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K. R. NORMAN

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OLD BODIES LIKE CARTS

In a famous passage in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* the Buddha, feeling old and ill, says to his attendant Ānanda — according to the PTS edition¹:

*Seyyathā pi Ānanda jara-sakaṭaṃ vegha-missakena yāpeti,
evam eva kho Ānanda vegha-missakena maññe Tathāgatassa
kāyo yāpeti.*

Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids translate²: ‘. . . and just as a worn-out cart, Ānanda, can be kept going only with the help of thongs, so, methinks, the body of the Tathāgata can only be kept going by bandaging it up.’

The identical passage occurs in the *Samyutta Nikāya*³. There the PTS editor, Feer, reads *vedha-missakena* both times.

The word *vegha-missakena* has already attracted attention in this *Journal*. In 1884 the Revd. Richard Morris devoted four pages⁴ and much ingenuity to its explication.

Almost the same word occurs at *Thera-gāthā* 143. The PTS edition reads:

*Ye kho te veghamissena nānatthena ca kammunā
manusse uparundhanti pharusupakkamā janā
te pi tath’ eva kīranti, na hi kammaṃ panassati.*

K. R. Norman translates: ‘These people of harsh effort, who molest men with an action involving nooses and varying in aims, are treated in the same way, for their action does not perish.’ In his note on the verse⁵, he too discusses various readings and interpretations.

I need not here repeat full details of the variant readings and suggested interpretations; they can be read in or traced through the secondary sources cited above. *Vegha-* is variously read as *vekha-*, *veṭha-*, *vetha-*, *vedha-*, *vesa-*, *veḷu-*. The commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya* must have read *vegha-*, because it glossed it as *veghana-*.⁶ On the other hand, the commentary on the same passage in the *Samyutta Nikāya* in the PTS edition has *veṭhana-* for *veghana-*; if this is correct it

presumably glosses *veṭha-* in the text. The *Dīgha* sub-commentary⁷ apparently read *vekha-*; there are many variants but neither *veṭha-* nor *veggha-* is among them. The commentary on the *Thera-gāthā*⁵ glosses *vekha-*, but also reports the variant reading *vedha-*.

The conclusion seems to me inescapable: the tradition is utterly confused and at a loss what to read.

The commentarial tradition of interpretation, however, is unequivocal: the word *ve(X)a-* means 'strap, thong'. The *Dīgha* commentary gives this interpretation the first time the word occurs, because it seems to fit that context: one can hold together a tumbledown cart with straps. The *Thera-gāthā* commentary takes the same line: *vekha-missenā ti varatta-khaṇḍādinā*.

Since the commentators had no idea what text to read, their interpretation is *prima facie* suspect. All the other commentaries seem simply to have followed the interpretation of the *Dīgha* commentary; and most modern scholars have joined them.

Neither *veggha-* nor *vekha-* is attested elsewhere and no one has suggested a plausible etymology for either. Norman solves this difficulty by reading *veṭha-*. The much greater difficulty, however, is that meanings like 'strap' make very little sense in two of the three occurrences of the word. Though Morris claimed:⁴ 'The body of an old man would need some protection from heat and cold, hence, the use of a *bandhana*', the idea that the Buddha was kept going by bandages will not stand scrutiny. Nor is 'an action involving nooses' a likely expression for general maleficence.

The other modern attempts to interpret *ve(X)a-* have failed to find plausible etymologies or meanings appropriate to all three occurrences.

There is a passage in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*⁸ which is not a close enough parallel to provide a solution and yet may shed light on the Buddha's simile. It describes the process of dying, in this case the death of an enlightened man:

Tad yathānaḥ susamāhitam utsarjaṃ yāyāt, evam evāyaṃ

*śārīra ātmā prājñenātmanānvārūḍha utsarjaṃ yāti, yatraītaḍ
ūrdhvocchvāsī bhavati.*

'So, as a heavily loaded cart may go along creaking, in the same way the embodied self, mounted (possessed) by the intelligent self, goes creaking, when he comes to breathe out for the last time.'

The heavy, stertorous breathing of the dying man is compared to the creaking of a loaded cart. Whether or not the Buddha knew this passage, it is a direct comparison between a cart which is proceeding with difficulty and the body of a dying man. One is therefore tempted to search for a similarly straightforward comparison in the Buddha's words.

I believe that this can be found by reading *vedha-*. There is support for *vedha-* in the manuscript traditions of all three texts: *Dīgha*, *Samyutta* and *Thera-gāthā*. The PED connects *vedhati* with *vyathati* and gives it the meanings 'tremble, quiver, quake, shake'. It also reports *avedha* meaning 'imperturbable' (Sn 322). Sanskrit *vyathā* in Monier-Williams has among its meanings 'agitation, perturbation . . . pain . . . loss, damage'. The cognate past participle *vyathita* has among its meanings 'tottering, rocking, reeling . . . distressed, afflicted'. Thus the semantic field of \sqrt{vyath} stretches from involuntary shaking to pain and distress. The old cart would shake without feeling pain, the Buddha painfully. In the *Thera-gāthā* verse the shaking aspect is not relevant; that is only about giving pain.

The PED also supplies appropriate interpretations of *yāpeti* and *missa(ka)-*. *Yāpeti* does not have any passive sense as in the Rhys Davids' translation; it means 'keep going'. *Missa(ka)-* is a noun (as at *Vin* I 33) meaning 'a mixture of various'. So in the *Thera-gāthā* verse I do not take it as a *bahubbīhi* agreeing with *kammunā*, but as a *tappurisa*.

I therefore propose that in all passages we read *vedha-*, and that the noun *vedha-* (presumably masculine) is related to *vyathā* and has the same range of meaning. In the Buddha's simile I translate 'keeps going with various quakings'. The elder's verse I translate 'molest men with a variety of damage'.

Notes

1 D II 100

2 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, 107.

3 S V 153.

4 *JPTS* 1884, 97–101.

5 *Elders' Verses* I, 154.

6 Sv. II 548.

7 *Dīgha-nikāya-atthakathā-ṭīkā* II 188.

8 IV, 3, 35. I follow the text and interpretation of Senart.

NĀMARŪPASAMĀSO*

According to Malalasekera¹, this text may be assigned to the 10th century and ascribed to a thera, Khema, of Ceylon. Although it was once held in high esteem, it subsequently became better appreciated in Burma where it formed one of the nine *Let-Than* (*Lakkhaṇaganthā*) or 'little finger manuals' of Abhidhamma. A *ṭīkā* was composed in the 12th century by another Sinhalese thera, Vācissara.

In Burma the text is known as the *Khemappakarāṇa* (which would seem to corroborate its authorship) but is also occasionally referred to as the *Paramatthadīpa*.

An original Sinhala MS was discovered in Ambarukkhārāma, Welitara, 'teeming with discrepancies'.² With the aid of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* and its Commentary, the *Aṭṭhasālīnī*, however, it was revised by Baṭapola Dhammapāla, a pupil of C. A. Silakkhandha Mahāthera. Both the text and a Sinhala commentary, the *Silipiṭapata*, were subsequently published.³ In the English Preface Dhammapāla assumed the original author to be Anuruddha (who composed the better known exegetical manual, *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, in the 12th century). If it were not Anuruddha himself then the style of language clearly pointed to a contemporary.

In the early 1900s, A. P. Buddhadatta discovered the MSS, in Burmese script, of both the original text and its *ṭīkā* in the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon. He copied both MSS and these were subsequently utilised by P. Dhammārāma (a pupil of Ariyavaṃsa Mahāthera of Galle, Sri Lanka) in his edition in Roman script.⁴ In a Pali introduction, *Nāmarūpa-samāsa-Viññatti*, Dhammārāma acknowledged the authorship of Khema.

For this translation that follows, the first in a Western language, I have taken as my source mainly the Sinhala edition mentioned above.⁵

Let the late Malalasekera have the final word in this introduction: 'The short disquisitions on the various subjects are concisely written in simple, easy style and the whole work

forms a little handbook for the study of medieval Abhidhamma'.⁶

Notes

*See the text in JPTS, 1915–1916, pp. 3–19, to which the numbers in pointed brackets refer.

1 G. P. Malalasekera *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 156. Royal Asiatic Society, London 1928; repr. Gunasena, Colombo 1958.

2 See the preface to the text mentioned in n.3.

3 M. W. Sumathipala, Ambalangoda 1908.

4 *JPTS*, London 1915–16, repr. 1978, pp. 1–19.

5 According to A. P. Buddhadatta, *Pāli Sāhityaya* (Ambalangoda 1957, Part II, p. 320), Dhammapāla almost certainly referred to the Burmese MSS of text and *ṭikā*.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

THE SUMMARY OF MIND AND MATTER

1. ⟨3⟩ The lord of men, spending the rainy season in the Nandana Park of the Thousand-eyed, explained the Dhamma which was profound and obscure.

2. Saluting the lord, his doctrine and his Order, the Summary of Mind and Matter is explained by me; please listen to it.

3. There are, in short, 89 types of consciousness.

4. They are fourfold. How? (i) Moral, (ii) Immoral, (iii) Resultant and (iv) Functional in classification. Of them, 21 types are Moral consciousness, 12 types Immoral consciousness, 36 types Resultant consciousness and 20 types Functional consciousness.

5. The Moral consciousness is classified in four spheres:¹ (i) Sensuous, (ii) Form, (iii) Formless and (iv) Supramundane. There are (i) eight types of Sensuous sphere, (ii) five types of Fine Material sphere, (iii) four types of Formless (or Immaterial) sphere and (iv) four types of Supramundane sphere.

6. These are the eight types of Moral consciousness of the Sensuous sphere: (i) One accompanied by pleasurable feeling, associated with knowledge, unprompted; (ii) One prompted; (iii) One accompanied by pleasurable feeling, dissociated from knowledge, unprompted; (iv) One prompted; (v) One accompanied by indifferent feeling, associated with knowledge, unprompted; (vi) One prompted; (vii) One accompanied by indifferent feeling, dissociated from knowledge, unprompted; (viii) One prompted.

7. These are the five types of Moral consciousness of the Fine Material sphere: (i) First *jhāna* accompanied by five constituents — initial application,² sustained application, pleasurable interest, happiness and unification of consciousness; (ii) Second *jhāna* accompanied by four constituents — sustained application, pleasurable interest, happiness and unification of consciousness; (iii) Third *jhāna* accompanied by three constituents — pleasurable interest, happiness and

unification of consciousness; (iv) Fourth *jhāna* accompanied by two constituents — happiness and unification of consciousness; (4) (v) Fifth *jhāna* accompanied by two constituents — equanimity and unification of consciousness.

8. These are the four types of Moral consciousness of the Formless sphere: (i) Consciousness fixed on the Infinity of space; (ii) Consciousness fixed on the Infinity of consciousness; (iii) Consciousness fixed on Nothingness; (iv) Consciousness in which perception neither is nor is not.

9. These are the four types of Supramundane Moral consciousness: (i) The Path-consciousness of 'Stream-entry' that eradicates three faults — view of self-identification, sceptical doubt and clinging to rites and ceremonies; (ii) Path-consciousness of 'Once-returning' that weakens sensual lust and ill-will; (iii) Path-consciousness of 'Non-returning' that eradicates sensual lust and ill-will without residue; (iv) Path-consciousness of Perfect Holiness that eradicates desire for fine-material existence, desire for immaterial existence, conceit, restlessness and delusion.

10. These are the twelve types of Immoral consciousness — the threefold Immoral consciousness: eight types of consciousness associated with greed, two types of consciousness associated with ill-will, two types of consciousness associated with one causal condition.

These are the eight types of consciousness associated with greed: (i) One accompanied by pleasure, associated with wrong view, unprompted; (ii) One prompted; (iii) One accompanied by pleasure, dissociated from wrong view, unprompted; (iv) One prompted; (v) One accompanied by indifference, associated with wrong view, unprompted; (vi) One prompted; (vii) One accompanied by indifference, dissociated from wrong view, unprompted; (viii) One prompted.

These are the two types of consciousness associated with ill-will: (i) One accompanied by antipathy, associated with ill-will, unprompted; (ii) One prompted.

These are the two types of consciousness associated with one causal condition: (i) One associated with doubt; (ii) One associated with restlessness.

11. The Resultant consciousness is fourfold, classified according to the spheres: (i) Sensuous, (ii) of Fine Material form, (iii) Immaterial and (iv) Supramundane. There are 23 types of Resultant consciousness in the Sensuous sphere; they are twofold: (i) Resultant of the moral and (ii) Resultant of the immoral. There are sixteen Resultants of the moral and seven Resultants of the immoral. Resultants of the moral are twofold: (i) without causal condition and (ii) with causal condition.

12. (5) These are the eight types of Resultant consciousness of the moral without causal conditions: there are (i) Resultant Eye-consciousness accompanied by indifference, likewise (ii) Ear-consciousness, (iii) Nose-consciousness, (iv) Tongue-consciousness, (v) Body-consciousness, associated with pleasant feeling; (vi) The Receiving consciousness-element, a resultant of the moral without causal condition, accompanied by indifference; (vii) Investigating consciousness-element, a resultant of the moral without causal condition, accompanied by pleasure; (viii) Investigating consciousness-element, a resultant of the moral without causal condition, accompanied by indifference.

13. These are the eight types of Resultant consciousness of the moral with causal condition: (i) One accompanied by pleasure, associated with knowledge, unprompted; (ii) One prompted; (iii) One accompanied by pleasure, dissociated from knowledge, unprompted; (iv) One prompted; (v) One accompanied by indifference, associated with knowledge, unprompted; (vi) One prompted; (vii) One accompanied by indifference, dissociated from knowledge, unprompted; (viii) One prompted.

The eight types of consciousness which are the resultants of the morals accompanied by causal conditions arise exactly like the Moral with the difference that they are Resultants.

14. These are the seven types of Resultant consciousness without causal condition which are the resultants of the immoral: (i) Eye-consciousness accompanied by indifference which is a resultant of the immoral, likewise (ii) Ear-consciousness, (iii) Nose-consciousness, (iv) Tongue-consciousness, (v) Body-consciousness accompanied by pain; (vi) The

Receiving consciousness of resultant without causal condition, accompanied by indifference, which is a mind-element, a resultant of the immoral; (vii) Investigating consciousness of resultant of the immoral without causal condition, accompanied by indifference, which is a mind-element.

The five types of Resultant consciousness of the Fine Material sphere arise exactly like the Moral. The four types of the Resultant consciousness of the Immaterial sphere arise exactly like the Moral.

The four types of Supramundane Resultant consciousness: (i) Fruit-consciousness of 'Stream-entry', (ii) Fruit-consciousness of 'Once-returning', (iii) Fruit-consciousness of 'Non-returning' and (iv) Fruit-consciousness of Perfect Holiness. These are the 36 types of Resultant consciousness.

15. There are three types of Functional consciousness classified according to the spheres: (i) Sensuous, (ii) Fine Material and (iii) Immaterial. (i) There are eleven types of Sensuous sphere, (ii) five types of Fine Material sphere and (iii) four types of Immaterial sphere. (i) The consciousness of the Sensuous sphere is twofold: (i) without causal conditions and (ii) with causal conditions. Those without causal conditions are three and with causal conditions are eight.

⟨6⟩ Therein these are the three types of Functional consciousness without causal condition: (i) Five sense-door determining consciousness-element without causal conditions accompanied by indifference. Likewise (ii) Mind-door determining consciousness-element without causal condition accompanied by pleasure. (iii) Smile-producing determining consciousness-element without causal condition accompanied by pleasant feeling.

16. The eight types of Functional consciousness with causal conditions arise in the Arahants exactly like the morals with the difference that they are only functionals. The five types of the functionals of the Fine Material sphere are exactly like the morals, which arise only in the Arahants. The four types of Functional consciousness pertaining to the Immaterial realm are exactly like the morals, which arise only in the Arahants. These are the 20 types of Functional consciousness. Thus there are, in short, 89 types of consciousness.

17. There are among them two types of determining consciousness, two types of seeing consciousness, two types of hearing consciousness, two types of smelling consciousness, two types of tasting consciousness, two types of contacting consciousness, two types of recipient consciousness, three types of investigating consciousness, one determining consciousness. Of these, two have two origins, nine have three origins, eight have four origins, two have five origins. 21 of them are types of relinking consciousness, 21 types of life-continuum consciousness, 21 types of death-consciousness, 11 types of registration consciousness, 13 types of smiling consciousness.

18. 32 types of consciousness generate matter,³ put the mode of movement in motion and produce the intimations.⁴ 26 types of consciousness generate matter, put the mode of movement in motion and do not produce the intimations. 19 types of consciousness generate matter, do not put the mode of movement in motion and do not produce the intimations. 16 types of consciousness do not generate matter, do not put the mode of movement in motion but do produce the intimations. 54 types of consciousness pertain to the Sensuous sphere, 15 to the Fine Material sphere and 12 to the Immaterial sphere. There are eight types of Supramundane consciousness. 18 types are without root, two with one root, 22 with two roots and 47 with three roots. There are 55 Impulsions. Of them the functional mind-element without root performs the action of determining in the five sense-doors. The functional mind-consciousness element accompanied by indifference performs the action of determining in the mind-door. These are the two types of consciousness of determination.

19. Moral-resultant eye-consciousness and Immoral-resultant eye-consciousness: these are the two types of seeing-consciousness, ⟨7⟩ two types of smelling-consciousness, two types of contacting-consciousness. These should be known as the Moral-resultants (resultants of the types of moral consciousness).

20. A receiving consciousness which is a moral-resultant, rootless mind-element accompanied by indifference and a

receiving consciousness which is an immoral-resultant, rootless mind-element accompanied by indifference: these are the two types of receiving consciousness.

The investigating consciousness which is a moral-resultant mind-consciousness-element accompanied by pleasure; the investigating consciousness which is a moral-resultant mind-consciousness-element accompanied by indifference; the investigating consciousness which is an immoral-resultant mind-consciousness-element accompanied by indifference — these are the three types of investigating consciousness.

The determining consciousness, one type which is functional and rootless. This very same one is the mind-consciousness-element accompanied by indifference that performs the determining in the five sense-doors and also turning to impressions at the mind-door. Moral-resultant rootless mind-consciousness-element accompanied by pleasure performs the investigating in the five sense-doors and retention in the six sense-doors. These are of two places.

Five types of Resultant-consciousness pertaining to the Fine Material sphere and four types of Resultant-consciousness pertaining to the Immaterial sphere perform the relinking, life-continuum and decease in the Brahma world. These are the nine having three places.

Eight types of moral-resultant consciousness perform the relinking, life-continuum and also retention and decease in the six sense-doors in the heavenly and human worlds. These are of four places.

Moral-resultant rootless mind-consciousness-element accompanied by indifference performs the relinking and life-continuum of the born blind, born deaf, and so on, and investigating in the five sense-doors, retention in the six sense-doors and decease.

Immoral-resultant rootless mind-consciousness-element accompanied by indifference performs the relinking and life-continuum in the fourfold Apāya⁵ and investigating in the five sense-doors, retention in the six sense-doors and decease. These are the two of five places. Eight types of resultant-consciousness pertaining to the Sensuous sphere, two types of resultant rootless mind-consciousness-element

accompanied by indifference having perceived a *kamma* or the sign of a *kamma* (*kammanimitta*) or a sign of the destinies (*gatinimitta*) take the relinking. Five types of resultant-consciousness pertaining to the Fine Material sphere, four types pertaining to the Formless (Immaterial) sphere, grasping the object of moral-*jhāna*, take the birth in the Brahma world.

These are the 19 types of relinking-consciousness. These are also life-continuums in the cycle of existence and consciousness of decease at the time of decease.

(8) Eight types of Resultant-consciousness pertaining to the Sensuous sphere and three types of resultant mind-consciousness-element without roots arise immediately after the Impulsion-becoming retentions and are born to the beings of the Sensuous sphere. These are the eleven types of retentions.

Four types of Moral consciousness pertaining to the Sensuous sphere, four types of Immoral consciousness accompanied by pleasure, five types of Functional consciousness accompanied by pleasure — these are the 13 types of consciousness which produce smiles. Among them in the eight types of Moral and Immoral consciousness, the feeling of smiling arises in worldlings. Leaving the two types accompanied by wrong view (i.e., mental concepts hardening into dogmatic views), in the remaining six smiling arises in the trainees (*sekhā*). In the five types of Functional consciousness the feeling of smiling arises in the Arahants.

Eight types of Moral consciousness, twelve types of Immoral consciousness, ten types of Functional consciousness, consciousness of Higher Knowledge (*abhiññā*) of the one whose depravities are extinguished (*khināsava*), consciousness of Higher Knowledge of the trainees and worldlings — these 32 types of consciousness generate matter, put the mode of movement in motion and produce the intimations. Five types of Moral consciousness pertaining to the Fine Material sphere, five types of Functional consciousness, four types of Moral consciousness pertaining to the Formless (Immaterial) sphere, four types of Functional consciousness, four types of Path-consciousness, four types of Fruition-consciousness — these 26 types of consciousness generate

matter, put the mode of movement in motion but do not produce intimations. Eleven types of Moral-resultant consciousness pertaining to the Sensuous sphere, two types of Immoral-resultant consciousness, functional rootless mind-element which turns towards five sense-objects, five types of Resultant-consciousness pertaining to the Form (Fine Material) sphere — these 19 types of consciousness generate matter, but neither put the mode of movement in motion nor produce the intimations.

Five pairs of Moral and Immoral-resultant consciousness, four types of Resultant pertaining to the Formless (Immaterial) sphere, decess-consciousness of those who have extinguished the cankers (*khīṇāsavā*), relinking consciousness of all beings — these 16 types of consciousness do not generate matter, and neither put the mode of movement in motion nor produce the intimations.

Eight types of Moral consciousness pertaining to the Sensuous sphere, twelve types of Immoral consciousness, eight types of great moral-resultants, eight types of inferior moral-resultants, seven types of immoral-resultants, eight types of great Functional consciousness, three types of inferior Functional consciousness — these are the 54 types of consciousness pertaining to the Sensuous sphere.

Five types of Moral consciousness pertaining to the Form (Fine Material) sphere, five types of Resultants, five types of Functional consciousness — these are the 15 types of consciousness pertaining to the Form (Fine Material) sphere.

Four types of Moral consciousness pertaining to the Formless (Immaterial) sphere, four types of Resultants, four types of Functional consciousness — these are the twelve types of consciousness pertaining to the Formless (Immaterial) sphere.

Four types of consciousness of the Path, four types of consciousness of Fruition — these are the eight types of supramundane consciousness.

Five pairs of sense-consciousness, three types of mind-element, five types of mind-consciousness-element — these are the 18 types of consciousness without roots. (9) One accompanied by uncertainty, one accompanied by restlessness

— these are the two types of consciousness with one root.

Two types of consciousness rooted in Ill-will and Ignorance. Eight types of consciousness rooted in Attachment and Ignorance. Twelve types of consciousness rooted in Non-attachment and Non-ill-will. These are the 22 types of consciousness with two roots and the remaining 47 types of consciousness have three roots.

33 types of consciousness, Moral and Immoral, four types of Supramundane-resultant consciousness, 18 types of Functional consciousness excluding apprehending and determining — these are the 55 types of Impulsion.

Here ends the Miscellaneous section

Which are the skilful states? Whenever a skilful consciousness pertaining to the Sensuous sphere has arisen, accompanied by pleasant feeling, associated with knowledge, unprompted, and has as its object a sight, a sound, a smell, a taste, a touch, mental states⁶ or what not, then there is (the group of five mentals beginning with 'contact':) contact, feeling, perception, volition, consciousness; (the group of the five *jhāna*-factors:) initial application, sustained application, joy, ease, one-pointedness; (the group of the eight faculties:) confidence based on knowledge, the faculty of energy, of mindfulness, the faculty of concentration, the faculty of insight, the faculty of ideation, the faculty of gladness, the faculty of life; (the group of the five factors of the Path:) right view, right thought, right endeavour, right mindfulness, right concentration; (the group of the seven Powers:) the power of confidence, the power of energy, the power of mindfulness, the power of concentration, the power of insight, the power of conscientiousness, the power of fear of blame; (the group of three root-conditions:) absence of greed, absence of hate, absence of delusion; (the group of the three which are the paths of kamma:) absence of covetousness, absence of hatred, right view; (the group of the two guardians of the world:) conscientiousness, fear of blame; (the group of the six pairs:) tranquillity of mind,

lightness of mental states, lightness of mind, pliancy of mental states, adaptability of mental states, adaptability of mind, proficiency of mental states, proficiency of mind, rectitude of mental states, rectitude of mind, plasticity of mind and mental factors, facility of mind and mental factors, directedness in mind, directedness in mental factors; (the group of the two helpers:) mindfulness, intelligence; (the group of interdependents:) calmness, (10) insight, (the group of the two, effort and calm:) energy, absence of confusion; now these — or whatever other incorporeal states conditioned by causes there are on that occasion — these are states that are the skilful states of consciousness. By the classification of words when they are associated with determinate absolute states (*yevāpanakā*) there are 60. There the certain absolute states are: will, decision, even-mindedness, attention. Whenever uncertain absolute states arise with the indeterminate states then there are 61 words. There the uncertain absolute states are compassion, sympathetic joy, right speech, right action and right livelihood.

In the dyads and so on they never come to associate. Therefore in order to show the precise importance of the absolute states they were expounded by the Buddha.

As for the groups there are seventeen groups: the group beginning with contact; the group of five (*jhāna*) observations; the group of eight Faculties; the group of five factors of the Path; the group of seven Powers; the group of three Root-Conditions; the group of three paths of Kamma; the group of two Guardians of the World; the group of six Pairs; the group of two Helpers; the group of Interdependents; the group of Effort and Calmness.

In the passage which came without indeterminate absolute states are (a) the thirty unmixed states: contact, feeling, perception, volition, mind, initial application, sustained application, joy, one-pointedness, confidence, energy, mindfulness, wisdom, psychic-life, (moral) shame, (moral) dread, non-greed, goodwill and twelve states such as tranquillity of mental states. These thirty unmixed states are twofold, classified and unclassified: eighteen unclassified and twelve classified. Contact, perception, volition, sustained application,

joy, psychic life, twelve states such as tranquillity of mental states — these eighteen mental states are unclassified. Feeling, consciousness, initial application, one-pointedness, confidence, effort, mindfulness, wisdom, (moral) shame, (moral) dread, non-greed, goodwill — these twelve states are classified. Of them consciousness is (given) as Consciousness in Contact-pentad, as Mind-faculty in Faculty-octad.

Initial application is (given) as initial application in Jhāna pentad, as Right Aspiration in Path-pentad.

Confidence is (given) as the confidence-faculty in Faculty-octad and as confidence-power (or power of confidence) in Power-septad.

Prudence (moral shame) is prudence in Power-septad (11) and is prudence in World-guardian-couplet.

Discretion (moral dread) is the power of discretion in Power-septad and discretion in the World-guardian-couplet.

Non-greed is non-greed in Cause-triplet and non-covetousness in Kamma-course-triplet.

Non-anger is non-anger in Cause-triplet and non-illwill in Kamma-course-triplet.

Feeling is feeling in Contact-pentad, ease (*sukham*) in Jhāna-pentad and faculty of joy in the Faculty-octad.

Effort is the faculty of effort in Faculty-octad, Right Effort in Path-pentad, power of effort in Power-septad, and exertion in Effort-Calm couplet.

Mindfulness is the faculty of mindfulness in Faculty-octad, Right Mindfulness in Path-pentad, power of mindfulness in Power-septad and mindfulness in Help-couplet.

Concentration is one-pointedness of mind in Jhāna-pentad, the faculty of concentration in Faculty-octad, Right Concentration in Path-pentad, power of concentration in Power-septad, calm in Coupling (or well-yoked) pair, (interdependents), and non-distraction in Effort-Calm pair.

Wisdom is the faculty of wisdom in Faculty-octad, Right View in Path-pentad, power of wisdom in Power-septad, non-delusion in Cause-triplet, Right view in Kamma-course-triplet, awareness in Help-pair, and insight in Well-yoked-pair (Interdependents).

Consciousness, initial application, confidence, prudence,

discretion, two causes — these seven have two places. Feeling has three places. Effort and mindfulness have four places. One-pointedness (of mind) has six places. Wisdom is said to have seven places. Thus these are classified in ten groups.

Thus ends the First Consciousness

21. As to the second consciousness, it differs only in that it is 'prompted'.

22. As to the third consciousness which is unprompted, accompanied by pleasant feeling and dissociated from knowledge, this has 29 unmixed terms and of them 18 unclassifiable and 11 classifiable.

Wisdom which has seven places has fallen away (been dissociated from it). This is the only distinction.

23. As to the fourth consciousness, that it is prompted is the only distinction.

24. As to the fifth consciousness, which is unprompted, accompanied by knowledge and associated with hedonic indifference, it has 55 terms, to wit: contact, feeling, perception, volition, consciousness, initial application, sustained application, hedonic indifference, one-pointedness of mind, confidence, effort, mindfulness, knowledge, mind-faculty, equanimity-faculty, mental vitality, right view and so on, just like those that the first consciousness has (consists of).

As regards the Jhāna-pentad (of this consciousness), its *jhāna* consists of four factors as it lacks the pleasurable interest (*pīti*).

Unmixed terms are 29, of which 17 are unclassifiable and (12) 12 are classifiable. This is the only distinction.

25. As to the sixth consciousness, that it is prompted is the only distinction.

26. As to the seventh one, which is unprompted, accompanied by hedonic indifference and dissociated from knowledge, it has 48 terms, of which 28 are unmixed. 17 are unclassifiable as this consciousness lacks pleasurable interest and knowledge, and 11 are classifiable.

27. As to the eighth consciousness, it is prompted. This is the only distinction.

Thus ends the description of the types of moral consciousness related to the Sensuous sphere.

28. The first Jhāna-consciousness related to the Fine Material sphere is (as regards its constituents) like the consciousness related to (or as experienced in) the Sensuous sphere.

29. As to the second Jhāna, it has 54 terms. As it is devoid of initial application which has two places, it consists of four factors. (Its) Path consists of four factors. Its unmixed terms are 29. (Of them) 18 are unclassifiable and 11 are classifiable.

30. As to the third Jhāna, it has 53 terms. As this one is devoid of initial application and sustained application, this consists of three factors. Its unmixed terms are 28, of which 17 are unclassifiable and 11 are classifiable.

31. As to the fourth Jhāna, it has 52 terms. As it is devoid even of pleasurable interest, it consists of two factors. Its unmixed terms are 27, of which 16 are unclassifiable and 11 are classifiable. In these four Jhānas, the four constant 'Or-whatevers' (*yevāpanakā*) always manifest themselves, and on the occasions when the meditations of Illimitables (*appamaññā*) are developed, compassion and appreciation (or sympathetic joy, *muditā*) which are the unconstant 'Or-whatevers', arise separately.

32. As to the fifth Jhāna, it has 52 terms. As regards the feeling among the Jhāna-factors, it is equanimity, among faculties it is the equanimity-faculty. Its unmixed terms are 27, of which 16 are unclassifiable and 11 are classifiable. The four constant 'Or-whatevers' manifest themselves always in it.

Thus ends the description of the mentals in the types of moral consciousness related to the Fine Material sphere.

33. The four Jhānas related to the Immaterial sphere consist of the same mental characteristics as the fifth one of the

Jhānas related to the Fine Material sphere. Only their objects such as 'infinite space', etc. are the things that make a distinction between them.

34. The (mental) states that arise together with the Path-consciousness of 'Stream-entry' are of full 60 terms. (13) As to groups, they consist of seven groups, and four states arise together, namely, Right Speech (i.e., abstention from wrong speech), Right Action (i.e., abstention from wrong actions), Right Livelihood (i.e., abstention from wrong livelihood) and the faculty of 'I-shall-come-to-know-the-unknown'.

And why is the Path possessed of eight factors, and why are there nine faculties and 33 unmixed terms? Because the four states such as Right Speech, etc., are included in them. Thus there are 21 unclassifiable and 12 classifiable.

'Once-returner's' Path, 'Non-returner's' Path and the Path of the Arahant, too, are the same as the Path of 'Stream-entry' as regards their constituents and classifications. As to faculties, they have the 'Faculty of Knowing.' This is the only distinction.

In these four Paths there arise the four constant 'Or-whatevers', the desire-to-do, etc.

This ends the description of the mentals,
the constituents of the types of Moral Consciousness.

Immorals

35. In the unprompted consciousness accompanied by pleasant feeling and associated with erroneous belief there are 32 states: contact, feeling, perception, volition, consciousness, initial application, sustained application, pleasurable interest, ease, one-pointedness of mind, faculty of endeavour, faculty of concentration, mind-faculty, faculty of joy, (mental vitality), wrong belief, wrong aspiration, wrong effort, wrong concentration, power of endeavour, power of concentration, power of impudence, power of recklessness, greed, delusion, covetousness, wrong view, impudence, recklessness, calm, exertion, and non-distraction.

As to groups, there are nine groups, namely, the group of contact-pentad, the group of Jhāna-pentad, the group of Controlling-faculty-pentad, the group of (wrong)Path-tetrad, the group of Power-tetrad, the group of Cause-couplet, the group of Kamma-course-couplet, the group of the Dark-couplet, and the group of the Final Triplet.

Unmixed terms are 16 such as, contact, feeling, perception, volition, consciousness, initial application, sustained application, pleasurable interest, one-pointedness of mind, faculty of endeavour, mental vitality as a faculty, wrong belief, impudence, recklessness, greed, and delusion.

Of these, seven are unclassifiable and nine are classifiable. Contact, perception, volition, sustained application, pleasurable interest, mental vitality, and delusion — these seven are unclassifiable states. Feeling, consciousness, initial application, one-pointedness of mind, faculty of endeavour, wrong view, impudence, recklessness, and greed — these nine are called classifiables.

Among them, consciousness is (regarded as) consciousness in Contact-pentad and as mind-faculty in Faculty-pentad. Initial application is initial application in Jhāna-pentad and wrong aspiration in Path-tetrad.

Wrong view is wrong view in Path-tetrad and wrong view in Kamma-course-couplet.

Impudence is power of impudence in Power-tetrad and impudence in Dark-couplet.

(14) Recklessness is the power of recklessness in Power-tetrad and recklessness in Dark-couplet.

Greed is greed in Cause-couplet and covetousness in Kamma-course-Couplet.

Feeling is feeling in Contact-pentad, ease in Jhāna-pentad and faculty of Joy in Faculty-pentad.

Effort is the faculty of endeavour in Faculty-pentad, wrong endeavour in Path-tetrad, power of effort in Power-tetrad, and exertion in Final Triplet.

Concentration is one-pointedness of mind in Jhāna-pentad, faculty of concentration in Faculty-pentad, wrong concentration in Path-tetrad, power of concentration in Power-tetrad and calm and non-distraction in Final Triplet.

Consciousness, initial application, wrong view, impudence, recklessness, and greed — these have six places.

Feeling has three places.

Effort has four places.

One-pointedness (of mind) has five places.

36. As to the second consciousness, it is distinct from the first one in that it is 'prompted'.

37. The two types of consciousness dissociated from wrong view lack wrong view which has two places. These (two types of consciousness) have 30 terms, (of which) 15 are unmixed terms, seven non-classifiable and eight classifiable.

