ART. XXVII.—*The story of the merchant Ghosaka (Ghosaka-setṭhi) in its twofold Pāli form, with reference to other Indian parallels.* By Professor E. HARDY, Ph.D.

I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THE *Manoratha-Pūraṇī*, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the *Āṅguttara-Nikāya*, embraces a pretty large collection of highly important and interesting legends,¹ which, according to my estimation, amounts to nearly one-third of the whole work. A general idea of it may be gained from two initial words, viz. *Etad aggam*; for each legend points to some follower of Gotama Buddha, an example, as it were, amongst all of the same kind, whether man or woman, whether member of the Order or still living in the world.

As to the arrangement and succession of the different legends, our source agrees with the *Āṅguttara*, *Eka-Nipāta*, xiv, 1–7, whereas the subjects are circumscribed by their common purport. The legends are designed to show where, when, and under what conditions, both remote and proximate, the Teacher came to present such models of perfection to the faithful.

Still, occasionally, we meet with legends in which the narrative itself preponderates so much that we have, and, of course, also the Buddhist readers or hearers of yore had, only the impression of amusing pastime. A story of this sort, which we enjoy rather for its literary than its edifying character, happens to be the so-called legend of the slave *Khujjuttarā* and the queen *Sāmavati*. Here, perhaps, another reason for dressing up a pious story as a novelette may be sought for in the circumstance that

¹ Mrs. Mabel Bode has published some of these in *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, pp. 517 sqq. See also Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, vol. i, pp. 341 sqq.

the Teacher had told it with special regard to the female hearers (*sāvikās*).¹ At present, however, I have only to point out the great value our legend has for everyone concerned in the comparative history of literature, because there is embodied in it the fable known all over the world of a boy who has been destined to become the heir of a rich man, and who, in spite of many plots against his life, at last reached his destiny. Being a favourite of fortune, every time he is saved by some lucky chance, and when at last he gets all the wealth of his persecutor, he does so by a mere hazard too. A young girl who has fallen in love with him succeeds in exchanging a letter, likely to be fatal to him, with another, by which he becomes her husband and also heir of enormous riches by the help of his wife. This tale, itself forming but an episode of our legend, is connected with another, the principal motive of which is closely related to the ballad of Schiller, "Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer."

Already in 1869, Professor Albrecht Weber² of Berlin pointed out that Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dhammapada, vv. 21-23, contains a legend of the very same tenor. Unfortunately, however, Mr. James d'Alwis,³ upon whom Weber relies, has not given a complete translation of this part of the legend alluded to, and in Fausböll's Extracts from the Commentary⁴ it is wholly missing. Weber, when, fourteen years later,⁵ he

¹ In the canonical books *Sāmavati* (or *Sāmavati*) is mentioned only once, viz. *Udāna*, vii, 10. *Khujjuttarā* occurs three times, viz., *Samyutta-Nikāya*, *Lābhasakkārasamy.* 24, 3. 4 (P.T.S., 1888, vol. ii, p. 236); *Anguttara-Nikāya*, *Dukka-Nipāta*, 12, 4 (P.T.S., 1885, vol. i, p. 88); *Catukka-Nipāta*, 176, 4 (P.T.S., 1888, vol. ii, p. 164). Here it is always the same utterance: "May I be like the upāsikā *Khujjuttarā* and *Velukantakiyā*, Nanda's mother!" The Teacher approves this wish, recommending it to every faithful upāsikā, and says that his female hearers (*sāvikās*) ought to follow the example of the two women named before. Of course, we find both enumerated in the list of heroines in the *Anguttara-Nikāya*, *Eka-Nipāta*, xiv, 7. There is another list, but without any introductory words, in the *Anguttara-Nikāya*, *Aṭṭhaka-Nipāta*, not yet edited for the P.T.S., and here, too, the name of *Khujjuttarā* stands next to that of *Sāmavati*.

² *Monatsber. d. Berliner Akad.*, 1869, p. 42 sq.

³ Introduction to Kaccāyana's Grammar (Colombo, 1863), p. 101.

⁴ In his edition of the Dhammapada (Havniae, 1855), pp. 153 sqq.

⁵ *Sitzungsber. d. Berliner Akad.*, 1883, p. 567.

laid before the public the Jaina Campakaśreṣṭhikathānakam, could, therefore, still adhere to the opinion that the Buddhist version of our tale was deficient, since it did not mention "dass der unschuldige Träger seines eigenen Todesbefehles statt des Todes ein Mädchen zur Frau gewinnt." Moreover, the two commentaries do not agree in such a manner as would justify the substitution of the one for the other. Thus, even if we were better informed about that story, as it occurs in the Dhammapada-Atṭhakathā, than we actually are, information drawn from some other text of the Pāli-Buddhist literature would have its use, and from their juxtaposition, I believe, we shall be able to arrive at the primitive Buddhist form of our fable.

For the text of the story in the Manoratha-Pūraṇī I used three MSS. in Sinhalese writing, viz., the Turnour MS. of the India Office Library (=T₁), and two more MSS. referred to sub-Nos. 9 and 10 in the Morris Collection (=M₉; M₁₀), now in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. As regards the text of the Dhammapada-Atṭhakathā on vv. 21-23, as far as it is concerned with the episodes mentioned above, I had at my disposal a MS. from Camboja, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Pāli 109, fol. 72 sqq. = C.), and besides some pieces of the edition of the Dhammapada-Atṭhakathā (pp. 87-95), published in 1891 A.D. at Colombo, for which I am indebted to Mr. Wickremasinghe. In one place,¹ where this edition would give a sense quite different from my MS., I consulted also three other MSS., written likewise in Cambojan characters, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, viz., Pāli 104, 105, 108 (=C¹; C²; C³), and so I was able to verify the correctness of the MSS. from the circumstance that they agree where the context proves that the reading of the edition is false.

¹ See below on p. 762, n. 8.

II. TEXTS.¹*Manoratha-Pūraṇi.*

1. Tasmim (Udene) rajjam kārayamāne Ghosako deva-putto devapurato² cavitvā Kosambiyam ekissā rūpū-pajiviniyā kucchismim paṭisandhim gaṇhi. Sā dasamas' accayena vijāyitvā puttabhāvam natvā samkarakūṭe chaḍḍāpesi.

Tasmim khaṇe Kosambissetṭhino³ kammantiko pāto 'va setṭhigharam gacchanto 'kin nu kho imam kākehi samparikinṇan' ti gantvā dārakam disvā 'mahāpuṇṇāvā esa dārako bhavissati' ti ekassa purisassa hatthe geham pesetvā setṭhigharam agamāsi.

Setṭhi pi² rājūpaṭṭhānavelāya rājakulam gacchanto antarāmagge purohitam disvā 'ajja kiṃ nakkhattan' ti pucchi.⁴ So⁴ tath' eva ṭhito gaṇetvā 'asukam nāma nakkhattan; ajja iminā nakkhatteua jātadārako imasmim nagare setṭhiṭṭhānam labhissati' ti āha. So tassa katham sutvā vegena gharam pesesi: 'imassa purohitassa dve kathā nāma natthi, gharanī me garugabbhā, jānātha tāva nam vijātā vā no vā' ti. Te gantvā jānitvā 'ayya na tāva vijātā⁵' ti āhamsu. 'Tena hi gacchatha, imasmim nagare ajja jātadārakam pariyesathā²' ti.² Te² pariyesantā tassa setṭhino kammantikassa gehe tam dārakam disvā setṭhino ārocayimsu. 'Tena hi bhaṇe⁶ tam kammantikam pakkosathā' ti. Te tam pakkosimsu. Atha nam

¹ The words spaced out are the same or nearly the same in both versions.

² om. M₁₀.

³ M₉ Kosambika².

⁴ T₁ pucchito.

⁵ T₁ vijāyati; M₉ vijāti.

⁶ M₁₀ bhante.

II. TEXTS.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

1. Ayam (Ghosakadevaputto) pana kāmagaṇe paribhuñjanto muṭṭhassati hutvā āhārakkhayena cavi, cavitvā ca pana Kosambiyam nagaraṣobhiniyā kucchismim paṭisandhim gaṇhi. Sā vijātadivase 'kim etan' ti dāsim pucchitvā 'putto ayye' ti vuttā¹ 'handa je imam dārakam kattarasuppe² āropetvā saṅkārakūṭe³ chaḍḍehi' ti chaḍḍāpesi. (Nagarasobhiniyo hi dhītaram paṭijagganti⁴ na puttam, dhītara hi tāsam paveni⁵ ghaṭiyati.) Dārakam kākā pi sunakhā pi parivāretvā nisīdīmsu, paccekabuddhe sinehappabhavassa huṅkāraṇassa⁶ nissandena eko pi upagantum na visahi.

Tasmim khaṇe eko⁷ manusso bahi nikkhamanto tam kākasunakhasannipātam disvā 'kin nu kho etan' ti⁸ gantvā dārakam disvā puttāsineham paṭilabbhitvā 'putto me laddho' ti geham nayi.

Tadā Kosambikasetthi rājakulam gacchanto rājani-
vesanato āgacchantam purohitam disvā 'kim ācariya
ajja te⁹ tithikaraṇanakkhattayogo¹⁰ olokito' ti pucchi.
'Āma mahāsetthi, amhākam kim aññaṃ kiccan' ti? 'Jana-
padassa kim bhavissati ācariyā' ti? 'Aññaṃ natthi, imas-
sīm pana nagare ajja jātadārako jetthakasetthi bha-
vissati' ti. Tadā setthino bhariyā garugabbhā hoti.
Tasmā so sīgham geham purisaṃ¹¹ pesesi 'gaccha bhaṇe
jānāhi tam¹²: vijātā vā no vā' ti,¹³ 'na vijātā' ti ca sutvā
rājānam disvā vegena geham gantvā Kālīm nāma dāsim

¹ C. vutte.² C. katarā°.³ C. saṅgāra°.⁴ C. patijja°.⁵ C. °nim.⁶ C. hukkara°.⁷ om. Ed.⁸ C. adda tattha.⁹ C. inserts nimitam.¹⁰ C. °kāraṇa°.¹¹ om. C.¹² C. naṃ.

¹³ C. has after vā ti: antevāsiko tam sutvā vegena geham gantvā pucchi 'setthibhariyā vijātā' ti? 'Na vijāyati' ti ahaṃsu (sic!). Tam sutvā puna nagaram gantvā 'na vijātā' ti āha. Setthi 'na vijāyati' ti sutvā rājānam disvā, and so on.

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

seṭṭhi 'gehe kira te dārako atthi' ti pucchi. 'Āma ayyā' ti. 'Taṃ dārakaṃ amhākaṃ dehī' ti. 'Na demi ayyā' ti. 'Handa sahaṣsaṃ gaṇhitvā dehī' ti. So 'ayaṃ jiveyya vā mareyya vā dujjānam etan' ti sahaṣsaṃ gaṇhitvā adāsi.

2. Tato seṭṭhi cintesi: 'sace me bhariyā dhītaraṃ vijāyissati, imam eva karissāmi, sace puttaṃ vijāyissati, imaṃ ghātessāmi' ti. Sā puttaṃ vijāyi. Tato seṭṭhi 'evaṃ taṃ¹ gāvo madditvā māressanti' ti cintetvā 'imaṃ dārakaṃ vajadvāre nipajjāpethā' ti āha. Taṃ tattha nipajjāpesuṃ. Atha naṃ² yūthapati usabho paṭhamam nikkhamanto disvā 'evaṃ naṃ aññe na maddissanti' ti catunnaṃ pādānaṃ antare katvā aṭṭhāsi. Atha naṃ gopālakā disvā 'mahāpuñño esa dārako yassa tiracchānagatā pi guṇaṃ jānanti, paṭijaggissāma nan' ti attano gehaṃ nayimsu.

So pi seṭṭhi tassa matabhāvaṃ anuvajjanto³ 'gopālakehi nito' ti sutvā puna sahaṣsaṃ datvā ānāpetvā āmakasusāne chaḍḍāpesi. Tasmiṃ ca kāle⁴ ajapālako susānaṃ nissāya ajikā cāreti. Ath' ekā dhenu-ajikā dārakassa puññaena maggā ukkamma gantvā dārakassa khīraṃ datvā

¹ M₁₀ naṃ.² M₁₀ taṃ.³ M₉ °vājjanto; M₁₀, T₁ °vijjanto.⁴ T₁, M₁₀ insert seṭṭhiṣsa ghare.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

pakkositvā saḥassam datvā 'gaccha imasmim nagare upadhāretvā¹ ajja² jātadārakam gaṇhitvā ehī' ti. Sā upadhārentī tam geham gantvā dārakam³ disvā³ 'ayaṃ dārako kadā jāto' ti gaḥapatānim pucchitvā 'ajja jāto'⁴ ti vuttā⁵ 'imaṃ mayhaṃ dehī' ti ekaṃ kahāpaṇam ādim katvā mūlam vaddhenti saḥassam datvā tam ānetvā setṭhino dassesi.

