

A Comparative Study of *the Mātaṅga-jātaka* and its Jaina Version

Michihiko Yajima

Preface

The following is a recent English version of two articles on the Pāli *Mātaṅga-jātaka* and its Jaina version, the 12th chapter of *The Uttarajjhāyā*, which I published in Japanese quite a few years ago. The first was published in *Bukkyōgaku* (11), pp.(1-25) in 1981, and the second in *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Ronshū, a Felicitation Volume for Professor Jikido Takasaki on his 60th birthday*, p.(61)-(74), in 1987. In connection with my study in this area of Buddhist and Jaina literature, I had the chance, a few years ago, to meet the renowned scholar of Jainism, Dr Peter Flügel. He kindly read my draft English version of these articles and encouraged me to publish them. He informed me that some European scholars had also recently submitted doctoral theses on the subject of the Pāli *Mātaṅga-jātaka*. Although I now feel the necessity of reconsidering or amending a few passages in those articles, for this volume of our Bulletin I thought it best not to tamper with them now, but rather simply present English versions of the articles as they originally appeared.

In the first article, I focus attention on the second half of the canonical version of the tale of the *Caṇḍāla* monk; through a comparison with the Jaina version, I attempt to clarify in particular the possible reasons why such a large difference between the two versions occurs in the latter half of the story. In the second article, I go back and consider the first half of the story, which consists of a dialogue between a Brahmin priest and a monk who has come begging for food.

A Comparative Study of the *Mātaṅga-jātaka* and *Uttarajjhāyā* 12*

The Pāli *Mātaṅga-jātaka* (Fausbøll, No. 497; hereafter: MJ) is a most interesting tale about a former life of the Buddha in which he is portrayed as a *caṇḍāla* called Mātaṅga,¹ and it was long ago pointed out by Charpentier² that a parallel to this story can be found in the Jaina *Uttarajjhāyā* 12 (“Hariesijjajjhayaṇa”; hereafter: Utt 12). Since both works include many verses that correspond word-for-word, it would seem beyond doubt that both derive from a single source. But a comparison of the content of these two versions shows that while there are similarities between the two, there are also many aspects in which they differ from each other. For instance, in the Pāli version the person of the *caṇḍāla* Mātaṅga is strongly tinged with some quite distinctive characteristics,³ and this is in strong contrast to the Jaina version, which shows little evidence of this.⁴

The search for prototypes of this tale through a comparison of both versions was initiated by the above-mentioned Charpentier, and this research was subsequently continued by Alsdorf⁵ who, as well as emending the text of some of the verses, also took up a number of problematic sections and made some trenchant observations. In the following, while basing myself on this earlier research,⁶ I propose to set forth some points that have come to my notice in the hope of making a further contribution to the study of this unique tale.

§1. Differences in the Forms of Transmission of Ākhyānas

Before embarking on our examination, it is first necessary to comment briefly on the form in which the MJ and Utt 12 have been preserved.

As has been demonstrated by Alsdorf in his article “The Ākhyāna Theory

Reconsidered,”⁷ the narrative works on which the narrative chapters of the Utt draw for their subject matter are, as in the case of the Pāli Jātakas, old Ākhyānas (literary works in which verse is used for dialogue and prose for narrative description), but there are slight differences in the way in which they have been canonized and the form in which they have been transmitted. That is to say, whereas the Pāli Jātakas have generally preserved the Ākhyānas in their original format, in the narrative chapters of the Utt, perhaps because of an aversion to the fragmentary character of the verses, synopses of the prose narrative have also been versified as seen fit by the redactor, and these have been added to the canonical text, thereby creating purely canonical verse narratives (or ballads).

In the case of the MJ and Utt 12 to be considered here, the former, consisting of dialogue in verse (corresponding to the canonical *gāthās*)⁸ and the narrative account in prose (corresponding to the Jātaka commentary: JA), preserves the literary style of the Ākhyānas, whereas the latter also includes many verses of narrative content⁹ which together constitute a self-contained canonical narrative. Of course, this balladic style is no more than a provisional format adopted by the Jaina redactors when they set about canonizing the story, and that it was originally a work of the Ākhyāna type, like the MJ, can be readily inferred from the fact that details of the narrative have survived in commentaries on the Utt and these have, moreover, been carried over into the canonical section as an incomplete tale.¹⁰

In the following, bearing in mind this difference in the form in which the Ākhyāna has been preserved, I shall compare the two works and delve especially into the relationship between this difference and the transmission of the tale in the two versions. I shall focus in particular on the second half of the canonical section in both versions. For the convenience of the reader, the principal characters

appearing in both tales are listed below.

Utt 12

MJ

Bala: *Caṇḍāla* and main character

Mātaṅga: *Caṇḍāla* and main character

Bhaddā: Daughter of king of Kosala

Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā: Merchant's daughter¹¹

Ruddadeva: Brahmin and Bhaddā's

Maṇḍavya: Brahmin and Diṭṭhamaṅgali-

husband

kā's son

Yakkha: Mystical being appearing in both works

§2. A Comparison of the Narrative in the Verse Sections

Let us first compare the canonical narratives (in the case of the MJ this includes the prose of the JA inserted between the verses) and briefly note their differences. In the first half, a monk (Utt 12: Bala/ MJ: Mātaṅga) approaches the sacrifice-enclosure (alms-hall) of a brahmin (Ruddadeva/ Maṇḍavya) to beg for food. On seeing the unsightly monk, the brahmin(s)¹² laugh/s at him and ask/s him who he is, and this leads to a series of questions and answers between the monk begging for food and the brahmin who refuses to give him any (brahmin's words: st. 6, 7 > g. 1; st. 11=g. 3; st. 13=g. 5; st. 16; monk's words: st. 9, 10=g. 2; st. 12=g. 4; st. 14, 15=gg. 6, 7; st. 17). This could be described as an altercation brought about by differences in their respective notions of giving (alms), although in Utt 12 the monk's words are spoken by the *yakkha* who takes pity on him (identification of speaker: st. 8).

The priest (alms-giver), who takes the view that only brahmins deserve gifts, loses patience with the monk, who continues to propound a contrary view, and orders his underlings to beat the monk and drive him away (st. 18=g. 8). Utt 12 then describes how the brahmin's disciples ill-treat the monk (st. 19), while in

the MJ the gatekeepers rush to the scene (JA).

There are no great differences between the Utt 12 and MJ in the unfolding of the story in the first half, centred on the dialogue between the monk and the brahmin. But in the second half the story unfolds in quite different ways in the two versions, and these differences are most pronounced in the concluding section.

In Utt 12 the brahmin Ruddadeva, who had stubbornly refused to give the monk food and ordered him to be driven away, has a change of heart on learning that the monk is a great renunciant, takes refuge in him, and finally offers him food of his own accord. This unfolding of the narrative in the Jaina version, in which the main character ultimately obtains the food which had been his initial concern, gives the impression of being completely natural. The Buddhist version, on the other hand, lacks this natural denouement, and it is not the brahmin patron Maṇḍavya, but the monk Mātāṅga who offers the food. That is to say, he offers his own leftovers (*uttitṭha-piṇḍa*) to Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā as “the elixir of immortal life” (*amatosadha*) for her son Maṇḍavya, who has been injured by the *yakkhas*.

How did it come about that these two tales, while sharing many verses, should have such different endings? Charpentier considered the ending in the Buddhist version to represent the original form of the story,¹³ but is this in fact so? Let us begin by examining the *śloka* which is the first verse in the second half to show similar wording in both versions (st. 26=g. 9).

§§3-5. An Examination of the *Śloka* Verse (Utt 12, st. 26; MJ, g. 9)

§3. The verse attributed to the priest's wife Bhaddā in the Jaina version (st. 26) tallies almost word-for-word with g. 9 in the MJ, spoken by Mātāṅga.

(Priest's wife Bhaddā)

(Mātaṅga)

st. 26 a *giriṃ nahehiṃ khaṇaha*

g. 9 a *giriṃ nakhena khaṇasi*

b *ayaṃ dantehiṃ khāyaha*

b *ayo dantena khādasi*

c *jāyateyaṃ¹⁴ pāehi haṇaha*

c *jātavedaṃ padahasi*

d *je bhikkhuṃ avamannaha*

d *yo isiṃ paribhāsasi*

In two works written predominantly in the *triṣṭubh* metre, this is the only verse in *śloka* metre, and the fact that it tallies in both works proves its authenticity. It is interesting to note that a similar phenomenon is to be observed in the tale of Citta and Sambhūta (Utt 13, J 498).¹⁵ Be that as it may, the narrative framework in which these two verses occur is completely different.

First, in the Jaina version the dialogue between the monk and the brahmin ends with the latter's orders for the monk's expulsion (st. 18), and the first half of the tale comes to an end with a description of the ill-treatment of the monk by the brahmin's disciples. Next, the priest's wife Bhaddā is introduced in the following narrative verse (st. 20), and this ushers in a new development in the tale. Bhaddā first relates how she had once been possessed by a *yakkha* angry at her having slighted a monk and had consequently been forced to accept marriage with the monk, whereupon, forsaken by her father, the king, she had gone to the monk, who had resolutely refused her; pointing out that this monk was none other than the monk now before their very eyes, she reprimands the reckless young disciples (st. 21-23). The experiences here related by Bhaddā are a summary of the story told in detail in the commentaries as the introductory story of this canonical section of the Utt. On hearing Bhaddā's words, the *yakkhas* and Asuras assault the young men and beat them (st. 24-25), and she goes on to point out by means of similes the folly of maligning a monk (st. 26-27). It is in this context that st. 26, spoken by Bhaddā, occurs, and it is addressed to the

young disciples. It is for this reason that the words indicative of her interlocutors are in the plural (*khaṇaha*, *khāyaha*, *haṇaha*, *je...avamannaha*).

In the MJ, on the other hand, the gatekeepers rush towards the monk Mātaṅga on hearing the brahmin Maṇḍavya's call (g. 8), and in order to escape being thrashed by them Mātaṅga uses his supernatural powers to rise up in the air and utters an admonitory verse (g. 9). The foregoing dialogue has not yet come to an end, and so the monk addresses these words to his interlocutor, the brahmin. Hence the grammatical number in g. 9 is singular (*khaṇasi*, *khādasi*, *padahasi*, *yo...paribhāsasi*).

In this fashion the narrative framework of the two tales, including the speakers, differs, and here special attention needs to be paid to the difference in 'number' in the two verses (st. 26: plural; g. 9: singular). This difference would naturally suggest that one of the two versions has been "altered."

§4. It is, moreover, interesting to note that a further comparison of the two verses reveals, in addition to the differences in the grammatical number of the personal endings, several other words that similarly evidence a difference in number, i.e., the plural forms *nahehiṃ*, *dantehiṃ* and *pāehi* in st. 26 and the singular forms *nakhena* and *dantena* in g. 9.

First, as regards *dantena* in g. 9, Fausbøll notes that manuscripts B^{ds} have *-tehi*, while the Burmese edition (B^e) and Siamese edition (S^e) have *-tebhi*, and they match the *dantehiṃ* of the Jaina version. It may therefore be supposed that the singular form is secondary.¹⁶

Next, in the case of *padahasi* in g. 9c, which is somewhat similar in sound to ...*pāehi haṇaha* in st. 26c, the commentary interprets it as deriving from *pra-√dhā* and gives the meaning of the entire *pāda* as *aggim gilitum vāyamasi*,¹⁷ but this

interpretation, which supplements *gilituṃ* ('to swallow'), is clearly untenable. Judging from the phonetical similarities, it can be readily surmised that *padahasi* (*pada-* | *hasi*) was originally of similar import to *pāehi haṇaha* in the Jaina version, and if we here call to mind the instrumental plural in *-e* found in the archaic language,¹⁸ it is not difficult to imagine that it would originally have read *pae√han*. It could be said that the Jaina version eschewed the old instrumental plural in *-e* and replaced it with *pāehi* (with an additional syllable), while the Pāli version preserved the metre but created a new word of unknown meaning.¹⁹ At any rate, here too we find an example of the plural form *pae*.

If we bear in mind the above facts and now consider the parallel passages from the Buddhist texts cited below, it should be evident to all that it was the *Buddhists* who during the transmission of this verse altered the 'number' of some of the words appearing in it.