Contact, perception, volition, sustained application, pleasurable interest, vitality, and delusion — these are seven unclassifiable states.

Feeling, consciousness, initial application, one-pointedness (of mind), faculty of effort, impudence, recklessness, and greed — these eight are the classifiable states.

38. The two types (of consciousness) accompanied by hedonic indifference and associated with wrong view are devoid of pleasurable interest. They have 31 terms. In the place of feeling which is a Jhāna-factor there is equanimity, the faculty of equanimity among faculties. They have 15 unmixed terms, of which six are unclassifiable and nine classifiable.

The two types (of consciousness) accompanied by hedonic indifference and dissociated from wrong view lack wrong view and have 29 terms.

39. In the two types accompanied by grief there are 29 terms: contact, feeling, perception, volition, consciousness, initial application, sustained application, pain, one-pointedness of mind, faculty of effort, faculty of concentration, mind-faculty, grief-faculty, mental vitality, wrong aspiration, wrong effort, wrong concentration, power of effort, power of concentration, power of impudence, power of recklessness, anger, delusion, ill-will, impudence (shamelessness), recklessness, calm, exertion, and non-distraction. They have 14 (15) unmixed terms: contact, (feeling), perception, volition, consciousness, initial application, sustained application, one-pointedness of mind, faculty of effort, vitality, impudence,

recklessness, anger, and delusion, of which six are unclassifiable and eight classifiable.

Thus contact, perception, volition, sustained application, vitality, and delusion — these six are unclassifiable states. Feeling, consciousness, initial application, one-pointedness of mind, faculty of effort, impudence, recklessness and anger — these eight are the classifiable states.

40. As to the consciousness accompanied by perplexity, it has 23 terms: contact, feeling, perception, volition, consciousness, initial application, sustained application, hedonic indifference, one-pointedness of mind, faculty of effort, mind-faculty, faculty of equanimity, vitality, wrong aspiration, wrong effort, power of effort, power of impudence, power of recklessness, perplexity, delusion, impudence, recklessness and exertion. Of these 14 are unmixed terms: contact, feeling, perception, volition, consciousness, initial application, sustained application, one-pointedness of mind, faculty of effort, vitality, perplexity, delusion, impudence, and recklessness.

Eight are unclassifiable and six classifiable.

Contact, perception, volition, sustained application, one-pointedness of mind, vitality, perplexity, delusion — these eight are unclassifiable states.

Feeling, consciousness, initial application, faculty of effort, impudence, and recklessness — these six are classifiable states. One-pointedness of mind just arises and stands in this consciousness [But is extremely weak as it is devoid of deciding (*adhimokkha*) which strengthens it]. This lacks five places, the faculty of concentration, etc.

41. As to the consciousness accompanied by agitation, it has 28 terms: contact, feeling, perception, volition, consciousness, initial application, sustained application, hedonic indifference, one-pointedness of mind, faculty of effort, faculty of concentration, mind-faculty, faculty of equanimity, vitality, wrong aspiration, wrong endeavour, wrong concentration, power of effort, power of concentration, power of impudence, power of recklessness, agitation, delusion, impudence, recklessness, calm, exertion, and non-distraction. Of these 14 are unmixed terms: contact, feeling, perception, volition, consciousness,

initial application, sustained application, one-pointedness of mind, faculty of effort, vitality, agitation, delusion, impudence, and recklessness.

Of them seven are unclassifiable and seven classifiable.

Contact, perception, volition, sustained application, vitality, agitation, and delusion — these seven are unclassifiable states.

Feeling, consciousness, initial application, one-pointedness, faculty of effort, impudence, and recklessness — these seven are classifiable states.

Desire-to-do, deciding, agitation, attention, jealousy, (16) miserliness, pride, sloth, torpor, and worry — these ten are immoral 'Or-whatevers'. Out of them, these six 'Or-whatevers', namely, desire-to-do, deciding, agitation, attention, sloth and torpor arise in five types of prompted immoral consciousness.

In the five unprompted ones, excepting sloth and torpor, all the remaining four mentals arise. Pride arises in the four types of consciousness accompanied by greed, dissociated from wrong view. Jealousy, miserliness and worry — these three arise separately (not together) in two types of consciousness accompanied by grief. Both agitation and attention arise (together) in the consciousness accompanied by perplexity.

Both deciding and attention arise in the consciousness accompanied by agitation.⁷

Thus ends the description of the mentals
in the types of immoral (unwholesome) consciousness.

Resultants

42. There are ten mental states in the eye-consciousness which arise as a resultant of (the types of) morally good consciousness: contact, feeling, perception, volition, hedonic indifference, one-pointedness of mind, mind-faculty, equanimity-faculty, vitality, and attention. They are grouped into three groups, namely, the group of Contact-pentad, the group of Jhāna-couplet and the group of Faculty-triplet.

There are seven unmixed terms: contact, feeling, perception, volition, consciousness, one-pointedness and vitality. Of them five are unclassifiable, namely: contact, perception, volition, one-pointedness and vitality. Two are classifiable, namely: feeling and consciousness.

Ear-consciousness, nose-consciousness and tongue-consciousness are the same as eye-consciousness (with regard to the mental states of which they consist).

As regards the body-consciousness which arises as a resultant of morally good consciousness, it possesses ease as its feeling (feeling of comfort) and the ease-faculty. This is the only distinction.

As to the recipient consciousness which is one of the mind-elements⁸ and a result of good, there arise in it the twelve states together with initial application and sustained application. The rest are as those in the eye-consciousness. As to the mind-consciousness-element⁹ devoid of root-conditions and accompanied by pleasant feeling, which is a result of (previous) good, there arise in it thirteen mentals together with pleasurable interest. There is the feeling of ease and the faculty of joy. This much is the distinction.

As to the mind-consciousness element¹⁰ devoid of root-conditions and accompanied by hedonic indifference, which is a result of (previous) good, its contents are just the same as those in the mind element¹¹.

The eight great resultants¹² (the eight types of the resultant consciousness accompanied by the good root-conditions belonging to the *Kāmāvacara*-class) are like the eight types of moral consciousness related to the Sensuous sphere with regard to their contents.

The resultants related to the Fine Material sphere are like the types of moral consciousness related to the same sphere as regards the mentals of which they consist.

The resultants of the Immaterial sphere are like the types of moral consciousness related to the same sphere as regards their contents.

The four supramundane resultants resemble the four types of supramundane moral consciousness with regard to their contents. In the fourth supramundane resultant-consciousness

there is the faculty of knowledge of the final knower (i.e., the knowledge 'I have completely realized'). This much is the distinction.

Thus ends the description of the mentals
of the resultants of the good.

Resultants of the immoral

⟨17⟩ The eye-consciousness, ear-consciousness, nose-consciousness, and tongue-consciousness, which arise as the resultants of the immorals resemble the same types that arise as the resultants of the morals. Here these (resultants of the immorals) arise at the meeting with disagreeable objects. This is the difference between them.

As to the body-consciousness which arises as a resultant of an immoral consciousness, it has the feeling of unease, the faculty of pain. This much is the distinction. Both the recipient consciousness and the investigating consciousness resemble their counterparts arising as results of 'the good'.

Thus end the mentals in the resultants of the immorals.

Functionals

The functional mind-element which is devoid of root-condition resembles the recipient consciousness.

In the functional mind-cognition-element-consciousness which is devoid of root-conditions and accompanied by joy, there are 15 states: contact, feeling, perception, volition, consciousness, initial application, sustained application, pleasurable interest, ease, one-pointedness of mind, effort-faculty, concentration-faculty, mind-faculty, faculty of gladness and vitality. There are three groups, namely: the group of Contact-pentad, the group of Jhāna-pentad and the group of Faculty-pentad. There are eleven unmixed terms: contact, feeling, perception, volition, consciousness, initial application, sustained application, pleasurable interest, one-pointedness of mind, effort-faculty and vitality. Of them, eight are unclassifiable: contact, perception, volition, initial application, sustained application, pleasurable interest, effort-faculty and

vitality. Three are classifiable: feeling, consciousness and one-pointedness. These are the three classifiable states. Of these, the one-pointedness of mind has three places and feeling has three places.

The functional mind-consciousness-element¹³ devoid of root-conditions and accompanied by hedonic indifference resembles these foregoing ones. This arises devoid of pleasurable interest.

The remaining types of functional consciousness arise resembling the types of moral consciousness related to the same sphere.

In the five couples of the types of Sense-consciousness, attention arises as the only 'Or-whatever'. In the remaining types of consciousness which arise as limited resultants and limited functionals, too, both deciding and attention manifest themselves.

In eight great resultants and eight great functionals and also in the types of resultants and functionals counted as the Exalted ones arise all other mentals that arise in the types of moral consciousness with the exception of three abstentions, because these latter are absolute moral states (neither resultants nor functionals). The illimitables, too, do not arise in the great resultants related to the Sensuous sphere, as the latter absolutely depend on limited (or lower) objects. Some say that compassion and sympathetic joy do not manifest themselves in the four great functionals accompanied by hedonic indifference. In the supramundane resultants, the same mentals arise as in the morals (i.e., the four types of Path-consciousness).

Thus ends the description of the mentals in functionals.

Matter

1. ⟨18⟩ The supporting element, the binding element, the maturing element and the motion-element¹⁴ — these four are called four great entities (or Primary Elements).

2. Eye-organ, ear-organ, nose-organ, tongue-organ, body-organ, colour, sound, savour, smell, faculties of femininity

and masculinity.

3. Vitality (physical), two intimations, space-element, buoyancy, pliancy, efficiency, initial genesis, and subsequent genesis, decay,

4. Impermanency (or ceasing), nutriment element, and mind-base — these 24 are called secondary (or derivative) materialities.

5. Physical strength, collocation and birth-materiality and sickness — these regarded by others as special materialities are included here in the motion-element, binding-(or watery) element, both initial and subsequent genesis and decay respectively.

6. Visible form, sound, smell, taste, supporting-element, maturing-element, and motion-element — these and the five, eye-organ and so on, —

7. These are called mutually strikings and also gross materialities. The remaining 16 are called subtle or 'non-mutual-strikers'.

8. Only the five, eye-organ, etc., are called internal material qualities. The remaining 23 are but externals.

9. The coloured form is called visible object. The others are non-visible. All these when massed together are 27 material states.

10. Eight controlling forces (of matter), and the mind-base arise only by the force of *kamma*. Two intimations arise only by the force of mind.

11. Sound arises because of mind and energy (*utu*). Buoyancy, pliancy and efficiency (or adaptability) are produced by energy, mind and nutriment.

12. Colour, smell, taste, supporting-element (or earth-element), maturing-element (or heat-element), motion-element, initial genesis, subsequent genesis, binding element, nutriment, and space are produced by all the four forces (*kamma*, mind, energy or *utu*, and food.)

13. Mind is related in helping material qualities at their arising. *Kamma* is related in helping the material qualities born of *kamma* at all the three instants of thought (birth, static and ceasing). Energy and nutriment-element are related to them in helping at their own static instant.

14. 20 material states are produced by *kamma*, 17 by mind, 15 by energy, and 14 by food.

Decay and impermanence are produced by none (of the four causes).

15. Whatever are produced both by *kamma* and mind, they (only those mental states) are found in the Immaterial sphere.

Those produced by food and energy are found in the Fine Material sphere. Material decay and impermanence are not found in the Immaterial and Fine Material spheres.

16. Gross material qualities, mind-basis, nutriment element, three controlling faculties and binding element (water-element) — these are called mutable material qualities (because their mutability is more obvious than that of others).

17. (19) Two intimations, buoyancy, efficiency, pliancy, initial genesis, subsequent genesis - these seven are the material qualities of plasticity.

18. Decay and impermanence (of matter) are called the material qualities of salient features. Space has been indicated as the one quality of limitation.

19. Material qualities of the beings in the Sensuous sphere are produced by all four means (*kamma*, etc.). Of the beings in the Fine Material sphere, the material qualities are produced by three means (*kamma*, *citta* and *utu*). Of the beings in the world of unconscious existence, material qualities are produced by two means (*kamma* and *utu*). Material qualities of inorganic existence are produced only by energy (*utu*).

20, 21. At the instant of conception the full 30 material qualities arise. At the static and cessant instants too the same thirty are there, namely: body-decad, sex-decad and mind-base-decad. Thus there are 90 material qualities there at the moment of conception, and they are all produced by *kamma*. Thus at the conception there are 90 material qualities produced by *kamma*.

22. As a sprout issues forth because of a seed, even so these embryos spring up because of semen virile, etc.

23. The consciousness next to the conceiving (or re-linking)

consciousness is called *bhavaṅga* (life-continuum). Together with it eight material qualities arise; 16 material qualities are produced by energy and nutrition (eight by each).

24. Ninety material qualities are produced by *kamma*. Thus there is the setting-up of material qualities. Depending on the nutriment produced by whatever is eaten by the mother, at the lapse of one or two days, eight material qualities as well as mind-base-decad, body-decad, and sex-decad arise.

25. In the eye-organ there are 24 material qualities, all produced by *kamma*. They all, formed into a mass, are counted as 54.

26. Then, in the ear, nose and tongue-base the material qualities spring up. In the body there arise two decads. They are produced by three (*kamma*, *āhāra* and *utu*). When counted together they are 44 material qualities.

27. The four — eye, etc., — and the mind-base — these five are the material qualities which have one place (i.e., each is produced only in its own place).

28. Body, femininity, masculinity and vitality — these are the material qualities (decads) which arise all throughout the body.

Thus ends the epitome of psycho-physical states.

LONDON

HAMMALAVA SADDHĀTISSA

Notes

- 1 *Bhūmi* = sphere. Literally *bhūmi* means sphere, but actually these are the levels of the mind.
- 2 This directs the mental concomitants toward the object.
- 3 The four "Great Essentials" (*Mahābhūta*): the elements of extension (*paṭhavi*), cohesion (*āpa*), heat (*teja*) and motion (*vāyo*). There are also four subsidiary material qualities of colour (*vaṇṇa*), smell (*gandha*), taste (*rasa*) and nutritive essence (*oja*).
- 4 Two intimations (*viññatti*), bodily and mental. By means of *viññatti* one communicates one's ideas to another and understands another's intentions. As it is performed by both action and speech, there are two *viññatti*.
- 5 There are four states or places devoid (*apa* +) of happiness or gain (*aya* is *āpāya*): (i) the downward-path or "hell" as usually translated (*niraya*); (ii) the animal kingdom (*tiracchānayoṇi*); (iii) the ghost world (*pettiv-*

saya); and (iv) the demon world (*asuranikāya*, or *asurakāya* in Burmese texts).

- 6 *Dhammārammaṇa*: the "object" that is of perception, imagination, or ideation (*mana*, *cittam*). Atthasālini 71.
- 7 This means deciding, agitation and others (delusion, impudence, recklessness, agitation, and eleven unmoral mentals except desire-to-do and pleasurable interest — all these 15 mentals arise in this consciousness).
- 8 This is the *sampañcchana-citta* in the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha.
- 9 This is the *somanassa-sahagata-santiraṇa-citta* in the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha.
- 10 This is the *upekkhā-sahagata-santiraṇa-citta* in the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha.
- 11 There are three mind-elements (*mano-dhātutika*): *pañcadvārāvajjana* and two *sampañcchanas*.
- 12 The eight resultants with root-conditions of the *Kāmāvacara* class are called great resultants.
- 13 This is *pañcadvārāvajjana-citta* in the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha.
- 14 Literally Earth-element, Water-element, Heat-element and Wind-element.

PĀLI LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDIES IV¹
ELEVEN PĀLI ETYMOLOGIES

Here is another random collection of words which are either omitted from PED,² or given an incorrect meaning or etymology there.

1. *akkhi(n)* 'gambler'

2. *ajjhābhava* 'losing throw'

Lüders dealt at length with the playing of dice in ancient India.³ He did not mention what appears to be a reference to dice-playing at Ja II 357,6*:

*yena mittena saṃsaggā yogakkhemo vihiṃsati*⁴
pubbe v' ajjhābhavan tassa rakkhe akkhiva paṇḍito.

Rouse translated: 'What time the nearness of a bosom friend threatens your peace to end, if you are wise, guard your supremacy like the apple of your eye'.⁵ It is, however, clear that this cannot be correct. It is 'his supremacy' (*tassa ajjhābhavaṃ*), as the commentator makes clear: *tassa pāpamittassa ajjhābhavaṃ* (357,15'). Here, then, the root *rakkh-* has the meaning not of 'guard' in the sense of 'protect', but of 'ward off, guard against', as in *mano-padosaṃ rakkheyya* 'one should ward off fault(s) of the mind'⁶ (Sn 702).

This being so, the sense is not appropriate if we take *ajjhābhavaṃ* as parallel to *akkhī*. It might be suggested that the author of the verse is taking the second element of the comparison in the more usual sense of *rakkh-*, giving the two different senses in close proximity: 'guard against an evil friend as you guard your eyes', but this would seem to imply a degree of maladroitness on the author's part. The commentator does not help greatly, except that *ajjhābhavaṃ* is explained as *tena abhibhavitabbaṃ*,⁷ i.e. it is assumed that there is little difference between the verbs *adhy-ā-bhū-* and *abhi-bhū-*.

I would suggest that the answer to the problem lies in the realisation that *rakkhe* has the same meaning in both parts of the comparison, and the parallel is between the *paṇḍita* who

must ward off the *ajjhābhava* of a bad friend, and the *akkhī* who must also ward off *ajjhābhava*. If, following the commentator, we equate the verbs *adhy-ā-bhū-* and *abhibhū-*, and remember that *abhibhū* is the name of a throw at dice, then we see the possibility of deriving *akkhī* from **akṣi(n)* ‘one who possesses dice, a gambler’. According to Lüders, *abhibhū* equals *kali* ‘the losing throw’.⁸ This gives an insight into the way in which the throws were regarded. ‘The losing throw’ (as we would see it) is the throw which makes you the loser, i.e. the throw which defeats you, overcomes you (= *abhibhū* ‘conqueror’). If we assume that *ajjhābhava* has the same meaning as *abhibhū*, then the verse gives the meaning ‘one should ward off the losing throw’.⁹ For the non-gambling sense, there must be some meaning closer to the original one, such as ‘onslaught, state of being superior’.

3. *anugīyanti* ‘they are recited’

This word appears in the (interpolated)¹⁰ rubric *tattha sikkhānugīyanti* at Sn 940. There are three v.11. listed in the Ee of Sn:¹¹ *-kriyanti*, *-griyanti* and *-grīyanti*, all from Burmese MSS.¹² The phrase *sikkhānugīyanti* is also quoted at Sadd 923,21 in the form *sikkhā na grīyanti* as an example of a word including *-r-*, which is appropriate to the *Māgadhiḥā bhāsā*.¹³

In an examination of consonant groups containing *-r-* in Pāli, von Hinüber has suggested¹⁴ that this form with *-r-* arose from a miswriting of the word *anugīyanti* as *anaguīyanti*, by metathesis of the *u-mātrā*. The akṣara *gu* was then misinterpreted as *gra*, and von Hinüber gives other examples of this type of misinterpretation in an older form of the Sinhalese script.¹⁵ The resultant form was then written as *anagrīyanti*. A variant of this appears in a Sinhalese MS of Nidd I (see below) as *anagriyanti*.¹⁶ The restoration of the preverb *anu-* led to the form *anugrīyanti*.¹⁷ This explanation has the merit that it explains how the reading *sikkhā na grīyanti* in Sadd came into being, but even so I cannot accept it. It would seem impossible that a scribe could metathesise the akṣaras *nu gī* into *na guī*, because the need to write an initial *ī-* in the middle of a word would have made it clear to

him that he was making a mistake. Such an explanation shows the dangers of working out possible sound changes in the Roman script, where a metathesis of this kind does not seem unreasonable.

I should rather propose an explanation on the following lines. It seems that the passive verb *anugīy-* is very rare in Pāli,¹⁸ and it perhaps happened that a ‘Sanskritising’ scribe thought that it was to be derived from the root *gr-* rather than from *gā-*. He accordingly ‘Sanskritised’ it to *-griy-*. Part of the scribal tradition changed this to *-griy-* because of the analogy with *-kriy-*, etc., while another part of the tradition did not recognise *-griy-*, and actually replaced it by *-kriy-*. If I do not accept von Hinüber’s explanation, then I have to explain the way in which the reading quoted in Sadd came into being. It seems possible that if the passive verb *anugīy-* was not common in Pāli, then the scribal tradition might have taken the received phrase *sikkhānugīyanti* and divided it as *sikkhā nu gīyanti*. In this context *nu* gave the sense of a question ‘are they recited?’. This was replaced by *na*, giving the sense of a negative question ‘are they not recited?’.

The v.11. are as follows (besides the v.11. quoted from Ee of Sn above): In the quotation of Sn 940 at Nidd I 420,7, Ee quotes no v.1., but in the lemma at 420,12 and again at 420,23 there is the v.1. *sikkhānagriyanti* from Sinhalese MS S. At Nidd I 432,15 we find *sikkhānugīyanti*, without v.1. There is no hint of either *na* or *nu* in the exegesis in Nidd I, but the lemma is *gīyanti*,¹⁹ not *anugīyanti*. There is, however, a v.1. for the first of the explanatory forms: *nigīyanti* for *gīyanti*, which perhaps indicates a tradition which, faced with the form *sikkhānugīyanti*, interpreted it as *sikkhā nigīyanti*. Nidd-a I 432,18–19 (without v.1) explains: *sikkhā kathīyanti uggayhanti*, which seems to be following Pj II 567,12 (also without v.1.): *aneka-sikkhā kathīyanti uggayhanti vā*. Both texts give *sikkhānugīyanti* in the lemma, without v.1.

4. *anuvicca* ‘having discerned’

As Brough pointed out,²⁰ there has been a strong reluctance to accept the view of some Pāli commentators that *anuvicca* is to be derived from the verb *anu-vid-*, e.g. at Sn

530, in a context with the word *anuvidito*, where Pj II 431,13 explains: *anu-viditvā*. Brough pointed out that in Gāndhāri Dharmapada 241 *añu'ija* occurs where Pāli Dh 229 has *anuvicca*, glossed as *jānitvā* at Dh-p-a III 329,7. By assigning *anuvicca* to the group of 'hyper-Palisms' exemplified by such words as *pāceti* (< *pra-aj-*) and *manta* (< *manda*), he postulated a parallelism between the Pāli and the Gāndhāri words, although he also hinted²¹ at a belief that a connection might have been seen with **anu-vicya*, on the analogy with *vi-vicya* 'having discerned'.

The parallelism is not, however, as close as Brough suggested. Although hyper-Palisms are not rare, in which a voiced consonant seems to have been interpreted as being a loan from a dialect which voiced unvoiced consonants, and was therefore unvoiced, this only happens in circumstances where voicing happens as a normal rule. The voicing of geminate consonants is very rare, and as a rule seems only to happen in the case of *-tṭ-/-tṭh-* > *-dd-/-ddh-*,²² and perhaps *-kkh-* > *-ggh-*.²³ I know of no example of *-cc-* being voiced to *-jj-*, and if this is so, then there was no reason why a scribe finding a word containing *-jj-* in his exemplar should have thought that it was voiced from *-cc-*, and should consequently have wished to "restore" it to its "original" form. This would in any case seem extremely inappropriate in respect of the word **anuvijja*, which should have been immediately recognisable.

If we reject *anu-vidya* as the etymology, we are left with the other suggestions which have been made. Some depend upon haplogy: **anuvicicca* (perhaps through *anuviyicca*?) or *anuvivicca*. More straightforward would be **anuvicya*, as Brough suggested, or a derivation from the verb *anu-i-*. Brough, however, doubted the latter, on the grounds that the recorded senses of *anveti* did not fit the verse.²⁴ Monier-Williams gives 'reached by the mind, understood' as meanings for the past participle *anv-ita*,²⁵ and if these could be accepted for the other verbal forms then a derivation from *anu-i-* would seem to be satisfactory. We could then postulate a form **anuv-itya* with a svarabhakti vowel, or if we saw a derivation from *anu-vi-i-* (which exists in Sanskrit,

but with a different meaning)²⁶ we could postulate **anu-vi-itya* > *anu-vīya* > *anuvicca*. The past participle would be *anu-vi-ita* > *anu-vīta*, or possibly *anu-vi-y-ita*, with a sandhi *-y-*.²⁷ It could well be that *anu-vidita* is a hyper-form derived from *anu-vi-y-ita*.

It would seem likely that *anuvicca* is to be connected with the Ardha-Māgadhī words *añuvū*, *añuvū*, *añuvūti* and *añuvūtiya*.²⁸ These are alleged to be derived from *anuvicint-*,²⁹ but this would seem to be impossible, as Schubring stated.³⁰ He derived them from *anuvici-*, and took *añuvū(ya)* as being for **anuviciya*. Pischel quotes³¹ also *anucintya* and *vicārya* from the scholiasts, but rejects the idea that we are dealing with an absolute. He suggests that *añuvū* is an adverb, to be derived from **anuvūti*, with the meaning 'deeply, etc.'. On the other hand, if we assume that *añuvi(t)iya* is derived from a svarabhakti form of **anuvitya*, which is a svarabhakti form of *anvitya*, then a derivation from *anveti* would be possible for both the Pāli and the Ardha-Māgadhī forms.

It would then seem probable that the Gāndhāri redactor did not recognise the word (presumably *anuvicca*) which he received in his exemplar. He assumed that it was to be derived from the same verb as the word *anuviditvā* by which it was sometimes explained in the commentarial tradition, and therefore replaced *anuvicca* by *añu'ija* from *anuvidya*.

5. *gotra-bhū* 'supporting or destroying the religious family'

PED suggests that the etymology for this word is: *gotr* = *gottr*, Skt *gotr* to *gup* + *bhū*. The translation given by PED is, however, 'become of the lineage'. Brough pointed out³² the inconsistency of this etymology and translation. He noted that if the etymology were correct, a *gotra-bhū* would be one who had come under the protection of the Buddha. This explanation is, however, not free from difficulties. Whatever the etymology, there is no doubt that the word *gotra* in Pāli quickly acquired the sense of Skt *gotra*, and *gotra-bhū* seems to have been used in the sense of one who had become a member of the Buddhist community, one who had become converted to Buddhism, but had not yet 'entered on the stream'.

In a very detailed investigation of the word, Ruegg decided³³ that *gotra* meant 'spiritual lineage', and he seemed to accept that *-bhū* was from the root *bhū-*, since he was content to translate the compound as '(one) having the state of the lineage'. At a later date von Hinüber³⁴ and Wijesekera³⁵ published, almost simultaneously, parallel suggestions that *gotra-bhū* was to be derived from *gotra-han*, translating 'das Geschlecht vernichtend'³⁶ and 'one who discards his worldly (lit. clan) status'³⁷ respectively. This suggestion for the etymology was based upon the development of *bhūnahu* from *bhrūnahan*,³⁸ and *vatrabhū* from *vṛtrahan*, as Fausbøll suggested long ago.³⁹ Ruegg has re-examined⁴⁰ the matter in the light of this suggestion, and has pointed out that the proposed meaning, while not inappropriate for the use of the word in most contexts, does not seem to solve all the problems of its usage.

One problem is that, although for the most part the word is used in a good sense, in one context in the Pāli canon it is used in a bad sense. This leads to the need to decide upon the meaning of *gotra*. Is it the secular family which one leaves in order to become a Buddhist? In this sense to be a *gotra-bhū* would be good. Can it be the religious family which one joins when one becomes a Buddhist? In this sense to be a *gotra-bhū* would be a bad thing. It is possible that the two senses of *gotra* gave rise to the usage of the word *gotra-bhū* in both a good and a bad sense.

Ruegg, however, has given sufficient evidence⁴¹ to show that at a later time, at least, *gotra* is used in the religious sense. If we could take this as certain, then it would be possible to explain the two different usages of *gotra-bhū* as being due to the fact that we are dealing with two quite different words. One, that used in a bad sense, is the word which has the meaning 'the destroyer of the religious family'. The other could be based upon the root *bhū-*, but I should prefer to follow another etymology, which is rejected by von Hinüber⁴² in favour of the one he adopts. In the next section of this article I shall be dealing with the word *pāṇa-bhū* < *prāṇa-bhrt*, and I suggest that the favourable sense of *gotra-bhū* is based upon a development from *gotra-bhrt* 'supporting

the (religious) family'. Although von Hinüber mentions *gotra-bhrt*,⁴³ he does so only as a variant for *gotra-bhid*.

If this suggestion is correct, there were at an earlier stage of the language two separate words: *gotra-han* 'destroying the family' and *gotra-bhrt* 'supporting the family'. The former developed into *gotra-ha* and then *gotra-hu*, with the change of *-a* to *-u* found in several monosyllabic words in Pāli, e.g. *kataññu* < *kṛtajña* and *pāragu* < *pāraga*, and the latter into *gotra-bhū*. The alternation *bh/h*, found so commonly in *bhavati/hoti*, then led to the change of the former to *gotra-bhū*, which was identical with the latter.

Ruegg points out⁴⁴ that in BHS *gotrabhū* seems to refer to a place (= *gotra-bhūmi*). It is possible that the same meaning is to be seen in the Pāli compounds *āgotrabhum* and *āgotrabhūto*⁴⁵ (= the ablative in *-to*). If this is so, then these two words are not connected with either of the *gotra-bhū* words I have been discussing.

6. *pāṇabhū*, *pāṇabhūta* 'a living creature'

PED lists both these words, but does not give an etymology for them. Helmer Smith gave⁴⁶ the etymology of the first as *prāṇa-bhrt* 'bearing life'. When this word occurs as *pāṇa-bhuno*, in agreement with *sabbesaṃ* (i.e. as a genitive plural) at Ja IV 494,27*, it is explained by the commentator as *pāṇa-bhūtānaṃ* (498,6'). This explanation seems to be based upon a belief that the second part of the compound is from the root *bhū-*, i.e. 'being a living creature'.

The word *pāṇa-bhūta* itself occurs at Sn 146: *ye keci pāṇabhūt' atthi*, where Pj I 245,11 explains: *pāṇā eva bhūtā pāṇabhūtā*. It was suggested by von Hinüber⁴⁷ that an Eastern form *-bhune* underlies *-bhūtā*, but a simpler explanation is to assume that there were two developments of *-bhrt* in MIA: one showing the loss of the final *-t* and the change of *-r-* > *-u-*, i.e. *-bhu*, and the other showing the addition of a thematic *-a* to the consonant, i.e. *-bhuta*. The same alternative development is to be seen in MIA *dhanu* and *dhanuha* (< **dhanusa*) from *dhanuṣ*. The change of *-bhuta* to *-bhūta* was perhaps due to the belief that *pāṇa-bhū* contained the root *bhū-* (as noted above). It is also possible that the form

represents the generalisation of a spelling which arose for metrical reasons. There is a v.1. *-bhut'* at Sn 146, but the correct reading there must be *-bhūt'*, since this is confirmed by the metre, which is old āryā/gīti.⁴⁸

The reading of Ee at Ap 152,4 can hardly be correct: *pāṇabhūtaṃ bhayaṃ n' atthi*. There is no v.1. listed in Ee. Be and Ce 1961⁴⁹ read *-bhūte*; Ce 1930⁵⁰ reads *-bhūnaṃ*, which seems more satisfactory as representing the genitive plural ending of a stem in *-u* derived < *-r(t)*. The genitive plural *-bhuno* at Ja IV 494,27* (see above) probably shows the shortening of *-ū-* for metrical reasons. There are other examples of genitive plural forms in *-o*.⁵¹

7. *rattaññu*⁵² 'senior, superior'

This word commonly occurs in contexts with *cira-pabbajita*. It is explained at Sv 143,10–11 (*ad D I 48,2*) as: *pabbajjato paṭṭhāya atikkantā bahū rattiyo jānāti*, and at Pj II 423,32 – 424,2 (*ad Sn p. 92,22*) as: *nibbānaratanam jānāma mayan ti evaṃ sakāya paṭiññāya lokenāpi sammataḥ bahurattividū vā*. This indicates that the commentaries analysed the compound as being from *ratta* (= *ratna* or *rātra*) + *-ññu* (= *-jña*), with *ratna* taken as *nibbāna*, and *rātra* being interpreted as referring to the number of nights (= days) which had elapsed since the bhikkhu's ordination (*rattiyo jānantī ti rattaññū, attano pabbajitadivasato paṭṭhāya pahūtā rattiyo jānantī*, Sp 193,27–29). That the element *-ññu* (whatever its origin) shows the same change of declension from *-a* to *-u* as *-jña* does to *-ññu* is shown by the fact that the plural ending is *-ññā* in a context with *aggaññā* and *vamsaññā* at A II 27,16, which is glossed: *rattaññā ti dīgharattam pavattā ti jānitabbā* (Mp III 45,10–11). Sadd 634,1 lists *rattaññu* as optionally taking both *-o* and *-u* as the nominative singular ending.

It seems likely that the interpretations based upon the words *ratna* or *rātra* are the products of folk etymology, although it must be noted that the BHS tradition followed the explanation based upon *rātra*, and produced the back-formation *rātrijña*.⁵³ I would agree with Mme Caillat⁵⁴ that the word is to be connected with the Ardha-Māgadhī word *rāñiya*, which is to be separated from the homonym *rāñiya*

(< *rājanya*) 'royal, related to a king'. The former is explained as being derived from **rātnika*, which seems not to occur in Skt, interpreted as: *ratnāni jñānādini tair ādhikyena caratī ti*, and translated as: 'one who is older in initiation or merits such as knowledge'.⁵⁵ PSM gives⁵⁶ two meanings: (1) *cāritra vālā, saṃyamī*; (2) *paryāya se jyeṣṭha, sādhitva-prāpti kī avasthā se barā*. Jacobi translates as 'superior',⁵⁷ and gives the equivalence *rātnika = jyeṣṭha*.⁵⁸

If the origin were **rātnika*, then it would not seem possible to derive the Pāli form from it, and I would rather suggest that the origin is **rātnya*. With a svarabhakti vowel, this would give **rātniya*, from which Jain Skt *rātnika* would be a back-formation. With another svarabhakti vowel we would get **rātaniya*, which could develop to **rāyaniya* and then, with palatalisation of *-a-* > *-i-* after *-y-*,⁵⁹ to *rā(y)iniya*. This would give the Ardha-Māgadhī form *rāñiya*. The Pāli form would be derived from **rātnya* with a different svarabhakti vowel, giving **rātanya* > **rātañña*, and then with the alternation *rāt-/ratt-* seen in the doublet *rātī* < *rātrī* but *ratta* < *rātra*, **rātañña* was replaced by *rattañña*. The development of the ending *-a* > *-u* is parallel to *-jña* > *-ññu*. Another example of *-ñña* becoming *-ññu*, although not derived from *-jña*, can be seen in *vadaññu* < Skt *vadānya*,⁶⁰ cf. (*a*)*vadāniya* with a svarabhakti vowel.

The original meaning of *rattaññu* would therefore have been 'possessing jewels', which was then interpreted in a religious sense, probably 'possessing the jewels of the teaching'. A trace of this meaning perhaps lies behind the commentary upon the Buddha's statement that Aññakoṇḍañña was the topmost of the bhikkhus who were *rattaññu* (A I 23,17), just as Mahāpajāpati Gotamā was the topmost of the bhikkhunīs (A I 25,18). The commentary explains in the usual way: *rattaññūnan ti rattiyo jānantānam* (Mp I 135,5 foll.), and goes on to say that, as he was the Buddha's first follower: *cirakālam rattiyo jānāti ti rattaññu sabbapaṭhamam dhammassa paṭividdhattā*.

