, I. p. 118, Majjhima, I. p. 478).

6 apramada amatapada pramadu mucuno pada apramata na miyati ye pramata yadha mutu O

(A², 12)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 21 + (Appamādav., v. 1)
= Fausboll’s Jātaka, v. p. 99 = Dīpanābha
p. 46:—

Appamādo amatapadam padam mucunam padam
Appamattā na miyanti ye pamattā yathā maṭā.

Cf. Udānav., eh. iv. (“Purity”), v. 1 :—

“The pure man knows not death: he who is impure dwells with death: he who is pure will not die: he who is impure dies repeatedly.”

7 eta viśesadha śatva apramadasa panito apramadi pramodia ariana goyari rato O

(A³, 13)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 22 + (Appamādav., v. 2):—

Etaṁ viśesato śatvā appamādamhi pāṇḍito
Appamāde pāmodanti ariyānaṁ goce raṭā.

1 The circle is supplied by us.
Cf. Udānav., ch. iv. ("Purity"), v. 2:—

"The wise who knows this difference delight in modesty and purity; their pleasure is that of the elect."

Notes.—The teaching of the whole chapter is put in a nutshell in verse 6 and, as a matter of fact, this verse is put at the head of the chapter in other recensions than the Prakrit. The moral inculcated reminds one of Shakespeare’s famous pronouncement that ‘cowards die many times before their death’, while ‘the valiant die but once.’

Verse 6.—Yadha mutu (singular) would strictly equate with a Pāli yathā mato, Sk. yathā mṛtah, ‘like one dead.’ The Prakrit reading seems more emphatic than the Pāli.

Verse 7.—Viśeṣadha improves the Pāli reading visesuto, meaning ‘particularly’ (cf. visesena of the commentary). M. Senart takes viśeṣadha as ‘formed by the suffix ḍhā, which may in this case very well supply the suffix ṭah of the Pāli’. To us, however, it seems that viśeṣadha=Pāli visesattvam, Sk. viśesārtvam, ‘difference.’ Apramadasa=Pāli appamādaṃkhi. Here is another form with a genitive termination for the locative singular, cf. parasa, Magav., v. 27.

8 pramada anuyujati bala drumedhino jana apramada tu medhavi dhana seṭhi va rachati O

(A², 14)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 26† (Appamādav., v. 6) =Sāhyutta, I. p. 25 =Therag., v. 883:—

Pamādaṃ anuyūjanti bālā dummedhino janaṃ
Appamādaṃ ca medhāvi dhanam seṭhām va rakkhati.

Cf. Udānav., ch. iv. ("Purity"), v. 10:—

"The (mind of the) fool who is given up to carelessness is perverted; the wise man must be careful, as is the head of a caravan watching his treasures."
Notes.—There is nothing more in this verse to explain than the simile dhana śethi va rachati, which, according to M. Senart, should be equated with a Pāli dhanaṁ śethi va rakkhati (i.e., like a banker watching his treasures). To M. Senart the reading śethi appears to be decidedly better than the Pāli settham, which gives only "a vague and colourless epithet." While we cannot dispute his interpretation of śethi as a banker, "the head of a caravan" (Udānavarga), it seems that the expression dhanaṁ settham ra is not at all colourless as he thinks, the idea being "as a man keeps watch over a precious possession" e.g., over the seven jewels, as the commentary suggests, or over a "Kohinoor," for instance.

9 apramatu pramatesu sutesu bahojagaru avalaśa va bhadraśu hitva yati sumedhasu ⁰

(Ān, 15)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 29† (Appamādav., v. 9) :—

Appamatto pamattesu sutesu bahujāgaro Abalassam va sīghasso hitvā yāti sumedhaso.

Notes.—This verse closely resembles in form its Pāli parallel except for the reading bhadraśu (=bhadrasso) in place of sīghasso. The expression bhadraśu is less satisfactory as an antithesis of avalaśa (=abalaśam) than sīghasso. The term bhadrasso denotes a well-trained horse, cf. asso bhadro karāmiva, Dhammapada, v. 143. The simile in the second line is that of a race in which a fast horse leaves behind a weak one. The teaching of the present verse is somewhat different from the moral of the story of the Hare and the Tortoise, in Aesop’s Fables, which is that the slow but steady win the race. Avalaś =Pāli abalassam, a vowel sandhi (avala + aśa). M. Senart singles this out as the only instance where r has been substituted for b. Bhadrasso =Pāli bhadrasso, a sandhi (bhadr + aśu). Sumedhaso =Pāli sumedhavo, a compound meaning ‘having a good brain-power,’ which is a synonym of medhavi in the preceding verse.

⁰ The circle is supplied by us.
10 pramāda apramādena yada nudati panitu
praṇāpurasada arnyu asoka śoino jana
pravatatho va bhumaṭha dhīru bala avechiti ¹

(A³, 16)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 28 † (Appamādaṇav., v. 8)
= Vinaya I, p. 5 = Milinda, p. 387:—

Pamādam apramādena yadā nudati paṇḍito
Paṇḍapāsādam ārnyha asoko sokiniṁ paṭaṁ
Pabbatatttho va bhumaṭṭhe dhīro bāle avekkhati.

Cf. Udānav., ch. iv. ("Purity"), v. 4:—

"When the wise men through earnestness have overcome heedlessness, then, steadfast through wisdom, they ascend to above the abode of the gods, and, free from sorrow and pain, they look down as from the summit of a mountain at the fools on the face of the earth."

Notes.—The teaching of this is in spirit the same as that of the previous verse with this difference that the similes are changed. The first simile is that of a royal personage looking down from the balcony of a palace at the multitude, who walk along the street. Ārnyu = Pāli ārṇyha. For the reading, see M. Senart's Notes. We might just notice that the u of yu (= ṣya) is due, perhaps, to the loss of the aspirate resulting partly from the interchanged positions of h and y in Pāli. Since the Prakrit form appears to be possible more from yh than from ṣy, it is necessary to point out that it presupposes a Pāli original. Bhumaṭha and bala have singular accusative endings.

11 apra[madena makabhā² devana samidh(i) gat]u
apramāda praśajhati pramādu garahitu sada ³

(A³, 17 and A², I completing together the entire verse)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 30 † (Appamādaṇav., v. 10):—

Appamādāna Maṅghava devānaṁ seṭṭhatam gato
Appamādaṁ pasāṁsanti paṁḍo garahito sadaṁ.

¹ The circle is supplied by us.
² In M. Senart's edition madena makabhā are linked together (see I. A³, 1).
³ The circle is supplied by us.
Notes.—In M. Senart’s adjustment of the plates of the Kha-
roṣṭhī Ms., line Α², 1, with the reading “.. madenamakabha
devanasmidh(i) yat.”, appears as a remnant of a verse of
which he was able to trace no parallel. The discovery
of the connexion of Α², 1 with Α³, 17 is a momentous
event in the compilation of the present edition. We need
not point out at length the errors to which the French
scholar was led on account of this oversight on his part.

Makabha = Pāli Maghavā. The aspiration of b compensates
for the change of gh into k through an intermediate g.
Samidhi = Pāli samiddhi, which may be substituted as
a synonym for the Pāli setthaṭham, cf. samiddham att no,
Dhp. v. 84. Praṣajhati = Pāli pasavaṇṇati, Sk. praṇam-
ṇanti. M. Senart assures us of the correctness of his read-
ing. But we should have expected a reading like praṇaṇati,
remembering that in our text the n is changed into ṇ
before s.

12 (hi)¹ na dhama na sev(e)²a pramadena na savasi
michadithi na roy(e)³a na sīa lokavadhano O⁴

(A², 2)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 167 † (Lokav., v. 1):—

Hīnaṁ dhammmaṁ na seveyya pamaññena na samvase
Miceṭṭhāthi na seveyya na sīya lokavaddhano.

Notes.—In this verse, which is exactly similar in expression
to its Pāli counterpart except for royaya (=roceyya) in
place of seveyya, we have an exhortation not to have
anything to do with sensuality, thoughtlessness, wrong
views and popularity.

13 yo tu puvi pramajati pacha su na pramajati
so ita loku ohaseti abba mutu va suriu O

(A², 3)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 172 † (Lokav., v. 6)
= Majjhima, II. p. 105 = Therag., v. 871:—

Yo ca pubbe pamaṇjītvā pacchā so na-ppamaṇjati
So ‘maṁ lokaṁ pabhāseti abhā mutto va candimā.

¹, ², ³, Supplied by us, some in accordance with M. Senart’s suggestions.
Cf. Udāna, ch., xvi. ("Miscellaneous"), v. 5:

"He who formerly was heedless and who afterwards has become careful, like the moon free from clouds, he brightens up the whole world."

Notes.—In this verse we can perceive a change of tone, as we have in it a message of hope for those who have so far been thoughtless, like an Aṅgulimāla, and cannot aspire to live a better life on account of their sinful disposition. The teaching of the simile in the second line is that sin is but a passing shadow of the mind which darkens man’s spiritual prospects. Pramajati=Pāli pamajjati. A right reading would, according to M. Senart, have been pramajeti or pramajili=pramajitva. As for ita=etaṁ, see M. Senart’s Notes. Suriu=Pāli sūriyo, an instance of Epenthesis (rin=ryah). It seems that in the language of our text an aspirate after y is vocalized and changed into n; cf. āryyān (v. 10). The Prakrit reading is a stronger expression than the Pāli candimā.

14 ¹ arahadha nikhamadha yujatha buddhāsāsane
dhunatha macuno sena nalagara ba kuñaru

(A², 4)

Cf. Theragāthā †, vv. 256, 1147
= Saṁyutta, I. pp. 156-7:—

Ārabbhattha nikkhamatha yuṇjatha buddhāsāsane
Dhunātha maccuno senaṁ naḷāgāraṁ va kuñjaro.

Cf. Divyāvadāna, pp. 68, 138:—

Ārabbadhvaṁ niśkramata yuṣyadhvaṁ buddhāsāsane
Dhunita mṛtyunnaḥ saṁyānaṁ naḷāgāram iva kuñjaraḥ.

Cf. Udānavarga, ch. iv. ("Purity"), v. 34:—

"Arise, commence a new life, turn towards the doctrine of the Buddha; trample down the hosts of the lord of death as an elephant does a house of mud."

¹ This verse together with verses 15 and 16 is to be considered as a blended whole. In the Theragāthā, the Saṁyutta and the Divyāvadāna, the counterpart of the Prakrit verse 15 is absent and those of vv. 14 and 16 only are found grouped together, while in the Dīghanikāya vv. 15 and 16 constitute a whole, v. 14 being absent.
Notes.—Now comes the awe-inspiring command or the charge, as if in a lion’s roar, from a great conqueror like Buddha the Sākyan hero. The command and its tone are indeed worthy of such a master who achieved self-conquest through a valorous will not to cease to strive, whether ‘the sky be rent asunder or the earth leave her fixed station’ (nabhain phaleyya, pathavhin caleyya). It will be noticed that the Udānavarga verse has a different simile, and the expression is weaker than the Prakrit or its Pāli counterpart. Dhunatha=Pāli dhunātha =dhunīta (Divyāvadāna), “trample down.” The expression is metaphorical, implying the idea of distending cotton. Macuno sena=Pāli maccuno senam=“the hosts of the lord of death” (Udānavarga). Here, death is but another epithet of the tempter Māra, whose fighting units are mentioned in the Padhānasutta (Suttanipāta, No. 28), vv. 436-39.

15 apramata smatimata susīla bhotu bhichavi susamahitasagapa sacita anurachadha O

(A², 5)

Cf. Dīgha, II. p. 120¹ :

Appamattā satimanto susīla hotha bhikkhavo Susamahitasaṅkappā sacittam anurakkhatha.

Cf. Udānav., ch. iv. ("Purity"), v. 33 :

“The Bhīṣu who is truly moral and who delights in earnestness brings thus all his thoughts well under control, and his mind is in safety.”

Notes.—This verse sets forth the first requisites of self-conquest which are that the Bhikkhus intent on defeating the hosts of Māra must be of an undaunted spirit and well-behaved, having a well concentrated will and a well controlled mind. Bhotu=Pāli hotu, Sk. bharatu, a singular verb used with a plural nominative.

¹ M. Senart cites as a parallel the Dhammapada verse 327.
16 yo imasa dhamavinau apramatu vihāṣīti
prahai jatisaṁsara dukhusata karaś(t)i O

\(A^2, 6\)

Cf. Dīgha, II. p. 121 = Saṁyutta I. p. 157
= Therag., v. 257:

Yo imasmiṁ dhammavinaye appamoṭto vihessati
Pahāya jāti-saṁsāram dukkhas' antam karissati.

Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 68:

Yo hyasmin dhammavinaye apramattaś carisyati
Prahāya jātisamsāram dukkhasyāntam kariṣyati.

Cf. Udānav., ch. iv. ("Purity"), v. 35:

"Whoever has lived according to this law of discipline, in
gentleness and purity, will, having cast off transmigration,
put an end to his misery."

Notes.—Now comes the persuasion as an argument in support
of the heroic command in the preceding two verses.
For comments on this verse the reader is referred to M.
Senart's Notes. We have just to add that imasa (= Pāli
imasa viṁ) is another instance where a genitive termination
has been used for the locative.

17 ta yu vadami bhadrāṇu yavatetha samākata
apramadarata bhodha sadhami supravediti O

\(A^2, 7\)

Notes.—The Pāli counterpart of this verse cannot be traced.
It is the result of a new combination of three set expres-
sions, which are:

1. Taṁ vo vadāmi bhaddam vo yāvantettha samāgatā (Dhp. v. 337; Jat. III, p. 387. 1. 21)—for the
1st line;
2. appamādaratā hotha (Dhp. v. 327)—for the 3rd foot;
3. saddhāmme suppravedite (Itivuttaka, p. 78)—for
the 4th foot.

1 In M. Senart's reading so is connected with dhama.
2 The correct reading, according to M. Senart, would be dukkhasata.
3 The circle is supplied by us.
For the explanation of the Prakrit forms, the reader is referred to M. Senart's Notes.

18 pramada parivajetva apramadarata sada bhavetha kuśala dhama yokachemasa prataa.

Notes—The Pāli counterpart of this verse cannot be traced. The Suttanipāta verse 425 contains the expression yoga-kkhemassa pattiya which corresponds to the Prakrit verse-end. As a matter of fact, a Jātaka verse (Fausböll, I. pp. 275, 278) supplies us with an almost exact Pāli parallel to the 2nd line by the reading—Bhāveti kusalāṁ dharmāṁ yogakkhēmassa pattiya. Prataa=Pāli pattiya. The Prakrit form rests on a Sanskrit rather than a Pāli word.

19 . . . prata suhino apramadaviha . . .

(A1, 1)

Cf. Udānav., ch. vi. ("Morality"), v. 20:—

"This is the road that leads to happiness; he who has entered on this road of perfect purity will by keeping to it cast off the bonds of Mara."

Notes.—The Pāli parallel of the above verse cannot be traced. Rockhill’s translation of the Tibetan version of the Udānavarga verse, cited above, is also so tentative that it is difficult to establish a complete identification. There is, moreover, no certainty that the second line of the Prakrit is identical with that of the Udānavarga verse. It is unmistakably true that the verse under notice is modelled on a gāthā of which the counterpart is supplied by the Dhammapada, v. 57 and the Udānavarga, v. 19, ch. vi, which are quoted below:—

Tesāṁ sampannasīlānāṁ apramādaniḥārīnām
Sammādhiṁnāvimuttiṁnāṁ Māro maggam na vindati.

1 The Ms. reads parivajeti; the alteration has been made according to M. Senart’s suggestion.
2 M. Senart reads prata and suhino as one word. We, however, think it better to separate them in the light of our restoration.
3 Rockhill’s rendering of apramada.
"They therefore who leave in thoughtfulness, who are perfectly purified by their moral conduct and who are emancipated by the perfectness of their knowledge, will not meet with the road of Mara."

The first foot might be completed, in the light of the expression te khemapatṭā sukhino (of the Pāli verse in Majjhima, III. p. 187), as te chenaprata suhino, and the second, in the light of the Dhammapada verse cited above, as apramadaviharino. As regards the third and fourth feet, we are at a loss to decide whether these are similar to those of the Dhammapada verse 57, or of the Udānavarga verse 20, or of the Majjhima verse or of a different one. In this state of uncertainty we can at the most hazard this fourfold restoration:

1. in the light of the Dhammapada verse 57:
   
   samadānaṁvitumato mara maṅgu na vinati ∅

2. in the light of the Udānavarga verse 20 (ch. vi):
   apramata viharata jahati m rabanana ∅

3. in the light of the Majjhima verse
   ("Sabbaverabhayaṁtī sabbadukkham upacaggum"):—
   savavirabhayaṁ ato savadukha uva-ai ∅

4. in the light of the Apramada v. 25 (i.e., Senart’s A1, 7):
   apramata viharata pranoti paramu sukhū ∅

Adopting the last alternative, the verse might be restored thus:

(te chena)prata suhino apramadaviha(rino)
   apramata viharata pranoti paramu sukhū ∅

Chenaprata suhino = Pāli khemapatṭā sukhino, ‘those who are happy after having attained to the state of security, i.e., Nirvāṇa’. Chena is a shorter form of yokachena = Pāli yogakkhema, a synonym of Nibbāna. This is the same in meaning as paramu sukhū.

apramadi pramodia ma gami ratisabhamu
apramato hi jhayatu viṣeṣa adhikachati ∅

(A1, 2)
21 apramadi pramodia ma gami ratisabhau
apramato hi jhayatu chaya dukhasa pramuni ○
(A¹, 3)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 27 (Appamādav., v. 7)
= Majjhima, II. p. 105 = Saññyutta I. p. 25
= Therag., v. 884 —

Mā pamādam anuyāñjetha mā kāmaratisanthavaṁ
Appamatto hi jhāyanto pappoti vipulam¹ sukhaṁ.

Cf. Udānav., ch. iv. (“Purity”), v. 8 —

“Have nothing to do with false doctrines, have nothing to
do with the heedless; he who delights not in false
theories shall not continue (in) the world”.

Cf. Ibid., ch. iv., v. 11 —

“He who is not given up to carelessness, who finds no
delight in pleasures, whose mind is always attentive,
will put an end to sorrow”.

Notes.—The exact counterpart of the Prakrit verses cannot be
traced in the Pāli canon, and the parallel cited above is
an extract from the verses ascribed in the Majjhima Nikāya
and the Theragāthā to Ānāgāminī Therā. The Pāli verse
occurs also in Saññyutta I. We cannot but think that the
Prakrit verses were manipulated later on one single
model which is no other than the Pāli verse. The varia-
tions are not inexplicable. The verses are in essence the
same, and there are numerous instances where new verses
are manipulated by adjustment of certain set expressions.
The parallel cited from the Udānavarga is similar to v. 21.

Verse 20.—Apramadi pramodia = Pāli appamāde pamo-
deyya, ‘one should delight in earnestness’, which is a positive
expression for the Pāli mā pamādam anuyāñjetha, ‘have
nothing to do with thoughtless indolence’. For the change of
cyya into ia, see M. Senart’s Notes. Ma gami ratisabhau
is a better expression, according to M. Senart, than the Pāli

¹ Variant, paramāṇa.
mā kāmaratīsaṁthaśāvān, "one should not delight in associating with sensual joys". He takes gami as an aorist singular form of गम (to go), and sabhamu = Sk. sambhramam, the whole expression implying "do not proceed to care for sense-delight". We fail to find any "gross" mistake in the Pāli expression, as opined by M. Senart, except that it is somewhat elliptical, or how sambhramam could give a better meaning than saṁstavaṁ or "companionship". Who knows that the reading sabhamu for the Pāli saṁthaśāvān is not a gross mistake of the scribe, or that gami is not a phonetic change from kāma, the final i being accounted for as due to a desire to maintain rhythm with rati following. We quite appreciate that ma gami rati, in the sense in which M. Senart takes it, improves the Pāli reading. But it is rather desirable to leave open the question raised by him as to the chronology of the two expressions. Viśeṣa adhikachati = Pāli viśesav adhi- gacchati, (see Faustboll's Jātaka, I. p. 435). This is a mode of expression which is substituted for pappotivipaṁ (or, paramāṁ) sukhān. Viśeṣa means an extraordinary achievement which is Nibbāna.

Verse 21.—Chaya dukhasa pramuni = Pāli khayāṁ dukkhasa pāpuṁ. (Itivuttaka, pp. 30, 87), Sk. khayāṁ dukkhasa prāpaṇyāt. Chaya dukhasa, 'the destruction of suffering,' is a negative expression for parama sukhā.

22 (apramada)rata bhodha khano yu ma uvacai khanatita (h)i soyati niraesu samapi(ta)² Q³

Notes.—Here is just another instance of a new verse constructed out of some stereotyped Pāli materials with a different setting. The materials are:

(1) appamādarula hutha (Dhp. v. 327)—for the first foot of the Prakrit. Cf. v. 17 above.

(2) khano ve mā uaccagā | Khaṇḍitī bhicocanti nirayamiṁ samappita- (Dhp. v. 315 ; Therag. v. 403)—for the rest of the verse.

¹, ², ³ Supplied by us.
This expression constitutes the refrain of two distinct verses (cf. Suttanipāta v. 333 and Theragāthā, v. 1005). For uvacai = Pāli upaccaṇā, we have nothing more to add to M. Senart's notes than that the process of the change of ga into i is through ja changed into ya, i.e., ga = ja = ya = i.

23 aparāmadarata bhodha sadhami supravedite
drugha udhvaradha atmana pagasana va

kuñ(aru)¹ O³

(A¹, 5)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 327 † (Nāgav. v. 8) :

Appamādaratā hotha, sacittam anurakkhatha
Duggā uddharathi attānathi paṅke sanno⁶ va kuñjaro.

Cf. Udānav., ch. iv. ("Purity"), v. 26 :

"The Bhīṣṇu who delights in purity and who looks with dread on impurity will pull himself from out the evil way as the elephant pulls himself from out of the mire."

Notes.—The form and the spirit of the above verse are analogous to those of v. 22. In this case the new Pāli materials are :

(1) saddhamme supravedite,—for the second foot,—"in the good norm well explained," "under the well propounded system," which is the same in meaning as dhammapade vadesite (see reference under Puṣav., v. 12); but compare Itivuttaka, p. 78, where we have the expression saddhamme supravedathā;

(2) duggā uddharath' attānathi paṅke sanno va kuñjaro,
—for the second line,—"pull yourselves from out the evil away as an elephant pulls himself from out of the mire"; the simile forms a refrain of the Udānavarga verse, cited above, which is a later parallel of the Dhammapada verse 39.

For the forms drugha udhvaradha, we have nothing more to add to M. Senart's notes than that the aspiration of the sonant in drugha is due perhaps to the loss of āt in Sk. durgāt. The word seems to have reference to 'mud-forts'.

¹, ² Supplied by us. ³ Variant : satto.
24 nai kalu pramadasa aprati asavachaye
pramata1 duhu amoti siha ba muyamatia O
(A1, 6)

Cf. Udānav., ch. iv. ("Purity"), v. 12:—

"He who has put an end to sorrow, and is not given to
carelessness in this world, can no more be hurt by
the careless than can the lion by the antelope."

Cf. Fausböll’s Jātaka, I. p. 389:—

Na vissase avissatthe vissatthe pi na vissase
Vissasā bhayam anveti sīham va migamātukā.

Notes.—This verse of which the parallel is cited from the
Udānavarga is the result of a new combination of certain
set Buddhist expressions in Pāli which are as follows:—

(1) ndyāvaṁ kālo pamādassu, for the first foot;
(2) appatto asavakkhaye (cf. the verse-end appatto
asavakkhayān, Dhammap., v. 272)—for the second
foot.
(3) pamattā dukkhaṁ papponti sīha va migamātukā
(i.e., the indolent experience pain like the lions
beguiled by the gazelles), or pamādā dukkham
anvetti sīhaṁ va migamātukā (i.e., from indolence
pain follows a man as it follows the lion beguiled
by the gazelle)—for the second line.

Pramata—Pāli pamattā. A reading pramata (=Pāli
pamādā, ablative) would make the second line of our text a
close parallel to the Pāli, provided that amoti could be equated
with anveti of the Pāli verse. Thus, we have a choice between
amoti=(p)aapponti, as suggested by M. Senart, and amoti=
anvetti. The change of p into m through an intermediate b
is the easiest possible, but we have to consider that in the
following verse we have pranoti as a Prakrit counterpart of
papponti. We have, therefore, to enquire if the change of
uve (anvetti) into mo (amoti) is possible. There are several
instances where uve is changed into ve (cf. anvetti=Pāli anvetti
Sahasavaga, vv. 6-11). There are also instances where v

1 A reading pramada might also be adopted at the risk of the supposition
that the reading pramata is due to the scribe.
is changed into m (cf. namu=Pāli nāvamī, Bhikkhu., v. 25). This would give us ameti or amiti for anveti. If we accept this reading we cannot but have to dispute M. Senart's amoti. Siha ba muyamatia would correspond to Pāli sihā (or sīhān) va migamātukā. M. Senart imagines that the simile refers to a story where the lion killed himself by his negligence in fancying to have to deal with a gazelle instead of some formidable enemy. The Jātaka story is that the trouble of the lion was due to its going to be intimate with the she-deer in disregard of any danger. Muya=Sk. mṛga=Pāli, mṛga, mṛga, mṛga; and mati=Sk. mātriṣṭayā (abl.), Pāli māṭukā(ya).

25 nai pramadasamayu aprati asavachayi apramato hi jhayatu¹ pranoti paramu sukhu O
(A¹, 7)

ga 25
(A¹, 8)

Notes.—This verse of which no exact counterpart can be traced in the Piṭakas also results from a combination of three set expressions transformed into Prakrit, so that the first foot nai pramadasamayu=Pāli nāvamī pamādhasamayo, the second is the same as in verse 25, except for chayi in place of chaye; the second line=Pāli apramatto hi jhāyanto pappoti paramaṁ sukham (see Majjh. II. p. 105, Therag. v. 884; Dhp., v. 27). Reading through the Prakrit verses 20-27, one is apt to feel as though one original verse as represented by Dhp. 27 were expanded to enclose within its two lines many verses constructed out of set expressions, and this may account for the absence of their parallels in the existing Pāli canon. The exhortation of all these verses is in tone the same as that of verses 14 and 15, with this difference that while Nos. 14 and 15 purport to be commands, verses 20-27, no less than Nos. 16-19, bring out the reasons in support thereof. Pranoti=Pāli pappoti, Sk. prāppoti. It is to be specially noted that the Prakrit form is an immediate change from Sanskrit.

The chapter contains 25 stanzas, hence ga 25.

¹ The Ms. reads jayatu, which we regard as a mistake of the scribe.
M. Senart's transcript of a few small, broken and detached fragments shows clear traces, among others, of five stanzas, all belonging to the Citta-group as known to us through the Pāli Dhammapada. These stanzas are no more than the Prakrit parallels of the Pāli verses 37, 34, 38, 39 and 33. Five verses of the Citta-group are cited in the extant commentary on the Telapatta Jātaka (No. 96), and these are the same as the Pāli verses, 35, 36, 37, 38 and 33. That the existing group of the Mind-verses stood in the original Kharoṣṭhī Ms. immediately after the Ṛṣamāna, is apparent from the position of the fragments themselves (see M. Senart's "Fragments of A"). But, in the absence of the colophon which is missing from the existing Ms., it is impossible to say exactly how many verses were contained in the third chapter of the Prakrit text. So far as we can conjecture, this particular chapter contained no less than 11 verses in all, and probably a little more than that. The Citta-group, representing as it does the third chapter of the Pāli Dhammapada, has altogether 11 verses, and the same group in the Udānavarga forms its 31st chapter and contains 64 stanzas, or more accurately, 63, leaving out of account the verse 45 which is a mere repetition of verse 44. Of the existing 5 Prakrit verses of the Citta-group only two, viz., 2 and 5, are to be found in the Udānavarga in which the number of Mind-verses could so much swell up partly from the incorporation of verses occurring in different chapters of the Pāli text. The Chinese Fa-Kheu-King also has a whole section on "the Mind", containing 12 verses, of which only 2 or 3 are similar to the Pāli. Like the Pāli and Prakrit texts, the Citta-group stands next to the Ṛṣamāna in the Fa-Kheu-King, while, strangely enough, it is placed in the Udānavarga immediately before the Bhiṅgavu. The significance of the arrangement of chapters has been discussed in the Introduction. It only remains here to point out that the Citta-group teaches nothing that is absolutely Buddhist in its main conception, for the Upanishads, both pre-Buddhist and post-Buddhist, abound in self-same or similar ascetic reflections on the nature of the mind. Indeed the Citta-verses teach that the necessity of the strenuous effort of the will to attain the supreme good, so much dwelt upon in the Ṛṣamāna-verses, arises from the flighty, unstable and pleasure-seeking dispositions of the mind itself.

1 E.g., Chāndogya Up., VII. 5.
2 E.g., Maitri Up., Maitrāyani Up., Mahāpa., etc.
1 [d]ur.(?)ga. e

(Frag. A 1)

Cf. Dhammap., 37 † (Cittavagga, v. 5):

Dūraṅgamaṁ ekacaram asāraṁ gahussayam
Ye cittāṁ saññamessanti mokkhanti Mārabandhanā.

2 vario va thale chi

(Frag. A 1)

Cf. Dhammap. 34 † (Cittav., v. 2):

Vārijo va thale khitto okamokato ubbhato
Pariphandat' idam cittāṁ Māradheyyam pahātave.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxxi. ("The Mind"), v. 2:

"To escape from the abode of Māra one is filled with
trembling, like a fish taken from its watery abode, and
thrown on dry land".

3 anuvāṭhitacitasa

(Frag. A 1)

Cf. Dhammap. 38 † (Cittav., v. 6):

Anuvāṭhitacittassa saddhammaṁ avijānato
Pariplavapasādassa paññā na paripūrati.

4 anuvasutacita

(Frag. A 1)
Cf. Dhammap., 39 (Cittav., v. 7):

Anavassutacittassā anānvāhataceto
Puññapāpaṁpahīnassā n’atthi jāgarato bhayaṁ.

5 la cita druracha drunivarana
u

(Frag. A viii)

Cf. Dhammap., 33 (Cittav., 1):

Phandanaṁ capalaṁ cittaṁ dūrakkhaṁ dunnivārayarh
Ujjuṁ karoti medhāvī usukāvo va tejanaṁ.

Cf. Udānav., xxxi. ("The Mind"), v. 8:

"......... the mind being uncertain, changeable, flighty,
and hard to control, he must straighten it by application
as the fletcher straightens (his arrows) with fire".