- (1) *bālā kumudanālehi pabbatam abhimatthattha/
girim nakhena khanatha ayo dantehi khādatha//
selam va siras-ūhacca pātāle gādham esatha/
khāṇuṃ va urasāsajja nibbijjāpetha Gotamā ti//*

(Saṃyutta-nikāya I, 127.14-17)

- (2) *girim nakhehi khanatha ayo dantehi khādatha/
parvataṃ śirasā hanatha agādhe gādham eṣatha/
kim u anvetha pāpīyo api buddhāsūyā sadā//*

(Mahāvastu, ed. Senart, III, 285.12-14)

- (3) *girim nakhair vilikhetha loham dantaḥ vikhādatha/
śirasā vibhīṣṭha girim agādhe gādham eṣata//*

(Lalitavistara XXIV, v. 80 [Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, No. 1, p. 275])²⁰

Among the above, (1), occurring in the “Sagātha-vagga,” is spoken by the demon Pāpiman to the three demonesses Taṇhā, Arati and Ragā, while (2) and (3) are spoken by the Buddha to Māra’s daughters (Taṇhā, etc.). There is, however, no reason whatsoever to suppose that the plural forms appearing in these *ślokas* were originally singular and subsequently altered for contextual reasons, since the first line in the quotation from the *Mahāvastu*, for instance, is identical to *pādas*-ab in the Jaina version. It would seem quite obvious that the singular forms in g. 9 are the result of changes made by the narrators of the Jātakas.

§5. Why, then, did the narrator of the Pāli tale alter the grammatical number? And in what circumstances did this change from plural to singular take place? This can probably be understood in the following manner.

The narrator of the Jātaka tale probably had before him two *consecutive* verses (gg. 8-9). In g. 9 the personal endings were in the plural, but because the speaker of the immediately preceding g. 8 was the brahmin Maṇḍavya, the Jātaka narrator would no doubt have assumed that g. 9 was the response of the brahmin’s *interlocutor*, the monk Mātaṅga, for he would no longer have had any knowledge of the content of the prose (in the original Ākhyāna) which identified the real speaker of this verse. It is to be surmised, in other words, that the Jātaka narrator was under the impression that the foregoing dialogue was still being continued and, convinced that this *śloka* was spoken by the monk and addressed to the brahmin, he changed the plural endings to their more appropriate singular forms. The verb *paribhāsasi* (‘you revile’) too is presumably a rephrasing by the narrator to whom this *śloka* could be understood only as a continuation of the foregoing dialogue.

In the Jaina version Bhaddā, the speaker of st. 26, is first introduced in st. 20 and then goes on to describe the circumstances of her earlier encounter with the monk. These verses were obviously intended to form a ballad, and as a result of this judicious handling of the material by the redactor of the Utt the reader does not lose sight of the development of the plot (that is, the relationship between the conversational verses). At the very least, it could be said that the earlier prose tradition was thereby firmly set in verse, and this served to prevent the loss of any recollection of the context of the original canonical verses.

The most appropriate person to warn against the folly of reviling a renunciant, comparable to “digging at a mountain with one’s nails, biting iron with one’s teeth, and extinguishing a fire with one’s feet,” was someone who had realized this through her own experiences, that is, the brahmin’s wife, and indeed this warning can have meaning only when spoken by her. In the Buddhist version the speaker of this verse is the monk Mātaṅga, but originally it would have been spoken by the figure corresponding to Bhaddā (i.e., *Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā*), for a story similar to the episode concerning Bhaddā is still preserved in the introductory story in the Jātaka commentary (JA).²¹

§6. The Interpolation of the *Abhisambuddha-gāthā* (g. 10)

It was perhaps only natural that the Jātaka narrator, whose recollection of the content of the old prose sections was hazy, should have attributed the admonitory *śloka* (g. 9) to Mātaṅga, a former incarnation of the Buddha (*bodhisatta*). One could also say that it was quite understandable that the Jātaka narrator should have imagined that after his admonition of the brahmin, Mātaṅga miraculously rose up in the air. As if to betray this, the new episode devised by the Jātaka narrator is described in the sole narrative verse in the MJ (g. 10) in the form of

an *abhisambuddha-gāthā* spoken by the Buddha:

g. 10 *idaṃ vatvāna Mātaṅgo isi saccaparakkamo*

antalikkhasmin pakkāmi brāhmaṇānaṃ udikkhatam

Mātaṅga, the seer striving after truth, upon having spoken thus,

Went up into the air as the brahmins watched.

It is quite intriguing that a fiction created by the Jātaka narrator himself should have been versified and given canonical sanction in this fashion, and it is in fact this fanciful conceit on the part of the Jātaka narrator (i.e., Mātaṅga's levitation), originating in a misunderstanding of the *śloka* verse (g. 9), that would seem to have been the basic cause of the major distortions in the subsequent unfolding of the tale in the MJ. In the following we shall ascertain this fact by retracing the changes made to the narrative in the MJ.

§§7-11. Vestiges of Changes to the Story

§7. Let us first consider a simple example. After Mātaṅga's rising up into the air, the commentary describes how Maṇḍavya and the other brahmins were punished by the *yakkha* and other gods. The *yakkha*, who has not been mentioned once up until now, here suddenly appears on the scene, and Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā too finally makes her first appearance in a verse section. Shocked at the pitiful sight of her son Maṇḍavya, she first asks the bystanders (JA: *ṭhita-jana*) who was responsible (g. 11), and on hearing the answer (g. 12) she realizes that it must have been Mātaṅga. She then questions the bystanders about his whereabouts (gg. 13-14) and sets out in search of him.

That this drawn-out episode about her search for Mātaṅga was created *out of necessity* on account of Mātaṅga's levitation and the resultant shift in scene is

evident from the relative recentness of the verses constituting the above dialogue (gg. 11-14). For instance, the verse in which *Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā* questions the bystanders (g. 11) is identical to her subsequent verse addressed to *Mātaṅga* (g. 15), while the verse in which the bystanders describe *Mātaṅga*'s appearance (g. 12) is no more than a mere "imitation" of the verse in which the brahmin initially described and ridiculed *Mātaṅga* (g. 1=st. 6-7).²² In addition, part of the wording of the bystanders' verse (g. 14d: *saccappaṭiñño isi sādthurūpo*) has similarities with parts of other secondary verses (g. 10b: *isi saccaparakkamo*; g. 16b: *isayo sādthurūpā*; cf. §9).

§8. An Example of Balladization in Utt 12

The verse in the MJ in which Maṇḍavya's mother *Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā* describes to *Mātaṅga* the pitiful spectacle of her son and asks whose doing it was (g. 15=g. 11) has correspondences with st. 29-30 in Utt 12.

Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā

<p>st. 29 <i>avaheḍiya piṭṭhisauttamamge</i> — g. 15 <i>āveṭhitam piṭṭhito uttamamgam</i> <i>pasāriyā bāhu akammaceṭṭhe</i> ————— <i>bāham pasāreti akammaneyyam</i> <i>nibbheriyacche</i>²³ <i>ruhiram vamate</i> — <i>setāni akkhīni yathā matassa</i> <i>uddhammuhe niggayaṭṭhanette</i></p>	}	<p><i>ko me imam puttam akāsi evam</i></p>
<p>st. 30 <i>te pasāriyā khaṇḍiyakaṭṭhabhūe</i> <i>vimaṇo visaṇṇo aha māhaṇo so</i> <i>isim pasāei sabhāriyāo</i> <i>hīlam ca nindam ca khamāha bhante</i></p>		

Although st. 29-30 take the form of narrative description, it is to be surmised that originally they were conversational verses like g. 15. For example, if we

consider the final *pāda* of st. 29, the compound *niggayajīhanette* ('eyes and tongue protruding') closely resembles in both content and wording *nibbheriyacche* ('eyes protruding?') in *pāda-c*,²⁴ and it is also evident that *uddhammuhe* ('face upturned') is another expression for the young men's posture presumably described by the difficult *pāda-a* (*avaheḍiya piṭṭhisauttamamge*).²⁵ The character of this final *pāda* would suggest that the redactor of the Utt, intent on producing a ballad consisting solely of canonical verses and with a view to providing the context (speaker) of st. 29 and st. 31, which were probably spoken by the same speaker, changed the final *pāda* of the former verse into the third person, composed st. 30ab, and to offset this added the two extra extant *pādas* by the simple method of referring to the wording of the older verses. Only st. 30d (*hīlaṃ ca nindaṃ ca khamāha bhante*) is in conversational style, and this too is nothing more than a supplementary *pāda* produced with reference to st. 31b (*jaṃ hīliyā tassa khamāha bhante*). Thus the process whereby the redactor of the Utt set about creating a ballad is quite clear.

Originally st. 29 was probably a conversational verse spoken by the brahmin and ended with a *pāda* similar to g. 15d. However, although Dīṭṭhamaṅgalikā's query about who had harmed her son in g. 15d (*ko me imaṃ puttam akāsi evaṃ*) would seem to form a credible exchange together with Mātaṅga's reply that it was the *yakkhas* (g. 16d), originally, as will be shown in §10 below, another verse (g. 19) would have come before g. 16, and therefore this conversational format is questionable. It is to be surmised that the original *pāda* corresponding to st. 29d would perhaps have been an expression of grief on the part of the brahmin as he described the pitiful sight of the young men. It was presumably because it was an expression of grief rather than a simple question as in g. 15d that when it was transformed into a narrative verse by the Jaina redactor for the

purposes of balladization, it was able to be reworded as follows in st. 30:

st. 30ab *te pāsiyā khaṇḍiyakaṭṭhabhūe*
 vimaṇo visaṇṇo aha māhaṇo so
 Seeing that they had become like logs of wood,
 The brahmin became distressed and dejected.

§9. Three verses in Utt 12 (st. 31-33) show a complicated correspondence with four verses in the MJ (gg. 16-19).

(Ruddadeva) st. 31			g. 16 (Mātaṅga)
(Bala) st. 32	{	ab	g. 17 (Ditṭhamaṅgalikā)
		cd	g. 18 (Mātaṅga)
(Ruddadeva) st. 33			g. 19 (Ditṭhamaṅgalikā)

The four verses in the MJ are said to have been a “speech and counterspeech” (JA: *vacana-paṭivacana*) between Mātaṅga and Ditṭhamaṅgalikā, but they have been augmented, and it is to be surmised that originally there were only three verses, as in the Jaina version. This is because the two verses spoken by the monk Mātaṅga (gg. 16, 18) correspond in the following manner with the single verse spoken by the monk Bala (st. 32).

st. 32a	<i>puvviṃ ca iṇhiṃ ca aṇāgayam ca</i>	g. 18a	<i>tadeva hī etarahī ca mayham</i>
b	<i>maṇappadoso na me atthi koi</i>	b	<i>manopadoso mama n’atthi koci</i>
		c	<i>putto ca te vedamadena matto</i>
		d	<i>attham na jānāti adhicca vede</i>
c	<i>jakkhā hu veyāvaḍḍiyam karenti</i>	g. 16a	<i>yakkhā have santi mahānu- bhāvā</i>
		b	<i>anvāgatā isayo sādthurūpā</i>
		c	<i>te duṭṭhacittam kupitam veditvā</i>

d *tamhā hu ee nihayā kumārā*

d *yakkhā hi te puttam akamsu*

evam

Let us consider the correspondence between st. 32c (*jakkhā hu veyāvaḍiḍaṃ karentī*) and g. 16ab (*yakkhā have santi mahānubhāvā/ anvāgatā isayo sādhu-rūpā*). The former is succinct and plain in meaning: “The *yakkhas* do indeed perform service.” In the case of the latter, on the other hand, the commentary misinterprets the word *anvāgatā* (°*ti anugata isayo sādhu-rūpā guṇasampannā ti evaṃ jānamānā ti attho*)²⁶ and tries to read the two *pādas* as a single sentence, but this is of course inadmissible. The word *anvāgata-* should be understood in accordance with its general meaning and usage (CPD: ‘followed [or protected] by [instr.]’), and these two *pādas* form two convoluted sentences which should be translated as in the PTS translation: “Goblins there are, whose might and power is great, who follow sages, beautiful to see.”²⁷ Thus the Buddhist version does not differ measurably in meaning from the Jaina version, and the only difference between the two is that, in contrast to the succinctness of st. 32c, g. 16ab consists of two convoluted sentences and contains unnecessary modifiers (*mahānubhāvā*, [*isayo*] *sādhurūpā*). When we consider the correspondence between *yakkhā have...* (g. 16a) and *jakkhā hu ve...* (st. 32c), *have* (‘indeed, certainly’) calls to mind a single-syllable (˘) indeclinable (*khō* or *hi*) which would originally have been the third syllable, while the *-ve* of *have* might even suggest that the Pāli *veyyāvaḍikaṃ* (Ostsprache: *veyyāvaḍiḍaṃ*)²⁸ had originally occupied the rest of the *pāda*.

It is thus evident that g. 16ab would originally have constituted a single *pāda* as in st. 32c. Likewise, g. 18cd, which has no parallel in the Jaina version, may be assumed to have originally been in the second person and included in the earlier exchange between the monk and the brahmin, that is, in g. 7ab, which

corresponds to st. 15ab (*tubbhe ttha bho bhāradharā girāṇaṃ/ aṭṭhaṃ na jāṇeha ahijja vee*) in the Jaina version. (The current form of g. 7ab is a mechanical repetition of g. 6ab.) In this manner a single verse comparable to st. 32 can be recovered from g. 18ab and g. 16abd, and it is clear that the current four-verse exchange originally consisted of three verses.