8. *vāri* 'restraint'

PED lists *vāri* in the sense of 'water' only, and includes

under this heading the four compounds of the word with *-vārita*, *-yuta*, *-dhuta* and *-phuṭa* which are found in a list of Jain practices⁶¹ at D I 57,27–29 (where the word occurs in the form *vāri*-) and M I 377,1–2. The commentaries explain: *sabba-vāri-vārito cā ti vārita-sabba-udako, paṭikkhitta-sabba-sītodako ti attho. so kira sītodake satta-saññī hoti, tasmā taṃ na vaḷañjēti. sabba-vāri-yuto ti sabbena pāpa-vāraṇena yutto. sabba-vāri-dhuto ti sabbena pāpa-vāraṇena dhuta-pāpo. sabba-vāri-phuṭṭho ti sabbena pāpa-vāraṇena phuṭṭho* (Sv 168,1–6 = Ps III 58,22 – 59,3 = Spk I 127,1–8 [ad S I 66,17 ‘*cātu-yāma-susamvuto*’]). In Ps, but not the other two commentaries, there is an addition at the end of the explanation of the first compound: *atha vā sabba-vāri-vārito ti sabbena pāpa-vāraṇena vārita-pāpo*.

Rhys Davids translated:⁶² ‘. . . restrained with a fourfold self-restraint: . . . restrained as regards all water; restrained as regards all evil; all evil has he washed away; and he lives suffused with the sense of evil held at bay’. Miss Horner translated:⁶³ ‘Controlled by the control of the fourfold watch: he is wholly restrained in regard to water; he is bent on warding off all evil; he has shaken off all evil; he is permeated with the (warding off) of all evil’. Basham too includes⁶⁴ a reference to ‘water’ in the first restraint.

It is clear that there are problems in translating in this way, the most important being the fact that it entails taking *vāri* in the first restraint in a different sense from the others, which is doubtless why Ps gives the alternative explanation. Although Franke accepted the difference, and thought there was a deliberate word-play,⁶⁵ others have sought translations which avoided the difference. Mrs Rhys Davids stated⁶⁶ that all four restrictions applied to the use of water, a special Jain austerity, to avoid injuring the sattas or living souls there might be in it. Dalsukh Malvania stated⁶⁷ that *vāri* must have the sense of ‘sin’ in each compound, although I do not know his reasons for so saying. Nāṇamoli translated:⁶⁸ ‘Curbed by all curbs, clamped by all curbs, cleansed by all curbs, and claimed by all curbs’. It seems to me that this is on the right lines, and since at D I 57,26–27 we find the words *cātu-yāma-*

saṃvara-saṃvuto and *sabba-vāri-vārito* in close proximity, we should take *vāri* as coming from the same root as *vārita*, and therefore having the same meaning as *vāraṇa*.

I therefore take the first compound to mean ‘restrained by all restraints’; the second to mean ‘fastened (or yoked) by (or to) all restraints’; I take the correct form of the fourth to be *-phuṭṭho*, which is the past participle of the verb *phasseti*, used of causing something unpleasant to impinge upon oneself.⁶⁹ The translation is therefore ‘subjected to all restraints’. In the third compound *dhuta* usually means ‘shaken off’, which is why the commentary explains it as ‘having evil shaken off by the restraint of evil’, but the analysis of the compound, with *-dhuta* at the end, is not easy. It may be that *dhuta* is here a variant of *dhota* ‘washed clean by the restraints’, which is how Nāṇamoli seems to be taking it. We might also think of a derivation from *dhṛta* ‘supported by all the restraints’. These last two explanations both involve taking *dhuta* in ways not quoted in PED. We might perhaps think that *dhuta* is a mistake for *vuta*, for other examples of the alternation *dh/v* can be quoted.⁷⁰ If this is the explanation, then we must note that the mistake is older than Buddhaghosa, who was clearly reading *dhuta*.

The existence of the word *vāri* in the required sense is supported by the phrase *savva-vārihiṃ vārie* at Isibhāsiyāim 29.19, for which Schubring gives ‘Absonderung’ as the meaning in his first German translation,⁷¹ and ‘segregation’ in the English translation,⁷² but ‘von allen Pforten’ in the second German translation,⁷³ taking *vārihiṃ* as the equivalent of *vārehiṃ* < *dvāra*. In a set of slips sent by Bollée for the second edition of PED it is suggested that each compound should be changed to *sabba-vāre vārito*, etc., and translated as ‘restrained (*vārita*), liberating oneself (*dhuta*), bound up in (*phuṭa/phuṭṭha*) and engaged (*yuta*) in a general restraint (or act of restraining)’. It may well be that this is the correct way to translate the compounds, but I do not see any need to change the readings. Rather than change both Pāli and Prakrit *vāri* to *vāra* (assuming a coincidental error or corruption in both traditions?), it seems better to retain the

reading *vāri*. If this can be taken in the sense of *vāra* (not in PED) = *vāraṇa*, then each compound can, as it stands, be translated in the required way.

9. *vuṇhi* 'fire'

This word occurs four times in Pañca-g.⁷⁴ PED states that it must be meant for *v-unha* and *v' unhena*, and refers the reader to *unha* (< Skt *uṣṇa*). Elsewhere in this journal, however, Mrs Hazlewood very rightly points out⁷⁵ the connection with Skt *vahni* 'fire'. With the metathesis of *-h-* and *-n-*, and the common Prakrit retroflexion of *-n- > -ṇ-*, the word occurs in Prakrit in the form *vanhi*.⁷⁶ The Pāli form shows the further development of the labialisation of *-a- > -u-* after *-v-*.⁷⁷ We can therefore deduce that in all probability the word was borrowed into Pāli from a Prakrit where the retroflexion of *-n-* took place.

10. *santhana* 'loosening, untying'

PED states that this word is to be derived from the root *śam-*, and compares Skt *śāntvana*. Mrs Margaret Cone⁷⁸ has drawn my attention to the fact that the equivalent verse in Nakatani's unpublished edition⁷⁹ of the Udāna-v (137) has *śra(n)thana*, which makes it clear that the Pāli word is to be derived from Skt (lex.) *śranthana*, from the root *śranth-* 'to loosen'. Mrs Cone also points out that the various versions of the verse found at Dhp 275 have a variety of synonyms for the compound *salla-santhana*. The Patna Dharmapada (359)⁸⁰ has *-sraṃsana* (cf. Skt *śalya-sraṃsana*);⁸¹ Bernhard's edition⁸² of Udāna-v (12.9–10) has *kṛntana*. This reading, in the Pāli form *kantana*, is found in the Be of Dhp and Dhp-a, where the gloss is: *salla-santhanān* (Be *-kantānān*) *ti rāga-sallādīnaṃ santhanāṃ* (Be *kantānaṃ*) *nimmanthanāṃ abbāhanāṃ* (Dhp-a III 404,2–4). It is interesting to note that it is Be which agrees with the BHS version, which raises questions, not easily answered, about the precise relationship between the various Buddhist literary traditions.

The word *santhana* also occurs at Vv 18.6, where we find: *kāmaṃ bhijjatu yaṃ kāyo n' eva atth' ettha santhanāṃ*. PED gives the meaning 'satisfaction' for this context. The passage

is glossed as: *n' eva atthi me viriyassa santhanāṃ sītala-karaṇāṃ* in Ee (Vv-a 95,11), but with *sithili-karaṇāṃ* in Be and Ce. It is clear that the meaning here too is 'slackening'.

11. *sothāna* 'safety'

For this word PED compares Skt *svastyayana*, and states that at Ja IV 75,8* and V 29,2*–3* the metre requires *sothayanāṃ*. This is not strictly true, since in all three occurrences we are dealing with a long syllable appearing in place of the expected short sixth and seventh syllables in a Triṣṭubh pāda. This variation is found elsewhere.⁸³ It is, however, noteworthy that *sothāna* is to be derived from *sothayana*, with the contraction of *-aya- > -ā-*, as Lüders pointed out,⁸⁴ in place of the more usual *-e-*.⁸⁵ This development was regarded by Alsdorf as being an Eastern characteristic.⁸⁶

It is also noteworthy that in *sothāna* we have the development of the consonant group *-sty- > -tth-*, and not *> -cch-*, as would be expected. The expected development is found in Patna Dharmapada *sacchayana* (370), where *sva-* has developed to *sa-*, whereas in Pāli it has developed to *so-*. This is possibly because of a samprasāraṇa form *su-* replacing *sva-*,⁸⁶ but it is more likely that *-v-* labialised the following *-a- > -u-*⁸⁷ before it was assimilated to the preceding *s-*. In either case the resultant *-u-* was written as *-o-* (pronounced as *-ō-*) before the geminate consonant.

It is possible that the *-cch-/tth-* alternation is simply scribal,⁸⁸ but there are examples which lead us to believe that the assimilation of a dental consonant + *-y-* to a geminate dental group rather than to a palatal consonant group was probably a dialect feature.⁸⁹

CAMBRIDGE

K. R. NORMAN

Notes

1 See K.R. Norman, 'Pāli Lexicographical Studies III', in *JPTS* 1985, pp. 23–36.

2 Abbreviations are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenckner: *A Critical Pāli*

- Dictionary, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924–48 (= CPD). In addition: BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Skt; Skt = Sanskrit; MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan; PTC = *Pāli Tipitakam Concordance*; Be = Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition; Ce = Simon Hewavitarne Bequest edition, unless otherwise stated; Ee = PTS edition; CDIAL = *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*.
- 3 H. Lüders, 'Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien', in *Philologica Indica*, Göttingen 1940, pp. 106–75.
- 4 Ee so (v.1. *vihiyati*); Be *vihiyati*; Ce as Ee; Se *vihiyate*. The commentary explains it as *parihāyati* (357,14'). We should probably read *-hiyy- or hiy-*.
- 5 *The Jātaka* Vol. II, translated by W.H.D. Rouse, Cambridge 1895, p. 245.
- 6 K.R. Norman, *The Group of Discourses*, London 1984, p. 118.
- 7 *tassa pāpamittassa ajjhābhavan, tena abhībhavittabham attano lābhaya-sajivitaṃ, yathā naṃ so na ajjhābhavati tathā paṭhamataram eva attano akkhī viya paṇḍito puriso rakkheyya* (357,14'–17'): 'Your wealth, fame and livelihood which are to be overcome by him, first protect as a wise man his own eyes, so that he may not overcome (them)'.
- 8 Lüders, *op. cit.* (in n. 3), p. 146: 'so kann auch . . . *abhībhū* nur der *kali* sein; . . . *abhībhū* sicherlich den *kali* bezeichnet; . . . sind also *kali*, *abhībhū*, *akṣarāja* und *nardita* Synonyma'.
- 9 Elsewhere we read of the gambler 'hiding' the losing throw, rather than 'warding it off': *attano pana chādeti kalim va kitavā saṭho* (Dhp 252).
- 10 See H. Smith, Sadd p. 1172: 'on notera que la rubrique . . . s'est adaptée aux mesures qui l'entourent' (8.9.2).
- 11 Sn p. 183 n. 10.
- 12 Despite this, Be reads *anugīyanti*, although it mentions the v.1. *anukiriyanti*.
- 13 *krubbati krubbantī ti ādīni ca grīyati grīyantī ti ādīni ca padāni Māgadhiḥā bhāsā eva: 'tapo idha krubbati; tatthā sikkhā na grīyantī' ti pāḍidassanato* (Sadd 923,20–23).
- 14 O. von Hinüber, *Notes on the Pāli Tradition in Burma*, NAWG 1983, Nr. 3, Göttingen 1983, p. 72.
- 15 *ibid.*, pp. 72–73.
- 16 Nidd I 420,12. It is not strictly true to say that the reading of the Sinhalese MS is *anagriyanti*. It is rather *sikkhānagriyanti*, with some doubt about the word division.
- 17 von Hinüber, *op. cit.* (in n.14), p. 72.
- 18 This is the only example of the passive quoted in either CPD or PTC.
- 19 Nidd I 420,15.
- 20 J. Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London 1962, p. 250 (*ad v.* 241).
- 21 *ibid.*, p. 251.
- 22 H. Lüders, *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, Berlin 1954, §§ 151–58.
- 23 *ibid.*, §§ 149–50, although Turner (CDIAL § 13080) gives a different

- etymology for *sagghasi*, while *jagghati* may represent a dialect development of *-kṣ- > -ggh-* (cf. Skt *jajjhat-* 'laughing', showing the development of *-kṣ- > -jjh-*).
- 24 Brough, *op. cit.* (in n. 20), p. 251.
- 25 MW, p. 47, s.v. *anv-i*.
- 26 MW, p. 39, s.v. *anu-vī*.
- 27 Cf. the suggestion that *upagate* in the Maski version of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict I is due to a comparable 'restoration' of a consonant for a glide *-y-* (K.R. Norman, 'Some aspects of the phonology of the Prakrit underlying the Aśokan inscriptions', in *BSOAS XXXIII*, 1970, p. 137).
- 28 Intervocalic *-t-* is unlikely to survive in Ardha-Māgadhi, and probably represents a scribal 'restoration'. The writing of inorganic *-t-* in this way is common in the Jain scribal tradition.
- 29 See Pandit H.D.T. Sheth, *Pāiasaddamahāṇavo*, Calcutta 1928, s.v. *aṇuvū* etc.
- 30 W. Schubring, *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, Leipzig 1910, Index s.v. 2 *ci*.
- 31 R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen*, Strassburg 1900, § 593.
- 32 J. Brough, *The early Brahmanical system of gotra and pravara*, Cambridge 1953, p. 6.
- 33 D. Seyfort Ruegg, 'Pāli *gotta/gotra* and the term *gotrabhū* in Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit', in L. Cousins et al. (ed.): *Buddhist Studies in honour of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht 1974, pp. 199–210.
- 34 O. von Hinüber, 'Gotrabhū: Die sprachliche Vergeschichte eines philosophischen Terminus', in *ZDMG* 128, 1978, pp. 326–32.
- 35 O.H. de A. Wijesekera, 'The etymology of Pāli Gotrabhū', in A.K. Narain: *Studies in Pāli and Buddhism*, Delhi 1979, pp. 381–82.
- 36 von Hinüber, *op. cit.* (in n. 34), p. 331.
- 37 Wijesekera, *op. cit.* (in n. 35), p. 382.
- 38 See Baburam Saksena, 'Pāli *bhūnahu*', in *BSOS* VIII, 1936, pp. 713–14.
- 39 See Ja V 153 n. 3 *ad* 153,2*.
- 40 D. Seyfort Ruegg, 'A further note on Pāli *gotrabhū*', in *JPTS* 1981, pp. 175–77.
- 41 Ruegg, *op. cit.* (in n. 33), p. 204.
- 42 von Hinüber, *op. cit.* (in n. 34), p. 331 n. 16.
- 43 *ibid.*, p. 331 n. 19.
- 44 Ruegg, *op. cit.* (in n. 33), pp. 206–7.
- 45 CPD Vol. II, p. 27 s.vv. *ā-gotrabhūṃ, ā-gotrabhūto*.
- 46 See Sadd, Index p. 1594 s.v. *pāṇa*.
- 47 von Hinüber, *op. cit.* (in n. 34), p. 331 n. 16.
- 48 L. Alsdorf, *Die Āryā-Strophen des Pāli-Kanons*, Mainz 1968, p. 252 [10] prefers the former name, while A.K. Warder, *Pāli Metre*, London 1967, p. 139 prefers the latter.
- 49 Buddha Jayanti Tripitaka Series, Ceylon 1960.
- 50 Ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, Colombo 1930.
- 51 See K.R. Norman, 'Pāli and the language of the heretics', in *AO* 37 (1976), pp. 121–24.

- 52 The reading *rataññū* at D II 77,8 must be a misprint in Ee; the other editions read *ratt-*.
- 53 See E. Waldschmidt, *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Teil II, Berlin 1951, p. 122, § 2.10.
- 54 See C. Caillat, *Pour une nouvelle grammaire du pāli*, Turin 1970, p. 15, referring to W. Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas*, Berlin and Leipzig 1935, p. 159 n. 3.
- 55 See Ratnachandraji, *An illustrated Ardha-Māgadhī Dictionary*, Vol. IV. s.v. *rāñia*.
- 56 See Sheth, *op. cit.* (in n. 29), s.v. *rāñia*.
- 57 'The young monk should ask forgiveness of the superior, and the superior of the young monk': *sehe rāñiyaṃ khāmijjā. rāñie vi sehaṃ khāmijjā* (Kalpasūtra, Sāmācārī § 59).
- 58 H. Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, Leipzig 1879, Glossary s.v. *rāñiya*.
- 59 See K.R. Norman, 'The palatalisation of vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan', *JOI* (Baroda), Vol. XXV, pp. 328–42.
- 60 PED wrongly refers it to Skt *vadāñiya*.
- 61 It is interesting to note that of all the versions of the teachings of the six heretics known to us, only the Pāli version mentions the four restraints. See G. MacQueen, 'The doctrines of the six heretics according to the Śrāmaṇyaphala Sūtra', in *IIIJ* 27 (1984), p. 296.
- 62 T.W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, London 1910, p. 74.
- 63 I.B. Horner, *Middle Length Sayings*, Vol. II, London 1957, pp. 41–42.
- 64 A.L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājivikas*, London 1951, p. 16.
- 65 See R.O. Franke, *Dīghanikāya*, Göttingen 1913, p. 61 n. 3.
- 66 Mrs C.A.F. Rhys Davids, *Kindred Sayings*, Vol. I, London 1917, p. 91 n. 1. What she calls there the substitution of precepts by the Buddha represents, in fact, the standard Jain usage.
- 67 In *Kshetresa Chandra Chattopadhyaya Felicitation Volume*, Allahabad 1972, which was reviewed by M.A. Mehendale in *IL* 34 (1973), p. 316. I regret that I have not personally seen the volume.
- 68 Ven. Nyanamoli Thera, *A Treasury of the Buddha's Discourses from the Majjhima-nikaya*, Vol. I, Bangkok n.d., p. 101.
- 69 See K.R. Norman, 'Middle Indo-Aryan Studies III' in *JOI*(Baroda) XI, p. 325.
- 70 See K.R. Norman, *Elders' Verses* II, London 1971, p. 57 (*ad v. 7*).
- 71 W. Schubring, *Isibhāsiyāṃ*, NAWG 1942, Nr. 6, Göttingen 1942, p. 567.
- 72 W. Schubring, *Isibhāsiyāṃ*, Ahmedabad 1974, p. 115.
- 73 W. Schubring, *Isibhāsiyāṃ*, Hamburg 1969, p. 31.
- 74 Pañca-g 13 15 19 35.
- 75 See pp. 131 foll.
- 76 See Sheth, *op. cit.* (in n. 29), s.v. *vanhi*.
- 77 See K.R. Norman, 'The labialisation of vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan', *SII* Vol. II, pp. 41–58.

- 78 Mrs Cone is Research Assistant in Pāli Lexicography in the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge.
- 79 Made available to Mrs Cone through the kindness of Prof. G. Fussman, of the Collège de France.
- 80 The verse is numbered 360 in the edition by G. Roth, in H. Bechert (ed.): *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, Göttingen 1980, but 359 in the edition by N.S. Shukla, Patna 1979, where the second part of the compound is read as *-mumsano*.
- 81 See MW, p. 1059, s.v. *śalya-*.
- 82 F. Bernhard, *Udānavarga*, Göttingen 1965.
- 83 See W. Schubring, *op. cit.* (in n. 30), p. 54.
- 84 H. Lüders, *Philologica Indica*, Göttingen 1940, p. 283 n. 3.
- 85 See W. Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, Strassburg 1916, § 27, where examples of the change *-āya- > -ā-* are also given, including the case ending *-āya*. It is possible that this change has concealed the occurrence of a genuine dative form in *vāñijā* at Ja IV 352,8*, glossed *vāñijakassa* (353,6').
- 86 '... die korrekte Ostform (mit ... Kontraktion von *āya* zu *ā*): L. Alsdorf, 'Bemerkungen zum Vessantara-Jātaka', in *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 292.
- 86 See K.R. Norman, 'Samprasāraṇa in Middle Indo-Aryan', in *JRAS* 1958, pp. 44–50.
- 87 See Norman, *op. cit.* (in n. 77), pp. 47–48.
- 88 See R. Pischel, *The Deśināmamālā of Hemachandra*, Bombay (second edition) 1938, p. 28, and H.C. Bhayani, *Studies in Hemachandra's Deśināmamālā*, Varanasi 1966, p. 16.
- 89 See K.R. Norman, 'The role of Pāli in early Sinhalese Buddhism', in H. Bechert (ed.): *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*, Göttingen 1978, p. 32, and 'The pratyeka-buddha in Buddhism and Jainism', in P. Denwood and A. Piatigorsky (ed.): *Buddhist Studies*, London 1983, p. 95.

In 1962 Ludwig Alsdorf published an article in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd-Asiens*, vol. 6, called “Sasa-jātaka und Śaśa-avadāna”. In it he considers a number of stories, found in various *Jātaka* and *Avadāna* collections, two of which — concerning ‘The (Wise) Hare’ — give his piece its title. He attempts to show how these stories evolved, and how the ideal they exemplify changes from that of generosity, *dāna*, to that of ‘good friendship’, *kalyāṇamittatā*. In doing so he also suggests the way in which some well-known suttas in the Pali Canon dealing with the latter topic (S I 87–9, V 2–4) have come to have their present form. In a future publication I hope to assess these arguments, which seem to me generally correct, but mistaken on a number of points; I will attempt thus to arrive at a revised text and translation of these suttas, the basic element of which we may call, after L. Feer, ‘The Discourse on Following a Good Friend’ (*Kalyāṇamitta-sevanā-sutta*).¹ The present PTS texts and translations of these passages are seriously defective. In this article I shall be concerned with Alsdorf’s other subject, the grammatical analysis of the terms *kalyāṇamitta* and *kalyāṇamittatā* (hereafter *k-m.* and *k-m-tā* respectively). The entries for these terms in PED are unsatisfactory, and they receive a bewildering variety of renderings in published PTS translations. Alsdorf has shown how they are to be correctly analysed and translated; I hope here to confirm and elaborate his account by a comprehensive survey of the use of the terms in all major Pali texts.²

Often, but not always, ‘good friend’, *k-m.*, is a technical term for someone who acts in more or less specific ways as a ‘helper on the Path’. A few words may be useful on the relationship between this sense of the term and the wider treatment of friendship (*mittatā*, *mettā* in some of its uses, *sahāyatā*, etc.) in Buddhism. It makes sense, I think, to distinguish three (overlapping) areas or levels.

Firstly, there is the simple sense in which trustworthiness, reciprocity and perhaps a consequent mutual regard are extolled. Anthropology suggests that this universal phenomenon need not necessarily involve our modern sense of friendship as two or more persons' mutual liking and enjoyment of each others' company, although of course it frequently does; the relationship involved can be a straightforwardly reciprocal, indeed quasi-contractual, exchange of goods and services.³ The miscreant to be avoided here is the one who betrays his friend, in Pali *mitta-dubbha* (or one of many related forms), a theme which recurs constantly throughout the Jātakas and in numerous places in the Sutta-piṭaka. These notions are not specific to Buddhism or even to India.⁴ A Buddhist (but not Indian) example can be provided from the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* collection. A hunter who has saved the life of Jambucitta, the snake-king, demands from him a (magic) snake-noose, used for capturing celestial maidens. At first Jambucitta demurs, then gives it to the hunter, who exclaims 'I see you are an ally, Jambucitta, a friend who keeps his promise. I did you a good (service), and (now) you have returned one to me'.⁵ These sorts of sentiment are ubiquitous in the Indian collections of gnomic or didactic poetry known as the *subhāṣita* literature,⁶ in the recently edited *Nīti* texts from Burma, which share a common stock of 'worldly wisdom' with the Sanskrit tradition,⁷ and in collections of fables like the *Pañcatantra*, whose stories are grouped according to whether they demonstrate the 'Separation' or 'Winning of Friends'.⁸ In these contexts, one quite naturally finds words for friend — notably *mitta* — joined with others: *nātimitta*, 'relatives and friends' (in upper-class English, perhaps, 'one's people'), or *mittāmacca*, 'friends and colleagues'. *Amacca* can mean 'king's minister', and the compound is often used for a king's entourage at court. It is found in (complementary) opposition to *nātisalohitā*, 'kin and blood-relations' at Sn p. 104. The following version of 'a friend in need is a friend indeed' comes from the Jātakas, and is taken up by later commentarial literature in much more specialised contexts (Ja V 146, 21–4, appropriated at As 349–50, Spk II 252): 'He who is grateful, mindful of past

benefits, a steadfast and devoted good friend (*k-m.*), who dutifully does what is necessary when (his friend is) in trouble, such a one they call a good man'.⁹

Secondly, there is the level at which such sentiments are 'Buddhicised' by being set in a framework of Buddhist morality. This can be done artificially: at Ja VI 14–5, for instance, a series of verses of the general trustworthiness/reciprocity kind are interpreted by the commentary in a specifically Buddhist way. In the commentary to the verse 'one who honours (his friends) receives honour (in return), one who praises (them) receives praise. He who does not betray his friends wins fame and a good reputation', we read that "one who praises" here means one who praises good friends (*k-m.*) such as the Buddha, etc., and receives praise in return in another life'.¹⁰ It can also be done less artificially, as in the *Sigālovāda Sutta*, 'The Layman's Vinaya' as Buddhaghosa called it. In an extended discussion of good and bad friends, quite general and not specifically Buddhist ideas — we are warned against, *inter alios*, gamblers, drunks and (false) flatterers — are organised into lists and systematised in a characteristically Buddhist way. Although the term *k-m.* does not appear in this text, its syntactically equivalent opposite *pāpamitta* does, in a way which shows it to be semantically identical to the uncompounded form (D III 187, 19–21). Many of the sentiments expressed in relation to good friends are elsewhere said to characterise a *k-m.*, and the commentary uses the term (Sv 949 on D III 187, I foll.). (See further below, p. 57 on the compounded and uncompounded forms of *kalyāṇa/mitta*.)

We reach, *thirdly*, a specifically Buddhist sense of the term when it is applied, with varying degrees of exact denotation, to someone who helps another on the Buddhist Path. The *Cullaniddeśa* (Nidd II 227–8) expresses this in a familiarly schematic way:

There are two (kinds of) friends: householder friends and monastic (lit. 'homeless') friends.

What is the householder friend? Here, someone gives what is hard to give, gives up what is hard to give up, does

what is hard to do and endures what is hard to endure; he reveals his own secrets (to you) but conceals (your) secrets (from others); in misfortune he does not forsake you, he will even lay down his life for you,¹¹ and he does not despise you in distress. What is the monastic friend? Here, a monk is kind, charming, venerable, to be respected, willing to speak and be spoken to; he speaks profound words and never exhorts groundlessly, he urges (one) on in the higher morality and in the meditation-practice of the four foundations of mindfulness.¹²

Versions of both of these descriptions occur in the Aṅguttara, addressed by the Buddha to monks (A IV 31–2), and the first three phrases of the householder-friend are predicated elsewhere of the kind of monk who is ‘a friend to be followed’ (*mitto sevitaḅbo*) (A I 286), so it would be wrong to assume that the ‘household’ virtues do not apply to monks. Nonetheless, the distinction is familiar enough; most of the householder-friend passage occurs in the Sigālovāda Sutta, where a friend ‘shows the way to heaven’, and clearly the monastic friend here is concerned with the Path to *nibbāna*. This symbolic dichotomy is a common way in which Buddhist texts accommodate, by subordination, ideas and values not specifically or originally Buddhist. (The virtues of lay friendship, although not specifically Buddhist, inculcate habits and ideals of prudence and moderation, which are the essence of Buddhist *sīla*, so it would be absurd to suggest that there is anything un-Buddhist about them.) Although this symbolic dichotomy does reflect an obvious difference of emphasis in different spheres of Buddhism, I shall cite passages below in which monks are good friends to laymen, and indeed laymen are good friends to each other, in a specifically Buddhist sense (see Sections III 2 (iii) and III 4). In its most specific sense, a monastic good friend is an instructor, with the particular function of choosing a subject for his pupil’s meditation practice (see Section III 2 (iv)). This particular role of a ‘good friend’ should also be seen in the light of the many passages which emphasise the need for harmony and friendly relations among communities of

monks (e.g. Majjhima Suttas 15, 31, 48, 103, Vinaya Mahāvagga X, etc.). Here the term *mettā* is frequently used: and here the translation of it as ‘loving-kindness’,¹³ which is usual when it refers to the meditation practice of the Brahmavihāras or to one of the Perfections, is less appropriate than the etymologically accurate ‘friendship’ or ‘amity’.

Although in what follows I organise the material in accordance with the syntactical form and usage of the terms *k-m.* and *k-m-tā*, I have tried to choose examples which further exemplify and clarify these three levels in the Buddhist treatment of friendship.

II

As Alsdorf showed, the following are the grammatically possible analyses of the compound *kalyānamitta*:

1. as a karmadhāraya, = ‘good friend (sc. to others)’ — *kalyāṇo mitto (aññesaṃ) hotī ti kalyānamitto*.
2. as a tatpuruṣa, with (a) a masculine first member, = ‘the friend of a good man (good men)’ — *kalyāṇassa purisassa (kalyāṇaṃ purisānaṃ) mitto hotī ti kalyānamitto*.
or with (b) a neuter first member, = ‘a friend of the good (of Virtue)’ — *yad kalyāṇaṃ (e.g. sīlaṃ) tassa mitto hotī ti kalyānamitto*.
3. as a bahuvrīhi, = ‘who has a good friend (good friends)’ — *assa kalyāṇo mitto hotī (kalyāṇā mittā hontī) ti kalyānamitto*.

As Alsdorf says, although many translators, both modern and in the Tibetan tradition, have chosen 2a or 2b, neither of these is correct. For the karmadhāraya use he cites a phrase from the *Kalyānamitta-sevanā-sutta*, spoken by the Buddha, with reference to all beings, *mamaṃ . . . kalyānamittaṃ āgama*, ‘with (or depending on) me as (their) good friend’ (S I 88, V 3,4). As I shall show, it is used in this way of many others also. For the bahuvrīhi sense he cites S I 83, in which the kings Ajātasattu and Pasenadi are said to be *pāpamitto* and *kalyānamitto* respectively: as the commentary

explains (Spk I 154, cf. Ps I 189) they have bad and good friends like Devadatta in the one case and monks like Sāriputta in the other.¹⁴ We may notice here two more instances. At Th 682 *k-m.* occurs in a list of virtuous qualities, the possession of which would put an end to *dukkha*. As the commentary notes (Th-a III 7), this is to be taken as ‘endowed with good friends’ (*kalyāṇehi mittehi samannāgato*). At It 10 a *kalyāṇamitto puggalo* ‘abandons what is unprofitable and develops what is profitable’ — and the commentary explains that this is because such a person, depending upon his good friend (i.e. his teacher or instructor) acquires, *inter alia*, the knowledge that all beings have their own *kamma*. Here we find the *karmadhāraya* and *bahuvrīhi* senses together: *kalyāṇamitto puggalo kalyāṇamittam nissāya kammassakatā-ñāṇam uppādeti* (It-a I 65).¹⁵

The abstract noun *kalyāṇamittatā* could, in theory, be used to express both the state of ‘being a good friend’ in the *karmadhāraya* sense, and that of ‘having a good friend’ in the *bahuvrīhi* sense.¹⁶ But as Alsdorf reported and I hope to prove, the former possibility is in fact never found in the texts. The commentary to It 10 just cited gives a form of explanation for *k-m-tā* which is found very frequently: ‘a person who has a good friend, endowed with the good qualities of morality and the rest . . . a helper, is called *k-m.* (Being in) this condition is *k-m-tā*’.¹⁷ Similarly, when the Buddha says that he knows of nothing worse for the arising of bad states (*akusala-dhammā*) and the destruction of good ones than *pāpamittatā* (A I 13), the commentary (Mp I 80–1) explains that ‘the person who has bad, disreputable friends is called *pāpamitto*. The state (or condition) of being one who has bad friends is called *p-m-tā*’.¹⁸ The commentary to Thī 213 is yet more explicit: in K. R. Norman’s translation, the verse reads ‘The state of having noble friends has been described by the sage with reference to the world; resorting to noble friends even a fool would be wise’, and the commentary, after giving the standard explanation of *k-m-tā*, adds that it means *kalyāṇa-mittavantatā*, literally ‘the state (or simply “fact”) of having good friends’.¹⁹ The condition of having good friends is not merely a result of good fortune

(Alsdorf’s *das Glück* as opposed to *der Vorzug*, op. cit. p. 15): as the sub-commentary to the Dīgha Nikāya remarks (Linatthavaṇṇanā III 225, on Sv 978 on D III 212), in elucidation of *pāpa-sampavaṅkatā*, ‘being inclined to bad (friends)’ (on which see further below, p. 64–5), ‘the state of mind by which one is inclined to bad (friends) is itself (a part of) bad friendship’.²⁰

III

1. ‘Good friend(s)’ as un-compounded adjective and noun.

I have mentioned that the Sigālovāda Sutta and its commentary use the un-compounded and compounded forms of *kalyāṇa/mitta* and *pāpa/mitta* with no difference in sense. The un-compounded form is found elsewhere, used of both householder and monastic friends. At M I 11 (= A III 389) among the things a monk is to avoid are *pāpake mitte*, glossed by the commentaries as ‘disreputable, immoral, false friends, enemies (in the guise of friends)’,²¹ the latter two terms being commonly used in lay contexts. At Dh 78, in a verse which would be at home in a general, gnomic or aphoristic text, we read ‘do not associate with bad friends (*pāpake mitte*), nor the lowest of men; associate with good friends (*mitte kalyāṇe*), noble men’. The commentary (Dhp-a II 110–2) tells the story of the monk Channa, who reviled Sāriputta and Moggallāna, although they were his *kalyāṇa-mittā*. The passage reproduced at Nidd II 227–8 on the monastic friend is introduced in the Aṅguttara (IV 32) simply with the words ‘monks, a friend endowed with seven qualities²² is to be followed’; and it is regularly found in commentarial exegeses of the compounded form *k-m*. In some other places the un-compounded form occurs (the commentaries give the compound), where the context is plainly monastic: Sn 338, Th 249, 588, 681.

2. the *karmadhāraya* ‘good friend’.

(i) the Buddha.

As we saw, in the *Kalyāṇamitta-sevanā-sutta* the Buddha describes himself as the good friend of ‘beings’ generally.