Notes.—The difficulty as to the interpretation of the above
verses arises chiefly from their incompleteness. One has to
depend a good deal on conjecture in reconstructing the
Prakrit verses from a few expressions or catchwords which
now survive. The task would no doubt have been simple
enough if it could be supposed that differences between the
Prakrit and Pali verses were mere phonetic. But these differ-
ences, real or imagined, cannot be shelved as such and are,
therefore, not immaterial, since instances are not rare where
the verses in the two texts agree on the whole, and yet there
appear in them a few words, phrases or clauses, which greatly
modify their sense. In the present case, however, no other
assumption would avail us than that of complete identity
or correspondence. Accordingly, the Citla-verses might be
reconstructed and read as follows:—

1 dur(a)ga(ma) e(kacara) aśarirā guhäsaya
ye cita saññametā mochatī marabanana O)

1 Cf. eka in Čvō, 6, 9, 10; cara in B, 36. 2 Cf. āśarīra in Čvō, 21.
3 This word is nowhere to be found in the Kharoṣṭhī Ms. 4 Cf. ye in Čvō, 7, 33.
5 Also saññametā; cf. sañīma in B, 9; 6 Cf. rachati for the Pali rakkhati in A* 14.
7 Cf. banana in Frag. C. xxvii; also bandhana; cf. drīgha bandhana in Čvō, 31, 32; and muto bandhana in B, 52.
2 vario va thale chi(tu) 1 okamokato 2 ubhato 3 pariphanatida 1 cita muendhea 5 palatae 6 O)
3 anuvathitacitasa (sadharma 7 avijanatu 6 paripalaaprasadasa 9 praña 10 na paripurati 11 O)
4 anuvashutacitasa(sa anavahatacetato 12 puñapapavahinasaka 13 nathi 14 jagarato 15 bhayo 16 O)
5 (phana 17 capa 18)la cita druracha drunivara
u(ju karoti 19 medhavi 20 usukaro 21 va tayana 22 O)

Verse 1.—Duragama = Pāli and Sk. durañgamā, an instance of compound, meaning 'far-going', 'that which travels far'. The question whether the correct Prakrit reading would be duragama or duranga must be left open. The same holds true of the reading of the final syllable ma or mu. For mu cf. ratisasahamu in A 1, 2. In support of the vowel a before g in duragama we might cite here a parallel instance, namely athagāto (Magav. v. 30) which equates with Pāli athāngaṅkiko. In this latter Prakrit word the vowel a appears unchanging, in M. Senart's reading, before g. The Buddhist commentator's explanation of the word durañgamā is:—"cittassa hi makkahaṇutamattakaṃ puralthiṇādi-disaṅkhāgana gamaṇamā nama nāthī; dāre saṅtampi pana ārammaṇaṃ sampaticcchalitī durangaṇṇaṃ nāma jātāni." That is, "even during 'monkey-sleep' (dreaming state), mind has no exit in the east and other directions; even remaining at a distance, it entertains the object, hence arises the predicate far-going". This

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1 Also chito. 2 Cf. maranato, Cvo 7; also okamokada. 3 Cf. anuvahato for the Pāli anuvahato in B, 11. 4 Cf. nivātī for the Pāli nibbūdhatī in A 2, 1-3. 5 Also Maradeha. 6 No such infinitive form is met with in the Khaṛoṭhī Ma. 7 Cf. sadharmā in B, 22, 23. 8 Cf. virukṣato for Pāli vipissato in B, 12. 9 Also paripātava; cf. keleka for Pāli kilesa and Sk. klēka in B, 46; cf. prasada in Cvo, 11-13. 10 Cf. praṇaya, praṇac, praṇai in A 2, 1, 2, 9. 11 The verbal form occurs nowhere in the Khaṛoṭhī Ma. 12 Cf. aveti for the Pāli aveti in Cvo, 11-16; cf. sunmedha in A 2, 15. 13 Cf. puṇa; pavo in B, 3; cf. (hi)na in A 2, 14. 14 Cf. nathi in B, 16, 38. 15 See f. n. 23. 16 Also paripātava; cf. maranato bhaya in Cvo, 7. 17 For phana cf. paripananati (f. n. 11 above). 18 Also cāvadda; cf. cāvaddhi for the Pāli cāpatsa in Cvo, 31. 19 Cf. karītāti in A 2, 6; kurati for the Pāli kurate in Cvo, 24. 20 Cf. medhavi in A 2, 14. 21 Cf. anukara in Frag. C, xxxiv. 22 Cf. kuyana for kujana in A 2, 1. 23 Cf. the Milinda expression kapi-nīdā (Milinda-pañho, p. 200). The Milinda theory of dream has been fully discussed by Mr. Shwe Zan Aung in his Introductory Essay to the Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy, P. T. 8, pp. 48 f. 24 Cf. Bṛhād Āranyaka Up., IV. 3. 10, where Yajñavalkya says:—"Na tatra ratvā na ratheyogā na panchāno bhavanti. Attha ratthān ratthayoṅgan pithaṁ vijate."
explanation derives its authority from the time-honoured oral traditions of the Theras, and one can safely regard it as a sound statement of the Buddhist psychological position which would demur a mere philological interpretation of dūرانgama, a word which in its literal sense signifies a belief in the existence of a mind or spirit (German Geist) capable of going far away and returning at its sweet will to the body. According to the Buddhist notion, the mind is dūرانgama in the sense that it can think of a distant object, just as a person in India can think of St. Paul's cathedral in the city of London. The expression requires a further word of explanation. It is indeed just one of the many instances where the Buddhists read their own meaning into a current expression, which would yield a contrary sense if a literal interpretation were adhered to. As we shall see in the case of ekacara and other predicates of cita, the expressions were manipulated by the Buddhists on the basis of Upanishadic phraseology. It seems certain that the predicate dūرانgama has preserved reminiscences of primitive animistic notions of soul or spirit1 which are not without their influence upon the Upanishadic theories of waking, dream and sleep.2 Cf. the Upanishad expressions āsīne dūre vrajati” (Kaṭha., II. 29); “ mano dūرانtalam yāti” (Mahopā, III. 18).

Ekacara—Pāli and Sk., ekacarāṁ, compound, meaning 'that which moves about alone'. According to the interpretation of the Dhammapada commentary, this predicate implies the Buddhist belief in the unity of mental life. To quote its own words, "seven or eight cittas are so strong together that they are not capable of arising at the same thought-moment. When a consciousness arises, it arises as a unit, and this having ceased to be, others arise one at a time"3. One must admit that this Buddhist explanation of ekacarāṁ closely follows on the lines of

1 Prof. Rhys Davids notes (Buddhist India, p. 252): "Certain forms of disease were supposed to be due to the fact that the soul had escaped out of the body; and charms are recorded for bringing it back" (Atharva-Veda, V. 295; VI. 632; VII. 67. Cf. Aitareya Aranyaka, III. 2. 4. 7). Two older notions cited by Yājñavalkya are:

(1) "Tadete śloka bhavanti:

Svapnena sārtram abhiprahatyāsuptaṁ suptan abhiccakasitī.

Sukram śādyām pumareti sthānaṁ hiraṇmayaṁ puruṣaṁ ekāhamśaṁ;

(Brihad Ār. Up; IV. 3. 11).

(2) "Tannāyataṁ bodhayat ityāhūṁ, durbhisaśayaṁ hāsaṁ bhanati yamēṣā na pratipadyate. (Brihad Ār. Up; IV. 3. 11).

2 Cf. Brihad Ār. Up. IV. 3. 19; Chāndogya, VIII. 12. 3.

3 "Sattātthācitāṁ pana ekato kumikabaddhāṁ ekakkhaṁ uppajjitaṁ samatthāṁ nāma m'atthi. Uppattikāle ek'ekam eva cittaṁ uppajjati, tasmiṁ niruddhe pana ek'ekam eva uppajjatiśi skacarāṁ nāma jātaṁ".
Pratardana's theory of the unity of mental life. But the predicate ekacara seems to have been based rather upon Yajnavalkya's expressions, all applied to soul, e.g., "asaṅgo na hi sajjate" (Brihad Ār. Up. IV. 2. 4); "ekahaṁsasah" (ibid., IV. 3. 11-12); "sṛapne rāte caritē" (ibid., IV. 3. 15-16). Āsarīra = Pāli asarīraṁ, a compound, meaning 'that which is without a body', 'incorporeal'. Mind has no bodily form nor has any such colour-distinction as yellow and the like. Such is the commentator's interpretation. The predicate reminds us at once of Yajnavalkya's expressions "oṣṭiro na hi śrigate" (Brihad Ār. Up., IV. 2. 4).5 Guhaśāya = Pāli ghūśāyaṁ, Sk. guhāśayam, a compound, meaning 'that which lies in a cave', 'a cave-dweller'. The Dhammapada-Commentary says, "the cave is that which is built up of the four great elements. It is depending on the heart that the mind comes into play, hence its predicate 'a cave-dweller'." The Buddhist predicate of citta reminds us at once of the Upanishadic notions of soul, e.g., "nīhiло ghūṣyāṁ" (Katha, II. 20), 'that which dwells in the cavity of the heart'; cf. Muṇḍaka, III. 1. 5. Cīta = Pāli and Sk. cītāṁ, mind.

It is clear from the foregoing discussion of the historical significance of the expressions durāgama and the rest, how close the resemblance is between the Buddhist conception of mind and the Upanishadic conception of soul:—(1) cīta is durāgama in the sense that it can think of an object from a great distance; and soul remaining stationary can travel far ('āśīto dāre vrajati', Katha, II. 20); (2) cīta is ekacara in the sense that all mental operations take place one at a time, as a unit with regard to time; and soul as a lonely bird roams about alone during dream ('ekahaṁsasah ... sṛapnus ... caritē ... bharatyasaṅgo', Brihad Ār., IV. 3. 12-16); and all the senses being unified perform their functions, the operations taking place one at a time ("ekahūṣyāṁ vai prāṇi bhuṭvā ekaṁ sarrānyavaitīṁi prajñāpavantī" Kaṇḍitaki, III. 2); (3) cīta is asarīra

1 Kaṇḍitaki Up., III. 2: "ekahūṣyāṁ va prāṇā bhuṭvā ekaṁ sāṅgopya Śvātī prajñāpavantī".
2 "Cītāsa sarīrāṇaṁ sa ṇilādippakāro vaṇṇabheda va nāsabhī saṁcitāṁ nāma jātaṁ".
3 This is a very common idea in the Upanishads.
4 "Ghāna nāma catumahābhūtaṅguḥ īdāt u ca hadayaṁpahām nissāya vartate gṛhāṇyāṁ nāma jātaṁ".
5 Cf. Brihad Ār. Up., IV. 3. 7; V. 6; Chāndogya, VIII. 3. 3; Taittirīya, I. 6. 1.
in the sense that it is incorporeal; and soul is aśīrya
na hi śīryate (Bṛhad Ār., IV. 2. 4); (4) cītta is
guhāṣṭya in the sense that it comes into play depending
on the heart as its physical basis; and soul is said to
dwell in the cavity of the heart ('niḥita guhāṣṭya'); cf. the
later Buddhist expression 'bhadrayatvātha'. Marabanana or
Marabandhana = Pāli Mārabandhanā, Sk. Mā-abandhanāt,
'from the bonds of Māra'. But it seems better not to
introduce the word mara which nowhere occurs in the
extant Kharoṣṭhī Ms. As an alternative we might accept
a reading bhavabananā, answering to Pāli bhavabandhanā, on
the strength of a fragmentary expression, lopabhavabananā
(I. Fr. e. xxiii"., p. 92).

Verse 2.—Varjō = Pāli vārijo, Sk. vārijaḥ, fish. The
elision of j between i and o presupposes an intermediate
change of j into the semi-vowel y. Such an elision as this
is a common characteristic of all Prakrit languages (see
Vararuci's rule II. 2: k, g, c, j, t, d, p, y, vaṁ praṇo
lopaḥ). The simile of the fish jumping when thrown on
land after having been taken out of its watery home, is a
familiar and very striking imagery serving to call up a vivid
picture of the innate strife of the mind to get off from the
domain of death. Okamokao = Pāli okamokato, 'from the
watery home'. According to the Dhammapada-Commentary,
the expression resolves itself into two separate words, oka-mokato, the former standing for 'water' (udakaisū), and
the latter for 'home' (ālaya, cf. "okaṁ pahāya aniketasaṁi").
Mucudhea = Pāli Mucudheyyaṁ, which is the same in
meaning as Mārahāyyaṁ, 'the kingdom of Death' (see
Dhammapada, vv. 34 and 86). Pahatae = Pāli pahātave,
'in order to avoid', a survival of the Vedic infinitive. It
seems that v in such cases was pronounced close to y
and has here glided into the full vowel sound of the
succeeding e.

Verse 3.—Anuvathtacitasa = Pāli anuvatthacittasa,
Sk. anuvasthitacittasya, an instance of compound, meaning
'of one whose mind is unsteady'. M. Senart says that the
n of anna is perfectly certain, as much in this word as in
anuvatya of the next verse, and that the scribe has
perhaps, been drawn into this blunder by the thought of
anuvatthi = annapasthita, which floated in his mind.
Avijanatu = Pāli avijñānato, 'of one who does not know'.
For the reading see foot-note 8, p. 143.
Verse 4.—Anuvaṣutacitasa = Pāli anuvravatcitasa, an instance of compound, meaning ‘of one of undissipated thought’. We prefer anuvaṣutacitasa, as the reading anvyaṣuta cannot be defended on the same ground as anvathita, and it is not unlikely that the scribe wrote anvyaṣuta on false analogy with anvathita. Anavaḥatacetasa = Pāli anvraḥat acetasa, an instance of compound, meaning ‘of one with unperturbed mind’. For ṛ standing for Pāli ṝ, cf. aveti equating with Pāli anveti (I. cō, 11-16). Punapava = Pāli punāhapa, Sk. purya-pa, ‘(of one who is devoid of) merit and demerit’. This expression strikes the keynote of Indian religions of which the good lies beyond both merit and demerit, a transcendental state of mind which none but an Indian yogi can experience.

Verse 5.—Phanana = Pāli phandanaṁ, Sk. spandanaṁ, ‘trembling, vibrating, or precipitating towards sensuous objects’, as the Dhammapada-Commentary puts it. Here the expression ‘trembling or vibrating’ is used rather figuratively, its primary sense being associated with the pulsation of life (cf. pravaṁ pravaṇaṁ, life pulsating, Kanṣitaṇa, III. 2), an idea, perhaps derived originally from the palpitation of heart. The idea phandana was deepened later into a more scientific Buddhist theory of apprehension (javana). Capala = Pāli and Sk. capalaṁ, ‘unsteady’. Like phanana, the expression capala is to be taken in a figurative sense. The genesis of this idea of the unsteady nature of mind can be traced to electrical phenomena, such as the flash of lightning. Cf. the Mahāpanishad verses (IV. 99-100):

Na hi cañcalatāhīnaṁ maṇaḥ kvacana dṛṣya te,
Cañcalatvāṁ manodharmo vahperdharme yathoṣpotā
esā hi cañcalās pandasaṅktiścittatvamāṣṭhitā
tāṁ viddhi mānasāṁ śaktim jagadādambaḥatmikāṁ.

Druroṣa = Pāli duṇakkaṁ, Sk. duṇakyaṁ (duṇ + rakṣyaṁ), a compound, meaning ‘that which is difficult to guard’. Drunivarana = Pāli duṇivaranaṁ, Sk. duṇiveranaṁ, a compound, meaning ‘that which is difficult to resist’. It affords another instance of the change of duṇ into dru. Cf. dharmatrankeśi and notes, pp. 102-3; pravatalho, p. 128; and drugha, p. 187.
The distinctive characteristic of the verses of this group lies in the simile of the flower which occurs in each of them. The Pāli parallels of them are rightly designated 'the verses of the flower-group', *Phupharagga*, in the Pāli Dhāmatapada chap. iv. The Pāli Flower-verses number 10. The number of the Prakrit verses, as may be judged from the colophon "ga 15" (I. c°, 5), is 15. Only four out of 15 verses have survived in the Kharoṣṭhī Ms. The 12th section of the Chinese *Pa-kheu-king* corresponds to the Pāli *Phupharagga*, and, as in the Pāli and Prakrit texts, it is placed immediately after the *Cittavagga*; and the section contains altogether 17 verses. In the Udānavarga the Flower-group forms the 18th chapter and contains 27 verses, or more accurately, 26, leaving out of account the verse 20 which is a mere repetition of 18. As in other instances, the Udānavarga collates the Flower-verses from the different chapters of the Pāli text. But exception must be taken to vv. 283-284 which have a very remote connection with the Flower-verses. The group is of little importance but for the simile of flower which seems to bring home the distinction between a good and a bad man in a very interesting and familiar way.

12

[yamaloka ji]² ita³ sadevaka
ko dhāmapada sud.śita kuśalo¹ puśaviva
payesi °⁵
(C°, 1)

13 budhu pradha siti yamaloka ji eta sadevaka
budhu dhāmapada sudeśita kuśalo puśaviva
payesi °
(C°, 2)

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1 Verses 1-11 are missing from the Kharoṣṭhī Ms.
2 Frag. C. vi° (p. 88).
3 Ita which is a variant of *eta* of the next verse.
4 M. Senart reads *kuśala*, which according to the grammar of our dialect, would be either an accusative singular form or a nominative plural; but the sense required here is that of the nom. sing. The mistake is perhaps due to the scribe.
5 This is supplied by us.
Cf. Dhammap., vv. 44-45 † (Pupphavagga, vv. 1-2):

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Ko imaṁ paṭhaviṁ vijessati Yama-lokaṁ ca imaṁ sadevakam,
Ko dhammapadaṁ sudesitaṁ kusalo pupplam iva paccessati?
Sekho paṭhaviṁ vijessati Yama-lokaṁ ca imaṁ sadevakam,
Sekho dhammapadaṁ sudesitaṁ kusalo pupplam iva paccessati?

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. xii. ("Flowers"), p. 893:

"Who is able to select (conquer?) the earth (i.e., the place of his abode), to escape Yama, and lay hold of heaven? Who (is able) to repeat the verses of the Law as one who selects choice (excellent) flowers?

The enlightened (one) selects the earth, avoids Yama, seizes heaven, illustriously repeats the verses of the Law, is able to call the flowers of virtue."

Cf. Udānav., ch. xviii. ("The Flower"), vv. 1-2:

"Who is there that can overcome the world of the gods, of the lord of death (Yama) and of men, who knows how to expose the most delightful law, as one would flowers?

It is the disciple (sekhas) who can overcome the world of the gods, of the lord of death and of men, who knows how to expose the most delightful law, as one would flowers."

Notes.—The Prakrit verses might be restored in the light of the Pāli gathās and those in the Fa-kheu-pi-u and the Udānavarga as follows:—

ko pradhavi vijessati yamaloka ji eta sadevaka
ko dhamapada sudeśita kuśalo puṣaviva payeṣiti O
budhu pradhavi vijessiti yamaloka ji eta sadevaka
budhu dhamapada sudeśita kuśalo puṣaviva payeṣiti O

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1 Some Ms. reads vīcesati; the Comy., adopts vijessati.
2 Fausböll reads iṣa-paṭessati; the Commentary adopts taṣessute as well as vīcesati.
3 Beal’s translation.
4 Also vijessi, vīcesi, viciṣi.
Verse 12.—Pradhāvi = Pāli paṭhavīrī, Ardha Māgadhī paṭhavīrī, Sk. prthivirī, ‘the earth’, i.e., ‘the world of men’. For the change of pr to pr, cf. nivrtti, Jarav., v. 23. We also meet with the form paṭhavi in Jarav., v. 17. Vījesiti = Pāli vijesusati or vicesati, translated “superabid”, (Fausböll) i.e., ‘will overcome’; “can overcome” (Udana-varga); “is able to select (conquer?)” (Fa-Kheu-pi-u). It is clear that the Udānavaṅga adopts a form similar to the Pāli vijesusati, and the Fa-kheu-pi-u another similar to the Pāli vicesati. The Dhammapada-Comy. explains vijesusati in the same sense as vicesati: vijesusati = vijiśnussati, vijānussati, pativijjhaṃsati, sacchikarissati, ‘will fully know, cognize, apprehend, realise’, = vicesussati = vicinussati, vapparikkhissati, ‘will discriminate, investigate’. According to this interpretation, vijesusati seems = Sk. vijñāsya. The other interpretation accepted by the Tibetan translator of the Udānavaṅga and by the modern translators of the Dhammapada, viz., vijesusati = “superavit”, “will conquer”, “will overcome” seems more acceptable. Yamaloka = Pāli Yamalokam, “the realm of Death” = four nether worlds (catvāridham apāyalinga, Dhammapada-Comy.). Ēta = Pāli etā. M. Senart says that this reading is more appropriate than the Pāli imaih, and we have nothing to say against it. Sadevaka = Pāli sadevaka, ‘together with the world of the gods’. Dhammapada = Pāli dhammapadā, Sk. dharmapadā, translated by Fausböll “versus legis”; by Beal “the verses of the law”; by Rockhill “the law”; and by Max Müller “the path of virtue” = “the norm or the path of virtue categorised as the 37 constituent parts of enlightenment or beatitude (sattatipāṇa-bodhipakkhiya-dhamma-sankhāra, Dhammapada-Comy.). That the term implies the idea of the path or the norm, virtue, purity, or any other synonym of Nirvāṇa is evident from the Suttanipāta, v. 88 (Candasutta, v. 6): yo dhammapade sadesita magge jīvatī (see also the Paramatthajotikā, Vol. II. Pt. I. p. 164). There are again passages where the term in a plural form is applied to such moral topics as anabhijjha, avyāpada, etc. To discriminate the path of virtue according to this interpretation is to distinguish between a good and a bad doctrine, i.e., to understand the excellence of the Buddhist doctrine as contrasted with those of others. The other interpretation, that dhammapada = “Law-verses”, seems more suitable for a text like the Dhammapada. To select or collect the beautifully expressed law-verses like a skilful wreath-maker
collecting the choice flowers and making them into wreaths is to discriminate carefully the more exquisite and elegant stanzas from others which are comparatively prosaic and to collate and arrange them according to metre, theme and logical sequence of thought, as has been done in the several recensions of the Dhammapada. An interesting account of the compilation of the Dhammapada is given in the preface to the Fa-khen-king. Kuśalo puṣa-viva payesiti is the same in meaning as the Pāli kusalo puppham eva paccesati, "like a skilful (wreath-maker) collecting the (choice) flowers". An Indian explanation of this expression is well brought out in Rockhill's translation of the Tibetan version which reads: "Like unto a clever wreath-maker, who, having taken flowers from a garden, has manufactured them into beautiful wreaths and has then given them away, is he who, having gathered a quantity of precepts from out the Ṣāstrās and formed them into a pleasing collection, does teach them to others". This goes to show that the Dhammapada is not a mere mechanical compilation of select stanzas, but judging it as a whole, it is to be considered a highly artistic product, a poetic creation which, like a most skilfully woven wreath, has made the lofty message of Buddhism appeal alike to the intellect and the emotion of so many Asiatic nations. The analogy, as applied by the Dhammapada-Commentary, brings home how intelligently the entire Buddhist system of faith was built up with its 37 parts interwoven into a harmonious whole to the exclusion of materials, rejected after a careful sifting.

Verse 13.—Budhu = Pāli Buddho, "the enlightened one" (Fa-Khen-pi-u). The Pāli reading is sekho, a "Learner", "the disciple" (Udānavarga). 'Sekho' is a Buddhist technical term applied to persons filling up the seven ranks of disciples below the Arahants who have reached the summit of moral perfection and spirituality. It is not clear how far the Prakrit budhu is influenced by the Mahāyāna conception of Buddha's personality, though the substitution of this term for the Pāli sekho is a significant fact. But budhu may also be taken simply in the sense of an Arahant. The two questions raised in v. 12 are answered in the verse under notice.
14 yadha saga(ra)\textsuperscript{1}udasa ujhitasa mahapathi padumu tatra jaea suyig:na(d)\textsuperscript{2}ha manoramu O
(C\textsuperscript{ro}, 3)

15 (emu)\textsuperscript{3} saghadhadhamae\textsuperscript{4} andhah(u)\textsuperscript{5}te prudhija[ne abhi(r)\textsuperscript{6}o]\textsuperscript{7}(a)\textsuperscript{8}ti prañai samesabudhasavaka O\textsuperscript{9}
(C\textsuperscript{ro}, 4)

[ga 15]\textsuperscript{10}
(C\textsuperscript{ro}, 5)

Cf. Dhammap., vs. 58-59 + (Pupphav., 15-16):—

Yathā saṃkāradhānasmiṃ\textsuperscript{11} ujjhitasmīṃ mahāpathe Padumasm tattha jāyetha suciśrandhaśi manoramasm ; Evaś saṃkārabhūtesu andhabhūte putthujiange Atirocati paññāya sammāsambuddhāsāvako.

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. xii. ("Flowers"), p. 91:—

"As a ditch in the field, close beside the highway, will produce the lily in its midst, and spread far and wide its delightful perfume, so in the midst of life and death (that is, the phenomenal world), beside the way of false speculations (universal inquiry), the wise man diffuses his glad sentiments in becoming a disciple of Buddha ".

Cf. Udānav., ch. xvii. ("The Flower"), vv. 9-10:—

"As on piles of filth and in dirty water grows, unaffected by them, the padma, pure, sweet-smelling and lovely, so the disciple of the perfect Buddha shines by his wisdom among other men, who are blind and (like) a heap of filth ".

Notes.—These two verses complete together the likeness of a saintly Bhikkhu of humble birth to a lovely lotus in a heap of filth. In all the other recensions of the

\textsuperscript{1} Restored according to M. Senart's suggestion.  
\textsuperscript{2} M. Senart's restoration.  
\textsuperscript{3} Supplied by us.  
\textsuperscript{4} For the word cf. Frag. C. xv\textsuperscript{1}, p. 90.  
\textsuperscript{5} M. Senart reads \textit{dhamma}, which we have slightly altered for symmetry.  
\textsuperscript{6} Supplied by us; M. Senart suggests \textit{k(o)te}.  
\textsuperscript{7} Supplied by us.  
\textsuperscript{8} Frag. C. vi\textsuperscript{10}, 1 (p. 88).  
\textsuperscript{9} Supplied by us.  
\textsuperscript{10} Frag. C. vi\textsuperscript{10}, 2 (p. 88).  
\textsuperscript{11} Some Ms. reads \textit{sagārā} and \textit{Udhānasmitā}.  

Dhammapada these are put at the end of the Pupphavagga; the Pāli counterparts of them can be traced in no other canonical text than the Dhammapada. They serve to throw into clear relief the contrast between the life of the multitude who are blind to the brighter side of human nature and steeped in the filth of worldliness, and that of a Buddhist saint who, though born among the common mortals, outshines them by their wisdom, like unto a lotus or lily, sweet-scented and lovely, growing among the heaps of refuse and filth beside a high road. They seem to indicate the lofty aim of Buddhism, which opened the door of salvation, many centuries before the advent of Christianity and Vaisāyaism, to the persons of humble birth and of poor circumstances,—a feature which can be traced back to the Sāmaññaphala Sutta (Dīgha. I. p. 61).

Verse 14.—Sagāraudāsa = Pāli saṅkāraudāsīmī, which is the same in meaning as saṅkāradhānasīmī or saṅkāraḥthānasīmī (cf. saṅkāra-puṇja, Therag., v. 578) = 'on piles of filth and in dirty water' (Udanaavarga); "in a ditch in the field" (Fa-kheu-pi-u). Újhitasa = Pāli ujjhitasīmī, Sk. ujjhita = chaḍjata, "thrown away" (Dhammapada-Comy.). Here are two instances where the Genitive case-ending has stood for the Locative.

Verse 15.—Saghadhadhamae—this is substituted for the Pāli saṅkārabhūtesu (see the Dhammapada-Comy.), which speaks of a disciple of Buddha as saṅkāra-bhūtesu pi puthujjanesu jāto, 'born among average men who are no better than filthy heaps'). As to the Prakrit reading, M. Senart says that the form sagadhadhamae appears to him certain, though the last letter might be e or i. Nevertheless, "the word remains difficult", he says, and suggests that the only way of avoiding the difficulty with regard to the first part of the word, would be "by admitting that the scribe has, through mistake, written sagadhha for sagara = saṅkāra." There is, no doubt, something wrong somewhere, but not probably where M. Senart locates it. Dhamaa or dhamae is not certainly = dharme, as he supposes. Some consonant like k appears to have been elided between the two final vowels. Sagadhadhamae is perhaps = Pāli saṅkhadhammako or saṅkhutadhammae (see Jātaka IV. p. 266) and sagadhadhamae = Pāli saṅkhutadhammako. In these two equations, an objection can be raised as to the possibility of the change of t to dh, seeing that dh in the Prakrit text mostly represents the
Pāli and Sk. th. But there are instances where dh represents l also. Cf. viśeṣadhi (I. A, 13) for Pāli viresato; saṅghadhī (I. B, 37) for saṅgadalīgo; kusītthu (I. c, 17) for kusītto; cavadhī (I. c, 31) for cāpato; samudāha (I. c, 37) for samata, sammatā. If the reading saṅghadhīdhamma be accepted, it may be taken to refer to bhuddasavaka, ‘the Buddha’s disciples who explain well the law’. The reading saṅghadhīdhammae = saṅkhaṭadhamma-kī, “in the midst of life and death” (Fa-kheu-pi-u), would mean a phenomenal existence characterised by growth, persistence and decay. Prudhijānā = Pāli puthujānā, ‘average men’, a Buddhist technical term that denotes persons below the rank of a gotrabhū, and distinguished as good (kalyāṇa) and most common. Prudhi = Sk. prthak, ‘other than (the instructed)’ or prthu, ‘stupid’ (śhūta). For the change of pr to pr(u), cf. pradhāvi, vv. 12-13; and for that of ak to i, cf. same = sameyak, and note that e and i are interchangeable in the dialect of our text. Abhirōati = abhirocanti. M. Senart holds that it may very well be used = atirōati (Pāli), but that cannot be, since the nom. in the Prakrit text is in the plural.

The chapter contains 15 stanzas.