§10. Next I wish to take up for consideration the correspondences between st. 32ab and g. 18ab. St. 32a (*puvviṃ ca iṇhiṃ²⁹ ca aṇāgayam ca*) offers no metrical problems, and with regard to its content too it is quite natural for the monk to declare at this point that he harbours no anger “in the past, in the present, or in the future” in response to the brahmin’s statement in the preceding verse that “saints are not inclined to wrath” (st. 31d: *na hu muṇi kovaparā havanti*).³⁰ As for g. 18a (*tadeva hī etarahī ca mayham*), on the other hand, the long *i* in *hī* and *etarahī* is the result of emendations by Fausbøll for metrical reasons, and in actual fact all the manuscripts and S^B^e have *hi etarahi*. In other words, this *pāda* is, metrically speaking, quite irregular. Next, what does it actually mean when it says, “truly [nor] *then* [nor] *now* in me...”? The JA explains it as follows: “O Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā, at that time (*tadā*) when your son abused me...and now (*etarahi*) when you ask for forgiveness, I have no thought of anger towards him.”³¹ As can be inferred from this interpretation, the above phrase can only be understood if one assumes that the scene of the conversation has shifted from the brahmin’s alms-hall and also to a different point in time.

St. 32b (*maṇappadoso na me atthi koī*) and g. 18b (*manopadoso mama n’ atthi koci*) are almost identical, the only differences being in the pronoun (*me/ mama*) and word order.³² Therefore, the word *mama* in g. 18b may be deemed authentic, but how is one to explain its duplication with *mayham* in g. 18a? It is

clearly the latter that is redundant, and it is probably no more than an addition made *metri causa* when the *pāda* was modified.

The changes to g. 18ab can be ascertained in the above fashion, and if these two *pādas* may be restored to a form originally similar to st. 32ab, then the verse preceding it in content must be g. 19 (=st. 31). It may therefore be assumed that the four verses gg. 16-19 were originally three verses in the order g. 19 (=st. 31)—g. 18ab+g. 16abd (=st. 32)—g. 17 (=st. 33).

§11. The brahmin priest Ruddadeva, realizing that the person before him is a great renunciant, declares his veneration for him (st. 33, 34ab) and offers him food (st. 34cd, 35ab). The passage in which he offers the monk food (35ab) matches g. 20ab in the Pāli version.

st. 35a <i>imaṃ ca me atthi pabhūyam</i>	g. 20a <i>idañ ca mayhaṃ uttiṭṭhapiṇḍaṃ</i>
<i>annaṃ</i>	
b <i>taṃ bhujjasū amha aṇugga-</i>	b <i>Maṇḍavyo bhuñjatu appapañño,</i>
<i>haṭṭhā</i>	
c <i>bāḍhaṃ ti paḍicchai bhatta-</i>	c <i>yakkhā ca te nam na viheṭha-</i>
<i>pāṇaṃ</i>	<i>yeyyūṃ</i>
d <i>māsassa ū pāraṇae mahappā</i>	d <i>putto ca te hohiti so arogo.</i>

As was noted earlier, the conclusion to the tale here presented in the Pāli version is quite different from that in the Jaina version. In contrast to the natural ending in the latter, in which the brahmin offers the monk food, the monk ironically offers the brahmin food ('leftovers'), entrusting it to the latter's mother.

Now, initially when he had asked for food at the sacrifice-enclosure (alms-hall) of the brahmin (Ruddadeva/ Maṇḍavya), the monk (Bala/ Mātanga) had pointed

out that there was plenty of food and that it should be shared among and consumed by all people.

st. 10a <i>viyarijjai khajjai bhujjai ya</i> ³³	g. 2a <i>annaṃ tava idaṃ pakataṃ</i>
	<i>yasassi</i>
b <i>annaṃ pabhūyaṃ bhavayāṇaṃ</i>	b <i>taṃ khajjare bhuñjare piyyare</i>
<i>eyaṃ</i>	<i>ca</i>

In response, the brahmin (Ruddadeva/ Maṇḍavya) maintains that it has been prepared solely for brahmins and refuses to give any to the monk.

st. 11a <i>uvakkhaḍaṃ bhoyaṇā</i>	g. 3a <i>annaṃ mama idaṃ pakataṃ</i>
<i>māhaṇāṇaṃ</i>	<i>brāhmaṇāṇaṃ</i>
b <i>attatṭhiyaṃ siddham</i>	b <i>attatthāya saddahato mama</i>
<i>ihegapakkhaṃ</i> ³⁴	<i>idaṃ</i>

When one considers the flow (and wording) of this conversation, one realizes just how appropriate the brahmin's words in the Jaina version cited earlier (st. 35ab) are as a retraction of his above words.

In contrast, g. 20ab in the Pāli version has undergone some secondary changes. For instance, the metre of g. 20a (*idaṃ ca mayhaṃ uttiṭṭhapinaṃ*) is irregular and missing one syllable. The cause of this metrical defect is without doubt the compound *uttiṭṭhapinaṃ* occupying the final five syllables.

Likewise, the metre of g. 20b (*Maṇḍavyo bhuñjatu appapañño*) is also irregular and is again missing one syllable. This syllabic deficiency is due to the fact that Fausbøll deemed the word preceding *Maṇḍavyo* in the various manuscripts (C^k: *taṃ*; C^s: *ta-*; B^{ds}: *tava* [=B^eS^e]) superfluous and omitted it, but it is evident from the Jaina version (*taṃ bhuñjasū amha aṇuggahaṭṭhā*) that *taṃ* (C^k) is genuine. This means that the irregular metre is more likely due to the word *Maṇḍavyo*

(*taṃ [Maṇḍavyo] bhuñja-...*).³⁵

The above proves that g. 20 has been changed. If we now consider the indeclinable *ca* in *idañ ca...* (g. 20a), it cannot conceivably have any structurally important function in this verse. On the other hand, the *ca* in the corresponding *imaṃ ca...* (st. 35a) does have an important function. In the foregoing st. 33 (—the more recent *śloka* of st. 34 may be ignored) the brahmin has declared his faith in the monk and then in this verse he offers him food, and thus this *ca* acts as an indispensable conjunction linking st. 33 and st. 35, both spoken by the same person. (In this sense too the secondary nature of st. 34 is evident.) The true character of the meaningless *ca* in the Pāli version should now be clear. It is to be surmised, in other words, that it lost its original function as a conjunction because, in the course of changes to the story, the preceding verse became g. 19 spoken by *Ditṭhamaṅgalikā* (originally g. 17) and this verse was attributed to *Mātaṅga*.

The second half of st. 35 is a narrative stanza informing us that the monk accepted the food, and it is completely unrelated to the second half of g. 20. But the above facts alone should make it quite clear that, contrary to Charpentier's assertion, the motif of the Pāli version, according to which the monk *Mātaṅga* offers his leftover food in order to drive away the *yakkhas*, cannot possibly represent the original story.³⁶

In the Pāli version, the brahmin *Maṇḍavya* does not figure in the exchange of verses in the second half, and he is treated merely as a third person (i.e., *Ditṭhamaṅgalikā*'s son [*putta*])³⁷ in the conversation between his mother *Ditṭhamaṅgalikā* and the monk *Mātaṅga*. This absence of the brahmin was brought about by the shift in scene due to *Mātaṅga*'s levitation, and this may also be considered to have been a reason that the Pāli version had to arrive at such a

bizarre ending.

Concluding Remarks

Our above comparative examination has shown that differences in a tale's mode of transmission can also exert considerable influence on the actual content of the transmitted story.

A literary work of a distinctive form which we provisionally term 'Ākhyāna' has, as was noted in §1, been canonized and handed down by slightly different methods in the two versions considered here. In the case of the Pāli version, which has vested only the conversational verses with canonical dignity and has left the prose supplements, lacking fixed wording, outside the canon, it was inevitable that any memory of the prose sections would be lost and that consequently misunderstandings concerning the context and speakers of the verses would arise. We have seen in the above how, as a result of this, the Pāli narrator misunderstood the narrative and to what degree he was compelled to make numerous changes and alterations. It is in the second half that the unfolding of the story evidences major differences with the Jaina version, and there are no great differences in the first half. This is probably because the speakers and context of the verses making up the conversation between the monk and the brahmin in the first half could be readily understood without any supplementary prose passages. The comparison with the Jaina version could be said to apprise us of this state of affairs.

The simplicity of the Jaina version gives the strong impression of its being in harmony with more archaic verses, and it is a tale of how a *caṇḍāla* renunciant succeeded in gaining recognition as an eminent monk.³⁸ It is to be imagined that the Pāli tale too was originally the story of a simple and earnest *caṇḍāla* renunciant.

Our above observations have been premised on the assumption that the stuff matter of the two works was an Ākhyāna, and I do not believe that there is any problem in making such an assumption, for the narrative with which we have dealt here conforms with Oldenberg's definition of the Ākhyāna: "a type of narrative..., wherein, inside a general framework of prose, there appear, in emphasized passages, especially in the more important speeches and replies, verses."³⁹

Abbreviations

The abbreviations of the editions of the *Uttarajjhāyā* used here (except Charpentier's edition given in n. 2) are as follows:

- | | |
|------|--|
| D | Edited with Devendra's <i>Vṛtti</i> (Ahmedabad, 1939) |
| K | Edited with Kamalasamyama's <i>Ṭikā</i> (3 vols.; Agra, 1923-27) |
| Bh | Edited with Bhāvavijaya's <i>Vṛtti</i> (Bhāvnagar, 1917) |
| P | Edited with Priyadarśini's <i>Ṭikā</i> (4 vols.; Ahmedabad, 1959-61) |
| UttC | Edited with Jinadāsagaṇimahattara's <i>Cūrṇi</i> (Ratlām, 1933) |
| Sā | <i>Suttāgame</i> (new Sthānakvāsī edition; Gurgaon, 1954) |

All other abbreviations, unless otherwise noted, follow *A Critical Pali Dictionary* (CPD; Copenhagen, 1948), "Epilegomena to Vol. 1."

NOTES

* This article is an expanded and more detailed version of my earlier “*Mātaṅga-jātaka kenkyū nōto*” *Mātaṅga-jātaka* 研究ノート (Research notes on the *Mātaṅga-jātaka*), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 26, no. 1 (1977), pp. 136-137, and “A Note on Uttarajjhāyā 12 and Pāli *Mātaṅgajātaka*,” *CASS Studies* 5 (Pune: University of Poona, 1980), pp. 179-185. I have also taken up some issues with which I was unable to deal on these earlier occasions.

1. As is widely known, the story of the Buddha’s former incarnation *Mātaṅga* appears in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* (Śārd.) in the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. S. Mukhopadhyaya, Santiniketan, 1954). The corresponding Chinese translations are as follows: *Mo-teng-ch’ieh ching* 摩登伽經 (Taishō XXI, No. 1300, pp. 399c-410b); *She-t’ou-chien t’ai-tzu erh-shih-pa-hsü ching* 舍頭諫太子二十八宿經 (a.k.a. *Hu-erh ching* 虎耳經; Taishō XXI, No. 1301, pp. 410b-419c). There is also a Tibetan translation. The “story of the past” in the Śārd. is the tale of Triśaṅku *Mātaṅgarāja* (= *bodhisattva*), who also figures in a story in the *Mūlasarvāstivādinayavastu* (ed. S. Bagchi, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, No. 16, pp. 68-69) and the corresponding Chinese translation (Taishō XXIV, No. 1448, p. 58ab). But these two stories differ considerably both in length and in content.

With regard to the former, Mukhopadhyaya writes that although the story on which it is based is very old, it is not found in the *Jātakas* or anywhere in the vast Pāli literature (*op. cit.*, “Introductory Note,” p. x). But there is a close relationship between it and the story of the *Mātaṅga-jātaka* dealt with here (see n. 21). Links with other early Buddhist texts (“*Ambaṭṭhasutta*” [DN iii, Vol. 1, pp. 87-110], “*Vāseṭṭhasutta*” [Sn III.9]) can also be recognized. I intend to discuss in detail on another occasion the question of how these early scriptures negating the caste system are related to the formation of the “story of the past” in the Śārd.

The Śārd. and the story in the *Mūlasarvāstivādinayavastu* have both been strongly influenced by the legend of Triśaṅku (Satyavrata) in the epics and Purāṇas. On their influence on the Śārd., for instance, see W. Zinkgräf, *Vom Divyāvadāna zur Avadāna-Kalpalatā. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte eines Avadāna*, Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, Heft 21 (Heidelberg, 1940), pp. 10-11, 74. The story of Mātanga related in MBh 13 could be described as the epic parallel, on which reference may be made to M. Hara, “Indra and Tapas” (Hara Minoru 原実, *Koten Indo no kugyō* 古典インドの苦行 [*Tapas* in the *Mahābhārata*; Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社, 1979], pp. 473-495), p. 487, n. 8.