2. Setṭhi 'sace me dhītā jāyissati, tāya naṃ saddhim nivesetvā setṭhiṭṭhānassa sāmikam karissāmi, sace me³ putto jāyissati, māressāmi⁶ nan' ti cintetvā naṃ gehe kāresi. Ath' assa bhariyā katipāhaccayena puttam vijāyi. Setṭhi 'imasmim asati mama putto 'va³ setṭhiṭṭhānam labhissati, idān' ev' etam⁷ māretum vaṭṭati' ti cintetvā Kālīm āmantetvā 'gaccha je vajato⁸ gunnam nikkhamanavelāya vajadvāramajjhe⁸ imaṃ tiriyaṃ nipajjāpehi, gāviyo tam⁹ madditvā¹⁰ māressanti, maddanāmadana-bhāvaṃ¹¹ pan' assa ṇatvā ehī' ti āha.

Sā gantvā gopālakena vajadvāre⁸ vivaṭamatte yeva tam¹² tattha¹³ nipajjāpesi. Gogaṇajetṭhako¹⁴ usabho aññas-mim kāle sabbapacchā niggaṇṇanto pi tam divasaṃ sabbapaṭhamam nikkhamitvā dārakam catunnam pādānam antare katvā atṭhāsi. Anekasatagāviyo¹⁵ usabhassa dve passāni ghaṃsentiyo nikkhamimsu. Gopālako pi 'ayaṃ usabho pubbe sabbapacchā nikkhamati, ajja pana sabbapaṭhamam nikkhamitvā vajadvāre⁸ niccalo 'va⁴ ṭhito, kin nu kho etan' ti cintetvā gantvā tassa hetṭhā nipannam dārakam disvā puttasiṇhaṃ paṭilabbhitvā 'putto me laddho' ti geham nesi.¹⁶

Kālī gantvā setṭhinā pucchitā tam attham ārocetvā 'gaccha naṃ puna imaṃ saḥassam datvā ānehi' ti

¹ C. adds saḥassam datvā.² C. inserts tam.³ om. C.⁴ om. Ed.⁵ C. vutte.⁶ C. māri°.⁷ C. eva tam.⁸ C. vajja°.⁹ C. nam.¹⁰ C. maddetvā.¹¹ C. maddanabhāvaṃ.¹² Ed. nam.¹³ C. and Edition have tathā.¹⁴ C. goṇaj°.¹⁵ C. °sattha°.¹⁶ C. nehi.

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

gatā nivattamānā pi tath' eva gantvā khīram adāsi. Ajapālako cintesi 'ayaṃ ajikā pāto pi imasmā ṭhānā ukkamitvā gatā, kin nu kho etan' ti, gantvā olokento taṃ kāraṇaṃ ñatvā 'mahāpuñño esa dārako, tiracchānagatā pi 'ssa guṇaṃ jānanti, paṭijaggissāmi nan' ti gahetvā gehaṃ gato. Punadivase seṭṭhi 'mato nu kho dārako, na mato' ti olokāpento ajapālakena gahitabhāvaṃ ñatvā sahaṣṣaṃ datvā ānāpetvā¹ 'sve² imaṃ nagaraṃ eko satthavāhaputto pavisissati, imaṃ dārakaṃ netvā cakkamagge ṭhapetha, evaṃ taṃ sakatacakkam bbindantaṃ gamissatī' ti āha. Taṃ tattha nikkhittaṃ satthavāhaputtassa purimasātake goṇā disvā cattāro pāde thambhe viya otāretvā aṭṭhaṃsu. Satthavāho 'kin nu kho etan' ti tesam ṭhitakāraṇaṃ olokento dārakaṃ disvā 'mahāpuñño dārako, jaggituṃ vaṭṭatī' ti gaṇhitvā agamāsi.

¹ T₁ anāpesitvā ; M₉ ānapetvā.

² M₁₀ yeva.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

vuttā¹ puna ānetvā adāsi. Atha nam āha: ‘amma Kālī, imasmim nagare pañcasakaṭasatāni paccūsakāle utthāya vaṇijjāya gacchanti, tvaṃ imaṃ netvā cakkamagge nipajjāpehi, goṇā vā nam maddissanti cakkāni² vā nam³ bhindissanti,⁴ pavattiñ⁵ ca⁵ ñatvā ‘va āgaccheyyāsi’ ti. Sā taṃ⁶ netvā cakkamagge nipajjāpesi. So⁷ sākaṭika-jetthako⁸ purato ahosi. Ath’ assa goṇā taṃ⁹ ṭhānaṃ patvā dhuraṃ chaddesuṃ, punappunaṃ āropetvā pājiyamānā pi purato na gacchimsu. Evaṃ tassa hi tehi saddhiṃ vāya-mantass’ eva aruṇaṃ utthahi. So ‘kin’ nām’ etaṃ goṇā karimsū’ ti maggaṃ olokento dārakaṃ disvā ‘bhā-riyaṃ vata me kamman’ ti cintetvā ‘putto me laddho’ ti tuṭṭhamānaso nam¹⁰ gehaṃ nesi.¹¹ Kālī gantvā seṭṭhinā pucchitā taṃ pavattiṃ¹² ācikkhitvā ‘gaccha, nam puna sahaṃsaṃ datvā ānehi’ ti vuttā tathā akāsi. Atha nam āha: ‘idāni nam¹⁰ āmakasusānaṃ¹³ netvā gacchantare nipajjāpehi, tattha sunakhādīhi vā khādito amanussehi¹⁴ vā pahaṭo marissati matāmatabhāvaṃ c’assa jānitvā ‘va āga-ccheyyāsi’ ti. Sā taṃ netvā tattha nipajjāpetvā ekamante atthāsi. Taṃ sunakho vā kāko vā amanusso vā upasaṅka-mitum nāsakkhi.

“Na nu c’assa neva mātā na³ pitā³ na bhātikā¹⁵” ti ādisu koci rakkhito nāma atthi, ko³ taṃ⁹ rakkhati ti? Sunakhakāle paccakabuddhe sinehena pavattitahumkaraṇa-mattam¹⁶ eva¹⁷ taṃ rakkhati.

Ath’ eko ajapālo anekasahassā¹⁸ ajā gocaraṃ nento susānapassena gacchati. Ekā ajā paṇṇādini khadamānā gacchantaraṃ pavitṭhā¹⁹ dārakaṃ disvā jaṇṇukehi ṭhatvā dārakassa thanaṃ adāsi. Ajapālakena ‘he he’ ti sadde kate pi na nikkhami. So yatthiyā nam paharitvā ‘nīharissāmī’

¹ C. inserts sahaṃsaṃ tassa datvā.

³ om. C.

⁴ C. chindissanti.

⁵ C. pavuttiñ ca; Ed. pavattim c’assa.

⁷ om. Ed.

⁸ C. sākaṭijettho.

¹⁰ Ed. taṃ.

¹¹ C. nehi.

¹³ C. āmasu.

¹⁴ C. amanussena.

¹⁶ C. hukka.

¹⁷ C. c’eva.

¹⁹ C. pavisitvā.

² Ed. cakkā.

⁶ Ed. nam.

⁹ C. nam.

¹² C. pavattim.

¹⁵ C. bhātikādisu.

¹⁸ C. satasahassā.

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

Seṭṭhi pi taṃ cakkapathe matabbhāvaṃ vā amatabbhāvaṃ vā olokāpento satthavāhena gahitabhāvaṃ ñatvā tassa pi sahaṣsaṃ datvā ānāpetvā nagarato avidūratṭhāne papāte pātāpesi. So tattha papatanto naḷakārānaṃ kammakaraṇatṭhāne naḷakārasālāyaṃ patito. Sā tassa puññānubhāvena satavihatakapāsāpicusamphassasadisā ahoṣi. Atha naṃ naḷakārajetṭhako 'puññavā esa dārako, jaggitum vaṭṭati' ti gaṇhitvā gehaṃ gato. Seṭṭhi dārakassa papātato patitatṭhāne amatabbhāvaṃ vā matabbhāvaṃ vā pariyesāpento naḷakārajetṭhakena gahitabhāvaṃ ñatvā tassa pi sahaṣsaṃ datvā ānāpesi.

3. Aparabhāge seṭṭhissa sakaputto pi so pi ubho vayappattā ahesuṃ. Seṭṭhi puna Ghosakadārakassa māraṇupāyaṃ¹ cintento attano kumbhakārassa gehaṃ gantvā 'ambho mayhaṃ gehe evarūpo² eko avajātatārako atthi, taṃ dārakaṃ yaṃ kiñci katvā māretuṃ vaṭṭati' ti rahassena āha. So tato ubho pi kaṇṇe pidahitvā 'evārūpaṃ nāma bhāriyaṃ kathaṃ kathetuṃ na vaṭṭati' ti āha. Tato seṭṭhi 'ayaṃ mudhā na karissati' ti cintetvā 'handā bho sahaṣsaṃ gaṇhitvā etaṃ kammaṃ nipphādehi' ti āha. (Lañcaṃ nāma abhinnaṃ bhandati.) Tasmā so sahaṣsaṃ labhitvā sampāṭicchitvā 'ahaṃ ayya asuka-divasaṃ nāma āvāpaṃ ālimpessāmi, tadā taṃ asukavelāya nāma pesehi' ti āha. Seṭṭhi pi kho tassa vacanaṃ sutvā sampāṭicchitvā tato patṭhāya divase gaṇento kumbhakārena

¹ T₁ maraṇu°.² T₁ inserts ca.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

ti gacchantaraṃ pavittṭho jaṇṇukehi tṭatvā dāraṃ¹ pāyentim disvā dāraṃ puttasiṇhaṃ paṭilabbhitvā 'putto me laddho' ti ādāya pakkāmi.

Kālī² gantvā seṭṭhinā pucchitā taṃ pavattim ācikkhitvā 'gaccha, taṃ³ puna sahaṃsaṃ datvā ānehi' ti vuttā tathā akāsi. Atha naṃ āha: 'amma Kālī,⁴ imaṃ ādāya corapapātapabbataṃ abhirūhitvā⁵ papāte khipa,⁶ pabbata-kucchiyaṃ paṭihaññamāno khaṇḍākhāṇḍiko hutvā bhūmiyaṃ patissati matāmatābhāvaṃ c'assa ñatvā 'va āgaccheyyāsi' ti. Sā taṃ tattha netvā pabbatamatthake tṭatvā khipi. Taṃ kho pana pabbata-kucchiyaṃ nissāya mahāveṇugumbo pabbatānusāren' eva vaḍḍhi. Tassa matthakaṃ ghanajāto jiṇṇukagumbo avatthari. Dāraṃ patanto kojave viya tasmim pati. Taṃ divasaṃ⁷ naḷakārajetṭhakassa veṇubali⁸ patto hoti. So puttena saddhim gantvā taṃ veṇugumbaṃ chinditum ārabbi. Tasmim calante dāraṃ saddaṃ akāsi. So 'dāraṃsaddo viyā' ti ekena passena abhirūhitvā⁹ taṃ disvā 'putto me laddho' ti tutṭhacitto ādāya gato. Kālī seṭṭhissa santikaṃ gantvā tena pucchitā taṃ pavattim ācikkhitvā 'gaccha, naṃ puna sahaṃsaṃ datvā ānehi' ti vuttā tathā akāsi.

3. Seṭṭhino idaṃ c'idaṃ ca karontass' eva dāraṃ va-ḍḍhito, Ghosako tvev' assa nāmaṃ ahosi. So seṭṭhino akkhiṃhi kaṇṭako viya khāyi, ujukaṃ taṃ oloketum pi na visahi.¹⁰ Ath' assa māraṇupāyaṃ¹¹ cintento attano sahāyakassa kumbhakārassa santikaṃ gantvā 'kadā āvapaṃ ālimpessasi¹² ti taṃ pucchitvā 'sve' ti vutte 'tena hi idaṃ sahaṃsaṃ gahetvā maṃ' ekaṃ kammaṃ karohi' ti āha. 'Kiṃ¹³ sāmi' ti? 'Eko me avajātaputto atthi, taṃ tava santikaṃ pesessāmi, atha naṃ gahetvā gabbhaṃ pavesetvā tikkhiṇāya vāsiyā khaṇḍākhāṇḍikaṃ chinditvā cāṭiyaṃ pakkhipitvā āvāpe paceyyāsi,¹⁴ idaṃ te sahaṃsaṃ

¹ Ed. inserts khiraṃ.

² C. inserts taṃ disvā.

³ C. naṃ.

⁴ om. Ed.

⁵ C. abhiruyhitvā.

⁶ C. khipi, and it adds taṃ.

⁷ Ed. inserts ca.

⁸ C. °balo.

⁹ C. abhiruyhitvā.

¹⁰ Ed. sahi.

¹¹ C. maraṇu°.

¹² Ed. °pessati.

¹³ C. has kiṃ kammaṃ karissāmi ti.