Here, it is the fact that the Buddha is, as PED has it (p. 199), 'the spiritual friend par excellence', which gives force to the *prima facie* surprising assertion that *k-m-tā* is 'the whole' (*sakalam eva*) of the holy life. (This is not the only explanation of the sentiment, however.)²³ In a long discussion of the 'good friend' as the giver of a meditation subject the Visuddhimagga (98 foll.) says that 'it is only the Fully Enlightened One who possesses all the aspects of a good friend',²⁴ quoting the *K-m-s-sutta* passage. Such a special eminence of the Buddha is not, however, otherwise stressed (though perhaps it is so obvious as to go without saying). At A V 67 King Pasenadi falls at the Buddha's feet and extols his virtues, one of which is to demonstrate what are elsewhere called the 'ten instances of good talk' (*kathāvatthūni*). But any monk can exhibit these also (M III 113, etc.), and the Visuddhimagga tells us that one of the senses of 'proper resort' (*gocara*) for a monk is 'a good friend who exhibits the ten instances of good talk', where plainly any monk can be such (19). Of course, the Buddha himself, in his progress through many lives to reach *nibbāna*, needed the help of such good friends himself (Cp-a 285, 287 foll., 311).

(ii) *other famous monks as exemplars.*

In the Visuddhimagga passage just cited, it is said that when the Buddha is dead, one may receive a meditation subject from any of the eighty great disciples; when they are gone, one may turn to other arahants, but not (*pace* PED p. 199) to any arahant, only to one who has reached enlightenment by means of the meditation subject which he recommends. Then the list descends through the other kinds of noble person (*ariyapuggala*) to the 'ordinary man' (*puṭhujjana* — clearly an ordinary monk must be meant), and finally comes to a person who knows only one collection (*sanghīti*) and its commentary, and who is 'conscientious' (*lajjī*). Such a teacher will pass on the tradition and heritage (*vamsa, paveni*) rather than his own opinion; the text adds, somewhat surprisingly perhaps, that an arahant will only describe the path he himself has traversed, whereas the learned man (*bahussuto*) will explain a meditation subject more generally, 'showing a broad track, like a big elephant

going through the jungle'.

Apart from this particular connexion with giving a meditation subject, famous monks are said to be the good friends of laymen (e.g. King Pasenadi at S I 83) and of monks (Channa at Dh-p II 110–2, both cited above). A long passage found often in the later literature (e.g. Vibh-a 269 foll., Sv 777 foll., Ps I 281 foll., It-a III 78 foll.) names specific monks who may be taken as a good friend in the process of getting rid of each of the five hindrances (*nīvaraṇa*). Each *nīvaraṇa* is abandoned by a differing list of factors, but *k-m-tā* appears in each list. For the first, lust (*kāmacchanda*), we read that 'lust is abandoned in one who cultivates good friends who delight in the development of [sc. the meditation on (S.C.)] the foul, like the Elder Tissa, the worker on the foul'.²⁵ The other *nīvaraṇā* are then counteracted by taking an exemplar, as follows:

- ill-will (*vyāpāda*): 'good friends who delight in the development of amity (*mettā*) like the Elder Assagutta'
- stiffness-and-torpor (*thīna-middha*): 'good friends who have abandoned stiffness-and-torpor, like the Elder Mahākassapa'
- agitation-and-worry (*uddhacca-kukkucca*): 'good friends who are expert in the Vinaya, like the Elder Upāli'
- uncertainty (*vicikicchā*): 'good friends who are resolute in faith, like the Elder Vakkali'.

The texts containing these passages were clearly intended for use by monks generations after the lifetime of the good friends mentioned. No doubt they were meant to have a similar function to that of the many exemplary stories of great monks found in texts like the Thera- and Therīgāthā, the Apadāna, the opening of the Aṅguttara commentary, etc. (as indeed to that of inspirational and exemplary hagiographies the world over).

(iii) *any monk or layperson who advises and encourages.*

By far the commonest use of the karmadhāraya *k-m.* is to denote monks, and in some cases laymen, whose advice and/or example may encourage others. In the standard commentarial gloss on the (monastic) use of the term, such a

monk is an *ovādaka-bhikkhu*, perhaps 'monastic instructor'; this is not a status necessarily separate from that of preceptor (*upajjhāya*) or teacher (*ācariya*), although it can be. For instance, in the commentary to an elaborate simile comparing the world and its pleasures to a drinking bowl full of poison, and where someone advises a thirsty man both of the advantages and the disadvantages of drinking from it, such an advisor is called 'a *k-m.* like a teacher, preceptor, etc.' (*ācariy'upajjhāyādiko k-m.*) (Spk II 120 on S II 110). Vism 121 discusses a situation in which it is not possible to find 'a *k-m.* as a teacher or the equivalent, a preceptor or the equivalent' (*ācariya-, upajjhāyasamaṃ*). At Mil 380 a monk is to depend on any fellow monk as a *k-m.* (*k-mittam sabrahmacāriṃ upanissāya vasitabbam*), as long as he is (in Miss Horner's translation):

of few wants, contented, a preacher of asceticism, one living in submissiveness, possessed of good habits, modest, well behaved, revered, to be respected, a speaker, one who can be spoken to, one who reproves (for an offence), censuring evil, an exhorter, instructor, adviser, one who gladdens, arouses, incites and delights (his fellow Brahmafarers).²⁶

This can be taken as a definition of a *k-m.*, as also can the qualities extolled in the following: at A I 116–7, a successful monk is compared to a successful shop-keeper (*pāpaṇiko*). Both have three qualities, being intelligent (*cakkhumā*), capable (*vidhuro*²⁷), and possessed of a means of support (*nissaya-sampanno*). In the case of a monk, this means that he understands as they really are (*yathābhūtam*) the Four Noble Truths, that he is energetic in avoiding bad states and developing good ones, and that (whereas the shopkeeper's means of support is obviously financial) he frequents monks who are 'learned, versed in scripture, who know the Dhamma and the Discipline, and the lists'.²⁸ He questions them on points of doctrine, and they resolve his doubts. The commentary (Mp II 190) glosses the three qualities as wisdom (*paññā*), energy (*virīya*), and following good friends (*k-m-sevanā*), but adds that it would be wrong to understand

these qualities as being attained in that order. Rather, 'dependence on good friends' (*k-m-upanissaya*) comes first, energy next, and finally arahantship (*arahatta*). Naturally, just as the state of 'dependence' (*nissaya*) when construed as an institutionally-marked state of subordination within the Saṅgha,²⁹ is only an introductory or disciplinary status, so 'following good friends' is only appropriate for a beginner. At M I 477 foll. (cp. A IV 75 foll.) arahants, for whom there is 'nothing more to do through diligence' are contrasted with learners (*sekhā*) for whom there is, and who are said to 'follow good friends'. In a list then given of seven (types of) persons, 'following good friends' is said only of those for whom there is 'something more to be done through diligence', not for those — the 'released both ways' (*ubhatobhāga-vimutto*) and the 'released by wisdom' (*paññā-vimutto*) — for whom there is not.

As far as monks are concerned, then, the position is clear. But the term *k-m.* is also applied to laypersons. Monks can be *k-m.* to laymen, who can also be *k-m.* to each other. At A V 336, the layman Nandiya, who has come to Sāvattthi both to do business and to see the Buddha, is told by him to bear in mind certain things, including the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. The last are referred to as *k-m.*, and Nandiya is to reflect 'it is a gain for me, it is good fortune for me, that I have good friends who are compassionate and desire my welfare, who instruct and teach (me)'. The commentary remarks that 'here recollecting the (good qualities of the) Saṅgha (*saṅghānussati*) is taught, on account of (its containing) good friends' (*k-m-vasena*) (Mp V 81). The term is also used of laymen. In one version of the story of Prince Sumana, who was the younger brother of Padumuttara Buddha and who later became Ānanda, he is deliberating with the king's ministers as to what boon he shall ask of his father. Receiving the advice from some to be allowed to wait on the Buddha for three months, he accepts and tells them 'you are *k-m.* to me' (Sv 489). In a commentarial elaboration of the long simile comparing consciousness in the body to the leader of a town (S IV 194–5), we are told that this leader is a young prince sent to the town by his father, the king of the region,

but who on arriving quickly became a drunkard, thanks to mixing with bad friends (*pāpa-mitta-samsaggena*). The king sends two messengers, who reform him. The king is the Buddha, the young prince an inexperienced bhikkhu, and the two messengers are concentration and insight (Spk III 61–2).

(For other uses of *k-m.* as a karmadhāraya compare: Vin I 21–2 and Sp 968, Vin II 8, III 19 and Sp 215, Spk I 202, III 6, Pj I 126, 148, It-a I 43, 116, II 62, 63, 91, 129, 167, 172, 180 foll., Kv-a 30, Pp 41, Mil 373, 408, Peṭ 87, 210, 231, Pj II I 341 on Sn 338.)

(iv) *the giver of a meditation subject (kammaṭṭhāna-dāyaka).*

Given the importance of meditation in the Buddhist Path, it is hardly surprising that a *k-m.* should offer guidance in this area. Indeed, we are told that having a good friend is one of the (necessary) bases of meditative attainment (*jhāna*) (Peṭ 149).³⁰ Vajirañāṇa³¹ has pointed out how the Buddha is shown in the suttas giving advice on meditation to his monks, and we have seen that in the list of meditation-subject-givers in Vism 89, 98 foll., the Buddha comes first. Such a *k-m.* is called an *ācariya* (ibid. 99), who should be senior (100); and elsewhere it is said that the relationship between teacher and pupil should be like that of father and son (Vin I 60). It may be thought that such an hierarchical and indeed quasi-kin relation does away with any real notion of friendship, and indeed in the later literature where *k-m.* appears as a technical term for a *kammaṭṭhāna-dāyaka* (e.g. As 168, Abhidh-av verses 800–3, quoting A IV 32), it may seem to have become a mere title. But one should remember here that the choice of a particular subject for meditation is made according to the particular character of the monk concerned, and the Vism goes on to give a long account of these various character-types or ‘temperaments’ (*cariyā*).³² Naturally, it being a text, this is done rather schematically, according to a fixed set of ‘elements’ (*dhātu*) and ‘humours’ (*dosa*); and no doubt a clumsy or inconsiderate teacher might well apply the analyses mechanically. But one can easily imagine how a skilled teacher would need a sensitive insight into his pupil’s

strengths and weaknesses, in order properly to guide him in this difficult area — an act of friendship indeed!³³

This late, very specific and indeed not very frequent use of the idea of the ‘good friend’ seems to me to have been rather over-emphasised in the secondary literature. It is worth noticing here just how specific it is in relation to the whole gamut of uses of the idea of a *k-m.* which I am presenting. 3. *the bahuvrihi ‘one who has a good friend’.*

I shall cite examples of this usage under two heads: the term *k-m.* used in this way by itself; and used in the common group of three terms, *k-m.*, *kalyāṇa-sahāyo*, *kalyāṇa-sampavaṅko*.

(i) From the mere form *k-m.* of course one cannot decide between the karmadhāraya and bahuvrihi interpretations, but the correct sense is almost always obvious from the context. At Th 505, for instance, we read simply that a *k-m.* bhikkhu will not grieve after death. Given verses 504 and 506, which read *kalyāṇa-sīlo*, ‘of good morality’, and *kalyāṇa-pañño*, ‘of good wisdom’, respectively, it is clear that *k-m.* must likewise be taken as a bahuvrihi, ‘of (or with) good friends’. (It may be noticed that *-mitto* here occurs where we might expect, given the constant conjunction of *sīla*, *samādhi*, *paññā*, a reference to meditation, so perhaps there is an echo of the specific sense just discussed.) Similarly, at M I 43 the Buddha gives a long list of ‘expungings’ (*sallekha*), which include the thought ‘others may be *pāpamittā*, we shall be *k-m.*’. The context shows that this cannot mean that monks are to wish to be good friends to others: it is a list of humble aspirations, to be uttered by those in training, and is immediately preceded by the aspiration ‘others may be *dubbacā*, we shall be *subbacā*’. These words are to be taken in a passive sense, ‘difficult’ and ‘easy to speak to’ (see below on *do-* and *sovacassatā*), and so the monks are clearly to wish to have good friends and to be obedient and receptive to them. At S V 29 foll., each of another long list of qualities, endowed with which a monk will develop the Path, is compared to the dawn as the fore-runner (*pubbaṅgamam*, *pubbanimittam*) of the sun. One of these is *k-m-tā*, and the *k-m.* bhikkhu similarly presages the

(day)-light of wisdom; the other qualities are all compounds with *-samppanno*, and so *k-m.* here could be glossed as *kalyāṇamitta-samppanno*.³⁴

An interesting passage in the Aṅguttara suggests that in a certain (and certainly non-technical) sense a monk can be both one who has good friends and a good friend to others. Each of a list of qualities — reverence for the Teacher, the Dhamma, the Saṅgha, and for the training, the virtue of being easy to speak to (*sovacassatā*) and *k-m-tā* — is both possessed by a monk and aroused in others by him. ‘Here a monk has good friends, praises (such) good friendship, and encourages in (such) good friendship those other monks who do not have good friends; he speaks praise truly, justly and at the right time of (such) good friendship’ (A III 423–4).

(For other uses of *k-m.* as a bahuvrīhi, see A III 145, V 123–5, 146, 148–9, 153, 159, 161.)

(ii) The group of terms *k-m.*, *k-sahāyo*, *k-sampavaṅko* is found in the *Kalyāṇamitta-sevanā-sutta* and frequently elsewhere. *K-m.* is used in a bahuvrīhi sense, as is *k-sahāyo*, ‘one who has good companions’,³⁵ but *k-sampavaṅko* presents some problems. The corresponding Sanskrit text³⁶ has *kalyāṇamitra(tā)*, *kalyāṇasahāya(tā)*, *kalyāṇasamparka*. *Samparka* is a noun from the verb *sam-ṛc*, to mix or mingle. The nominal form *kalyāṇasamparkaḥ* (which corresponds to Pali *-sampavaṅkatā*, as an abstract noun) is most obviously interpreted as a tatpuruṣa with the meaning ‘mixing with good people’ (= *kalyāṇair janaiḥ samparkaḥ*). The adjectival form appears in the Sanskrit text as a plural, *kalyāṇasamparkāḥ*, agreeing with the first person plural verb *viharisyāmaḥ*, in the aspiration to be made by monks ‘we shall live *k-m.* (etc.)’. Given that the nominal form is a tatpuruṣa, this is best taken as a bahuvrīhi based on the tatpuruṣa, with the literal meaning ‘one of whom there is mixing with good people’, or in reasonable English, ‘one who mixes with good people’. In Pali, the etymology of *sampavaṅka* is unclear — as Alsdorf says, that given by PED is not credible. There are two common commentarial exegeses of the word, which are sometimes blended. Examples are: at Mp II 198 on A I 127, and Pp-a 219 on Pp 37, we read ‘*k-*

sampavaṅko ti kalyāṇesu sucipuggalesu sampavaṅko tanninnatappaṇa-tappabbhāramānaso ti attho. ‘The meaning of *k-s.* is “inclined to good, pure people, bent down towards them, sloping towards them, having a mind which leans towards them”’. At Sv 1046 on D III 267, we read *cittena c’eva kāyena ca kalyāṇamittesu sampavaṅko, onato ti k-s.* ‘*K-s.* means inclined, bending towards good friends in both mind and body.’ All of these terms suggest the idea of bending, inclining, etc.³⁷ As an etymology for *sampavaṅka*, K. R. Norman suggests³⁸ *vaṅka* (Sanskrit *vakra*), with the prefixes *sam-pa*. Although *vaṅka/vakra* often has a bad sense, as in the English ‘bent’ or ‘crooked’, the basic meaning of this, bent or curved, is in line with the commentarial glosses. The compound is thus to be taken as a tatpuruṣa, in both adjectival and nominal/abstract forms, and I suggest ‘inclined/inclination to good friends’ as a translation, to preserve the metaphor. (So also would ‘have a bent for’ or ‘a penchant for’, but neither seems appropriate in tone here.)

Although the grammar of this is complex, the meaning is straightforward. The triplet *k-m.*, *k-s.*, *k-s.*, is but an extension of the bahuvrīhi use of *k-m.* To be *k-m.*, *k-s.*, *k-s.* is important for a young monk at the beginning of training (e.g. A III 422, which adds that he *k-mitte sevamāno*, A IV 351, 356 = Ud 36 — this is the story of Meghiya, for present purposes a useful and instructive one). Although as a famous verse of the Dhammapada (160 = 380) has it, ‘one is one’s own master’ (*attā . . . attano nātho*), this can be seen as in some senses at least an end or ideal rather than a universal truth: a monk is to be ‘under protection’ (*sanātha*) rather than without protection (*anātha*) by being *k-m.*, *k-s.*, *k-s.* (A V 23–4); and being *k-m.*, *k-s.*, *k-s.* is one of the things that ‘make for protection’ (*nātha-karaṇa*) (D III 266–7).³⁹

It is not only the individual monk who benefits from being *k-m.*, *k-s.*, *k-s.*, however. In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, one of the conditions set by the Buddha for the welfare of the Saṅgha as a whole after his death is that the monks should not be *pāpa-mittā*, *pāpa-sahāyā*, *pāpasampavaṅkā* (D II 78); when a monk is *k-m.*, *k-s.*, *k-s.*, he is regarded by senior, middling and junior monks alike with affection (he is

anukampita by them, A V 26). And, finally, a monk's being such is one of the ten 'occasions of fraternal living' (*sārāṇīya-dhammā*⁴⁰), which 'make for kindness and respect, which conduce to concord, lack of quarrelling, harmony and unity' (A V 89–91).

4. the abstract noun *kalyāṇamittatā*.

As I said earlier, the abstract noun *k-m-tā* is only used to mean 'the state of having good friends', that is, it is derived from the bahuvrīhi usage of *k-m*.⁴¹ Not only is there for the learner 'no other factor so helpful as *k-m-tā*' (It 10),⁴² but in general 'having good friends is the support (lit. "food") of (good) morals, sense-restraint the support of the holy life, and not quarrelling the support of friends' (A V 136).⁴³ This abstract form occurs, in fact, in many of the passages cited earlier. In one place, the virtue is recommended to laymen. In conversation with a Koliyan layman with the appealing name of Long-Knee Tigerfoot (Dīghajānu Byagghapajja), the Buddha describes four things which 'lead to welfare and happiness for the son of (good) family in this life', one of which is *k-m-tā*. 'What is "having good friends"?' he continues. 'It is this: wherever the son of good family lives, he consorts with and converses with householders and their sons, old and young alike matured in virtue, and imitates their success in (or "acquisition of") faith, virtue, charity and wisdom' (A IV 282, cp. 322).⁴⁴

The nominal form of the word is not merely a variety of grammar, since it allows the topic to be dealt with in the style of the Abhidhamma, as a *dhamma*, an abstract unit of description and analysis. Many passages in the Sutta-piṭaka do this (particularly in the Aṅguttara, e.g. I 13–8, 83, III 309–10, 448–9, V 146–9), and there is here a constant connexion between *k-m-tā* and another *dhamma*, the virtue of *sovaccassatā*, 'being easy to speak to', as there is also between the corresponding vices of *pāpamittatā* and *dovacassatā*. The Dhammasaṅgaṇi explains as follows, giving the vices first (which I shall follow, since I will cite the commentary, which comments only on the vices):

What is 'being difficult to speak to'? It is when there is contumacy, surliness, disobedience, contrariness, an-

tagonism, disregard, irreverence, disrespect and non-deference, when something has been spoken in accordance with the Teaching.

What is 'having bad friends'? It is following after, attending on, associating with, being devoted to and inclined to people who are without faith, of bad morals, without learning, mean, and of no wisdom.

What is 'being easy to speak to'? It is lack of contumacy, etc., when something has been spoken in accordance with the Teaching.

What is 'having good friends'? It is following after, etc., people who have faith, are of good morals, learned, generous and wise.⁴⁵

The commentary (As 393–4) elaborates *dovacassatā* specifically in relation to monastic discipline. What is 'spoken in accordance with the Teaching' is taken to be an accusation of an offence (*āpatti*) against the Vinaya precepts, and a demand for expiation (*paṭikarohi*). The offending monk is then said not only to refuse, but to answer back vituperatively and with malicious pleasure. The other terms given in elucidation of *dovacassatā* in Dhs 1325 are explained as a lack of deference to Elders and a refusal to accept their advice. 'Having bad friends', the commentary continues, is to be understood in the same way (*es' eva nayo*), since 'being difficult to speak to, having bad friends, etc., do not occur separately as aspects of mind (*cetasikadhammā*)'. The corresponding two virtues are then dealt with summarily: 'the couplet on being easy to speak to (*sovaccassatā ca dukaniddeso pi*) is to be understood in the reverse manner'.

This close connexion between 'friendly' interpersonal relations, manner of mutual converse, and the institutionalised modes of a disciplinary hierarchy (a connexion already adumbrated in the Canon: see M I 95–6 and commentary, and cp. Th 588) led the prolific translator Nāṇamoli to attempt various renderings of *sovaccassatā*: 'readiness to be spoken to' at Vism 107, 'easy admonishability' at Nett 40; *dovacassatā* is 'unamenability to correction' at Peṭ 254. B. C. Law at Pp 20, 24, has forthrightly 'obedience' and

'disobedience' respectively.⁴⁶ Although in comparison with Christian monasticism, Buddhism is remarkably free from undue emphasis on obedience, and it is certainly never seen as a virtue in itself, it is striking how friendship as a monastic virtue in both traditions comes much closer to the areas of discipline and control than our modern everyday use of the term might suggest.⁴⁷

BRISTOL

STEVEN COLLINS

Notes

Abbreviations follow the Critical Pāli Dictionary (= CPD).

- 1 Feer used the Sanskrit Ārya-kalyānamitra-sevana-sūtra, translating the title given in the Tibetan Kanjur.
- 2 I have made use of existing lexicographical materials, indices, cross-references, and not a little serendipity. There may of course be uses which have escaped me.
- 3 See S. N. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, *Patrons, Clients and Friends. Interpersonal relations and the structure of trust in society*. (C.U.P. 1984), and the literature cited there. R. Brain, *Friends and Lovers* (Paladin, 1976) gives a brief and rather journalistic overview of relevant ethnography. R. E. Ewin, *Co-operation and Human Values* (Harvester, 1981), Chapter 9, Friendship, writing entirely from within a modern philosophical viewpoint, gives a sensitive and helpful account of how the necessary aspect of reciprocity — friendship as 'in some ways like an economic arrangement' (op. cit. p. 198) — is connected to the equally necessary moral virtues exercised in friendly relations.
- 4 Compare, for instance, Theognis, lines 31–128. Both popular and philosophical ideas are discussed in J.-C. Fraisse, *Philia. La Notion d'Amitié dans la philosophie antique* (Paris, 1974). C. D. Small, *The Understanding of Friendship in the works of selected Church Fathers . . .* (Oxford D.Phil thesis, 1984) shows how the ideas of classical Greece continued to influence early Christian thinking on the subject.
- 5 PJ I 135, 17–8. *Passāmi 'ham Jambucittam sandittham saphalam mittam / guṇo kato mayā tuyham guṇam paṭikarosi me ti*. I translate *saphalam* as 'who keeps a promise' on the model of Sanskrit *saphalam* *kr*; it can mean simply 'advantageous' or 'profitable', and probably nuances of this sense are also present here.
- 6 See L. Sternbach, *Subhāṣita, gnomic and didactic literature* (in India) (Wiesbaden 1974), and compare the Caṅakya-rāja-nīti, stanzas 117–28, in Sternbach's edition (Adyar 1963).

- 7 See Dhammanīti 96–111, Lokanīti 79–93, Mahāranīti 113–63, in Bechert and Braun, *Pāli Nīti texts from Burma* (PTS 1981).
- 8 *Mitra-bheda, mitra-samprāpti*. The Hitopadeśa's first book is called *mitralābha*. The parallels between these works and the Pāli Jātakas have long been recognised.
- 9 *Yo ve kataññū katavedi dhiro/Kalyānamitto dalhabhatti ca hoti / Dukhītaṣṣa sakkacca karoti kiccaṃ / tathāvidham sappurisaṃ vadanti*.
- 10 *Pūjako labhati pūjaṃ vandako paṭivandanam / Yaso kittiṃ ca pappoti yo mittānam na dūbhati*. The commentary: *vandako ti Buddhādīnam kalyānamittānam vandako punabbhave paṭivandanam labhati*.
- 11 This sentiment, which also occurs in the Sigālovāda Sutta, provides an interesting contrast with Christ's 'no greater love (*agapē*) has any man than that he should lay down his life for his friends (*tōn philōn*)' (John 15, 14). In Buddhism what is in one sense 'a greater love' is shown by monastic friends, whose practice of the Way is of far greater import than the ending of any given life-time (or as the Abhidhamma would say, 'any given life-faculty').
- 12 *Dve mittā; āgārika-mitto ca anāgārika-mitto ca. Katamo āgārika-mitto? Idh' ekacco duddadam dadāti, duccajam cajati, dukkaram karoti, dukkhamam khamati, guyham assa ācikkhati guyham assa pariguyhati, āpadāsu na vijahati jivitaṃ c' assa athāya pariccattam hoti, khīṇe n' ātīmaññati. Ayaṃ āgārika-mitto. Katamo anāgārika-mitto? Idha bhikkhu piyo ca hoti manāpo ca hoti garu ca bhāvanīyo ca (vattā ca) vacana-kkhamo ca gambhīraṇ ca katham kattā, (na c') atthāne niyojeti, adhiṣiṇe samādapeṭi, catunnam sati-paṭṭhānānam bhāvan' ānuyoḃe samādapeṭi. Ayaṃ anāgārika-mitto*.
The text here omits *vattā ca* and *na c'*, both of which I insert on the model of A IV 32 (cf. Nett. 164), which is being followed here. The translation follows that of Nānamoli, *The Guide* (PTS 1962) p. 216–7.
- 13 The history of this term is curious. It was coined by Lord Coverdale in 1535 to translate the Hebrew *chesed*, used of the love God has for man. The Septuagint translators and subsequent Greek texts often render this by *eleos*, which is standardly rendered in English as 'pity' or 'compassion', which of course is the usual rendering of the Buddhist virtue of *karuṇā*. I do not know who first used 'loving-kindness' for *mettā*.
- 14 *Pāpā Devadattādayo mittā assā ti pāpamitto. Pasenadissa Sāriputtatherā-dīnam vasena kalyānamittādūtā veditabbā*.
- 15 He would thus learn the lesson taught at S I 37, that although in this life a companion (*sahāya*) may show friendship repeatedly when one is in need, in the next life one's friend is one's own good deeds! (*sayam katāni puññāni, tam mittam samparāyikan ti*).
- 16 It could also, of course, be based on the tatpuruṣa sense, that is as *kalyāṇa(purisa)-mittatā* rather than *kalyānamitta-tā*, but this is ruled out because the tatpuruṣa sense of *k-m*. itself is not found.
- 17 *Yassa silādi-guṇa-sampanno . . . upakārako mitto hoti, so puggalo kalyānamitto. Tassa bhāvo kalyānamittatā*.

- 18 *Yassa pāpā lāmakā mittā, so pāpamitto. Pāpamittassa bhāvo pāpamittatā.* (I assume throughout that the usage of *p-m.* and *p-m-tā* is perfectly valid evidence for *k-m.* and *k-m-tā.*)
- 19 Cited at *Elders' Verses II* (PTS 1971). The text of Thī-a has not been available to me. The reading *kalyāṇamittavantatā* is also found in some mss. of *Linatthavaṇṇaṇā II 400*, including the Burmese Chatthasāṅgāyaṇā edition.
- 20 *Yāya cetaṇāya puggalo pāpa-sampavāṅko nāma hoti, sā cetaṇā pāpamittatā.*
- 21 *Lāmake dussile mittapaṭirūpake amitte.*
- 22 *Dhamma* is used at A IV 32; at A IV 31 in the householder-friend passage, *aṅga* is preferred.
- 23 In the commentary to the *k-m-s-sutta* (Spk I 156–7), Ānanda is imagined to have thought that half of the holy life was *k-m-tā*, half was 'individual effort' (*paccatta-purisa-kāra*). It is then said that this is wrong, since the two contributions cannot be separated, just as one cannot separate the individual contributions of a number of people holding a stone pillar, or of parents raising a child. Elsewhere, *k-m-tā* is said to lie at the basis of the Path (see text pp. 63–4), and this is given at Ud-a 222 in explanation of its being 'the whole' of the holy life.
- 24 *Sammāsambuddho yeva sabbākārasampanno kalyāṇamitto.* I give Nānamoli's translation (*Path of Purification*, Colombb, 1975, 3rd ed. p. 99), which depends on taking *yeva* in a strong sense as 'only', which may not be necessary. Pe Maung Tin's PTS translation (*The Path of Purity*, 1923–31, p. 114) has simply 'the Buddha supreme himself was a good friend endowed with all qualities'.
- 25 *Asubhakkammika-Tissattherasādisē asubhabhāvanārāte kalyāṇamitte sevantiassāpi kāmacchando pahiyati.* I give Nānamoli's (forthcoming, PTS) translation of Vibh-a for this and for the other *nīvaranāni*.
- 26 . . . *appiccham santuttḥam dhutavādam sallekḥavuttiṃ ācārasampannam, lajjim pesalam garuṃ bhāvanīyam vattāram vacanakkhamaṃ codakam pāpaṅgarahim ovādakam anusāsakam viññāpakam sandassakam samādapakam samuttejakam sampahamsakam.* I have substituted 'one who can be spoken to' for *vacanakkhama*, following Nānamoli (see reference in note 12).
- 27 This is a difficult word. I give Woodward's rendering (in *Gradual Sayings* vol I, PTS. 1972, pp. 100 foll.).
- 28 *Bahussutā āgatāgamā dhammadharā vinayadharā mātikhadharā.*
- 29 I do not think we should necessarily take this as being implied by the use of (*upa*)*nissaya* in these kinds of passage.
- 30 The text reads *kalyāṇamittā jhānassa upanissā*. Nānamoli (*Pitaka-Disclosure*, PTS 1964 p. 202) suggests emending to *upanisā*, and translates this as 'stipulate'. Words like (*upa*)*nissaya* are common with *k-m.*, of course. (See CPD. s.v. *upanisā*.) Perhaps also we should emend to *k-m-tā* (and I have translated thus) since *kalyāṇa-sampavāṅkatā* is the next 'basis' for *jhāna* given. If *kalyāṇa-mittā* is retained, it should be taken as 'good friends' in the *karmadhāraya* sense.

- 31 *Buddhist Meditation* (2nd. ed. Kuala Lumpur, 1975) pp. 95–7. See also Ps II 192, where the Buddha instructs the first five monks, cited by M. B. Carrithers, *The Forest Monks of Sri Lanka* (O.U.P. Delhi, 1983) p. 230.
- 32 I have discussed this notion in *Selfless Persons* (C.U.P., 1982), Chapter 5.2.3.
- 33 For modern examples see Carrithers (op. cit. note 31) Chapters 11 and 13.
- 34 Thus the commentary (Spk III 133) explains 'established in the possession of good friends like the dawn, the Noble Path along with insight arises, like the appearance of the sun'.
- 35 The commentaries explain this term as those who 'go along' with the monk, or with whom he 'goes along', in the four postures (i.e. in everyday life): e.g. Sv 1046, *te* (sc. *kalyāṇamittā*) *v'assa thāna-nisajjādisu saha ayanato saḥāyā ti kalyāṇasahāyo*. Ud-a 221, *kalyāṇapuggaleh'eva sabb'iriyāpāthesu saha ayatū, pavattati, na vinā tehi ti kalyāṇasahāyo*.
- 36 E.g. Avadāna-śataka, ed. P. L. Vaidya (Mithila 1958), p. 95. The corresponding Sanskrit, Pali and Tibetan texts are given by Alsdorf.
- 37 For the words *ninna* and *poṇa* see K. R. Norman, "Middle Indo-Aryan Studies XV", in *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Baroda), 1979, vol. XXIX, Nos. 1–2, pp. 48–9; for *pabbhāra* see Edgerton, *BHSD* sv. *prāgbhāra*. (I am grateful to K. R. Norman for the information contained in this note.)
- 38 Private communication. He translates *kalyāṇasampavāṅka* as '(well)-disposed towards people who are *kalyāṇa*'.
- 39 On the other hand, monks who are *k-m.*, *k-s.*, *k-s.* become worthy of honour, etc., 'a field of merit for the world' (A V 199). Indeed, in one passage monks are said to be such if they display a variety of virtues, which include being *k-m.*, *k-s.*, *k-s.*, and also having the 'Three-fold Knowledge' (*tevijjā*), one of which, of course, is knowledge of the destruction of the *āsavā*, which is to say being enlightened (A IV 290–1). This is in marked contrast with the usual notion that being *k-m.*, etc. is a beginner's virtue. (The commentary, Mp IV 140, remarks nonchalantly that the meaning of the passage is clear, *uttāna!*)
- 40 This is Rhys Davids' rendering (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. 3, PTS, 1921, p. 231). Miss Horner (*Middle Length Sayings*, vol. 3, PTS, 1959, p. 384 and note 3) and Woodward (*Gradual Sayings*, vol. 5, PTS, 1936, p. 64 and note 1) have simply 'to be remembered', deriving the word from *sar*, to remember.
- 41 *Kalyāṇasahāyatā* is also based on the *bahuvrīhi kalyāṇasahāya*: as argued in the text, *kalyāṇasampavāṅkatā* is a *tatpuruṣa*. Cp. As 394, commenting on *sampavāṅkatā* in Dhs 1326/8, translated on pp. 66–7 of this article, which has *tesu* (sc. *kalyāṇesu* or *pāpesu*) *puggalesu kāyena c' eva cūtena ca sampavāṅkabhāvo*.
- 42 This concerns what is external, *bāhiraṃ*. For what is internal, *ajjhataṃ*, it is 'careful attention', *yoniso manasikāra* (It 9, S V 101–2).

- 43 *Kalyāṇamittatā silānaṃ āhāro, indriyasamvaro brahmacariyassa āhāro, avisaṃvādanā mittānaṃ āhāro.*
- 44 *Kulaputto yasmim̐ gāme vā nigame vā paṭivasati, tattha ye te honti gahapati vā gahapatiṭṭhā vā daharā vā vuddhasilino vuddhā vā vuddhasilino saddhāsampannā, silāsampannā, cāgasampannā, paññāsampannā, tehi saddhīm̐ santitṭhāti sallapati sākacchaṃ samāpajjati; yathārūpānaṃ saddhāsampannānaṃ saddhāsampadaṃ anusikkhati, yathārūpānaṃ silā-, . . . cāga-, . . . paññāsampannānaṃ paññāsampadaṃ anusikkhati.* My translation is slightly abridged. The whole Sutta is repeated at A IV 285–9 with Ujjayo the Brahmin.
- 45 1325. *Tattha katamā dovaccassatā?*
Sahadhammike vuccamāne dovaccassatāyaṃ dovaccassiyam̐ dovaccassatā vipatikūlagāhītā vipaccanikasātātā anādariyaṃ anādaratā agāravatā appaṭṭissavatā — ayaṃ vuccati dovaccassatā.
 1326. *Tattha katamā pāpamittatā?*
Ye te puggalā assaddhā dussilā appassutā macchārino duppaññā — yā tesam̐ sevanā nisevanā samsevanā bhajanā sambhajanā bhatti sambhatti sampavāṅkatā — ayaṃ vuccati pāpamittatā.
 1327. *Tattha katamā sovaccassatā?*
Sahadhammike vuccamāne sovaccassatāyaṃ sovaccassiyam̐ sovaccassatā appatikūlagāhītā avipaccanikasātātā sagāravatā sappaṭṭissavatā — ayaṃ vuccati sovaccassatā.
 1328. *Tattha katamā kalyāṇamittatā?*
Ye te puggalā saddhā silāvanto bahussutā cāgavanto paññāvanto — yā tesam̐ sevanā nisevanā samsevanā bhajanā sambhajanā bhatti sambhatti sampavāṅkatā — ayaṃ vuccati kalyāṇamittatā.
 See also Vbh 359, 369, 371, Pp 20, 24. The translation of these synonyms or near-synonyms is necessarily slightly arbitrary. In the passage on *pāpamittatā* I have given only ‘following after’ for *sevanā*, *nisevanā* and *samsevanā*, and ‘being devoted to’ for both *bhatti* and *sambhatti*.
- 46 Nānamoli, *Path of Purification*, p. 108, *The Guide*, p. 63, *Pitaka-Disclosure*, p. 342. B. C. Law, *Human Types* (PTS, 1924) pp. 30, 35. See also *Middle Length Sayings*, vol. I pp. 125–6, and *Book of the Discipline* vol. I (PTS, 1938) p. 310.
- 47 In Christianity, compare, for example, the discussion of friendship by John Cassian (3rd–4th century), in his sixteenth Conference, in E. Pichery (ed. and transl.) *Jean Cassien: Conférences*, vol. II pp. 221–247 (*Sources Chrétiennes*, no. 54, Paris, 1958).