Issues surrounding the Mātangas in Buddhist texts have been discussed in Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝, “MĀTANĠA to Bukkyō” MĀTANĠAと仏教 (The Mātangas and Buddhism), in *Okuda Jiō sensei kiju kinen Bukkyō shisō ronshū* 奥田慈応先生喜寿記念仏教思想論集 (Collected articles on Buddhist thought in commemoration of the 77th birthday of Professor Okuda Jiō; Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten 平楽寺書店, 1976). They are also treated, and various sources cited, in Sakauchi Tatsuo 坂内龍雄, “Mātanga ni tsuite” マータンガについて (On the Mātangas), 1-3, *Ashura* 阿修羅, n.s., 11-13 (Oct.-Dec. 1977), pp. 1-3, pp. 4-8, pp. 4-7.

2. Jarl Charpentier, “Studien über die indische Erzählliteratur 2,” *ZDMG* 63, pp. 171-188; *id.*, *The Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, Archives d’Etudes Orientales, Vol. 18, no. 2 (Uppsala, 1922), pp. 323-327. In the former of these two studies, Charpentier points out parallels between Utt 12-14 and J 497, 498 & 509.

3. One of these is his characterization as a person possessed of mystical or magical powers. One of the gems of Buddhist literature is the story describing how the *caṇḍāla* maiden Prakṛti falls in love with the Buddha’s disciple Ānanda (—although related as the “story of the present” in the Śārd., it would seem to have been an independent tale from early times, and there are numerous Chinese

translations), and it is common knowledge that a *Mātaṅga* woman who uses magic figures in this story. This occurs in the passage where Prakṛti's mother employs magic on her daughter's behalf in order to seduce Ānanda. A somewhat similar motif in non-Buddhist literature can be found, for example, in the following story appearing in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, a Jaina work of narrative literature. Once Vasudeva fell in love with Nīlajasā, a *caṇḍāla* maiden of the *Māyaṅga* tribe. Her mother asks Vasudeva to marry Nīlajasā, but out of deference to appearances he refuses, whereupon the mother devises a plan. She dispatches a *veyāla*, who succeeds in bringing back Vasudeva, and he is then made to marry Nīlajasā. It turns out that the *Māyaṅga* maiden and her mother were in fact *vijjāhara*. (Muni Caturvijaya and Muni Punyavijaya, eds., *Vasudevahiṇḍi* [Bhavnagar: Shri Jain Atmanand Sabha, 1930-31], pp. 156-181 ["Nīlajasālaṃbha"]) Since this story is also found in the *Brhatkathāślokaṣaṃgraha* (Chap. XX: "Ajīnavatī lābha") (although a *preta* rather than a *veyāla* is dispatched), its origins are very old, and it may even go back to the lost *Brhatkathā*.

In the *Mātaṅga-jātaka*, *Mātaṅga*'s possession of magical powers is shown most strikingly in the episode in which he counters the curse of the brahmin ascetic Jātimanta by using his magical powers to prevent the sun from rising (J IV, p. 387, l. 26-p. 389, l. 12; cf. *Cariyāpīṭaka* 2.7: "Mātaṅga-cariyā"), and his preventing of the sunrise is especially intriguing since it is suggestive of an eclipse. In Buddhist Tantric texts, the spells of *Mātaṅgas* (or *Brahmā*) are said to be capable of causing the sun and moon to fall to the earth (Miyasaka, *op. cit.*). In addition, the *Māṅg* people in present-day India, commonly recognized as the descendants of the *Mātaṅgas* of ancient times, preserve the custom of begging at times of a solar or lunar eclipse, and according to Russell this is based on their belief that Rāhu and Ketu, who figure in Hindu mythology (and are believed to cause eclipses), are both *Māṅgs* (R.V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central*

Provinces [London, 1916], Vol. IV, p. 184).

4. It is important to note that the Jaina version is not presented as the tale of a Mātaṅga, as is the Pāli version, but certain links with Mātaṅgas can be found in the prose introductory story in Devendra's Prakrit commentary. For instance, the *caṇḍāla* who left home to become an eminent monk is referred to as *māyaṅga-maharisi*, and there is also quoted the following verse (source unknown):

suro vi kukkuro hoi, raṃko rāyā vijāyae.

dio vi hoi māyaṅgo, saṃsāre kammadosao.

(D, p. 173a, ll. 3-4)

Even a god becomes a dog, even a king becomes a beggar,

Even a brahmin becomes a *caṇḍāla*, because of faults of actions in this world.

But in these examples appearing in Devendra's commentary the word *māyaṅga* does not have the associations of a particular tribe, and like *caṇḍāla* it would seem to be a general term for 'untouchables'. Rephrasing with words of similar meaning is one of the distinctive features of Devendra's commentary. The *caṇḍāla* who is the hero of the Jaina version of our story is called Hariesa-Bala. On the tribe known as Hariesa (=Harikeśa: 'fair-haired'), see Charpentier, *ZDMG* 63, p. 173, n.1; *id.*, *Paccekabuddha-geschichten*, pp. 161-163.

5. Ludwig Alsdorf, "Uttarajjhāyā Studies," *IJ* VI (1962-63), pp. 110-136, esp. 128-133 (*Kleine Schriften*, pp. 225-251).

6. There are no noteworthy studies apart from those by Charpentier and Alsdorf, but a brief comparison of the two versions together with the author's impressions can be found in A.M. Ghatage, "A Few Parallels in Jain and Buddhist Works," *ABORI* XVII (1936), pp. 340-350. Here Ghatage suggests that the simple and earnest Jaina version is probably closer to the original story.

7. *JOI* 13 (1963-64), pp. 195-207 (*Kleine Schriften*, pp. 36-48). Prior to this,

Oldenberg's Ākhyāna theory had been supported almost exclusively by material from the Pāli Jātakas, but in this article Alsdorf takes up for consideration several tales from the Utt and, pointing out that these too, while of a different literary type, were, like the Jātakas, originally based on Ākhyānas, he recognizes them as further evidence supporting the validity of Oldenberg's theory. Charpentier, on the other hand, although undertaking research on the narrative chapters of the Utt, was opposed to the Ākhyāna theory (cf. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 102) and kept silent about the connections between his research and this theory, but it is interesting to note that Oldenberg himself realized from an early stage through his reading of Charpentier's research that the narrative chapters of the Utt could provide supplementary material for his theory; cf. *JPTS* 1912, p. 35, n. 3; pp. 36-37, n. 2.

8. There is one exception to this, namely, g. 10, presented as an *abhisambuddha-gāthā*, on which see §6 below. The final verse (g. 24) is also a narrative stanza, but it appears only in editions that include the *Atthavaṇṇanā* and was originally non-canonical.

9. It consists of a total of 47 verses, but the last ten conversational verses (st. 38-47) were probably originally a separate work (or a fragment thereof) (cf. SN VII.1.9: "Sundarika"; Vol. I, pp. 167-170), and if we exclude these, we are left with 37 verses, of which 14½ are narrative in content. Even among the conversational verses there are some in which the speaker's "recollections" are in effect a summary of the prose narrative; see §5 below.

10. At the end of the introductory story, the commentaries state that "the remaining story should be understood on the basis of the *sūtra*" (*śeṣakathānakam sūtrād evāvaseyam*). This format is also carried over into literary works other than commentaries on the Utt, and in Chap. 32 of the *Ākhyānakamaṇikośa-Vṛtti* (Prakrit Text Series 5, 1962) by Āmradeva (12th. cent.), for instance, which

records the story of Hariesa-Bala, the narrative is discontinued with the words “the rest too should likewise be known from the scripture (*śruta*)” (v. 30: *suyāo sesaṃ pi taha neyaṃ*).

The later commentators on the Utt from Devendra onwards generally present the story in the commentary in Sanskrit verse of their own fancy. Even in prose tales in D there is already a certain amount of versification in addition to quoted verses. At any rate, unlike the *Atthavaṇṇanā* of the Pāli Jātakas, the Jaina commentaries tell the story in the preferred language and style of the commentator and his times, and as is noted by Alsdorf (*JOI* 13, p. 204), this suggests the last reflection of an ancient custom in which the wording of the prose portions of the story was left to the discretion of the individual narrator.

11. As regards the Mātāṅga in the “Vasala-sutta” (Sn I.7, vv. 136-137), in the story outlined in the commentary *Paramatthajotikā* (Pj; II, Part 1, pp. 184-185) she is not the daughter of a merchant (*seṭṭhi*) but of a brahmin (*brāhmaṇa*), and the same applies to the account given in the *Milindapañha* (Mil., p. 123, l. 19); cf. J IV, p. 390, l. 11-p. 391, l. 4.

The story of Mātāṅga presented in the Pj maintains the format of a birth-story and preserves the entire story except for the verse sections. There are, moreover, several further differences between it and the MJ apart from that noted above. For example, when Mātāṅga approaches the brahmin’s alms-hall, the MJ introduces the motif of ‘disguise’, but in the Pj the unsightliness of the hero’s appearance is mentioned already at the outset (*rūpena duddasiko*), and no deliberate disguise is necessary. In this regard at least the Pj version would seem to be older. The story of the fall of the kingdom of Mejjha, found at the end of the MJ, does not appear in the Pj, and it seems to me that this too is not so much an omission in the Pj, but rather an addition in the MJ. The kingdom of Mejjha is said to have been destroyed by the “gods” angry at the killing of Mātāṅga, but

in related accounts found in other works the destruction of Mejjha is attributed to the anger of a “sage” (Mil., p. 130; M. I, p. 378; *Chung a-han ching* 中阿含經 133 [Taishō I, No. 26, p. 630a]). In addition, as is pointed out by Adikaram, the author of the Pj mentions that the Jātakabhāṇakas differed from others in regard to a detail in the story of Mātaṅga, and this is of interest when considering the relative age of the two versions; see E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon, or “State of Buddhism in Ceylon as Revealed by the Pāli Commentaries of the 5TH Century A.D.”* (Colombo, 1953 [repr.]), p. 31.

12. There is some confusion regarding the number of the monk’s interlocutors in the dialogic section of the first half of Utt 12, and this is because the extent of the delimitation of the speaker(s) in st. 4-5 is vague. At least when the redactor of the Utt wrote the two verses st. 6-7 (on the basis of a verse similar to g. 1), it was, I believe, only st. 6 that was subject to the delimitation of st. 4-5 as a verse spoken by the brahmins, and it was probably with this intention that the single verse was expanded into two verses. Evidence of this can be found in the fact that there have survived in subsequent verses several readings in the singular, indicating that it was the brahmin priest who was the monk’s chief interlocutor. For instance, the word *jāṇeha* in st. 10, spoken by the monk, is given as °*āhi* in variants B¹⁻²J used by Charpentier and in the editions which I have consulted (DKSāP), while *dalāha* in st. 12d reads °*hi* in B²JKBh and °*dāhi* in B¹. Furthermore, as regards *amhaṃ* in st. 13 (*khettāṇi amhaṃ viiyāṇi loe*), Jacobi’s interpretation (“All the world knows that *we are* (as it were) the field...” [SBE XLV, p. 52]) is, according to Alsdorf (*IJJ* VI, p. 131), mistaken, and *amhaṃ* is here used in the singular (“I (not you!) know the fields in this world...”), as in the Pāli version (g. 5a: *khettāṇi mayhaṃ viditāṇi loke*).

13. ZDMG 63, p. 186.

14. In Charpentier’s edition this word appears in its stem form with no *anusvāra*

(and no variants are given), but all other editions have °yaṃ, and the absence of the *anusvāra* is probably a mere misprint.

The word *jāyateya-* is explained in the commentaries as **jātatejas* ('fire' = *agnī*). But the intervocalic *-t-* is perhaps no more than a scribal feature, in which case it could be read *jāyaeyam* and equated with *jātavedaṃ* (g. 9c). On the intervocalic *-t-* as a distinctive scribal feature of manuscripts of the Śvetāmbaras, see Ludwig Alsdorf, *Les Études Jaina, État présent et tâches futures* (Paris: Collège de France, 1965), p. 87.

15. The sole genuine *śloka* in J 498/ Utt 13 consists of a half-*śloka* spoken by the king Bambhadatta during his search for Citta, a friend from a former life, and sung by the populace, and a half-*śloka* spoken by a monk (the former Citta) so as to complete the king's half-*śloka*. But in the extant Jaina version this *śloka* has been expanded to two stanzas, which take the form of a recollection on the part of the king, and it has lost its original form of a half-*śloka* meant to test the monk and a half-*śloka* in reply. For further details, see Ludwig Alsdorf, "The Story of Citta and Sambhūta," in *Felicitations Volume Presented to Prof. S.K. Belvalkar* (Benares, 1957), pp. 204-205 (*Kleine Schriften*, pp. 188-189).

16. For the same reasons Morris (*JPTS* 1891-93, p. 51) considers it to have been originally plural.

17. J IV, p. 383, l. 3. Cf. *Jātaka Stories* IV, p. 239: "Revile a sage! to swallow blazing fire as much avails,..."

18. On the instrumental plural in *-e*, see *Geiger* §79.

19. The form *padahasi* could be described as a conflation born during the transmission of the text. Cf. K.R. Norman, *Elders' Verses* I, p. 127 (Note on Thag 27).