¹⁴ Ed. °si ti.

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

vuttadivasassa sampattabhāvaṃ ñatvā Ghosakakumāraṃ pakkositvā: ambhākaṃ tāta asukadivase nāma bahūhi bhājanehi attho, tvaṃ ambhākaṃ kumbhakārassa santikaṃ gantvā 'pitarā kira me tumhākaṃ¹ kathitaṃ atthi, taṃ ajja nipphādehi' ti vada.² So sādhu ti tassa vacanaṃ sampaṭicchitvā nikkhami.

Atha naṃ antarāmagge setthissa sakaputto gulakīlaṃ kilanto disvā vegena gantvā 'ahaṃ bhātika dārakehi saddhiṃ kilanto ettakaṃ nāma jito, taṃ me paṭijinitvā dehi' ti āha. So 'mayhaṃ idāni okāso natthi, pitā maṃ accāyikakammena kumbhakārassa santikaṃ pahīṇi' ti āha. Itaro 'ahaṃ bhātiya tattha gamissāmi, tvaṃ imehi saddhiṃ kilītvā mayhaṃ lakkaṃ paccāharitvā dehi' ti āha. 'Tena hi gacchā' ti attano kathitasūsaṇaṃ tassa kathetvā dārakehi saddhiṃ kilī. So kumāro kumbhakārassa santikaṃ gantvā taṃ sāsanaṃ ārocesi. 'Sādhu tāta nipphādessāmi' ti taṃ kumāraṃ gabbhaṃ pavesetvā tikhiṇāya vāsiyā khaṇḍākhaṇḍiyaṃ katvā cāṭiyaṃ pakkhipitvā³ cāṭimukhaṃ pidahitvā bhājanantare ṭhapetvā āvapaṃ ālimpesi. Ghosakakumāro pi bahū jinitvā kaniṭṭhassa āgamaṇaṃ olokento nisīdi. So taṃ cirāyamānaṃ ñatvā 'kin nu kho cirāyati' ti kumbhakāragehe sabhāgaṃ gantvā katthaci adisvā 'gehaṃ gato bhavissati' ti nivattitvā gehaṃ agamāsi. Setthi taṃ durato 'va āgacchantaṃ disvā 'kin nu kho kāraṇaṃ bhavissati' ti 'mayā esa māraṇatthāya kumbhakārassa santikaṃ pahito, so dāni puna icc' eva āgacchatī' ti āgacchantam yeva taṃ 'kiṃ tāta kumbhakārassa santikaṃ na gato 'sī' ti āha. 'Āma tāta na gato 'smī' ti. 'Kasmā tātā' ti? So attano nivattakāraṇaṃ ca kaniṭṭhabhātikassa tattha gatakāraṇaṃ ca setthissa kathesi. Setthi tassa vacanassa sutakālato paṭṭhāya mahāpaṭhaviyā ajjhotthaṭo viya hutvā 'kin nāma' etaṃ saccaṃ vada⁴ ti utrastacitto vegena kumbhakārassa santikaṃ gantvā aññesaṃ santike

¹ M₉ inserts ekaṃ.³ M₉ pakkhāpitvā; T₁ katvā.² No MS. has ti after vada.⁴ M₉ vadati.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

saccakārasadisam, uttarim puna te kattabbayuttakam pacchā karissāmi' ti. Kumbhakārako sādhu ti sampaticchi. Setthi punadivase Ghosakam pakkositvā¹ 'tāta, hiyyo mayā kumbhakārassa² ekam kammam ānattam,³ ehi tvam tassa santikam gantvā evam vadehi: hiyyo kira me pitarā ānattam kammam nipphādehi'⁴ ti paṇi. So sādhu ti agamāsi.

Tam tattha gacchantam itaro setthinō putto dārakehi saddhim⁵ guḷam kilanto disvā tam pakkositvā⁶ 'kuhim gacchasi bhātikā' ti pucchitvā 'pitu sāsanaṃ gahetvā kumbhakārassa santikan' ti vutte 'aham tattha gamissāmi, ime maṃ⁷ dārakā bahum lakkham jiniṃsu, tam me paṭi-jinitvā dehi' ti āha. 'Aham pitu bhāyāmi' ti. 'Mā bhāyi bhātika, aham tam sāsanaṃ karissāmi, bahum⁸ hi jito,⁹ yāvāham āgacchāmi tāva me lakkham paṭi-jināhi'¹⁰ ti. Ghosako kira guḷakilāya cheko, tena tam¹¹ evam nibbandhi.¹² So pi tam¹³ 'tena hi gantvā kumbhakāram vadehi: pitarā kira me hiyyo ekam kammam ānattam, tam nipphādehi'¹⁴ ti vatvā uyyojesi. So tassa santikam gantvā tathā avaca. Atha naṃ kumbhakāro setthinā vuttaniyāmen'¹⁵ eva māretvā āvāpe khipi. Ghosako pi divasabhāgaṃ kilitvā sāyaṇhasamayam¹⁶ geham gantvā setthinā¹⁷ disvā¹⁷ 'kim tāta na gato 'sī' ti vutte attano agatakāraṇaṃ¹⁸ ca kaniṭṭhassa gatakāraṇaṃ ca ārocesi. Setthi tam sutvā 'han dhī' ti mahāviraṇam viravitvā sakalasāre pakkatthitalohito viya hutvā 'ambho kumbhakāra mā maṃ nāsaya mā nāsaya' ti bāhā¹⁹ paggayha kandanto tassa santikam agamāsi. Kumbhakāro tam tathā āgacchantam disvā 'sāmi mā saddam kari, kammam te nipphannaṃ' ti āha. So pabbatena viya mahantena sokena avatthaṇo²⁰ hutvā anappakam domanassam paṭisaṃvedesi,

¹ C. °sāpetvā.⁴ C. °pehi ti.⁷ C. puts maṃ after dārakā.¹⁰ Ed. °jinā.¹³ C. nam.¹⁵ C. 'niyāmena (without eva).¹⁸ Ed. āgata°.² C. °kāro.⁵ om. C.⁸ C. bahūhi.¹¹ Ed. nam.¹⁴ C. nipāhi.¹⁶ C. °ye.¹⁹ Ed. bāham.³ C. ānatto.⁶ C. pakkosāhitvā.⁹ Ed. jinito.¹² Ed. nibbandhi.¹⁷ om. Ed.²⁰ C. avattharito.

Manoratha-Pūraṇī.

akathanīyabhāvena 'pekkha bho pekkha bho' ti āha. 'Kiṃ pekkhāpesi tvam? niṭṭhitam ettha kamman' ti. So tato 'va nivattitvā geham agamāsi.

4. Tato paṭṭhāya c'assa cetasikarogo uppajji. So tasmim pi kāle tena saddhīm abhuñjivā 'yena kenaci upāyena mama puttassa sattuno anattam eva passitum vaṭṭatī' ti ekam paṇṇam likhivā Ghosakakumāram pakkositvā 'tvam imam paṇṇam ādāya, asukagāme nāma amhākam kammantiko atthi, tassa santikam gantvā imam paṇṇam datvā "imasmim kira paṇṇe sāsanaṃ siḡham karohi" ti vadā' ti ¹ 'antarāmagge amhākam sahāyako gāmakasetṭhi' ² nāma eko setṭhi atthi, ³ tassa gharam gantvā bhattam bhuñjivā gaccheyyāsi' ti ca mukhasāsanam adāsi.

¹ T₁, M₉ vadati; M₁₀ vada. ² All MSS. have here gāmasetṭhi. ³ om. M₉.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

yathā taṃ appaduṭṭhassa paduṭṭhamāno. Tenāha Bhagavā (Dhp., vv. 137-140) :—

Yo daṇḍena adaṇḍesu
appaduṭṭhesu dussati,
dasannam aññataram ṭhānam
khippam eva nigacchati :
vedanam pharusam jānim
sarīrassa ca bhedanam,
garukam vā pi ābādham
cittakkhepam 'va pāpūṇe,
rājato 'va upassaggam
abbhakkhānam 'va dāruṇam,
parikkhayam 'va ñātīnam
bhogānam 'va pabhaṅguraṃ (sic !)
atha¹ v'assa¹ agārāni
aggi dahati pāvako,
kāyassa bhedaṃ duppañño
nirayam so 'papajjati² ti.

4. Evaṃ sante pi puna naṃ seṭṭhi ujukam oloketum na sakkoti 'kinti,³ naṃ māreyyan' ti cintento 'mama gāmasate āyuttakassa santikam pesetvā māressāmī' ti upāyam disvā 'ayam me avajātaputto, imam māretvā vaccakūpe khipatu, evam kate aham mātulassa kattabbayuttakam pacchā⁴ jānissāmī' ti tassa paṇṇam likhitvā 'tāta Ghosaka, ambhākam gāmasate āyuttako atthi, imam paṇṇam haritvā tassa dehī' ti vatvā paṇṇam tassa dasante⁵ bandhi. So pana akkharasamayam na jānāti, daharakālato paṭṭhāya hi naṃ⁶ mārāpetum⁷ vāyamanto 'va seṭṭhi mārāpetum nāsakkhi. Kiṃ akkharasamayam sikkhāpessati? Iti so attano mārāpanapaṇṇam⁸ eva dasante bandhitvā nikkhamanto āha 'pātheyyam me tāta natthi' ti. 'Pātheyyena te kammam natthi, antarāmagge nāma⁴ mama sabhāyako

¹ C. ath' assa.

⁴ om. Ed.

⁷ C. 'pento.

² C. so uppa°.

⁵ C. dussante throughout.

⁸ C. mārānapaṇṇam.

³ C. kintu.

⁶ Ed. tam.

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

So seṭṭhiṃ vanditvā paṇṇaṃ gahetvā nikkhanto antarāmagge gāmakaseṭṭhiassa vasanaṭṭhānaṃ gantvā tassa gehaṃ pucchitvā taṃ bahi dvārakoṭṭhake nisīditvā massukammaṃ karontaṃ vanditvā atṭhāsi 'kuto āgacchasi¹ tātā' ti ca vutte 'Kosambiyaseṭṭhino putto 'mhi tātā' ti āha. So 'amhākaṃ saḥāyakaseṭṭhino putto' ti haṭṭhatuṭṭho ahoṣi. Tasmiṃ ca khaṇe tassa seṭṭhino dhītāya ekā dāsi pupphāni āharitūṃ gacchati. Atha naṃ seṭṭhi āha: 'tvam etaṃ kammaṃ ṭhapetvā Ghosakakumārassa pāde dhovitvā sayanaṃ attharitvā dehi' ti. Sā tathā katvā āpaṇaṃ gantvā seṭṭhidhītu pupphāni āhari. Seṭṭhidhītā taṃ disvā 'tvam ajja ciraṃ bahi papañcesi' ti tassā kupitā 'kin te ettakaṃ kālaṃ ettha katan' ti āha. 'Mā kathesi ayye,² mayā evarūpo na diṭṭhapubbo, tuyhaṃ kira pitu saḥāyaseṭṭhino putto eko,³ na sakkā tassa rūpasampattiṃ kathetūṃ, seṭṭhi maṃ pupphānaṃ atthāya gacchantiṃ "tassa kumārassa pāde dhovitvā sayanaṃ attharitvā dehi" ti āha, tenāhaṃ bahi ciraṃ papañcesin' ti.

5. Sā pi kho seṭṭhidhītā tassa kumārassa catutthe attabhāve gharasāmini ahoṣi. Tasmā tassa vacanassa sutakālaṭo paṭṭhāya neva attano ṭhitabbhāvaṃ na nisinnabbhāvaṃ aññāsi. Sā taṃ eva dāsiṃ gahetvā tassa nipannaṭṭhānaṃ gantvā taṃ niddāyamānaṃ oloketvā dasante paṇṇaṃ disvā 'kin nu kho etaṃ paṇṇaṃ' ti kumāraṃ anuṭṭhapetvā 'va paṇṇaṃ gahetvā vācetvā 'ayaṃ attano maraṇapaṇṇaṃ sayam eva gahetvā gacchati' ti taṃ paṇṇaṃ phāletvā tasmiṃ appabuddhe yeva 'mayā tava santikaṃ putto pesito, saḥāyakassa me gāmakaseṭṭhiassa vayappattā dārikā atthi, tvam sīghaṃ ambākaṃ āṇāpavattiṭṭhāne uppādaṃ gaṇhitvā sabbasatena mama puttassa gāmakaseṭṭhino dhītaraṃ gahetvā maṅgalaṃ karohi⁴ maṅgale ca niṭṭhite "iminā me vidhānena katan" ti mayhaṃ sāsanaṃ pesehi, ahaṃ tava idha

¹ M₉, M₁₀ gacchasi.³ om. M₉.² T₁, M₉ ayyo.⁴ All MSS. have karohi ti.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

setthi atthi, tassa ghare pātārāsaṃ katvā parato¹ gacchāhi' ti.