[5. Sahasavarga]

The naming of the chapter is, as before, ours. The exaltation of ‘the one’ out of ‘a thousand’ forms the burden of the following group of 17 verses, and it is only in a few stanzas that the number ‘hundred’ is substituted for ‘thousand’. The ‘Number’-group in the Pāli Dhammapada (chap. viii.) and the Chinese Fa-kheu-king, (sec. xvi.), contains 16 stanzas. The whole of a Sahasavarga containing 24 gāthās is quoted in the Mahāvastu (III, pp. 434-36), as “dhammapadeṣu sahasravarga-ghan”, thereby undoubtedly presupposing an older Sanskrit recension, older, we mean, than the Udānavarga, and Sanskrit in the sense that it was the outcome of an earlier attempt at sanskritisation. The corresponding group in the Udānavarga (chap. xxiv.) has 34 verses. As to the number as well as the arrangement of the verses, these recensions differ, though they betray a common purpose in that they emphasize a particular fact, practice or principle by singling it out of a hundred or a thousand. And the practices or principles thus emphasized are all Buddhist, sharply contrasted with those of the Brahmanic faith. The increase of numbers in the later recensions
is due to a most mechanical multiplication of the stanzas conveying the same sense. Having regard to the fact that the
Number-verses cannot be traced in any other canonical text in
the form in which they occur in the Dhammapada, a doubt is
apt to arise if they were composed in the time of the Buddha.
Even supposing that these were composed then, we have reason
to believe that their number was far less than what it is in the
several recensions of the Dhammapada. This hypothesis is
borne out by the fact that we find one or two verses in the
Manu Saṁhitā and the Jaina text which in their present
forms are far later than the oldest portions of the Buddhist
Nikāyas. Seeing that the Number-verses are mostly intended
to contrast the Buddhist practices and principles with the
Brahmanic rituals, sacrifices, hymn-chanting and poetic compo-
tition, their origin cannot be dated farther back than the sophisti-
cation period immediately preceding the advent of Buddhism, during
which several schools of Wanderers appear to have broken
away from the ancient tradition and condemned the Brahmanic
system of learning and religious rites and dogmas with a
vehemence perhaps unparalleled in the history of human culture.
These revolutionary ideas gathering strength with the progress
of time assumed at last a more rational, systematic and compro-
mising shape in the teaching of Gotama Buddha, another revolu-
tionary, perhaps the most powerful of all because of his synthetic
brilliance. The Mṛḍaka and Gotamaka condemnation of the
Brahman priests with their elaborate system of sacrifice and
mantras,1 and the Keśakambala declaration of the unfounded
character of the sacrifices2 found a saner expression in the
Buddha’s utterances setting forth the sacrifices as less valued in
comparison with the more dignified practices of religion. Thus
we read in the Kūṭadantav-sutta (Dīgha I. pp. 143 f.; Dial. B,
11. pp. 150-3): “The sacrifice performed with ghee, oil, butter,
milk, honey and sugar only is better than that at which living
creatures are slaughtered. Better than this mode of sacrifice
is charity, especially that which is extended to holy and upright
men. Better still is the putting up of monasteries. But
better than this is certainly the observance of moral precepts.
The best of all sacrifices is the four-fold meditation”.3
One can justly point out this prose discourse as the historical
basis of the Number-verses which, in their ultimate analysis,
present but a universal idiom, e.g., one in a hundred, one in a
thousand, or one in a million.

1 See the Mundaka and Kaṭha Upaniṣads.
2 Dīgha I. p. 55.
3 This is a mere summary of Buddha’s views. Cf. Sākara’s views in the
Viveka-cūḍāmaṇi, V. 2.
1 yo (sa) [hasa sahasani sagami manuṣa jini eka ji] (jini) atmana so ho sagamu utamu 0

(Cm, 6)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 103† (Sahasavagga, v. 4):

Yo sahasaṁ sahasena saṅgāme mānuse jine
Ekaṁ ca jeyya-m-attānam sa ve saṅgāmājuttamо.

Cf. Mahāvastu, Sahasavarga, v. 3:

Yo satāni sahasrāpāṁ saṁgrāme manujā jaye
Yo caikāṁ jaye ātmānaṁ sa vai saṁgrāmajit varah.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxiii. ("Self"), v. 3:

"He who conquers a thousand times a thousand men in battle, a greater conqueror than he is he who conquers himself."

Notes.—As appears from Rockhill’s translation, the reading of the Udānavarga verse is similar to the Pāli. The Prakrit verse differs from the Pāli by these two words—sahasani (=Pāli sahassāni), and jini (=Pāli jine). The difference could be minimised, if sahasani could have been interpreted, as M. Senart suggests, as an inversion for the Pāli sahasena. But this cannot very well be done as we find that the verse in the Mahāvastu contains the word satāni which is the same in form as the Prakrit sahasani. A comparative study of these four recensions makes it clear that the Pāli form is the oldest, and that the Prakrit is older than the earlier Sanskrit. The teaching inculcated in the verse is that the greatest enemy of man is after all his own self and accordingly every effort must be made to conquer self. This lofty idea of self-conquest is illustrated in the Buddhist literature by a graphic poetic description

1 Supplied by us.
2 Frag. C. vi10, 3.
3 Frag. C. xii10, 1,—not adjusted by M. Senart.
of the inner struggle of the ascetic Siddhattha with Māra, and no less by that of Buddha’s disciples. An earlier form of the conception of self-conquest, bereft of the later Buddhist imagery of a heroic fight with the lower nature of man is to be found in the teaching of the Mūndakas, and a Jaina parallel of it is embodied in a dialogue of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra. The truth of the teaching of the Buddhist verse under notice was confirmed by two powerful Buddhist kings, king Asoka of India and king Duṭṭhagāmanī of Ceylon, both of whom came to feel remorse and intense agony of heart at the recollection of their experiences on battle-fields. In the teaching of Asoka the idea of conquest by the dhamma took the place of the principle of self-conquest: “mu(kha)nte dhammavijaye”. The idea of self-conquest which shaped itself in the teaching of the Śramans proper, came to be recognised by the Buddhist teachers and kings as a distinct principle of action, and that in a form of conquest of hatred by love, claimed in the Rājovāda Jātaka, a marked advance on the ‘tit for tat’ principle. In this respect Buddhism can claim as much superiority to the juristic faith of the Brāhmans as Christianity to the Mosaic doctrine of the Israels.

Sahasani = Pāli sahasāni, Sk. sahasrāni. If this be not an inversion for the Pāli instrumental singular form sahasena, it must be interpreted as referring to manusā, like satāni in the Mahāvastu verse. Ho = Pāli kho, an expletive denoting assertion. Sagamu utamu = Pāli saṅgāmajuttamo. M. Senart considers the Pāli reading as the result of a confusion of writing. But there is no confusion here at all. It is simply saṅgāmajī + utama, a compound, which by the Pāli rule of sandhi has become saṅgāmajuttamo. Cf. saṅgrāmājīt of the Mahāvastu.

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2 Bhikkhu-Naṭyavutta, Saṁyutta Nikāya, 1.
3 Mūndaka Up., I. 2. 3-4.
4 Uttarādhyayana, IX. 20-22.
5 Asoka’s Rock Edict, XIII ; Mahāvaṁsa, XXV, 108.
6 Dhammapada, v. 5.
7 Rājovāda-jātaka, No. 24, where the akkodhena jine kodhaṁ principle is contrasted with the daṁkheṇa daṁhaṁ khepaṇāṁ.
8 The Sanskrit Epics condemn only “wrath without any provocation” (vinā varaṁ rudratā).
2. saha[sa bi ya gašana]¹ anathapada² [dasahita
e³]⁴ ka vayapada⁵ šešha⁶ ya šutva uvašamati O⁷
(Cro, 7)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 100 † (Sahassav., v. 1):—

Sahassam api ce vācā anathapadasaṁhitā
Ekaṁ atthapadām seyyo yaṁ sutvā upasammati.

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. xvi. (“The Thousands”), p. 104.:—

“To repeat a thousand words without understanding, what profit is there in this? But to understand one truth, and hearing it to act accordingly, this is to find deliverance.”

Cf. Mahāvastu Sahasravarga, v. 1:—

Sahasram api vācānāṁ anartha padasaṁhitā
Ekā arthavati śreyā yāṁ śrutvā upasāmyati.

3. [šata bhaṣe anathapadasaḥita]⁷ e
šhu ya šutva uvašamati O⁸
(Cro, 8)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 102 † (Sahassav., v. 3):—

Yo ca gāthā satam bhūse anathapadasaṁhitā
Ekaṁ dhammapadāṁ seyyo yaṁ sutvā upasammati.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxiv. (“Numbers”), v. 2:—

“It is better to speak one word of the law which brings one nigh unto peace, than to recite a hundred gāthās which are not of the law.”

¹ A very doubtful word. ² Frag. C. viro, 4. ³ Frag. C. xiro, 1.
⁴ Frag. C. xiro, 2,—not adjusted by M. Senart.
⁵ That the second letter is bh, though written in a peculiar hand in the Ms., has been verified by M. Senart. The variants are šebhu, šebo occurring in the succeeding verses.
⁶ The circle is supplied by us.
⁷ Fr. C. xiro, 2.
⁸ The circle is supplied by us.
The Prakrit verse can be easily restored:—
(yo ja gadhasata) bhaśe anathapadasahita
e(ka dhamapada) ṣ(e)hu ya ṣutva uvasamati O

4 (sahā)’sa bi ya gadhana anathapadasahita
eka gadhapada ṣeho ya ṣutva uvasamati2 O
(Cro, 9)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 101 † (Sahassav., v. 2):—
Sahassam api ce gāthā anathapadasamhitā
Ekaṁ gāthāpadam seyyo yaṁ suttā upasammati.

Cf. Mahāvastu Sahasravarga, v. 2:—
Sahasram api gathānāṁ anarthapadasamhitā
Eka arthavati śreyā yaṁ śrutvā upaśāmyati.

5 (yo)3 ja gadhasata4 bhaśe anathapadasahita
eka gadhapada ṣeho ya ṣutva uvasamati O
(Cro, 10)

Cf. Verse 3 above. The verse can be easily rendered in Pāli:
Yo ca gāthā satam bhāse anathapadasamhitā
Ekaṁ gāthāpadam seyyo yaṁ suttā upasammati.

Cf. Jātaka IV. p. 175:—
Aṭṭha te bhāsitā gāthā, sabbā honti sahassiyọ,
Patiganha mahābrāhma, sādh’etaṁ tava bhāsitam.
Na me attho sahasseehi satehi nahutehi vā,
Pacchimaṁ bhāsato gāthāṁ kāme me na rato mano.

Cf. Fa-khec-su-u, sec. xvi. (“The Thousands”),
p. 104:—
“Although a man can repeat a thousand stanzas (sections),
but understand not the meaning of the lines he repeats,
this is not equal to the repetition of one sentence well understood,
which is able when heard to control thought,”

1 Supplied by us.
2 M. Senart reads uvasamatī.
3 Supplied by us. Also ya ; Sec. v. 12 infra.
4 Partly completed by Frag. C. ixwhether, 1.
Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-n, sec. xvi. ("The Thousands"), p. 104:—

"A man may be able to repeat many books, but if he cannot explain them, what profit is there in this? But to explain one sentence of the Law, and to walk accordingly, this is the way to find supreme wisdom."

Cf. Udanav., ch. xxiv. ("Numbers"), v. 2:—

"It is better to speak one word of the law which brings one nigh unto peace, than to recite a hundred gāthās which are not of the law."

Notes.—These four verses (2-5) are very much alike, differing only, in the words of M. Senart, in some differentiation of detail. All of them teach that one Dhammapada gāthā, full of poetry and meaning, is far better and valuable than so many hundreds, thousands or millions (as the Jātaka puts it) of the Vedic hymns regarded as dealing with useless subjects, i.e., setting forth, in the language of the Dhammapada-Comy., the descriptions of the sky, the mountains, the forest and the like, which do not throw light on the path to salvation (ākūsavanā-pabbatavanā-vana-vanavanādāni pakāsekehi anīyanaudipakehi avatthakehi padehi samhitāyā va bahukā honti). History, however, goes to prove that the Buddhists themselves, especially the Mahāyānist, were not immune from the same kind of adverse criticism not only from the modern critics1, but at the hands of their brethren, the advocates of the Sahajiyā doctrine2.

Verse 2.—Eka vayapada would correspond to a Pāli ekān vāca-padaṁ, Śebha=Pāli seyyo, Sk. ś eyas. The bh may be accounted for as due to the influence of the final s or h which is dropped in both Pāli and Prakrit. Similarly the s may be said to have been due to the desire to compensate for the lost sound r in śr.

1 See Dr. R. L. Mitra's observations in the introduction to his edition of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (Bibl. Indica series).
2 Bandhū Gān-o-Dohā, p. 88.
6 [masamasi sahasina yo yaea]¹ śatena ca neva² budhi prasadasa kala aveti śodāsa ○

(Cro, 11)

7 [(ma)³samase sahasena yo yaea śatina ca neva]⁴ (dhami)⁵ prasa(da)⁶sa kala aveti śodāsa ○

(Cro, 12)

8 masamase sahasina yo yaea śatena ca neva saghi prasadasa kala aveti śodāsa ○

(Cro, 13)

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. xvi. ("The Thousands"), p. 105:

"Although a man for a hundred years worship and sacrifice to the spirit of Fire, his merit is not equal to that of the man who for a moment pays reverence to the three Holy Ones; the happiness consequent on one such act of homage excels that resulting from all those hundred years."

Cf. Mahāvastu, Sahasravarga, vv. 4-6:

Yo jayeta sahasrāṇāṁ māse māse śataṁ śataṁ
Na so Buddhā prasādasya kalām arghati śodāsim.
Yo jayeta sahasrāṇāṁ māse māse śataṁ śataṁ
Na so dharma prasādasya kalām arghati śodāsim.
Yo jayeta sahasrāṇāṁ māse māse śataṁ śataṁ
Na so saṁgha prasādasya kalām arghati śodāsim.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxiv. ("Numbers"), vv. 26-28:

"He who for a hundred years makes a thousand sacrifices each month, is not worth the sixteenth part of him who has faith in the Buddha".

[N.B. For vv. 27-28, substitute "in the holy law" and "in the church" respectively, in place of "in the Buddha" of v. 26.]

¹ Frag. C. ixvo, 2. ² M. Senart reads nevi. We read neva for the sake of consistency with the next verses. ³ Supplied by us. ⁴ Frag. C. viile. ⁵ Supplied by us; also dhama, as M. Senart suggests; in which case it must be joined to the next word. ⁶ Supplied by us.
9 masamasi sahasena yo yaea śatena ca
neva saghasadhamesu kala aveti śoḍaśa O
(Co, 14)

Cf. the last half of the Dhammap., v. 70 † (Bāhav.,
v. 11) = Mahāvastu, Sahasravarga, v. 14 :—

Na so saṁkhata dharmānaṁ kalām agghati sūnasim.

Cf. Mahāvastu, Sahasravarga, v. 8 :—

Yo jayeta sahasrāṇāṁ māse māse śataṁ śataṁ
Na so svākhyātudharmāṇāṁ kalām arghati śoḍaśim.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxiv. ("Numbers"), v. 33 :—

"He who for a hundred years makes a thousand sacrifices
each month, is not worth the sixteenth part of him who
explains well the holy law".

10 masamase sahasena yo yae[n śatena ca]¹
(neva sabanaśīl)esu kala aveti śoḍaśa O
(Co, 15)

Cf. Mahāvastu, Sahasravarga, v. 7 :—

Yo jayeta sahasrāṇāṁ māse māse śataṁ śataṁ
So va sāmpannaśīlāṇāṁ kalām nārghati śoḍaśim.

11 masamase sahasena yo yaea śatena ca
ekapananuabisa kala naveti śoḍaśa O
(Co, 16)

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. vii. ("Metta"), p. 17 :—

"If a man lives a hundred years, and engages the whole of
his time and attention in religious offerings to the gods,
sacrificing elephants, and horses, and other things, all
this is not equal to one act of pure love in saving life."

¹ Frag. C XLIII.
² Supplied by us. For h = Pāli up, cf. nuabisa of the next verse, and
Cf. Udānav., eh. xxiv. ("Numbers"), vv. 29-31:—

"He who for a hundred years makes a thousand sacrifices each month, is not worth the sixteenth part of him who is merciful to sentient creatures" (varied in vv. 30, 31 by ‘animated creatures’ and ‘beings’ respectively).

Cf. Manu, V. 53:—

varṣe varṣe 'śvamedhena yo yajeta satāṁ samāh māṁsāni ca na khadedyastayoḥ punyaphalāṁ samam.

Notes.—It is a strange fact that the parallel of none of these verses (6-11) is to be found in the Dhammapada or in any other canonical text. We must admit that the basic idea out of which they had grown, is embodied in a prose discourse, the Kūḍādanta-sutta of the Dighanikāya. A comparison of the Prakrit verses with their parallels in the Fa-khenpi-u and other recensions of the Dhammapada makes it clear how easy it was for the Buddhists to multiply the number of this class of stanzas by merely changing a certain word or expression. It is also clear that the chief motive of these verses is to extol the principles of practical Buddhism, which are of far greater worth than the hundreds and thousands of sacrifices performed each month by the Brāhmaṇa householders. The Buddhist principles emphasized herein are just three, viz., (1) faith in the Three Jewels, (2) observance of the moral precepts, and (3) compassion for the living beings.

Verses 6-8.—Masamasi, masamase=Pāli and Sk. māse māse, ‘each month’. In colloquial Bengali the idiom māse māse means quite the same thing, and māsāmāsi, which equates with the Prakrit form masamasi, means ‘extending over a month’. In these verses there are numerous instances where i and e are interchanged Sahasina satena, sahasena satina=Pāli sahasena satena, which is as idiomatic as sahasrāṇāṁ satāṁ satāṁ of the Mahāvastu verses. Yacea=Pāli yajeyu, Sk. yajēta; y and j being inverted in yajeta of the Mahāvastu verses quoted above. Neva (written nera in v. 6)=Pāli or Sk. nāpi, as M. Senart points out. The reading na vi or na re would be the correct from; nera may be regarded as an inversion for na re. But ne re taken as=Pāli u'era or Sk. naivo would free us from the risk of such conjectures as nera=nāpi. Aveti=Pāli aveti or uppoti=Sk. āptoti, ‘attains’, i.e., ‘deserves’ (agghati or arghati). We trust that it was not by mistake that the scribe wrote aveti for aghati.
Verses 9-11.—Saghasadhamesu = Pāli saṅkhata dharmam, 'among those who have well understood the Norm'. Cf. the explanation given in the Dhammapada-Commentary, v. 70:—"Saṅkhata dhamma vuccantī nātadhamma, tulita-dhamma." The meaning of the word was changed when it came to be Sanskritised as saṅkhya-dharmāṇāṃ, 'of those who have well explained the law'. For the reading see M. Senart's notes (pp. 59-60). Sabanaśileṣu would be in Pali sampānaśileṣu, 'among those who have fully observed the rules of morality'. The adoption of the locative form for the genitive (cf. sampānaśilānāṁ of the Mahāvastu verse quoted above) is a peculiarity noticeable in the Pāli verse quoted above) is a peculiarity noticeable in the Prakrit verses 9-10. For the opposite process cf. pavana (Aparāmādavaga, v. 1), p. 121; vihamaalasa (ibid, v. 4), p. 123; apramaṇasa (ibid, v. 17), p. 126; imaṣa (ibid, v. 16), p. 132; saga andāsa (Puṣavaga, v. 14), p. 152. Ekapananubisa would correspond to a Pāli ekapāṇāṇa-kampissa, Sk. ekapāṇāṇa-kampināḥ, 'of one who is compassionate towards a single living creature'.

12 ya ja vaṣaṣata jivi kusidhu hinaviyava
muh utu1 jivita sebha virya arahato drddha.

(Cro, 17)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 112 † (Sabassav., v. 13):—

Yo ca vassasataṁ jive kusīto hinaviyayo
Ekāhaṁ jivitaṁ seyyo viriyam9 ārabhato dalham.

Cf. Mahāvastu, Sahasravarga, v. 19:—

Yo ca varṣaṣataṁ jive kuśido hinaviyavān
Ekāhaṁ jivitaṁ seyyo viriyam āraṁbhato dṛḍhaṁ.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxiv. ("Numbers"), v. 4:—

"He who lives a hundred years in laziness and slothfulness, a life of one single day is better if one exerts oneself to zealous application."

1 Verses 13 and 14 have muhuta.
2 Another reading, viryaṁ, with 1 metri causa.
13 ya ji vaṣaṣāto jivi apaśū udakavaya
muhuta jivita ṣebha⁶ paśato udakavaya O

(C⁰, 18)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 113 † (Sahassav., v. 14):—
Yo ca vassasataṁ jiva apassam udayavyayamān⁸
Ekāhaṁ jivitaṁ seyyo passato udayavyayamān.

Cf. Mahāvastu, Sahasravarga, v. 23:—
Yo ca varṣaṣataṁ jive apāyaṁ udayavyayamān
Ekāhaṁ jivitaṁ śreyo paśyato udayavyayamān.

Cf. Udānav.. ch. xxiv. ("Numbers"), v. 6:—
"He who lives a hundred years without perceiving birth
and dissolution, a life of one single day is better if one
perceives birth and dissolution".

14 ya ja vaṣaṣata jiv(i)⁷ apasū dhamu utamu
m(u)⁴huta jivita [s]⁴e(h)hu paṣatu dhamu
utamu O⁰

(C⁰, 19)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 115 † (Sahassav., v. 16):—
Yo ca vassasataṁ jive apassam dhammam uttamaṁ
Ekāhaṁ jivitaṁ seyyo passato dhammam uttamaṁ.

Cf. Mahāvastu, Sahasravarga, v. 23:—
Yo ca varṣaṣataṁ jive apāyaṁ dharmam uttamaṁ
Ekāhaṁ jivitaṁ śreyo paśyato dharmam uttamaṁ.

¹ The next verse has ṣebha, and v. 17. ṣiha.
² Variant, udayabhayaṁ.
³,⁴ Supplied by us.
⁵ Frag. C. xxxvii, 1,—not. adjusted by M. Senart. The Frag. bears traces of the previous word jivita.⁶ The circle is supplied by us.
Cf. Udānav., ch. xxiv. ("Numbers"), v. 10:—

"He who lives a hundred years without knowing the ideal knowledge that is hard (to arrive at), life of one single day is better if one knows the ideal knowledge that is hard (to arrive at)."

15 ya ja vasaṣata jatu agi pariyare⁴ vane [chirena]⁵ sapitelenā⁶ divarattra atadrito

16 [eka ji bhavitatmana muhuta]⁷ viva p(u)⁵ a(e)⁶ sameva puyana sebha ya ji⁷ vaṣaṣata hotu O
(C'to 20-21)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 107 1 (Sahassav., v. 8):—

Yo ca vassasatam jantu aggīṁ paricare vane
Ekas ca bhāvitattamāṁ muhuttam api pūjaye—
Sā yeva pūjanā sayyo yaṁ ce vassasatam hutanā.

Cf. Mahāvastu, Sahasravarga, vv. 15-16:—

Yo ca varṣaṣataṁ jive agniparicaraṁ caret
Pattrāhāro chavāvāśi karonto vividhaṁ tapam
Yo caikam bhāvitātmānaṁ muhūrtam api pūjayet
Sā ekapūjana śreyo na ca varṣaṣataṁ hutanā.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxiv. ("Numbers"), v. 17:—

"If a man live for a hundred years in a forest, wholly relying on fire (Agni), and if he but for one single moment pays homage to a man who mediates on the self, this homage is greater than sacrifices for a hundred years."

⁴ M. Senart reads pariyara, but suggests that it should be pariyare or pariyari. ¹ Frag. C. xix, 2, not adjusted by M. Senart.
⁵ M. Senart puts it separately as sa pil televa. ² Frag. C. xxix.
⁶ * Supplied by us, according to M. Senart's suggestion.
⁷ M. Senart combines the two words into yoji.
17 \[ya keja yatha va ho(tu)₁ \text{ va lok(e)}₂ \text{\textsuperscript{3}}\] savachara\textsuperscript{4} yaea puṇāpekho\textsuperscript{5} sarva vi ta na \textquote{caubhakame}’\text{ti ahivadana ujukateṣu śiho O}\textsuperscript{8} 

(Co, 22)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 108 † (Sahasav., v. 9):—

Yaṁ kiñcī iṣṭaṁ ca hutaṁ ca loke
Samvache ṛam yajetha puṇāporto
Sabbaṁ pi taṁ na caṭubhāgam eti. —
Abhivādanā ujjugatesu seyyo.

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-n, sec. xvi. ("The Thousands"), p. 108:—

"To sacrifice to spirits in order to find peace (merit), or, after this life expecting reward, his happiness is not one quarter of that man’s who pays homage to the good."

Cf. Mahāvastu, Sahasravarga, v. 17:—

Yat kiñcic iṣṭaṁ ca hutaṁ ca loke
Samvatsaraṁ yajati puṇyapreko,
Sarvaṁ pi taṁ na caṭubhāgam eti
Abhivādaṇaṁ ujjugatesu śreyam.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxiv. ("Numbers"), v. 34:—

"No matter what sacrifice a man may offer in this world to acquire merit, it is not worth the quarter of doing homage to one who has a quieted and upright mind."

ga 17

(Co, 23)

Notes.—The verses (12-17) are a blended whole and constitute a series which, as distinguished from the preceding one, teaches that the spiritual efforts, the philosophic insight and

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\textsuperscript{1} Supplied by us; cf. hato of the preceding verse. \textsuperscript{2} Also loke.

\textsuperscript{3} Fræg. C. iv\textsuperscript{17}, 1. \textsuperscript{4} Cf. savata = Pali saṁvata (Co, 28), p. 64.

\textsuperscript{5} Also puṇāvekha or puṇāvechu. \textsuperscript{6} Also caṭubhagameti.

\textsuperscript{7} Supplied by us. \textsuperscript{8} The circle is supplied by us.
the higher form of Buddhist worship are of far superior worth than the fire-worship and sacrifices of the Vānaprasthā hermits. The Buddhist's is a simple moral under-estimation which must be carefully distinguished historically:

(1) from the Munḍaka's bold condemnation—

Iṣṭāpūrtam manyamānā varīśṭham nānyacchreyo vedayante pramūḍhāḥ:
Nākasya pṛṣṭhe te sukṛte 'nubhūtvēmam lokam hīnataraih vävīśanti.1

and (2) from the Keśakambala's philosophical denial—

N'atthi yiṭṭham, n'atthi hutaṁ, n'atthi sakaṭa-dukkāṭanāṁ kammānaṁ phalaṁ vipāko.2

But comparing the Munḍaka views and those of the Buddhists a little more closely, we must admit that these are in spirit the same, the latter having a milder form of expression than the former.

Verse 12.—Hinaviyāva = Sk. hinavīrya-vān (Mahāvastu verse), which is the same in meaning as the Pāli hinavirīyo. Sebha = sebhā (v. 14), sīho (v. 17) = Pāli sēyyo, Sk. sreyah. These are instances where ṭ equates with Sk. śr. Arahato = Pāli ārahaṭto, Sk. ārambhah. These forms go to prove that i and ē, and ū and h are interchangeable in the dialect of our Prakrit text.

Verse 13.—Udakavaya = Pāli udāgavyayaṁ or udāgabhayaṁ, Sk. udāgavayaṁ, 'growth and loss'. The change of ū to ū appears to be along the lines of the change of j to k; cf. babāka = Sk. pabhāja, Suhavaga, v. 8 (I. c'm. 31, p. 80.)

Verses 15-16.—Chirena sapitelena divarattra atadrito = Pāli khireṇa sapit-teṇa divārattra atandito. This line is to be found neither in the Pāli gāthā nor in the Udānavarga verse. The Mahāvastu verse substitutes for it: pratikāta chavārasi Acekutumlāvatā. Muhutavīva would correspond to a Pāli mukhātāvīva: a vowel sandhi (mahuta + eva). Sameva = Pāli sā yera: a vowel sandhi (sā + eva). The reading sameva is a change from rameva. The Mahāvastu reads sā cha.3
Verse 17.—Yatha = Pāli yittahāṃ, Sk. istāṃ. The root in the Prakrit word has not, like the Sk., undergone any transformation.

Ga 17 marks the end of the chapter and means, as before, that the chapter contains 17 stanzas.

[6. Panitavaga or Dhamathavaga]

This group, of which the name is suggested by the word dhamathā occurring in v. 1 or by panita in v. 3, infra, consists of ten stanzas, as may be ascertained from the colophon, “ga 10” (I. cii, 34). Verse 3 of the Prakrit group has a parallel in one of the verses of the Paññitavagga of the Pāli Dhammapada (ch. vi.), and some of the rest of the same group in other chapters of the Pāli. The Dhammaṭṭhavagga of the Pāli Dhammapada (ch. xix.) contains 17 stanzas, of which none is to be found in the Prakrit group. The corresponding chapter in the Fakheu-pi-u (sec. xxvii.) also contains 17 stanzas which agree generally with the Pāli. Chapter xi. of the Udānavarga has 16 stanzas, of which four are similar to those in the Pāli group. The Pa ṭvā or Dhamathā group is comparatively of little importance; it teaches whom we are to regard as virtuous and what should be his conduct.

1 [silamatu suyisacho]2 dhamatho sadhujivano atmano karako sadhu ta jano kurati3 priu O

(Cvo, 24)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 217 †. (Piyavagga, v. 9):—

Siladassanasampannaṁ dhammatthaiṁ saecavādinaṁ
Attano kamma kubbānaṁ taṁ jano kurute piyaiṁ.

Cf. Udānav., ch. v. (“Agreeable Things”), v. 25:—

“He who observes the law, who is perfectly virtuous, modest, speaking the truth, doing what he ought to do, delights the rest of mankind.”

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1 Dhammapada, chap. vi. (Paññitavagga)—14 stanzas.
2 Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. xiv. (“The wise man”)—17
3 Udānavarga, chap. vi. (“Morality”)—20
4 Frag. C. iro, 3, completed by fr. C. iro, 1.
5 M. Senart dares not change it into kuruti, though he thinks such a reading is very probable.
Notes.—The expressions in the Prakrit verse are somewhat different from those in its Pāli and Sanskrit parallels. The verse embodies some fundamental principles of Dharma, enumerated differently in Indian literature. The principles referred to in it are—śīla (morality), suyi (purity), sacha (truthfulness), sadhujīvana (innocent-life) and atmano karana (dutifulness); cf. Asoka’s Pillar Inscription, 11: apāsena vaca bahukṣayā, dayā, āne, sache, sochave; also Rock Edict XIII: sarvabālānam, achatīn, sayamaṁ, samacherām, mādavaṁ, etc.; Śaṅkhāsāṁhitā, i. 5: kṣamā, sātya, dama, kauva; Jātaka verse (Fauböll, ii. p. 280): saccaṁ, dhamma, dhṛti, cūgo; Rāmāyana, V. i. 193 (Bombay edition): dhṛti, dhṛti, mati, dākṣya; Čandogya, iii. 17. +: tapa, dāna, ārjava, aṁśaṁ and satyavacana; Maṇi enumerates ten principles: dhṛti, kṣamā, dama, asteya, saucam, indriya-mārga, dhī, vidyā, satyam, akrodha (vi. 92). Similar principles are enumerated under ten numerical heads in the Saṅgīti Suttanta (Dīgha, ii.), and throughout the Aṅguttara Nikāya. The Jaina texts also are not wanting in this kind of enumeration.

Śilamatu would correspond to a Pāli sīlaṁvā, almost the same in meaning as sīlavāsasampanno of the Pāli text. This is not an accusative singular form as M. Senart supposes it to be. Suyisacho—‘he who is pure and truthful’, a compound with a peculiar grammatical construction. Instead of suyi (purity) the Pāli verse has dussana (insight). The Prakrit reading śilamatu suyisacho etc., (as nominative singular) appears to be better than the Pāli accusative singular. Atmano karako would strictly equate with a Pāli attano kāra ko, ‘he who does his own duty’. The expression is elliptical, some word being understood between atma a and kāra ko. Ta jano kurati priu = Pāli taṁ jano kurante piyaṁ, ‘him people hold dear’. Roekhill’s translation “he...... delights the rest of mankind”, or the Tibetan version itself, seems open to dispute.