20. These parallels have already been pointed out by Charpentier (*ZDMG* 63, p. 178, n. 3). This type of aphoristic verse, describing folly and impossibility in

terms of analogies, is also found in Jaina texts such as *Dasaveyāliya* 9.1.8-9.

21. After having been insulted by the merchant's daughter *Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā*, the *caṇḍāla* *Mātaṅga* goes in retaliation to her home, lies down by the door, and tenaciously seeks her hand in marriage. Fearful of the defilement that would result from the death of a *caṇḍāla* at his doorstep, her father relents and *Mātaṅga* finally gains *Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā*. In the Jaina version, the *caṇḍāla* insulted by the king's daughter *Bhaddā* is an ascetic, and it is a *yakkha*, his fervent follower, who in retaliation devises the scheme of forcing her to marry the ascetic. The latter of course refuses her, and so she is released and marries *Ruddadeva*, while the *yakkha* comes to hold the ascetic in even greater esteem. It should be evident that this Jaina version is more appropriate as the prologue to the story that unfolds in the canonical verses. But what must be mentioned in this regard is the tale related in the "story of the past" in the *Śārd.*, in which the *Mātaṅga* king *Triśaṅku* (the *bodhisattva*) demands *Prakṛti*, the daughter of the brahmin *Puṣkarasārin*, as the bride for his son *Śārdūlakarṇa* and after negotiations acquires her. Notwithstanding differences in plot, this has points in common with the Pāli version in that a *caṇḍāla* named *Mātaṅga* demands the hand of a high-ranking woman in marriage. *Triśaṅku Mātaṅgarāja* displays his knowledge of the various branches of learning to the brahmin, and although the subject matter differs, this too calls to mind the figure of *Mātaṅga* refuting the brahmin, whom he criticizes, saying, "He has studied the Vedas but does not know their meaning" (g. 18d: *atthaṃ na jānāti adhicca vede*; cf. st. 15b).

22. *Pādas*-bc are identical, while *pāda*-a is similar (g. 12a: *idhāgamā samaṇo rummavāsī*; g. 1a: *kuto nu āgacchasi rummavāsī*), and it is only *pāda*-d that differs (g. 12d: *so te imaṃ puttam akāsi evaṃ*; g. 1d: *ko re tuvaṃ kohisi adakkhineyyo*).

23. Charpentier's edition has *nijjhe*^o and Charpentier is at great pains to explain

this word (Utt Comm., p. 326), but in light of other editions it would seem to be a misreading of *nibbhe*°. Cf. my “MJ kenkyū nōto,” p. 134. The graphs for *jjha* and *bbha* look very similar in the manuscripts.

24. The commentators explain *nibbheriya-* in terms of *prasārīta*, and in the old UttC it is replaced with *ñibbharitaṃ/ nirgataṃ*. It is perhaps a past participle created from the causative of *nir-√bhr* (‘to take or draw out’), or else the past participle (*nir-√bheda*) of *nir-√bhid* (‘to put out’).

25. This *pāda* has traditionally been read as a single long compound (*avaheḍḍiya-piṭṭhisauttamaṅge*). Through a comparison with the Pāli version, Charpentier surmises that it may originally have read *āveḍḍiya piṭṭhiō (?) uttamaṅge* (=Skt. *āveṣṭya prṣṭhata uttamāṅgāni*). The posture thus described is probably one of lying prostrate with the head twisted back. That at least is how the youths lying on the ground are depicted in Fig. 40 in W. Norman Brown, *Manuscript Illustrations of the Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, AOS 20 (New Haven, 1941).

26. J IV, p. 385, ll. 27-28. Cf. *gacchāmi=jānāmi*, Pj I, p. 19, ll. 1-2 & p. 196, ll. 2-3 (CPD, p. 258).

27. *Jātaka Stories* IV, p. 241.

28. According to Lüders, the *-ika* in this Pāli word *veyyāvaṭṭika-*, corresponding to AMg. *veyāvaḍḍiya-*, represents a mistransposition of the *-iya* in the hypothetical **veyāvaṭṭiya* of Eastern Prakrit (Heinrich Lüders, *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons* [Berlin, 1954], p. 84, §99).

29. On this unusual and interesting Prakrit form *iṇhiṃ/ēṇhiṃ*, see S.M. Katre, “Two Middle Indo-Aryan Words,” in S.M. Katre & D.K. Dode, eds., *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies Presented to Prof. F.W. Thomas on His 72nd Birthday* (Bombay, 1939), pp. 141-143 (esp. p. 141).

30. This corresponds to g. 19d: *na paṇḍitā kodhabalā bhavanti*. The meaning of *kovapara-* in the Jaina version is clear, but *kodhabala-* is difficult to comprehend.

Alsdorf (*IJ* VI, p. 132) conjectures that it represents a Pāli mistranslation of the Eastern Prakrit *kodhavalā* (=Skt. *krodha-para*). This merits attention as important evidence for the possibility that the prototype of our story may be traced back to an original in protocanonical Eastern Prakrit.

31. J IV, p. 386, ll. 4-7: *Diṭṭhimaṅgalike tadā tava puttassa maṃ akkosanakāle ca mayhaṃ manopadoso n'atthi etarahi ca taya yācamānāya pi mama tasmiṃ manopadoso n'atthi yeva.*

32. The variant *na m' atthi* (C^{ks}) given by Fausbøll and *na mam' atthi* (S^o) would seem to support the word order of the Jaina version.

33. Charpentier reads *viyarijjai khajjai bhujjai*, but I follow Alsdorf (*IJ* VI, p. 130) in adopting this reading of D. This is a reasonable reading both metrically and grammatically speaking, and the final *ya* is also supported by other editions (KSāPBh). Alsdorf has remarked that Charpentier's text disregards metre (*ibid.*, p. 110), and this is one of many such examples.

34. On the presumably corrupt original form of this *pāda*, see Alsdorf, *ibid.*, p. 131.

35. C^s *ta-* is meaningless, while B^{ds} *tava* (=B^eS^e) allows the resolution of the first syllable, but these variants too apprise us of the need for a syllable before *Maṇḍavyo*.

36. Charpentier asserts that the following two concluding narrative verses (st. 36-37) were also added by the Jains, and he bases this claim on the fact that st. 36 is in *āryā* metre (*ZDMG* 63, p. 186). But as is stated by Alsdorf, there cannot be the slightest doubt that, though irregular, this verse is a *triṣṭubh*. In addition, the gods' praising of the *caṇḍālā* Bala for having accepted food from the brahmin, alluded to in this verse, "is the indispensable introduction to the following stanza (37,...) which cannot be missed as it sums up the gist of the whole chapter" (Alsdorf, *ibid.*, p. 133).

37. This *putta* too is probably the result of a misunderstanding on the part of the Jātaka narrator. Firstly, it appears in the following *pādas*: *ko me imaṃ puttam akāsi evaṃ* (g. 11d=g. 15d); *so te imaṃ puttam akāsi evaṃ* (g. 12d); *app'eva naṃ puttam labhemu jīvitaṃ* (g. 13d); *yakkhā hi te puttam akaṃsu evaṃ* (g. 16d); *yakkhā ca me puttam akaṃsu evaṃ* (g. 17a); *anvāgatā putta-sokena bhikkhu* (g. 17d); *putto ca te vedamadena matto* (g. 18c); *putto ca te hohiti so arogo* (g. 20d). These *pādas* are either not found in the Jaina version, or else, if present, show evidence of secondary changes. Next, among the above *pādas*, *puttam* in g. 16d is similar in meaning to *kumārā* in the corresponding st. 32d (*tamhā ee nihayā kumārā*), but here “youths” refers to the brahmin’s “disciples” (pl. of *khaṇḍiya-*, st. 18). The word corresponding to this *khaṇḍiehiṃ* (Inst. pl.) in the Pāli version is the corrupt *bhaṇḍakucchi* of uncertain meaning. *Upajotiyo*, *Upajjhāyo* and *Bhaṇḍakucchi* in g. 8, which Fausbøll capitalizes, are said to be the “three gatekeepers” (*tayo dovārikā*, JA), but this is a forced interpretation by Buddhists who no longer understood the meaning of these words. Cf. Alsdorf, *ibid.*, pp. 131-132. Now, in these circumstances, had the Jātaka narrator seen the word *kumāram** (Acc. pl. -aṃ; cf. Lüders, *op. cit.*, §§196-219) in g. 15d (=g. 11d) or g. 16d, then it would have been not in the least surprising if, unable to obtain a correct understanding because of changes to the story and the corruption of g. 8, he had assumed that it was a singular noun referring to the *brahmin* and had replaced it with the synonymous *puttam*. It was probably in this fashion, or so it seems to me, that the Jātaka narrator made the brahmin’s *mother* Mātāṅga’s interlocutor in the second half and so only just managed to establish the *dramatis personae* and their interrelationships.

38. Of particular importance in the Jaina version when the *caṇḍāla* gains recognition as an eminent monk is the *jakkha* (Skt. *yakṣa*, Pāli *yakkha*) who appears as a mystical and spiritual being. Here the *jakkha* is depicted as having two

aspects—a “good” aspect as a being who reveres and serves the monk and a “frightening” aspect as a being who punishes those who malign or maltreat the monk. There is evidence of both of these aspects in the Pāli version too, but as a whole greater emphasis is given to the latter aspect and the image of an “evil being” is stronger. On changes in the character of the *yakkha*, see Nakamura Hajime 中村元, *Genshi Bukkyō no shisō* 原始仏教の思想 (The thought of primitive Buddhism), Vol. 2 (Selected Works, Vol. 14; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1971), pp. 194-196.

39. *JPTS* 1912, p. 19.

A Comparative Study of the Pāli *Mātaṅga-jātaka* and the Jaina Version:

The Debate between the Brahmin and the Monk about “Alms”*

The tale of the *caṇḍāla* monk¹ (J 497: *Mātaṅga-jātaka*; Utt 12: “Hariesijja”) to be considered here is one of a group of tales shared by the Pāli Jātakas and the Jaina *Uttarajjhāyā*.² When Charpentier first discovered this group of corresponding stories, he wrote that they could be assumed to be based on an old “collection of stories,”³ and it is true that some unusual correspondences, such as would permit such a supposition, can be recognized in these tales. Of course, we have no way of apprising ourselves of the overall makeup of this “collection of stories,” but it would seem possible to draw at least some inferences about its character from a number of points which these corresponding works clearly have in common. For instance, with regard to their content, they are all stories that extol renunciants and sing the praises of the ideals of the renunciant. In addition, an examination of the language of the verses that correspond word-for-word (Pāli and Old Ardha-Māgadhī) clearly suggests that these works were originally recounted or sung in a dialect of Eastern India,⁴ and there are also clear points in common regarding their metre.⁵ Furthermore these works, which all draw on the so-called Ākhyāna literature of ancient India,⁶ share the same literary form, although in the Jaina works this has for reasons of convenience been changed to the balladic form.⁷ Such are the main features that these works have in common, and it could be said that they are all important points that should be borne in mind when comparing these works and attempting to discover the archetypes of either the story or the text of the individual works.

In an earlier article I took up for consideration the second half of the canonical

version of the tale of the *caṇḍāla* monk, and through a comparison with the Jaina version I clarified in particular the reasons for the unusual tale⁸ that unfolds in the Buddhist version (hereafter: “Study I”). I believe that at least the main gist of the arguments that I put forward on that occasion was not mistaken, and here I wish to go back and consider the first half of the story. This consists primarily of a dialogue between a brahmin priest and a monk who has come begging for food, and it could be characterized as a debate between the brahmin and the monk about “alms.” However, because of restrictions on space, in the following I shall probe the Ākhyāna archetype, comparing the two versions and focussing in particular on the relationship between the *pādas* exchanged between the two protagonists. For the base text of the Jaina version I have used Charpentier’s edition, but I have corrected it where possible, and these corrections have been indicated in the notes. The original verses have not been translated except when this was felt to be absolutely necessary. The designations “Verse 1,” “Verse 2,” etc., refer to the verses in the archetype. All abbreviations follow those used in “Study I.”

§1. The Introductory *Śloka*s (Formation of the Ballad in the Jaina Version)

st. 1	<i>sovāgakulasambhūo</i> <i>hariesabalo nāma</i>	<i>guṇuttaradharo muṇī,</i> <i>āsi bhikkhū jiindio.</i>
st. 2	<i>iriesañabhāsāe</i> <i>jao āyāṇaṇikkheve</i>	<i>uccārasamiisu ya,</i> <i>saṃjao susamāhio.</i>
st. 3	<i>maṇagutto vayagutto</i> <i>bhikkhaṭṭhā bambhaijjammi</i>	<i>kāyagutto jiindio,</i> <i>jannavāḍe uvaṭṭhio</i>
st. 4	<i>taṃ pāsīuṇam ejjantaṃ</i> <i>pantovahiuvagaraṇaṃ</i>	<i>taveṇa parisosiyam,</i> <i>uvahasanti aṇāriyā.</i>

st. 5 *jāimayapaḍithaddhā*

abambhacārīṇo bālā

hiṃsagā ajiindiyā,

imam vayanam abbavī.