THREE SOULS, ONE OR NONE: THE VAGARIES OF A PĀLI PERICOPE.

Early in that mysterious text, the *Cakkavatti-sihanāda Suttā*, is a recommendation how the ideal ruler should behave. From time to time, he is told, he is to ask advice of the best holy men available; they are characterized in three expressions (D III 61):¹ *Ye ca te tāta vijjite samaṇa-brāhmaṇā mada-ppamādā paṭiviratā khanti-soracce nivijjhā ekam attānaṃ damenti ekam attānaṃ samenti ekam attānaṃ parinibbāpenti, te kālena kālaṃ upasaṃkamitvā paripuccheyyāsi.* The first two characterizations, ‘abstaining from intoxication and carelessness and attached to patience and gentleness’ are straightforward. It is the third, from the first *ekam* to *parinibbāpenti*, which seems surprising and is the subject of this article. Though the text is famous, I am not aware that any scholar has drawn attention to what I shall from now on refer to as ‘our expression’ before.² Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids translate: ‘each mastering self, each calming self, each perfecting self’, and offer no comment. They seem to be taking each *ekam* as a nominative, presumably positing that the final *m* is a junction consonant; they translate as if it were a nominative singular, but of course with a plural verb that is impossible.

One’s first impression of the grammar — an impression which I shall show to be correct — is that *ekam* must be an accusative singular masculine qualifying *attānaṃ*. The translators evidently evaded this interpretation because it yields an odd meaning: Buddhists deny the existence of an *attan*, a self. The word can also be used as a reflexive pronoun, and one can imagine speaking of mastering and calming oneself, *attānaṃ*, but *parinibbāpenti*, a Buddhist technical term for putting out the fires of passion, hate and delusion, sits strangely with *attānaṃ*. Worse still, the sentence runs as if the repetition of *eka* could be distributive: ‘they master one self, tame one self, bring one self to *nibbāna*.’ That sounds as if people who are supposed to realize their lack of self are being credited with three.

Though the construction is not in fact distributive, it seems to have struck Buddhaghosa the same way, to judge by his comment on the passage (*Sumaṅgala-vilāsini* III 851): *attano rāgādīnaṃ damanādīhi ekam attānaṃ damenti samenti parinibbāpentī ti vuccanti*: 'By mastering etc. their own [the self's] passion etc. they are said to . . .' As I understand this gloss, Buddhaghosa is suggesting that 'self' is mentioned thrice to correspond to the three roots of evil: passion, hate and delusion. But that is not quite how he is interpreted by the sub-commentary, which evidently finds the passage troublesome (*Dīghanikāyatthakathā-ṭīkā* III 36): *Rāgādīnan ti rāgadosamohamānādīnaṃ. Damanādīhi ti damana-samananibbāpanehi. Ekam attānan ti ekam cittaṃ, ekaccaṃ attano cittaṃ ti attho. Rāgādīnaṃ hi pubbhāgiyaṃ damanādīpaccekaṃ icchitabbaṃ, na maggakkhaṇe viya ekajjhaṃ paṭisaṅkhānamukhena pajahanato. Ekam attānan ti vā vivekavasena ekam ekākinaṃ attānaṃ*. 'Passion etc. means passion, hate, delusion, pride etc. Taming etc. means mastering, calming, bringing to *nibbāna*. *Ekam attānaṃ* means one thought, one particular thought of oneself. For it is desirable that passion etc. should each be mastered etc. in sequence, not by abandoning them all at once through ratiocination as happens at the moment of [entering on] the path. Or else *ekam attānaṃ* means the self when it is sole, that is alone, by virtue of [being in] solitude.'

The PTS *Pali-English Dictionary* s.v. *parinibbāpeti* leads to A II 68 and A III 46. Our expression occurs in a paragraph which is identical at these two places (though the dictionary entry implies otherwise). The wider context is different from that in the *Cakkavatti-sihanāda Sutta*, but the threefold characterization of ideal brahmins and ascetics is the same. At II 68 F. L. Woodward translates our expression: 'who tame the one self, calm the one self, cool the one self', and adds a footnote to which I return below. At III 46 E. M. Hare translates: 'each mastering self, each calming self, each perfecting self.' The commentary on this latter reference (*Manoratha-pūraṇī* III 254) just refers one back to that on the former, which reads (*Manoratha-pūraṇī* III 100): *ekam attānaṃ damentī ti ekam attano va attabhāvaṃ indriyadamenā*

*damentī. samentī ti attano cittaṃ kilesavūpasamanena samenti. parinibbāpentī ti kilesaparinibbānen' eva parinibbāpentī. 'Ekam attānaṃ damenti means: they master one, that is their own, life by mastering the senses. Samenti means: they calm their own mind by laying to rest the defilements. Parinibbāpentī means: they bring to *nibbāna* by the complete blowing out of the defilements.'* As I understand this, Woodward's translation is in accord with the commentary, though his choice of the word 'self' is not very happy,

The *Tipiṭaka Concordance*, having luckily reached the letter *p*, leads to two further occurrences of our expression: A I 168 and A IV 45. Both turn out to be interesting texts. I take the latter first. In this *sutta*, which I intend to translate in full and comment on elsewhere, the Buddha provides allegorical equivalents for the three fires of the brahminical *śrauta* ritual. Ascetics and brahmins characterized by our set of three expressions are said to be the *dakkhiṇeyyaggi*, 'the fire worthy of offerings', which by a pun is equated with the brahminical southern fire (Sanskrit: *dakṣiṇāgni*). E. M. Hare is again the PTS translator of this passage; in a footnote he mentions the three parallel passages which we have already dealt with, and he repeats his translation of A III 46, with the insignificant change of 'taming' for 'mastering'. His footnote also refers to the commentary (*Manoratha-pūraṇī* IV 30), which is brief: *attānan ti cittaṃ, damentī ti indriyadamenā damenti, rāgādisamanena samenti, tesaṇṇeva parinibbāpanena parinibbāpentī*. This adds nothing new; *attan* is explained as 'mind', but *eka* is passed over in silence.

We turn to A I 168, a *sutta* in the *Brāhmaṇa-vagga*. A brahmin called Saṅgārava says: 'Gotama, we brahmins officiate at and institute sacrifices. Whoever does either of those things acquires merit/purification consequent on the sacrifice which affects more than one body. But Gotama, a person who comes from anyone's family and goes from home to homelessness masters himself alone, calms, himself alone, brings peace to himself alone; so he acquires merit/purification consequent on his leaving home (*pabbajjā*) which affects just one body.' To this the Buddha replies that by preaching the truth which he has discovered he puts hundreds of thousands

of beings on the same path. He asks the brahmin whether the merit he has obtained thus affects one body or many. The brahmin has to agree that it affects many.

The brahmin is represented as saying that sacrifice is more efficacious than what Buddhist renunciators do because the results take effect for more than one life. It is the standard brahminical view that correct ritual performance benefits one in both this life and the next; this view seems to be even older than the doctrine of *samsāra*, which of course multiplied the number of lives one has. The Buddha shows that his preaching too benefits more than one life; in fact it benefits hundreds of thousands, but these lives are contemporaneous, not sequential.

(There are further points of similarity and contrast which are not directly relevant to this article. The brahmin implies that sacrifice is for brahmins only, whereas just anyone can leave the world — a state of affairs which of course the Buddha would admit but approve of. In the brahmin's speech the etymological meaning of *puñña*, 'purificatory', would be uppermost, whereas the Buddhists adapted the word so that the usual English translation, 'meritorious', is more appropriate, and fits the Buddha's reply in this text.)

In this context, our expression is intended pejoratively; it is the brahmin's criticism. Disagreeing with the criticism, the Buddha does not use the expression. Its meaning here is crystal clear. The commentary (*Manoratha-pūraṇī* II 266–7) says: *ekam attānaṃ damentī ti attano indriyadamanavasena ekam attānaṃ eva damenti*; '*ekam attānaṃ damenti* means: by virtue of mastering his own senses it is himself alone that he masters;' and it gives precisely parallel glosses on the other two phrases.

F. L. Woodward, the PTS translator of this text, also gets the point, though I have preferred my own translation. He writes: 'tames only the single self, calms only the single self, leads to Nibbāna only the single self.' He adds a note adducing the parallel passages, but we have seen that their PTS translations, even Woodward's own at A II 68, are different.

Our expression makes perfect sense in the mouth of a

brahminical critic of Buddhism but makes no sense in Buddhist terminology and is inapplicable to Buddhists. This was already evident to Woodward. In a footnote to his translation of A II 68 (*The Book of the Gradual Sayings* II 76) he points out that our expression occurs at A I 168, 'where it fits the context far better than it does here.'

The reader may feel that by leaving the correct interpretation till last I have made a mountain out of a molehill. But my purpose has been to show that not only modern scholars (E. M. Hare evidently did not read his predecessor's footnotes) but also ancient ones have gone badly astray. The commentaries on the passages in which our expression occurs have merely taken over from the comment on A I 168 the (banal and uncontroversial) glosses on the verbs. Those which gloss *attānaṃ*, the self, as *cittaṃ*, the mind, have lost sight of the original point. None of them has known what to do with the difficulties created by the transfer of our expression from a pejorative to a eulogistic context, so that they have virtually ignored *ekam*. The *Dīgha* sub-commentary has seen the difficulty and tried to solve it, but with little success.

For the problem lies deeper: our expression simply cannot be made to fit a eulogistic context. It has long been known that the texts of the Pali Canon have been built up out of what biblical scholarship has dubbed pericopes, passages of scripture which were standardized and used as units to compose longer texts. This is another piece of evidence in that direction, small but I think not insignificant. The pericope which I have been calling 'our expression' was clumsily used, so that I think we can trace the line of development. It started at A I 168. Then, I submit, it was transferred to A IV 45, a very similar context, in which the Buddha is putting down a brahmin critic by turning his terms back on him. Once one knows I 168, one sees that the passage at IV 45 means: 'These renunciators, whom *you* declare to control (and benefit) themselves alone, are in fact worthy of gifts, worthier than your sacrificial fire.' But that meaning cannot be deduced from the text read in isolation, as it now stands.

The final stage was that the whole threefold characterization of ideal holy men was borrowed from A IV 45 by the other texts cited. I would surmise that the two A passages took it first and the *Cakkavatti-sihanāda Sutta* last of all, because that is a much longer text, which like much of the *Dīgha Nikāya* has been built up by combining several pericopes.

I hope to have shown that this process of composition was sometimes done in a rather automatic way: in this case, at least, the results can no longer be plausibly claimed to reflect the Buddha's own terminology. I hope also to have shown that how the Buddha argued with brahmins can be relevant to understanding some aspects, including verbal details, of his teaching. This latter theme I intend to explore in future publications.

OXFORD

Richard Gombrich

Notes

¹ All references are to PTS publications.

² A. K. Warder, in his *Introduction to Pali*, p. 131, uses this as a passage for reading but omits our expression, so he must have seen it as problematic.

MINOR PĀLI GRAMMAR TEXTS: THE SADDABINDU AND ITS 'NEW' SUBCOMMENTARY

Introduction

The epilegomena to volume I of the Critical Pāli Dictionary¹ give a list of 'fourteen minor texts' on Pāli grammar with a considerable number of exegetical works (see CPD Epilegomena 5.4.1–14)². Most of these texts and their auxiliary literature were written in Burma between the 11th and the 19th century A.D.³ The name 'minor grammar texts' (*saddā-nay-kyam*³) is found in the *Piṭaka-to²-samuiñ*³, a 19th century bibliography of the manuscripts kept in the Royal library at Mandalay.⁴ It clearly refers to the size of the texts, which ranges from 20 to 568 verses, and is used in contrast to the 'major grammar texts' (*saddā-kri*³) written by Kaccāyana, Moggallāna, and Aggavaṃsa.⁵

The list in Piṭ-sm is not limited to the fourteen texts given as a group in the CPD. This limitation was apparently just a publisher's choice when the texts were first printed in Burma.⁶ However, we also find anthologies of '16 minor grammar texts' published in Burma in 1937, and '15 minor grammar texts' published in 1954.⁷

These minor Pāli grammar texts are hardly known outside Burma and have never been edited in Roman script.⁸ Therefore I venture to present an edition of the shortest text here, along with a subcommentary. It is the *Saddabindu* ('the drop of grammar') compiled by King Kya-cvā of the Pagan dynasty (1234–50 A.D.) for the use of the ladies in the royal palace.⁹ It gives a mere glimpse of the traditional subjects in Kaccāyana's grammar: euphony (*sandhi*), nouns (*nāma*), case (*kāraka*), compounds (*samāsa*), noun derivatives (*tad-dhita*), verbs (*ākhyāta*), and radical suffixes (*kita*) are dealt with in 1–4 verses each.

The subcommentary apparently entitled *Ganthsāro nāma Saddabinduvinicchayo* (the investigation of the *Saddabindu* (text) called 'Essence of Book(s)')¹⁰ was written by Sad-

dhammakitti Mahāphussadeva¹¹, a native of Haripuñja (Lamphang in Northern Thailand)¹² in the late 15th century A.D.¹³ The prologue mentions earlier subcommentaries.¹⁴ Mahāphussadeva's work is called 'brand new subcommentary' in Northern Thailand.¹⁵ It may have reached Burma when Chiangmai was under Burmese rule in the late 16th–18th century A.D.¹⁶, though it is not listed in Piṭ-sm.

A *Nissaya* on *Saddabindu* was written by Paṭhama Bā³karā Charāto² Rhañ Dhammābhīnanda with the title *Tipiṭakālan-kārasiridhajamahādhammarājaguru* (1738–1800 A.D.)¹⁷

The text given here is based on the following sources:

P = *Saddā-ñay* 15 coṅ pāṭh, Rankun (Icchāsaya) 1954, pp. 58–60;

N1 = *Saddā-ñay-nisya*, Rankun (Praññ-kri³maṇḍuiṅ) 1922–25, fascicle 2, pp. 155–161;

N2 = *Saddā-ñay* 16 coṅ tvai nisya, Rankun (Jambū¹ mit chve) 1937, pp. 169–92;

Ṭ = *Saddā-ñay-ṭikā*, Rankun (Kavi myak-mhan) 1910, fascicle 7, pp. 169–72;

F = V. Fausböll: *The Mandalay MSS in the India Office Library* (JPTS 1894–96, pp. 49–50 § 162 (prologue and terminal title of *Saddabinduṭikā*))

N1 and N2 are almost identical. Ṭ contains a considerable number of misprints and damaged letters, so it has been difficult to establish an altogether satisfactory text. I would have liked to compare the whole of F and/or manuscripts or printed books from Northern Thailand..

The Ven. Charāto² Ū³ Nyāṇika, a Burmese monk scholar at present residing in the new Burmese Buddhist Vihāra of London has kindly gone through the text and suggested a number of improvements. They have been included in the footnotes with the siglum (Ny).

[] show letters inserted by me to improve the text.

SADDABINDU

1. Yassa ñeyyesu dhammesu nāṇumattam py aveditaṃ natvā saddham-

masaṅghaṃ taṃ SADDABINDUṀ

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| | | saṃārabhe. |
| 2. | kādiritā nava saṅkhyā
pādayo pañca saṅkhyā ti | kamena ṭādi yādi ca
suññā nāma sarañ-ñā-nā. |
| 3. | sareh' eva sarā pubbā
byañjanā c' āgamā vācī | luttā vācī ¹ parā ² ramā ³
dīgharassādisambhavā. |
| 4. | k' ākasen' āgato 's' isi ⁴ ?
arāj'-ākhv-aggi-mesinaṃ | ken' iddhim atidissati?
s'-otuka-megha-y'-itthiyo.
sandhiyo. |
| 5. | buddho pumā yuvā santo
yat'-ādi dehi jantu ca | rājā brahmā sakhā ca sā
satthu pitā 'bhībhū vidū. |
| 6. | kaññā-'mmā-ratti-'tthī
pukkha- | rañi-nady ūrū ⁵ -mātu-bhū
pada-kamma-dadh'-āyuto.
suddhe syādy-antakā pume
'[t]thyam ⁷ pañcantehi
dādhikā ⁸ |
| 7. | gahitāggahaṇen' ettha
vimalā ⁶ honti ch' antehi | janakā honti ty-antato.
nāma-samāsa-taddhitā
tato luttā 'va syādayo
go tv anto 'tha panādayo.
nāmaṃ. |
| 8. | napuṃsake payogā tu
padhānānugatā sabba-
atiliṅgā nipātādi
suttānurūpato siddhā | samāso honti sambhavā
taddhito kattu-kamma-
sampa- |
| 9. | cha kārake ⁹ ca sāmismiṃ
taddhito kattu-kamma- | dān'-okāsa-sāmīsu
kitako satta sādhanē
avutte dutiyādayo.
vane buddhena vaṇṇite
bhikkhu bhāveti
bhāvanam. |
| 10. | tisādhanamhi ¹⁰ ākhyāto
sabbattha paṭhamā vutte | liṅgena vacanena ca
bahubbīhi tu khepayu ¹⁴ . |
| 11. | manasā munino vutyā
vaṭṭā bhīto vivaṭṭatthaṃ | dayā ¹⁵ ca kammadhārayā
ete sabbāvahāritā.
samāso. |
| 12. | rāsi ¹¹ dvippadakā ¹² dvandā
luttā tulyādihikaraṇe ¹³ | |
| 13. | tappurisā ca khepoyā ¹⁴
digavo cābyanā hārā ¹⁶ | |
| 14. | Kaccādito pi ekamhā
'nekatthe sati hont' eva | saddato niyamaṃ vinā
sabbe taddhita-paccayā.
taddhitam. |

15. kattari nāññathā kamme tathā bhāve tu merayā
sabbe te pañcadhātumhi sañkhepena marūmayam¹⁷
16. gamumhi¹⁸ tiguṇā etto sambhavā aññadhātusu
anantā va payogā te ādesapaccayādihi¹⁹.
ākhyātam.
17. kitā dipaccayā sabbe ekamhā api dhātuto
siyūṃ 'nurūpato satta sādhane sati pāyato.
kitakam.
18. iminā kiñci lesena sakkā nātum jināgame
payogā nāñinā sindhu²⁰ raso v' ekena bindunā.
19. rammaṃ sīgham pavesāya puram piṭakasaññitam²¹
maggojumaggatam
maggam saddāraññe visodhito.
20. dhammena sobbhipatinā²² parutthaniko ten' eva²³
kiñci jalito padīpo Kaccāyan'-uttaratane
cittagabbha²⁴ kone dhamma- rājā²⁵ gurunāmakena.
Saddabindupakaraṇam samattam.

SADDABINDU-ABHINAVATĪKĀ
GANTHASĀRO NĀMA
SADDABINDUVINICCHAYO

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.

- Namissitvāna sambuddham tilokam pi mahādayam¹
dhammañ ca vimalam
samgham puññakkhetam anuttaram
saddattham icchantena tikkhapaññavisaradā²
bhikkhunā Nānakittena parisuddhagūṇesinā
yācito 'ham karissāmi SADDABINDU-
VINICCHAYAM.
- Porāñehi katānekā santi yā pana vañṇanā
na tāhi sakkā subuddham atisañkhepa-atthato
tasmā nam vañṇayissāmi sabbe suñātha sādhavo.
Pacchā tabbinicchayañ ca sādhu gañhantu tatthikā

etaṃ samāvicāretvā yuttam gañhantu pañditā
ayuttam pana bhaḍḍentu³ mā ca issā bhavantu te ti.

(§1) Paramasukhumanayasamannāgatam sakasamayasa-
myantaragahanaviggāhaṇasamattham suvimlavipulapaññā-
veyyattiyajananaṃ⁴ saddalakkhaṇasahitam gāthāpādasāñ-
khātam varajanānam passane akhilañāyanaśādisam *Sadda-
bindupakaraṇam* ārabhanto pathamaṃ tāva sabbattha
bhayanīvaraṇasamattham ratanattayapaṇāmaṃ dassetuṃ
yassa ñeyyesu dhammesū ty ādim āha.

Ettha hi sammāsambuddham *saddhammasamgham natvā*
ti iminā ratanattayapaṇāmo vutto. Tattha tattha ratanattay-
avandanaṃ tāva bahudhā vitthārenti. Visesato pana rogan-
tarāya vūpasamattham patthenti. Vuttañ hi: nipaccakāress'
etassa—la—asesato (As 1, 15–16)⁵. Ratanattayavandanaṃ
hi atthato vandanakriyābhiniṭṭhādikā kusalacetanā. Sā hi
vanditabbavandakānam khettañjāsāyasaṃpadādītāya ca diṭ-
ṭhadhammavedaniya bhūtā purāṇakassa kammassa balā-
nuppādānavasena purimakammanibbattitassa vipākasantān-
assa rogantarāyakarāni upapīlako pacchedakakammāni vinā-
setvā tam nidānam rogād'-upaddavaśāñkhātānam rogan-
tarāyānam anabhinibbattitam karoti. Tasmā ratanattayavandan-
akaraṇam attanā samārabhitabbassa sathassa anantarāyena
sampajjanattham bālakulaputtānam vandanā pubbaṅgamāya
paṭipattiyā anantarāyena uggahañādi-sampajjanatthañ ca.
Ayaṃ ettha samudāyo, ayaṃ pañāvayavattho. Sammāsam-
buddham *saddhammasamgham natvā* Saddabindupakar-
aṇam samārabhe ti sambandho.

Yassā ti puggalanidassanam etaṃ, ñeyyesu dhammesū ti
paññāvisayanidassanam etaṃ, *nānuttaman* ti bhavanidassa-
nam etaṃ, *aveditan* ti kriyānidassanam etaṃ, *natvā* ti
kattunidassanam etaṃ, *saddhammasamghan* ti kammanidas-
sanam etaṃ, *natvā* ti kattunidassanam etaṃ, *saddhamma-
samghan* ti kammanidassanam etaṃ, *Saddabindū* ti saññā-
niddassanam etaṃ, *samārabhe* ti ākhyātakriyānidassanam
etaṃ. *yassā* ti yena sambuddhena *aveditan* ti yojanā.
Ñeyyesu dhammesū ti padadvayaṃ niddhāranasamudāye

yeva anumattaniddhāraṇiyaṃ. Tattha ñeyyesū ti ñātabbam ñeyyaṃ. Sabhāvalakkhaṇarasapaccupaṭṭhānapadaṭṭhāna-saṅkhātāṃ dhammaṃ gambhīrasāgarasadisāṃ dubbhīṇeyyaṃ bālaputhujjanehi na sakkā jānituṃ, dhammassa gambhīrasabhāvattā. Taṃ hi niravasesato sabbaññutañāṇassa ārammaṇaṃ eva hoti, na anatikkamavasena pavattati, tasmā: yāvataṃ ñāṇaṃ tāvatakaṃ ñeyyaṃ, yāvatakaṃ ñeyyaṃ tāvatakaṃ ñāṇaṃ ti (?) vuttaṃ. Taṃ pana vacanaṃ udāhaṭṭaṃ ganthā yāmakatā⁶ bhavyeaya, atha pana Samantapāsādikāvinayaṭṭhakathāyaṃ (Sp 16–29) vitthāritaṃ eva. Taṃ pana oloketaṃ yathā icchitaṃ eva gahetabbam.

Sabhāvaṃ dhārentī ti *dhammā*. Paramatthasabhāvā pacayehi dhāriyanti ti *dhammā*, dhāriyanti yathā sabhāvato ti *dhammā*. Atha vā : pāpake dhamme dhunāti vidhamsetī ti *dhammo*, salakkhaṇaṃ dhāretī ti *dhammo*, dhāriyati paṇḍitehi na bālehi ti vā *dhammo*. Tesu ñeyyā ca te dhammā cā ti *ñeyyadhammā*.

Tesu aṇati paṇṇati ti *aṇu*, mānettabbam mattaṃ, aṇukaṇ ca taṃ mattaṃ cā ti *aṇumattaṃ*, aṇumattaṃ pamāṇaṃ ye sante ti *aṇumattā*, aṇukaṃ mattaṃ ti vattabbe *aṇumattaṃ* ti vuttaṃ. Kasmā 'aṇukathūlānī' ti (cf. Sn 431) pāliyaṃ na sameti ti. Saccaṃ etaṃ, gāthābandhachandānurakkhanatthaṃ kārassa lopo daṭṭhabbo.

Apī ti upasaggo, apī-saddo divivācako garahatthe ruciatthe ti. Vuttaṃ hi: garahatthe 'ruci-atthe'⁷, apī-saddo divivācako ti (?). Tesu 'ruci-attho'⁷ adhippeto. Ayaṃ pana amhākaṃ khanti. Keci pana garahatthe icchanti. Taṃ na yujjati. Kasmā ? 'Yo kappakoṭṭhi pi' ti (Sp 1, 4) na pametattā⁸ apī-saddo 'ruci-atthe'⁷ ācariyena icchito. Taṃ pana amhākaṃ khanti eva sameti. Atha pana aññathā icchamānā vimamsitvā gahetabbā.

Viditabbam *veditaṃ*, ñāṇaṃ vidati jānāti etāyā ti vā *vedi*, vidiñāṇe ta-paccayaṃ. Na vedi *avedi*, n' atthi vedi etāyā ti *avedi*. Namitunā ti natvā ācariyo.

Sataṃ dhammo *saddhammo*, hanati ti *saṃgho*, samaggaṃ kammaṃ samupagacchatī ti vā *saṃgho*. Saddhammo ca so *saṃgho* cā ti *saddhammasaṃgho*. *Tan* ti sammāsambuddhaṃ.

Tattha *dhamma*-saddo pana sāmāññavacano dhammo sabhāvo pariyattī ti ādisu pavattati. Tesu pana sabhāvapari-

yatti idhādhippeto. Sabhāvapariyattī nāma kin ti ce, maggaphalanibbānasaṅkhāto sabhāvadhammo nāma, tepitakaṃ buddhavacanaṃ pariyattidhammo nāmā ti parihāravacanaṃ kātabbam.

Samgha-saddo pana sāmāññavacano. Catuvaggapañcavag-gadasavaggādi ke tathā maggaṭṭhe ca phalaṭṭhe ca *saṃgha*-saddo pavattī ti codanā. Tesu pana maggaṭṭhe ca phalaṭṭhe cā ti veditabbā. Vuttaṃ hi:

Maggaṭṭhā ca phalaṭṭhā ca atth' evāriyapuggalā,
ādito satta sekkhā ca asekkhā arahā paro ti (?)

Ñeyyesū ti visesanaṃ, *dhammesū* ti visesyaṃ. Visesanaṃ nāma bahutaraṃ: navatiṃsa visesanaṃ tulyādhipkaraṇavisesanaṃ, bhinnādhipkaraṇavisesanaṃ; tulyādhipkaraṇavisesitabbam, bhinnādhipkaraṇavisesitabbam, kammavisesitabbam, kattuvisesitabbam, karaṇavisesitabbam, sampadānavisesitabbam, apādānavisesitabbam, adhipkaraṇavisesitabbam, ādhāravisesitabbam, okāsavisesitabbam, padavisesitabbam, bhinnavisesitabbam, abhinnavisesitabbam, bhinnābhinnavisesitabbam, anubhūtavisesitabbam, jātivisesitabbam, kriyāvisesitabbam, guṇavisesitabbam, dabbavisesitabbam, nāma-visesitabbam, bhinnajātivisesitabbam, abhinnajātivisesitabbam, bhinnābhinnajātivisesitabbam, bhinnakriyāvisesitabbam, abhinnakriyāvisesitabbam, [bhinnābhinnakriyāvisesitabbam, bhinnaguṇavisesitabbam,] abhinnaguṇavisesitabbam, bhinnābhinnaguṇavisesitabbam, bhinnadabbavisesitabbam, abhinnadabbavisesitabbam, bhinnābhinnadabbavisesitabbam, bhinnanāmavisesitabbam, abhinnanāmavisesitabbam, bhinnābhinnanāmavisesitabbam ti codanā. *Tulyādhipkaraṇavisesitabbam* ti kathaṃ tulyādhipkaraṇavisesitabbam ti viññāyati ti. Abhinnapavattinimittāsaddā ekasmiṃ vatthunipavattā tulyādhipkaraṇā nāmā ti.

Yass' ekattavibhattitaṃ⁹ ekasaṅkhyākriyā pi ca
samānaliṅgatā c' eva tulyādhipkaraṇaṃ bhavati
(Kacc-bh 92)

vacanato; atha vā bhinnavisesanaṃ, dabbavisesanaṃ, guṇavisesanaṃ ti. Hoti c' ettha:

Yasmā hi yā bhedañeyyaṃ hoti tabbisesanaṃ
tañ ca jāti-guṇa-kriyā dabba-nāman ti
'nekadhā ti (?)

Tassa visesanaṃ *tabbisesanaṃ*, tassa visesyabhūtassa atthassa visesanaṃ. Kim atthā ti vitthārena saddasatthantare yeva atibahūtārā honti. Sace idha pana vitthārena ganthabhirukā bhaveyya dandhapañño, taṃ 'navatiṃsa visesanaṃ nāma bahutaraṃ kiṃ, payojanan' ti sandhāya vuttan ti.

Ahan ti padaṃ *samārabhe* ti kattā. Kattā ca nāma pañcavidhā: sayamkattā, hetukattā, kammakattā, vuttakattā, avuttakattā ti pañcadhā kattukāraṇā. Tesam pana bhedato: sayamkattā nāma 'suddho puññaṃ karotī' ty ādi, hetukattā nāma 'puriso purisaṃ kammaṃ kāreti' ty ādi, kammakattā nāma 'sayam eva koṭṭhābhijjate' ty ādi, vuttakattā nāma 'puriso rathaṃ karotī' ty ādi, avuttakattā nāma 'sūdena pacate odano' ty ādi. Vuttaṃ hi:

Sayamkattā hetukattā – pa – kattā pañcavidho hoti¹⁰
ti (?)

Tesu vuttakattā idhādhipetto

Kammaṃ pana duvidhaṃ vuttāvuttabhedenā. Vuttakammaṃ nāma 'ahinā daṭṭho naro' ty ādi, avuttakammaṃ nāma 'rathaṃ karotī puriso' ty ādi. Dvīsu avuttakammaṃ idhādhipettaṃ. Kasmā ti ce, dutiyā vibhattidassanato. Puna kammaṃ nāma tividaṃ nippattivikatipattibhedena. Nipphattikammaṃ nāma 'kuṭṭhaṃ karotī' ty ādi, vikatikammaṃ nāma 'kaṭṭhaṃ jhāpetī' ty ādi, pattikammaṃ nāma 'rūpaṃ passati' ty ādi. Tesu pana pattikammaṃ idhādhipettaṃ. Duvidhaṃ pana pattikammaṃ kāyacittabhedenā. Kāyapattikammaṃ nāma 'buddhaṃ vandeti' ty ādi, cittapattikammaṃ nāma 'ādiccaṃ namassati' ty ādi. Dvīsu kāyapattikammaṃ¹¹ idhādhipettaṃ. Icchitānicchitanevicchitanānicchitakammabhedenā tividaṃ. 'Bhattaṃ bhuñjati' ty ādi icchitakammaṃ, 'visaṃ gilati' ty ādi anicchitakammaṃ; nevicchitanānicchitakammaṃ nāma 'gāmaṃ gacchanta rukhamūlaṃ pāvisi' ty ādi. Tesu icchitakammaṃ gahetabbam eva.¹²

Kasmā ti ce, natvā ti ce, pubbakālakriyāya kathaṃ jānitabban ti. Taṃ hi:

Ekakattā kriyānekā c' etaraṃ pubbakālatam
bhāvetvā ti amukasmim taṃ tadatthakriyā [matā]¹³
ti (?)

natvā pubbakālakriyā tāva pacchā *samārabhe* ti padaṃ sandhāya vuttattā pubbakālakriyā yuttam eva hoti. Namudhātu, *natvā* ti c' ettha tvā-paccayo pubbakālādīsu catūsu atthesu dissati. Pubbakālo idha daṭṭhabbo ratanattaye. Kasmā ti ce. Apayuttito. Sace hi aparakālasimṃ ganthakaraṇato pacchā namassanaṃ siyā. Sace samānakālasimṃ¹⁴ ekakkhaṇe kriyādvayaṃ bhaveyya. Sace hetumhi, namassanato yeva ganthakaraṇaṃ.

No karuṇāya. Ayam ācariyo hi bahudhā pakārena ganthe passitum asakkonte dandhapaññe natvā dayā uppajjati: kathaṃ pan' ime puggalā saddasatthacekē siyūṃ; saddasatthā hi bahutarā, ime pana mandapaññā ti. Tasmā dayā ce ti idaṃ satthaṃ karotī, no namassanato. Namassanaṃ pana kiṃ payojanan ti antarāya vināsanatthan ti. Nanu 'vocumhā: vandanaṃ pana vinā satthassa pakaraṇassa asijjhanatthaṃ karotī, satthaṃ pana nippayojanaṃ hoti. Tathā hi vuttaṃ:

Vinā hi maṅgalaṃ seṭṭhaṃ padumasamit¹⁵ ācariyo,
karoti kira ghāṭeti siho taṃ vadhitvā gato¹⁶
ti (?)

Ativiya dissati. Siho ti kāḷasiho idhādhippeto.

Tvā-paccayo tīsu sādhanesu kattusādhanam idhādhippetam, n' itaradvayaṃ. Kasmā ti ce. Atthāyuttito. Sace hi kammaśā-dhanavacako siyā, taṃ sammāsambuddhan tī ty ādi padehi sambandho na yujjati. Kasmā ti ce. Sammāsambuddham ty ādi padānaṃ avuttakammattā. Kathaṃ viññāyati ti codanā. Diṭṭhadutiya vibhattito. Dutiyā vibhatti ca avutto va hoti, kathaṃ viññāyati ti. 'Kammaṃ dutiyāya kto' ti (Kacc 626)¹⁷ vacanato, 'vutte tu paṭhamā hoti, avutte dutiyādayo'¹⁸ ti (?)

vacanato, sace bhāvasādhanam siyā, tadā kammani sambandhaniyam na bhaveyya. Sace kammaṃ no iccheyya, tadā chaṭṭhi kammaṃ eva bhavati. Kattusādhanam hi yuttam hoti.