2 [sadhu śilena sabano yaśabhohasamapitu]¹
yena yeneva vayati tena teneva puyita O

(Cf. Dhammap., v. 303 † (Pakinnakavagga, v. 14):—

“Saddho śilena sampanno yasobhogasamappito
Yam yam padesam bhajati tattha tatth’ eva pujito.

¹ Frag. C. ii70, 2.
Notes.—Sadhu = Pali sādho, ‘the faithful’, the initial sibilant § distinguishes this word from saihku answering to südhku. This is not the first instance in our Prakrit where § equates with Sk. śr; cf. savata (Sk. grācakāh), Puṣav. v. 15 (p. 152); sebh, sebh, sebh, sebh, sebh (Sk. śeṣaḥ), Sahasavaga (pp. 158-167); śutra (Sk. śrūtra) ibid, vv. 2, 3 fg. (p. 158). Sabano=Pāli sampaṇno. For b=mp see annaśīva (Sahasav. v. 11). For bhōha=bhoga, see M. Senart’s notes (p. 63). Vayati would straightway equate with Pāli vajati, Sk. vṛjati ‘walks’, ‘travels’, ‘passes’; cf. sabbatthā ve sappurisā vajanti (Dhammap., v. 83). M. Senart says: “Vayati might strictly be explained after the analogy of abhivya (=Pāli abhīdhyā), B. 30, 31 as=Pāli bhajati. But it is more natural to think that it is vajati, and I should rather believe that bhajati of the Pāli, which it is very difficult to interpret, has sprung, by an inverse confusion, from an original vajati”. We, on our part, think that the expression yam yam padesāṁ bhajati (i.e., ‘whatever regions he adopts or lives in’) is quite different from yena yena vayati i.e., ‘by or through whatever (land) he passes’. The former conveys the idea of settlement in a place, the latter that of the journey of a missionary. Indeed, the latter expression is quite natural to a Buddhist missionary from India, compiling a text of the Dhammapada, adapting the language of the original verses to the local dialect of the Gaudharan region extending as far as Khotan.

3 [yo natimahetu na parasa hetu pavani kamani samaya]’rea
na ichia (adhamena) [samidhi atmano so śilava] panitu dharmiho’ sia C
(Cro, 26)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 84 † (Panditaśv., v. 9):

Na attahetu na parassa hetu na puttam icche
na dhanam na raṭṭham
N’ iccheyy’ adhammena samiddhim attano
sa śilavā paśñavā dhammiko siyā.

1 Frag. C. 11ro, 3. 6 Supplied by us. 7 The reading dhammiko is probably due to the error of the scribe.
8 The circle is supplied by us.
Notes.—Natimahetu na parasa hetu = Pāli na attahetu na parassa hetu, 'neither on personal grounds nor for others' sake'. The form natima is an instance of sandhi and of Epenthesis (cf. Pāli ātuma = ātma). The Prakrit reading pavani kamani samayarea would equate with a Pāli pāpāṇi kammāni samācareyya; it brings out the underlying idea of the verse more clearly than the Pāli na puttam icche etc. There is reason to believe that by the two expressions, atimahetu and parasa hetu, are meant the four agatis or principles of iniquity, viz., chanda (personal consideration), dosa (hatred), bhaya (fear) and moha (delusion). Cf. Jāt. V. p. 147:

Na pāṇḍitā attasukhassa hetu
Pāpāṇi kammāni samācarantī
Dukkhena phuṭṭha khalitāpi santā
Chandā ca dosā na jahanti dhammaṁ.

4 [sañatu sukati yati drugati yati asañatun ma sa vispaṣa]¹ [avaja ida vidva samu cari²ō³]

(Cr°, 27)

For the last pāda, cf. Jāt. IV. p. 172:

Pathavā sāliyavakaṁ gavassam dāsaporisam
datvā vā nālam ekassa, iti vidvā samaṁ care.

The Pāli counterpart would be:

Saññato sugatim yāti duggatim yāti asaññato
Mā so vissāsa-m-avajjo idaṁ vidvā samaṁ care.

Notes.—We are unable to trace any Pāli or Sanskrit counterpart of this verse, though it is certain that the teaching of it is very familiar to a student of Buddhism and that it strikes the keynote of Indian religions. Drugati = Pāli duggatiṁ. For the form drugati = Sk. durgatiṁ, cf. druracha, Citavaga, v. 5, supra. Ma = Pāli and Sk. mā. The particle is used here without the verb expressed. This usage is not uncommon in Pāli. See Childers: mā ḍevaṁ bhante, not so, lord; alam bhikkhave mā bhāyantānaṁ,

¹ Frag. C. 1ro, 1.
² M. Senart reads samucari.
³ Frag. C. IIIro, 1. not adjusted by M. Senart.
enough priests, no quarrelling. Cf. also Jāt. V., p. 99, v. 306:—mā pampaḍo jāyetha, pampaḍa jayate khayo! khayaḥ padosā jāyanti, mā mado Bhavakāśasmitā: where mā mado, as the scholiast explains, is=mā pampaṭṭa, mā pampaḍa. Āvajasa=Pāli āvajja Sk. āvajyaḥ, low, bad, inferior. Childers says āvajyaḥ tā ti āvajjo, according to a Pāli Tīkā. Ida=Pāli ādām. Vidva=Pāli vidvā. It cannot, on the strength of the Jātaka parallel, equate with Sk. vidvān, as M. Senart has suggested. Samu cari=Pāli somam care, ‘one should lead a life of spiritual calm’. M. Senart, suggests a reading sumuccaret (Sk.), which would be meaningless in this context.

5 [savutu pratimukhasa idriśu ca pajasu pramuni anu]1[pruvina savasānoyanachaya O]2

For the first half cf. Suttanipāta, v. 340† (Rāhulasutta, v. 6):—

Sāṃvuto pātimokkhasmiṃ indriśu ca pāñceṣu (Sati kāyagatā tyatthu nibbidābahulo bhava.)

For the last half cf. the last two pādas of the Jātaka verses on pp. 275, 278 (Jāt. 1):—

Pāpūne anupubbena sabbasaṃyojanakkhayah.

Notes.—We have not as yet been able to trace to a certainty any Pāli or Sanskrit parallel to the above verse. The combination of the half-verses belonging to two different stanzas is an innovation in the Prakrit text.

Pratimukhasa is an instance of the genitive for the locative. See notes on sabunābileṣu, p. 164. Pajasu=Pāli pāñceṣu, ‘in regard to five’. The change of ṛc to the sonant of the palatal group is characteristic of the dialect of the Prakrit text; cf. sūgarā=sūkharā, Apramadav., v. 4, v. 15, pp. 123, 131, sūgarā=sūkharā, Puṣav v. 14, p. 152; sāgāra=sākharā, Magav., vv. 27, 28, p. 111; annabisa=anukampinah, Sahassav., v. 11, p. 162. But cf. duḥkuṣātaduḥkkhās' antaṁ, Apramadav., v. 16, p. 132; yavatethadvāvantiṇettha (ibid v. 17), p. 132;

1 Frag. C. 110, 2 2 Frag. C. 1110, 2.—not adjusted by M. Senart.
Anupravina = Pāli anupubhino, ‘by degrees’, ‘gradually’. For pur = pur, cf. drugati in v. 4 supra. This word indicates that Buddhism, like Brāhmanism, provided for a graduated system of religious training: adhisīlasikkhā, adhicittāsikkhā and adhipaṭṭhānasikkhā. The subject is discussed at length in the Gaṇaka-Moggallāna Sutta (Majjhima, III., No. 107).

6 [śudhasa hi sada phaguśudhasaposadhuśada] [śudhasa suyi](kamasā sa)daśama jate vata O (Cr., 29)

Cf. Vatthūpama Sutta, Majjhima, I. p. 39:

Suddhassa ve sada phaggu, suddhassūposatho sada,
Suddhassa sūcikammassa sada sampajjate vataṁ.

—which is translated by the Bhikkhu Silācāra:—

“Upon the pure smiles constant May,
The pure keep endless holy day;
The pure, by actions pure confest,
Their every offering is blest”.

Notes.—The Pāli parallel to the above verse belongs to a group of stanzas in which the Buddha deprecates the washing of sin in the sacred waters, e.g., of the Bāhuṅka, the Adhikakkā, the Gayā (or Phaggu), the Sundarikā, the Sarassati, the Payāga and the Bāhumatt, as well as the Brāhmanic method of sabbath-keeping. The verse teaches that a man is really purified by his pure actions and that by doing pure deeds he keeps the sabbath. Such a protest as this against the Brāhmanic faith is not peculiar to the Buddhist, as it can be traced, though in a less pronounced form, in the Munḍaka, the Katha and other Upanishads, which may be supposed to embody the views of the Munḍasāvakas, the Gotamakas and other Bhikkhus.
orders referred to in the Aṅguttara Nikāya (see Buddhist India, p. 145; Dial. B., Vol. II. Pt. I, pp. 220-222). The reading of the fragments in M. Senart's edition is, so far as this verse is concerned, hardly satisfactory. Hi—'indeed', 'surely'—may very well be substituted for the Pāli ve. Śudhasaposadhu = Pāli suddhass' uposatha, an instance of vowel sandhi (suddhassa+uposadhu). For the m of samajate see notes on anusahisa (Sahasav., v. 11. p. 164).

7 [dhamu cari sucarita]1 [(na ta du)%carita cari dhamayari suh(a)%]2 seti asmi loki parasa yi O

(Cr, 30)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 169 † (Lokav., v. 3) :—

Dhammaṁ care sucaritaṁ na tam duccaritaṁ care, Dhammacāri sukhaṁ seti asmiṁ loke paramhi ca.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxx. (“Happiness”), v. 5 :—

"Perform carefully the precepts of the law; abstain from all evil deeds: he who keeps the law finds happiness in this world and in the other.

Notes.—With this verse compare v. 1 of the Apramadavaga, p. 119. Dhamu cari sucarita=Pāli dhammaṁ care sucaritaṁ. For this exhortation cf. the Taippiriya command "yānasmākaṁ sucarītīṁ tāni bhuypasyā tum. Seti has a variant śeati in Apramadav., v. 1.

8 [aho]%[nako va sagami cavadhi vatita śara ativaka ti]%[tikhis]2 [drusilo hi bah]3[ o jano O

(Cr, 31)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 320 † (Nāgav., v. 1) :—

Ahaṁ nāgo va saṅgāme cāpato patitaṁ sarāṁ Ativākyāṁ titikkhissaṁ duṣhilo hi bahuṣjano.

1 Frag. C. xiii, p. 1. 2 Supplied by us. 3 Supplied by us.


7 Supplied by us.—a tentative suggestion, such future forms being nowhere met with in the Prakrit text. 8 Frag. C. xiii, p. 1.
Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-ū, sec. xxxi. ("The Elephant"), p. 171:

"I am like the fighting elephant, without any fear of the middle arrow (the arrow wounding the middle part). By sincerity and truth I escape the unprincipled man (lawless man)."

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxix. ("Day and Night"), v. 21:

"As the elephant in battle (is patient though) pierced by the arrows shot from the bows, so likewise be patient under the unkind words of the crowd."

The original Sanskrit of the Tibetan version, of which the above is an English rendering, is as follows (Yugavarga, ch. xxix):

Ahāṁ nāga iva saṁgr[āme]|pa]titam śaram
Ativākyam titikṣāmi duḥṣilo hi mahājanaḥ.

Cf. Manu, VI. 47:

Ativādāmstitiṣṭaṇa nāvantvamata kaṇcana
Na cēmām deham āśṛtya vairām kurvīta kenaicit.

Cf. Āyāramga Sutta, II. 16. vv. 2-3:

Tudaṁti vāyahi abhiddavaṁ naraṁ
Śarehi saṁgāmagayaṁ va kuṁjaraṁ

Titiikhhae napi aduṭṭhaetaṉa.

Notes—The Prakrit verse and its Pāli, Ardhamāgadhī and Sanskrit parallels, explaining one another, presuppose a common origin that leads us in the last resort to a popular Indian maxim. All these teach men to patiently bear up with the unkind words of the multitude, by the simile of an elephant in battle, pierced by the arrows, remaining yet patient. Cavadhi=Pāli cāpato, Sk. cāpataḥ. We have nothing more to add to M. Senart’s comment on this word than that the form with the final vowel i is partly due to an attempt to maintain rhythm with the preceding word with the same ending, saṁgāmi. Vatita=Pāli and
Sk. pātitaṁ. The change of the p to t seems to have been effected through an intermediate change of p to b. 

Ativaka = Pālī and Sk. ativākyam = ativādam (Mau). The form vaka presupposes an intermediate change of kya to kka through assimilation. Druśilo = Pālī dussilo, Sk. dūśīlōḥ. The derivation is through a false analogy with forms like ārūgati, v. 4, supra.

9 [(ya)’sa acata druśilia malua va vitata² vani kuya su tadha³ (a)[tmana yadha na viṣamu ichati O]²]

(Cṭo, 32)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 162 † (Attav., v. 6):—

Yassa accanta dussilyaṁ mālūvā sālam iv’otataṁ
Karoti so tath’attānaṁ yathā tam ichati diso.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xi. ("The Śramana"), v. 10 :—

"He who, breaking all his vows, (is held) as is a Śala tree by a creeper, brings himself to that state to which his enemy would like to bring him ".

Notes.—Druśilia = Pālī dussilyaṁ, Sk. dūṇhūtīyaṁ, ‘malignity’, ‘iniquity’. The form is an instance of false analogy, cf. druśilo, v. 8, supra. Malua va vitata vani = Pālī mālūvā va otata vane. The simile is less expressive or pointed than the Pālī mālūvā sālam iv’otataṁ, but the Prakrit vani may be taken to stand for śalavani. Here the imagery is that of a śala forest overgrown by the intertwining and fast growing Mālūvā creeper. M. Senart’s reading malna vavi lata vani gives the simple notion of the creeper rapidly growing in a forest, cf. tvaṅkā vaḍḍhati mālūvā viṣa (Dhammap., v. 334). Kuya = Pālī kareygā, Sk. kṛṣṭāt. Viṣamū = Pālī viśamo, Sk. viṣamah, which may very well be used as a synonym of the Pālī diso, ‘an enemy’. 

¹ Supplied by us. ² M. Senart reads vavi lata. ³ Frag. C. v70, 3. ⁴ Supplied by us. ⁵ Frag. C. xxiii70, 2.
[yok. d. bh]\n\na rāṭhapina asañatu O
(Cro, 33)

[ga 10]#
(Cro, 34)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 308 † (Nirayavagga, v. 3)
=Itivuttaka, p. 43 :—

Seyyo ayogulo bhutto tatte aggisikhupamo
Yañ ce bhujjeyya dussilo rāṭhapindām asañnato.

Cf. Udānav., ch. ix, ("Deeds"), v. 2 :

"Better it would be that a man should eat a lump of
flaming iron than that one who is unrestrained and who
has broken his vows should live on the charity of the
land".

Notes.—The Prakrit verse might be restored, in the light of
the Pāli verse and its parallel in the Udānavarga, as
follows :—

ṣeho ayokudo bhuto tatu agisikhupamu
ya e bhujjya drusila rāṭhapina asañnato.

Ayokudo—Pāli ayogulo, ‘a (red-hot) ball of iron’. We
think the allusion is to a horrible form of punishment
where the criminal was killed by a red-hot iron-ball thrust
into his mouth. Bhujjya rathapina—Pāli bhujjeyya
rathapindām, ‘that (a wicked mendicant) should live
the charity of the land’; cf. saddhā-deyyāni bhujjanāni
bhujjitvā, Digha, l. pp. 5-12.

The chapter contains 10 stanzas.

* For the second t cf. aprute (Pāli appatte, Sk. aprūpte), Apramadav.,
vv. 24, 25, pp. 138, 139.
[7. Balavaga]

It is as difficult to suggest definitely a title for the present group as it was for the preceding one. But it appears that the group dilates chiefly upon the ways of the fool. It is, moreover, quite relevant that, after having dwelt upon the conduct of the wise in the foregoing chapter, some idea should be given of a fool and his manners. Whatever its appropriate name, the group as we have it in the extant Kharoṣṭhī Ms., is not complete; only 8 stanzas are preserved. The Balavagga of the Pāli Dhammapada (ch. 5) consists of 16 stanzas, while the corresponding group in the Fa-kheu-king (sec. XIII.) contains 21. This group forms the 13th chapter of the Udānavarga and has 16 verses.

1 ida ja mi keca ida ji karia ida kari—
vinamana abhimadati muca?1 saśoā.2
(Cw, 35)

Cs. Mahābhārata, XII. 175. 20 :—

Idañ kṛtaṁ idaṁ kāryaṁ idaṁ anyat kṛtākṛtaṁ
Evamihāsukhaṁkaṁ kṛtānta kurute vaše.

Notes.—No parallel of this verse have we been able to trace either in Pāli or in Sanskrit. M. Senart thinks that what remains of it would give in Sanskrit:—

Idañ ca me kṛtyaṁ idañ ca kāryaṁ idañ k
vindamāno, bhimardati mṛtyu.3 saśokaṁ.

We have nothing to say against this sanskritization except that M. Senart has completely lost sight of the spirit of the Prakrit stanza. It teaches that death overpowers the fool.

1 We ha e tentatively interpreted it as suçu. But M. Senart’s suçu, followed by two doubtful letters, tempts us at the same time to a reading suçu (t) (na) sa sa Pali mukhaceti na sa sukā; for a similar construction cf. so duhā na parimuceti (I. cw, 42). This would, however, leave abhimadati unconstrued.
2 The circle is supplied by na.
who overestimates his own undertakings. This contention is borne out by the word vinamana, which, as we take it, is an accusative singular form= Pāli vindamānaḥ. In determining the real purpose of the verse we have to fall upon other verses of the group, most of which are meant to bring out the thought and conduct of a fool. We might restore it, in the light of its Sanskrit parallel from the Mahābhārata, as follows:

ida ja mi keca ida ji karia ida kari(miti)
(suhu) vinamana abhimadati mucu (balu) saśoa

If this restoration be correct, it is clear that the teaching of this verse is in spirit the same as that of—

(1) Dhammap., verse 74:—

"Mam' eva kataṁ maṇḍantu gihi pabbajitā ubho
Mam' evātivasā assu kiccākicesu kismici,
Iti bālassa saṅkappo, icchā mano ca vaddhati."

and (2) Udānav., verse 4, ch. xiii. :—

"Let both priests and laymen, whosoever they may be, imagine that it is I (who have done it); in whatever is to be done or not done, let them be subject to me: such is the mind of the fool, and his desires greatly increase."

The reflections such as those embodied in the above verse, may be supposed to have been the outcome of moralising upon the tragic end of persons like Devadatta, who was so very anxious to make his influence strongly felt among others.

2 ṭhā vaśa kariṣamu ṭhā h. matagi

(Cr. 86)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 286† (Maggav., v. 14):—

Idha vassāṁ vassissāmi idha hemantagimhissu
Iti bālo vicinteti antarāyaṁ na bujjhati.
Cf. Udānav., ch. i. ("Impermanency"), v. 38:—

"This (abode) will do for winter and (this) for summer; thus ponders the rapidly decaying fool who has not seen the danger".

Notes.—The Prakrit verse might be restored, in the light of the Pāli gāthā and its parallel in the Udānavarga, as follows:—

idha vaṣa karīṣamu idha hematagīṣmīru
iti balu vicītei ataraya na bujhati O

We have reason to think that there is an allusion in this verse to the frivolous life of the rich who spent their time in the company of women, four months in the rainy abode, four months in the winter and four months in the summer—as described in the Vinaya Mahāvagga (Vīn. I. p. 15). The sentiments displayed in the verse are very natural to the recluses who were the avowed champions of morality and self-control.

Vāṣa karīṣamu—the same in meaning as the Pāli vassamu vasissāmi. The Prakrit expression is a later idiom, associated with the idea of the Buddhist Lent ("cattuṃsavaṃ vassaṃ vasissāmi"—Dhammapada-Comy.).

3 ta putrapāsusamadha

[sutu ga] 6

(Cro, 37)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 287 † (Maggav., v. 15):—

Tāṁ puttapasusamattam byāsattamanaṃ saṁsaṅ Suttaṅ gāmaṅ mahogho va Maccu ādāya gacchati.

1 Also, hematagīṣmu.

Frag. C. xxxiv, not adjusted by M. Senart. He reads suṣuṇa.
Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. xxviii. ("The Way"), p. 157:

"Men concern themselves about the matters of wife and child; they perceive not the inevitable law of disease (and death); and the end of life which quickly comes as a bursting torrent (sweeping all before it) in a moment".

Cf. Mahābhārata, XII. 175. 18:

Tatḥ putrapaśusampannāṁ vyāsaktamānasāṁ naraṁ
Suptaṁ vyāghro mrgāṁ iva mṛtyur ādāya gacchati.

Notes.—The Prakrit verse might be restored as follows:

ta putrapaśusamadha (biasatamanasa¹ nara²)
satu ga(mu mahoho va mucu ādaya gacchati ๑)

In the foregoing two verses the term 'fool' is applied to the Bhikkhus and princes who are ambitious for lordship over others, and to the rich who lead a frivolous life, while in the present verse a case is made out against the householders in general who are unable to pursue the higher aspirations of human life on account of their excessive attachment to their wife, children and wealth. Cf. "Dukkho gharavāso, abbhokāso pabbajjā", painful is household life, free is the life of renunciation. Thus a sharp distinction is drawn between the two modes of human life, and the contrast is beautifully brought out in the Dhaniya Sutta (Suttanipāta, No. 2). In the Prakrit verse, however, only the miserable life of the householder is dwelt upon, as also in the Dhammapada verse 62:

'Puttā m'attthi dhanam m'attthi' iti bālo vihaññati.

**Samadha** = Pāli sammattam, 'maddened'. The change of **tt** into **dh** presupposes an intermediate change of **tt** to **th**. See Puṣavagga, v. 15, notes on sagadha (p. 154).

**Sutu gamu mahoho va** = Pāli suttam gamana mahosho va, 'like a great flood (sweeping away) a sleeping village'. The simile is perhaps the outcome of a knowledge of the torrential river-floods to which the people of the Punjāb and Bengal are a victim.

¹ Also, viśatamanasa.
² Also, nara.
4. puve i kica parijaga [(ma ta)¹ kici² kicakali adea ta tadiśa³ parika⁴]⁵ makicakari no i kica kica(k)ali adea]⁶ O⁷

(Cr, 38; see also p. 96)

Cf. Samuddavānijajātaka, No. 466 † (Fausbøll’s Jātaka, IV. p. 166):—

Anāgataṁ paṭikayirātha kiccaṁ, mā maṁ kiccaṁ
   kiccakāle vyadheshi,
Taṁ tādisam paṭikatakiccaκārim, na taṁ kiccaṁ
   kiccakāle vyadhethi.

Notes.—This verse, as also the next, condemns procrastination and urges immediate action—one of the salient features of early Buddhism. Puve i = Pāli pušbe hi, ‘beforehand’; this meaning is otherwise expressed in Pāli by anāgataṁ paṭikayirāthu, explained in the Jātaka-Comy, as puśetarṇam kareyya. Parikamakicakari = Pāli paṭikatakiccaκāri, ‘one doing his duty beforehand’ (paṭigacch’eva kattabbaκiccaκāri, Jātaka-Comy.).

5. ya puvi karaniṇi [pacha šakaru⁸ ichati atha dubakati balu]⁹ [suhatu parihayati]¹⁰ O¹¹

(Cr, 39)

Cf. Therag. vv. 225, 261:—

Yo puşbe karaniṇi paceča so kātum icheṭti
   Sukhā so dhāṁsate thānā paceča ca-m-anataṭṭati.

¹ Supplied by us following M. Senart’s reconstruction on p. 96.
² M. Senart understands it as kicca after the Pāli parallel (see his Postscript on p. 96).
³ M. Senart at first read tata diśa (see p. 67).
⁴ This reading is adopted after the Pāli parallel, and M. Senart understands it as such. The original reading in his edition is kicicicci ali.
⁵ Frag. C xxxviro, 1.
⁶ The circle is supplied by us.
⁷ Frag. C. xxxviro, 1.
⁸ Could it not be read šukatu?
⁹ Frag. C. xxviiro, 2.
¹⁰ The circle is supplied by us.
¹¹ The circle is supplied by us.
Cf. Fausböll's Jātaka, I. p. 319, v. 70:—

Yo pubbe karaniyâni pacchâ so kâtum icchati
Veranâkaṭṭhabhâñjo va sa pacchâ-m-anutappati.

Notes.—The Prakrit verse may be read in Pâli:—

Yo pubbe karaniyâni pacchâ sakkâtum icchati
Atha duppakati bâlo sukhato parihâyati.

Sakaru or šakatu ichati = Pâli sakkâtvû (i.e., sat-
kâtvû) icchati, 'wishes to get (them) well done'. We think
the same meaning might be made out of M. Senart's inter-
pretation, which is šakaru = saukara(ṁ). Dubakati = Pâli
duppakati, Sk. duśprakṛti, 'ill-natured'. For the expression
suhatu parihayati cf. so sukha na vihâyati (Therag.
v. 232).

$6$ akita kuki(ta)$^1$ [ṣehu pacha tavati drukita
kita nu sukita ṣeh]$^2$(u)$^3$ [ya kitva nanutapati]$^4$ $^5$ O$^6$

(C$^0$, 40)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 314 † (Nirayav., v. 9)
=Samyutta, I. p. 49:—

Akataṁ dukkataṁ seyyo pacchâ tapati dukkataṁ
Kataṁ ca sukataṁ seyyo yaṁ katvâ nānutapati.

Cf. Udānav., xxix., v. 53 ("B 41" in Prof.
Pischel's edition):—

Akṛtaṁ kukṛtāc chreya(ḥ) pācät tapati duśkṛtam
Śocate duśkṛtāṁ kṛtvā śocate durgatim gataḥ.

Notes.—Drukita = Pâli dukkataṁ, Sk. duśkṛtaṁ, an instance
of false analogy, cf. duśkita, Panitav., vv. 8, 9, ante. This
kind of phonetic change is due evidently to Iranian
influence.

$^1$ Supplied by us.  $^2$ Frag. C. xxviiro, 3.  $^3$ Supplied by us.
$^4$ M. Senart entertains doubt about the letter pa, and he puts a query
after it (see p. 69).
$^5$ Frag. C. xxxro, 3.  $^6$ The circle is supplied by us.
7 asava teṣa vādhati ara te asavacha

(Cf., 41)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 253 † (Malavagga, v. 19):

Paravejjanupassissa niccam ujjhanasaṇṇino
Āsavā tassa vaddhanti ārā so āsavakkhayā.

Notes.—We have nothing to say against M. Senart’s observations except that we need not suppose that a śloka of six pādas, or the thought, was collected into a single stanza in the Pāli text. We have another instance where the pādas of the Pāli gāthā are inverted in the Prakrit (see Jaravaga, v. 16, infra). However, in the absence of the remains of the middle line, if there was any, and for want of a parallel of three-lined stanza in any other work, one would be justified in restoring the Prakrit verse, in the light of the Dhammap., v. 253, as follows:

asava teṣa vādhati ara te asavacha(ya)
(paravejanupāsina¹ nica ujjhanasaṇṇina O

8 yeṣa tu susamaradha nica kayakata sma

satana sabrayanana taṣa ?

(Cf., 42-43)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 293 † (Pakṣīṇakav. v. 4)
=Therag. v. 636:—

Yesaṁ ca susamāraddhā niccaṁ kāyagatā sati
Akiecaṁ te na sevanti kicce sātācacakārino
Satānaṁ sampajāṇāmaṁ atthaṁ gacchanti āsavā.

Cf. Udānav., xxxi. (“The Mind”), v. 56 (?) :—

“He whose attentive mind delights in the truth and adheres to the (four) truths, he always walks in the way with his body, he is safe in speech and in mind, and, casting off sorrow, he will experience no more suffering”.

¹ Also, paravejanubasino.
Notes.—This verse with which the chapter, as it survives in the Kharoṣṭhī Ms., is broken off, emphasizes the necessity for constant meditation on the transitoriness of the body. Thus it introduces us to the teaching of the Jaravaga, but in the absence of a complete and unimpaired Ms. it cannot be said with certainty whether the Jaravaga formed a sequel to the present chapter. The Prakrit verse might be restored, in the light of its Pāli counterpart, as follows:

yeṣa tu susamaradha nica kayakata sma(ti)
(akīca te na sevati kīci satacakarino)
satana sabrayanana taṣa (gachati parichaya O)¹

Taṣa = Pāli tasa (tānāḥ), Sk. lṛṣā (lṛṣṇā), thirst, desire. The Prakrit form keeps closer to Sanskrit. M. Senart considers it to be a mistake for teṣa.

The colophon indicating the total number of verses contained in this chapter is missing, and we cannot say if there were more verses after this.

[8. Jaravaga]

A few chapters appear to be missing from the extant Kharoṣṭhī Ms. between the Baḷū and Jara groups. The Jara group, as may be judged from the colophon “ga 25” (I. evo, 23), contained 25 stanzas of which 2 are missing (vv. 1-2). The same group forms the 11th chapter of the Pāli Dhammapada and consists only of 11 verses, of which 4 are contained in our Jaravaga. The Prakrit group contains 2 verses which are to be found in chaps. III. (Citta) and xxiv. (Taṇhā) of the Pāli text. The remaining verses are collected from various canonical sources, such as the Sānyutta Nikāya, the Sutta-nipāta, the Thera-Therigāthā and the Jātaka. The first chapter of the Fa-kheu-king, which deals with ‘Impermanence’, contains 21 verses, of which two occur in the Prakrit Jaravaga and one in the Pāli chapter. Section xix. of the Chinese recension bears the title Jaravagga and contains 14 verses, of which one (v. 1) is to be found in both the Pāli and Prakrit chapters. The Udānavarga has no separate chapter on ‘Old Age’, but treats of ‘Impermanence’

¹ It will be noticed that the 6th foot of the Prakrit verse differs from that of the Pāli; the restoration has been suggested on the basis of the Dhammapada-Comy., where athāti = parikkhayaḥ.
and 'Old Age' in its first chapter, which contains 41 verses. The Udānavarga and the Prakrit text have many verses in common. Of the Udāna verses 13 are to be found in the Pāli text, four in the Jāra group and the rest in other groups. Fausböll has in his excellent edition of the Dhammapada noticed a few ślokas in the Manu-samhitā, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, containing ascetic reflections on 'Impermanence', similar to those in the Dhammapada vv. 148 and 150.


(Cro, 1)

Cf. Saṁyutta, V., p. 217:—

Dhitam jammī jare atthu dubbamakaramī jare
Tāva manoramāha vimbaṁ jāraya abhimaadditam.