In the Pāli version, the account of the starting point of the story, according to which a monk visited the sacrifice-enclosure (alms-hall) of a brahmin in order to beg for food, is given only in the prose commentary, but in the Jaina version it is summarized in verse so as to create a narrative (i.e., ballad) within the canonical text,⁹ and it is placed at the very start (st. 1-5). To be more precise, we are given a brief description of the main character's background and are also introduced to the speakers of the first conversational verse (st. 6), that is, the brahmins in the sacrifice-enclosure. The delimitation of the speakers here is ambiguous *in that it would also seem to define the speaker(s) of st. 7*, and in fact this ambiguity leads to confusion regarding grammatical 'number' in the succeeding conversational verses, examples of which will be seen below. The introductory *ślokas* by the Jaina redactor contain Jainist technical terms (five *samii* and three *gutti*), while linguistically speaking the frequent use of the nominative singular in -o (with no variants) is also distinctive, and the secondary character of these verses is quite obvious.

§2. Verse 1 (st. 6acd, st. 7a=g. 1)

The first matching verses in the two versions are the two verses spoken by the brahmins (st. 6 spoken by the brahmins and st. 7 spoken by the priest) and the single verse spoken by the alms-giver Maṇḍavya (g. 1).

st. 6 *kayare āgacchai dittarūve* ——— g. 1 *kuto nu āgacchasi rummavāsi*
kāle vigarāle phokkanāse, *otallako paṃsupisācako va*
omacelae paṃsupisāyabhūe *saṃkāracolaṃ paṭimucca kaṇṭhe,*
saṃkāradūsam¹⁰ parivariya kaṇṭhe *ko re tuvaṃ hosi¹¹ adakkhiṇeyyo*
st. 7 *ko re tuvaṃ iya adaṃsaṇijje*
kāe va āsā' iham āgao si,
omacelayā paṃsupisāyabhūyā
gaccha kkhalāhi kim ihaṃ ṭhio si.

But strictly speaking, as can be seen in the above, four *pādas* of st. 6-7 correspond to the four *pādas* of g. 1. Alsdorf's view that the two verses of the Jaina version have been "secondarily puffed up"¹² can be corroborated by demonstrating the secondary nature of the remaining four *pādas*, which have no parallels in the Pāli stanza. Firstly, it is to be surmised that st. 6b (*kāle vigarāle phokkanāse*), which is metrically defective by one syllable, was inspired by the word *paṃsu-pisāya* (=Skt. *pāṃśu-pisāca*) in the next *pāda* (st. 6c), for the meaning of each of the words tallies closely with the appearance of the *pisāca* as conceived of by Jains.¹³ Next, the interrogative sentence represented by st. 7b (*kāe va āsā' iham āgao si*) could be compared with g. 1a (*kuto nu āgacchasi...*) with respect to its grammatical person and the content of the question (reason, objective). But since the latter clearly corresponds to st. 6a (*kayare āgacchai...*), which occupies the same position, st. 7b does not in fact have any parallel in the Pāli version. Furthermore, since the entire verse containing the monk's reply to the question in this *pāda* (st. 9d: *annassa aṭṭhā iham āgao mi*) may be considered a secondary verse (see §4), the *pāda* demanding this answer can also not be original. Next, the only difference between st. 7c (*omacelayā paṃsupisāyabhūyā*) and the foregoing st. 6c lies in the case endings (Voc. -ā/ Nom. -e), and since g.

1b (*otallako*¹⁴ *pamsupisācako va*) would suggest that Nom. -e is to be preferred, the secondary character of st. 7c is evident.¹⁵ Lastly, *kim...* in st. 7d (*gaccha kkhālāhi kim ihaṃ thio si*) is later repeated by the brahmin in st. 11d, and since st. 11 has a parallel in the Pāli version (g. 3), the authenticity of st. 11d, at least regarding its position, is beyond doubt (see §8).

In this manner, the secondary nature of all the *pādas* without parallels in the Pāli version is revealed, and it may therefore be deemed certain that the other four *pādas* originally formed a single verse. If that is so, then the original verse, like the corresponding verse in the Pāli version, would have been addressed directly to the monk as he approached the sacrifice-enclosure, in which case the use of the third person in st. 6a is naturally suspect. Furthermore, since the interrogative “who?” (*kayare*) is reiterated in the question posed in st. 7a (*ko re tuvaṃ* [mss. JDBhKSaP: *kayare tumam*]), which would originally have been the fourth *pāda*, it too is out of place. Therefore, as is suggested by Alsdorf,¹⁶ the interrogative “why?” (*kuto nu*) found in the Pāli version is more appropriate, and this point will be confirmed below (§4).

The expansion of the original single verse into two verses in the Jaina version would seem to be the result of the insertion of an extra *pāda* (st. 6b) by the Jaina redactor in order to describe the monk’s appearance in greater detail. This can be inferred from the fact that three *pādas* (st. 7bcd) were added solely to counter-balance the consequences of his attempt to deal as expediently as possible with the discrepancy that resulted from this interpolation.¹⁷ Moreover, since the first verse, now changed to the third person, is not a direct question, it was probably identified not as the words of the priest, but as the derisive words of the brahmins. The identification of the speakers in the introductory *ślokas* (st. 4-5) would seem to have been originally necessitated by a need to identify the speaker of st.

6 owing to the above circumstances. The identity of the speaker of st. 7, on the other hand (which is indeed difficult to grasp from the canonical text and may in fact have been misunderstood), would probably not have required any explanation for those who had been listening to the narrative *which had up until this point been related in prose.*

§3. The Monk's Spokesman: Does the Mystical *Yakkha* "Tarnish the Story"?

On seeing an unsightly and ill-clad man approaching, the brahmin priest uttered Verse 1, asking the man who he was and why he had come in a manner that made obvious his displeasure. This then led to a dialogue between the priest and the monk. But before dealing with this, we must touch on the monk's spokesman who figures in the Jaina version. That is to say, in the narrative verse st. 8 it is explained that the monk's following words (st. 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17) are spoken by a *yakkha* who has made himself invisible.

st. 8 *jakkhe*¹⁸ *tahiṃ tinduyarukkavāsi*
aṇukampao tassa mahāmuṇissa,
pacchāyattā niyagaṃ sarīraṃ
imāṃ vayanāṃ udāharitthā.

It goes without saying that this verse of narrative description was added by the Jaina redactor. But it is nonetheless open to question whether or not it can simply be excluded because it "tarnishes the story," as asserted by Charpentier,¹⁹ for its assumptions would not be in the least out of place in this story.

In the second half of the story the brahmin, having grown furious as a result of his conversation with the monk, orders his underlings to beat the monk and drive him away (Verse 8: st. 18=g. 8). Disregarding the warning given by the

priest's wife (Verse 9: st. 26=g. 9), the young brahmins assault the monk, whereupon they are suddenly beaten by some unknown entity and immediately find themselves on the verge of death. The priest, describing their sorry state, grieves for them (Verse 10: st. 29=g. 11) and begs the monk to contain his anger and show leniency (Verse 11: st. 31=g. 19). Upon learning from the monk's reply (Verse 12: st. 32=g. 18b, 16abd) that it was the doing of a *yakkha* who reveres the monk, the priest realizes that he is in fact a sage of uncommon accomplishments. He then repents of his former wrongdoing, takes refuge in the monk (Verse 13: st. 33=g. 17), and finally offers the monk food (Verse 14: st. 35=g. 20). Although the Buddhist version of this tale has been conspicuously altered, the gist of the second half of the story, based on a comparison of the two versions, is as outlined above (see "Study I"). That the presence of the *yakkha* goes back to the original Ākhyāna is shown by the monk's words common to both versions (st. 32cd: *jakkhā hu veyāvaḍiyaṃ karenti, tamhā hu ee nihayā kumārā*; g. 16abd: *yakkhā have...yakkhā hi te puttam akaṃsu evaṃ* [cf. "Study I," §9]). In the Jaina version, the monk here opens his mouth for the first time, and in order to dispel the priest's misapprehension that the young brahmins have found themselves on the verge of death on account of his own anger, he explains that it was in actual fact the *yakkha*'s doing. The mystical and spiritual *yakkha* is in fact an "invisible"²⁰ character of such importance that the narrative would not make sense without him. Therefore, how could it be asserted that this unfolding of the plot, in which the *yakkha* assumes the role of the monk in the dialogue with the brahmin in the first half and the taciturn monk reluctantly speaks for the first time in the second half, "tarnishes the story"? I would instead suggest that there is perhaps a strong possibility that st. 8 preserves the content of the prose in the Ākhyāna archetype.

§§4-7. Verse 2 (st. 10=g. 2)

§4

st. 9 *samaṇo ahaṃ samjao bambhayārī*

virao dhaṇapayaṇapariggahāo,

parappavittassa u bhikkhakāle

annassa aṭṭhā iha āgao mi.

st. 10 *viyarijjaī khajjai bhujjaī ya²¹* ~~g. 2 *annaṃ tava idaṃ²² pakataṃ yasassi,*~~
annaṃ pabhūyaṃ bhavayāṇaṃ ~~taṃ khajjare bhuñjare piyyare ca,~~
eyaṃ,

jāṇeha me jāyaṇajīviṇu tti ————— *jānāsi tvaṃ paradattūpajīviṃ,*

sesāvasesaṃ labhaū tavassī. ————— *uttiṭṭhapiṇḍaṃ labhataṃ sapāko.*

St. 9, which appears only in the Jaina version, is clearly a secondary verse. For instance, st. 9a (*samaṇo ahaṃ...*) would at first sight seem to be a clear reply to st. 7a (*ko re tuvaṃ...*), but the real answer to the question “Who are you?” should be sought in the next verse (st. 10).

st. 7a *ko re tuvaṃ...*



st. 10c *jāṇeha me jāyaṇajīviṇu tti²³*

g. 1d *ko re tuvaṃ...*



g. 2c *jānāsi tvaṃ paradattūpajīviṃ*

In addition, as was noted earlier, st. 9d (*annassa aṭṭhā...*) represents a quite adequate reply to st. 7b (*kāe va āsā' iha...*), but the answer to the question “Why have you come?” would originally have been provided by st. 10d.

st. 6a *□āgaccha□...*



st. 10d *sesāvasesaṃ labhaū tavassī*

g. 1a *kuto nu āgacchasi...*



g. 2d *uttiṭṭhapiṇḍaṃ labhataṃ sapāko*

(This is the reason that there must originally have been an interrogative of reason or objective in st. 6a.)

In the final analysis, it could be said that the superfluous “self-introduction” in st. 9 was necessitated by the augmentation and modification of st. 6-7.

§5. A comparison of the monk’s above words explaining his reason for visiting the sacrifice-enclosure (st. 10d=g. 2d) would suggest that the expression “Let the poor fellow (*tavassī*) get what is left of the rest”²⁴ in the Jaina version is the more natural. In contrast, the corresponding sentence in the Pāli version—“Let the *śvapāka* get the leftovers”—even calls to mind the prescriptions relating to *śūdras* in the Brahmanical legal codes.²⁵ It is true that the mendicant monk is a *caṇḍāla*. But it would be rather odd if he were to assert his rights as a *caṇḍāla* when begging for food, and it seems to me highly unlikely that such a blunt expression would have formed part of the original story. The word *sāpāko*,²⁶ which exhibits for reasons of metre an irregular form (in terms of the rules of phonetic change), is sufficient to suggest that this *pāda* has been altered in the Buddhist version.

§6. Next, if we compare st. 10b (*annaṃ pabhūyaṃ bhavayāṇaṃ eyaṃ*) in the Jaina version and g. 2a (*annaṃ tava idaṃ pakataṃ yasassī*) in the Pāli version, we find that it is only the first word *annaṃ* that is identical in both versions, but the correspondence between *bhavayāṇaṃ* and *tava* and between *eyaṃ* and *idaṃ*²⁷ is obvious, and there is also a phonetic similarity between *pabhūyaṃ* and *pakataṃ*. Here I wish to pay particular attention to the ‘plural’ number of *bhavayāṇaṃ* and the ‘singular’ number of *tava*.

