At the outset, it is said that Gautama Buddha (circa 563 B.C.-486 B.C.?) adopted many ideas from contemporary sects or from their predecessors and modified them in a manner to be consistent with his Doctrine (sadharmā) and the principles of his organization (sangha). For example, the Nisraya (ascetic way of life) refers to the four resources of a monk’s life, viz. begging for alms, wearing clothes collected from rubbish heaps, living under trees and using natural drugs as medicines and urine. In other words, a general layout of asceticism.

Asceticism in India has a legacy since the pre-Vedic period. Some rigorous but widespread practices of asceticism have been characteristic of Indian culture. The main idea behind the conception of asceticism is deliverance from samsara, the continuous cycle of birth and death and its consequent pain and suffering. For a chronological study of the Indian culture, some evidences may be cited.

TRACES OF ASCETICISM IN THE PRE-BUDDHIST PERIOD

The beginnings of these ascetic practices and their gradual development till their adoption into the Buddhist organization in the form of Nisraya and Dhutanga may be traced out.

(1) Among the remains of the Indus Valley Civilization excavated at Mohenjodaro, the figure of a three-headed person seated in meditation posture has been excavated. Is it not a clue to the existence of asceticism and Yogic practices in the pre-Vedic period? It is probable that the concept of a Yati had already originated there. Yati may be derived from the root yat(to strive) or yam(to restrain, to subdue, to control). Yati in the sense of a striving person bears affinity with the concept of svarama in Buddhism.

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During the Vedic period (circa 1500 B.C. downwards), the asrama (hermitage) could grow for ascetic practices. The word 'tapas' (equivalent to asceticism) in its technical sense occurs in the tenth mandala of the Rg Veda among the later hymns.

In the Upanisads, the renunciation of worldly pleasures has been regarded essential for the purification of one's mind. (Chandogya Up. 8.5) Tapas here has also been associated with the third asrama (Vanaprastha) and the subsequent way of life Sannyasa (caluthasrama) of the anchorite in the forest.

Evidently the introduction of this kind of ascetic practices was nothing new to Buddhism. These were already prevalent among the contemporary sects such as the Jaina\(^7\), the Ajivikas,\(^8\) etc.

**ETYMOLOGY**

Nisayya (P. Nissaya)\(^1\) corresponds in meaning to Sanskrit asraya, "to sit or, or that on which anything depends." "Nissayam Karoti" in Pali means to rely on, to take one's stand in "Nissaya" in the Virayaptikaka refers to the four resources of life on which a monk depends. In addition to this, "Nissaya" has also been used in the sense of "tutelage", Chinese "yi chih" for "Nissaya" suggests "to depend and rest upon.\(^5\)

Tib. reads gnas-pa (gnas-sam-ten-pa (Mvy.820) and alternatively "ten-pa". According to the Tibetan lexicons, the usage of gnas-pa may be slightly distinguished from that of "ten-pa","rten-pa" in addition refers to the religious exercise of a monk confirming to monastic discipline.

Moreover, "Nissaya" in the sense of "tutelage" does not appear irrelevant when a novice learns how to lead a way of life for sanctification from an elderly monk. That means a "saddhivinirhika" being attached to a "upaj\(^6\)haya", becomes conversant with the right way of life as taught by the Buddha.\(^6\)