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. 1. ("Impermanency"), p. 43:—

"Old age brings with it loss of all bodily attraction".

Cf. Udānav., ch. 1. ("Impermanency"), v. 30:—

"Thou art foolish and desppicable, and dost not that which is right; for that body (rūpa) in which thou delightest will be the cause of thy ruin".

Notes.—M. Senart was able to read only ra athu of the first line. In his text the sign "?" indicates that there are faint traces of characters, and the bold dots mean that so many letters are completely missing. None but those who have ever seriously attempted the identification of a verse, so hopelessly mutilated as the one under discussion, can realise how difficult a task it is to find out a parallel in Pāli or in Buddhist Sanskrit. It was indeed by accident that we after repeated searches chanced upon two verses in the Saṁyutta,

1 There are 23 verses surviving altogether in this chapter and they occur without break, but the colophon records the total number as 25; consequently, two verses are missing towards the beginning.
2 M. Senart reads ra with the preceding query (standing for a doubtful character) put apart. We read the word in the light of the Pāli parallel, jare.
corresponding to this verse and the next one. Supposing that the Prakrit verse is on the whole similar to the Pāli, it might be reconstructed as follows:

(dhitu jami ja)re athu (dravanakarani\textsuperscript{1} jare tava manoramamu vibā\textsuperscript{2} jaraya\textsuperscript{3} abhimardita\textsuperscript{4} ○)

\textit{4 yo vi varṣaśata jivi so vi mucuparayano na kiji\textsuperscript{6} pari}

\begin{flushright}
(C\textsuperscript{v}, 2)
\end{flushright}

\begin{quote}
Cf. Sāhyutta, V., p. 217:

\begin{quote}
yo pi vassasat\textashiyam jive so pi maccuparāyano na kiṃci parivajjeti sabbam evābhīmaddati.
\end{quote}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Cf. Udānav., ch. i. ("Impermanency"), v. 31:

\begin{quote}
"One may live a hundred years, yet he is subject to the lord of death; one may reach old age, or else he is carried off by disease."
\end{quote}
\end{quote}

\textbf{Notes.}—The Prakrit verse might, perhaps, be reconstructed as follows:

\begin{quote}
\begin{flushright}
yo vi varṣaśata jivi so vi mucuparayano na kiji parivajeti\textsuperscript{7} sarvam evābhīmaddati ○
\end{flushright}
\end{quote}

\textbf{Mucuparayano=} Pāli maccuparāyane, Sk. mṛtyun
parāyanaḥ, 'subject to death'. In many instances Pāli words seem to obey the grammatical rules governing the changes of \(\text{u}\) into \(\text{u}\), while the Prakrit of our text, as appears

\textsuperscript{1} Also, dravanakarani.
\textsuperscript{2} The form is to be taken tentatively. We may as well read \textit{vīna} on an approximate likeness with \textit{gumira}=Pāli \textit{gambhīra} (I. v. 6, p. 27).
\textsuperscript{3} Also jarāe; cf. \textit{praṇaya} \textit{praṇāe} (Magavaga, vv. 27, 28, p. 111).
\textsuperscript{4} Cf. \textit{jara} \textit{nāthimārdaiti} (Apramadavaga, v. 2, p. 121).
\textsuperscript{5} M. Senart reads \textit{bhoje}, which is evidently incorrect. We read \textit{ki} for \textit{bh}, consistently with the Pāli counterpart. The appearance of the character is much like the peculiar stroke of \textit{bh}, which M. Senart has taken so much pains to establish in other instances, (see I. \textit{x}, I. note, pp 5-6). The stroke over the \textit{j} justifies the reading \textit{ji} instead of \textit{je}.
\textsuperscript{6} The second half of Rockhill's translation seems open to dispute.
\textsuperscript{7} Cf. \textit{parivajjeta} (Apramadav., v. 18, p. 133).
from M. Senart’s readings, is characterised by the absence of the cerebral nasal. Kiji = Pāli kiṇī, Sk. kiṃcit. M. Senart reads bhaje, which gives no meaning. We have an alternative form of kiji in kici (Suhavaga, v. 13, infra) which stands closer to Pāli kiṇī.

5 parijinamida¹ ruvu roanida [prabhaguno bheṇsiti p.ti]²

(Cr°, 3)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 148 † (Jarāv., v. 3) :

Parijinnam idām rūpaṁ roganiḍḍam pabhāṅgūnaṁ Bhijjati pūtisandehe maraṇananti hi jīvitam.

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. xix. (“Old Age”), p. 118 :

“When old, then its beauty fades away; in sickness, what paleness and leanness—the skin wrinkled, the flesh withered, death and life both conjoined”.

Cf. Udānav., ch. r. (“Impermanency”), v. 35 :

“The end of life is death, this body bent down by age, this receptacle of disease, is rapidly wasting away; this mass of corruption will soon be destroyed”.

Notes.—The Prakrit verse, supposing that it is on the whole similar to the Pāli, as the portion which survives indicates, might be completed and read as follows :

parijinamida ruvu roanida prabhaguno bheṇsiti put(u)(saneho³ maranata hi jīvita⁴)

—This verse cannot be traced in any other canonical texts, though reflections similar to those contained in it are met with throughout the texts of the Sutta Piṭaka.

¹ M. Senart reads parijinam ida.
² Frag. C. xxxiv, M. Senart reads prabhaguno.
³ For n = Pāli nd, cf. mivinatī (Magav., vv. 27-29, pp. 111-112).
⁴ Also, jīvita.
Pausböll has drawn his readers' attention to similar reflections in the Manu, VI. 77, the Rāmāyaṇa, II. 105, V. 14, and the Mahābhārata, XI. vv. 48, 207 and XII. v. 829. One will look in vain through the older Dharmasūtras for such pessimistic reflections on the destructive side of nature. The Manu and Viṣṇu codes in their present form are recasts of a time when a Stoic mode of life was so firmly established among the ascetics and recluses as to find its way into the naive positivism of the juristic thinkers. We need not be surprised to come across these reflections in the Hindu Epics, which mainly uphold and idealise the systems of the Smṛritis, because the epic kernels which survive in the shape of ballads in the canonical Jātaka Book and the Upākhyāṇas of the Mahābhārata bristle with them. As will be shown below, some of the important Jāra-verse of the Prakrit text are to be found in the Dasaratha Jātaka, a Buddhist version of the older Rāma-story which, like the version in the Mahābhārata, was primarily intended to exhort people to keep up their spirits in the midst of trials and bereavements, considering that these are inevitable experiences of mankind.

Parijinaṃida—Pāli pariṭivāsam iḍāṁ, an instance of vowel-sandhi (parijina+iḍa), the intervening m having developed to prevent hiatus. Parijina or ‘wasted’ is virtually the same in meaning as jara-soka-samārīṣṭam (‘permeated with decay and sorrow’) of Manu VI. 77. It will be noticed that the Prakrit form stands close to the Pāli, but the latter fulfils the grammatical rules about the changes of n into ŋ, which the Prakrit does not.

Roanida—Pāli rogaṇiṭthaṁ, a compound, meaning ‘the abode of diseases’ (rogaṇaṁ nivesaṇathaṁ, Dhammapada-Comy; cf. Manu, VI. 77; rogaṇaṭṭhaṁ). It is clear from this that the Buddhist commentator is inclined to identify niḍḍa with niḍa or niḍya, ‘nest’. Roa is an alternative form of roka (see Suhavaga, v. 2, infra).

Prabhaguna—Pāli pabhāṅgūṇam or pabhāṅgruṇa, Sk. prabhāṅgruṇa, a compound, meaning ‘that which is frail or fragile’; cf. āṭuraṁ in Manu, VI. 77, and Dhammapada, v. 147. The final letter na instead of ra makes the word deviate from Sanskrit and keep closer to the Pāli. For bhēṅsiti, see M. Senart’s notes (pp. 70-71).

Putisaneko—Pāli pūtisandeko, a compound, meaning ‘the body which is stinking’ (pūtikā samāna ladeva deko, Dhammapada-Comy.; cf. arūkāyaṁ, Dhammapada, v. 147, pūtikāyaṁ, Comy.; rajasvalaṁ, Manu, VI. 77).
Maranatā hi jīvitu = Pali maraṇantānaṁ hi jīvitaṁ, Sk. maraṇantānaṁ hi jīvitaṁ (cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 100; Mahāvastu, III. p. 183; Rāmāyaṇa, II. 105. v. 14; Udānavarga, I. v. 22; Fa-khew-king, I. p. 41; Vasubandhu’s Gāthā-sāngraha, v. 23). This corresponds to the expressions u'atthi dhunam thiti (Dhammap., v. 147), anityān (Manu, VI, 77), and jātā jātā marantidha evaṃdhūmāhi pānino (Therag., v. 559). Note how this idea of life ending with death is expanded in a verse incorporated in the Rāmāyaṇa, II. 105, st. 16 and the Divyāvadāna, p. 100:—

Surve kṣayantā nicayāḥ patanāntāś samucchrayāḥ
Saivyoga-viprayogāntā maraṇaṁ ca jīvitaṁ.

Life and death are one of the three pairs of constant and opposed phenomena whereby Makkhali Gosāla, the third great leader of the Ājīvikas, characterised the organic world, the two remaining pairs being those of gain and loss, and pleasure and pain (lābhāṁ, alābhāṁ, sukhāṁ, dukkhāṁ, jīvaγaṁ, maraṇaṁ). The Buddha conceived of eight principles (attha loka-dhammā), divisible into four pairs: lābhā, alābhā, yaso, ayaso, nindā, panaṁsā, sukhāṁ, dukkhāṁ, to which was afterwards added another pair viz., jīvitaṁ, maraṇaṁ, as can be seen from the Theragāthā, vv. 664-670. All these come under Pakudha Kaccāyana’s two principles, enkhe, dukhe (Dīgha, I. p. 56).

6 ko nu h? [lite sati
an.kar.ḥ prachitī pra]†

(Crō, 4)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 116 ‡ (Jaravagga, v. 1) = Jāt. V., p. 11, ll. 25-26 (Kumbhajātaka, No. 512).

Ko nu hāso kim ānando nīcaṁ paṭyalāte sati,
Andhakārena onaddhā padippaṁ na gavassatha.

Cf. Fa-khoe-pi-u, sec. xix. (“Old Age”), p. 117:—

“What (room for) mirth, what (room for) laughter, remembering the everlasting burning (or fire). Surely this dark and dreary (world) is not fit for one to seek security and rest in”.

† Dr. Barna’s paper on the Ājīvikas, Jour. of the Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University, 1920, Vol. II., p. 25.
Cf. Mahāvastu, III., p. 376:

Kā nu kṛḍā kā nu rati evaṁ prajvalite sādā
Andhakāraśmiṁ prakṣiptā pradīpaṁ na gavesatha.
Ko nu harṣo ko nu anando evam prajvalite sādā
Andhakāraśmiṁ prakṣiptā ālokauṁ na prakāśaya.

Cf. Udānav., ch. 1. (“Impermanency”), v. 4:

“To one who is being burnt, what joy can there be, what subject of rejoicing? Ye who dwell in the midst of darkness, why seek ye not a light?”

Notes.—The Prakrit verse might be completed and read as follows:

ko nu h(aso kimaman)1 nica praja(lite sati
anakarasmī2 prachiti3 pradīpa na gavesatha* O)

—This verse cannot be traced in any canonical text other than the Dhammapada. The Prakrit text substitutes prachiti in the 2nd line for Pali onaddhā. The reading of the Udānavarga seems to have been analogous to that of the Pali text. The exhortation of this verse is no more than a poetical summary of the teaching of such Fire-sermons as (1) the Ādittapariyāya-sutta (Vinaya Mahāvagga, pp. 66-67) on the basis of which the Gokulikas, or better, the Kukkulikas are said to have formulated a doctrine of ‘universal pessimism’ (Kathāvatthu, I. 7, with Comy., and Preface to the “Points of Controversy”), and (2) the Aaggikkhandhūpama-sutta which, according to the Ceylonese chronicles (see Mahāvaṁśa, XII. 34), Asoka’s Indo-Bactrian missionary, Dhammarakkhita had made the principal text of his sermon to the people of Aparanta. The Prakrit verse seems to be older than the two verses in the Mahāvastu which appear to have been quoted from an older Sanskrit recension of the Dhammapada.

1 Cf. mūranati (Magav. vv. 27-29, pp. 111-112).
2 Following the Mahāvastu. Also, anakaraṇa or anahakarena; cf. bandhana in I. k. 52.
3 The reading prachiti is permissible, if it is a case of locutive absolute.
4 Cf. bhavetha, I. A3, 8. Also, gaviṣṭhā; cf. bhudha, in I. A3, 7.
Prajālīte sati = Pāli pañjalīte sati, locative absolute, meaning 'while the world is burning (with passions and other painful mental qualities)'. The Mahāvastu reads praṇalīte sadā. Anakarena prachiti would strictly correspond to a Pāli undhakāreraṇa pakkhitte, an expression which is the same in meaning as undhakāreraṇa onaddā. It seems that undhakārē pakkhittā is more grammatical than undhakārēna; cf. rattikhittā (Dhammap., v. 304) =undhakārē khittā (Comy.); undhakārāsmiṁ praksiptā (Mahāvastu).

7 yameva1 padhamā rati gabhi vasati2 manavo avithi3 [ti so gachu na nivatati O]4 (Cv, 5)5

Cf. Ayogharajātaka, No. 510 (Fausbøll, IV. p. 494) :—

Yam ekarattii paṭhamati gabbhe vasati mānavo Abbh' utṭhito va sayati sa gacchaun na nivattati.

Cf. Udānav., ch. 1. ("Impermanency"), v. 6 :—

"One who has heretofore been subject to the misery of birth from the womb may go to the highest place and come no more back again (into the word).

Notes.—The Prakrit verse might be completed and read as follows :—

yameva (or, eka) padhama rati gabhi vasati manavo avithi(to va saya)ti so gachu na nivatati O

Yameva = Pāli yam evam, a vowel-sandhi (ya+eva); cf. pari[jinamida, v. 5 supra. The expression yam eva paḍhama rati = Pāli yam eva paṭhamā rati, 'the

1 M. Senart's yam eva have been joined together here on account of sandhi.
2 M. Senart reads gabbhirasati, which is hardly correct; gabhirasati would be = Pāli gambhirasati, which gives no sense. But, we have in Prakrit gamira for gambhīra, cf. I. B. 6 (p. 27).
3 M. Senart reads avi thī, put apart.
4 Frag. C. xviii\(^{10}\), 1,—not adjusted by M. Senart.
5
very first night', is somewhat different from the Pāli yam ekaratāṁ pathamaṁ, 'the one night when for the first time', but the Prakrit reading gives a better sense. According to the commentary, the appropriateness of the word ratti lies in the fact that men are generally conceived in the mother's womb at night, though, as a matter of fact, ratti includes both day and night. Avīthito = Pāli abbh'uttithito, a vowel-sandhi (avi + utthito), avi standing for Pāli abhi. For v = bh, cf. abhimynn (=abhibhūya), I. B. 30, 31 (p. 88). The Comy. suggests abbh + utthito, and explains abbh as meaning a piece of cloud, which, however, seems a mere etymological conjecture. Abbh'uttithito may simply be equated with Sk. abhyutthitah. Accordingly, abbh'uttithito va sayati may be rendered 'he lies down as if being upborne'. According to the Comy., the general sense of the verse is: "Just as a piece of cloud having arisen, comes into existence, moves about being chased by the wind, in the same way a man since his first conception in the womb undergoes successive stages of gestation and development in such a manner that he cannot retrace the steps that have already been undergone". The developmental stages of man mentioned in the Comy., manda, khidā, etc., remind one of Gosāla's eight stages, mandabhūmi, khidābhūmi, etc. (see Sumaṅgala-vilāsini, I. p. 163).

8 yasa rativivasinā ayu apataroṣa apodake [va maṁsana ki ṭeṣā nu² kumalaka³ o]⁴

(Cc⁵, 6)

Cf. Mūgappakkhajātaka (No. 538, illustrated by a carving on the railing of the Bharaut Stūpa), Fausboll, VI. p. 26 :

Yassa ratyā vivasane āyuṁ appataram siyā
Appodake va macchānaṁ kin nu komāraṁ tahiṁ.

---

1 M. Senart reads aparato, which gives no sense unless it be supposed that rato is a change by Metathesis from tare or that the reading is kato. The Pāli parallel being 'tare', it is clear that the Prakrit aparato cannot but be due to a mistake of the scribe, who has inverted the reading.
2 M. Senart reads simply u.
3 M. Senart reads ukumulana; our reading is tentative.
4 Frag. C. xviii, 2,—not adjusted by M. Senart.
Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec i. ("Impermanency"), p. 40:—

"Every day and night takes from the little space given to each one born; there is the gradual decay of a few years and all is gone, as the waters of a pool are cut off (or exhausted)."

Cf. Udānav., ch. i. ("Impermanency"), v. 34:—

"Man is like a fish in a shallow pool of water; day and night this life is passing away; what subject of rejoicing is there in so brief a thing?"

Cf. Mahābhārata, XII., 175, 11, 12:—

Rātryāṁ rātryāṁ vyatitāyām āyur alpataraṁ yadā Tadaiva vandyāṁ divasam iti vindyād vicaksanāḥ Gādhodake mātsya iva sukhāṁ vindeta kasi tadā Anavāpteṣu kāmeṣu mṛtyur abhyetā mānavam.

Notes.—Rativivasina = Pāli rattivivāsaṇa, Sk. rattivivāsaṇa (if M. Senart’s reading is correct). In order to equate with the Pāli ratiyā rivasane, the Prakrit reading must be either rativivasanai or rativivasane. Apatara = Pāli appataraṁ, ‘less’, ‘lesser’. M. Senart’s reading aparato conveys no sense. Maṁsana = Pāli maṃchānaṁ, Sk. matsuḥṣaṇam, ‘of fishes’. For ṅs = ṃṣ, cf. bheṣsita (Sk. bheshyate), Jaravaga, v. 5 (p. 189), and M. Senart’s notes under Cye, 3 (pp. 70-71). Teṣa = Pāli teṣāṁ, Sk. teṣāṁ, and is closer to Sanskrit on account of the s. The correlative of yasa is tasa, but here teṣa appears to refer to the fishes. The Pāli reading is taḥiṁ, a locative form of tevin, meaning ‘there’, ‘in that’; cf. the Udānav. expression “there, in so brief a thing”. Kumalaka or komalaka or komarakam = Pāli koṭṭarakaṁ, Sk. koṭṭaraṁ = ṭarupabhāvo, (Jātaka-Comy.) ‘youth’, ‘young age’. With regard to his reading ukumulana, M. Senart suggests that it might be equated with Sk. oka-unmūlanaṁ, “the destruction of their abode”. He also points out that if the form only were taken into account, one would think at once of a form ukā-unmūlana, which, he says, is a form of speech, very little likely. Neither oka-unmūlana nor ukā-unmūlana can fit well with the meaning of the clause ki teṣa etc. Rockhill’s translation of the Tibetan version of the Udānavarga, which is at best tentative, connects the idea of mirth with this clause—"What subject of rejoicing
is there in so brief a thing?" The idea of rejoiceing can very well be associated with komāraṁ. Supposing that the reading ukūmulana is on the whole correct and that it has reference to fishes, it might be slightly altered into ukūmujaṁ and equated with a Pāli okā uṁmuṇjaṁ, 'jumping out of water' (cf. Suppāra-kājātaka No. 463, Fausbøll, IV. p. 139; maceṭā ..., uḷake uṁmuṇjanimuṇjaṁ karonti).

9 ye vudha1 ye yu2 dahara ye ca majhima poruṣa anupa? [lapaka va banana]3 O (Cvo, 7)

For the first half, cf. Vessantarājātaka, No. 547 (Fausbøll, VI. p. 572), first line of verse 642:—

Ye ca vuddhā ye ca daharā ye ca majjhima- porisā
dam eva upajiveyyuth, tatiy' etatā varaṁ vara.

and Dasarathajātaka, No. 461 (Fausbøll, IV. p. 127):—

Daharā ca hi vuddhā ca ye bālā ye ca paṇḍitā
Addhā c'eva da'idā ca sabbe maćcupaṟāyāmā.

Cf. Ayogharajātaka, No. 510 (Fausbøll, IV. p. 495):—

Dumapphalan' eva patanti mānava
Daharā ca vuddhā ca sarirabheda
Nariyo marā majjhima- porisā ca.

1, 2 M. Senart reads hu dhāneyu, of which the first letter is written in such a way as to easily warrant a reading vu. In adjusting the reading of the first pāda we have the advantage of the Pāli parallels, which M. Senart could not discover.

3 Frag. C. xxiii, not adjusted by M. Senart, who reads lapōbhavabanāna. We have reason to change his pabhā into paka from a comparison with kīṭe which he read incorrectly as bhaja (see v. 4 supra). For the last quarter-verse M. Senart has sa nīca maramaṁ bhayo O (see Cvo, 7, p. 72), but a careful examination of the shape and position of the fragment makes it clear that it fits into the main plate only when it is pushed a little below and thrust into the next line, i.e., Cvo, 8—an arrangement which is established beyond doubt by the fact that there is an exact Pāli counterpart to the Prakrit verse thus adjusted (q. v. under v. 10 infra p. 198). Accordingly, the aforesaid quarter-verse has been shifted to the line-end of v. 10, and the gap thus caused is filled by Frag C. xxiii with sufficient reason or our side.
Cf. Udānav., ch. 1. ("Impermanency"), v. 10:

"Some are old, and some are young, some are grown up; by degrees they all do disappear, like ripe fruit falling."

Notes.—Almost the whole of the second line of the above verse is missing from the extant Kharoṣṭhī Ms. A detached fragment, marked xxii\(^{2}\), contains the line-end of a certain verse belonging to Plate C\(^{2}\). This fragment with the line-end—lapakā va banāna—needs adjustment, but we know of no verse of the plate under notice into which it may fit. M. Senart, too, has no suggestions to offer. Let us suppose for argument’s sake that his reading is correct and see if any meaning can be made out of it. It admits of a two-fold construction: either (1) lapakā bhavabana = Pāli lapā bharaka-bandhanā, ‘cut off the ties of existence’, or (2) tā pabhavabana = Pāli—some word ending with tā or tā plus pakhara-bandhanā, ‘the ties spring from’. But these interpretations afford us no clue to the adjustment of the fragment. Two assumptions are possible: either (1) that it contains the line-end of one of the first two Jāna-verses which are missing, a verse similar, perhaps, in thought to the following stanza (Jātaka, VI. p. 27):

Tattha kā nandi kā khiddā kā rati kā dhanaśanā,
Kim me puttehi dārehi, rāja mutto’smi bandhanā;

or (2) that it contains the line-end of the verse under discussion, in which latter case M. Senart’s reading must be slightly altered as (phā)lapakā va banāna or (ta)lapakā va banāna. The reading phalapakā va banāna (= Pāli phala-pakkam va bandhanā) is suggested by the final words of the Udānavarga verse: “like ripe fruit falling”, and lapakā va banāna by the final words of a verse in the Pāli Udāna (I. 1. 10): tālapakām va bandhanā. This simile of a ripe fruit or palm falling from the bunch is quite in keeping with our verse. Accordingly, the Prakrit stanza might be completed and read as follows:

ye vudha ye yu dahara ye ca majhima poruṣa
annam(pati sarvi te ta)la paka va banāna

—which will read in Pāli:

Ye vuddhā ye ca dahara ye ca majjhimaporisā
Annapatanti sabbe te tālapakkaṃ va bandhanā.
Yu is nothing but *ya* (= *ca*). It is obvious that *ya* has been influenced by *vu* of *vudha* as a result of the natural tendency to read two sets of three syllables alike, viz. *ye vu dha* and *ye yu do*.

10 (ya)'dha phalana pakana niça patanato [bhayo emu jatasa maca]"sa nica maranato bhayo O*

(C°, 8)

Cf. Sallasutta (Suttanipāta, No. 34, Majjhima Nikāya), v. 576, Dasarathajātaka, No. 461 (Fausböll, IV. p. 127), and Mūgapakhajātaka, No. 536 (Fausböll, VI. p. 28):

Phalānam iva pakkānaṁ niccaṁ patanato bhayaṁ
Evaṁ jātānaṁ maceānaṁ niccaṁ marapato bhayaṁ.

Cf. Udānav., ch. 1. (“Impermanency”), v. 11:

“As the ripe fruit is always filled with the dread of falling, so likewise he who has been born is filled with the fear of death”.

Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, II. 105. v. 17:

Yathā phalānam pakvānaṁ nāṇyatra patanād bhayaṁ
Evaṁ narasya jātasya nāṇyatra marapād bhayaṁ.

Notes.—The simile and main idea of this verse is tacitly implied in that of the foregoing one. Its intrinsic value and historical significance lies indeed in the fact that it stands in form midway between the verse in the Dasarathajātaka and that in the Rāmāyaṇa. As in the Sanskrit epic, the Prakrit verse begins with *yudha* = Pāli and Sk. *yathā*, while the simile is indicated in Pāli by the particle *eva*, put after *phalānaṁ*. In both the epic and the Prakrit

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1 Supplied by us.
2 Frag. C. xyvo, 1.—not adjusted by M. Senart.
3 This line-end is connected by M. Senart with the preceding verse. He reads instead—*ya aya payeti panina O*—as the line-end of this verse, but we have transferred it to the line-end of the next verse on the strength of a close fitting Pāli parallel (q. v. p. 199).
text we have a genitive singular form, jāla—jala, while in Pāli the form is that of a genitive plural. The occurrence of identical and similar reflections in the Dasarathajātaka and the Rāmāyaṇa goes to prove that the narrative of the Sanskrit epic was woven out of an older Rāma-story, which is preserved in ballad forms in the afore-mentioned Jātaka, the Mahābhārata, and in the first canto of the Rāmāyaṇa itself. Although the epic narrative has far outgrown its original and completely changed its moral, one may notice that the original story with its morals still lurks within its four corners.

Emu = Pāli and Sk. evam. The change of v into m is a peculiarity of the Prakrit of our text, but the form eva is not rare (see v. 14 infra).

11

[ra

emu jara ya mucu]¹ ya ayu payeti panina .Operator

(Cvo, 8)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 135 (Dāṇḍavagga, v. 7):

"Yathā dāṇḍena gopālo gāvo pāceti gocaraṁ
evaṁ jara ca maccu ca ayu pācenti² pāṇināṁ".

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. 1. ("Impermanence"), p. 39:

"As a man with his staff in his hand goes along tending and pasturing the cattle, so are old age and death, they also watch over the life that perishes."

Cf. Udana., ch. 1. ("Impermanence"), v. 17:

"As a cowherd with his staff gathers his cattle into the stable, so disease and old age bring mankind to the lord of death."

¹ Frag. C. xvvo 2.—not adjusted by M. Senart. He reads the fragment as follows:

emu ne(?).rayamucu

² This line-end was connected by M. Senart with our v. 10 (see p. 198, f. n. 3).
³ A Burmese Ms. reads pāceti.
Notes.—Almost the whole of the first line of the above verse is missing from the extant Kharoṣṭhī Ms., and the remnant—ya ayu payeti panini—has been misplaced by M. Senart, who tags it to the end of the preceding verse. As has been established, M. Senart’s Cvło. S is not, as he says, a patchwork of two half-verses, but of two separate, though fragmentary, verses which have been wrongly adjusted, not by the scribe but by himself. However, our adjustment of the fragments has gone a long way to enable us to complete the verse as follows:

yadha danena¹ gopalo gavo payeti goyara
unu jara ya mucu ya ayu payeti panini

—This stanza cannot be traced in any other canonical text than the Dhammapada. The simile calls up a vivid picture of a cowherd driving the cattle of a village to the common pasture, and strikingly brings home to an agricultural people like the Indo-Aryans the idea of the manner in which death drives all beings to their destiny.

Payeti = Pāli pacceti, an instance of causative.

12 yadha nadi pravatia rachā vahati?

(Cvło. 9)

Cf. Mūgarakkhaṭāka, No. 536 (Fausböll, VI. p. 26):

Yathā vārivahā pūro gacchaṁ nūpavattati
Evaṁ āyu manusānaṁ gacchaṁ nūpavattati.
Yathā vārivahā pūro vahe rukkh’ūpakūlahe
Evaṁ jaraṁ marañena vuyhante vata pāṇino.

Cf. Fa-kheu-pī-u, sec 1. (“Impermanency”), p. 39:

“As the waters of a river ever hasten on and flow away, and once gone, never return, such is the life of man. That which is gone knows not any return”.

¹ Cf. dana (= Pāli dandaṁ, L. B. 30, p. 42); manikamaleṣu (= Pāli manikamaleṣu), Suhavaga, v. 8, infra (Cvło. 31).

² For the line-end here M. Senart has—teti ṣharasavasatī—which, however, is better with v. 13. The Udānavarga has a verse (ch. 1. v. 18) of which the final words correspond to ṣharasavasatī: “As the waters of a brook, so flow on by day and night the hours of man’s life; it draws nearer and nearer to its end”. 
Cf. Udānav., ch. i. ("Impermanency"), v. 15:—

"As a river that is always running swiftly by and never returns are the days of man’s life—they depart and come back no more".

Notes.—The whole of the second line of the above verse is missing from the extant Kharoṣṭhī Ms. in spite of M. Senart reading, as a line-end, tāvi oharanaśeva satī—it—which fits better with the line-end of the following verse. The Prakrit verse might, however, be completed in one of the following two ways:

1 yadha nadi pravatia racha vahati (upakulaja emu jaraya maranena vuhati vata panino)

2 yadha nadi pravatia racha vahati (na nivatati emam ayn manusana gachu na upavatati)

Pravatia = Pāli pannaivā, Sk. pravartya, ‘beginning to flow’, a gerund. The form is closer to Sanskrit. Racha = Pāli rukkhā, Sk. vṛkṣa (cf. rucha, Asoka’s Rock-Edict II, Mansehra version). M. Senart says: “I am not sure of the reading racha or vachā; anyhow I can only see in it a reflex of vṛkṣa, whether for vṛcha or for rukkha.”


13 yadha vi dani vitatiya ye deva oduopati
apaka bhoti vitavi oharanaśeva satī
dv (Cvo, 10)

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1 M. Senart reads vitoti according to the script, but this does not give any sense. He joins the words together as yathāvyatāvitoti.
2 In M. Senart’s edition the words are run together and read as āduopati.
3 He reads, and the Ms. clearly has, so which, again, seems to have been influenced by the o of the preceding word bhoti. The final s is due to the influence of the preceding syllables. The words are run together in M. Senart’s edition and read as apabhoti.
4 He connects the line-end tāvi oharanaśeva satī with v. 12 (see Cvo, p. 73). Our adjustment is warranted by the sense of the verse as well as by the mutilated shape of the line-end.
14 emam eva manus(eṣu)¹ (avi)²dha³(va)⁴ti⁴ pranayo
ya ya avi(ḥi)⁵sati rati⁶ maranaseva sati⁶ (O)
(Cr, 11)

Cf. Mūgapakkhajātaka, No. 538 (Fausbøll,
VI. p. 26):—

Yathā pi tante vitate yaṁ yaṁ devu)pavijati
Appakaṁ hoti vetabbaṁ evaṁ maccāna jīvitaṁ.