In response to the monk’s assertion that the priest’s food should be for all

people to partake of (st. 10ab=g. 2ab), the priest counters that it is only for brahmins.

st. 11a *uvakkhaḍaṃ bhoyaṇa* ——— g. 3a *annaṃ mamaṃ²⁸ pakataṃ*
māhaṇāṇaṃ *brāhmaṇāṇaṃ*

But later the priest takes back these words and offers the monk food. In the Pāli version the story has been altered, with the monk Mātaṅga offering the brahmin leftovers, but his words clearly match those of the priest in the Jaina version.

st. 35a *imaṃ ca me atthi pabhūyam*— g. 20a *idaṃ ca mayhaṃ uttittḥapiṇḍam*
annaṃ

When we consider these exchanges between the brahmin and the monk, the plural form *bhavaṇāṇaṃ* in st. 10b would seem unnatural. The personal pronouns in the other *pādas* are all singular, and they clearly show that the monk's interlocutor is the priest and not the brahmins. There would, of course, be nothing strange in the use of plural forms in exchanges between the priest and the monk when referring to each other, but as can be seen in this example, a certain unnaturalness attaches to the frequent use of plural forms in the Jaina version. What could perhaps be said in this regard is that the ambiguity of the delimitation of the speaker in st. 4-5, alluded to earlier, led to an interpretation according to which the monk was conversing with several brahmins, and at some point in time this resulted in the pluralization of the grammatical number of the monk's interlocutor in the first half of the story.

§7. Charpentier adopts the reading *jāṇeha* in st. 10c, but his manuscripts B^{1,2}J and manuscripts DKSāP consulted by me all have the singular form *jāṇāhi*. It should be clear from the Pāli *jānāsi* (g. 2c) that this singular form is to be

preferred.²⁹ This is a simple example of the above-mentioned confusion relating to grammatical number in the Jaina version. The fact that texts which have undergone pluralization preserve a singular form such as this, which clearly indicates that the monk's interlocutor was a single person, helps to bolster my argument in this regard.

The word *tvam* in *jānāsi tvam...* (g. 2c) destroys the metre, and in the other manuscripts (B^dB^eS^cC^c) *jānāsi* is followed by *mam*, which tallies with *me* in the Jaina version. Therefore, *tvam* should be rejected,³⁰ in which case the present indicative form *jānāsi* is also naturally suspect, and it becomes evident that an imperative form, as in the Jaina version, best suits the context,

§8. Verse 3 (st. 11=g. 3)

The priest rejects the monk's request for food, saying that the food has been prepared for the brahmins for their own benefit and that he will not give any to the monk.

st. 11 *uvakkhaḍaṃ bhoyaṇā* ————— g. 3 *annaṃ mamaṃ*³¹ *pakataṃ*
māhaṇāṇaṃ *brāhmaṇāṇaṃ*
attatṭhiyaṃ siddhamihega- ————— *attatthāya saddahato mamedam*,³²
pakkhaṃ
na ū vayaṃ erisam annapāṇaṃ ~~apēhi etto~~,³³ *kim idhatṭhito si,*
dāhāmu tujjhaṃ kim ihaṃ ṭhio si. ~~na mādisā tuyhaṃ dadanti jamma.~~

If we compare st. 11a and g. 3a, we find that *uvakkhaḍaṃ* and *bhoyaṇa* in the former both have one syllable more than the corresponding words *pakataṃ* and *annaṃ* in the latter. Furthermore, owing to metrical restrictions *bhoyaṇa* is given in its stem form. When this *pāda* is further compared with the associated

pādas considered in §6, one notices that this *pāda* alone has no personal pronoun (or word indicative of person). Since it would almost seem that the replacement of shorter words with polysyllabic words is linked to the elimination of singular pronouns, could this absence of a personal pronoun also perhaps be related to the ‘pluralization’ found in the Jaina version? The words *māhaṇāṇaṃ* and *brāhmaṇāṇaṃ* are a perfect match, and therefore Fausbøll’s suggestion in his edition of the text with regard to the latter that it is perhaps meant for *brāhmaṇām* (which is trisyllabic) becomes meaningless when considered in light of the Jaina version. If, moreover, we follow Alsdorf in reading *mamaṃ* for Fausbøll’s *mama idaṃ*, as given above, we also obtain an old *triṣṭubh pāda*.³⁴

The metre of g. 3b is confused. In the *Papañcasūdanī*³⁵ the word *atthatthāya* is given as *att’ atthiyā*, which is closer to *attatṭhiyaṃ* in the Jaina version³⁶ and is also metrically correct. There is a certain phonetic similarity between *sid-dhamihegapakkhaṃ* and *saddahato*, and if we take into account the monk’s response (st. 12c: *eyāe saddhāe*; g. 4c: *etāya saddhāya*),³⁷ it is evident that the Pāli *saddahato* (*śrad-√dhā*) is to be preferred. Therefore, we may assume with Alsdorf that the Jaina version conceals a corruption of *saddhā* or *saddahai*.³⁸

According to Charpentier, g. 3c and g. 3d should be inverted because this would make better sense,³⁹ and a comparison with the corresponding *pādas* in the Jaina version would suggest that he is probably right. However, g. 3c (*apehi etto, kim idhatṭhito si*) is closer to st. 7d (*gaccha kkhālāhi kim ihaṃ ṭhio si*) than to the corresponding st. 11d (*dāhāmu tujjhaṃ kim ihaṃ ṭhio si*). What does this signify? When st. 11cd (*na ū vayaṃ erisam annapāṇaṃ/ dāhāmu tujjhaṃ...*) is compared with g. 3d (*na mādisā tuyhaṃ dadanti jamma*), there is no denying the ‘prolixity’ of the former, and the words *ū*, *vayaṃ* and *annapāṇaṃ*, which have no parallels in the Pāli, are probably all redundant. It may be assumed that

because of the insertion of these words in the Jaina version, what had originally been a single *pāda* was expanded and intruded into the next *pāda*. Why would this augmentation have taken place? If st. 7d had originally stood as it was in the position of this *pāda*, then it might have been augmented in order to avoid repetition. Alternatively, it could have been simply an attempt to identify the plural number of person through the insertion of *vayaṃ*.⁴⁰ But even so what does the odd similarity between the Pāli *mādisā* ('one like me') and the Jaina *-m·erisam* tell us?

§9. Verse 4 (st. 12=g. 4)

The monk then cites the analogy of a farmer sowing seeds and explains to the narrowminded priest the ideals of giving (alms).

st. 12 *thalesu bīyāi vavanti kāśagā* — g. 4 *thale ca ninne ca vapanti bījaṃ*
taheva ninnesu ya āśasāe, ————— anūpakhette phalam āśasāna,
eyāe saddhāe dalāha majjhaṃ ————— etāya saddhāya dadāhi dānaṃ,
ārāhae punṇaṃ iṇaṃ khu khittaṃ — app-eva ārādhaye dakkhiṇeyye.

On comparing these two verses, one notices first of all that the metre of only st. 12a (*thalesu bīyāi vavanti kāśagā*) is *jagatī*. Verses in *jagatī* metre alluding to the analogy of the sower are also found elsewhere in the Pāli *Jātakas*,⁴¹ and it is therefore possible that it was customary to use the *jagatī* for such expressions. But in the present case, since it is clear that *bījaṃ* in g. 4a (*thale ca ninne ca vapanti bījaṃ*) is an example of the accusative plural in *-aṃ*,⁴² it may also be possible to regard the *jagatī pāda* in the Jaina version as the result of an 'accurate' translation of this as *bīyāi* (with an extra syllable). Even in the Pāli version, the brahmin's response has *bījāni* (g. 5b).

As for the word *dalāha* in *dalāha majjhaṃ* (st. 12c), manuscripts B²JKBh have *dalāhi* and B¹ has *dadāhi*. In addition, if one takes into account *dadāhi* in the Pāli version, the singular reading must be preferred here too.⁴³ The phrase *dadāhi dānam* (g. 4c) is a commonplace expression using a cognate object,⁴⁴ but since this *pāda* is a response to the brahmin's earlier words (g. 3d: *na...tuyhaṃ dadanti*; st. 11cd: *na...dāhāmu tujjhaṃ*), this expression would not seem appropriate in the present context.

Of particular interest when comparing st. 12d (*ārāhae puṇṇam iṇaṃ khu khittaṃ*) and g. 4d (*app-eva ārādhaye dakkhiṇeyye*)⁴⁵ is that the same optative form *ārāhae/ ārādhaye* has traditionally been interpreted as third person in the former and second person in the latter. But there would not seem to be any real need to accept the explanation given by the Jaina commentators who take *ārāhae* in the third person (K: 'ārādhayed eva' *sādhayed eva*; D & Bh: *nātra anyathābhāvaḥ*). Jacobi translates this line "I may be the field which may produce merit (as the return for our benevolence),"⁴⁶ and his interpretation of *ārāhae* is not clear, but probably it should rather be translated in a way that makes it clear that it is in the second person, as Charpentier has done ("denn du wirst hier ein gesegnetes Feld finden").⁴⁷

§10. Verse 5 (st. 13=g. 5)

In response to the monk, who has described how the farmer, hoping for fruit, sows seed on any ground, both high and low, the priest replies that it is brahmins who represent the field on which seeds should be sown.

st. 13 *khettāṇi amhaṃ viiyāṇi loe* ——— g. 5 *khettāni mayhaṃ vidditāni loke*
jahiṃ pakiṇṇā viruhanti puṇṇā, ——— *yes' āhaṃ bījāni patitṭhapemi*
je māhaṇā jāvivijjovaveyā ————— *ye brāhmaṇā jātimaṇṭupapannā*

tāim tu khattāi supesalāim————— *tānīdha khattāni supesalāni*.

The sole difference between st. 13a (*khettāni amhaṃ vītyāni loe*) and g. 5a (*khettāni mayhaṃ vīditāni loke*) lies in the grammatical number of the personal pronouns *amhaṃ* (plural) and *mayhaṃ* (singular). Alsdorf has written that *amhaṃ* is not plural, but genitive singular, like *mayhaṃ*.⁴⁸ Insofar that this suggestion is based on the understanding that the monk's interlocutor is not the brahmins, but the single priest, it has ample value for my own interpretation. But ultimately I am forced to take a negative stance towards this suggestion by Alsdorf since, rather than adopting a forced interpretation of *amhaṃ* as singular, it would seem far more natural to regard it as yet another example of 'pluralization'.

There is also little difference between st. 13d and g. 5d. The final *anusvāra* in *tāim* and *supesalāim* in the former is not likely to derive from the original.⁴⁹ But the removal of the *anusvāra* from *tāim tu* results in a metrical defect. Meanwhile, when one considers that the word *idha* in *tānīdha* in g. 5d refers to *loke* in the subordinate clause (*loe* in st. 13a), it suits the context and would seem in fact to be a necessary element.

§11. Verses 6-7 (st. 14, 15=gg. 6, 7)

Up until now the conversation has consisted of exchanges of single verses between the priest and the monk, but at this juncture the monk abandons this format and replies with two verses, which present a scathing criticism of brahmins.

st. 14 <i>koho ya māṇo ya vaho ya jesim</i> <i>mosam adattam ca pariggaham</i> <i>ca,</i> <i>te māhaṇā jāvivijjāvihūṇā</i> <i>tāim tu khattāi supāvayāim.</i>	g. 6 <i>jātīmado ca atimānitā ca</i> <i>lobho ca doso ca mado ca moho</i> <i>ete aguṇā yesu va santi sabbe</i> <i>tānīdha khattāni apesalāni.</i>
st. 15 <i>tubbhettha bho bhāradharā</i> <i>girāṇam</i> <i>aṭṭham na jāṇeha ahijja vee,</i> <i>uccāvayāim muniṇo caranti</i> <i>tāim tu khattāi supesalāim.</i>	g. 7 <i>jātīmado ca atimānitā ca</i> <i>lobho ca doso ca mado ca moho</i> <i>ete aguṇā yesu na santi sabbe</i> <i>tānīdha khattāni supesalāni.</i>
st. 16 <i>ajjhāvayāṇam paḍikūlabhāsī</i> <i>pabhāsase kim tu⁵⁰ sagāsi amham,</i> <i>avi eyam viṇassau annapāṇam</i> <i>na ya ṇam dāhāmu tumam niyaṇṭhā.</i>	
st. 17 <i>samīhi majjham susamāhiyassa</i> <i>guttīhi guttassa jīndiyassa</i> <i>jai me na dāhittha ahesaṇijjam</i> <i>kim ajja jannāṇa lahittha lāham</i>	

There is little that can be said about the first half of the first verse in both versions apart from the fact that st. 14b (*mosam adattam ca pariggaham ca*) is clearly Jainist in content⁵¹ and the metre of g. 6a and g. 7a is defective.⁵²

In the Pāli version, g. 6 is repeated in g. 7, with only *va* being changed to *na* and *a-* to *su-*. According to Charpentier,⁵³ st. 15 in the Jaina version would originally have been similar to g. 7, but it is rather the authenticity of g. 7 in the Pāli version, which is little more than an unnecessary repetition, that should be called into question. In fact, this meaningless repetition would seem to have

been meant to fill the gap left when the original lines were moved elsewhere. The lines in question are found in g. 18cd (*putto ca te vedamadena matto/ attham na jānāti adhicca vede*). As I have shown in “Study I” (§9), these two *pādas* are completely superfluous and out of place in their present position.