So sādhu ti pitaraṃ vanditvā nikkhamanto taṃ gāmaṃ² patvā setthigharaṃ pucchitvā gantvā setthijāyaṃ passi³ 'kuto āgato 'si' ti ca vutte 'anto nagarato' ti āha. 'Kassa putto 'sī' ti? 'Tumhākaṃ sahāyakasetthino amma' ti. 'Tvam asi Ghosako nāma' ti? 'Āma amma' ti. Tassā saha dassanen' eva tasmim puttasingheho uppajji. Setthino pan' ekā dhītā atthi pannarasasolasavassapadesikā⁴ abhirūpā⁵ pāsādikā. Taṃ rakkhituṃ ekam eva pesanakārikam dāsim datvā sattabhūmikassa pāsādassa uparitale siri-gabbhe vasāpentī. Setthidhītā tasmim khaṇe taṃ dāsim antarāpaṇaṃ pesesi. Atha naṃ setthijāyā disvā 'kuhiṃ gacchasi' ti pucchitvā 'ayye dhītāya pesanenā' ti vutte 'ito tāva ehi, tiṭṭhatu pesanaṃ, puttassa me piṭhakaṃ attharitvā pāde dhovitvā telaṃ makkhitvā⁶ sayanaṃ attharitvā dehi, pacchā pesanaṃ karissasi' ti āha. Sā tathā akāsi. Atha naṃ cirenāgataṃ setthidhītā santajjesi. Atha naṃ sā āha: 'ayye' mā me kujjhi, setthiputto Ghosako āgato, tassa idaṃ c'idaṃ ca katvā tattha gantvā āgatā 'mbhī' ti.

5. Setthidhītāya 'setthiputto Ghosako' ti nāmaṃ sutvā 'va pemaṃ chavi-ādini chinditvā atthimiṇjaṃ ābaccā tthitaṃ. Kotuhalika⁸-kālasamim hi sā tassa pajāpati hutvā nālikodanaṃ paccekabuddhassa adāsi. Tass' ānubhāvena gantvā imasmim setthikule nibbattā. Iti naṃ so pubbasineho avattharitvā gaṇhi. Tenāha Bhagavā:—

Pubbe 'va sannivāsena
paccuppannahitena vā
evaṃ taṃ jāyate pemaṃ
uppalaṃ 'va yathodake ti.

Atha naṃ pucchi 'kuhiṃ so amma' ti? 'Sayane nipanno niddāyati' ti āha.⁹ 'Atthi pan' assa hatthe kiñcī' ti?

¹ C. purato.

⁴ C. ⁶vassuddesikā.

⁷ om. Ed.

⁹ om. C.

² Ed. gāmakam.

⁵ Ed. puts pās° before abhi°.

⁸ C. °laka; cf. Sum. Vil. (P.T.S., 1886), pt. i, p. 317.

³ C. passitvā.

⁶ Ed. makkhetvā.

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

kattabbam jānissāmī' ti paṇṇam likhitvā tam eva lañchaṃ datvā paṭhamam baddhaniyāmen' eva dasante bandhi. So pi kho kumāro taṃ divasaṃ tattha vasitvā punadivase seṭṭhim āpucchitvā kammantikassa gāmaṃ gantvā paṇṇam adāsi. Kammantiko paṇṇam vācetvā gāmike sannipātetvā 'tumhe 'va maṃ na gaṇetha, mama sāmī attano jeṭṭha-puttassa¹ sabbasatena dārikam ānetum mayham santikam pesesi, vegena² imasmim ṭhāne uppādam sampiṇḍethā' ti sabbam maṅgalasakkāraṃ sajjetvā gāmakaseṭṭhiṃ sāsanaṃ pesetvā sampaticchāpetvā sabbasatena maṅgalakiriyaṃ niṭṭhāpetvā Kosambiseṭṭhiṃ paṇṇam paṇiṇi: 'mayā tumhehi pahitapaṇṇasāsanaṃ sutvā idaṃ e'idaṃ ca katan' ti.

6. Seṭṭhi taṃ sāsanaṃ sutvā aggidaddho viya 'idāni natṭho 'mbī' ti cintāvasena³ lohita-pakkhandikaṃ rogaṃ patvā 'yena kenaci naṃ⁴ upāyena pakkositvā mama santakassa asāmikam karissāmī' ti maṅgalassa niṭṭhitakālate patthāya 'kasmā mayham putto bahi hoti' ti 'sīgham āgacchatū'

¹ M₉ jeṭṭhaka°.³ M₉ cittā°.² M₉ visāna (P).⁴ M₉ taṃ.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

‘Dasante¹ paṇṇaṃ atthi’ ti. Sā ‘kiṃ paṇṇaṃ nu kho etan’ ti? Tasmim niddāyante mātāpitunnaṃ aṇṇavihitatāya² apassantānaṃ otarivā santikaṃ³ gantvā³ taṃ paṇṇaṃ mocetvā ādāya attano gabbhaṃ pavisitvā dvāraṃ pidhāya vātapānaṃ vivaritvā akkharasamaye kusalatāya paṇṇaṃ vācetvā ‘aho bālo attano maraṇapaṇṇaṃ dasante bandhitvā vicarati,⁴ sace mayā na diṭṭhaṃ assa natthi jīvitān’ ti taṃ paṇṇaṃ phāletvā seṭṭhissa vacanena aparaṃ paṇṇaṃ likhi⁵: ‘ayaṃ mama putto Ghosako nāma gāmasatato paṇṇākāraṃ āharāpetvā imassa janapada-seṭṭhino dhitarā saddhiṃ maṅgalaṃ katvā attano vasanagāmaṃ majjhe dvibhūmikaṃ gehaṃ kāretvā pākāraparikkhepena o’eva purisaguttiya ca saṃvīhitā rakkhaṃ karotu mayhañ ca “idañ c’idañ ca mayā katan” ti sāsanaṃ pesetu; evaṃ kate ahaṃ mātulassa kattabba-yuttakaṃ pacchā³ ‘jānissāmi’ ti likhitvā ca⁶ pana saṃharitvā dasante yev’ assa bandhi. So divasabhāgaṃ niddāyitvā utthāya bhuñjitvā pakkāmi. Punadivase pāto⁷ va taṃ gāmaṃ gantvā āyuttakaṃ gāmakiccaṃ karontaṃ yeva passi. So taṃ disvā ‘kiṃ tātā’ ti pucchi. So³ ‘pitarā me tumbhakaṃ paṇṇaṃ pesitaṃ’ ti āha.³ ‘Kissa paṇṇaṃ tātā, āharā’ ti paṇṇaṃ gahetvā vācetvā tuṭṭha-mānaso ‘passatha bho mama sāmīno mayi sinehaṃ, “jeṭṭhaputtassa me maṅgalaṃ karotū” ti mama santikaṃ paṇṇi, siḥhaṃ dāru-ādīni āharathā’ ti gahapatike vatvā gāmaṃ majjhe vuttappakāraṃ gehaṃ kāretvā gāmasatato paṇṇākāraṃ āharāpetvā janapadaseṭṭhino santikā⁶ dhitarā anetvā maṅgalaṃ katvā seṭṭhissa sāsanaṃ paṇṇi: ‘idañ ca idañ ca mayā katan’ ti.

6. Taṃ sutvā seṭṭhino ‘yaṃ kāremi’ taṃ na hoti, yaṃ na karomi⁸ tad eva hoti’ ti mahantaṃ domanassaṃ uppajji. Puttasokena saddhiṃ so⁶ soko ekato hutvā kucchidāhaṃ uppādetvā atisāraṃ janesi. Seṭṭhidhitā pi ‘sace koci seṭṭhino santikā āgacchati, mama⁹ akathetvā seṭṭhiputtassa

¹ C. amma dussante.⁴ C. carati.⁷ Ed. kārema.² C. aṇṇā°.⁵ C. likhitvā.⁸ Ed. karoma.³ om. Ed.⁶ om. C.⁹ C. tumhe mama.

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

ti sāsanaṃ pesesi. Sāsanaṃ sutvā kumāro gantum āradhho, setṭhīdhītā cintesi: 'ayaṃ bālo "kaṃ nissāya imaṃ sampattim alatthan" ti na jānāti, yaṃ kiñci katvā imassa gamanaṃ paṭibāhanupāyo katum vaṭṭatī' ti. Tato naṃ āha: 'kumāra, mā ativegāyi,¹ kulagāmaṃ gacchantena nāma attano parivacchaṃ katvā gantum vaṭṭatī' ti. Kosambakasetṭhi pi tassa cirāyanabhāvaṃ nātvā puna sāsanaṃ paṇiṇi: 'kasmā me putto cirāyati, ahaṃ lohitapakkhandi-karogaṃ² patto, jīvaṇṇaṃ eva maṃ āgantvā datṭhuma vaṭṭatī' ti. Tasmim kāle setṭhīdhītā tassa ārocesi: 'na eso tava pitā, tvaṃ pana pitā' ti, saññaṃ karosi: 'esa tava mārāṇatthāya kammantikassa paṇṇaṃ paṇiṇi, ahaṃ taṃ paṇṇaṃ apanetvā aññaṃ sāsanaṃ likhitvā tava etaṃ sampattim nipphādayim, esa tava "aputtakaṃ³ karissāmi" ti pakkosati, etassa kālakiriyāṃ āgamehi' ti. Ath' assa dharamānakass' eva kālakatabhāvaṃ sutvā Kosambinagaraṃ agamāsi. Setṭhīdhītā pi 'ssa pageva⁴ saññaṃ adāsi 'tvaṃ pavisanto sakalagehe tava ārakkhaṃ tṭhapento pavisa' ti. Sayam pi setṭhiputtana saddhim eva pavisitvā ubho hatthe ukkhipitvā rodantī viya hutvā andhakāraṭṭhāne nippanna-kassa santikaṃ gantvā sisen' eva hadayaṃ pahari. So dubbalatāya ten' eva pahārena kālam akāsi. Setṭhikumāro pi pitu sarīrakiccaṃ katvā 'tume mahāsetṭhissa maṃ sakaputto ti vadathā' ti pādāmūlikānaṃ lañcaṃ adāsi. Tato sattamadivase⁵ rājā 'setṭhiṭṭhānārahaṃ laddhuma vaṭṭatī' ti 'setṭhissa sakaputtabhāvaṃ jānathā' ti pesesi. Setṭhipādāmūlikā rañño⁶ sakaputtabhāvaṃ⁷ kathayimsu. Rājā sādhu ti sampatiṇṇhitvā tassa setṭhiṭṭhānaṃ adāsi. So Ghosakesetṭhi nāma jāto.

¹ T₁ °vehāyi; M₉ °vehāyi corr. to °vegāyi.² M₁₀ puttakaṃ.⁴ M₉ bahi eva.⁶ M₉ inserts setṭhissa.² T₁, M₁₀ °pakkhandirogaṃ.⁵ M₉ sattame di°.⁷ T₁, M₁₀ °puttakabhāvaṃ.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

paṭhamataram mā kathayitthā' ti jane¹ ānāpesi. Setṭhi pi kho 'na² dāni taṃ duṭṭhaputtam mama sāpateyyassa sāmikam karissāmi' ti cintetvā ekam āyuttakam āha 'matula puttam datṭhukāmo 'mhi, ekam pādamūlikam pesetvā mama³ puttam pakkosāpehi' ti. So sādhu ti paṇṇam datvā ekam purisaṃ pesesi. Setṭhiddhītā⁴ tass' āgantvā dvāre thitabhāvaṃ sutvā pakkosāpetvā 'kiṃ⁵ tāta' ti pucchi. 'Setṭhi gilāno puttam passitum pakkosāpeti⁶ ayye' ti. 'Tāta, setṭhi¹ balavā vā dubbalo' ti? 'Balavā tāva, āhāraṃ bhuñjati yeva ayye' ti. Sā setṭhiputtam ajānāpetvā etassa nivāsanaṃ⁷ ca paribbayaṃ ca dāpetvā 'mayā pesitakāle gamissati, accha tāvā' ti āha. Setṭhi⁸ puna āyuttakam avaca⁹: 'kiṃ mātula, na te mama puttassa santikam pahitan' ti? 'Pahitam sāmī, gatapuriso pana¹⁰ na tāva eti' ti. 'Tena hi puna aparaṃ pesehi' ti. So pesesi. Setṭhiddhītā tasmim pi tath' eva paṭipajji. Atha setṭhino rogo balavā jāto, ekam bhājanam pavisati, ekam nikkhamati. Puna setṭhi āyuttakam pucchi: 'kiṃ mātula, na te mama puttassa santikam pahitan' ti? 'Pahitam sāmī, gatapuriso pana na eti' ti. 'Tena hi puna¹ aparaṃ pesehi' ti. So¹ pesesi.¹ Setṭhiddhītā tatiyavāre āgatam pi taṃ¹⁰ pavattim¹¹ pucchi: 'kiṃ¹² setṭhino ābādhan' ti? So 'bālhagilāno ayye, setṭhi āhāraṃ pacchinditvā mañcaparāyaṇo jāto ekam bhājanam nikkhamati, ekam pavisati' ti āha. Setṭhiddhītā cintesi¹ 'idāni gantum kālo' ti setṭhiputtassa 'pitā kira te gilāno' ti ārocetvā 'kiṃ vadasi bhadde' ti vutte 'aphāsukam assa sāmī' ti āha. 'Idāni kiṃ katabban' ti? 'Sāmī,¹ gāmasatato¹³ upatṭhānakapaṇṇākāram¹⁴ ādāya gantvā passissāma nan¹⁵ ti āha.¹ So sādhu ti paṇṇākāram āharāpetvā¹⁶ sakāṭenādāya¹⁷ pakkāmi. Atha nam sā 'pitā te dubbalo, ettakam paṇṇākāram gahetvā