Notes.—The Pāli verse seems to have been expanded later into
two Prakrit stanzas, which are bound up together in thought
and serve to illustrate the course of human life by the imagery
of weaving. The sense is: when the loom is spread out, no
sooner are the threads spun out than what remains to be
spun grows less and less;—a striking illustration of how the
hours of man’s life ceaselessly pass away. The imagery
reminds us of the ancient myth where the Goddess of Fate
is represented as a woman engaged in spinning the thread
of man’s life. The Prakrit verse 13 differs from the Pāli by
its closing words oharanaseva sati (which would equate
with Pāli oharanasaeva santike). Dani vitati=Pāli tante
vitate, Sk. tāntre vitate,—(loc. absolute, ‘the loom being
spread out’). Oduopati, if the reading be correct, would
strictly correspond to Sk. uvepati, used impersonally,
meaning ‘casts out or is cast out’. The reading, as
M. Senart is also of opinion, is very doubtful. Oharana=
Sk. avaharana, better apabarana, a synonym of marana
in v. 14. Verse 14 expanding the idea of the Pāli clause
evaṁ maccāna jīvitaṁ, would read in Pāli:—

Evam eva manusseṣu abhidhāvanti pāpayo
Yaṁ yaṁ āvisissati rati maranasaeva santike.

¹ Supplied by us.
² Supplied by us, following the sense of
the previous verse, though tentatively.
³, ⁴ We have changed M. Senart’s s into dh, as these two letters have
often been confounded in the Kharaṇghī Ms.: cf. maṣṣura for madhura=Pāli
madhaṇaṁ I. B. 11 (pp. 28-29); see also M. Senart’s dhi for ṣati (=Pāli
śuṭti), v. 16 infra. After M. Senart’s s there is a gap, quite sufficient for
one letter, which we have tentatively filled by a reading ra. This gives us
avijhavatī, meaning ‘they run the course of life’ (quite in keeping with
the simile of the thread being spun out).
⁵ Filled by us on the strength of clear traces of the upper part of an i
in the fac-simile. We have taken aviṣditī as the future, 3rd pers. sing. of
Sk. ā+i, ‘to enter’, hence ‘to approach, occupy’.
⁶ M. Senart entertains doubt as to the correctness of his reading here as
well as in the previous words.
15 sati¹ eki na diṣatī pratu diṭho² bahojano
pratu eki na diṣatī sati diṭha bahojano o

(Cvo, 12)

Cf. Dasaratthagātaka, No. 461 (Fausboll, IV.
p. 127), and Mūgapakkhapātaka, No. 538
(ībid, p. 28) —

Sāyam eke na dissanti pāto diṭṭhā bahujjanā,
Pāto eke na dissanti sāyatā diṭṭhā bahujjanā.

Cf. Udānav., ch. 1. ("Impermanency"), v. 7 :

"One sees many men in the forenoon, some of whom one
will not see in the afternoon; one sees many men in the
afternoon, some of whom one will not see in the (next)
forenoon ".

Sati stands for uai (= Pāli and Sk. sāyām, cf. uai =
ndyām, Apramadav., vv. 24-25). The t has intervened
through False Analogy with diṣati. For the first o in
bاهjojano, see porsa (v. 9. supra)= Pāli porsā (also
porśā). The Prakrit o can also be explained as having been
lengthened from u to make up for the loss of a j in the
Pāli jj following.

16 tatra ko viṣpaśi macu daharositi³ jivit.

?vi miyati nara nari ca ekada o

(Cvo, 13)

Cf. Mūgapakkhapātaka, No. 538 (Fausboll, VI.
p. 26):

Daharāpi hi miyanti nara ca atha nāriyo,
Tattha ko vissase poso daharo 'mhitī jivite.

¹ M. Senart says that uai would do well.
² Dītha has a variant diṭha in the second line.
³ M. Senart reads dhiṭi, which is clearly a mistake for "sīti (santi)
In Kharoṣṭhī the letters dh and s, being very much alike, have produced
many a confusion of reading and writing, cf. maṣura for madhuraṃ (I. B. 11,
pp. 28-29).
Notes.—It is clear from the above citation that the lines of the Pāli verse are inverted in the Prakrit. The first line of the Prakrit verse has macu (=Pāli maccu, ‘the mortal’) for poso of the Pāli. Instead of Pāli narā ca atha nāriyo, the Prākrit verse reads nara nari ca ekada, which appears to be an improvement on the Pāli reading without altering the sense. The Prakrit verse might be completed thus:

tatra ko viśpaśi macu daharositi jīvī(ē)
dahara hi) vi miyati nara nari ca ekada ⊙

Viśpaśi = Pāli vissase, Sk. vīvaseṭ, an optative, ‘one should trust.’ Siti = Pāli (a)mhiti, Pāli and Sk. (a)smiti, a vowel-sandhi (dahara + asmi + iti). The mistaken reading dhiti has led M. Senart to equate it with Sk. dhṛti (see footnotes under avidhavati, v. 14 supra).

17 ayirena vatai kayu paḍha [siti ruchu]1 viñana niratha ba kadigaru ⊙

(Cno, 14)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 41† (Cittavagga, v. 9);—

Aciraṁ vat’ ayaṁ kāyo paṭhavīṁ adhisessati
Chuddho apetaviññāpo niratthaṁ va kaliṅgarami.

Cf. Udānav., ch. 1. (“Impermanency”), v. 36:—

“Alas! this body will soon lie on the earth unnoticed, empty, senseless, thrown away in a cemetery like a billet of wood.”

Cf. Manu, IV. 241:—

Mṛtaṁ śariraṁ utsṛjya kāśthaloṣṭrasamāṁ kṣitau
Vimukhā bāndhavā yānti dharmas tam anugacchati.

Notes.—The Prakrit verse or its Pāli counterpart which is one of the most important and exquisite in the whole collection, cannot be traced in any other canonical text than the Dhammapada. It appears to have expanded the idea of the first line of Manu, IV. 241, which also occurs

1 Frag. C, xliv.
in the Mahābhārata. It seems, moreover, to be a later poetical summary of the Vijaya Sutta (Suttanipāta, No. 11), vv. 8-9, and Sumedhā's psalms (Therīgāthā, vv. 468-469), containing ascetic reflections on the loathsome ness and transitoriness of the body. The interest of the Vijaya verses and Sumedhā's psalms lies in the fact that these show richer combination of the Dhammapada verse and the Mano śloka:

Yadā ca so mato seti uddhumațo vinilako,
Apaviddho susānasmiṁ anapeckhā honti nātayo.
Khādantī naṁ supāṇā ca sigālā ca vakā kimi,
Kākā gijjhā ca khādantī ye ca aññe santi pāpayo.
(Vijaya Sutta)

Nihbuyhati susānāṁ acirāṁ kāyo apetavīñāno
Chuṭṭho¹ kaliṅgaraṁ² viya jīgucehamānehi nātīhi.
Chadduṇa¹ naṁ susāne parabhattaṁ nhāyanti jīgucehamā
Niyakā mātpītaro kim pana sādhārapā janatā.
(Therīgāthā)

—We are far from saying that the Buddhists were borrowers from the Mānavas or vice versa. The truth is that both the Buddhists and the Mānavas, no less than the poets of the Mahābhārata, had drawn upon a common source, which goes back at last to the people at large: we mean that the higher reflections contained in the verses under notice sprang originally from a cruder popular wisdom, crystallized in the shape of maxims which are preserved and used by the community in more forms than one. The language of these maxims in their popular forms is generally Prakrit, the term denoting no more than the current speech of a locality or community. Sumedhā's verses preserve a few remnants of Prakrit forms, e.g., chuṭṭho for chaddho; kalīkaraṁ, kaliṅkaraṁ for kaliṅgarāṁ; chadḍhāna, chathuna, chattana, chattthana for chaddita; niyakā, a Prakrit survival in Pāli. The reflections in the Vijaya Sutta and Sumedhā's verses are only a poetic version of the teaching of the kāyānapasāna or kāyagatasaṁ section of the prose Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta (Majjhima, I) or Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta (Dīgha, II); see also the Up., Prapāṭhaka I.

¹ Chuṭṭha may also be taken in the sense of chaddita, 'thrown off', considering that Sumedhā's expressions are almost the same as those in the Mano śloka: Chuṭṭha kaliṅgaraṁ viya = utsṛṣṭa kāśthalaṣṭrasamāṁ. Cf. Bengali, chuta, chodā, chodilā. Prof. Pischel notes a variant euddho.
² Variants—kalikanakaraṁ.
³ Variants—chathuna, chathana, chattthana,
The Prakrit verse might be completed thus:

ayirena vatai kayu padha(vi adhise)siti
ruchu (apeta)vinana niratha va kađigaru

The Dhammapada groups the Pāli counterpart of this verse under the Cittavagga, but it has little bearing on the main theme of the chapter. The mere occurrence of the word viññāna or of the idea that a corpse lies senseless or devoid of consciousness, does not necessarily entitle it to a place in the Cittavagga. The Prakrit text and the Udānavarga have rightly grouped it among the Jara verses.

Ayirena = Pāli and Sk. aeirena, an adverb with instrumental termination, meaning 'without delay', 'very soon'. The Pāli form aeirāt is a counterpart of Sk. acirāt which has an ablative termination. Vatai = Pāli vutāyaṁ, a vowel-sandhi (vata + ai); for ai = ayaṁ, cf. nai = nāyaṁ, (Apramadavv., vv. 24, 25, pp. 138, 139). Padbavi = Pāli patthaviṁ, Ardhamāgadhī, puññhaviṁ, Sk. prthivyām. The form of the Prakrit text stands mid-way between the Pāli and the Ardha Māgadhī. Adhiśesiti = Pāli adhissessati, 'will lie (on the earth)', can be compared with mulo seti susānasmiṁ, 'the deceased lies down in the cemetery'; the expressions give an idea of exposure of dead bodies. We must understand by the word adhissessati or seti not that a man casts off his body, like the brute creation in general, to lie on the earth (which is rather an exception than a rule), but that after his death his body is thrown away by his kinsmen or friends (nātayo or bāndhāva) in a bhumāna where it undergoes the natural process of decomposition or is eaten up by the worms and carnivorous birds and beasts. Ruchu is according to M. Senart = Pāli rukkho (Sk. rukṣmah), 'rough, rude', which may very well take the place of the Pāli chuddho, 'vile, despicable'. But we cannot fully agree with the French savant, for the Prakrit ruchu is a weaker expression than the Pāli chuddho which does not surely mean 'vile, despicable' as he supposes.

1 Also apein or meeta. For aceta, cf. uveti, v. 24 infra
2 In cases of deaths by accident, e.g., of persons dying by ship-wreck, or in a desert or out of the way place. The Apramadavv. Jātaka (No. 1) preserves the account of a perilous journey of caravans over a vast sandy desert where hundreds of Indian merchants lay dead or killed, their dead bodies or remains being left undisposed of. Cf. a similar account of the fate of the pammaka cara in the Vedabhā Jātaka (No. 48).
3 See Mann, IV. 241, and Sumedhā's psalms cited supra.
4 See Vijaya Sutta, vv. 8-9; Satipāṭhāna Sutta (Majjhima, I. pp. 58 ff.).
His rendering of the Pāli word, no less than the commentators’ paraphrase, is tentative and ultimately untenable. *Chuddho* = apaviddha, ‘despised’ (Dhammapada-Comy.); *chuddho* = chaḍḍita, ‘forsaken’, ‘cast-off’ (Jātaka-Comy. Fausbüll, V. p 303). The former interpretation is based upon a canonical text like the Vijaya Sutta, v. 8, —apaviddha susānammar — and the latter on Sumedha’s psalm (Therigāthā, v. 469) — chaḍḍita nam susāne. These canonical passages do not bear out these interpretations. In the Vijaya Sutta the meaning of chuddho is expressed by these three words; uddhumāto, vinilako and apaviddho,—‘bloating, discoloured and despised’. Both the words chuddho and chaḍḍita occur in Sumedha’s psalms (Therigāthā, vv. 468-469), and the former word might have been taken in the sense of ‘useless’ (chuddho kāliṅgarāṁ viya = nirattanā na kāliṅgarāna), if it had not referred to kāgo, ‘agitated’. This word indicates the successive stages of decomposition undergone by a dead body in a cemetery (cf. Vijaya Sutta, v. 8; Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta, Majjhima, I. p. 58). Such a condition was very useful to the development of the science of anatomy in India, as natural decomposition in ‘charnel fields’ served well the purpose of scientific dissection. Aveta—(or apeta)—viṇaṇa = Pāli apetaviṇānaṁ, lit. ‘from which consciousness has departed’, ‘devoid of consciousness’, ‘senseless’. M. Senart observes that the Prakrit text appears to have replaced apeta by some synonym but does not suggest what it might be. Kullikabhaṭṭa, the commentator of the Manu Śāhritā connects the idea of acetana, ‘senseless’ with a log of wood (kāsthalastraṇa acetanam). Kadigaru = Pāli kāliṅgarāṁ (variant, kālikaram), ‘a log or billet of wood’ = kathhakarana (Dhammapada-Comy.) = kāsthalastra (Manu ślōka). The Prakrit is, on the whole, more correct than kāliṅgarām, and it stands closer to the Pāli variant kāliṅkarā, even if the forms kali, kaḷi and kaḷi may all be said to have been derived from the Sk. kāṣṭha : cf. Bengali kāḍi, kāṭhi, kāṭh. According to the Dhammapada-Comy., the comparison is with the useless parts of a tree left off in the wood, and this explanation is borne out by a Manu śloka (v. 69), the first line of which contains the expression arāṇge kāṣṭhavat tyakte, ‘casting away like a piece of wood in the forest’. The word kaṭigaram or kāliṅgarām may also mean a log of wood, lying useless in a śmaśāna, partly burnt or wholly unburnt, if not in the sense that it is not brought back home for consumption.
18 .... [avathani a..u ???] [ni siśani tan i diśtani ka]? rati ○
(Cvo, 15)

19 [yanimani prabhaguni vichitani diśodiśa kavotaka]?(ni)4 [aṭhini tan i diśtani ka]8 rati ○
(Cvo, 16)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 149 † (Jarāvagga, v. 4):—
Yān’ imāni apatthāni6 alāpūn’ eva sārade Kāpotakāni aṭṭhini tāni divvāna kā rati.

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec x.x. (“Old Age”), p. 120:—
“When old, like autumn leaves, decayed and without covering, life ebbed out and dissolution at hand, little good repentance then!”7

Cf. Udānav., ch. 1. (“Impermanency”), v. 5:—
“Those pigeon-coloured bones are thrown away and scattered in every direction; what pleasure is there in looking at them”.

Cf. Vasubandhu’s Gāthāsaṅgraha, v. 21 (Rockhill’s Udānavarga, Appendix):—
“They (the bodies) are thrown away and scattered in every direction, like those pigeon-coloured bones; what pleasure, then, is there in looking at them”.

Fausböll identifies the Prakrit verses with the following in the Divyāvadāna, p. 561:—
Yānimānā avapividdhānā vikṣiptānā diśo daśa
Kapotavārṇānā asthuni tāni drṣṭvēha kā ratīh
Imānā yānā upasthānānā alābur iva sārade (?)8
Śaṅkhavārṇānā śūrgāṇi tāni drṣṭvēha kā ratīh.

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1 Frag. C xivvo, 1. 2 Frag. C xxivvo, 1. 3 Frag. C xivvo, 2.
5 Supplied by us, in place of the dot of omission (see J. Cvo, 10, p. 74).
6 Frag. C xxivvo, 2. 7 Variant, apatthānā.
8 Beal’s rendering seems far from correct.
9 The Ms. used by Cowell and Neil reads sarabe, which is meaningless. The mistake is perhaps due to the scribe.
Notes.—The two Prakrit verses appear to have grown out of one verse incorporated in the Pāli Dhammapada and the Udānavarga, and are, on the whole, similar to two verses quoted in the Divyāvadāna, probably from an older Sanskrit recension of the Dhammapada resembling that from which a whole chapter is quoted in the Mahāvastu, III. pp. 434 foll. The Prakrit verses stand, as the resemblance of certain words go to prove, nearer in point of date to the Pāli gāthā. Verse 18 might be restored as follows:—

(yanīmanī) avathani a(lap)u(ni va sarude
saghavarna) ni šīṣani tani dīstani ka rati O

It is somewhat difficult to say whether it is a charnel-field or a crematorium, of which the Pāli gāthā and the Prakrit verses depict the scene. The expressions saghavarna šīṣani (i.e., ‘the skulls looking white like conch-shells’) and kavotakani athiṇi (i.e., ‘the pigeon-coloured bones’) can as well be associated with a burning scene as with the picture of a charnel-field. But scanning the verses closely, one can discover that these form an appropriate sequel to v. 17 and complete the description of the fate of a dead body thrown away in a charnel-field. Verse 17 does not proceed farther than the description of a dead body undergoing the process of decomposition and lying in the cemetery like a log of wood, and it leaves to verses 18 and 19 to describe what befalls the bodily remains after decomposition and consumption by the worms, birds and beasts, e.g., the skeleton and the bones. As a matter of fact, these two verses, no less than verse 17, are based upon the Kāyānupassanā section of the Satipaṭṭhāna or Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Discourse, which actually contains the distinctive expressions, e.g., disa-vidisa vikkhitthi, atthi-kāni setāni (corresponding to kāpotakāni of the Pāli, and k votakani of the Prakrit verse) saukhavannām nibhanī (Majjhima, I. p. 58). For such ascetic reflections in Indian literature, it is important to bear in mind the following references, which are interesting:—

I. Maitrayāni Up. I. 3=Vijaya Sutta, vv. 2-7=Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta, secs. 6-7.

1 With regard to the restoration of the first line we have followed the suggestion of M. Senart (q.v. p. 75). But instead of alapu one may read alamu.
2 Also, "yenami.
3 Ajitakesakambala says, "sansidapačcamā purisa matam ādāya gacchanti, vāva alājanā padani paññāpenti, kāpotakāni athiṇi bhavanti, bhassanta-hutiyo" (Digha, I. p. 55). "Kāpotakāni kāpotaka-vanpāni, pāṭipata-pakkha-vanpāni" (Sumangala Viśeṇī, I. p. 106). The story of Čūjakāla and Mahākāla in the Dhammapada-Comy, gives a detailed account of the possible changes of a dead body during cremation.
2. Prakrit verse \[17\] = Dhammapada, v. \[41\] = Vijaya Sutta, vv. \[8-9\] = Therigāthā, vv. \[468-469\] = Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta, the first portion of sec. 8.

3. Prakrit verses \[18-19\] = Divyāvadāna, p. \[56\] = Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta, the latter portion of sec. 8.

Sec. 8 of the Satipaṭṭhāna Discourse, especially its latter portion, clearly indicates the importance of 'charnel-fields' in the history of the science of Anatomy in India, particularly in relation to Osteology (see Høernle's Studies in Indian Medicine, Pt. I), long before the time when dissection became a desideratum.

**Avathani** = Pāli apanthāni (variant, avathāni), Buddhist Sk. apiṭhanāni (Divyāvadāna) = chaḍḍiṭāni, 'thrown off' (Dhammapada-Comy.) = "thrown away" (Udānavarga). It is difficult to understand how this meaning could be derived from avathani, unless we suppose that it is the neuter plural of avatha=Pāli apathaṇin or avathāni, 'dislocated', 'displaced'. When applied to alapuni ('pumpkins'), avathani=vippakīṇṇāni, 'scattered, at sixes and sevens' (Dhammapada-Comy.). **Alapuni va sarade** = Pāli alāpūn'eva sārade, Buddhist Sk. alābuḥ iva sārade, 'like pumpkins during autumn'; 'scattered like pumpkins, exposed to heat and wind during autumn' (Dhammapada-Comy.: sāradakāle vātātapaḥaṇāni tattha vippakīṇṇa-alāpūnī viya). **Diṣṭāni** would strictly correspond to Pāli diṭṭhāni, Sk. ḍṛṣṭāni, 'seen'. M. Senart says that the construction is "less normal, but not unacceptable in this form". This may be an idiom. But if tani diṣṭāni ka rati be not regarded as an idiomatic construction and diṣṭāni not taken as a past participle qualifying tani, we can explain the form as diṣṭāṇa, a Gerund corresponding to disvāna of the Pāli verse, the final i being accounted for as having developed out of rhythm with the preceding tani. The Buddhist Sanskrit form in the Divyāvadāna is also a Gerund, ḍṛṣṭvā. The Prakrit form keeps closer to the Pāli in having a suffix similar to the Pāli tvāna. **Prabhaguni**, 'fragile'. We have a singular form of the word in v. 5, *supra*. The word in this plural form cannot be equated with Sk. *prabhāṅgura*. M. Senart rightly suggests that it implies a base *prabhṛgu*, identical in meaning with *prabhāṅga*. **Diṣodīśa** = Pāli and Ardha Magadhī, diṣo disām, 'in various directions', 'on all sides'. The Divyāvadāna verse reads diṣo disā, 'the ten cardinal points'.
20  [imina putikaena aturena pabhaguna nicaśuhavijinena jaradhamena s]¹¹(avaso)²
   (nime)³dha parama śodhi yokachemu anutara O
   (Cvo, 17)

21  [imina putikaena vidvarena (pabhaguna)⁴]⁶
    [(nicaśuhavijinena)]⁸ (jaradhamena savaso)⁷
    (nime)⁹dha parama śodhi yokachemu anutara O
    (Cvo, 18)

22  [imina putikaena viśravatena putina nica]¹⁰[śuhavijinena jaradha]¹¹(mena savaso)¹²
    (ni)¹²[medha parama śodhi yokachem(u)¹³] ¹⁴
    anutara O¹⁵
    (Cvo, 19)

Cf. Samyutta, I. p. 131 § 5 :

Iminā putikāyena bhīdanena pabhāṅgūṇā

Cf. Therag. v. 32† :

Nimissamaḥ paramaṁ santīṁ yogakkhamam anuttaram.

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec 1. ("Impermanence"), p. 43 :

"What use is this body when it lies rotting beside the flow-
ings of the Ganges? It is but the prison-house of disease,
and of the pains of old age and death. To delight in

¹¹ Frag. C. xivvo, 3.
¹² Supplied by us.
¹³ Supplied by us.
¹⁴ Frag. C. xivvo, 4.
¹⁵ Supplied by us.
¹⁶ Frag. C. xxivvo, 1.
¹⁷ Supplied by us.
¹⁸ The u is supplied by us.
¹⁹ Frag. C. xlvo, and Frag. C. xxivvo, 1; the latter preserves, as is
   suggested by five queries (p. 92), so many faint traces of the bottom of the
   characters, of which the upper portion is in tact in the former.
²⁰ The circle is supplied by us.
pleasure, and to be greedy after self-indulgence, is but to increase the load of sin, forgetting the great change that must come, and the inconstancy of human life."

Cf. Udānav., ch. 1. ("Impermanency"), v. 37:—

"Continually afflicted by disease, always emitting some impurity, this body, undermined by age and death, what is the use of it."

Notes.—These three verses, which are quite peculiar to the Prakrit text, are bound up together in thought as completing the ascetic reflections in v. 5, supra. The Pāli parallel of the first line of v. 21, (and a posteriori of vv. 20, 22) is in the Saṁyutta verse cited above, and that of the third line of each of the three verses occurs in the Theragātha, v. 32, and one need not be surprised if the parallel of the middle line, which is common to all the verses, be found out in some other Pāli verse, not yet discovered. The linking together of three lines, that is, of three separate ideas, into one verse, appears to be a novelty, serving to give altogether a new idea, though the combination seems somewhat incongruous. At any rate, they betray quite a mechanical growth, however much a commentator may try to make out some grand meaning by his ingenuity. We are confident that the process of such co-ordination is earlier in the Buddhist literature, and that in all probability the number of verses was originally less than three, and perhaps not more than one. As may be conjectured from the Saṁyutta verse and that in the Udānavarga, the original verse consisted of two lines, and ended with the question "what is the use of it?" or "kā rati" as in v. 19, supra, or with such reflections as we find in the second line of the Saṁyutta verse: atiyāmi karīyāmi kāmatanaḥ samūhata. However, taking the verses as they are, they seem to admit of a two-fold interpretation: either (1) that there is a break at the end of the second line, the construction lacking in some expression to complete the Stoic ruse like that which might be translated "what do you gain (by)"; or (2) that these verses mark a turning-point in the general trend of thought, in that they draw the hearer's attention away from the vain moralising on the transitoriness of the body to the real purpose to which the body should be employed. The second interpretation leads us to understand the underlying idea of these verses as follows: 'Taking for granted that the body is such and such, the
question henceforth arises, what use we should make of it. Is it not proper to create for each of us an unsurpassed state of safety even with the help of such a body? This is quite in keeping with the spirit of Buddhism, which as a heroic faith sought to shake off the cowardly ponderings over the loathsome ness of decaying body.

Verse 20.—Putikaena = Pāli pūti kāyena, 'with this body emitting impurity'; cf. putisāncho in v. 5, supra. Aturena = Pāli and Sk. ātūrena, which is identical in meaning with āruna in v. 5, and āturun in Dhammap., v. 147. Nicaśhuavijinena corresponds, according to M. Senart, to Sk. nityāśubha-viciryaṇena, 'permeated with impurities'. The expression is not to be met with in Pāli. Jaradhamaṇena savaso = Pāli jarādhammave saṃvāso, 'association with what is conditioned to decay'; cf. "continually afflicted by disease" (Udānavarga). Nīmedha, if the dha be regarded as a clerical error for sa, as is sometimes the case in the Ms. (see footnotes under avidhavatī. Jarav., v. 14, p. 202), would give place to a form nīmena, which would tally well with the Pāli first-person form nīmmissaṇ of the Theragāthā verse. If it be not such a mistake, then dha must be equated with the Pāli suffix tha, and nīmedha classed with such second-person forms as arakkha, nikhamadha, bhodha, udhvaradha, etc. (pp. 130-137). Parama śodhi = Pāli paramaṁ sudhīṁ, Sk. paramaṁ sūddham (or sāvadhīṁ), 'the highest purity', which is the same in meaning as viśodhi (Magav., vv. 27-29), a synonym of Nirvāṇa. The Theragāthā reads sauti, 'tranquillity', 'peace', another synonym of Nirvāṇa.

Verse 21.—Vidvareṇa is a curious Prakrit form, conveying the same sense as the Pāli bhindicarena, 'by (that which is) brittle'; cf. bheda naadhamme kalevare, Therigāthā, v. 380; parijina in v. 5, supra. Some of the Pāli Ms. of the Samyutta read bhindicara (instead of bhindicarena), a variant which has a justification from cases like pahbhagava—pahbhagavava. The Prakrit vidvareṇa sounds closer to bhindicara.

Verse 22.—Viśravatena putina = Pāli vissavāntena pūtinā, 'with impurity flowing off', from the root vāru (to flow).
23 [(a)\textsuperscript{ayara jiyamanena \textit{dajhamanena nivruti nimatedha}]\textsuperscript{3} [parama s\textit{d}h\textit{i yokachemu anutara}]\textsuperscript{3} (O)\textsuperscript{4} (C\textsuperscript{ro}, 20)

Cf. Therag., v. 32 ṛ:—

Ajaram \textit{jiyami}nena tappamānena nibbutim
Nimissam paramam santiṃ yogakkheman anuttaram.

Notes.—This verse, which is peculiar to the Prakrit text, clearly sets forth the moral of the foregoing three verses. The Theragāthā ascribes the authorship of the Pāli parallel to SUPPIYA Thera.

\textbf{Ayara} = Pāli \textit{ajaram}, 'the undecaying'; a synonym of Nirvāṇa. \textbf{Jiyamanena} = Pāli \textit{jiyamānena}, 'by a person in a state of decaying'; cf. khaṇe khaṇe jārāya abhibhūya-
\textit{mānattā jiyamānena} (Paramatthadāpanī). \textbf{Dājhamanena} = Pāli \textit{dājhamānena}, a synonym of \textit{tappamānena}, 'by a person in a state of burning'. \textbf{Nivruti} = Pāli nibbutim, Sk. \textit{nirvṛtī}, a synonym of Nirvāṇa. Here the change is either from \textit{re} into \textit{vr} as in Pāli (cf. \textit{athra} of the Manseerah Edicts), or from \textit{vr} into \textit{vr}.

24 [jiyati hi rayaradha sucitra adha sarira bi jara

uveti

sata tu\textsuperscript{3} dharma na\textsuperscript{2} ja][\textsuperscript{[ra (u)veti]\textsuperscript{8} [sato hiva\textsuperscript{9} sabhi praveraya]\textsuperscript{10} ti\textsuperscript{11} O

(C\textsuperscript{ro}, 21)

1 The a is supplied by us. 2 Frag. C. \textsuperscript{1}ro, 2.
3 Frag. C. xx\textsuperscript{vī}vo, 2. 4 The circle is supplied by us.
5 * M. Senart reads \textit{na ta tu}, but doubts the \textit{na} (p. 77). He also doubts the character which follows dharma, and which he tentatively reads \textit{ca}. Our restoration is based on the Pāli parallel which M. Senart has unfortunately missed.
6 Frag. C. \textsuperscript{1}vo, 3. 7 Frag. C. xx\textsuperscript{vī}vo, 3.
8 M. Senart has \textit{hi}, which gives no meaning. Our reading, however, is tentative. See notes (p. 215).
9 Frag. C. xv\textsuperscript{iv}vo, not adjusted by M. Senart, who reads 
\textit{sahabhijabhi praver}a(\textit{ya}).
10 M. Senart reads \textit{ka}. The letter is somewhat mutilated. In Kharaśṭhā, \textit{ti}, if written hurriedly, may very well appear like \textit{ka}.
Cf. Dhammap., v. 151 (Jarāvagga, v. 6); Saṁyutta, I. p. 71; Jātaka, V. pp. 483, 494:

Jñānti ve rājarathā sucitā atho sariram pi jaraṁ upeti
Sataṁ ca dharmo na jaraṁ upeti santo have sabbhi
pavedayanti.

Cf. Fa-khen-pi-ṇu, sec. xix. ("Old Age"), p. 118:

"And when the body dies, and the spirit flees, as when a
royal personage rejects a (broken) chariot, so do the
flesh and bones lie scattered and dispersed. What reliance,
then, can one place on the body?"

Cf. Udānav., ch. 1. ("Impermanency"), v. 29:

"Even the brilliant chariot of the king is destroyed, the
body also draws nigh to old age; but the best of men,
who teaches others this best of all good laws, shall not
know old age."