Dhutanga Etiologically Pali "Dhutanga" or dhutaguna (merits attained by cleansing may be derived from the dhu-(meaning to wash, clean, purify, sprinkle). It refers to "a set of practices leading to the state of or appropriate to a dhuta, that is to a scrupulous person\(^7\) or "percepts
by which the passives are shaken or quelled. The Chinese commentaries elaborate with an analogy of shaking off dust from clothes by fluttering; it may be added here that the two avaranas, viz., klesa and jneya could be removed by dust of the dhutanga practices. Its Tibetan rendering of sbyin-dba yon-tan for dhuta-guna or dhutangas (Mvy. 1127) refers to the virtue for the purification of the mind. Edgerton (Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary) gives dhuta-guna as "the qualities of a purified man". Not only the action for purification and attainment but also seven-fold aims are pointed out in the dhuta-guna Nirdeya as 1st discussed above, the four Narayas (Nissayas) as enumerated in the Pali Vinaya Pitaka of the Theravada are: 1. Pindiyalopabhojanaṃ - literally suggests pinda - a lump of food and alopa - a piece, a bit of food, morsel, esp. bits of food fathored by bhikkhus. "Pindiyalo-pabhojanam" is the general practice of collecting cooked food offered by the householders to the monks in course of their daily begging rounds (pindaya sarati) asod-aśoms (Tib.) suggests "to be verily satisfied as desired" as in the phrase "sa-ka-ki-le-thag-par-loha-su-spoyo pa". Tibetan "asod-aśoms" implies satisfaction of the service offered by a householder with respect to a monk. In the Pattimokka Sutta and the Vinaya Sutta, occasional references of ungenerous behaviour regarding the acceptance of provision in a monastery or outside tends to monastic indiscipline."The monks used to go on their begging rounds after their morning service in the forenoon. It is interesting to note that the monks belonging to the Theravada tradition in India, Sri Lanka, Burma and S.E. Asia, eagerly observe the rules. However, relaxations may also be observed among the monks related to the Non-Theravada tradition. Different traditions have also been preserved regarding the conception of meat-eating in Buddhism. One who observes the form of "pindiyalo-pabhojanam" as it is known as "pindapaṇikas".

2. Panaṇhakalaciveram" suggests "the robes made of reeds collected from a dust-heap", preferably from cemeteries. The word "civera" generally do not refer to the clothes donated by householders. In the early stage, Gautama instructed the use of "civera" as that was prevalent among the other contemporary ascetics. However, the Buddha allowed certain relaxations to this rule in course of time so that the lay devotees (upasakas) could avail
the privilege of donating yellow robes to the venerable monks in order to achieve merits (punya) for donation (dana). Despite that, those who strictly observe the practice of "pamsukulaivara" are called as pamsukulika.

3. Rukkhamasananaṃ 4 literally means "having one's seat at the foot of a tree" for meditative practices as a recluse. A monk had to dwell under a tree and was not permitted to stay under a roof. The Buddha later declared that this rule was sanctioned by him for eight months of the year as the monks had to spend the remaining four months of the year as "rainy season retreat". The monks were thus permitted to spend these four months in residences because it was inconvenient to travel during the rainy season. One who observes the practice of "Rukkhamasananaṃ" is known as "rukhamulike". At a later stage the Buddha also permitted the monks to live in the Vibha, Addhayoga, Hamliya, Pasada, and Guh. Vithusekha Satrid has rightly pointed out (Patimokka, introduction, pp 29-30) that the Buddhists were the first to introduce the custom of the monks living in such buildings and the Suttavihanga etc. also refer to the monks residing in "tinakuta" (straw-huts) in large numbers.

4. Putimuttaheajamaś7 - pre-supposes that a monk observing the "Nissaya" should depend on natural medicines for health management by using faeces, urine, etc. Formerly Gautama Buddha was declared as a master physician (bhisaak) and subsequently he was extolled as "Bhisaaka-yuttapavardurya-prabhā" of (Mry 1404) celestial embodiment. It may be added that the Buddha later approved the use of ghee, butter, oil, honey, molasses etc. as medicines.8 The use of various other kinds of medicines was gradually sanctioned by the Buddha thereafter for the monks.9

It is thus evident that Sakyputra Gautama had given preference to the early Indian ascetic way of life with respect to a recluse. As and when his organization (sangha) spread he had no alternative but to allow certain relaxations regarding the rules according to the need and propriety of his organization.10 The four nissayas thus remained no longer obligatory and that left room for some dissension within his organization under the leadership of Dayadatta in the later days of Sakyputra Gautama's personal life.11

By comparing the different versions of the Vinaya preserved in Chinese it may be revealed that according
to the Mahasanghika Vinaya the Buddha enjoined that the four Nisrayas should be expounded to the newly ordained monks before expounding the precepts to them whereas the Dharma-guptaka and the Mahisasaka Vinayas hold that the Buddha enjoined the monks first to expound the precepts and later the Nisrayas to the newly ordained monks. However, it is agreed upon by all the Vinayas that the newly ordained monks from different communities experienced difficulties at the outset in observing the Nisrayas. The Sarvastivada and Mulasarvastivada Vinayas make no mention of the Nisrayas.