Atha kho *samārabhe* ti kattuvācakena kriyāpadena samānādhikaraṇabhāvato tass' eva visesanabhāvato ca kattuvācako

vijānitabbo. Nanu 'sāmaññaṃ viśesyāṃ, bhedaṇaṃ viśesaṇaṃ' ti (?) vacanato *samārabhe* ti padaṃ viśesaṇaṃ ti. *navā* ti hi padassa sādhanattaya vācakattā pubbakālādi catunnaṃ atthānaṃ vācakattā sāmaññaṃ jātaṃ. *samārabhe* ti padassa kat[t]-vatthe yeva vācakattā ekantaparakālikattā ca bhedaṇaṃ jātaṃ ti. Saccam etaṃ, tathā pi evaṃ idha na daṭṭhabbaṃ. Imā pana *samārabhe* ti padaṃ viśesyāṃ, *samārabhe* ti vutte bhutvā sayitvā vatvā vāyaṃ kiñci sabbakammaṃ katvā *samārabhe* ti aniyamaṃ hoti. *Navā* ti utte pana sesaṃ sabbam pubbakriyaṃ nivattetī ti. Tvaṇ tena bhaviyamānā kriyākāmaṃ viya yathāhvā bhūtā. Tathā pi apadhānaṃ hotī ti vuttaṃ.

Anumattan ti padaṃ paccattavacanaṃ kammaṇi hoti. Kathaṃ viññāyati ti ce, *yassā* ti padaṃ tatiyā vibhattiyam eva bhajati. *yassā* ti yena sammāsambuddheṇā ti vuttattā paṭhamā kammani hotī ti. Tathā hi vuttaṃ:

Yadā ca paṭhama kattā dutiyā kammam eva ca
yadā ca tatiya kattā paṭhamā hoti kammani ti (?)

Idha pana paccattavacanaṃ kammani yeva hotī ti veditabbaṃ. Sesaṃ pana vattabbaṃ na vitthārema. Sace vitthāre ganthagaruṇā bhavyeṃ taṃ saddasatthantare yeva bahutaraṃ. Vitthāretvā idha pana na vakkhāmi, tatthike hi gavesetvā gahetabbā ti.

Tattha sappati uccāriyati ti *saddo*, saddiyati kathiyati ti vā *saddo*, sappati sotaviññāṇārammaṇabhāvaṃ āpajjati ti vā *saddo*, uccāriyati ti vā *saddo*. Utujasaddo cittaṃ ca, tattha pacchimo idhāhippeto. Kasmā ? So va munindamukhambujasambhūto upādāyupasaṅkhāto saddo. Sappa-dhātu uccāraṇe ti hi dhātu 'rañju-dādihi' dha di-dda kirā kvaci jada-lopo cā' ti (Kacc 661) suttena da-paccayaṃ katvā 'para dvebhāvo ṭhāne' ty (Kacc 40) anena da-kārassa dvebhāvaṃ katvā rūpasiddhi veditabbā.

Bindati paggharati ti *bindu*; bindapaggharaṇe ti hi dhātu. 'vid-ante ū' ti (Kacc 616) ū-paccayaṃ katvā 'kvacādi majjhatarādi'¹⁹ suttena ū-paccayassa rassaṃ katvā rūpasiddhi. Bindu viyā ti *bindu*. Atha vā saddānaṃ Kaccāyanādīnaṃ bindu *Saddabindu*, saddesu vā Kaccāyanādīsu bindu *Saddabindu*, saddaṇ ca taṃ bindu cā ti *Saddabindu*. Tesu paṭhamo tappurisadvayaṃ eva labbhati. Kasmā ti ce, *Saddabindū* ti na

vuttaṃ. Saccam etaṃ, *Saddabindū* ti paṭhanti. Na doso ti vacanaṃ ācariyena vuttaṃ. Nanu va-kārassa ba-kāraṃ katvā kiṃ payojanaṃ ti codanā. Va-kārassa ba-kāraṃ avinābhāvato yathā taṃ pālī ti yuttaṃ hoti. La-kārassa ḷa-kāraṃ katvā pālī ti vuttaṃ hoti. Tathā hi:

Sabba ty atra vikāro he ty uccate anaññaato
tassa rūpaṃ dukā hoti la-kārassa tathā pi vā
Chindadanto yathā nāgo kuñjarakkhādhiḡacchati
evaṃ pi vaṇṇa-vikāro tabbohāraṃ viḡacchati ti (?)
vuttaṃ hoti.

Atthe kathā ti *aṭṭhakathā*, sabbathā pi yathānurūpavasena vaṇṇavikāraṃ kātabbaṃ.

(§2) Evaṃ ratanattayavandanaṃ dassetvā idāni attanā sammārabhitassa pakaraṇassa paṭiññātabhāvaṃ dassetuṃ *kādīritā* ty ādim āha. Tattha *kādī* ti ko ādiye sante ti kādayo; iritabbā kathetabbā ti *iritā*, ira-dhātu kathane. Nimitabbā *saṅkhyā*. Navañ ca navañ ca navañ ca *navā* ekaseso kātabbo. Navañ ca taṃ saṅkhyā cā ti navasaṅkhyā. Ṭo ādiye sante ti *ṭadayo*, yo ādiye sante ti *yādiyo*, po ādiye sante ti *pādayo*, saro ca ño ca no ca *sara-ñña-nā*. Tattha *kādī*-akkharā nāma yathā ka, kha, ga, gha, ṇa, ca, cha, ja, jhā ti navakkharā nava saṅkhyā nāma kavīhi kathitā. *Ṭādy*-akkharā nāma yathā ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa, ta, tha, da, dhā ti navakkharā nava saṅkhyā nāma saddasatthavidūhi vuttā. *Yādy*-akkharā nāma yathā ya, ra, la, va, śa, ṣa, sa, ha, ḷa ti 'me navakkharā nava saṅkhyā nāma viññūhi iritā. *Pādy*-akkharā nāma yathā pa, pha, ba, bha, mā ti pañcakkharā pañca saṅkhyā nāma paṇḍitehi bhāsītā. *Sara-ñña-nā* ty aṭṭha sarā ṇa-nā yeva suññaṃ nāma cā ti, taṃ yathā a, -pa- o, ṇa, nā ti pakāsītā ti. *Kamenā* ti²⁰ kamaṃ eva padacchedo. Evaṃ dvitālīs'-akkhare lekhaṇā ti ime²¹ pañca vagge katvā kulaputtānaṃ tipīṭakesv eva paṭubhāvāyā ti. Tesu pana ka-ṭa-yā ti tayo vaggā *nava saṅkhyā* nāma, pādi-vaggā *pañca saṅkhyā* nāma, sara-ñña-nā ti dasakkharā *suññā* nāma. Tesam nāma pabhedato saññā pan' atthāya pañcavagge katvā ty adhippāyo. Tesam pana lakkhaṇaṃ kathaṃ viññāyati ti. Tattha kā ti padaṃ 1 (ekaṃ) lekhaṃ, khā ti padaṃ 2 (dve) lekhaṃ, -pa- jhā ti 9 (nava)

lekhaṃ kātappaṃ: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Tā ti padaṃ 1 (ekaṃ) lekhaṃ, -pa-dhā ti padaṃ 9 (nava) lekhaṃ likhitappaṃ eva: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Ya, ra, la, va, śa, ṣa, sa, ha, lā ti es' eva nayo. Pā ti padaṃ 1 (ekaṃ) lekhaṃ -pa-mā ti padaṃ 5 (pañca) lekhaṃ kātappaṃ: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. A, ā, -pa-o, nā, nā ti suññā nāmā ti daṭṭhabbaṃ. Suññā nāma aṭṭha lakkhaṇaṃ: bindu kātappaṃ o, o, o, o, o, o, o, o, o, o. Idha lekhaṃ udāhaṭam: tiṃsame purise nāvutyō, 39,000, ga-jha-a-ñā-na. Idaṃ pana lekhaṃ sabbattha veditappaṃ. Hoti c' ettha:

ādi-vaggā nava saṅkhyā
pādi-vaggā pañca saṅkhyā
ete pañca vagge tāva

ṭādi-yādi-vaggā tathā
ādi-n'-antā suññā pi ca,
pacchā lekhaṃ kare budhā²²
ti (?)

Tesaṃ atha sarānaṃ byañjanānaṃ ca ekakkharaṃ ekapādaṃ bandhitvā²³ kulaputtānaṃ mukhamaṇḍanāya dassento āha:

a-dadaṃ ā-raṇaṃ buddhaṃ
abhivaḍḍhaṃ puññabalaṃ
ī hoti kāmākilesaṃ
un'-ekameka pureti
ohāya lokam²⁴ gaccheyya
aki-kāra-puppham idaṃ
gata-kāre jane passa
ñā-kkharo sara-nissāya
tasmā v' assa vikāro
vajjeyya puṃ mahārājā
jan' etth' ādānabhāvena
ñātappaṃ dhammajātan ti
ṭhatvā puññānubhāvena
vaḍḍhaṃ vaḍḍhena ācāyaṃ
tārehi na-karaṃ iṇaṃ
dadaṃ yantāna dhammena
narehi attano gehe
vālesi sarīraṃ jātā
ayaṃ sīlavissuddhānaṃ
yāhi sagganivāsanaṃ

.....
īritaṃ dhammaṃ uttamaṃ.
u-ṭi-cchedasaṅgaṃ ekaṃ
sambodhā ca varuttamaṃ
heh' etaṃ paṇamām' aham
khaṃ caranti vihaṅgame
ghaṭeti vāyāmaṃ iṭha
n' atth' ekaṃ piṭakattaye
niggahitan ti avhayuṃ
chaḍḍe jaṭaṃ vijatahi
c' āgamā puññasampadaṃ
phutaṃ rañcato iṭa va
ṭāhi gaṇhāhi phaladaṃ
ṇāhi iṇaṃ na gāheyya
tāhi rājatavānubhā
dhammaṃ gaccheyya kāmato
bāhirakkhāhi samaṇe
phāsu pase viyo hoti
maritvā idha lokamhā
ratim pemaṃ rājājane

labhitvā attano gehaṃ
ratana-ttayaṣsa mahā
saritvā inane ante
lā-ti kilantarājāno
dhammikaṃ viya passati
kāmadharehi khattiya
maṇe gaṇaṃ vinodaye
atha tejena tādinā ti (?).

Evaṃ dvetālīsakkhare gahetvā ekapādam ekakkharaṃ subandhitvā rājovādaṃ dasahi kāraṇupāyan ti kasmā ti ce, ekakkharaṃ nāma ekapādam bandhitvā katthaci dissati ti. Saccam, taṃ pan' ekakkharaṃ ekapādam nāma tāva hotu, caturo akkharā gāthā nāma atthi, 'sādhimethu'ty ādihi *Porāṇavuttodayaṭṭikāyaṃ* (?) vuttaṃ. Atha vā dve akkharā ti-akkharā catu-akkharā ca gāthā nāma honti ti:

Rājā
sabbam
pātu
maccam (?).

Sudevo
sabbassam
vassatu
samāram (?).

Tathā caturo akkharā porāṇehi bandhitā atthi, taṃ yathā: ca, bha, ka, sā ti:

caja dujjanasaṃsaggaṃ
kara puññaṃ ahorattim
bhaja sādhu samāgamaṃ
sara niccam aniccatan ti (?).

Tesaṃ attho ativiya pākato yeva.

(§3) Evaṃ dvetālīsakkhare pañca vagge katvā gāthābandhane ca dassetvā idāni pubbaluttaparaluttasarānaṃ bhedaṃ dassento āha: *sareh' eva* ty ādi. Tattha *sarā* ti saranti gacchanti pavattanti ti *sarā*. Tehi *eva-saddo* sannitṭhānaka-araṇattho adhippeto. Pubbe bhavā *pubbā*, pubbe jātā *pubbā*, pubbe pavattā ti vā *pubbā*. Adassanaṃ lopo, luppanaṃ vā lopo, pubbaṅ ca taṃ lopaṅ²⁵ cā ti *pubbaluttam*. Pubbaluttassa bhāvo pubbaluttā ti pi apare. *Vācī* ti saṅkhyāvacanaṃ, catusaṭṭhi ti vuttaṃ hoti. Para luttā *parā*²⁶, pariyoṣāne luttā *parā*²⁶ty attho. *Ramā* ti saṅkhyāvacanaṃ, dvipaṇṇāsā ti vuttaṃ hoti. *Byañjanānaṃ ca āgama[ṭṭ]hāne vācī*, catusaṭṭhi honti ti attho.

Digharassā ca akkharā yathā *sambhavā* ti ādi-saddena c' ettha saṃyogakkharānaṃ lopaṃ saṅgayhati. Pubbaluttaparaluttasarānaṃ byañjanānaṃ c' āgamaṃ padacchedo kā-

tabbo. Tattha pubbaluttasarā tāva vuccate, tam yathā: 'atrāyam ā' ty (?) ādi. Paraluttasarā nāma yathā: 'Cattāro 'me bhikkhave' (A I 5, 10), 'Kimsūda vittam' ty (S I 42, 4) ādi. Sesā pana sarūpato saviññeyyā va, adhippāyato ca supākaṭṭā yeva.

(§4) Evaṃ pubbaluttaparaluttādibhedam dassetvā idāni sandhipadacchedam dassetum āha: *k'ākāsenā* ty ādi. Tattha padacchedo tāva vuccate: ko ākāsenā āgato, so isi. Kena iddham atidissati. Ari, aja, ākhu, aggi, mā, isinaṃ, sā, otukaṃ, meghā, ya, itthiyo ti padacchedo. Ari, aja, ākhu, aggi, mā, isinaṃ, sā, otukaṃ, megha, yā, itthiyo ti padacchedo ty apare. *Ko* ti ko jano, *so* iti eva; *kena* kāraṇena, *iddhī* ti jānaṃ, *ati* bahutarā, *arī* ti paccatthikā, *ajā* ti eḷako, *ākhū* ti undūro, *sā* ti sunakho, *otukan* ti biḷāro, *mā* ti indu²⁷, *yā* ti mahikā mattikāpuñjo²⁸, undati khanati ti *undūro*²⁹, susu-saddam nadati *sunakho*, sāmikaṃ suṇāti ti *sunakho*, biḷāyam saddam rāti ti *biḷāro*, vivegena satte lāti gañhāti ti *biḷāro*, mahiyam seti ti *mahimso* (As 62, 26), mahiyam ravati ti vā *mahikā*. Sā aja-paccatthikā, otukaṃ ākhu-paccatthikā, meghā aggi-paccatthikā, itthī isinaṃ paccatthikā, mā yā-paccatthikā cā ti sambandho. Sesam uttānatham eva, attho pi suviññeyyo vā ti. Idam gāthābandham sandhicchedapakāsanatthāya katan ti adhippāyo.

Iti sandhikappass' atthavañṇanam paṭhamam.

(§5) Evaṃ paramavicittasandhikaṇḍam dassetvā idāni nāmakaṇḍabhedam dassetum āha: *buddho* ty ādi. Buddho ti buddha-saddo, puma-saddo, yuvā-saddo, santa-saddo, rāja-saddo, brahma-saddo, sakha-saddo yathākkamam³⁰ etesam va *sā* cha anto pume yeva hoti (cf. vss. 7bc) ti veditabbā. Nibbacanam pan' ettha kattabam eva. Bujjhati uccāriyati ti *buddho*, buddha-saddo. Sesam vicāretvā viggaho kātabbo. Buddho ca pumo ca yuvo ca santo ca rājā ca brahmā ca sakhā cā ti samāhāradvando kātabbo. Ca-saddo pan' ettha samuc-cayattho adhippeto. Yati-saddo ca ādi-saddo ca dehī-saddo ca jantu-saddo ca satthu-saddo ca pitu-saddo ca abhibhū-saddo ca vidū-saddo cā ti, pume yeva honti ti daṭṭhabbā. Cha

antā nāma a-kāranta, ā-kāranta, i-kāranta, u-kāranta, ū-kāranta, o-kāranta saṅkhātā honti.

(§6) Evaṃ pumaliṅgādibhedam dassetvā itthiliṅgādibhedam dassento āha: *kaññā* ty ādi. Tāsam pi pa[da]cchedo tāva kaññā, ammā, ratti, itthī, pokkharani, nadī, ūrū, mātu, bhū kātabbo. Attho ca viggaho ca pākaṭṭo yeva. *Itthiyam eva pañca antā* honti (cf. vss. 7d), yathā: ā-kāranta, i-kāranta, u-kāranta, ū-kāranta, o-kāranta saṅkhātā pañca antā nāma. Evaṃ itthiliṅgādibhedam dassetvā idāni napumsakaliṅgam dassento āha: *napumsake* ty ādi. Tiyantaṃ eva napumsakaliṅgā bhavanti, pada, kamma, dadhi, āyuvāsena viññāyati ti. *Eva-saddo pan'* ettha sannitṭhāpako adhippeto.³¹ *Tiyantā* ti-anta. 'Jinavacanayuttaṃ hi' (Kacc 52); 'Liṅgaṃ ca nipphaj-jate' (Kacc 53); 'Tato ca vibhattiyo' ty (Kacc 54) ādi sutte adhikca 'Jhalānam i-y-u vā sare vā' ti (Kacc 70) suttena i-kārassa iy-ādesam katvā, 'Pubbam adho' ty (cf. Kacc 10) ādi suttena, 'Saralopo' ty (cf. Kacc 83) ādi suttena, 'Naye param yutte' (Kacc 11) suttena rūpasiddhi veditabbo.

A-kāranta, i-kāranta, u-kāranta, o-kāranta saṅkhātā pi antā napumsakaliṅge honti (cf. vss. 7d). Vuttam pi c' etaṃ:

Antā pumamhi raso ³² ca	usu ca itthiliṅgikaṃ
napumsake tiyantā va	tepiṭakesu saññitā.
na vijjant' ettha sensā ca	sandeham mā kare budho
	ti (?).

Attho pana tissāya siddho hoti ti.

(§7) Etaṃ catud(!)asa ante dassetvā idāni tyādi vibhattiyo antesv ādi bhedaṃ dassento gahitā *syādi*. Ettha buddho ti ādikesu syādi vibhattiyo pana *anta pume* yeva honti. *Gahita-agahaṇena* antehi ti yojanā. *Vimalā* ti saṅkhyāvacano, tisa-tacatupaññāsā ti vuttam hoti. *Thyan* ti itthiyam, *pañcāntehi* ti pañca antehi. Puna gahita agahaṇana *syādi* vibhattiyo honti. *Dādhikā* ti saṅkhyāvacano, aṭṭha nava satan ti vuttam hoti. Syādi-vibhattiyo yujjantā pana *napumsake* yeva bhavanti. Puna gahita *agahaṇenā* ti antato; *janakā* ti saṅkhyāvacano, aṭṭha ekasatan ti vuttam hoti. Tena vuttam:

'Tisaṃghāni ca ante ca satamaṃ dalhā itthiyaṃ hi tepiṭakesu vijjanti antatṭhānena pi neyya pume syādi vibhattiyo aṭṭhasataṃ napuṃsake na ūnaṃ adhikaṃ pi vā gahitā gahaṇena cā' ti (?)

(§8) Evaṃ pumādiliṅgabhedāṇaṃ ca dassetvā idāni vibhattilopapadhānaṃ dassento āha: *padhānā* ty ādi. Avayave na sahavattatī ti *sabbaṃ*, nāmaṇi ca nāmaṇi ca nāmāni, sabbaṇi ca taṃ nāmaṇi cā ti *sabbanāmaṃ*. Samasanaṃ *samāso*, tesamaṃ hitamaṃ *taddhitaṃ*, sabbanāmaṇi ca samāso ca taddhitaṇi cā ti dvando. *Sabbanāmasamāsataddhitasāṅkhātā padhānaliṅgānugatā* eva bhavanti. *Atiliṅgā* tiliṅgavirahito ty attho. *Ādi*-saddena upasaggādīnaṃ saṅgayhati, *syādayo* vibhattiyo tato *nipāta*-upasaggaṭṭhānato honti. *Luttā eva siddhā* ti eva-saddo sannitṭhāpako adhippeto. *Go* ti go-saddo, anta-virahito go-saddo atthapadhānasaṅkhāto saddo *siddhā*³³ yeva *suttena anurūpato* ti go-saddo dasa vācako hoti:

Go-saddo sagga-ramaṃsīsu vajirānunevādisu³⁴
dassane nayanantesu³⁵ pasumhi vacane bhuvī ti (?)³⁶

Sesamaṃ pana vattabbaṃ eva n' atthī ti.

Iti nāmakappaṃ' atthavaṇṇanaṃ dutiyaṃ.

(§§9-10) Evaṃ vicittanāmakapaṇḍamaṃ dassetvā idāni kāra-kapaṇḍamaṃ dassento *cha kārake* ty ādi. *Cha kārikesū* ti cha kārikesu *samāso hoti*, *sāmismim* pana yathārahaṃ ti daṭṭhabbaṃ. *Kattu-kamma-sampadāna-okāsa-sāmi ca taddhito* ti gotta-taddhitādayo *sambhavanti*.

Ākhyāto ti ākhyātavibhattiyo *tisādhanasmim* kattu-kamma-bhāvasādhanesu sambhavanti. *Kitakā* ti kitapaccayādayo satta sādhanesu sambhavanti ti yojanā. Imasmim pana *satta sādhanā* tayo paccayā kita-kicca-kitakicca-bhedena. Tesu ye paccayā yebhuyyena kattari vattanti, te *kitā* nāma. Ye paccayā bhāvakammesu vattanti, te *kiccā* nāma. Ye paccayā sabbesu vattanti, te *kitakiccā* nāma ti veditabbā. Vitthāro pana upari āvibhavissati.

Karaṇamaṃ *kāro*, kāro eva *kārako*. Gamanapacanādikaṃ kriyamaṃ karoti nipphādeti ti *kārako*. Cha eva *kārako cha-*

kārako. Tesu samaṃ dhanamaṃ assa atthī ti *sāmī*. Tasmim samasanaṃ *samāso*, saddo samāsīyatī ti samāso attho. Sammā anurūpā bhavanti ti *sambhavā*. Karotī ti *kattā*, kariyate taṃ ti *kammaṃ*, samaṃ suṭṭhumaṃ ādadāti gaṇhāti ti *sampadānaṃ*. Okāsaṃ viya ācikkhatī ti *okāso*, sahavattatī ti *sāmī*. Taddhitaṇi ca kattu ca kammaṇi ca sampadānaṇi ca okāsaṇi ca sāmī cā ti *dvando*. Sādhetaṃ sādhanamaṃ ti eva *sādhanamaṃ*. Ācikkhatī ti *ākhyāto*. Vibhattiyo kitetabbādikaṃ paccayā. *Cha kārikesū* ti vattabbe chandānurakkhanatthamaṃ ū-kārassa rassaṃ³⁷ katvā ti veditabbamaṃ.

Sabbapadesu *paṭhamā* yeva honti ti *vutte* samāsataddhitā-akhyātakitakehi dutiyā ca na bhavitabbaṃ. Kasmā ? Samāsataddhitākhyātakitakādīhi *na vutte dutiyādi* yathārahaṃ eva hoti.

Vutte kammādisāmismim liṅgatthe pathamā siyā
na vutte ca bhavanti' aññā dutiya anurūpato
ti vuttamaṃ. (Cf. Bālavatāra vss. 359)³⁸

Attho pana suvijānitabbaṃ eva.

(§11) Tad anantaram eva *kārakā*³⁹ sambandhamaṃ katvā āha: *manasā* ty ādi. *Vutyā* ti vuttinā, *vaṭṭā ti saṃsāravatṭā*, *vivaṭṭan* ti vipaṇcitukāmassa⁴⁰, *bhāvanan* ti kasiṇaparikammādīhi vaḍḍhanaṃ. Tattha viggaho kātabbo. Monamaṃ vuccati nānaṃ, monamaṃ assa atthī ti *muni*. Ko so bhagavā, tassa vaṇṇitabbe *vaṇṇite*. *Vane* vaṭṭati, punappunaṃ nibbattati ti *vaṭṭā*, saṃsārā visesena vaṭṭati kammaṃ muṇcatī ti *vaṭṭamaṃ*⁴¹. Tasmā bhīyati dassati ti *bhūto*, ko so bhikkhu; chinnabhinnapaṭamaṃ dhāretī ti *bhikkhu*; saṃsārabhayaṃ ikkhati passati ti vā *bhikkhu*; kilese bhindati ti vā *bhikkhu*, bhikkhati yācatī ti vā *bhikkhu*. Bhāveti punappunaṃ vaḍḍhetī ti *bhāvanā*, kasiṇaparikammādikaṃ. Saṃsāro nāma kin ti, khandhadhātu-āyatanānaṃ abbochinnaṃ pavattattā saṃsāro ti. Ten' āha:

Khandhānaṃ ca paṭipāṭi dhātu-āyatanāna ca
abbochinnaṃ pavattattā saṃsāro ti pavuccati [ti]
(Vism 544 = Vibh-a 149).⁴²

Evam vutta samsaravattam nāma manasā bhāvanam muninā vutte vaṇṇite, buddhena vaṇṇite vane bhāveti vaṭṭavivaṭṭam bhāveti bhūto bhikkhū ti yojanā. Tass ' attho channaṃ kārakānam eva siddhantā dasseti. Kathaṃ ? Bhikkhu kat-tukārakam, bhāva[naṃ] kammakārakam, vutyā karaṇakār-akam⁴³, vaṭṭā apādānakārakam, vane okāsakārakaṇ cā ti dasseti. Manasā munino vutyā ti gāthābandhena channaṃ kārakānam siddhantā dasseti. Attho ca suviññeyyo va.

Iti kārakakappass' atthavaṇṇanaṃ tatīyaṃ.

(§§12-13) Evam nayavicittakārakakaṇḍam dassetvā idāni samāsakaṇḍam ārabhanto āha: *rāsi dvipadikā* ty ādi. Tattha *rāsi* ti saṅkhyāvacano, dvisattati ti vuttaṃ hoti. *Dvandā* ti dvandasamāsā dvipadikā rāsi, bahubbīhisamāsā *tulyādhikar-āṇā* eva *liṅgena ca vacanena* ca vibhātinā honti. *Khemayo* satapañcadvedasa kammadhārayasamāsādayo saṅkham vīsati digu-abyayībhāvasamāsā ca *hārā* atthavisati. Tattha *dvipadikā dvandā* ti dve padāni dvedvenā vā *dvandā*. Dvandasadisattā ayam pi samāso dvando ti vuccati. Līnaṃ aṅgaṃ *liṅgaṃ*, liṅgaṃ viyā *tiliṅgaṃ*. Vuccate anenā ti *vacanaṃ*. Ca-saddo atthānapayogo. Tulyaṃ samānaṃ adhikaraṇaṃ attho yassa taṃ *tulyādhikaraṇaṃ*. Bahavo vihayo yassa so *bahubbīhi*, bahubbīhi sadisattā ayam pi samāso *bahubbīhi* ti vuccati.

Tassa puriso *tappuriso*, tappuriso viyā ti *tappuriso*, tappurisasadisattā ayam pi samāso *tappuriso* ti vuccati. Uttarapadattapadhāno *tappuriso* ti vuttattā. Kammam iva dvayaṃ dhāreti ti *kammadhārayo*, yathākammaṃ kriyaṇ ca payojanaṇ ca dvayaṃ dhāreti. Tathā ayaṃ samāso ekass'⁴⁴ atthassa dve nāmāni dhāreti ti adhippāyo.

Diguṇo ca te gavo⁴⁵ cā ti dvegavo *digu*, saṅkhyāpubbanapūmsake kattasaṅkhātehi dvīhi lakkhaṇehi gato avagato ti *digu*, digusadisattā ayam pi samāso *digū* ti vuccati.

Byayaṃ bhavanti ti *byayībhāvā*, byayībhāvānaṃ paṭipak-kho ti *abyayībhāvo*. Abyayānaṃ atthe vibhāvayanti ti vā *abyayībhāvo*, vināsanavasena anayanti pavattanti ti vā *abya-yam*. Upasagganipātapadadvayaṃ vuttaṇ ca:

Na byaso tīsu liṅgesu

sabbāsu ca vibhattīsu

yesaṃ n' atthi padānan tu tāni vaccanti abyayā ti (?).

Abyayānaṃ atthaṃ bhāveti ti *abyayībhāvo*. Vuttaṇ ca:

Sadisaṃ tīsu liṅgesu sabbāsu⁴⁶ ca vibhattīsu,
vacanesu ca sabbesu yaṃ na byeti tad *abyayan*
ti (?)

Tīhi liṅgehi yo yasmā vibhattīhi⁴⁷ ca sattahi
byayaṃ na pāpuṇāti ti abyayībhāvā ti kittito.

Sayaṃ kataṃ makkatiko⁴⁸ va jālanti ettha pana dve paṭipāṭiyā atthassa gahetabbattā abyayatthavibhāvanā n' atthi ti sayaṃ katan ti samāso abyayībhāvo na hoti. Tathā pubbapadattapadhāno abyayībhāvo. Keci pana: abyayātthapubbaṅgamattā anabyayaṃ bhavati ti *abyayībhāvo* ti pi vadanti. Ayaṃ pana amhākaṃ khanti ruci. Abyayatthapubbaṅgamattā anabyayaṃ pi padaṃ ekadesena abyayaṃ bhavati etthā ti *abyayībhāvo*. Ettha ca ekadesaggahaṇaṃ 'ko 'yaṃ majjhe samuddasmin' ti (?) imāya pāṭiyā sameti, samuddassa majjhe, majjhe samuddasmin ti hi viggaho. Attho pana samuddassa majjhe icc eva yojetabbaṃ. Abyayībhāvo nāma du[vi]dhā nāmapubbapadaṃ abyayapubbapadaṇ cā ti. Tattha gāmapati nagarapaṭi ty ādisu nāmapadapubbapado ti, upanagaraṃ upagaṅgan ty ādisu abyayapubbapadaṇ cā ti. Vuttaṇ ca:

Nāmapubbapado ca so abyayapubbapado tathā
nāmupasagganipāta- vasena duvidhā mato ti (?)

Abyayībhāvo satta vibhattīhi vattati. Taṃ yathā: yāni yāni phalāni ti yathāphalaṃ, pathamā abyayībhāvo; sotam anuvattate [ti] anusotaṃ, dutiyā; jīvassa parimāṇe na tiṭṭhate [ti] yāvajīvaṃ, tatiyā; saddhāya upeto [ti] upasaddhaṃ, catutthi; guṇato uddhaṃ [ti] uddhamguṇaṃ, pañcamī; nagarassa anto [ti] antonagaraṃ, chaṭṭhī; itthiyaṃ adhikicca⁴⁹ [ti] adhitthi, sattamī abyayībhāvo nāmā ti veditabbo. Abyayībhāvo nāma niccāniccavasena duvidho vā ekavidho vā ti codanā. Abyayībhāvo nāma aññapadassa viggahattā pubbapadhāno aparapadhāno ti ce, pubbapadhāno ti pariḥāro. Tathā nicco, so abyayībhāvo saññāvasena dīpito. Eko padhāno abyayībhāvo

pubbapadaṭṭhānaṃ⁵⁰ kiṃ payojaṇaṃ. Payojaṇaṃ pana vitthārena saddasatthantaresu hoti. Idha pana saṃkhittena vuttaṃ. Vuttaṃ ca:

Dvandā dvipadikā c' eva	dasa honti ca gaṇanā
bahubbīhi tappuriso	dvesatā gaṇasambhavā.
Kammadhārayasamāsā	kajā honti ca gaṇanā
digu-'byayā ca samāsā	dayitan ti yā saññitā [ti] (?)

Iti samāsakappass' atthavaṇṇanaṃ catutthaṃ.

(§14) Evaṃ gambhīrasamāsakaṇḍaṃ dassetvā idāni tad-dhitakappam ārabhanto āha 'Kaccādito' ty ādi. Kaccāyana-gottādīto *niyamaṃ* niyamaṇaṃ eva, *vinā* vajjetvā *anekatthe sati*, *sabbe taddhitapaccayā* ṇādayo honti eva niyamaṇaṃ na hoti. Tatth' ādi-saddena Vāsudevagottādayo. *Api*-saddena taraty-ādi-taddhitādayo saṅgayhati⁵¹. Gottataddhitā nāma kin taṃ ti. Vasiṭṭha, Gotama, Kaccāyana, Aggivessana, Moggallān'-Ukātta,⁵² Vāsudeva, Vaccha⁵³, Nārā[ya]na⁵⁴, ukkaṭṭha⁵⁵-majjhimahīnakaṇḍisaṅkhātehi jātigottataddhitādi daṭṭhabbā.⁵⁶ Gottataddhite aṭṭha paccayā honti, yathā ṇa, ṇāyana, ṇāna, ṇeyya, ṇi, ṇika, ṇera, ṇava iti 'me aṭṭha veditabbā⁵⁷. Taratyādītaddhite cattāro, ten' āha:

Dve paccayāni ekā va	dvīsu suttasu vattate
vikappādiggahaṇena	vuttā ṇikānikā duve ti
	(Sj 446cd, 447ab). ⁵⁸

Rāgataddhite eko, ten' āha:

Rāgādītaddhite eko	paccayo sa-ṇa-kāro
saṅkhepen' eva jāneyya	anekatthesu sodhito [ti]
	(ab = Sj 447cd). ⁵⁹

Jātātaddhite cha paccayā honti, ten' āha:

Suttana ⁶⁰ iminā c' eva	im'-iy'-ik'-ādiggahaṇena ca
kiyo cāpi ca saddena	(cha) jātyā honti paccayā
	ti (Sj 448). ⁶¹

Samūhataddhite tayo paccayā honti, eko tā-paccayo liṅgattayesu vattati. Ten' āha:

Kaṇ(a)-ṇā paccayā vuttā	samūhatthesu liṅgato
liṅgattayena gahito	hoti tā-paccayā idhā ti ⁶²
	(cf. Sj 449). ⁶³

Ṭhānataddhite eko, ten' āha:

Iyo so paccayo eko	vattati ṭhānataddhite
saddasatthe iya, eyya	te vidhanavicāritā ti
	(Sj 450). ⁶⁴

Upamātaddhite eko, ten' āha:

Upamātaddhite eko	āyitattaṃ pavattati
saddasatthe idha viya	therena na katā idhā ti
	(Sj 451). ⁶⁵

Nissite py eko⁶⁶ va paccayo, saddasatthantare pana dve ti. Ten' āha:

Nissite paccayā dvidhā	lottha aññattha vattate
ṇe eko paccayo eva	Kaccāyane ⁶⁷ na dīpito [ti]
	(cf. Sj 452). ⁶⁸

Bahulataddhite py eko⁶⁶ va saddasatthe pana tayo, yathā:

Bahullataddhite ālu	paccaye ko pavattati
satthesu āluko c' eva	therena na katā idhā ti
	(cf. Sj 453). ⁶⁹

Seṭṭha-taddhite pañca paccayā, yathā:

Adhite pañca paccayā	taddhite suvisesane
tara, tam', isik', iy', iṭṭhā	icc ete pañca paccayā ti. ⁷⁰

Assatthitaddhite nava paccayā, saddasatthe pan' ekādasa, ten' āha:

Assatthi taddhite vī ca	ī-sī-ika-ra-vantu ca
mantu ca sa-ṇa-kāro ca	paccayā nava dīpitā,
satthe idha iyā c' eva	therena na katā idhā ti ⁷¹
	(Sj 454 cd, 455 a-d).