¹ om. Ed.² C. inserts taṃ.³ C. mamaṃ.⁴ C. adds pi.⁵ E. kinti.⁶ Ed. °pesi.⁷ Ed. nives°.⁸ C. mahāsetṭhi.⁹ C. avoca.¹⁰ om. C.¹¹ C. pavuttim.¹² Ed. omits this question.¹³ Ed. °sate.¹⁴ C. utṭhānaka°.¹⁵ Ed. tan.¹⁶ Ed. harāpetvā.¹⁷ C. °tēhi ādāya.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

gacchantānaṃ papañco bhavissati, etaṃ nivattehī' ti vatvā taṃ sabbam attano kulagehaṃ pesetvā setthiputtam¹ āha: 'sāmi, tvaṃ attano pitu pādapasse tiṭṭheyyāsi, ahaṃ ussī-sakapasse ṭhassāmi' ti, gehaṃ pavisamānā yeva² 'gehassa purato ca pacchato ca ārakkhaṃ gaṇhathā' ti attano purise ānāpesi.³ Pavitṭhakāle pana setthiputto pitu pādapasse atthāsi, itarā ussīsakapasse.

Tasmim khaṇe setthi uttānako nipanno hoti. Āyuttako pan' assa pāde parimajjanto 'putto te sāmi āgato' ti āha. 'Kuhim⁴ so' ti? 'Esa pādamūle ṭhito' ti āha.⁵ Atha naṃ disvā āyakammikaṃ⁶ pakkosāpetvā 'mama gehe kittakaṃ dhanan' ti pucchitvā 'sāmi, dhanass' eva cattālisakotiyo, upabhogaparibhogabhaṇḍānaṃ pana gāma-kkhetta-dipadacatuppada-yānavāhanānaṃ ca ayaṇ⁷ ca⁷ paricchedo' ti vutte 'ahaṃ ettakaṃ dhanam "mama puttassa Ghosakassa na demī" ti vattukāmo⁸ demī' ti āha. Taṃ sutvā setthidhītā 'ayaṃ puna kathento aññaṃ kiñci katheyyā' ti cintetvā sokāturā viya kese vikirivā rodamānā 'kin nām' etaṃ tāta vadetha, idam pi nāma vo vacanaṃ suṇoma, alakkhikā vat' amhā⁹ ti vatvā matthakena taṃ uramajjhe paharantī patitvā, yathā puna vattum¹⁰ na sakkoti tathā'ssa uramajjhe matthakena ghaṃsentī ārodanaṃ dassesi. Setthi pi taṃ khaṇaṃ ñeva kālam akāsi. 'Setthi mato' ti gantvā Udenassa rañño ārocayimsu. Rājā tassa sarīrakiccaṃ kārāpetvā 'atthi pan' assa putto vā dhītā vā' ti pucchi. 'Atthi deva Ghosako nāma tassa putto, sabbam sāpateyyam tassa niyyādetvā¹¹ 'va¹² mato devā' ti. Rājā aparabhāge setthiputtam pakkosāpesi. Tasmiṃ ca divase devo vassi, rājaṅgaṇe tattha tattha¹² udakaṃ saṇṭhāsi.¹³ Setthiputto 'rājānaṃ passissāmi' ti pāyāsi.¹³ Rājā vātapānaṃ vivaritvā taṃ āgacchantam¹⁴ olokeno rājaṅgaṇe udakaṃ laṅghetvā¹⁵ āga-

¹ C. punna taṃ.² Ed. inserts ca.³ C. ānā°.⁴ C. kahaṃ.⁵ om. Ed.⁶ C. āyutakaṃ (sic!).⁷ C. twice.⁸ Ed. omits vattu° demī ti; C¹ has vattukāmo, whereas C., also C², C³, have vuttakāmo.⁹ C. vatāmhā.¹⁰ C. vuttam.¹¹ Ed. niyā°.¹² om. C.¹³ C. °ti.¹⁴ Ed. gacch°.¹⁵ C. lagh°.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

cehantaṃ disvā āgantvā vanditvā ṭhitāṃ 'tvam Ghosako nāma tātā' ti pucchitvā 'āma devā' ti vutte 'pitā me mato' ti, 'mā soci, tava pettikam¹ seṭṭhitthānaṃ tuyham eva dassāmi' ti taṃ assāsetvā 'gaccha tātā' ti uyyojesi. Rājā gacchantaṃ ca taṃ² olokento 'va aṭṭhāsi. So āgamanakāle laṅghitaṃ udakaṃ otaritvā sanikaṃ agamāsi. Atha naṃ rājā tato 'va pakkosāpetvā 'kin nu kho tātā? tvam mama santikaṃ āgacchanto udakaṃ laṅghitvā āgama gacchanto idāni³ otaritvā sanikaṃ gacchasi' ti pucchi. 'Āma deva, ahaṃ tasmim̐ khaṇe kumārako, kilānakālo nāma' eso,⁴ idāni pana me devena ṭhānantaraṃ paṭissutaṃ, tasmā yathā puraṃ acaritvā idāni sanikaṃ⁵ sanikaṃ⁵ hutvā caritaṃ vaṭṭati' ti. Taṃ sutvā rājā 'dhitimā ayaṃ⁶ puriso, idāna' ev' assa ṭhānantaraṃ dassāmi' ti pitarā bhuttaṃ⁶ bhogaṃ⁶ datvā sabbasatena seṭṭhitthānaṃ adāsi. So rathe ṭhatvā nagaraṃ padakkhiṇaṃ akāsi. (Olokita⁷-olokitathānaṃ⁷ kampati.)

Seṭṭhidhītā pi Kālidāsiyā saddhiṃ mantayamānā nisinnā 'amma Kālī, puttassa te ettikā sampatti maṃ nissāya nipphannā' ti āha. 'Kiṃ kārāṇā amma' ti? 'Ayaṃ hi attano maraṇapaṇṇaṃ dasante bandhitvā ambakaṃ gharaṃ āgato, ath' assa mayā taṃ paṇṇaṃ phāletvā mayā saddhiṃ maṅgalakaraṇatthāya aññaṃ paṇṇaṃ likhitvā ettakaṃ kālāṃ tattha ārakkho kato' ti. 'Amma, tvam ettakaṃ⁸ passaṣi, imaṃ pana seṭṭhi daharakālaṃ paṭṭhāya māretukāmo māretuṃ nāsakkhi, kevalaṃ imaṃ nissāya bahuṃ⁹ dhanam jīyi' ti. 'Amma, atibhāriyaṃ vata seṭṭhiṇā katan' ti. Nagaraṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā gehaṃ pavisaṇtaṃ pana taṃ disvā 'ayaṃ ettikā¹¹ sampatti maṃ nissāya¹² nipphannā' ti sitaṃ akāsi. Atha naṃ seṭṭhiputto disvā³ 'kiṃ kārāṇā hasi' ti pucchi. 'Ekaṃ kārāṇaṃ nissāya' ti. 'Kathehi taṃ' ti. Sā na kathesi. So 'sace na kathesi, dvidhā taṃ¹⁴ chindissāmi' ti asim̐ nikkaddhi. Sā 'ayaṃ ettikā¹¹ sampatti

¹ C. peti°.⁴ Ed. nāma so.⁶ bhūtabho°.⁹ C. bahu.¹² om. C.² C. naṃ.⁵ C. sanikaṃ sannekaṃ; Ed. sannisinnena.⁷ C. olokito°.¹⁰ C. khyati.¹³ C. nan.³ om. Ed.⁸ Ed. ettha kam.¹¹ C. ettakā.¹⁴ Ed. naṃ.

Dhammapada-Atthakatha.

mam nissāya laddhā' ti cintetvā 'hasi tan' ti āha. 'Yadi¹ mama pitarā attano santakam mayham niyyāditam, tvam ettha kim hosi' ti? So kira ettakam kalam kiñci na jānāti. Ten' assā vacanam na saddahi. Ath' assa sā 'tumbhākam pitarā maraṇapaṇṇam datvā pesitā tumhe mayā idaṇ c' idaṇ ca katvā rakkhitā' ti sabbam kathesi. 'Abbhutam kathesi' ti asaddahanto 'mātaram Kālim pucchissāmī' ti cintetvā² 'evam kira amma' ti? 'Āma tāta, daharakālato paṭṭhāya tam māretukāmo māretum asakkonto tam nissāya bahum dhanam jīyi,³ sattasu ṭhānesu tvam² maraṇato mutto, idāni bhogagāmato āgamma sabbasatena⁴ setṭhiṭṭhānam patto 'sī' ti.

¹ C. Setṭhi: vadi.² om. C.³ khiyati.⁴ Ed. adds saddhim.

III. TRANSLATION.

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

1. While Udena was king (of Kosambī), the angel Ghosaka vanished from the city of angels and received a new existence in the womb of a courtesan at Kosambī. At the end of ten months, she brought forth; and having perceived that it was a son, caused him to be thrown away on a dust-heap.

Now at that moment a workman of the merchant¹ of Kosambī, who went to the latter's house in the early morning, observed something around which crowds were gathering. As he drew near and saw that it was a boy, "Very fortunate must be this boy" (thought he, and) by the hand of another man he sent him to his own house while he himself went to the merchant's.

The merchant, too, while he was going to the king's court at the hour of the official attendance, saw by the way the (king's) chaplain, and so he asked, "What's the star to-day?" Stopping at that very place, the chaplain reckoned and said: "Such and such a star; to-day under

¹ The late Hofrath Bühler of Vienna made the proposition to translate *setthi* (*śreṣṭhin*) with 'Commerzienrat' (counsellor of commerce). See *Sitzungsber. d. Berliner Akad.*, 1883, p. 886. Indeed, 'merchant' is not adequate, but, to avoid a long name, I used it nevertheless. As to the real meaning of the word, I may now refer to R. Fick, "Die sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit" (Kiel, 1897), pp. 166 sqq.

III. TRANSLATION.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

1. Now (the angel Ghosaka), while he was enjoying the pleasures of sense, became forgetful and vanished by reason of exhaustion of food,¹ and, vanishing, he received a new existence in the womb of a courtesan at Kosambī. At the day when she brought forth, she asked her maidservant "What is it?" "A son, my lady" (was the reply). "Well, now," said she, "put this boy into an old winnowing basket, and throw him away on a dust-heap!" So she caused him to be thrown away.²—Courtezans, of course, take care of a daughter, not of a son, because it is by a daughter that their custom suffers no interruption.—Crows and dogs surrounded the boy and staid there, but, as a consequence of his (former) affection for the Pacceka-buddha³ and his uttering the sound "hem," not even one of them ventured to approach him.

At that very moment, a man who was going out perceived that (object) around which crows and dogs were assembled, and, drawing near, he saw a boy and conceived an affection for him. "I have come by a son" (thought he), and brought him home.

At that time the merchant of Kosambī, while he was going to the king's court, saw the (king's) chaplain returning from the royal residence, and asked: "Teacher, have you observed any junction of a star with a lunar mansion to-day?" "Verily, great merchant, what else

¹ Our text adduces four reasons in order to explain why a devaputta (angel) vanishes from the world of gods (angels), viz., āyukkayena (exhaustion of life), puññakkhayena (exhaustion of merit), āhārakkhayena (exhaustion of food), and kopena (anger).

² Cf. Mahāvagga, viii, 1, 4.

³ As related in the previous part of our legend, both in the Manoratha-Pūraṇi and in the Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

this star has been born a boy who will attain the merchant's office in this town." Hearing this speech, the merchant speedily despatched somebody to his own dwelling, saying: "This chaplain means but one thing; my wife is pregnant; find out whether she has brought forth or not!" They went there, and, having found it out, (returned and) said: "Sir, she has not yet brought forth." "Well, then, go and seek for a boy who has been born to-day in this town!" They sought for, and having seen such a boy in the house of the merchant's workman, told it to the merchant. "Well, then, I say, summon that workman!" They summoned him. Now the merchant asked him: "Is there in your house a boy?" "Yes, sir." "Give us this boy!" "No, sir, I will not give him." "Well, take a thousand pieces (of money) and give him to me!" "It is difficult to know if this child will live or die" (thought he), and so he took a thousand pieces and gave him.