Dhutangas In addition to the four Nisrayas, the practice of the dhutangas (dhutangunas) was also prevalent in Sakyaputra Gautama's organization. P.V. Bapat has rightly pointed out that the inclusion of the dhutangas among the norms of the Buddhist monastic way of life was made in its earliest days since the lifetime of the Buddha and later developed to its present form. The thirteen practices may be condensed into eight (as shown in Visuddhimagga and Vimuktimagga).

Enumeration of the Dhutangas The Dhutangas or dhutangunas have been enumerated for the first time in the Mīlinda-panha and their detailed exposition is found in the Visuddhimagga, subsequent non-canonical texts. The thirteen dhutangas as enumerated in the Visuddhimagga have been given below:

1. Pumsukulikangam = Same as Nisaya 2
2. Teciwarikangam = Not to have more than three robes suggesting the usage of three cīvāra after Sūsappada
3. Pindapatikangam = Same as Nisaya 1
4. Kappadacarikangam = to go for begging consecutively from house to house.
5. Ekamaniikangam = to have one's meal at one sitting
6. Pattpaddikangam = to have only one bowl and take whatever is offered in it.
7. Khalspecchehhattikangam = Not to take any food after finishing one's meal.
8. Anandikangam = to dwell only in forests
9. Rukkasulikangam = Same as Nisaya 3
10. Abbhokasikangam = to live in an open space
11. Sasanikangam = to live in a cemetery
12. Yathasantathikangam = to use whatever bed or seat is allotted to one

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13. Ne-atijikangam - to refrain from lying down and keep sitting.

It is evident that the ascetic practices (dutangas and nisrayas) were prescribed by the Buddha for those enterprising persons who had abandoned the pleasures of worldly life in search of the supreme good in accordance with the mental efficacy and physical endurance of an individual. The Buddhist mendicants were expected to adhere to these practices as far as possible during their career as a monk. The followers of each of these dutangas are classified into three grades (ukkattho, maññhins moduko) and the followers belong to the grade according to the severity with which they observe the practices. P.V. Bapat further observes that although the dutangas were not so highly valued in the earliest days of Buddhism, they continued to gain importance in course of time. More over, the mere observance of the practices with an impure mind was considered to be totally futile. A table comparing the four Nissayas with the thirteen Dutangas as enumerated in the Visuddhimagga (and Visuttimagga in Chinese) are given below (the corresponding nos. of the dutangas in the other traditions have also been appended for ready reference).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nissaya</th>
<th>Dutanga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. rindapatahijanam</td>
<td>No. 1 (Pindapatikangam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dh. No. 1 Mvy No. 4, Dds. No. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 6 (Pettapindikangam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dds No. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 7 (Khalupacehabhattachikangam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dh. No. 3 (Mvy. No. 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 4 (Sapadanaacerikangam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dds No. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 5 (Ekanjanikangam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dh. No. 7 Mvy No. 5 Dds No. 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pamsukulavaram</td>
<td>No. 1 (Pamsukulikangam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dh. No. 11, Mvy No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dds. No. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 2 (Ticvarikangam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dh. No. 2 Mvy No. 2, Dds No. 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3. Rukkhamulasenasamam
   No.9 (Rukkhamulikangam)
   Dh.No.6 Mvy No.8 Dds No.10

   Others related to the above
   No.8 (Arasmikangam)
   Dh.No.9 Mvy No.7 Dds No.1
   No.10 (Abbhokasikangam)
   Dh.No.7 Mvy No.9 Dds No.11
   No.11 (Sosankangam)
   Dh.No.10 Mvy No.10 Dds No.9
   No.12 (Yathasanthakikangam)
   Dh.No.5 Mvy No.12
   No.13 (Nesajjikangam)
   Dh.No.4 Mvy No.1, Dds No.12