Notes.—This verse forms a fitting sequel to the foregoing one,
as we reach in it a point where it is the turn of the compiler
to say if there is anything within human experience which
does not decay in the midst of decaying things. The reply
given is in the affirmative, dilating upon the popular com-
parison of the body or material form to a chariot or royal
v. 171: imam lokāṁ rājarathupamaṁ). The only thing that
does not approach decay is sata dharma=Pāli sato dhammaṁ,
which is but a synonym of Nirvāṇa (Jātaka, V. p. 484). Sato hiva sabhi praverayati means the
same thing as Pāli santo have sabbhi pavedayanti, 'the
persons who have attained the tranquil state, discuss with
the wise.' For santo, cf. Bengali sādhu-santa. Hīsa of
M. Senart is unintelligible unless it is taken, tentatively,
as a mistake for hīva standing, with inverted vowels, in
place of the Pāli have, that is to say, hīva from havi (by
Metathesis)=Pāli have. For the second r of praverayati
(=Pāli pavedaya ti), cf. Sk oṣṭhada=Pāli thāsara.
This is the only instance of the equation of r with ṭ in the
extant Kharoṣṭhī Ms.
25 [muj. p. rat. muj] [u pachatu majhatu muju bhavasa parako sarvatra vi] (na punu jatijaruvuvehisi) (O)
(Cv, 22)

[ga 25]

Cf. Dhammap., v. 348 (Tanhaavagga, v. 15):
Muńca pure muńca pacchato majjhe muńca bhavassa pāragaḥ,
Sabbattha vimuttamānaso na punaḥ jātijaraṁ upehiṣi.

Cf. Bhaddasālañjātaka, No. 465 (Fansboll, IV. p. 156):
Agge ca chetvā majjhe ca pacchā mūlaṁ vichindathā
evaṁ me chijjamānasā na dukkhaṁ marapaṁ siyā.

Cf. Udānavarga (Prof. Pischel's 'Turfan-Recensionen des Dhammapada'), Yugavarga, ch. xxix.
v. 66 (B 57):
Muńca purato muńca paścāto madhye muńca bhavasya pāragaḥ,
sarvatra vimuktamānaso na punar jātijaraṁ upeṣyasi.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxix. ("Day and Night"), v. 59:
"Having cast off what is before, having cast off what is behind, having cast off what is in the middle, one goes to the other shore of existence; when the mind is free from everything, one will not be subject to birth and death."

Notes.—This Prakrit verse, with the exhortation not to proceed again towards birth and decay and with the suggestion about the means thereto, comes rightly at the end of the chapter. Having regard to the means, the Pāli parallel

1 Frag. C. 1160, 4.
2 Frag. C. 1160, 1.
3 We have followed M. Senart’s restoration.
4 The circle is supplied by us. 5 Frag. C. 1160, 2.
6 Variant, puna.
is entitled to a place in the Tanhāvagga. But it is quite out of place in the chapter, entitled (in Rockhill’s translation of the Udānavarga) “Day and Night”, corresponding to the Yamakavagga of the Pāli text. It is out of place there because no verse in which the negative and positive phases of a single idea are not contrasted deserves a place among the “Twin-verses”. The Prakrit verse might be restored, in the light of the Pāli gāthā and the English translation of the verse in the Udānavarga, as follows:

muñ(u) p(u)rata muju pachatu majhata muju bhavasa
parako sarvatra vi‘mutamanaso (na puna jatijaravuvahisi O)

Muju would strictly correspond to Pāli muñcaṁ (pres. part.), ‘having cast off’ (Udānavarga). In the Pāli verse we have an imperative form of √mu. Puratu = Pāli purato, Sk. purataḥ, ‘what is before’ (purato, Udānavarga). In the Pāli verse we have the locative form pura. Pachatu = Pāli pachato, Sk. pachato, ‘what is behind’ (Udānavarga). Majhata = Pāli majjhato, ‘what is in the middle’ (Udānavarga). The Pāli majjhē has a locative termination. The Pāli counterparts of puratu, pachatu and majhata are explained in the Dhammapada-Comy. thus: Muñca purē’li atītesu khandhesu ālayañi nikantiṁ ajjhesanaṁ paṭṭhaṁ paṁ partiyogāhanā parānāsaṁ tanthān. Muñca pachato’li anāgatena pi khandhesu ālayādīṁ muñca. Majjhe’li paccuppamesses:

—(i.e., ‘Free yourself from the thirst for, the dealing with, the diving into, the solicitation for, the seeking after, the dwelling upon, the past, the future and the present aggregates’). The exhortation of the above verse is expressed in another form in the Bhaddekarattha Discourse (Majjhima, Suttas 131-134):

Atītaṁ nānvagameyya, nappatikāṅkhe anāgatam,
Yad atītaṁ pahīman tāṁ, appattāṁ ca anāgatam,
Paccuppannaṁ ca yo dhammaṁ tathā tathā vipassati.

Thera Mahākaccāyana’s interpretation of the Discourse (Majjhima, Sutta No. 133) which is the historical basis, as we take it, of the Sabbatthivāda doctrine, is this: Kathāṁ ... atītaṁ nānvagati? Iti me cakkhaṁ ahosi atītaṁ adhānaṁ iti rūpaṁ ti na tālha holi chaṇḍarāgapaṭibuddhan holi viṁśānaṁ—(i.e., “How is it that a person does not pursue the past? ‘Such was my eye in the past,
of this kind', to such a thought his mind is not attached with a passionate longing.' So also with regard to the remaining senses, all collectively termed khandhā in the Dhammapada Comy.; and the same explanation holds true of the future and the present.

The chapter contains 25 stanzas.

[9. Suhavaga]

The following 20 stanzas expressive of the optimistic outlook of the Buddhist recluse life constitute a group, similar to and partly identical with the Sukhavagga of the Pāli text (ch. xv.), where the total number of verse is 12. Sec. xxiii. of the Fa-khen-king, corresponding to the Pāli Sukhavagga, contains 14 verses, and the same group in the Udānavarga (ch. xxx.) contains altogether 53 verses. Although the colophon indicating the total number of verses in the Prakrit group is missing from the existing Kharoṣṭhī Ms., it may be judged from the general trend of thought that the group ended with the 20th stanza. The juxtaposition of the Jara and Sūka groups is a remarkable feature of the Prakrit text, and it serves to bring out prominently, by a contrast of two modes of reflection on two aspects of human life, the bright prospect that lay before the religious life of the Buddhist Bhikkhus.

1 [aroğa parama labha satuṭhi parama dhana
viśpaśa¹ parama mitra² nivana paramo suha (O)³
(Cvo, 24)

2 (jiga)⁴[cha² parama (r)ok(a)]⁶ [saghara parama
duha
eta ṇatva yajḍabh(u)⁸tu nivana paramo suha O
(Cvo, 25)

¹ M. Senart tentatively reads vaḷpaśa, which is no doubt a mistake of the scribe. See his notes on the word (p. 78).
² Frag. C. ivvo, 3.
³ The circle is supplied by us.
⁴ Supplied by us in the light of the Pāli jigaṭcchā. ² M. Senart reads ka.
⁵ Frag. C. xxxixvo, 1,—not adjusted by M. Senart; r and a, put within brackets, are supplied by us,
⁶ Frag. C. ivvo, 4.
⁸ Supplied by us.
Cf. Dhammap., vv. 204, 203† (Sukhav. vv. 8, 7):—

Ārogya paramā lābha, santutthi paramā dhanaṁ
Vissāsa paramā ṇāti, nibbānaṁ paramaṁ sukhaṁ.
Jigacchā paramaṁ rogā, samkhāraṁ paramā dukkhaṁ,
Etaṁ ṇātvā yathābhūtaṁ nibbānaṁ paramaṁ sukhaṁ.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxvi. ("Nirvāna"), vv. 6-7 :—

"Absence of disease is the best of possessions, contentedness the best of riches, a true friend the best of friends, nirvāna the greatest happiness."

"All compound things (saśkara) are the greatest of pains, hunger the worst of diseases; if one has found this out, he has found the highest nirvāna."

Notes.—These two verses form an excellent pair serving to throw by contrast the two aspects of human life into clear relief. After lingering so long upon decay and impermanence, it is, indeed, a great relief to read two verses which contain a message of hope. In the midst of decay and decrepititude there is a state of health, contentment and bliss which abides. The logical succession of thought is kept up better in the order in which the verses occur in Prakrit and Sanskrit.

Aroga parama labha=Pāli ārogya parama lābha, 'health is a great gain'. Health is a medical term, used figuratively in the Buddhist phraseology to denote negatively a state of the absence of hunger or appetite. That health is a great blessing of life is a common-sense view, the natural desire of mankind, as, perhaps, of all forms of life being to live in valour, vigour and energy (saurye, virye, balasi). The Buddhist teaching serves only to widen the idea of health, which is a state of well-being of the body as well as of the mind. A healthy mind is that which is free from sense-appetite. Satutthi parama dhana=Pāli santutthi paramaṁ dhanaṁ, 'contentment is a great possession'. Contentment is a positive nomenclature for aroga, as wealth is that for gain.

[matrasuha dhiro sabasu vi(vu)'la suha O]

(Cvo, 26)

1 Frag. C. XXXIXV, 2.—not adjusted by M. Senart, who reads ruha.
2 Supplied according to M. Senart's suggestion.
Cf. Dhammap. v. 290 † (Pakinnakav., v. 1):

Mattasukhapariccağā passe ce vipulaṁ sukhām
Caje mattasukham dhiro sampassam vipulaṁ sukhām.

Cf. Udānav., eh. xxx. ("Happiness"), v. 32:

"If the stedfast man seeks for great happiness, and would give up little happiness, let him cast away the little happiness and look well to the great one."

Notes.—The probable restoration of the Prakrit verse would be:

(matra)suhaparicai (paśe¹ yi vivula suha
caji²) matrasuha dhiro sabasū vi(vu)la suha ○

—Two words are important: matra = Pāli mitā, Sk. mātra, 'a smaller measure', and vivula = Pāli and Sk. vipulaṁ, 'a larger measure'. paricai = Pāli pariccāgā. Cf. avacī (I, B, 3, p. 25) = Pāli upacagā. The verse teaches that when a man has a choice between two measures of happiness, he ought to strive for the larger one. The principle inculcated is not Utilitarian, i.e., the greatest happiness of the greatest number. The happiness aimed at is an individual experience. In the Devadaha Sutta (Majjhima, No. 101) Buddha refutes the Jaina theory of the quantification of pleasure and pain. In his opinion one cannot say this quantity of pain (etākaṁ dukkham) is due to self, and that to not-self. Here the idea of quantity implies no more than intensity of feeling.

4 u.ėsu anusua
(usu)ėsu manušėsu viharamu anusua ○

(Cvo, 27)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 199 † (Sukhav., v. 3):

Susukham vata jivāma ussukesu anussukā
Ussukesu manussesu viharama anussuka.

¹ From a comparison with the form bhako (Sahasav. vv. 3, 5, pp. 168, 159).
² Cf. the form cori, Apramadav. v. 1, p. 119; Panitav., v. 7, p. 175. There are many other instances of such Optative forms ending in i.
Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. xxiii. ("Rest and Repose"), p. 137:—

"My life is now at rest, sorrowless in the midst of sorrow; all men have sorrow, but I have none."

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxx. ("Happiness"), v. 44:—

"Ah! let us live exceedingly happy, living without greed among men who are greedy, without greed in the midst of the greedy."

The probable restoration of the Prakrit verse would be:—

(suhai vata jivamu) u(su)esu anusua
(usu)esu manus̄esa viharamu anusua

5 suhai vata jivamu viraneṣu averana
[veraneṣu ma]\nuśesa viharamu averana

(Cvo, 28)

Cf. Dhammap., v, 197 (Sukhav., v. 1):—

Susukhaṁ vata jivāma verinesu averino,
Verinesu manus̄esu viharāma averino,

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. xxiii. ("Rest and Repose"), p. 137:—

"My life is now at rest, with no anger amongst those who are angry (or those who hate). Men indeed on all sides feel anger, but my life (conduct) is free from anger."

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxx. ("Happiness"), v. 48:—

"Ah! let us live exceedingly happy, living without hatred amidst men who hate, without hatred among haters."

6 suhai (vata)2 jivamu kijaneṣu akijana
kijaneṣu ma(n)3u(ses)4u (vi)5haramu akijana

(Cvo, 20)

Frag. C. xxivvo.

* * * * * Supplied by us.
This would give in Pāli:

Susukham vata jīvāma kiñcanesu akiñcanā,  
Kiñcanesu manussesu viharāma akiñcanā.

7. suhai vata jivamu yesa mu nathi kijana\(^1\)  
kijanesu manusesevu viharamu akijana (O)\(^2\)  
(Cv, 30)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 200 + (Sukhav., v. 4) =  
Fausböll, Jātaka VI. p. 55:—

Susukham vata jīvāma yesaṁ no n'atthi kiñcanam  
Pīṭhibhakkhā bhavissāma devā ābhassarā yathā.

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. xxiii. (“Rest and Repose”),  
p. 137:—

“My life is now at rest, in perfect peace, without any  
personal aim, feeding on (uneartly) joys, like the bright  
gods above (Abhāsvaras).”

Cf. Udānav. (Pisēhel), ch. xxx. (Sukhavarga),  
vv. 49-50:—

Susukham bata jīvāmo yeṣaṁ no nāsti kiñcanam  
Pīṭhibhakṣā bhaviṣyāmo devā hy ābhāsvarā yathā.  
[Susu]kham bata jīvāmo yeṣaṁ no nāsti kiñcanam  
Pīṭhibhakṣā bhaviṣyāmo satkāyena panihśṛtā(h).

[Rockhill’s translation, ch. xxx. (“Happiness”)  
vv. 50-51:—

“Ah! let us live exceedingly happy; though there be  
nothing to call our own, we shall feed on happiness like  
the shining gods.”

“Ah! let us live exceedingly happy, relying on nothing  
perishable; and though there be nothing to call our  
own, we shall feed on happiness.”]

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\(^1\) The Ms. has kijana, which M. Senart points out as a mistake of the  
copyist, for kijana. See p. 80.

\(^2\) The circle is supplied by us.
Cf. Fausbøll’s Jātaka, VI. pp. 54-55:

Susukhaṁ vata āvāma yesaṁ no n’atthi kiñcanam,
Raṭṭhe vilumpamānambhi na me kiñci ajiratha.
Susukhaṁ vata āvāma yesaṁ no n’atthi kiñcanam,
Mithilāyam dāhyamānāya na me kiñci adayatha.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxx. (“Happiness”), v. 49:

“Ah! let us live exceedingly happy; though Mithila burns, nothing of mine does burn, for I have nothing.”

Cf. Mahābhārata, XII. 219. 50:

Susukhaṁ bata āvāmo yesaṁ no nāsti kiñcanam
Mithilāyām dāhyamānāyām na no dāhyati kiñcanam.

Notes.—These four verses (4-7), all characterised by a highly optimistic tone, constitute a sub-group and clearly depict the bright prospect that lay before the Indian religion of renunciation, especially in its Buddhist form. There is a general agreement in the reading of other recensions, while the Prakrit verses differ by substituting certain expressions which modify the sense. But it goes without saying that the Prakrit stanzas have considerably deteriorated the lofty tone of their Pāli and Sanskrit parallels.

From a comparative study of this sub-group in its several recensions we are led to think that the Dhammapada verses betray a process of later manipulation on a common model, and that this model is no other than the verse which occurs in a story common to the Mahābhārata and the Mahājanaka Jātaka (Fausbøll, No. 539), designated on the railing of the Bharhat Stūpa as the story of “Janako rājā Sivali devī”. Indeed, both the Mahābhārata and the Jātaka Book go to prove that the teaching of the verses under notice was formulated for the first time in history by a king of Videha, of which Mithilā was the capital. All the stories that are preserved, in Indian literature, of Videshan kings, such as those of Makkheva, Nimi and the Janakas, bring home one fact, namely, that the personal examples of these princes gave a great impetus to the ideal of renunciation. The Jātaka literature, which will ever be read as the largest collection of the older specimens of Indian ballads and folktales, is found to associate such

1 Cf. Mahāvastu, III. p. 453. I—
Mithilāyāṁ dāhyamānāyāṁ nāṣya dāhyati kiñcanam.
examples with the kings of Mithilā and Benares. The city of Mithilā is set on fire, but it does not affect the mind of its ex-king, who lives exceedingly happy, having no earthly possession to claim as his own. The sentiments displayed are quite in accord with the national spirit of the Hindus in whose life, from the dawn of intellect, the spiritual motive predominates, throwing all material interests in the shade.¹

Now, so far as the Dhammapada verses are concerned, they are intended to contrast the life of the householder, who is so unhappy with his riches and relations, with that of the Bhikkhu who is so very happy and contented, although possession he has none. These set forth the remote object of reclusé life which is to impress on the householders that the true source of happiness is neither maternal prosperity nor earthly power but renunciation and contentment. They also imply a criticism of ascetic rigorism tending to the opposite extreme of civil life, and teach that the right method of stimulating religious fervour among people at large lies not in appearing more miserable in austerity than they do in their worldliness, but in bringing home to them the sharp contrast that exists between the two pursuits, one leading to material advantage and the other to Nirvāṇa (ānāhā lābhāpaniśā, ānāhā nibbānayāmīnī, Dhammapada, v. 75).

Verse 4.—Suhai would be in Pāli sukhāya, "for the sake of happiness", a dative singular form of suha. The Pāli reading ansukhaṁ, "happily", seems better than the Prakrit which implies that happiness is the end of reclusé life. The adverb ansukhaṁ signifies, on the other hand, that the religious life is lived for its own sake, while happiness follows as a matter of course. Usuesu anusua = Pāli utsukeṣu anusukā, Sk. utsukeṣu anoṭṭukā, "without anxiety among those who are anxious". Rockhill translates the Tibetan rendering of utsukeṣu as "among men who are greedy," and Beal translates the Chinese rendering of anoṭṭukā by "sorrowless." Neither of these two renderings are up to

¹ Prof. Max Müller was fully justified in making this observation with regard to the Hindu civilization. Not that the Hindus have all ceased to fulfill the secular functions of human life. Nor that they have not developed secular Sciences and Arts in their extravagant zeal for the pursuit of the higher aspirations of religion. But that there is no other people on earth who have made so gigantic an effort to prepare their mind to 'dwell apart like a star' from all earthly good. And whatever their political status, so long as they are true to this spirit of their forefathers, they have a distinct place in the history of the world and they have a distinct message to impart to other peoples.
the mark. The substantives utsuka and anutsuka imply greed as a remote idea, their primary sense being connected with the Sk. anutsukya or 'over-anxiety.' In Bengali the word utsuka is used in a good sense, to denote a person who is inquisitive, e.g., eager to learn something.

Verse 5. —Viranęṣu averana = Pāli verinęsu averino. The Prakrit forms are difficult of explanation, but no less so is the Pāli verinęsu. M. Senart is of opinion that the Prakrit forms are derived from some words like vira or vera, phonetically = Sk. vaīra, 'enmity.' These two words inculcate the Buddhist principle of stopping enmity by love.

Verses 6-7. —These are essentially, and even in expression, the same. The Pāli parallel to verse 7 contains a more striking moral, viz., of feeding on joy like the shining gods. Mu corresponds to Pāli no, Sk. nah. Says M. Senart, "the form mu, mo=nah is known in the language of the Mahāvastu."

8 na ta drīḍha ban(d)hanam aha dhira ya a(ya)'sa daruva babaka va saratacita manikunalesu putresu dareśu ya ya aveha (O)3 (Cvn, 31)

9 eta drīḍha ban(d)hanam aha dhira charina sīśila drupamuchu eta bhī chitvana parivrayati anavehino kamasahu prahai (O)3 (Cvn, 32)

Cf. Dhammap., vv. 345-346 † (Taṅhāv., vv. 12-13) :—

Na taṁ dalhaṁ bandhanam āhu dhīra yad āyasaiṁ dārujaṁ pabbajaṁ ca Sārattarattā manikūndalesu puttesu dāresu ca ya apekkhā.

1 The ya is supplied by us, according to M. Senart's suggestion (q.v. p. 80). The omission seems to be a mistake of the scribe.
2, 3 The circles are supplied by us.
Etam dalhaṁ bandhanam āhu dhīrā ohārinaṁ sithilaṁ
duppamuncaṁ
Etam pi chetvāna paribbajanti anapekhino kāmasukhaṁ
pahāya.

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. xxxii. ("Lust"), pp. 179-180:

"Hell, indeed, has its gyves and fetters, but the wise man
regards not these as captivity; the foolish man who is
immersed in cares about wife and child and their personal
adornment, he it is who is in real captivity."

"The wise man regards lust as the imprisonment of hell,
as the hard bound fetter from which it is difficult to
escape, and therefore he desires to separate this and cut it
off for ever, that being free from any such cares (or,
desires), he may find rest and peace."

Cf. Udānav., ch. ii. ("Desire"), vv. 5-6:

"Look at those who are fondly attached to jewels, ear-rings,
to their children (those are fetters); but iron, wood, and
rope make not strong fetters, says the Blessed One."

"It is hard for one who is held by the fetters of desire to
free himself of them, says the Blessed One. The stedfast,
who care not for the happiness of desires, cast them off,
and do soon depart (to Nirvāna)."

Notes.—This couple of verses seems rather out of place in the
Suhaṅgaga, as it serves to rob the optimistic reflections
of their geniality. It has found its right place among the
Taṁs-verbs in other recensions of the Dhammapada. How-
ever, looking the other way, it appears to form a logical
sequel to the previous verses. In it we reach a point
where we may expect to learn how to be free from attach-
ment or what the fetters of attachment are. The reply is
that a man can be free from attachment by getting rid of
the pleasures of lust and walking out of the world after
cutting the Gordian knot which is the affection for wives,
children and wealth. There is no other way of escape
than this.

Verse 8.—Aha dhīra corresponds to Pāli āha dhīrā,
an expression which would be grammatically incorrect.
A reading aha dhīro or āku dhīra would have been
quite correct. But it is not uncommon in the Prakritic
languages to find a singular verbal form used along with a plural nominative and vice versa (see v. 15 infra). Ya a(ya)sa = Pāli yad āyasaṁ, ‘that which is made of iron.’ In M. Senart’s opinion the metre proves that the error of the copyist does not consist in a simple inversion yaasa for ayasa, but, as the Pāli text indicates, in the omission of the second ya, ya asa for ya ayasa. For daruva and babaka, see M. Senart’s notes (p. 80).

Verse 9.—Drupamuchu = Pāli dūpanācaṁ, Sk. dūpramucyaṁ. The change of dūpra to dūpa may be viewed either as a case of inversion or as an instance of false analogy with druacha druvaivaṇa (Citav., v. 5, pp. 142, 147).

10 ye rakarata anuvatati sotu saigata
eta b(i)^1 ch(i)^2tvana parivrayati anavehino
kamasuha prahai (O)^3

(Cvo, 38)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 347 † (Taḥhāv., v. 14):
Ye rāgarattānupatanti sotāṁ sayatākataṁ makkaṭake va jālaṁ
Etaṁ pi chetvāna vajanti dhīrā anapekhino sabbadukkhathī
pahāya.

Cf. Fā-kheu-pī-u, sec. xxxiil. (‘‘Lust’’), p. 181:
‘‘The fool regarding the outward form as an excellency, how can he know the falseness of the thing, for like a silkworm enveloped in its own net (cocoon), so is he entangled in his own love of sensual pleasure.’’

Notes.—This verse sums up the teaching of the two previous ones and is differentiated from them by the simile of a spider entangled in its own net. The probable restoration of the second foot would be saigata maratataś va jala. In rakarata, k stands for g; cf. kāta for gāta (Magav. vv. 4-7, pp. 101-107). Saigata = Pāli sayatākataṁ, Sk. sayaṭuktaṁ, ‘made by self.’ The change is quite familiar—from ya(ṁ) to i (cf. nai for nāyaṁ, Apramadav., vv. 24, 25, pp. 138, 139) and from āk to g (cf. paga for paṅkā, Apramadav., v. 23, p. 137).
11 ahivadanaśilisa nica vrīḍhavayarino
catvāri tasa vardhati ayo kirta suha bala

(Cf., 34)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 109 (Sahassav., v. 10):
Abhivādanāsilassa niccaṁ vaddhapacāyino
Cattāro dhanno vaddhanti āyu vappo sukhaṁ balaṁ.

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. xvi. ("The Thousands"), p. 108:
"He who is ever intent on good conduct and due reverence
to others, who always venerates old age, four happy con-
sequences increasingly attend that man—beauty and
strength, and life and peace."

Cf. Manu, II. 121 (quoted by Fausböll):
Abhivādanāsilasya nityaṁ vriddhopasevināḥ
Catvāri tasya vriddhante āyur vidyā yaśo balaṁ.

Notes.—The Prakrit verse and its Pāli and Sanskrit parallels
extol politeness and respect to the elders as the two cardinal
social virtues, and inculcate that these serve to increase
the life, fame, peace and influence of a man. They pre-
suppose a common substratum which is no other than a
popular maxim setting forth the general sense of Hindu
society. The teaching thus inculcated is completely in
accord with the Buddhist idea of discipline. Buddha
promulgated respect to the elders as one of the seven condi-
tions of national prosperity and communal well-being
(Dīgha, II. pp. 74, 77). In his younger days he was
unwilling to admit in theory any seniority by age, and as
a matter of fact, he adhered to his theory throughout his
life. The seniority of the Bhikkhus by age was determined
by the number of Lents kept by them.

Ahi stands for Pāli and Sk. abhi. This is perhaps
the only instance in our text where h corresponds to

1 In Jolly's edition, the second line reads:
Catvāri tasya vardhanta āyuḥ prajñā yaśo balaṁ.
bh. Vridhavayarino = Pali vadāhāpacaṇyino, the same in meaning as the Manu vṛddhopasevinah, a vowel sandhi (vṛddha + arayarino). The change of e to y is very common in the Prakrit of our text. For the anomaly in the r, see M. Senart’s notes, p. 81.

12 d.l.bh. p.rṣ.?

yatı viru ta kulu suhu modati O

(Cv, 35)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 193 (Buddhavagga, v. 15):—
Dullabho purisajāṇaḥ na so sabbatthi jāyati
Yattha so jāyati dhīro taṁ kulaṁ sukham edhati.

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. xxii, (“Buddha”), p. 132:—
“To be born as a man is difficult; to attain to years (i.e. to live long) is also difficult; to be born when Buddha is incarnate is difficult; and to hear the preaching of the Law of Buddha is difficult also.”

Cf. Mahāvastu, III. p. 109:—
Dullabho purusājanyo na so sarvatra jāyate
Yatra so jāyate virāḥ taṁ kulaṁ sukhamedhati.

Cf. Udāna., ch. xxx. (“Happiness”), v. 29:—
“An omniscient person is hard to find; he does not appear everywhere: ’tis happiness to associate with the steadfast, like unto meeting one’s kinsmen; wherever such a steadfast person is born, that people finds happiness.”

Notes.—The probable restoration of the Prakrit verse would be:—

d(ʊ)l(a)bh(o) p(o)r(u)ṣ(a)jaṇo na so sarvatra jāyati
yatra so ja)yati viru ta kulu suhu modati O

—The verse is the utterance of an age when the Buddha was deified by his followers, and as such it cannot be dated earlier than the first century of Buddha’s demise. The Mahāpadāna Sutta (Dīgha, II. No. 2) embodies the earliest
specimen of the Dhammatā doctrine, corresponding to the
Brahmanical theory of incarnation. This doctrine enu-
erates the general conditions of the advent of great men
such as the Buddha, and it is in the light of this doctrine,
as developed in the subsequent Jātaka literature, notably the
Nidānakathā, that the significance of the expressions in
the verse can be understood.

Dulabho porusajaño = Pāli dullabho purisājañaño, 'the
man of noble breed is hard to find'. Porusajañaño is an
instance of sandhi (porus + ajañña). Ajañña = Sk. ājañña,
is used of a horse of the finest breed; here it is used
figuratively in the sense of 'best', referring to 'man'.
The commonest Sanskritic expressions however to denote similar
idea, are forms like purusāsivaḥ, purusāvāghra. As for the
expression dulabho, 'hard to find,' some light on its
significance is thrown by a passage in the Mahāgovinda
Suttanta which expresses the following sentiment of the
gods of the Thirty-three: 'Impossible it is that two
supreme Buddhas should arise at the same time and in
the same world system, far less to speak of three or four'
(Digha, II. pp. 224-225, secs. 13, 14). Compare also
Dhammap. v. 182 (Buddhav. v. 4):—

Kiccho manussapaṭilābho
Kicchaṁ maceāna jivitaṁ,
Kicchaṁ saddhmannasavanāṁ
Kiccho Buddhānām uppado.

The general sense of the verse quoted above is quite clear.
We have only to note that looking more closely into it
one can at once see that there is really a comparison
involved: it is hard to be born as man, while it is
far more difficult to see the advent of a Buddha who
stands far above the level of common men. Na sarvatra,
'not in every place and family', i.e., not in a country
other than India, not in a province other than the
Middle country and not in a family other than Ksatriya
and high class Brāhmaṇ (see Milindapaṇha, p. 225).
Suhu modati has for its Pāli counterpart sukham edhate,
'attains happiness.' According to M. Senart, the Prakrit
reading is a lectio facitior introduced through the uncon-
straint of the scribe or his predecessor. If the construction
suhu modati be correct in Prakrit, suhn (= Sk. sukhaṁ)
must be taken as an adverb, and the phrase would be
idiomatic and mean '(he) delights uninterruptedly.'
Notes.—Neither the Pāli nor the Sanskrit counterpart of this verse has been traced. M. Senart's rendering of the second line—'The association with learned men is a blessing; they have no stain'—is hardly in keeping with the construction of the last pāda. Kici teṣa na vijati is apparently a Prakrit expression corresponding to Pāli kicce tesāṁ na vijjati or kici tesāṁ na vijjati, in which latter case kici must be regarded as a mistake for kiji (= kīcī), for everywhere in the Prakrit text (IC has been represented by j. Thus the pāda must be rendered either, (The happiness of an association with the cultured) does not exist in their line of action (kici); or, The slightest amount of happiness arising from association with the cultured does not exist among them.—Of these two renderings we prefer the second, as it seems more in harmony with the sense of the first line, so far as it can be made out from a tentative adjustment. We say tentative because the illegible traces of letters in M. Senart's reading—????? ya naretha na v.—have been read with the help of Frag. A. iv. (................uhaśin yo kama.e................), which according to M. Senart's arrangement of plates, ought to have been adjusted in a verse included in one of the plates A₁, A₂, A₃, A₄ and B. As M. Senart says (p. 23), there are some fragments of A which find their proper places in B, e.g., Frags. A. v and A.vi. Such was the disorder in which these fragments came into his hands that we should not be surprised if what he calls frag. A.iv. really belonged to his Cvo, 36, i.e., the verse under notice. M. Senart rightly takes narethina as equal to narīthīnaṁ, 'of men and women,' although he has not been able to suggest any meaning of the first line taken as a whole. We admit that there is a great deal of uncertainty in our adjustment which can not, until the discovery of a

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1 M. Senart has yokama.e. We read the first syllable as ye, tentatively.
2 Frag. A. iv., completing Frag. C. ixvo. There is a blank represented by a dot, in M. Senart's edition, for the y of kamaye in Fr. A.iv. The ya preceding narethina (Fr. C.ixvo) perhaps makes up the last syllable of kamaye, though read without the stroke of e. Therefore, we do not read the ya apart, but have thrust it into the previous word which is thus constructed as kamaye.
3 Frag. C. ixvo, 1.
4 Frag. C. xvvo, 1.
parallel verse, be finally removed. In these circumstances we can only think of a restoration like the following:

\[(s)u\text{hasino ye kamaye narethina v(asi) (s)u(hu)}\]
\[suha \text{sichitasavasa} \, kici \, \text{tēsa na vijati} \]

—of which the Pāli counterpart would read:

Sukhesino yo kāmaye nariitthānaṁ vāsaṁ sukhāṁ
Sukhāṁ sikkhitasaṁvāsā kiñci tesaṁ na vijyati.