2. From that time the merchant thought: "If my wife gives birth to a daughter, I will make him; if she gives birth to a son, I shall have him killed." Now, she gave birth to a son. Afterwards the merchant thought: "This being the case, the kine may trample on him and kill him"; and so he gave orders, "Put this boy at the door of the cow-pen." They put him there. Then the bull, leader of the herd, who was the first going out, saw him, and to prevent the others from trampling on him remained standing so that the boy was lying between his four legs. Seeing him, the cow-keepers thought: "Very fortunate is this boy, since even the animals know his value; let us take care of him"; and so they brought him to their own house.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

have we to do?" "Teacher, what will befall the country?" "Nothing; in this town, however, to-day has been born a boy who will become chief merchant." At that time the merchant's wife was pregnant. Therefore, he quickly sent a man to his house, saying, "Go, I say, find out whether she has brought forth, or not!" Having heard she was not yet in labour, and (at the same time) seeing the king, he speedily went home and sent for a slave-girl named Kālī (the black one). To her he gave a thousand pieces (of money) and said: "Go; in this town a boy has been born to-day; look out for him, buy him and then come to me!" She, looking out for him, went to a house where she saw a boy, and asked the housewife, "When was this boy born?" "To-day," she was told, (and saying), "Give him to me," she began with one piece of money, and so, augmenting the sum, at last gave a thousand pieces, and, having procured him, she presented him to the merchant.

2. The merchant thought: "If a daughter is born to me, I will marry him to her and get him the post of merchant; if a son is born to me, I will destroy him," and so he caused him to be brought into his house. Now, after a few days his wife gave birth to a son. The merchant thought: "If this boy did not exist, my own son would be merchant; at present the best plan is to kill him"; and so he said to Kālī: "Go then, and at the time when the kine go out put him across the middle of the door of the cow-pen; thus the kine may trample on him and kill him, and when you know if he has been trampled, or not, come to me!" She went and put him there at the moment when the door of the cow-pen was opened by the cow-keeper. The bull, chief of the herd of kine, at other times went out behind all; this day, however, he went out before all and remained standing so that the boy was lying between his four legs. Many hundred kine, rubbing the two sides of the bull, went out. The cow-keeper thought: "Formerly, this bull went out behind all;

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

The merchant too, asking if he was dead, heard that the cow-keepers had taken him away. Again he gave a thousand pieces, and caused the boy to be brought to him and ordered him to be cast out. At this time,¹ the goat-keeper drove the she-goats near the cemetery. Now, on account of the merit of that boy, a milch-goat got out of the way and, approaching the boy, gave him milk and went away. Afterwards, she came back and did the same once more. The goat-keeper thought: "This she-goat steps aside even in the early morning; what is that?"; and so he drew near and, having looked into the matter, he understood the reason. "Very fortunate is this boy, since even the animals know his value; I will take care of him" (thought he): and he took him and went home. Next day, the merchant sent to see if the boy was dead, or not, and as he heard that the goat-keeper had taken him, he gave a thousand pieces and, having caused him to be brought to him, he said: "To-morrow the leader of a caravan will come into this town; bring this boy and lay him on the cart-track, then a cart-wheel may go over him." The oxen of the caravan-leader's first cart, seeing him put down there, planted their four legs over him like pillars. "What is that?" (thought he, and) he looked into the reason of their standing still. Seeing the boy (he thought): "A very fortunate boy indeed, it behoves me to take care of him"; and so he took him and went his way.

¹ The second plot in the *Manoratha-P.* corresponds with the third in the *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā*, and the second in the latter with the third in the former.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

to-day, however, he has gone out before all; what is the reason that he stands quite still at the door of the cow-pen?" He drew near, saw the boy lying under the bull, and conceived an affection for him. "I have come by a son" (thought he): and brought him home.

Kālī, being asked by the merchant, told him what had happened. "Go and fetch him again for these thousand pieces," said he, and she fetched him and gave him up to the merchant. The latter said to her: "Mother Kālī, in this town five hundred carts go forth to trade at dawn; bring the boy and put him on the cart-track, then either the oxen will trample on him or the wheels will crush him; and when you know what has happened, come here!" She brought him and put him on the cart-track. The chief of the waggoners went first. His oxen, having reached that place, cast off their yoke, and though it was put on again and again, and they were driven on, they would not go forward. While he was exerting himself with them, the sun rose. "What are the oxen doing?" (said he, and so) he looked on the road and, seeing the boy, he thought: "A weighty matter for me; I have come by a son," and pleased at heart he brought him home. Kālī, being asked by the merchant, told him what had happened. "Go and fetch him again for a thousand pieces," said he, and she did so. Thereupon he told her: "Now bring him to the charnel-grove and put him in a shrub; there he will die either eaten by dogs and other animals or assailed by evil spirits; and when you have found out if he is dead or still living, come here!" She brought him there and after having put him down she stood aside. But no dog nor crow nor evil spirit was able to approach him.

"He has neither mother nor father nor brother."

The verses beginning thus speak of one who has been protected, but who protected him? At the time when he was a dog, he made the sound "hem" through love for the Paccekabuddha, and this good deed protected him.

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

The merchant gave orders to see if the boy was dead, or not, and as he heard that the caravan-leader had taken him he gave the latter a thousand pieces, caused the boy to be brought to him, and had him thrown over a precipice not far from the town. Falling, he fell into the workshop of some basket-makers just on the place where they worked the reeds. By the power of his merit, it was as if he had fallen on the finest cotton and wadding.¹ The chief of the reed-workers took him up, saying: "Very fortunate is this boy, it behoves us to take care of him"; and went home. The merchant, seeking to know whether the boy had been saved at the spot where he had fallen, or had died, found out that the chief of the reed-workers had taken him up, and so he gave him, too, a thousand pieces and caused the boy to be brought to him.

3. In the meanwhile, the merchant's own son and the other both grew up. Again the merchant was meditating on a means to kill young Ghosaka, and so he went to his potter's, and said secretly: "Oh, there is in my house

¹ *Literally* like hundred times beaten cotton and like wadding.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

A goat-keeper, who was leading several thousand goats to the pastures, went past that grove. Now, a she-goat eating leaves and the like went into that shrub, and seeing the boy she went down on her knees and gave suck to him. The goat-keeper called out "heh, heh," but she did not go out. He struck her with a stick, and at last in order to drag her out he went into the shrub, where he saw her suckling the boy. Out of affection for the child he took him (saying), "I have come by a son," and went his way.

Kālī returned, and, questioned by the merchant, she told him what had happened. "Go and fetch him again for a thousand pieces," said he, and she did so. Then he told her: "Mother Kālī, take this boy, go up the mountain whence thieves are thrown down, and let him fall; he will fall to ground in the mountain-ravine and be dashed to pieces; and when you have found out if he is dead or not, come here!" She took him there, and let him fall from the summit of the mountain. But there was growing in the ravine against the mountain-side a tall thicket of bamboo, and the top of the mountain was covered by a very thick guñjā-shrub. The boy fell there as if on a fine coverlet. That very day the chief of the reed-workers had a gift of bamboos, and together with his son he had come to cut the thicket. When this was shaken, the boy uttered a cry. "That is the cry of a boy" (he thought, and) climbing on one side he saw him, and glad at heart he took him up, saying, "I have come by a son," and went his way. Kālī came back to the merchant, and, questioned by him, she told him what had happened. "Go and fetch him again for a thousand pieces," said he, and she did so.

3. While this was going on, the boy grew up, and he was called Ghosaka. He was as a thorn in the eye of the merchant, and he could not look him in the face. But meditating on a means to kill him, he went to his potter, and asked him, "When are you heating the

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

a certain low-born boy; that boy must be killed in any case." Stopping both ears, the other said: "Such evil speech should not be uttered." The merchant thought, "This man will not do it for nothing," and so he said: "Well, friend, take a thousand pieces and do the deed!" (A bribe cuts all knots.) Then he took a thousand pieces and consented, saying: "Sir, on such and such a day I shall heat the admixture; then at such and such an hour send him to me!" To this the merchant consented. From that time he counted the days, and when he knew that the day fixed by the potter had come, he sent for young Ghosaka (saying): "My dear, on such and such a day we need many vessels; go then to our potter, and say: 'What my father has told you, do to-day.'" He agreed, saying, "Very well," and went out.

On the road the merchant's own son, who was playing at marbles, saw him and ran to him, saying: "Brother, playing with the boys, I have lost so much, win it again for me!" "I have no time," said the other: "my father has sent me to the potter on urgent business." But the other replied: "Brother, I will go there; play with these boys and win the stake back for me!" "Well, then, go!" said he, and gave him the message as it was told to him, and played with the boys. The young man went to the potter and gave him the message. "Well, my dear, I will do so"; and so he brought the young man indoors, and, having cut him to pieces with a sharp axe, he threw him into a jar. Shutting the aperture of the jar, he put it among the other jars and heated the admixture. Young Ghosaka, after winning a large sum, sat looking out for the arrival of his younger brother. Though he knew that he liked loitering, (he at last thought), "How late he is!" and so he himself went to the potter's, but, seeing his brother nowhere, he thought, "He must have gone home." So he turned back and went home. The merchant saw him coming from afar and thought: "What can the reason be? I sent him to the potter to be killed, but here he

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

admixture?" "To-morrow" (replied he). "Well, then, take this thousand pieces and do some work for me!" "What work, master?" "There is a low-born son of mine; I shall send him to you; seize him and bring him indoors, cut him into pieces with a sharp axe, and throw him in a jar and bake him in the admixture!" The potter agreed, saying, "Well." Next day the merchant called Ghosaka, saying: "My dear, yesterday I have ordered the potter to do some work; go to him, and say: 'Yesterday my father has ordered you to do some work: do it.'" He sent him there. Ghosaka went, saying, "Very well."

While he was going there, the other son of the merchant, who was playing at marbles with boys, saw him, and calling him, asked, "Where are you going, brother?" "With a message from my father to the potter," said he. "I will go there," said the other; "these boys won many of my stakes, win them again for me!" "I am afraid of my father." "Be not afraid! I will take the message, for I have lost much; play until I come back, and win my stakes again!" (Ghosaka was clever at playing marbles, therefore he pressed him hard.) Ghosaka said: "Well, then, go and tell the potter: 'Yesterday my father has ordered you to do some work: do it.'" Thus he dismissed him. He went to the potter and spoke as he was told. The potter, after killing him in the way indicated by the merchant, threw him into the admixture. Ghosaka, having played all day long, went home in the evening. The merchant seeing him said: "My dear, did you not go?" He told him why he himself had not gone, and the younger brother had gone there. Hearing this, the merchant cried aloud, "Woe to me!" And his whole body streamed with blood. Crying, "Oh! potter, do not destroy me; do not destroy me!" and, stretching out his arms and weeping,

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

comes again." "My dear, did you not go to the potter?" said he to the boy as he came near. "No, dear father, I did not go." "Why, my dear?" So he told the merchant why he himself returned and his younger brother went. The moment he heard these words it seemed to the merchant that the great earth was overwhelming him. "Are you speaking the truth?"; and in terror he ran to the potter, and since he could not speak in the presence of others (freely), he said: "See, friend; see, friend!" "What is there to see? now the deed is done." Thereupon he turned back and went home.

4. From that time, he fell into a sickness of mind. Even now he could not eat with the boy. "By some means or other" (thought he) "I must see the ruin of the enemy of my son"; and so he wrote a letter and sent for young Ghosaka and said: "Take this letter; in such and such a village dwells our workman, go to him and give him this letter and say: 'Quickly do what is written in this letter'"; and besides he charged him, saying: "On the road there lives our friend, the merchant of the village; go to his house, take a meal, and depart."

He saluted the merchant, took the letter, and went out. On the road, having asked where the dwelling of the village-merchant was, he entered. The latter was sitting outside the gate and shaving his beard. After saluting him he stood aside. "Whence do you come, my dear?" he said, and the other answered: "I am the son of the

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

he went to him. The potter saw him coming and said: "Master, make no noise, your work has been done." Overwhelmed with sorrow like a mountain, his grief was great as if one with a wicked mind (sinning) against one, who is not corrupted. Therefore the Blessed One said:—

"He who does wrong with violence to those who are harmless and innocent, soon comes to one of ten states: he will meet with cruel suffering, loss, maiming of the body, severe illness, madness, danger coming from the king, heavy accusation, ruin of relations, destruction of wealth, and bright fire burns his houses, and after the dissolution of the body the foolish man is reborn in hell."

4. This being the case, the merchant again would not look him in the face. "How? I would fain kill him," thought he. "I will send him to the superintendent of my hundred villages and thus kill him." So seeing a means, he wrote a letter as follows: "There is a low-born son of mine; kill him and throw him into a cesspool, and when this is done I shall know what I have to reward my uncle." Then saying: "Dear Ghosaka, there is a superintendent of our hundred villages; take this letter and give it to him," he attached the letter to the hem of his garment. He, however, was illiterate, because, from his childhood up the merchant tried to kill him and yet was not able to do so (and so he thought): "Why should he learn to read and write?" Thus, when the letter, which was his death-warrant, was attached to the hem of his garment, he said, on going out: "Father, I have no provisions for a journey." "Do not trouble about provisions! On the road there dwells my friend the merchant: take your breakfast in his house and go on!"