4. Putimuttabhasesajam

   Not related to Nissayas;
   Mvy No.3 & Dh No.12 Namatika (wearing felt)
   Dds No.6 Vikalabhojanavera (eating at improper time)
   (Here Mvy stands for Mahavyutpati, Dh for Dharma-
   sangraha, Dds for Dvadasa Dhuta-Sutra)

   The elaboration of the dhuangas as shown above may be
   traced in the Patimokkha and canonical texts. For exam-
   ple, Dhtanga No.4 (sapadan-acarikangam) corresponds to
   Sekhiya rule No.33 in the Patimokkha and dhtanga No.7
   (khalupaccha-bhattikangam) may be compared to Pacittiya
   rule No.37 regarding vikalabhojanam in the Patimokkha.

   It may also be noticed that Nisraya No.4 (Putimutta-
   bhasesajam) finds no place in the dhuangas. This leaves
   room to suggest that in course of time the repulsive unci-
   nity of urine etc. might have stood in the way of using
   them obligatorily as medicine and the Bhesajjakhandhakam
   was subsequently added to the Visayapitaka for health
   care. Eg. Feces or stool, was prescribed to swallow for
   vomiting out poison, if taken. Similarly the urine of the
   cow was also used as a medicine for jaundice (Mahavagga

   To sum up, it may be seen that thirteen dhtangas
   have been enumerated in the Visuddhinagga by Buddhag-
   gosha, and the Chinese text of the Visuttisagga30 ,
   whereas the Mahavyutpati, the Dharmanasagraha31 , and
   the Dvadasa-dhuta-sutra32 record the number as twelve.
It is evident from the above that experiences in livelihood among the monks had been a source of concern in Buddhist monasticism since its inception. Three stages in the growth of the Sangha may be traced out in this respect: 1) Ascetic stage (avasaka) when Gautama Buddha advised his monks to lead the life of an ascetic in the true sense of the word i.e. to abide by the four Nisrayas. The items of the dhatangas which are common to all the traditions probably developed during this period.

i) Growth of the arama and vihara (Aramika)

A trend of transformation from ascetic to vihara or aramika life left room to relax to a certain extent some rigid rules prescribed in the Nisrayas. Some of the dhatangas were probably taken into account at this stage.

ii) Post-schismatic stage (Bhikku Nikayottara)

During the later life of the Buddha a tendency developed towards schisma in the Sangha. Subsequent to the schism in the Sangha, the items of the dhatangas varied in the different traditions. For example, the practice of namatika (wearing felt) has been included in the Mahayutpatti and the Dharmasaŋgraha which omit the practice of sapadanacarika (moving from house to house). The practice of yahasamatarika is not included in the Dvadasa-dhuta-sutra which is substituted by vikalabhova-navera. It may be surmised from the above that each tradition derived its material from some common source and variations in the details were introduced according to the characteristics of the particular tradition such as where the school originated from etc.

Notes
1. R.P. Chanda - Survival of the Pre-Historic Civilization of the Indus Valley (MAS 141, 1929 p.33)
2. Rg Veda X, 154, iv (Pitr tapasvatoyam tascidevapi gacchatat)
3. Acaranga sutra Ch.6 Dhuya-Ajhayana
5. Skt Nisayya Ch. Yi Chih Tib. Rten Pa gnas pa
Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms - Soothill and Holdus pp 249


7. Pali-English Dictionary - Rhys Davids & Stede under Dhatu. Reference to duhta in the sense of "clean-
sed" may also be found in Paccittiya Nalanda Edition, Pali Publication Board. 1958 p. 192 etc


9. The Chinese translation “T’ou T’un” suggests "clean-
sing with water" whereas the fifteenth chapter of the Mahayana Commentary reads-
Ru Yi Tou Chien Neng Ch’u Ch’em
Kou Hsu Hai Tsu Hsing neng She tao Che
(Fo Xue Ta Tzu Tien by Ting Fu Peo pg 2710)
Trans - Like shaking off dust from one’s clothes, cultivating those practices helps to remove lust.