Pakatitaddhite eko va, vuttaṃ ca:

Pakati taddhite eko	maya-paccayanāmako
bahupakāro vidhīsu	ñātabbam ⁷² taddhitesinā ti. ⁷³
	(ab = Sj 455 cd).

Pūraṇataddhite pañca, saddasatthe pana satta, ten' āha:

Pūraṇe paccayā pañca	ima, ṭṭha, ttā, tiye pi ca
pūraṇatthe pavattanti	ñātabbo taddhitesinā
tha, ma, a-paccayā sabbe	therena [na] katā idhā ti.
	(<i>ab, cd</i> = Sj 456). ⁷⁴

Saṅkhyātaddhite eko va paccayo. Vuttañ ca:

Saṅkhyāya taddhite eko	paccayo ko ti dīpito,
vīsati vīsattaddhitam	tass' odāharaṇam matam ti
	(<i>ab</i> = Sj 457 <i>ab</i>). ⁷⁵

Lopādesāgamāvuddhi ⁷⁶	saṅkhyāne pakatihi ca
ñeyyo ⁷⁷ satthānusārena	aññatra vividhā katā ti (?).

Vibhāgataddhite dve, saddasatthe pana tayo, yath' āha:

Suttena paccayo vutto	vibhāge dhā vibhāgato
so paccayo vibhāgato	ca-saddena pakāsito
saddasatthe vidham vutto	vibhāgo ca vibhāgato ti (?). ⁷⁸

Ime pannarasa taddhitāni. Sesā nidhanatti⁷⁹ nānavatā saddasatthesu gahetabban ti *Kaccādito* ti etena gottataddhite sādhanatthan ti dasseti. *Apī* ti padena sabbataddhite sādheti ti dasseti. Attho pana suviññeyyo.

Iti taddhitakappass' atthavaṇṇanam pañcamaṃ.

(§§15–16) Evaṃ paracittanayagambhīrataddhitakaṇḍam dassetvā idāni ākhyātakaṇḍam ārabhanto 'yam ācariyo āha: 'kattari' ty ādi. Kattari ti kattusmiṃ, sabb' ete payogā pañca dhātumhi honti, nāññathā. Satta satam te payogā pana kamme yeva honti, tathā nāññathā. Bhāve payogā vipavattanti, merayā satavisapañcādhika saṅkhyāvācano. Pañca dhātumhi payogā honti, saṅkhepena saṅkhittena, marumayam saḥassa pañcasatavisapañcādhika saṅkhyāvācane, gamumhi⁸⁰ payogā pana tiguṇā tīhi guṇitā honti. Etto pañcadhātuto sambhavānurūpaṃ gahetabbaṃ eva. Te ca payogā aññathā dhātusu anantā aparimāṇā eva. Ādesapaccayādihi⁸¹ sambhavanti ti. Ettā vatā payogā pañcadhātumhi gaṇanavasena marūmayam aññadhātūsu pi yebhuyyena

pavattantā na ganitabbā. Rūpasiddhipakaraṇam oloketvā gahetabbaṃ. Sesavacanam eva vattabbaṃ n' atthi ti. Attho pana supākaṭo.

Iti ākhyātakappass' atthavaṇṇanam chatṭham.

(§17) Evaṃ ākhyātakaṇḍam dassetvā idāni kitakappaṃ dassento āha: *kitādi* ty ādi. *Sabbe paccayā kitādi*⁸² *ekadhātuto siyūṃ*. Anurūpato⁸³ yathāsambhavato satta sādhanē sati pi pāyato yebhuyyena pavattanti, ettha ādi-saddena kitakicapaccayā saṅgayhanti⁸⁴. *Api*-saddena dhātusādhanāni saṅgayhanti.⁸⁴ Kito ādiye sante ti *kitādayo*. Paṭicca etasmā ti paccayo. Kitādi eva paccayā *kitādipaccayā*. Saha avayavena vattati ti *sabbaṃ*, payati yebhuyyena pavattati ti *pāyo*. Pāya-saddo bāhullavācako, yebhuyyena ti attho. Ye paccayā bāhullena kattari pavattanti, te kitā nāma. Ye paccayā bāhullena bhāvakammesu⁸⁵ vattanti, te kiccā nāma. Ye paccayā sabbesu vattanti, te kitakiccā nāma. Vuttañ c' etaṃ:

Tayo ca paccayā ñeyyā	kitakā kiccakā tathā
kitakiccakanāmañ ca	saddasatthe pakāsitā.
Kitakā kattari ñeyyā	bhāvakammesu kiccakā
kitakiccā tu sabbattha	yebhuyyena pavattare ti (?).

Kitapaccayā nāma kiṃ tanti pucchā. Vuttañ h' etaṃ:

Ñvu, ⁸⁶ ro, ṇa, ka, ta, ti, tu ca	tāve, ⁸⁷ i, anta, māna, tuṃ,
tuna, tvāna c' ime tera-	se kitapaccayā ⁸⁸ siyūṃ.
anīyo, ⁸⁹ tabba, ṇyo, ricca,	ririya, kha sabbapaccayā
te kiccāpaccayā nāma	ñātabbā paccayesinā.
Ño ca yu kvi ca rammo ca	ṇu, ⁹⁰ ṇvu, tu, āvi idha a
ṭṭha, raṭṭhu, āni, ⁹¹ a, nu, kā	pannarasa kitakiccā ti
	(<i>cf.</i> Sj 483–96, Kacc-bh 169–72).
kitapaccayā terasa	cha honti kiccāpaccayā
kitakiccā pannarasa	catutiṃsa samūhato ti (?). ⁹²

Saddasatthantare pana kitakiccabhedena dvedhā vuttā ti. Tathā pi lakkhaṇavasena vuttan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ. Kitādi ti etena kita-kicca-kitakiccaye sādheti ti dasseti. *Apī* ti padena satta⁹³ sādhanā vuttarūpaṃ⁹⁴ ti dasseti. Adhippāyo pana ativiya pākaṭo yeva.

Iti kitakappass' atthavaṇṇanaṃ sattamaṃ.

(§18–20) [Evaṃ kitakaṇḍaṃ] dassetvā idāni attanā kattab-
bassa pakaraṇassa guṇaṃ dassetuṃ *iminā kiñci lesena* ti ādi
āraddhaṃ. Sabbe *payogā* pana *ekena bindunā nāṇinā* kula-
puttena nāṇena samannāgatā *saddārañṇe* saddasaṅkhāte
*ārañṇe*⁹⁵ *jināgame* vihitā *sakkā*⁹⁶ *nātuṃ* paṭituṃ, *binduraso*⁹⁷
bindurasa-upalakkhito vegena sīghagamanena, *iminā kiñci*
lesena iminā upāyena te payoge jānitvāna⁹⁸ sīghaṃ⁹⁹ pavesāya
*puram*¹⁰⁰ piṭakasankhātaṃ puram [rammaṃ] ramitabbaṃ
nānā nayehi maggo upāyo *ujumaggaṃ taṃ* kulaputtānaṃ
maggaṃ upāyaṃ visodhito mayā ti adhippāyo. Nānāyena
saddārañṇe ti yojanā. Patisaraṇaṃ karotī ti *paṭikaṃ*, paṭi-
visuṃ vā karotī ti *paṭikaṃ*, patisaraṇaṃ kariyati etehī ti vā
paṭikaṃ, paṭikaṃ viyā ti paṭikaṃ. 'Tesu vuddhi'¹⁰¹ ti (Kacc
404) ādinā suttena paṭika-saddassa piṭakādeso hotī ti
kate rūpaṃ. Saññiyate saññī, piṭakā ti saññī piṭakasaññī,¹⁰²
piṭakasaññī eva piṭakasaññī¹⁰², piṭakasaññī yassa taṃ piṭa-
kasaññitaṃ, tassa bhāvo *piṭakasaññitaṃ*.¹⁰³

Iti GANTHASĀRAM¹⁰⁴ SADDABINDUVINIC-
CHAYAM samattaṃ.

Yo thūpathūpo va dhiro
samāno¹⁰⁵ jinassa dhātu
patiṭṭhānabhūto¹⁰⁶
vasihi katehi anekanekā kārāpayante HARIPUÑ-
JAYASMIM¹⁰⁷
suvaṇṇapaṭehi acchādayitvā harissaraṃsihi¹⁰⁸ jajjalāmāno
āvhayitabbo¹⁰⁹ va nāma
rammaṃ nānātta so nayena āvuto.¹¹⁰
Yonagare¹¹¹ abhi-
vaḍḍhayanto visuddhasīlo samaṇānaṃ indo
laddhābhisekho¹¹² PHUSSA-
DEVA-tthero¹¹³ rājādhiraṇino ti pūjayitvā.
Taṃ thūpathūpavaraṃ
nissaya ṬIKAM karonto HARIPUÑ-
JAYASMIM
SADDASSA BINDU-
vivaraṇatthaṃ seṭṭhassa ganthaṃ
GANTHASĀRASārī.

Evaṃ saddanayagambhīre
ganhā saddhānaddhiyā sattasu
dhammato
atibhayaśāyaṃ¹¹⁴ GANTHA-
SĀRASĀRAM sotunam uttama¹¹⁶ tipīṭaka
jānaṃ¹¹⁷
Tasmā yeva ca dhirā
nipuṇā¹¹⁸ mandapaññā ca ye etaṃ
sumana¹¹⁹ patipakaraṃ
vārayeyyaṃ vasocitte¹²⁰ te 'bhiññātavārā.
Pamuditahadayānaṃ
sattupame gaveyyaṃ acchambha
silavutti¹²¹
sadhutiparasati sihā-
dhūre sabbaṅgasampanne nādaṃ nāñño deyyuṃ
ramme sādhujanākiṇṇe HARIPUÑJAYA¹²² nāmake
vaḍḍhane sabbavatthūhi janasutanisevite
nagare gocaraṃ katvā rājaseṭṭhanivāsīte
vasissāmi āham ettha ārāme RAMMA nāmake
ṬIKĀYAM racitā mayā ti.

Iti bhaddanta SIRISADDHAMMAKITTI-MAHĀ-
PHUSSADEVA ttherena¹²³ racito GANTHASĀRO nāma¹²⁴
niṭṭhito, paripuṇṇo, samatto.

Devaloke manusse vā samsaranto punappunaṃ
sabbesaṃ pavaro hutvā nāṇatikkhaṃ labhām' ahaṃ.
Manussalābhaṃ laddhāhaṃ virūpo mā bhava mama
sarūpo nāṇasampanno pahomi piṭakattaye.

SADDABINDUṬIKĀ niṭṭhitā.

Notes to the Introduction

1 siglum CPD Epil, see bibliography.

2 the 14 texts (with 30 auxiliary works) are as follows:

CPD	Piṭ- sm	author, text	origin, date (century)	size	auxiliary works
5.4.1	395	Saddhammasiri Saddatthabhedacintā	Laṅkā	400 vss.	3

5.4.2	398	(Mahā)Yasa Kaccāyanasāra	Thaton 13th	72 vss.	4
5.4.3	435	Saddhammakitti Ekakkharakosa	Toungoo, 15th	131 vss.	1
5.4.4	416	Saddhammaguru or Saddhammapāla, Saddavutti	Pinya	115 vss.	4
5.4.5	409	(King) Kya-cvā Saddabindu	Pagan 13th	20 vss.	2
5.4.6	405	Nāgita Saddasāratthajālīni	Pinya 14th	516 vss.	1
5.4.7	391	Samgharakkhita Sambandhacintā	Lānkā before 13th	122 items	2
5.4.8	422	Saddhammāñāṇa (also ascribed to King Kya-cvā's daughter) Vibhattyattha	Pagan 14th	37 vss.	2
5.4.9	411	Dhammadassi Vāccavācaka	Pagan	59 vss.	3
5.4.10	419	Ariyavaṃsa (Dhammasenāpati) Ganthābharāṇa	Sagaing 15th	97 vss.	4
5.4.11	425	Māṅgala Ganthatthipakarāṇa	Pagan 14th	36 items 110 items	
5.4.12	414	(Mahā)Vijitāvi Vācakopadesa	Sagaing 13th	120 vss.	1
5.4.13	402	(Mahā)Yasa Kaccāyanabheda	Thaton 13th	180 vss.	2
5.4.14	393	Dhammasenāpati Kārikā	Pagan 11th	568 vss.	1

Saddatthabhedacintā (CPD 5.4.1), and *Sambandhacintā* (CPD 5.4.7) and a subcommentary on it were written in Śrī Lānkā; one subcommentary on *Saddabindu* (CDP 5.4.5,2) and *Ganthābharāṇa* (CPD 5.4.10,2) were written in Northern Thailand; all other texts were written in Burma. The *Ganthatthipakarāṇa* (CDP 5.4.11) has two versions, both in prose (see note 7).

3 The earliest text, the *Kārikā* (CPD 5.4.14), was written in the reign of King Kyan-cac-sā³; no text seems to be later than the 15th century A.D., but the 'minor grammar texts' appear as a closed collection only in modern times.

4 siglum Piṭ-sm, see bibliography.

5 CPD 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 respectively

6 The two Burmese printed books mentioned as 'Saddā ṇay 14, Rangoon 1281 B.E.' and 'Saddā-ṇay nīya, Rangoon 1284 B.E.' were most likely published by Praññ-kri³ maṇḍuīn, the *Nissaya* being identical with N1 used for this edition. Moñ Nīvan¹ Moñ (1975) § 415 states that another

Nissaya publication was issued in 5 fascicles by Kavi-myak mhan Press between 1898 and 1904 and reprinted in 1923 (approximately). The order of texts differs from the issue by Praññ-kri³ maṇḍuīn Press; the *Ganthatthi Nissaya* is replaced by the *Nissaya* of the *Rūpabhedapakāsani*.

7 These two anthologies are used as P and N2 for this edition. In Be 1954 the order of texts is slightly different. The first nine texts are the same. Next come *Vācakopadesa* (CDP 5.4.12), *Kaccāyanabheda* (CPD 5.4.13), *Kārikā* (CDP 5.4.14), *Ganthābharāṇa* (CPD 5.4.10). Then follows *Ganthatthipakarāṇa* (CPD 5.4.11) in two versions, both with the serial number 14 but distinguished as *Cullaganthatthipakarāṇa* and *Mahāganthatthipakarāṇa* in the preface (*Icechāsayanidānaṃ* p. kha). The editors state that the larger text (101 prose items) is actually a subcommentary on the shorter text (36 prose items). Apparently CPD 5.4.11 refers to the larger text. The last text (serial number 15) is *Rūpabhedapakāsani* by Nñon-kan Charāto² Ū³ Cakkinda, also known as Ū³ Budh (1787–1842 A.D.).

8 CPD lists Sinhalese prints for the two texts written in Śrī Lānkā and several works written in Burma, i.e. the *Vibhattyattha*, and subsidiary works on *Ganthābharāṇa*, *Kaccāyanabheda*, and *Kārikā*. *Sannayas* for *Sambandhacintā* and *Kaccāyanabheda* are also mentioned.

9 The text is mentioned in Gv 64,4 (*Kyavā-rañño Saddabindu nāma pakaraṇaṃ . . . akāsi*) and 73,28 (*Saddabindupakarāṇaṃ . . . attano matiyā Kyavā nāma raññā katā*), Sās 76, 25, Piṭ-sm § 409, PLB 25, Bode (JPTS 1908) p. 99, Bode (JPTS 1894–96) p. 79. Bode (l.c.) and Franke (PGL 55) state that King Kya-cvā's preceptor is regarded as author by some sources (PGL 55: *Rājaguruthera*). This view is apparently based on a faulty reading in Gv 73,28 (Ee 1886, M: *dhammarājassa gurunā aññatarācariya katam*); cf. Bode (JPTS 1894–95) p. 79, note 1. Sās 76, 11–77, 6 and Piṭ-sm § 289 (s.v. *Pa:amathabindu*) give some details on King Kya-cvā. He was the son of King Jeyyasimkha, and took the title of *Dhammarāja*. His name Kya-cvā is regarded as a derivation from the Burmese word *kya-na-cvā* because he was extremely well versed in the Tipitaka (Sās 76, 13–16: . . . *Jeyyasimkhanāmakassa rañño putto Kyavā nāmako rājā rajjaṃ kāresi. Dhammarājā ti pi nāma lañchaṃ paṭigganhi. Tīsu pana piṭakesu yathābhūtaṃ vijānakatāya Mammavohārena Kyavā* (so read) *ti vohāriyati*).

10 Fausböll (JPTS 1894–96 pp. 49–50, § 162) describes a manuscript of this subcommentary in the India Office Library and gives the text of the prologue and the terminal title with the author's name. The subcommentary is called *Saddabinduṭṭhikāpakaraṇa* and the author Sirisaddhammakitti-Mahāphussadevathera (cf. PLG 55). The title *Saddabinduvinicchya* is mentioned by Bode (PLB 25 note 4). The title *Ganthasāro* is found in T used for this edition.

11 The Burmese printed edition refers to the author as Sirisaddhammakittimahāphussarevatthero both on the title page and in the terminal title. The verses in the colophon call him Phussar(!)evatthera.

12 Haribuñja (or Labhuñja, Sās 48, 21 foll.) is sometimes identified with Chiangmai (so Sās 49,5), but see Likhit Likhitananda (1980), pp. 64 foll. Haribuñja is the older capital of the Mons which was captured by the Northern Thais, while Chiangmai was founded by them as their new capital.

13 Likhit Likhitananda (1980) p. 72 describes the author as a contemporary of Nānakitti, the author of several *Yojanā-s*, who was a junior

contemporary of King Tilokarāja (1442–87 A.D.).

- 14 T vss. 3cd: *porānehi katānekā santi yā pana vannānā*. A subcommentary by King Kya-cvā himself is mentioned in Piṭ-sm § 410 (cf. CPD 5.4.5,1).
 15 So Likhit Likhitananda (1980) p. 72
 16 from 1578–1774 (Likhit Likhitananda (1980) p. 66).
 17 cf. Piṭ-sm § 966 and Mon Nīvan¹ Mon (1975) § 415. The date is based on Lha Šamin (1961) p. ba.

Notes to Saddabindu

- 1 = catusatthi (T)
 2 sarā (T)
 3 = dvipaṇṇāsa (T)
 4 asi, ist (T)
 5 so T; P N1,2 uju
 6 = tisatacatupaṇṇāsa
 7 = thiyam (Ny)
 8 = atthanavasataṃ
 9 cha kārakesu (T)
 10 °asmim (T)
 11 = dvāsattati
 12 dvipadikā (T)
 13 °ā (T)
 14 khemayu (T); = dvādasasataṃ
 15 = dvekuṇavisati
 16 = atthavisati
 17 maru° (T)
 18 gemumi (T)
 19 paccayā pi hi (T)
 20 sindu- (T)
 21 so T; P °sankhātum
 22 or sabbha° ? (Ny); P sobbi-; T om.
 23 paratthanipakena va ? (Ny)
 24 so Ny; P °gambha-; T om.
 25 so Ny; P rāja; T om.

Notes to subcommentary

- 1 F lokakhīna mahodayaṃ
 2 F -dam
 3 F -tṭentu
 4 ñeyyatthajananam? Ny
 5 metrical passage, reference by Ny
 6 ganthanīyamakathā ?
 7 so Ny; T ruci-
 8 pan' ettha?
 9 T ya so katta-
 10 metrical passage (Ny)
 11 T -sampatti-
 12 similar examples in Kacc-bh 59–63
 13 [] supplied by Ny
 14 so Ny; T samānam
 15 padussat' it' ?
 16 metrical passage (Ny)
 17 reference by Ny
 18 metrical passage (Ny)
 19 Kacc 403: kvacādi majjhuttarānam dīgha-rassā paccayesu ca (supplied by Ny)
 20 T kamevā ti
 21 T 'me
 22 so Ny; T budhā
 23 so Ny; T binditvā
 24 so Ny; T loka
 25 Ny luttāñ
 26 so P; T sarā
 27 T induro
 28 T -puñja
 29 T -re
 30 so Ny; T -kkammaṃ
 31 T 'dhippeto
 32 so Ny; T rasse
 33 Ny -o
 34 Ny Vajīrākkaniśākare
 35 Ny nayanādisu

- 36 cf. Ekakkharakosa 24–25
 go goṇe thi pume sese
 sagge vajire vācāyam
 gitari khandhe gandhabbe
 ise surassati-disāyañ ca

pumindriye jale kare
 bhumyaṃ ṇāne ca sūriye
 cande dukkhe sugāyane
 go-saddo samudirito.

and Abhidhānapadipikaṭikā (ad Abh 495 goṇo go)

sagge kare ca vajire
 thī sorabheyyi nett'-ambu-

balibaddhe ca go pumā
 disā-vacana-bhūmisu.

- 37 Ny lopam
 38 source slightly different
 39 so Ny; T kāraṇa
 40 Ny vimuccitu°
 41 Ny vivaṭṭam
 42 source slightly different
 43 T -kāraṇam
 44 so Ny; T etassa
 45 so Ny; T Diguvo cā ti
 46 T sabbesu
 56 Cf. Sj 443–444:

Vāsīttho Gotamo c' eva
 Moggallāyano 'cc ādi ca
 Vāsudevo ca Vaccho ca
 majjhimo kaṇhādi gottam

- 47 metrical passage (Ny); T vibhatti
 48 Ny -taḷo
 49 T -kicca
 50 Ny pubbapadapadhānam
 51 Ny -anti
 52 Ny Sakāṭa
 53 T -ā
 54 T Narana
 55 so Ny; T aggaṭṭha

Kaccāno Aggivessāno
 uttamo ti pavuccati.
 Nārāyano Sākaṭo pi
 hino nāmā ti vuccate.

- 57 cf. Sj 445:

no ṇāyano ca ṇāno ca
 ṇi ca ṇiko ca atth' etc
 Cf. also Kacc 344–349.

ṇeyyo ṇero ṇaṇo pi ca
 apecca honti paccayā.

- 58 cf. Kacc 350, 351; Sj 447: nika, ṇiya
 59 Kacc 352: ṇa
 60 Kacc 353
 61 ima, iya, ika, kiya
 62 T pi
 63 Kacc 354: kaṇ, ṇa Kacc 355: tā
 64 Kacc 356: iyo, iya, eyya
 65 āyitatta
 66 so Ny' T byako
 67 so Ky; T -yana, cf. Kacc 358
 68 lo, ṇe
 69 Kacc 359: ālu, āluko
 70 tara, tama, isika, iya, iṭṭha;
 cf. Kacc 363 and Sj 454
 71 cf. vī ca, ī, sī, ika, ra, vantū,
 mantu, na, iyā; (Kacc 364–370)
 72 so Ny; T -tabba
 73 Kacc 372: maya
 74 Kacc 373–374, 384–385: i, ma,
 ṭṭha, ttā, tiya, tha, ma, a

- 75 Kacc 378: ti
 76 so Ny; T lopādesog-
 77 T ṇo yyo
 78 Kacc 397: dhā sa
 79 taddhitatthinā ? (Ny)
 80 so P; T gemumi
 81 so P; T ādeso paccayādi pi
 82 Ny kitādi
 83 so Ny; T anurūpagato
 84 so Ny; T -ati
 85 so Ny; T -dhammesu
 86 so Ny; T no
 87 so Ny; T tāva
 88 T tapaccayā
 89 so Ny; T aṇiyo
 90 so Ny; T sva
 90 so Ny; T tu, ratthu
 91 so Ny; T tu, ratthu

- 92 terasa kitapaccayā:
 ṇvu (Kacc), ro (Kacc 534–535, 538–539), ṇa (Kacc 524, 528–529),
 ka (Kacc), ta (Kacc 555–557), ti (Kacc 552), tu (Kacc), tāve
 (Kacc), i (Kacc 551), anta, māna, tuṃ (Kacc 565), tuna, tvāna
 (Kacc 564);
 cha kiccappaccayā:
 aniyo tabba (Kacc 540), ṇyo (Kacc 541), ricca (Kacc 542), ririya (Kacc
 554), kha (Kacc 560);
 pannarasa kitakiccappaccayā:
 ṇo (Kacc), ca (Kacc), yu (Kacc 533, 547–548), kvi (Kacc 530),
 rammo (Kacc 531), ṇu (Kacc), ṇvu, tu, āvi (Kacc 527), tṭha, raṭṭhu,
 ini, a, nu, kā (Kacc 566).

- 93 T sattā 99 so Ny; T sikkhā
 94 ? 100 so P; T rūpaṃ
 95 so Ny; T -sangahe aññe 101 Kacc 404: tesu vuddilopāgama-
 96 so P; T sattā vikāraviparītadesā ca
 97 P sindhuraso 102 T repeats
 98 so Ny, T jānitāna

- 103 The epilogue is difficult to restore satisfactorily from the single printed book available to me.

The final verse of Saddabindu is ignored in the subcommentary. Ny has supplied the following Pāli paraphrase:

(§20) *dhammena* dhammānurūpaṃ, *sobhipatinā* (vā *sabbhapatinā*) sahasamuddena pathavitale issarena, *parathanipaken' eva* paresam atthahitāvahe nipuṇena, *gurunāmakena* gurūhi dinna-(Kya-cvā ti)-nāmakena, *dhammarājā* dhammarājena, *Kaccāyanutaratane*-Kaccāyanācariyena utta-(kathita)-saddanaya-atthanayasāṅkhātehi ratanehi sampunṇe, *cūtagabbhakone* vicitrāgabbhassa, ovarakassa koṇe, ekadesa, *padīpo* dīpajālā, *kiñci* thokamattam, *jālito* ujjālito.

- 105 T samano 114 so Ny; T ti abhavisāyam
 106 so Ny; T paṭipattihāna- 115 T parāriṅganthi-
 107 so Ny; T pariṇāna 116 so Ny; T sotunamattama-
 108 T harisaramsihi 117 T bhi-
 109 so Ny; T avavha- 118 so Ny; T -puṇṇā
 110 so Ny; T avatto 119 so Ny; T tumana-
 111 T yoha- cf. Sās 48,18–52,3 on 120 so Ny; T paso-
Buddhism in Yonakarāttha 121 T sīhavutti
 112 so Ny; T laddho 122 so Ny; T 'RIPUÑCEYYA
 113 T PHUŚSAREVA 123 so Ny; T ganthasāronodha

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 Trenckner, V., a.o.: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*; Epilegomena to Vol. I by Helmer Smith, Copenhagen 1948 (= CPD)
 Yaṃ, Ū³ (Muiñ³khuiñ³ mrui¹cā³ piṭaka-to² 'up mañ³krī³ Mahāsiri-jeyyasū): *Piṭakat-to² samuiñ³*, Rangoon (Haṃsāvati) 1959
 Gv = Ganthavamsa
 Kacc-bh = Kaccāyanabheda
 Sj = Saddasāratthajālīnī

Pāli texts are cited in conformity with the conventions in CPD.

MAINZ

Friedgard Lottermoser

THE OLDEST DATED MANUSCRIPT OF
THE MILINDAPAÑHA

As stated by V. Trenckner in his classic though pioneering edition of the Milindapañha (Mil),¹ the end of the text has been lost, and the missing parts have been supplemented in the surviving manuscripts as far as they were accessible to Trenckner, from Mil 418, 21 onwards 'perhaps in Siam'. Therefore it is not without interest to have a glance at the last folios of an old manuscript of the Mil from North Thailand. This manuscript has been microfilmed at Wat Lai Hin, Amphoe Ko Kha, in 1972/4 by Dr. H. Hundius, at present University of Chiang Mai, during his research on Northern Thai literature, which has been supported by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). According to the colophon preserved on the verso of the last folio: *sakrāj dai 857 tva nai pī dap hmau Milindapañha nāy sin prahyā sān vai kap haṃ piṭak dā soy lee* 'Sakarāja 857, in the year *dap hmau*, the Milindapañha has been donated by Nāy Sin Prahyā to the Dā Soy library' the manuscript is dated in CS 857, *dap hmau*, Chinese *tho* and Thai *kratāy* 'year of the hare', which corresponds to BS 2038 and AD 1495. The extraordinary high age immediately ranks this manuscript as number four, if other known dated manuscripts are compared.² Thus it is almost certainly much older than Trenckner's Sinhalese manuscript B, which he cautiously estimated to be about 400 years old, and consequently written during the late 15th century (Mil p. III). However, a more realistic date may be the 16th or even the 17th century.³

The donor, the *prahyā* Sin, who gave the manuscript to the monastic library (*haṃ piṭak* corresponding to modern Thai *ho trai*), is unknown, while the place name Dā Soy of unknown location⁴ occurs more often in colophons of old manuscripts from Wat Lai Hin. Unfortunately, only about half of this valuable manuscript has survived, which, most probably consisted of 15 *phūk* (fasciculi) originally. For the last *phūk* should have been no. 16 (*ha, la*) rather, if the

number of folios necessary to cover the text is calculated, in spite of the fact that the text ends in the extant *phūk* no. 15 (*va, sa*). The *phūk* nos. 3, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14 have been lost. The following table shows the surviving parts of the text:

- phūk* 1: folios ka-kaḥ, kha-khaḥ
Begins: *namo tassa tthu. milindo nāma so rājā*, 1, 1 (photo 1)
Ends: *dutiyam pi kho sabbadi[nno]*, 30, 7 (photo 48)
- phūk* 2: folios ga-gaḥ, gha-ghaḥ
Begins: *[sabbadi]nno āha(āha ex corr.)gacchatu*, 30, 7 (photo 48)
Ends: *ānāpeti*, 57, 29 (photo 1)
- phūk* 4: folios cha-chaḥ, ja-jaḥ
Begins: *[mahārāja] pañcayojanikassa(!) macchassa*, 85 16 (photo 5!)
Ends: *kañṭhakam niha[r]e[yya]*, 112, 29 (photo 1) [om. *na*.]
- phūk* 5: folios jha-jhaḥ, ña-ñhaḥ
Begins: *[niha]r[e]yya maraṇam*, 112, 29 (photo 1)
Ends: *nipatitā yo pi mahā[rāja]*, 137, 11 (photo 48)
- phūk* 6: folios ṭa-ṭaḥ, ṭha-ṭhaḥ
Begins: *[mahā]rāja bhagavato*, 137, 11 (photo 1)
Ends: *°vibhūsanābhirato ti ara[hati]*, 163, 25 (photo 48)
- phūk* 7: folios ḍa-ḍaḥ, dha-dhaḥ
Begins: *[ara]hati upāsako*, 163, 25 (photo 1)
Ends: *pāṇippahāre hattha[cch]e[jjam]*, 193, 17 (photo 48)
- phūk* 10: folios dha-dhaḥ, na-naḥ
Begins: *sacetanā buddhā(!)*, 247, 21 (photo 1)
Ends: *suriyo mandam tapati*, 273, 27 (photo 48)
- phūk* 11: folios pa-paḥ, pha-phaḥ
Begins: *ime kho*, 273, 27 (photo 50)
Ends: *so tassa kālo kā[le]*, 302, 2 (photo 1)
- phūk* 15: folios va-vaḥ, sa-saḥ (The pagination is mostly broken away, but still clearly readable in one or two instances).
Begins: *[o]ṇamati*, 400, 15 (photo 23)

Ends: *pūjayan ti. milindapañhā samattā paripuṇṇā niṭṭhitā*, 420, 22 ff. (photo 57)

Those *akṣaras* enclosed in brackets are supplemented from the preceding or succeeding folios respectively.

A marginal title has been given to the left of the text on the recto or verso of the folios khaḥ, gaḥ, etc. (not on the ka-folios): *milindapañhā nāy sin prahyā sān vai kap ham piṭak dā soy*.

On each folio there are six lines of writing. Information on the size of the manuscript, which could not be traced at Wat Lai Hin in January 1986, is not available. The serial number in the Hundius collection is no. 685 on microfilm roll no. 8. The sequence of the *phūk* on the microfilm is nos. 1, 2, 10, 7, 5, 4, 11, 6, 15, *phūk* nos. 2, 11 being photographed beginning with the end of the respective text. The remark 'photo' in the table of contents as given above refers to the page number on the microfilm.