"Well," said he, and saluting his father he went out. On reaching that village he asked about the house of the merchant, and going there he saw the merchant's wife, and when she said: "Whence are you come?" he answered, "From the town." "Whose son are you?" "Your friend the merchant's son, lady." "You are

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

merchant of Kosambī." "You are the son of our friend the merchant!" (said he, and) was glad and joyful. At the same time, a slave-girl of the merchant's daughter was going to fetch flowers. The merchant told her: "Let this work alone, and bathe the feet of young Ghosaka and prepare him a couch!" She did so and, going to a shop, she bought flowers. Seeing her, the merchant's daughter was angry with her and said: "To-day thou lingerest long outside; what hast thou been doing there for ever so long?" "My lady, do not speak thus! I have never seen his like! The only son of the friend of your father (is there); it is impossible to say how beautiful he is; the merchant told me when I was going for flowers: 'Bathe the feet of the young man and prepare him a couch.' Therefore I have lingered so long outside."

5. The merchant's daughter herself had been his wife in her fourth existence (before this). Therefore, from the moment she had heard the girl speak of him, she could neither stand nor sit. She took her slave-girl and went to the room where he was lying, and fixed her gaze on him sleeping, and observed the letter in the hem of his garment. "What is this letter?" thought she, and without awakening him she seized the letter and read it. "This young man goes about taking his own death-warrant with him." So she tore up the letter, while he was still sleeping, and wrote another, as follows: "Herewith I send my son to you; my friend the village-merchant has a girl of marriageable age; quickly procure in due legal form the hand of the village-merchant's daughter for my son, when the omens have been observed at a duly appointed place; prepare a feast, and this being done send a message to me, saying: 'According to the plan, I have carried it out.' I then shall know how to recompense you." Then sealing this letter, she attached

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

Ghosaka?" "Yes, indeed, lady." Seeing him, she felt an affection for him as for a son. But the merchant had a daughter of fifteen or sixteen years, who was beautiful and gracious. In order to guard her, they had given her a slave-girl, who was employed to go on errands, and had given her as residence a royal bedchamber in the upper story of a seven-storied palace. The merchant's daughter, at this very time, had sent her slave-girl into a shop. But seeing her, the merchant's wife asked: "Where art thou going?" She replied: "Your daughter, lady, has sent me." "First come here, leave that errand alone, prepare a chair for my son, bathe his feet, and, having anointed them with oil, prepare a couch for him and perform thy errand!" She did so. As she came back after a long while, the merchant's daughter abused her. But she replied: "My lady, be not angry with me! The merchant's son Ghosaka has arrived; for this reason I did thus and so, and after that I have come back here."

5. Hearing the name of Ghosaka, the merchant's son, love arose in the merchant's daughter and penetrated her from the skin to the marrow. For in the time of Kotuhalika she had been his wife, and as such she had given a nālī-measure of rice to a Paccekabuddha. By the power of this action she had been born after death in the family of the merchant. Thus penetrating, her former love had seized her. Thereupon the Blessed One said:—

"Because one has lived (with another) in a former existence, or because of a present benefit, love arises like a blue lotus in the water."

She asked her: "Where is he now, my dear?" "He sleeps lying on the couch." "Has he anything in his hand?" "In the hem of his garment he has a letter." She thought: "What may this letter be?" Thus, while he was sleeping, and her parents being engaged in another business could not observe her, she descended (from the upper story) and, having gone to him, she detached that

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

it to the hem of his garment as it was attached there before. The young man stayed there that same day, but next day he took leave of the merchant and, going to the village of the workman, he gave him the letter. The workman read it, and called the villagers together and said: "You look down on me; my lord has sent to me his eldest son, in order that I may in due legal form procure the hand of a girl for him; knead quickly lumps for an omen¹ at this very place!" After having prepared all for the feast, he sent a message to the village-merchant, and he also consented, and, the feast having been finished with all legal forms, he despatched a letter to the merchant of Kosambī, saying: "I have done thus and so according to the message sent to me in your letter."

6. Hearing this message, the merchant was as if burnt by fire. "Now I am a ruined man" (thought he), and since he never ceased to think thereon, he sickened of

¹ *uppādam sampiṇḍeti*, literally to lump together an omen, i.e. to knead lumps for an omen. This rite is known from Āśvalāyana. Grhya-Sūtras, i, 5, 4. 5. Cf. A. Hillebrandt, "Ritualliteratur, Vedische Opfer und Zauber" (Grundriss d. Indo-Ar. Philol., iii, 8), p. 64.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

letter, took it, and going into her own chamber she shut the door and opened the window, and being able to read and write, she read the letter. "Ah!" cried she, "this fool walks about with his death-warrant attached to the hem of his garment. If I had not seen it his life would have been lost." So she tore up that letter and wrote another in the name of the merchant as follows: "Cause a present to be brought from the hundred villages for my son Ghosaka; make a feast for him with the daughter of the country-merchant; build in the village where he lives a two-storied house for him, and provide a fence for his protection as well as a personal guard; then send me a message, saying: 'I have done thus and so, and I shall know what I have to reward my uncle.'" After having written it, she folded it up and attached it again to the hem of his garment. Having slept that day he rose, and having eaten he went away. Next day, in the morning, he came to the village, where he saw the superintendent transacting village-businesses. The latter, seeing him, asked: "What is your pleasure, my dear?" "My father has sent a letter to you," said he. "From whom is that letter, my dear? Tell me." So he took the letter, and having read it, glad at heart he addressed the householders: "Behold, friends, the love of my lord to me! He has sent to me, saying: 'Make a feast for my eldest son.' Quickly fetch wood and the like!" And he caused a house to be built of the kind spoken of in the midst of the village, and a present to be brought by the hundred villages, and then he sent for the daughter of the country-merchant. Having held the feast, he despatched a letter to the merchant, saying: "I have done thus and so."

6. Hearing this, the merchant was greatly grieved, thinking: "What I would have done, is left undone; what I would leave undone, is done."¹ So his sorrow for a (lost)

¹ Cf. Shakespeare, "Troilus and Cressida," Act iv, sc. 4:

"But something may be done that we will not:
And sometimes we are devils to ourselves."

Manoratha-Pūraṇi.

a bloody flux. "By some means or other" (thought he), "I will send for my son and, as he belongs to me, I will disinherit him." From the time when the feast was over (he always asked), "Why is my son abroad?" and sent a message, saying, "Let him come quickly." Hearing the message, the young man set out to go, but the merchant's daughter thought: "This fool does not know through whom he has obtained his good fortune; I must, at any rate, do something to prevent him from going." Therefore she told him: "Young man, be not overhasty; he who returns to his native village must prepare himself." The merchant of Kosambī, too, who knew that he liked to loiter, sent again a message (saying): "For what reason does my son tarry? I am sick of bloody flux; he must come if he would find me still alive." Then the merchant's daughter told him: "This man is not your father, but you are father"; and she made known to him: "He sent the letter to the workman in order that he might kill you; I removed that letter and wrote another message, and thus I brought about this prosperity for you; he sends for you in order to disinherit you; wait until he is dead." And hearing that he was dead, although he was still alive, he went into the town of Kosambī. The merchant's daughter advised him yet more urgently: "When you go there, first put a guard in the whole house." She herself, having entered with the merchant's son, held up both hands as if she were weeping, and so she drew near him lying in a dark room and struck him over the heart with her head. His weakness was so great that he died from this blow. Having performed the funeral ceremonies, the young merchant gave a bribe to the servants (saying): "Say that I am the merchant's own son." On the seventh day following the king sent (saying): "Some one must have the post of merchant; do you know if this man is the merchant's son?" The servants told the king that he was truly his son. The king consented, saying: "Well," and gave him the post of merchant. Thus he became the merchant Ghosaka.

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

son added to this sorrow burned him with inward fire and gave rise to diarrhoea. The merchant's daughter gave orders to the people (saying): "If anybody arrives from the merchant, do not tell the merchant's son before telling me!" The merchant thought: "Now I will not make this wicked son heir of my wealth," and so he told his chief attendant: "Uncle, I would fain see my son; send a servant for him!" "Well," said he, and gave a letter to a man and sent him there. The merchant's daughter, hearing that this servant had arrived and stood at the door, sent for him, and asked him: "What is your pleasure, my dear?" "The merchant is ill and sends to see his son, my lady." "My dear, is the merchant strong or weak?" "Still strong; he eats food, my lady." Without giving notice of it to the merchant's son, she had this man supplied with clothing and paid the expenses he had had, saying: "He will go at such time as I send him; stay here a while." The merchant spoke again to his chief attendant: "How, uncle, have you not sent to my son?" "My lord," said he, "I have sent to him; but the man who has gone there has not yet returned." "Well, then," he replied, "send another there!" He did so. The merchant's daughter did the same with this man. In the meanwhile, the merchant's illness grew worse. Always he was on the chamber-pot. Again he asked his chief attendant: "How, uncle, have you not sent to my son?" "My lord," said he, "I have sent to him; but the man who has gone there has not yet returned." "Well, then, send another there!" He did so. The merchant's daughter, for the third time, asked for news from the man who had come, saying: "What is the merchant's illness?" He answered: "He is very ill, my lady; the merchant vomits his food, he is bedridden and always on the chamber-pot." The merchant's daughter thought: "Now it is time to go," and so she told to the merchant's son: "Your father is ill." "What do you say, my dear?" he replied, and she: "Husband, it may be an indisposition." "But now, what

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

is to be done?" She said: "Husband, take a present from the hundred villages to tend him withal; then let us go and see him!" "Well," said he; and he caused a present to be brought, and set out on a cart. But (his wife) said: "Your father is very weak; such a present might delay you; return it"; and she sent it all into the house of her own family. She also said to the merchant's son: "Husband, you may stand at your father's feet; I shall stand at the pillow"; and entering the house, she ordered the people to keep guard before and behind the house. Now, from the time they came in, the merchant's son stood at his father's feet, and the woman at his pillow.

At that very time the merchant was lying on his back. The chief attendant who rubbed his feet said: "My lord, your son has arrived." "Where is he?" "He stands at your feet," said he. Seeing him, he sent for the receiver of his revenues, and asked him: "How much wealth is there in my house?" "My lord, there are four hundred millions of money; for temporary use there are villages, fields, bipeds, quadrupeds, cars and other vehicles, it is impossible to determine them exactly." On this statement the merchant declared: "Although I would fain say, I do not give it to my son Ghosaka, yet I give him all that wealth." Hearing this, the merchant's daughter thought: "If he speaks once more he may say something different," and so she dishevelled her hair, and weeping as if she were afflicted, said: "What are you saying, my dear? We are indeed unhappy to hear such words!" Then she fell across him, striking him on the breast with her head; and she rolled her head about on his breast so that he might not speak again, making as if she were weeping. And the merchant instantly died. They went to the king Udena, and told him, "The merchant is dead." When the funeral ceremonies were performed, the king asked: "Had he any son or daughter?" "Sire, he had a son, Ghosaka by name; he handed over all his property to him, and then he died, sire." Afterwards the king sent

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

for the merchant's son. It rained on that day, and in the court of the palace, here and there, water was standing. The merchant's son went to see the king. The latter opened a window and saw him coming, while he was jumping over the water in the court of the palace. When he arrived and saluted the king, the latter asked him: "Are you Ghosaka, my dear?" "Yes, sire," he replied; "my father is dead." "Do not mourn! I shall give you the post of merchant as successor to your father." Thus having comforted him, he dismissed him (saying): "Go, my dear." The king stood there looking after him while he was going. He stepped over the water, over which he had jumped before when he arrived, and went slowly away. The king sent for him anew, and asked him: "How's this, my dear? When you were coming to me, you jumped over the water, but now you step over and go slowly away." "Yes, sire; I was then a boy. That is the age for sport. At present, however, it behoves me to walk slowly and with dignity." Having heard this, the king (thought): "This is a wise man; now I will give him the same place" (as his father has had), and so he gave him the wealth possessed by his father and the post of merchant in due legal form. Thereupon he made a procession around the town standing on a chariot. (He who ponders over and over comes to no firm resolution.)¹

The merchant's daughter, in the meanwhile, was talking with the slave-girl Kālī and said: "Mother Kālī, your son has reached such prosperity through me." "For what reason, my dear?" "He came to our house with his own death-warrant attached to the hem of his garment; then I tore up this letter and wrote another, and therein I bid (them) prepare a feast for him with me, and I protected him the whole time." "My dear, you know no more than

¹ Cf. Shakespeare, "Hamlet," Act iv, sc. 7:

"That we would do,
We should do when we would; for this *would* changes,
And hath abatements and delays as many
As there are tongues, are hands, are accidents."