10. Vimsaktimarga Dhatanguna-Kirdesa by P.V. Bapat
Asia Publishing House, London, 1964 (University of Delhi) critically analyzes the Tibetan text with an
introduction (pp 2-3)
Bapat points out that the Vimsaktimarga available in
Chinese (Naonjo 452 & Taisho 783, Vol XVII), Tibetan
Kanjur Majo-Shu F17a3-149a3 and the Visuddhimagga
of Buddhaghosha is Pali bear some affinity.

The seven objects have been enumerated in Tibetan as -

1) hdod pa-chu-na-tib-dan (alpecchah Mvy 2370);

2) Chog-sepa-tib-dan (Sautstih Mvy 2216);

3) yo-byad bujun pa nyas pa dam (Samlekhe Mvy 7012);

4) Brton hgrus rtson pa dar (viriyambha Mvy 963, 1938);

5) Dga-n-sla ba tib dan (subharata, Mvy 2377)
v1) rig-pa-gnas-pa-rig dan. (pratisamvid Mvy 197-200)
v1l) Yons-su-zen-pa-rab-tu-good-par-hgyur-zin

11. Skt. Pindapatah Tib. Beod-Selloms Ch. Chi Shih Huna
Y'sa Mvy 8671mahavutpati abbrev. Mvy.


13. Bhikkhunratimokesa - Vigunsekhara Satri
Sekhiya rules No. 27-36

14. The History of Buddhist Thought - E.J.Thomas, pp
24-25

Sao Shih Lin Pen
Sao Mvy 8672

16. Skt. Vrksa-mulam Tib. Sin Druh Ch. Shu Xia
Mvy 6870

17. Skt Pati-mukta-bhaisalyam
Tib. Sman Jakus (Bkus) Te Bor Pe
Ch. Chi Yi Yao Yi Yao Mvy 8673

18. Vide Mahavagga Ch.VI. Bheseajjhandhara Pancabh-
sajjakatha. Also Sarvatvavada Vinaya Taisho Vol 23
pp 1840 - 21 c 3
Dharmaguptaka Vinaya Taisho Vol 22 pp 869 - 3
Wahissaka Vinaya Taisho Vol 21 pp 147b - 8


20. Vide Mahavagga Nalanda Edition pp 56 "Amuranami,
bhikkhvs, upasampadentena cattho nissaye acikkhitum
-pundiyapabhojanam nissaya pabbajja, tatha te yava-
jjvam ussaho Karaniyo; atirekalahbo-sanghabhattam,
uddesabbhattam, nimantanam, bhikkhram, nissaya pabbajja,
pattadikam, patimakkham, rukkhannissaya pabbajja, tatha te yava-
jjvam ussaho Karaniyo; atirekalabho-viharo,
addhayoga. pasade hannayam, guha. Putimuttabhasesajam
nissaya palbajja, tattha te yavajivam usana karencyo:
attrekalabho-seppi, navanlam, telam, madhu, phantam
ti."

21. Cullavagga Ch.VII, Sangahbhedanandhaka
Ch. Sarvastivada Vinaya Taisho Vol 23 pp 265a\textsuperscript{12}_b g
Dharmaguptaka Vinaya Taisho Vol 22 pp 909b\textsuperscript{10}-18
Mahisasaka Vinaya Taisho Vol 22 pp 164b\textsuperscript{14}_c-14
Mahasanghika Vinaya Taisho Vol 22 pp 142c\textsuperscript{29}_c-
443a\textsuperscript{26}
Mulasarvakstivada Vinaya Taisho Vol 23 pp 202c\textsuperscript{5}
-28

22. Taisho Vol 22 pp 413c\textsuperscript{12}_c-414c\textsuperscript{7}

23. Taisho Vol 22 pp 811b\textsuperscript{12}_b- c\textsuperscript{1}

24. Taisho Vol 22 pp 112b\textsuperscript{16}_g- c\textsuperscript{16}

25. Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. 13, No. 1-4, 1937
Ranas, P.V. Dhutangas pp 51.