In the Jaina version, st. 15b (*attham na jāṇeha ahijja vee*) is a response to the brahmin’s words “to us the fields of this world are known (*vīyāṇi*)” (st. 13b), and the monk cleverly counters that “although you may have studied the Vedas (<*vīd*), you do not know their [real] meaning.” It could be said that the Pāli *pāda* in the third person has meaning only when changed to the second person and placed within this exchange in the first half of the story.

The ‘pluralization’ of the monk’s interlocutor, which pervades the Jaina version, can also be seen here (st. 15ab: *tubbhettha bho.../ ...na jāṇeha...*), and it is especially pronounced in the exchange that has been added by the Jains (st. 16 by the brahmin and st. 17 by the monk). There can be no question that the word *amham* appearing here (st. 16b: *pabhāsase kiṃ tu sagāsi amham*) is plural.

The brahmin priest, unable to tolerate the monk’s harsh criticism, explodes in anger, and the tale moves on to its dramatic second half.

§12. Concluding Remarks

In the above, we have considered the dialogue between the brahmin and the monk in the two versions of this story. The conversation that is exchanged between them could be described as soritical, and the skill with which it is developed should be quite evident from the *pādas* that have been compared so far. An example of the verbal ingenuity of the author of the Ākhyāna can be seen in the response to the brahmin’s question “Who are you?” to which the monk is made to reply that he is “one who lives by begging” (st. 10c: *jāyanaṇṇī*);

cf. g. 2c: *paradattūpajīviṃ*). The dual character of the hero of this story, who is both a renunciant and a *caṇḍāla*, could be said to find skillful expression in this reply. The analogy of the sower, which provides an important context for *śrad*√*dhā*,⁵⁴ is also skillfully utilized in the course of the dialogue, and we can discern here what might be described as a prototype of the later notion of ‘field of merit’. In addition, setting aside the question of whether the *yakkha* actually spoke on the monk’s behalf in the Ākhyāna archetype, the *yakkha*’s mystical and spiritual presence was, as noted above, without doubt an original element of the narrative, and his ‘invisibility’ in particular is indispensable to the unfolding of the tale. For instance, because the hero, although a *caṇḍāla*, was a renunciant “accompanied by” a *yakkha*, he was able to prove that he was a great sage, as a result of which he received the veneration of the brahmin and eventually obtained the food which had been his initial objective. Therefore, the work with which we have been concerned here could in one respect perhaps be described as an example of an ancient Indian Ākhyāna representative of what might be termed “Yakṣa literature.”

NOTES

* This article is a sequel to “A Comparative Study of the *Mātāṅga-jātaka* and *Uttarajjhāyā* 12” (hereafter: “Study I”).

1. For research on this tale, see, in addition to the research quoted in “Study I” (nn. 2, 5 and 6), Yamazaki Moriichi 山崎守一, “Uttarajjhāyā kenkyū III—Harikeśa—” *Uttarajjhāyā* 研究Ⅲ—Harikeśa— (*Uttarajjhāyā* studies III: Harikeśa), *Chūō gakujutsu kenkyū kiyō* 中央學術研究紀要 11 (1982), pp. (3)-(29) [includes a Japanese translation of the Jaina version and philological annotations, with references to Alsdorf’s research, etc.].

2. J 497/Utt 12; J 498/Utt 13; J 509/Utt 14.

3. Although he uses the term “Itihāsa-Sammlung” (*ZDMG* 63, p. 171).

4. What the sections that correspond word-for-word tell us is that the differences arising from the “translation” of a text from one dialect to another are *very slight*. Cf. Warder, *Pāli Metre*, §13. On the “Eastern language” (*die östliche Sprache*), see Lüders, *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons* (1954).

5. The metre is primarily *triṣṭubh* (*upajāti*). As regards other metres, the secondary nature of the *āryā* (3½), which appears only in Utt 13, is obvious—cf. Leumann, *WZKM* 5 (1891), p. 131; Charpentier, *The Uttarādhyayanasūtra* (1922), pp. 327-329; and Alsdorf, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 186. The sole genuine *śloka* is a single verse appearing in J 497/Utt 12; see “Study I,” §3 and n. 15.

6. In the past, objections have been raised about the designation *Ākhyāna* as used to refer to works of prosimetric literature consisting of dialogue in verse and narrative description in prose (Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 58-60), but the designation itself is of little importance. I am simply following Oldenberg in provisionally using this term to refer to ancient Indian works of literature characterized by this format.

7. On this point, see Alsdorf, “Namipavvajjā: Contributions to the Study of a Jain Canonical Legend,” in *Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown* (1962), pp. 8-9 (*Kleine Schriften*, pp. 215-216); *id.*, “The Ākhyāna Theory Reconsidered,” *JOI* 13 (1963-64), pp. 195-207 (*Kleine Schriften*, pp. 36-48); “Study I,” §1 and n. 7.

8. The food (leftovers) is entrusted by the monk (Mātaṅga) to the mother (Ditṭhamāṅgalikā) for her son, the patron (Maṇḍavya), who has, moreover, been injured by the *yakkha*. In the Pāli narrative the original theme has been completely lost.

9. On the commentaries on the Utt, which give details of the story and correspond to the *Jātaka-Atthavaṇṇanā*, see the articles mentioned in n. 7 and “Study I,” n. 10.

10. I have emended Charpentier’s *saṃkara-* (no variants) to the metrically correct Pāli *saṃkāra-* (Alsdorf, *IIJ* 6, p. 129).

11. Fausbøll: *hohisi* (fut.). I have emended it because of metrical requirements (Alsdorf, *ibid.*, p. 130). S^eB^e and Pj, pt. I, p. 189, l. 14 actually have *hosi*.

12. Alsdorf, *ibid.*, p. 130.

13. On *piśāca* and ‘black’ (*kāla*), cf. Morris, *JPTS* 1891-93, pp. 11-12. The word *vigarāla* (B^{1,2}KBhSa: *vika*°; =Skt. *vikarāla*) should here be interpreted in its original sense of ‘having bared teeth’ (cf. Lüders, *AO* 14 [1938], pp. 131-132: “die Zähne bleckend”), on which see Alsdorf, *ibid.*, p. 130. The *Uvāsagadasāo* (Uvās.) says with regard to *piśācas* that “their teeth are like a ploughshare” (*phālasarisā se dantā*; Hoernle, *Uvās.*, Vol. I: Text, p. 47, ll. 10-11). The UttC glosses *phokkanāse* with *agge pūlanāso onaya*[=Skt. *avanata*]-*nāso*. Alsdorf also equates *phokka* with Hindi *phok* (‘hollow, concave’). The Uvās. further states on the subject of *piśācas* that “their nose is like the nose of a ram and their nostrils are like an oven with a pair of holes” (*urabbhapuḍasannibhā se dantā, jhusirājamalacullisaṃṭhānasamṭhiyā do vi tassa nāsapuḍayā*; Hoernle,

ibid., p. 47, ll. 7-9). A nose with large and prominent nostrils is presumably a “concave” nose.

14. “Pāli *otallako* is indeed unexplained but metrically correct, Pkt. *omacelae* is intelligible but metrically wrong” (Alsdorf, *ibid.*, p. 130). Were one to seek a Skt. form corresponding to *ō tā llā kō/ ō [ma] cē lā ē*, the only possibility would be **avatāryakaḥ* (cf. *PED*, s.v. *otallaka*; Morris, *JPTS* 1887, p. 151), but its meaning must be deemed unclear.

15. Cf. Alsdorf, *IIJ* 6, p. 130.

16. *Ibid.*

17. In the augmentation (from one verse to two verses) and modification (from conversational verse to narrative verse) in st. 29-30, use has also been made of surrounding lines to fill out the verses; see “Study I,” §8.

18. B¹²JPDKBh: *jakkho*. There are no variants for *aṇukampao* in the next line.

19. *ZDMG* 63, p. 188.

20. On the invisibility of *yakṣas*, cf. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas* (1971 [repr.]), pt. II, p. 1.

21. I have adopted the metrically correct reading of D (Alsdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 130). See “Study I,” n. 33.

22. *tava idaṃ*: so C^{ks} for *tavedaṃ* (Fausbøll); B^dS^e *tava yidaṃ*, but B^e *tavedaṃ*.

23. See my “Mātaṅga-jātaka kenkyū nōto” Mātaṅga-jātaka 研究ノート (Research notes on the *Mātaṅga-jātaka*), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 26, no. 1 (1977), p. 136.

24. On *sesāvasesaṃ*, cf. W. Stede, “Reduplikationskomposita im Pali,” *ZB* 6 (1925), pp. 89-94.

25. Cf. *Manusmṛti* 1.125: *ucchiṣṭam annaṃ dātavyaṃ jīrṇāni vasanāni ca// pulākāś caiva dhānyānāṃ jīrṇāś caiva paricchadāḥ//* (*Bibl. Ind.*, p. 365).

26. *sāpāko*. The equivalent of Skt. *śvapāka* would normally, following the rule

according to which *śva* changes to *so* (cf. *Geiger*, §25; Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Pāli*, I, §92), become Pāli *sopāka* and AMg *sovāga*. But there are also exceptions: Pāli *chapaka*, *chavaka* < *śvapāka*, *śvapaca* (Alsdorf, “The Impious Brahman and the Pious Caṇḍāla,” in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner* [1974], p. 13, n. 2). These forms could easily be formed from, for example, *sāpāka*.

27. Or *tavedam*.

28. See n. 31.

29. See my “MJ kenkyū nōto.”

30. See my “MJ kenkyū nōto.”

31. Fausbøll: *mama idaṃ*. I have followed Alsdorf (*IJ* 6, p. 130).

32. Fausbøll: *mama idaṃ*. I have followed Alsdorf (*ibid.*).

33. Fausbøll: *ettho*. I have followed Alsdorf (*ibid.*). Cf. *CPD*, p. 296, s.v. *idha*.

34. --ṛ-, --ṛ--ṛ--ṛ. Cf. Warder, *Pāli Metre*, §271.

35. Ps III, 76.17. Cf. *CPD*, s.v. *atthiya*.

36. Cf. Pāli *atthiyaṃ* (e.g., *yad atthiyaṃ*, Sn 354: ‘on account of what’ [*PED*]).

37. The Jaina version is read for metrical reasons *eyāḥ saddhāḥ* (KBh: °āi °āi). This actual example of the correspondence between fem. Inst. sg. -āḥ and fem. Inst. sg. -āya is of considerable interest. Cf. Alsdorf, “The Vasudevahiṇḍī, a Specimen of Archaic Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī,” *BSOAS* 8 (1935-37), p. 329 (*Kleine Schriften*, p. 66).

38. Alsdorf, *IJ* 6, p. 130. Cf. Sn 286: *yaṃ tesam pakataṃ āsi dvārabhattam upatṭhitam/ saddhā-pakataṃ esānam dātave tad amaññisum//*.

39. *ZDMG* 63, p. 175.

40. It is possible that *dāhāmu* alone could be taken in the singular. Cf. Alsdorf, “The Vasudevahiṇḍī,” p. 322 (*Kleine Schriften*, p. 59).

41. E.g., J V, 401, vs. 54ab: *āsāya khattāni kasanti kassakā, vapanti bijāni*,

karenti' pāyaso. Cf. Charpentier, *ZDMG* 63, p. 174, n. 4; *id.*, “Similes in the Nikāyas,” *JPTS* 1906-07, p. 80 under *khetta*, pp. 116-117 under *bīja*. For an example of a *triṣṭubh*, see SN I.21=J III, 472, vs. 73cd: *bījāni vuttāni yathā sukhette*.

42. Cf. Lüders, *op. cit.*, §§196-219.

43. See my “MJ kenkyū nōto,” p. 136.

44. It also appears in a later secondary *pāda*: *mahakkasāvesu dadāsi dānaṃ* (g. 21c).

45. Cf. Sn 488(=509)d: *ārādhaye dakkhiṇeyyehi* tādi* (*although it is read °ṇeyye-*hi* and translated accordingly by Hare, etc., it should of course be read °ṇeyye-*hi*; cf. C^k °ṇeyyaṃ *hi* for °ṇeyyehi in v. 509).

46. *SBE* 45, p. 52.

47. *ZDMG* 63, p. 175.

48. See Alsdorf, *IJJ* 6, p. 131 and “Study I,” n. 12.

49. On the double formation in *-āim*, cf. J.J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, p. 7, n. 4.

50. Charpentier: *kiṃ tu*. For contextual reasons I follow Alsdorf (*op. cit.*, p. 131) in adopting this reading. D *kin nu*, KBhP *kiṃ nu*, A *kinṇu*.

51. *Mosaṃ*, etc., represent three of the five great vows of Jainism. *Vaha* (=vadha) in the first line could also be regarded as one of the vows.

52. For metrical reasons Fausbøll reads *jātīmodo*, but all his manuscripts and B^eS^e have *jāti°*.

53. *ZDMG* 63, p. 177.

54. On *śrad-√dhā*, cf. H.W. Köhler, *Śrad-√dhā in der vedischen und altbuddhistischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1973). However, our passage is not mentioned by Köhler (cf. Alsdorf, *op. cit.*, p. 131).