Dhammapada-Atthakathā.

that ; the merchant, however, from his childhood up wished to kill him, yet could not do so, but a great deal of money was wasted because of him." "Mother, the merchant's deeds were too wicked !"

Having made the procession round the town, he entered the house, and when she saw him she thought: "This man has reached such prosperity through me," and smiled. Seeing her, the merchant's son asked: "Why did you laugh?" "For a certain" (reason). "Tell me what it is!" She would not tell him. "If you do not tell me, I will cut off your head," and he drew his sword. She said: "Thinking, 'He has reached such prosperity through me,' I laughed." "If my father had not handed over to me his own wealth, what would you be then?" All this time he knew nothing. Therefore he did not believe what she said. But she told him all, saying: "Your father had given you a letter, which was your death-warrant, and sent you forth, and I did thus and so and protected you." "You are telling me strange things," and, not believing it, he thought: "I will ask mother Kālī." "Is it true, mother?" asked he. "Yes, my son, from your childhood up he wished to kill you and yet could not do so, and thus much wealth wasted away; seven times you have been released from death; now coming from the village of which he was headman, you have obtained the post of merchant in due legal form."

IV. CONCLUSIONS.

It seems desirable first to take into consideration in what respect the story, as it is narrated in the Manoratha-Pūraṇi, agrees with, or deviates from, that in the Dhammapada-Commentary, and afterwards to examine in what degree the different non-Buddhist Indian versions are related to them. My intention, however, is not to discuss the several other Oriental and Occidental versions of our tale, hitherto known to us.

Evidently the two Buddhist forms we have before us are taken from one common source. It is *au fond* only a free version of the same story which we meet with in both. Thence it follows that we can only base any conclusion concerning their primitive form upon the features they have in common, whereas those points in which both differ from each other should be used for such a purpose only with great precaution. In neither of them do we possess the original, and it would be wholly vain to endeavour to find it out, or to establish it in such a way as would preclude any doubt at all. For oral traditions, especially where profane literature is concerned, give us no warrant against falsifications. Every narrator adds here and passes over there many details, according to the circumstances. Such being the case with the Buddhist narrators too, we can never succeed in laying bare a primitive kernel, which may be attributed to the first narrators.

It is almost certain that our story has been handed down in a certain given form, hallowed as it were, by the reputation of those who had selected it for the instruction of others. But, since every selection appears to be also an adaptation, we hope to be right in saying that all that we expect to find is neither more nor less

than a variation of what we may call their common type. There are, of course, in variations, too, some different degrees, and perhaps by a comparison with other non-Buddhist forms we shall be able to determine the measure and mode of their deviation from a common Indian type which we are entitled to presuppose for each of them.

Now, before going on, let us notice the following points:—

(1) Two topics are combined in one tale, viz., firstly, the fable which relates how a persecutor's own son perishes in place of the person whom he wished to make away with; and secondly, the fable which relates how through one letter having been changed with another, the man who carried his own death-warrant wins a wife, namely, the girl who has written and substituted another letter, and how he, by a new trick of the latter, also wins the immense riches of his persecutor. The plan invented to destroy him by sending him to a potter on a day before agreed upon, is followed by the plot to ruin him by a letter.

(2) A series of very costly attempts at murdering him precede the two plans mentioned before. Here, always, another person acts as agent of the persecutor. Every time the fortunate boy escapes, and is brought back to the house of his persecutor, who pays for him a thousand pieces of money.

(3) The lucky boy himself is a foundling. A prophecy read in the stars has declared that he will become heir to the office of a *setthi*, or foreman of the guild of merchants.

(4) He who actually held this office at the time when that prophecy had been uttered, expects the birth of a child, and so he decides to save him provided it be a daughter, or to kill him if it be a son. After a son is born to him, he determines to destroy the low-born boy.

Against these points of conformity between M. and Dhp. A.¹ we may be permitted to set as many differences:—

(1) In M. the future setthi, before the death of the rich merchant, is not unaware of being himself persecuted by the latter. In Dhp. A. he has obtained the post of setthi without knowing that strictly speaking he has no right to it. Whereas in M. bribery and false testimony must do their work, in Dhp. A. all takes place without any irregularities.

(2) Dhp. A. lays much more stress upon the part of Providence, which the wife of the young man plays in his behalf, than M. where everything occurs with a greater simplicity.

(3) According to Dhp. A. the merchant's own son is thrown into the hot mixture after having been cut into pieces by the potter. M. leaves out this circumstance.

(4) It is only from Dhp. A. that we learn the actual contents of the death-warrant, which we can only guess from M.

There is no need to mention expressly here also the fact that the Dhp. A. likes to quote passages from the Holy Scriptures. Both versions once insert, but at different occasions, a proverb into the context of the story.

If we could only compare the two Buddhist forms of the tale, we should be at a great loss to decide, which of them has a claim to be nearer to our hypothetical original. I, at least, would not venture to pass judgment upon it, guided merely by subjective reasons, which depend principally on feeling. Fortunately, we possess some other Indian versions of our tale, viz., one in the Jaiminī-Bharata,² one forming the Campakaśreṣṭhikathānaka,³ and

¹ Henceforth I use the following abbreviations:—M. = Manoratha-Pūraṇi; Dhp. A. = Dhammapada-Atthakathā; J. = Jaiminī-Bharata; C. = Campakaśreṣṭhikathānaka; K. = Kathakośa.

² i.e. the episode of Candrahāsa and Viṣayā, analyzed by A. Weber in Monatsber. d. Berliner Akad., 1869, pp. 14 sqq.

³ Edited and translated into German by A. Weber in Sitzungsber. d. Berliner Akad., 1883, pp. 567 sqq. An additional note, see l.c., pp. 585 sqq.

one in the Kathākośa.¹ Now, on comparing the two Buddhist versions with the last named, we find that the latter put the incident of the letter before the fable of which we have the last offshoot in our Western literature. Moreover, according to the non-Buddhist sources, the girl who writes another letter to be substituted for the one by which a young man is sent to death happens to be the daughter of the cruel persecutor. Further, they bring the death of that wicked man into close connection with the failure of the second plan, so that both, he who escapes from death and he who plotted the murder, never meet each other again. There exists, as we may see, a closer agreement between the non-Buddhist versions themselves than between these and the Buddhist ones. Besides, J. and K. agree better than K. and C. notwithstanding that the latter were both composed by Jainas. This becomes apparent from the following reasoning, viz. :—

(1) In J. and K. the boy, who is destined to become a rich and respectable man, is an orphan; he does not know his parents who died soon after his birth (J.), or he had known them, but they died when he was eight years old (K.).

(2) The prophecy concerning the boy is not taken from the stars, but from the marks on his body (J., K.). It is told later on, five years (J.) or eight years (K.) after the birth of the boy, at the moment when he entered the house of the man who afterwards persecuted him (and also became his father-in-law). This very man had a son (J. gives him two sons, but only one plays a conspicuous part in our story), and, therefore, he dislikes him and attacks him in order to destroy him.

(3) The assassins are some Caṇḍālas (J.) or one Caṇḍāla (K.), but compassion keeps them back, and they are contented to cut off the small supernumerary sixth toe at the left foot (J.), or the small finger (K.), in order to have a token for him who had commissioned them.

¹ The Story of Dāmannaka, translated by C. H. Tawney, "The Kathākośa" (London, 1895), pp. 169 sqq.

(4) Many years later on, while visiting at the house of the foster-father of the boy, the persecutor recognizes him. He is confirmed in the belief that he is the same by the foster-father himself, who told him how he had got this son (J.), or he perceives that the small finger is wanting and the other said that he has found him in a forest (K.).

(5) The plot of the letter is eluded by the daughter of the writer herself, who observes a sleeping young man (J., K.). She sees him outside her house in the neighbourhood of a pond (J.), or of a temple (K.), and changes the word *viṣa* (poison) into her own name *Viṣayā*, or *Viṣā*, saying: “*Viṣayā*, or *Viṣā*, shall be given to him!” She acts so, supposing that her father had erroneously written an *anusvāra* instead of an *ā* (K.). According to J. she was affrighted at the contents of the letter.

(6) The second plan is agreed upon with the same people who ought to have killed the child. They expect the sacrifice near a temple. But in lieu of the person who has been destined to be killed arrives the son of the man who had conceived the plot. Thus this youth is killed (J., K.).

(7) Both sources, herein agreeing with C., relate that he is beaten to death, whereas we have heard from M. and Dh. A. that he has been cut into pieces and then thrown in the fire. By this circumstance at least one of the Buddhist versions (Dh. A.) comes near to the form adopted in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.¹

There are, however, a number of traits common to J. with C., and to K. with C., viz.:—

(1) The twofold act of recognizing the fortunate child, which occurs in K. and J., occurs also in J. and C. (K. and C.), excepting only that in C. the unborn boy is first recognized as auspicious from indications given by the family goddess to his mother.

¹ i.e. the story of the queen Kuvalayāvali (xx, 194 sqq.). Here the king's own son is killed by the cook, and so probably burned by him, while the pious Phalabhūti, who was destined to be killed, does the prince some service. Cf. A. Weber in *Monatsber. d. Berliner Akad.*, 1869, p. 45; also M. Haberlandt, “*Der Altindische Geist*” (Leipzig, 1887), pp. 65 sqq.

(2) The letter is addressed in J. and C. (K. and C.) to a person belonging to the same family. The contents of the substituted letter are the same in J. and C. It is in C., however, written anew, not only changed, as in J. and K. In J. and C., in contradistinction to K., the falsified letter is read afterwards by the author of the plot.

(3) In K. and C., differently from J., the purpose to struggle against fate gives rise to many utterances by the persecutor.

Now, if we examine those traits which combine J., K., C. with M. or Dhp. A. we find :—

(1) In J., K., C., M. is said that the letter was sealed; only in Dhp. A. it is unsealed, and this because the deliverer of the letter is illiterate.

(2) In J., C., M., Dhp. A. the receiver of the letter gives notices of its contents in an assembly. All versions, including K., mention the subsequent wedding feast. According to J., C., K. the wicked writer of the death-warrant just arrives when the marriage is celebrated. He cannot prevent it, and so he gives his consent. Before the marriage favourable omens are attended to in M., J., K.

(3) The words addressed by his brother to the merchant when he arrived after the marriage is celebrated, viz., "I quickly executed your command"¹ (C.), recall the words of the potter in M., Dhp. A.

(4) On the whole, the social position of the characters indicated in our story is that of common people and not of the nobility. Always without any exception the beauty of the fortunate boy is extolled; he has particular skill in playing (M., Dhp. A.), in the use of arms (J.), in commercial transactions (C.), he is pious (J.) and virtuous (K.).²

(5) C. agrees with Dhp. A. in also having written in the death-warrant the order to throw the bearer of it into a pit (well, cesspool) when he is killed.

¹ *Sighram eva bhavad ādiṣṭam kṛtam maye.*

² Also in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

Even such isolated traits, or particular details, as e.g. the description of the wedding-feast (J.), the "mother" who has found and taken up the boy (C.), the overhearing¹ of the prophecy by the merchant (K.), are not missing.

Summing up, the question is to know if any of the five Indian versions containing both chief points—viz., the replacing of an innocent man by another, the death of whom brings retribution to the guilty person; and the changing of a death-letter into its opposite by the hand of the subsequent wife of the saved man—is entitled to be considered prior to all the rest.

I maintain that neither of the two Buddhist versions, notwithstanding their higher antiquity, has preserved the model for the chronologically younger versions (J., C., K.). The primitive form is given neither in M. nor in Dhp. A. Though they are much less coloured, so to say, from a sectarian point of view, than J., C., K., we nevertheless hesitate to pronounce them the original. On the contrary, we see from a comparison of M. with Dhp. A. on the one side, and of J., C., K. on the other, that certain principal points of the story have held together with a relative persistency, as well in Buddhist communities as in those of Kṛṣṇaites and Jainas. Which of them belonged to the primitive form may be deduced conjecturally from a comparison of the two groups with each other. Even thus, there remains as the first principal point only the despatching of the substitute by fire, not to mention the act of substitution itself, and, as the second principal point, the winning of the daughter of the writer of the death-letter. This, at least, seems to be the natural *pointe* of the story, and not that which is represented as such in the Buddhist versions. These latter, having attributed but a son as natural heir to the rich merchant, are therefore obliged to give another turn to the story. Firstly, they relate how the merchant's

¹ Exactly as in the Ethiopian and Arabic versions. See E. Kuhn, in *Byzantin. Zeitschr.*, iv, pp. 242 sqq.

own son died at an early age, whence follows the arrangement of the two themes of our tale in the manner mentioned above; secondly, they introduce the sojourn on the road; and thirdly, they explain (by somewhat forced reasoning, as we may see from the contradiction in which M. stands to Dhp. A.) why the young man became the rich man's heir.