26. Skt. Dhutangas Skt. Dwadasa dhuta gunah
Mvy 1127
Tib. Sbyane Pai Yon tan Bou gnis migs la Ch.
Nalu Nsi Shih Ehr Kung Te Ming hao
Mvy 1128 Pamaklikah Tib. Phyang Dar Khrod Pa
Ch. Cho Na Yi Cho Pi Ne
Mvy 1129 Skt. Tralciivarikah 1130 Skt. Nama (n)
Tib. Chos gos gsum Tib. Nphyi'sa Pa Po
Ch. Tan San I
Mvy 1130 Skt. Nama(n)Takah
Tib. Nshipa Pa Pa
Ch. Chian Na Chao Chish Lang Yi chu Hua
Se Yi
Mvy 1131 Skt. Paldispatikah Tib. Boed Sôme Pa
Ch. Chi Shih, Tal, Ti Chi, Chang Heig
Chi Shih

27
Mvy 1132 Skt. Ajkasanikan
    Tib. Stan gcig Pa, Ch. Rih Yi Chi Rih Yi, Shih Yi Tsuo Shih

Mvy 1133 Skt. Khalu Pancad bhaktikah Tib. Zas
    phyis mi len pa Ch. Wu Shih Hon Chi, Chung Hsu Pu Yin
    Chings

Mvy 1134 Skt Aranyokah Tib. Dgon Pa Pa
    Ch. Chi Ching, Chu Chi Ching Chu

Mvy 1135 Skt Vrtsa-muilkah Tib. Sih druhs Pa
    Ch. Tsuo Sulpt Hsia, Shu Hsia

Mvy 1136 Skt Abhyavakasaakah
    Tib. Bis gab Med Pa, Ch. Lu Ti Lu Tsuo

Mvy 1137 Skt Smasaniakah
    Tib. Dur Khrod Pa Ch. Chung Chen Tsuo,
    Chung Chien

Mvy 1138 Skt Naisadikah
    Tib. Cog Pu Pa Ch. Tsuo Pu Wo, Tan Tsuo
    Pu Wo

Mvy 1139 Skt Yatha-samstarakah
    Tib. Gshl Zi bhin Pao Ch. Zi Ran Ru
    Shang, Chung Chi Shih

27. Comp. Visuddhimagga IX. 32. sadvare pana pattam

28. The Path of Purity - A translation of Buddhaghosa’s
    Visuddhimagga by Pe Maung Tin Part 1 of Virtue
    (or Morals) London, P.T.S. pp 66 ff

29. Indian Historical Quarterly Vol 13, No.1-4, 1937
    Bapat, P. V. Dhutangas pp 45-46

30. Nanjo No. 1293 (Chihf Tuo Tao Lun)
    Composed by Arhat Upatishya or Sariputra Trans-
    lated by Sanghapala, A.D. 505, of the Liang dynasty,
    A.D. 502-557. 12 fascioul 12 chapters. Chines text is available in Taihe Vol 30 pp 399-461 (No.
    1648). Also vide Journal of the Pali Text Society

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31. The Dharma-Sangrha.
An ancient collection of Buddhist Technical terms
by Kanji Kasawara published by Oxford at the
Clarendon Press, 1885 pp 13 No. LXIII dvadasa dhug-
zagamah.

32. Menfio No.412 Fo Shue Shih Erh Tou Two Ching
Buddhabhueshta dvadasa shuutra. Translated
by Gunasahdra of the earlier Song Dynasty A.D.
420-479, Chinese text available in Taisho Vol 17
No. 783 pp 729-722

33. P.V. Bapat, interprets Yathasamavrikka as living
in a place as found which may not agree with its
derivation from the root sir meaning "to spread
over" Mahavyutthia Tlb. shi-zi Bashin-pao. Ch.
Ziran ru-shang chang dhi-slibh, Dharma-sangrha edited
by Kanji Kasawara (Oxford 1885) includes yathasa-
matrika while Bapat refers to its omission. (Visuk-
timmarga Dhutagama Nirdea F.V. Bapat Introduction
pp xxi), Bapat presumably consulted the Chinese ver-
sion of the Dharma-sangrha and not its original
Sanskrit version. However, Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-
magga (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Ed. by Kosambi
Part 1, 1940, pp 52 gives the sense of contempt
with what one gets (yan landharten sah yathasa-
thatiko yati) as pointed out by Bapat.