14 \[suha \text{darśana ariana sa}]\[\text{vaso vi sada suho adaśanena}]^{3} \text{balana nicam eva suhi sia} \]

(Cvo, 37)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 206 † (Sukhav., v. 10):

Sādhu dassanam ariyānaṁ sannivāso sadā sukhō,
Adassanena bālānaṁ niccam eva sukhī siyā.

Cf. Fa-kheu-pi-u, sec. xx. ("Buddha"), p. 134:

"Oh, the happiness of seeing the Holy One! Oh, the happiness of being able to rely on him as present! Oh, the joy of the man who is able to avoid the company of the foolish, and act well and virtuously by himself!"

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxx. ("Happiness"), v. 27:

"To see the elect is happiness; to associate with the righteous is happiness; not to see fools is always happiness."

Notes.—This verse is appositely placed after v. 13 and its teaching is thrown into clear relief by the contrast implied between them. Moreover, this verse explains the expression \text{sichitasavasa} of the previous verse, and it praises association with the Āryas or the elect and condemns association with the fools. "No friendship with a fool! (\text{ñ'atthi bāle}

\footnote{Savasa might, as in v. 15 fg., be taken as the Prakrit equivalent of the Pāli sasēsā, in which case the expression \text{sichitasavasa} would be in apposition with \text{suha} preceding it, the sense being \text{‘happiness which is association with the cultured’.}}

\footnote{Frag. C. ixvo, 2.

\footnote{Frag. C. xivvo, 2,}
sahāyata) is an emphatic pronouncement of the Dhammapada verse 330. The Prakrit reading agrees with that of the Udānavarga. We must note that the Prakrit verse slightly differs from its Pāli counterpart, and that with regard to the expression savasō vi (=Pāli savinīsa pī), substituted for savinīsa. The addition of the particle (a)vi (=Pāli api) is necessitated by the exigency of metre. The expression balana (=Pāli bāḷanam, ‘of fools’) denotes, when interpreted in the light of v. 13, persons who desire the pleasures of household life. Nicameva= Pāli niccam eva, a vowel sandhi (nica+eva).

15 [(ba)lasagatacari u drigham adhvana soyišu dukha balehi]² (sa)²vasu amitrehi va savrasi O
(Cvo, 38)

16 (dhiro ca)⁴ [suhasavaso⁵ niatihi va samakamo dh] /[ira hi praṇa i]⁷ bhayeya panito dhorekasila vatamata aria
(Cvo, 39)

[tadiśa sapuruṣa sumedha bhay(eya)]⁸ [nachatrapatha va cadrimu O⁹
(A portion of Cvo, 40 completing Cvo, 39)

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¹ Supplied by us, according to M. Senart's suggestion. ² Frag. C. xxiv o, 2.
³, ⁴ Supplied by us, though the latter does not answer to the four dots of omission in M. Senart's edition, which are hardly in keeping with the metre.
⁵ For the final o, see M. Senart's note b (p. 84).
⁶ Frag. C. xxxvii o.
⁷ Frag. C. xxxvii o, 1. M. Senart reads praṇa as one word.
⁸ Frag. C. xxvi o: apa of the last word is supplied by us on the strength of a form bhayeya occurring in the self-same verse. The three dots of omission in M. Senart's edition appear hardly warranted, as they indicate that three letters are missing, whereas the metre proves that only one letter is wanting.
⁹ Frag. C. xxxvii o, 2. The bracket has not been closed after the circle as there remains a portion of the fragment, viz. ra, which belongs to the next verse; accordingly, the closing bracket is put after ra there.
Cf. Dhammap., vv. 207-208 † (Sukhavagga, vv. 11-12):

Bālasaṅgatacāri hi digham addhāna socati,
Dukkho bālehi saṁvāso amitten'eva saddadā,
Dhūro ca sukhasaṁvāso¹ natiṁi va samāgamo.
(Tasmā hi :)
Dhūrañ ca paññañ ca bahuṣsutañ ca dhorayhaslaṁ
vatavantam ariyam
Tam tādisam sappurisah samedhaṁ bhajetha
nakkhappathahā va candimā.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxx. ("Happiness"), vv. 28-25:

"Tis as great suffering to be in the company of fools as in
that of enemies; he who associates with fools will repent
him of it for a long time."

"Tis happiness to see a virtuous man; to see one who has
heard much is happiness; to see Arahats who are
delivered from existence is happiness."

Notes.—There is, in the verses, nothing to comment upon, as
they express, though in a somewhat different form, the very
idea of v. 14. The first line of v. 16 is connected in the
Pāli text with the counterpart of v. 15, a procedure which
is hardly justifiable. The Prakrit text and the Udānavarga
have rightly linked it with v. 16.

Verse 15.—Sōyiṣu = Pāli sociṁsu, an aorist form which
is used, as M. Senart points out, in the sense of the present
tense. Note that the verb is plural, though the nominative
is singular (cf. aha dhīra, v. 8 a ove). Savrasī = Pāli
sabbasa, a form which is interpreted by M. Senart as due
to Māgadhism. Nevertheless, he says that the reading
might have been savraddhi, in which case it would be = Pāli
sabhadhi.

Verse 16.—Dhorekaśila = Pāli dhorayhasilaṁ. K stands
for y. Cadrimu occurs with a n which may tempt one
to regard the word as an accusative form. But the
sense is against such an interpretation. We do not
venture to correct it to cadrima (for candri i), because the
very form cadrimu occurs again in I. B. 7 (p. 27) as nom.
sing. All that we can say is that cadrimu is perhaps due
to a false analogy with surīu, with which it goes hand in
hand in common speech.

¹ Max Müller corrects the reading to sukha ca dhīrasaṁvāso.
17. [ra]ḥḍakaro va camasa parikica uvahana

(The remainder of Cvo, 40)

(yada) [jatati kamana tada samajati] [s(u)ḥ(u) sarva ca suhu] ichia sarvakama paricai

(Cvo, 41)

Cf. Kāmajātaka, No. 467 (Fausböll, IV. pp. 172-3):—

Rathakāro va cammassa parikantaṁ upāhanam Yama yaṁ cajati kāmāṇāṁ tāṁ tāṁ sampajjate sukham, Sabbāṇ ca sukham ieccheyya sabbe kāme pariccaje.

Cf. Udānav., ch. ii. (“Lust”), vv. 11-12:—

“As the shoemaker, when he has well prepared his leather, can use it to make shoes, so when one has cast off desires, he has the highest happiness. If one longs for happiness, let him cast off all desires; he who has cast off all desires will find the most perfect happiness.

Cf. Mahābhārata, XII. 174. 44-45:—

Kiṁcid eva mamatvena yadā bhavati kalpitam
Tad eva paritāpārtham sarvam sampadyate tathā.
Yad yat tyajati kāmāṇāṁ tat sukhasyābhhipūryate
Kāmānusārī puruṣāḥ kāmān anuvīnasīyati.

1 Continuation of Frag. C. xxxvvo, 2.
2 M. Senart reads dha arovacanasa.
3 Also, ya ya ; supplied by us.
4 The interpretation may also be ta da ( =ta ta ) =tāṁ tāṁ.
5 M. Senart reads sa majata.
6 Frag. C. xxvo, 3.
7, 8 Supplied by us.
8 Frag. C. xxxvvo, 3.
9 Fausböll wrongly connects this line with the previous verse in his work.
We have followed the reading adopted by the Jātaka-Comy.
10 Variant, ce.
Yad yat tyajati kāmānāṁ tat sukhasyābhīpyate
Kāmasya vaṣago nityāṁ duḥkhameva prapadyate.

Notes.—This verse teaches, by the simile of a shoemaker fitting his leather by getting rid of its useless parts, that to be happy, truly happy, one must cast off one's desires.

Parikika—Pāli parikautaṁ, 'cutting' or 'fitting.' Phonetically the Prakrit form = Pāli parikicca, Sk. parikṛtya. To equate fitly with parikautaṁ, the form ought to have been parikata or katu. Paricai=Pāli pariccaje, Sk. parityajet, 'should give up.' The elision of j in the Prakrit form presuposes an intermediate change to y. Note that we had paricai also for Pāli pariccāgā in v. 3 supra.

18 [nena yo atmano][1] [(ve) rasaṣaga][2] ?? so duha na parimucati ○

(Cvō, 42)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 291 (Pakinnakav., v. 2):——

Paradukkhaṇapadhānena yo attano sukham ichati
Verasafthasaggasāṁsaṭṭho vera so na pamuccati.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxx. ("Happiness"), v. 2:——

"He who causes misery to others in seeking for his own welfare brings without distinction misery on friends and foes."

Notes.—The Prakrit verse might be restored, in the light of its Pāli counterpart, as follows:——

(para duhuvadha)nena yo atmano (suhamichati)
verasāṣagaṃ(saṁsaṭṭho) so duha na parimucati ○

1 Frag. C. xixvo, 1.
2 Frag. C. xxxviii5, not adjusted by M. Senart, who reads rasaṣaṇa.
3 For the श cf. saṁsena (for Pāli saṁsanaa), Apramadav., v. 4, p. 123.
The interest of this verse lies in the fact that it makes clear the Buddhist position as to the pursuit of happiness on egoistic lines. It teaches that a man can not legitimately aspire for happiness so long as his pursuit injures the interest of others.

19 jaya v(e)ra [prasavati dukhu sayati parayitu uvasatu sohu sa]yati hitva jayaparayaa

(Cve, 43)

Cf. Dhammap., v. 201 + (Sukhav., v. 5) =
Samyutta I. p. 83 ;-

Jayaṃ veraṃ pasavati dukkhāṃ seti parājito
Upasanto sukham seti hitvā jayaparājayam.

Cf. Udānav., ch. xxx. ("Happiness"), v. 1 :-

"From victory proceeds rancour; the defeated foe is in misery: if one casts off victory and defeat he will find the happiness of peace."

Notes.—Here at last we reach a verse which manifests the Buddhist transcendentalist view of happiness. To be happy in the absolute sense, a man must rise above the opposites, victory and defeat; the happiness resulting from victory is a relative feeling only.

1 Supplied by us.
2 M. Senart reads prasakati, but says that it is nothing but a gross mistake of the scribe, even though the k may be very clear. Our reading rests upon the Pali pasavati.
3 Frag. C. xixvo, 2.

**
Prasavati = Pāli pasavati, 'begets,' 'generates.' M. Senart reads prasahati, though he considers the reading as a gross mistake of the scribe. If the latter reading be adopted, the k can be said to have resulted from the hardening of a y, resulting from v of prasavati.

20 anica vata [sagharma upadavayadhamino
upaji ti nirujhathi]1 teṣa uvaśamo suho (O)²

(Cvō, 44)

Cf. Dīgha, II. pp. 157, 199; Saṁyutta, I.
p. 158, § 6 ;—

Aniccà vata saṅkhārā uppādavayadhammino
Uppajjītvā nirujjhanti teṣaṁ vupasamo sukho.

Notes.—This verse which is very familiar to the student of Buddhist literature is chanted as a mantra or Pirit at the death of a person. It is the result of an after-thought proceeding from moralising upon the demise of a great man and teacher such as the Buddha. It teaches that the body is destined to perish, and that happiness results from the complete cessation of organic existence.

Although the colophon is missing from the extant Ms., we are confident that this verse formed a fitting conclusion to this chapter.

¹ Frag. C. xixvō, 3.
² The circle is supplied by us.
ADDENDA

Containing certain additional parallels and notes.

The following Sanskrit parallels are quoted from the fragments of the manuscript of the Udānavarga in the collection of Pelliot and of Stein. The credit of noticing them belong partly to M. Sylvain Lévi and partly to M. de la Vallée Poussin. Here our references apply to Lévi's edition of the Apramādavarga (J.A., 1912, Vol. xx. p. 235 f.), and to Poussin's edition of some other chapters (J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 359 f.).

I. For the verses of the Apramādavarga, p. 119 ff.:—
Verse 1 = Lévi's Apramādav. v. 35 = Rockhill's Udānavarga, iv. v. 35:

Uttiṣṭhen na pramadyeta dharmaś; sucariṣṭaṁ caret
Dharmacāri sukhaṁ śete haryamīṁ loke paratra ca.

"Whoever has lived according to this law of discipline, in gentleness and purity, will, having cast off transmigration, put an end to his misery,"
Verse 2 = Lévi's Apramādav. v. 5:

Utthānenāpramādena saṁhyamena damena ca
Dvīpaṁ karoti medhāvi tam ogho nābhīmardati.

Verse 3 = Lévi's Apramādav. v. 6:

Utthānavataḥ smṛtātmamah śubhacittasya niśamyacāriṇaḥ
saṁhyatasya hi dharmaṁvino hyapramattasya yaśo'

bhivardhati.
Verse 4 = Poussin's Documents, Cittav. v. 32:
Utthānakāleṣu nihīnavyṛyo (yuvā bali——)ko nīrāsa (ḥ) Sadaiva saṁkalpaḥatā kusido jñānasya mārgaṁ satataṁ na vetti.

Verse 5 = Lévi's Aprāmādav. v. 21 = Rockhill's Udānavarga, iv. v. 21:
Na tāvatā dharmaḥ dharmanāḥ bahu bhāṣate Yastvihālpam api śrutvā dharma kāyena vai śṛṣṭet Sa vai dharmaḥ bhavati yo dharman na pramadyate.

"As many as you be, I declare unto you that those who, though they have heard but little of the law, have followed its commandments, have understood the law, they who follow the law have understood the law."

Verses 6-7 = Lévi's Aprāmādav. vv. 1-2:
Aprāmādo bhyaṁtapadāṁ aprāmādo mātyunāḥ padaṁ Apramattaṁ na mriyante ye pramātāḥ sadaṁ mṛtaḥ. Etāṁ viśeṣato jñātā hy aprāmādasya paṇḍitaḥ Apramāde pramadyeta nityam āryaṁ svagocaram.

Verse 8 = Lévi's Aprāmādav. v. 10:
Pramādam anuvartante bālā durmedhaso janāḥ Apramādāṁ tu medhāvī dhanaṁ śreṣṭhiva rakṣato.

Verse 10 = Lévi's Aprāmādav. v. 4:
Pramādam apramādānā yadā nudati paṇḍitaḥ Prajñāprāśaṁ āruhyā tvāsokah śokināḥ prajāṁ Parvatastha iva bhūmiṣṭhān dhīro bālān avehṣato.

Verse 11 = Lévi's Aprāmādav. v. 24 = Rockhill's = Udānavarga, iv. v. 24:
Apramādam praśaṁsanti apramādo garhitaḥ sadaḥ Apramādena Maghavān devānāṁ śreṣṭhatāṁ gataḥ.

1 The translation is tentative.
"He whose speech exalts earnestness and who always despises heedlessness will be greater among the gods than he who has made a hundred sacrifices."

Verse 12 = Lévi’s Apramādav. v. 8 = Rockhill’s Udānavarga, iv. v. 8:

Hīnān dharmān na seveta pramādene na saṁvaset
Mithyādṛṣṭim na roceta na bhavellokavardhanaḥ

"Have nothing to do with false doctrines, have nothing to do with the heedless; he who delights not in false doctrines shall not continue (in) the world."

Verse 14 = Lévi’s Apramādav. v. 37:

Ārabhadhvāṁ niśkramadhvaṁ yujyadhvaṁ buddhaṁśasane
Dhunidhvāṁ mātyunāṁ sainayaṁ naḍāgāram iva kuṇjaraḥ.

Verse 15 = Lévi’s Apramādav. v. 36:

Aramādaṁ bhavata suśīlā bhavata bhikṣavaḥ
Susamāhitasaṁkalpāḥ svacittam anurakṣata.

Add the following quotations just below the Pāli verse quoted on p. 135:

Lévi’s Apramādav. v. 12 (Rockhill’s Udānavarga, iv. v. 12):

Pramādaṁ nānuṇyujyeta na kāmaratisaṁstavam
Aramatteḥ sāda dhyāyī prāpnute ... sukham.

Verse 23 = Lévi’s Apramādav. v. 27:

Aramāde rato bhikṣaḥ pramādaḥ bhayadarsakaḥ
Durgād uddharate’ tmānaṁ paṁkasanna iva kuṇjaraḥ.

Verse 24 = Lévi’s Apramādav. v. 13:

Nāyaṁ pramādakālāḥ syād aprāpte hy āsravakṣayo
Pramattaṁ Māra anveti sīṁhasaṁ va mṛgamātṛkā,
Cf. Therag. v. 30, 2nd line:

Ābhādho me samuppanno, kālo me na pamajjituṁ.

Cf. Therig. v. 95:

Appakaṁ jīvitaṁ mayham jarā byādhi ca maddati Purāyaṁ bhijjati kāyo na me kālo pamajjituṁ.

II. For the verses of the Citavaga. p. 140 ff. —

Verse 1 = probably Rockhill’s Udānavarga, xxxi. v. 9:

"He who, thinking not of the body, lives in a cave, and wanders about all alone, does conquer this flighty mind, and is delivered of the greatest of terrors."

Verse 2 = Poussin’s Documents, Cittav., v. 2:

Vārija va sthale kṣipta okādoghāt samuddhṛtaḥ(ḥ)
Parispandati vai cittaṁ Māradheyath prabhātavai.

One need not be surprised if the Prakrit expressions of the 2nd foot resembled those in Sauskrit and read somewhat like okaoghā samudhrāta.

Verse 3 = Poussin’s Documents, Cittav, v. 28 = Rockhill’s Udānavarga, xxxi. v. 28:

A(nava)sth(ıtacitta)sya saddharmaṁ avijñataḥ
Pariplavaprasādaṁ praṇāṁ na paripūryate.

"He whose mind is not stedfast cannot understand the holy law; he whose faith is fickle cannot acquire perfect wisdom."

Verse 5 = Poussin’s Documents, Cittav., v. 8:

Spandanāṁ capalam cittaṁ dūrakṣaṁ durnivāraṇam
Ṛjuṁ karoti medhāvī iṣukāra iva tejanaṁ.
Cf. The Jaina expression *cānakārāvālā*cita
(Leumann's Aupāpātika Sūtra, s. 35, p. 46). Note that the Sanskrit verse is an exact counterpart of the Prakrit.

III. For the verses of the Sahasavaga, p. 154 ff.:
Verse 1 = Pelliot Ms., Sahasav, v. 3 (J.A., 1910).
Verse 3 or 5 = " " " v. 2"

For the first half of each of vv. 6-11, cf. the first line of the Dhammap. v. 106 (Sahassav, v. 7):

Māse māse sahassena yo yajetha satāth samārth

IV. For the verses of the Panıtavaga, p. 169 ff.:

Add the following notes on p. 172, just in the middle of the 6th line: cf. pramajjea, Pāli *pamajjeyya* (p. 119). The Pāli counterpart *samayareya* (sing.) should be *samācarati* acc. to a Jātaka verse quoted below. For such optative forms standing for Present, as also for Past, cf. *adea* = Pāli *vyadheti, vyadhessi* (Balav. v. 4, p. 183). For instances where the final *a* corresponds to the Pāli suffix *tha* (3rd pers.) cf. *jaea* (Pāli *jāyetha*), Pușav, v. 14, p. 152; *jaea* Pāli *yajetha*, Sahasav. v. 6-11.

For the first half of verse 4, cf. the first line in Poussin's Documents, Anityav. v. 24:

[Narakaṁ pāpakar]māna(ḥ) kṛtapuṇyajastu svargatim

For verse 5, cf. Therag. v. 865:

Silakkhandhe patiṭṭhāya satīṁ paṁnaṁ ca bhāvayaṁ Pāpunim anupubbena sabbasamyojanakkhayam.

Note on p. 176 that acc. to Franke *cavadhi=cūpāt adhi.*
V. For the verses of the Balavaga, p. 179 ff.:—

Verse 1 = Poussin's Documents, Anityav. v. 41 = Rockhill's Udānavarga, I. v. 40:

Idām (me kārya)n kartavyam idām kṛtvā bhaviṣyatī,
Ity evaṁ spantano mṛtya jaraṁ mṛtyuṣ ca mardatī.

"Such and such actions are a source of felicity, which I, having performed them, will acquire. He who prepares himself in this manner, will overcome age, disease, and death."

The Sanskrit parallel and its translation quoted above fully bears out the general sense of the Prakrit verse as suggested by M. Senart: "by properly understanding one's duty, one crushes death and the pains of it." The meaning and the restoration suggested by us on p. 180 are rather based upon a verse of the Mahābhārata, quoted on p. 179. Although we are unable to understand the propriety of the inclusion of the verse under the Balavaga, if its sense be what is brought out by its parallel in the Udānavarga, we feel constrained to accept the explanation of M. Senart and restore the verse as follows:

Verse 2 = Poussin's Documents, Anityav. v. 38.

Iha varṣaṁ karisyāmi hemantaṁ grīṣmam eva ca
Bālo vieinta (yat)i(ti) hy antarāyaṁ na paśyati.

Note that the first foot of the Prakrit verse corresponds to that of the Sanskrit, while its second foot is in accord with the Pali. The Prakrit word at the end of the verse might as well be paśati.

Verse 3 = Poussin's Documents, Anityav. v. 39 = Rockhill's Udānavarga, I. v. 39:

Taṁ putrapaśusammatam vyāsaktamānasaṁ naram
Suptaṁ grāmaṁ mahaughaiva mṛtyu(rādāya) gocecheti.

"Thou who art surrounded by children and flock, children are no refuge, nor are father, mother, and kinsfolk, thou art without a refuge."
For verse 6, cf. Poussin’s Documents, Yugav. vv. 41-42 (= Rockhill’s Udānavarga, xxix. vv. 45, 44:

Akṛtaṁ dukṣṭaṁ chhṛyaḥ paścāt tapati duṣkṛtaṁ
Socate dukṣṛtaṁ kṛtvā socate durgatim gataḥ
Kṛtan tu (su)kṛtaṁ āsrayo yat kṛtvā nānutapyaṁ
Nandate su(kṛ)taṁ kṛtvā nandate sugatim gataḥ(ḥ).

“It is better in both (this world and the other) if one has not done evil, for he who does it will suffer; it is good for one to do what is right, for he will have no affliction.”

“He who has done that which is wrong, suffers for it, and when hereafter he will be in the evil way he will suffer; he who has done that which is right, is made happy, and when hereafter he will be in the happy way he will be happy.”

Here is another instance where we find each of the two lines of a verse similar to the Prakrit or the Pāli has been expounded into one complete verse. The order of the two verses thus formed is inverted in the Udānavarga. This fact of inversion of verse-order and the discrepancy of verse-numbers suggest that the Turfan Ms. contains rather the text of an older compilation of the Udānavarga, i.e., the original of the text portion of the Chuh-yau-king.

Verse 8 = Lévi’s Apramādav. v. 20 = Rockhill’s Udānavarga, iv. vv. 19-20:

Yeṣāṁ tu susamārbdhā nityāṁ kāyagataṁ smṛtiḥ
Akṛtyaṁ te na kurvanti kṛtye sātasyakāriṇāḥ
Smṛtāṁ samprajanānāṁ astaṁ gacchanti āsравāḥ.

“He who comprehends the nature of the body, who reflects, and whose exertions are unceasing, does not what ought not to be done, and does what ought to be done.”

“He, therefore, with memory and understanding will put an end to his misery, and when he has put an end to his misery (āsrava), he will find the untroubled state.”
VI. For the verses of the Jaravaga, p. 186 ff.:—

Verse 3 = Poussin's Documents, Anityav. v. 29:

Dhik tvām astu jare grāmye (varṣā)pakār(i)ṇ(i) jade Ta)thā manoramāṁ bimbamāṁ tvayā yad abhimarditam.

Verse 4 = Poussin's Documents, Anityav. v. 30:

Yo pi varṣaśatam jivet so pi mātyuparāyaṇāḥ
Anu hy enam ja(rā yāt) i— i mo— i vāntakah.

Verse 5 = Poussin's Documents, Anityav. v. 34:

(Par)ij(i) rnam idam (rū)pam roganidam prabhaṅgaram
Bhetsyate pūtyāsandeham maraṇāntam hi jivitam.

Verse 8 = Poussin's Documents, Anityav. v. 33:

Yeśāṁ rātridivāpāye hy āyur alpataram bhavet
Alpodake ca mātsyānāṁ kā nu (tatra rat)i(r bhavet).

For verse 12 cf. Poussin's Documents, Anityav. v. 32 and Rockhill's Udānavarga, i. v. 33:

Āyur divā ca rātran ca caratas tiṣṭhatas tathā
Nadīnāṁ (hi) yathā sroto (ga)c(ch)ati na nivartate.

"This life is fleeting away day and night; it is unstable like the stream of a great river; one goes on not to return again."

Verse 17 = Poussin's Documents, Anityav. v. 35:

(Aciraṁ bata kāyo' yaṁ prthi)vaṁ adhiṣṭeṣoṣati
Śūnya vyapetavijñāno nirastam vā kaḍaṅgaram.

Verse 20 = Poussin's Documents, Anityav. v. 37:

Anena pūṭikāyena hy āturaṇa prabhaṅgupā
Ni ( ) ? parāṁ सांतिः yogāśeṣeṇāṁ anuttaram.
Cf. Therig. v. 140:

Iminā pāṭikkāyena ātureka pabhāṅgūṇā

Verse 22 = Poussin's Documents, Anityav. v. 36:

Kim anena sārīrene (visra)vāpūtinā (sa)d(ā)  
(Ni)tyam (v)og(ā)bh(i)bhūtena jara-marapanabhīraṁ.

Note that nimedha (p. 213) equates better with the Pali
nimmidham.

Verse 24 = Poussin's Documents, Anityav. v. 28:

Ciryanti vai rājaratī (ḥ) sucitra hy ato  
śāriram api ja(rām upe)ti  
Sat(ā)n tu dharmo na ja(rā)m upeti santo hi  
tath satsu nibodayati.

VII. For the verses of the Suhavagā, p. 218 ff.:

Verse 3 = Poussin's Documents, Sukhav. v. 30:

(Mā)trā (su)kha parityāgād yaḥ paśyed vipulāṁ sukham  
Tyajan mātrāsukham dhīraḥ sa(m)paśyāṁ vipulāṁ  
sukham.

Verse 4 = Poussin's Documents, Sukhav. v. 43:

Susukham bata jivāmo hy utsuksuṇ tv anutsukā(h)  
(U)tsuksuṇa manusyeṣu vi(ha)rāma hy anutsuka(h).

Verse 5 = Poussin's Documents, Sukhav. v. 47:

Susukhaṁ bata jivāmo vairikasu tv avairikāḥ  
Vairikasu manusyeṣu viharāmo hy avairikāḥ.

Substitute yesān no for yesām no in the Sanskrit verses 
quoted on p. 222. Note that the Sanskrit verse quoted on p. 
223 belongs to the Udānavarga (Sukhav. v. 44).

Cf. Mahābhārata, xii. 219. 50:

Na khalu mama hi dahyate' tra kīcīt.
The slokas corresponding to the Jātaka verses are not to be found in the existing texts of the Mahābhārata.

Verses 8-9 = Poussin's Documents, Kāmav. vv. 5-6:

(Na tad dṛṣṭham bandhanam āhur āryā yad āyasiṁh
dāravatī balbajatī
dṛṣṭatī manikṣepālaṇa)p(u)treṣ(u) dāreṣ(u) ja
yā avekṣatī.

Etad dṛṣṭatī bandhanam āhur āryāḥ samaṁ(t) tataḥ
susthiram duspramanuṣcātṛ
drśatāthosevā parivrajantī anape)kṣ(i)ṇatṛ
kāmasukhayā prahāya.

Verse 12 = Poussin's Documents, Sukhav. v. 29:

Durlabhaḥ purṣaṁ jānyo nāsau sarvatra jāyate
(Yatraṁ jāyate viras tat kulaṁ sukhaṁ edhate.

For the second half of verse 15 and the first half of verse 16, cf. Poussin's Documents, Sukhav. v. 24:

Dukkho (bālair hi samvāso) hy amitre(ṇeva sarvadā)
Dhīraṁ tu sukhasaṁvāso jñātināṁ iva samāgama|h).

For verses 13-14 cf. Leumann's Daśavaikālikā Sūtra (Z.D.M.G.), viii v. 52:

Vivittā ya bhave sejjā, nārīnaṁ va lave kahāṁ
Gīhīsamthavaṁ na knjā, knjā sahuḥi samthavaṁ.

Verse 17 = Poussin’s Documents, Sukhav. vv. 11-12:

Rathakāra iva carmaṇāḥ parikartunupānahaṁ
Yad yaj(jja)ḥati kā(m)ā(n)ā(natu)t tat sampadyate
sukhaṁ
Sarvaṁ cet sukham iccheta sarvakāmāṇaḥ (pa)ṛi(tyaj)et
Sarvakāmaparityāgī hy atyantaṁ sukha(me)dhate.
ERRATA

For                        Read

p. viii. 1. 33              Order of chapter
                              Name of chapter
                              Order of chapters
                              Name of chapters
                              26 chapters
                              "Apra"
                              Bengali
                              12
                              "sethi"
                              Dhammap. 135(?)
                              stanza 32 (?)
                              fr. xv70
                              translation
                              II p. 104.
                              marabanana
                              v. 37
                              v. 34
                              v. 38
                              eka
                              (f. n. 4)
                              āsino
                              cittassa
                              krītāntaḥ
                              kijjī
                              Cf. Mahābhārata, xii.
                              219-50

p. 228. Manu-Śloka     tasya vṛddhante

N. B.—Put.............. ga 30 (A3, 5) just below the Prakrit
verse 30 on p. 116, Add (A1, 4) under v. 22 on p. 136. Put...
ga 17 (C,7* 23) just below the Prakrit verse 17 (p. 167).
Call No.— BPa3/Dha/B.M. - 6164

Author— Barua, Benimadhab and Mitra, Sailendranath. Tr.

Title— Prākrit Dhammapad.

"A book that is shut is but a block"

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