The manuscript has been written in a clear hand and on the whole very correctly. To give an impression of the quality of the text, which is almost identical with Trenckner's edition, the first *phūk* has been compared to the printed text of the PTS edition:

1,3 *sāgalānaṃ*; 1,8 *abbhūtā* (always -ū-); 1,11 *bhāsayitvāna*; 1,12 *°vidālaye*; 1,18 *°aṇḍāla°*; 1,19 *°parikhāra°*; 1,21 *sup-pasādītā°* (thus always); 2,2 *bhimagiri°*; 2,7 f. *°vatthābharaṇa-sampannaṃ*; 2,10 *°siṅgādivāṇija°*; 2,11 *°rajaṭa°* (so always); 2,13 *bahunnapānaṃ*; 2,19 om. *ti*; 2,23 *pubbayoggo*; 2,25 *paṭivasanti*; 2,27 *āvajjento*; 2,32 om. *bhikkhu*; 3,5 *paṭhamaṃ paṭhamaṃ paṭṭhapesi*; 3,25 *nikumbam*; 3,27 om. *rājā*; 3,28 *samantā yoga°*; 3,30 *niggahitāni*; 3,31 om. *gaṇikā*; 3,32 *yudhā chandā muttā pāvacaṇena ekavīsati*; 4,1 *duppāsaho*; 4,3 om. *koci*; 4,4 *addho*; 4,7 *°kāmya°*; 4,8 *senāgaṇam*; 4,13 *saṃgha-gaṇi*; 4,14 *parijāyamāno*; 4,17 *purāṇo* (so always); 4,17 *gosānelā(!)*; 4,18 *sañjayo veddhalhapatto* (cf. Sn 92, 3 with Pj II 423, 10 foll.); 4,21 foll. *paṭivinassu ti*; 4,24 *bhadūvahanam*; 5,8 *phalavipāko*; 5,27 *kaṃ nu nv(!) ajja*; 6,7 *sotuyā*; 6,9 om. *bhikkhu*; 6,32 after *vihetṭeti* inserted on the lower margin of the page by a second hand: *sabbe pi te bhikkhū tassa paṇhe*

vissajjetum asakkontā nagarato nikkhamitvā yena vā tena vā pakkamanti. sāgalanagaraṃ dvādasa vassāni samaṇebhi suññāṃ ahoṣi. tasmī bhagavato sāsanaṃ palutaṃ ahoṣi.; 6,33 om. assaguttam; 6,34 kho mahantena ketu°; 7,4–7 om. atha kho . . . °pattiyāti; 7,18 kiñci (so read here and elsewhere, e.g. Mil 122,31 with all manuscripts including this one: O. v. Hinüber: Die Grundlagen des älteren Mittelindisch. Wien 1986 §379 and addenda); 7,23 hatthatuṭṭho; 8,3 khaṇaṃ yeva; 8,7 pamujjante; 8,9 tenāvuso; 8,13 upapajjissati; 8,15 foll. om. nīharitvā; 8,22 sammā for dhammā; 8,23 abhipathanam; 8,27 abhivādanañ ca; 9,4 gaṃtvā (thus always); 9,10 hiyo (thus always); 10,4 sippāni for sippam; 10,5 om. ācariya-brāhmaṇassa; 10,2 om. ahesum; 10,15 anvayo; 11,11 kocchupalibodho sucipalibodho kappakapalibodho: this brings the number of palibodha up to 16; 11,16 om. yathā; 11,23 dātum sa/kkhā; 12,3 santi pabbal/jissa detīti; 12,9 vijamhavatthum: -m- ex corr.; 12,10 vijamha°; 12,21 dhammasaṅginim; 13,9 om. vitthārena; 13,11 appothesum (thus always); 13,11 dibbāni ca nānācuṇṇāni; 13,15 pubbaṇha (thus always); 13,17 upādisi; 13,23 parivitakkesi na kho; 13,27 yaṃ nūnāham; 14,18 added by the scribe of the manuscript at the bottom of the folio in front of ko nāmo: tvaṃ kiṃnāmo si ti vutto nāgaseno ti vadesi; 14,30 upajjhāyo me; 15,7 sammajjā-tthānam; 15,9 taṃ danta°; 15,17 tumhākaṃ assagutta; 16,5 dhammakathāya; 16,5 suññatāya paṭi°; 16,7 tasmiñ ñeva; 16,7 dhammacakkhu (thus always); 16,13 foll. nisinnō dvinam(!); 16,24 kiṃ viduraṃ, -am ex corr. from -e by a second hand; 16,28 labhissāsi; 16,28 foll. vigatakālikam; 17,16 kiṃnāmo; 17,20 ābhidhammiko written twice; 17,23 yeva ca; 18,16 foll. hotu bhante ettakena pi ten' eva; 18,23 foll. himavantapabbate; 18,25 pāheṃsu; 18,32 paṇhaṃ pucchāya; 19,6 akamaṃsu (thus here only); 19,9 foll. kaṃ nu khv aṃja; 19,12 kaṅkha(!)paṭi-vinodetun ti; 19,17 bhaddantassa, thus only rarely; 19,30 after pabbajjā (pa is omitted by mistake in the manuscript) follows an insertion mark for devamanussānaṃ atthāya hitāya sukhāya written at the bottom of the folio by a second hand; 19,32–20,1 bhagavatā . . . pavattentena; 20,4–10 na pabbajitā/tena hi, om. puna ca . . . pabbajitā ti, at the right margin following pabbajitā by a second hand: eka yeva, and

by the same hand at the bottom on the right side of this folio pabbajito ti. It is not clear how these additions should fit into the text; 20,23 pana vo bhante; 20,23 bhikkhū(abbhokasika) nesajjikā: parentheses as in the manuscript; 20,24 panthe dūsakā; 21,13 °gaṇa° added by a second hand below the line; 21,16 pabhinnaṃ sambhido; 21,20 durattaro; 21,21 asaṅkhobho; 21,24 rājamattānaṃ; 21,24 gurukato; 21,25 °piṇḍipāta° (thus always); 21,30 ussāpento (for yajanto) dhammayāgaṃ paggaṇhanto; 21,31 °ketum ussāpento dhammasaṅkham; 22,2 °vijjuthāla°(?); 22,3 sakalaṃ lokam; 22,5 patto; 22,16 tad avasi; 22,24 foll. pucchasu ti; 22,27 om. va; 23,13 °sahasena; 23,22 koṭṭhuko; 23,28 vessavaṇṇā°; 24,4 foll. tassaṃ . . . °parisāyam; 24,7 vuddhataro; 24,17 anakkhātāñ ñeva; 24,18 milindarañño; 24,26 cittaṃ nāsakkhitan ti kathā(!) niṭṭhitā; 25,7 kiṃnāmo; 25,10 foll. om. sihaseno ti vā; 25,13 puggalo ti; 25,23 om. ko before adinnam; 25,27 phalavipākam; 26,5 kinu kho (thus frequently); 26,8 maṃsanahārū; 26,8 aṭṭhi-mañjam; 26,11 foll. muttam matthaluṅgam; 26,12–15 om. kinu . . . mahārājā ti; (26,28 unhāya: E° misprint: uṇ°); 26,28 sakkharakalavālīṅṅkā; 26,29 rujjhanti; 27,8 patodayaṭṭhi, cf. BHS pratodayaṣṭi; 27,13 pucchanto (only once); 27,17 bhāsivā; 27,21, kalla nu; 28,12 visajjitāni nāmapaṇhaṃ/paṭhamam niṭṭhitam. kativasso: The colophon of this chapter has been added at the right and left margins almost certainly by the scribe himself, B° (1962) vassagaṇapañhā dutiyā, 27,14; 28,24 om. satta; 29,1 paṭiviseso, paṭi° added below the line by a second hand, B° has vissāso, paṭivissāso, which may be a reading influenced by 29,8 vissattho, for viseso cf. Mil 94,7; 29,18 yā ca, ex corr. yāni ca by the same hand as in Mil 29,1; 29,19 atthañ; 29,20 yanunāham; 29,32 āgacchatu = B°; 30,7 saabbadi: end of pūḥ 1.

Letters marked as ~~th~~ here have been cancelled by the scribe; a vertical stroke (/) has been put between two words, if the first stands at the end, and the second at the beginning of a line.

The variants given above do not include the here very occasional confusion between -t- and -ṭ- common in SE Asian manuscripts of inferior quality. The word for 'silver' *rajaṭa* is

written thus in accordance with the SE Asian Pāli orthography. The vowels *i/ī* and *u/ū* have been distinguished only rarely, a common use in Thai Pāli manuscripts. There is no visible distinction in this manuscript between *ṭh/ṭṭh* and *dha/ddh*. Instead of the *anusvāra*, which is hardly ever marked after *-i*, the manuscript has *-ṅs-* regularly as in the aorists ending in *-iṅsu*, in *hāṅsa*, 24,11 etc., what has not been noted in the preceding collation. The most conspicuous, though isolated form in this context is *pāheṅsu*, 18,25, which is a BHS form alien to Pāli. There are, however, some very slight traces of Sanskritization to be observed in this particular case and very occasionally elsewhere as in *patodayaṭṭhi*, cf. *pratodayaṣṭhi*, Divyāvādāna (index) or perhaps *mañja* for *miñja* or *guru* for *garu*. The frequent *kinu*, *kalla nu*, 27,21 and first of all *yanu*, 29,20 are forms similar to those met with in Mūlasarvāstivāda texts from Gilgit.⁵

The ultimate origin of this manuscript seems to be Ceylon as shown by some very characteristic misreadings confusing *akṣaras* of the Sinhala alphabet: *bh/h*: *bhāsayitvāna*, 1,11 for *h°*; *bhimagiri*, 2,2 for *hima°*; *vijamhavatthum*, 12,9.10 for *-mbh-*. Further, *-ū-* and subscript *-r-* have been confused in *bhadū°*, 4,24 for *bhadra°*, and finally *ca* stands for *va* in *yāva*: *yāni ca*, 29,18.

The oldest manuscript used by Trenckner, his B, breaks off at Mil 418,10,⁶ and most of the rest of the text has been supplemented in A from a Siamese Pāli manuscript. The wording of this supplement is the same as in his Burmese manuscript M and in the Siamese printed edition (S^c 1923: BE 2466).⁷

Now the manuscript from Wat Lai Hin offers a slightly different end of Mil, which may be the original one. And even in this manuscript, which is based on the Sinhalese tradition as stated above, the last folio bristles with corrected miswritings. This may point to an original, in which the last folio was difficult to read because its writing was partly effaced already. Therefore it is tempting to think that this Mil manuscript from North Thailand has been copied shortly before the last two folios of the only(!?) surviving manuscript at that time in Ceylon were finally lost. On the other hand,

the manuscript from Wat Lai Hin seems to mark a dead end of the tradition, as no further trace of the end of the text as given here can be found, and as in addition to this the need was felt to compose a new end to the text as a substitute for what was lost. This new text comprises Mil 419,14 foll. only, as we can see now, that is only the last folio was really lost at a certain time in SE Asia as well, which had to be rewritten almost certainly not earlier than the 16th century, if not later. This supplement, the new end as we have it today, reads as if somebody, who still knew this passage more or less by heart, wrote down a slightly enlarged version as a substitute for the lost folio. And it is only in this late supplement that the somewhat confusing calculation of the number of questions is mentioned, which therefore seems to be a fairly recent addition to the text.⁸

The following text of the two 'lost' folios can be found in the manuscript from Wat Lai Hin:

418,21 *imasmi*: the *anusvāra* is not marked after *-i* throughout; 418,22 *°ālakam*; 418,23 *vaka°*; 418,28 *anattato* as M; 418,28 *rogato pey gaṇḍato*; 418,29 *ītito* as M; 418,30 *attāraṇato* against all of Trenckner's manuscripts; 418,31 *aḷenato*; 418,31 *araṇato* by mistake; 419,4–6 The text is disturbed by repetition: *imasmi kāyogāvacaarena sāyapātaṃ ārammaṇe upāsitaḅbaṃ idaṃ mahārāja issatthassa catutthaṃ aṅgaṃ gahetabbaṃ. bhāsitaṃ petam mahārāja yoginā yogāvacaarena sāyaṃ pātaṃ ārammaṇe . . .*, M and the Wat Lai Hin manuscript have *sāyaṃ pātaṃ* throughout. The lines 3 and 4 of photo no. 55 are identical for the better part, and identical *akṣaras* have been written below each other; 419,11* *sāyātaṃ* by mistake; 419,12* *labhati bhattavettanaṃ*.

The text following the verses differs from the one known so far:

419,14* foll.: . . . *adhigacchatīti. milindapañho niṭṭhito. milindapañhavyākaraṇāvasāne samuddakucchiyā nighoso viya sādhuvara/56,1/saddo + (bahu)lo ahosi. (de)vasabhā milindo/ṣṭhā rājā pa (miswritten for ca) orodhagaṇā parisā ca añjalī paṇāmetvā vandisu. so nihatamānathambho*

uddhaṭadāṭṭho viya bhujagindo evam āha. sādhu bhante nāgasena buddhavisayo pañho tayā visajjito imasmi sāsane ṭhapetvā dhammadesanā(!)pati sārīṭṭh(!)/puttatheraṃ añño tayā sadiso pañhāvi(ss)ajjane natthīti. khamatha me bhante nāgasena ma(ma) dosam upāskam ca maṃ dhāretha ajjatagge pānupetaṃ saraṇam gatan ti. tathā rā(jā) saha balanikāyehi na(!)gasenatheraṃ pariyupāsivā milindavihāram nāma mahāvihāram kāretvā therassa niyādetvā (ca)tūhi pac-cayehi nāgasenassa koṭisahasabhikkhūhi saddhi paricaritvā nāgasenassa paññāya pasīditvā puttassa rajjam niyādetvā agāasmā anāgāriyam pabbajivā aṭṭhahattam pāpuṇi. tena vuttam

The concluding verse is the same as in E^c. However, the following variants may be noted: 420,17* *lokasmī katā*; 420,20 **visesassādhāro aggasetṭho anuttaro* as in B^c; 420,21* *hitam attano* as in B^c for *attham attano*; 420,22* *paññāvantaṃ bhīpujeyya*.

The text ends: . . . *pūjīyan ti. milindapañhā samattā paripuṇṇā niṭṭhitā*.

Freiburg

O. v. HINÜBER

Notes

1 A bibliography of studies on editions and translations of Mil has been collected by S. Behrsing: *Beiträge zu einer Milindapañha-Bibliographie*. BSOS 7. 1933–5. 335–348, 517–439, cf. L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* 5. 1937.245; further: C. O. Blagden: A passage from the Mōn version of the Mil, in: *Festschrift. Publications d'hommage offertes au P. Wilhelm Schmidt*. Wien 1928. 43–50; C. A. F. Rhys Davids: *The Milinda-Questions*. An inquiry into its place in the history of Buddhism with a theory as to its author. London 1930; F. O. Schrader: Two unexplained names in the Mil. *JRAS* 1939. 606–608; K. de Vreese: *Het Milindapañha*. Rede uitgesproken bij de opening zijner lessen in het Pali . . . Leiden 1948; J. Gonda: Tarn's hypothesis on the origin of the Mil. *Mnemosyne* 4. 1949. 44–62 = *Selected Studies IV*. Leiden 1975. 496–514; Thich Minh Chau: *Mil and Nāgasenabhikṣusūtra*. A comparative study through Pāli and Chinese sources. Calcutta 1964; J. P. McDermond: *Kamma in the Mil*. *JAOS* 97. 1977. 460–468; R. N. Basu: *A critical study of the Mil*. A critique of Buddhist philosophy. Calcutta

1978; T. Pobozniak: *The problem of dream in Mil.*, in: L. Sternbach *Felicitation Volume Lucknow 1979[1981]*. II 675–678. – The critical edition by Maung Tin: *Milinda Pañhā*. Rangoon 1915, which covers Mil 1,1–123. 7 used manuscript material other than Trenckner. It should have been listed in the Epilegomena to the CPD as E^c(2). Mil has been retranslated by I. B. Horner: *Milinda's Questions*. London I 1963, II 1964. – The Samantapāsādikā quotes Mil as *meṇḍakamilindapañhesu*, Sp 742,27 (cf. Epilegomena to the CPD 2.6 Mil), which comprises the text up to Mil 362. It may be worth while pointing out that the semi-canonical character of Mil is underlined by the statement that what has been used by Nāgasena to instruct Milinda (*rañño saññāpanattham āharitvā*) is considered as canonical, while his own ideas are not (*therassa sakapaṭibhāṇe*). A hitherto unknown modern Pāli commentary on Mil written in Burma is described by M.M. Deshpande: *Introducing the Milindapañha-Aṭṭhakathā of Thaton Mingun Sayadaw*, in: *Amṛtadhārā*. Professor R. N. Dandekar *Felicitation Volume*. Delhi 1984. 95–103.

- 2 Old dated Pāli manuscripts are listed JPTS 10. 1985. 3: SN (Colombo Museum) AD 1412, Spk (National Library, Bangkok) AD 1440 to which may be added now a fragmentary Ja-manuscript (Wat Lai Hin) AD 1471. A considerable number of Pāli manuscripts dating from the 16th century are preserved in this Wat.
- 3 C. E. Godakumbura: *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts*. Copenhagen 1980, p. 50, no. PA(Sinh.) 28. The manuscript is dated, but unfortunately the date is effaced according to Godakumbura.
- 4 According to Dr. H. Hundius, to whom I am indebted for permission to use his collection and for help in reading the colophons written in North Thai. The colophons of this collection will be published in a future issue of JPTS.
- 5 O. v. Hinüber: *Die Bestimmung der Schulzugehörigkeit buddhistischer Texte nach sprachlichen Kriterien*, in: *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*. *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Phil.-Hist. Klasse. Dritte Folge*, Nr. 149. Göttingen 1985. 57–75, esp. p. 72
- 6 The statement by Godakumbura (see above n. 3), p. 50b: 'The final portion of a newer MS . . .' contradicts Trenckner, Mil p. IV note 1, where it is said that only Mil 401,9–416,17 are supplemented by a more recent hand.
- 7 Contrary to this I. B. Horner, *Milinda's Questions* I p. XXIX states: 'Si. does not give either of these supplements'. It is not clear, to which print this refers: no year is quoted on p. LVII s.v. 'Si.'
- 8 On the confusion of figures: I. B. Horner (see n. 7) I p. XXX.

REFERENCES TO PĀLI IN 17TH-CENTURY
FRENCH BOOKS

1. 17th-century French books on Thailand

Mr K.R. Norman points out in *Pāli Literature*¹ that the term "Pāli" was used in France in the second half of the 17th century to designate the dialect of Middle Indo-Ariyan which is found in the texts of the Theravadin Buddhists. He cites Simon de La Loubère's *Du royaume de Siam* (1691), as this book was mentioned by Eugène Burnouf and Charles Lassen as being the first mention of the term Pāli.² Many books on Thailand were published in France during the second half of the 17th century, however, and, as we shall see, Pāli was mentioned by the French in several books before 1691. (The French generally write the word as they heard it pronounced, Bali or Baly [feminine: Balie, Balye]. The English translator of La Loubère's book uses the various forms indifferently.)

In searching for the earliest use in Europe of the word "Pāli" to designate a language, I was struck by the great variety of information that was available three hundred years ago in Europe concerning Thailand, Buddhism as a religion, and Buddhism as it was practised then in Thailand. The following list gives the publications pertinent to our discussion in chronological order with the abbreviations used below.

[Bourges] Jacques de Bourges. *Relation du voyage de monseigneur l'évêque de Beryte vicair apostolique du royaume de la Cochinchine, Par la Turquie, la Perse, les Indes, &c. jusqu'au Royaume de Siam & autres lieux.* (Paris: Denys Bechet, 1666; 1668, 1683; Italian ed.: 1677).

[Relation (1674)] *Relation des missions des évêques françois aux royaumes de Siam, de la Cochincine, de Camboye, & du Tonkin, & Divisé en quatre parties.* (Paris: Pierre Le Petit, Edme Couterot, Charles Angot, 1674).

[Relation (1680)] *Relation des Missions et des voyages des évêques vicaires apostoliques, et de leurs ecclesiastiques, és Années 1672, 1673, 1674. & 1675.* (Paris: Charles Angot, 1680).

[Tachard (1686)] Guy Tachard. *Voyage de Siam, des pères jésuites, envoyez par le roy aux Indes & à la Chine ...* (Paris: Seneuze, Horthemels, 1686; Amsterdam, 1687; Dutch ed.: 1687; English ed.: 1688).

[Choisy] L'abbé de Choisy. *Journal du voyage de Siam, fait en 1685 & 1686.* (Paris, 1686; 1687, 1690; Amsterdam, 1687; English ed.: 1687; modern ed.: Maurice Garçon, ed., Paris: Duchartre & Van Buggenhoudt, 1930; references are to the modern edition).

[Chaumont] Alexandre de Chaumont. *Relation de*

l'ambassade de M^r le Chevalier de Chaumont à la cour du roi de Siam. Avec ce qui c'est passé de plus remarquable durant son voiage. (Paris: Arnoul Seneuze & Daniel Horthemels, 1686; 1687; English ed. 1687).

[Gervaise] Nicolas Gervaise. *Histoire naturelle et politique du royaume de Siam. ...* (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1688; 1689; Eng. ed. by Herbert Stanley O'Neill [Bangkok: Siam Observer Press, 1928]).

[Tachard (1689)] Guy Tachard. *Second voyage du Père Tachard et des Jésuites envoyez par le roy au Royaume de Siam.* (Paris: Daniel Horthemels, 1689).

[La Loubère] Simon de La Loubère. *Du royaume de Siam par Monsieur de La Loubere envoyé extraordinaire du Roy auprès du Roy de Siam en 1687. & 1688.* (Paris: La veuve de Jean Baptiste Coignard, Jean Baptiste Coignard [fils], 1691; Eng. trans. ("done out of French"), 1693 [repr. with an intro. by David K. Wyatt, London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969]; Amsterdam, 1714). References with volume and page number are to the first French ed. References with page numbers only are to the English edition. I generally follow the 17th-century English translation, although spellings, use of capitals, and some words have been modernized.

2. French-Thai relations in the second half of the 17th century.

The second half of the 17th century was a period when there was a lot of interaction between France and Thailand. The recently founded Missions étrangères in France sent many missionaries to the East in hopes of spreading Christianity. Thailand proved to be an important country to them because of religious tolerance. Jacques de Bourges wrote, "I do not believe there is any country in the world where so many religions are to be found and where their practice is better tolerated." [Bourges, p. 164.] The French established a seminary to train natives of various countries, including Tonkin, Thailand, China, Cochinchina, Manilla, Bengal and Pegu.³

The French government had hopes of replacing the English and Dutch in Thailand in order to further commercial trade. The situation seemed very promising for a time. The king of Thailand had raised a man of Greek origin, Constant Phaulkon, to a high position in the court. Phaulkon converted to Catholicism and the missionaries in Thailand had high hopes that the king would be converted as well--mistaking his tolerance and curiosity, perhaps, for an inclination towards Christianity.

Ambassadors were sent from Thailand to France in 1684 and 1686. Louis XIV responded with two embassies to Thailand, sending M. de Vaudricourt, M. de Chaumont and the Abbé de

Choisy in 1684 and M. de La Loubère and M. Ceberet in 1687. The curiosity aroused in France by the Thai ambassadors meant that there was a demand for books on Thailand, and this demand was certainly met by the books listed above--and other books as well, not mentioned here, as they do not contain any mention of Pāli.

The French were not able to install their merchants in Thailand, however. The mandarins in the court of Thailand had long been jealous of Phaulkon's power. La Loubère had brought French troops which Phaulkon stationed in Bangkok. As soon as the French ambassador had left for France, the king was deposed by a pretender to the throne named Phetraja, Phaulkon was executed and the French troops in Bangkok were forced to go to Pondicherry. The French missionaries were put into prison. All hopes of the French, both religious and commercial, were ended with regards to Thailand.⁴

3. The earliest mention of Pāli to designate a language.

A letter written by M. Chevreuil, after three years spent as a missionary in Cambodia (1665-1668), gives a good idea of the difficulties the missionaries faced and the approach they hoped would help them in their mission. He says that he has not made one convert to Christianity, "because, search as I may, I have not been able to find an interpreter who knows the religious terms well enough to enable me to explain our [religion] in an intelligible manner." [Relation (1674), p. 146.] He hopes he will be able to visit the important temple of Angkor ("Onco"), which is eight days' journey from the village he is in, where there are learned monks from Thailand, Pegu, Laos and Tenasserim, etc. He says that the language of the monks (Talapoins) "is as different from the local tongue as Latin is from the other European languages." [Relation (1674), pp. 144f.] He feels that the best way to turn them away from their idolotry is to show them the mistakes they have made in astrology (i.e., astronomy) and anatomy. [Relation (1674), pp. 145f.]⁵

Another letter in the same book mentions a missionary who was able to learn Thai and the religious terms. M. l'évêque de Berythe (Pierre Marie Lambert) writes in 1667 that M. Laneau can read, write and speak Thai. "He has had the advantage of being able to make himself understood in religious matters, having learned the terms during the period when he lived with the priests of the idols [i.e., the monks]." [Relation (1674), p. 9.]

M. Laneau was one of three missionaries left in Thailand by M. l'évêque de Berythe, and it is in connection with him that the earliest mention of Pāli that I have been able to find was made. In recounting the events of the year 1672, it is mentioned that M. Laneau went to a village which was

seventy miles from the royal city (Ayuthia) between August 2 and September 11, 1671. "[M. Laneau] hastened to finish his study of the languages of Siam and Baly, the latter being absolutely necessary in order to acquire a perfect knowledge of the religion of the country. And that is why he wrote a Grammar and a Dictionary of both languages. He translated into Siamese the Christian prayers and doctrine, and wrote in the same language a short work divided into four parts--the first dealing with the existence of God, the second with the mysteries, the trinity and the incarnation, the third with the marks of the true religion, and the fourth with the manner of refuting the errors of the religion of the country." [*Relation* (1680), p. 58.]

The grammars and dictionaries do not seem to have survived. But a translation into Thai of the gospel of Luke with a preface and postface in Pāli is to be found in the archives of the Missions étrangères, Paris.⁶ This translation was finished in 1685. Numerous other references to missionaries learning Asian languages are found,⁷ but only M. Laneau seems to have studied Pāli. This is one of the reasons given for electing him to the post of Evêque de Metellopolis in September 1673.⁸ "Indeed, with regards to the kingdom of Siam, where it was appropriate that the new bishop should be normally in residence, we thought he had the advantage over the other missionary [considered] in several respects, knowing the languages that are used there," as well as being highly regarded by the king and the people. [*Relation* (1680), p. 109.]

4. Buddhism in Thailand as seen by the French

I think that it is probable that much of the information in the later French books concerning Buddhism, especially with regards to texts, can be traced to M. Laneau. Although some of the information given by the various authors is similar, there is great variety in the observations made and the stories quoted or practices described. At times, one author will copy information from an earlier work, but only La Loubère uses a wide variety of sources.⁹ And, unlike the others, La Loubère generally cites his sources. He does not say who translated the Buddhist texts he gives, however. In a note to the reader at the beginning of the second volume, La Loubère says, "I had almost no hand in this volume aside from assembling the parts. Some of these are translations which I have made; for some others, about all I did was write with my pen when the substance was dictated to me."

An examination of the discussion of Buddhism in these works is of interest not only for the information and misinformation available in Europe at the time, but also for the picture given of Buddhism as practised in Thailand in the 17th

century and of the response in Thailand to the Christian missionaries.

For example, one of the reasons the missionaries had great difficulty in converting the Thai was that the Thai identified Jesus with Devadatta. When they learned that Jesus performed miracles and that he was crucified, they assumed he had done an evil action to merit this punishment which resembled the description of the torture inflicted on Devadatta after his death.¹⁰

A detailed examination of all the French texts would be beyond the scope of this paper, however. It is difficult to determine how much of what is reported is accurate. A Buddhist text in Thailand may have differed from the canonical version, a poor translation may have been made, or the French version may be an interpretation more than a translation.

Certainly La Loubère was aware of how difficult it was to obtain information. He says, concerning his discussion of his attempts to obtain a copy of civil laws which were in three volumes, "It would have been necessary to remain for a longer time in Thailand with fewer affairs. Here, then, is what I have been able to learn as being certain in this matter, without the aid of these books, and in a country where everyone is afraid to speak. The greatest proof of the bondage of the Thai people is that they do not dare open their mouth about anything concerning their country." [La Loubère, I, p. 314; p. 81.]

Tachard calls into question not only the accuracy of what other Frenchmen have written or will write, but also warns that books on Thailand can have undesirable consequences for the mission there. In a letter dated July 26, 1688, he writes to the king's confessor, Père de La Chaise,¹¹ "I must suggest a case to your reverence, concerning which you may judge it necessary to make some early arrangements and speak to his majesty [Louis XIV]. M. de La Loubère has collected reports from all over on everything that came into his imagination, in order to present them to the public. He has only consulted people who are very badly informed and with very bad intentions. I have cause to fear that this account, improvised on the basis of such bad reports, will have very unfortunate consequences in Thailand, where they were very unhappy with Chevalier de Chaumont's report--so much so that the king of Thailand, having read it, translated into his language by the [Thai] ambassadors, blamed them very severely for not having beseeched his majesty [Louis XIV] to stop the sale of it. Your reverence can judge whether the same precaution should not be used with regards to the letters that the missionaries write to Rome."

Tachard goes on to accuse the Abbé de Lionne of having a personal vendetta against him, influencing the Evêque de Metellopolis and La Loubère, writing to Rome to denounce him. He says that the Abbé de Choisy, the Abbé de Lionne and M. Vachet took all his papers out of his chest on the boat and sent copies of them to Rome.

There is ample evidence that Tachard was every bit as meddlesome as he accuses the others of being, and that his actions did nothing to facilitate French-Thai relations.¹²

5. References to Pāli.

The first references to Pāli are rather perfunctory. Tachard [(1686), p. 378] calls attention to the importance of understanding Pāli in order to understand Buddhism: "The Thai religion is very strange. It cannot be perfectly understood except through the books written in the Bali language, which is a scholarly language and which almost no one understands aside from some of their doctors. Moreover, these books do not always agree with each other."

Chaumont [p. 141], like many of the writers, suggests the monks have ulterior motives: "When they preach, they urge the giving of alms to the monks, and they think themselves very learned when they cite some of the passages in their old books in the Baly language, which is like our Latin. This language is very lovely and emphatic. It has conjugations as in Latin."

Choisy [p. 246] gives a slightly different version of the same passage found in Chaumont: "When they preach, they urge the practice of virtue and the giving of alms to the monks. They seem very learned in their sermons when they cite some passage from their old books, which are in the Bali language. This Bali is like our Latin." As can be seen, Choisy's version is more complementary, and the slight variants between the two versions could well be due to both men having heard the same explanation but having interpreted what they heard differently.

Gervaise includes more details concerning Pāli than the earlier writers. In speaking of a foot-imprint in a rock [p. 181], he says, "They call it 'Pra-Bata' [Pada] in the Baly language, that is to say, 'the divine foot.'" In another passage we learn that the king of Thailand, concerned because the study of Pāli was dying out, decreed that monks who could not recite the texts would be forced to work [p. 198]: "After the meal, the most learned spend the rest of the day learning the Baly language, which is highly esteemed in this kingdom and absolutely necessary for the monks. They must as least know how to read and explain a little to be ordained Badloüan.¹³ This training had been neglected for several years and most of the monks did not even know the letters. The king cured this

confusion four years ago."

Gervaise then goes on to describe the instruction given in the afternoon to the novices by a learned monk [p. 199]: "He teaches them to read and write in Thai, the history and customs of the country, with the Baly letters and grammar. This language, very different from Thai, has something of those of Europe. It is the only one of the oriental languages which has declensions, conjugations and tenses." He also remarks that pieces of paper with "several Baly letters" marked on them are used to cure illnesses.

In his second book, Tachard speaks of two sorts of Thai language: the language of the people, which the Portugese call *Lingua de Fora* and the language used by the Mandarins, the palace and for the monks, *Lingua de Dentro*. He goes on to explain the third language of the country, Pāli [p. 214]: "They begin their prayers thus: *Sâ tou sâ* [Sadhu],¹⁴ an expression in Bali, which is a third type of language peculiar to the learned and which is learned in Siam as Latin is in Europe. It will not be irrelevant to remark that almost all their prayers are in the Bali language, known only to the most capable monks, because, they say, a language which must set forth so many mysteries should be mysterious itself, and not be used except by a few people in the elite in order not to be degraded."

The most detailed description of Pāli is given by La Loubère. In his second volume he gives Thai characters for writing Thai and Pāli.¹⁵ He discusses at length the order of the consonants and the pronunciation of the consonants and vowels and their various combinations.

La Loubère also speculates about the origins of Pāli. [La Loubère, I, p. 536; p. 139.] He says he consulted M. Herbelot concerning any common features between Pāli and Arabic, Turkish and Persian. He was told that ancient Persian was called "Pahalevi or Pahali [Pahlavi]" and that the Persians would not make any difference between Pahali and Bahali.¹⁶

Also of interest is La Loubère's attempt to explain what he considers to be superstitious veneration of the monks. His theory is based on an explanation of how the instruction was originally given and how the texts came to be corrupted. [La Loubère, I, pp. 517f.; pp. 134f.] He seems to suggest that the teachings came to Thailand from India via China. Originally the texts were in poetry set to music. As men grew weary of singing the same thing and as they lost the meaning of the songs, they stopped singing them and looked for commentaries on the verses. The magistrates let other men make the commentaries and these men imposed their beliefs on the people, adding texts which were to their own advantage. But the point of particular interest for our discussion here is the mention of music. "The monks are therefore obliged to supply the ancient music," La Loubère continues, "and to explain

their Bali books to the people in an audible voice." [La Loubère, I, p. 522; p. 135.]

In recounting the daily occupations of the monks, La Loubère describes their chanting.¹⁷ [La Loubère, I, pp. 448f.; p. 117.] They go to the temple the first thing in the morning. "There they sing or recite out of the Bali, and what they sing is written on the leaves of a tree somewhat longish and fastened at one of the ends.¹⁸ . . . The people do not have a prayer book. The posture of the monks while they sing is to sit cross-legged and to continually fan themselves, so that their fan goes or comes at each syllable which they pronounce. And they pronounce them all with equal measure (à temps égaux) on the same tone (sur le même ton)." In the evening, they sing in the temple for another two hours. La Loubère also remarks that they have rosaries with one-hundred-eight beads, on which they recite certain Pāli words, but he does not know their significance. [La Loubère, I, p. 443; p. 116.]

La Loubère says that in addition to instructing the young, the monks "explain their Doctrine to the people as it is written in their Bali books. They preach the day after every new- and every full-moon, and the people are very constant in the temples." During the rainy season "they preach every day, from six in the morning till dinner time, and from one in the afternoon till five in the evening. The preacher is seated cross-legged in a high chair and several monks relay one another in this office." [La Loubère, I, p. 440; p. 115.]

Further details concerning the discourses given by the monks are found in a comment made on one of the rules for the monks. The rule La Loubère gives is not found in the Pāṭimokkha, and, like many of the other rules, seems to be based on a misunderstanding by the translator. It says, "A monk who in preaching does not speak Bali, sins." [La Loubère, II, p. 42; p. 159.] "This maxim is not well rendered by the translator," La Loubère comments. "Their way of preaching is to read out of the Bali, where they ought to change nothing, but they must comment on it in Thai, and say nothing which is not in the Bali."

La Loubère gives a slightly different account of the Pāli exams than Gervaise. According to La Loubère [I, p. 439; p. 115], the purpose of the exams is to keep too many men from escaping the six-months' service due to the king by becoming monks. "To diminish the number of these privileged persons [the monks], he causes them to be examined from time to time concerning their knowledge with respect to the Bali language and its books. When we arrived in this country, he had just reduced several thousand to the secular condition, because they had not been found learned enough." The exams were given by a young layman, Oc-Louang Souraçac, the son

of the keeper of the elephants. But the forest monks (as distinguished from the monks in the city) refused to submit to examination under a layman and insisted on being tested by one of their superiors.

In conclusion, we can say that for Europeans the initial motivation behind learning Pāli was to gain a sufficient knowledge of religious terminology in order to translate the missionaries' message. The first usage of the knowledge of Pāli was to translate Buddhist texts in order to attempt to refute their teachings. With La Loubère there is already an attempt to study the languages and religions in China, India and Southeast Asia in a more objective manner. But even he includes a chapter to advise on how to gradually introduce the Christian religion without shocking those of other beliefs.

William Pruitt

NOTES

¹ Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, pp. 1f.

² *Essai sur le pali* (Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1826), p. 6.

³ See letter dated 1682, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. nouv. acq. 9380, f. 34^v, and *Relation* (1674), pp. 3f.

⁴ For a brief outline of French-Thai relations, see Maurice Garçon's introduction [Choisy, pp. xix-xxii, xxix-xl]. For more detailed discussion see Lucien Lanier, *Etude historique sur les relations de la France et du Royaume de Siam de 1662 à 1703* (Versailles: E. Aubert, 1883) and E.W. Hutchinson, *Adventurers in Siam in the Seventeenth Century* (London: R.A.S., 1940).

⁵ A very similar observation was made by Robert Knox concerning Sri Lanka in a book published in 1681: "Their Books are only of their Religion and of Physick. Their chief Arts are Astronomy and Magick. They have a language something differing from the vulgar tongue (like Latin to us) which their books are writ in." (R. Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon* . . . 1681, p. 109; see mod. ed. by James Ryan [Glasgow: J. MacLehose & Sons, 1911], p. 175, which is reproduced in *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, VI [1956-57].) This reference was noted by A.J. Edmunds, "A Buddhist Bibliography," *JPTS*, 1902-3, p. 34.

⁶ *AME* 1074, 2 vols., 354 pp., 177pp.

⁷ For example, M. Langlois who taught in the Thai seminary mentions in 1672 that he already knew Italian which facilitated learning Portuguese on his trip to the East. He arrived in Thailand in July 1671, studied Thai until December 1671, "enough to read and write it and even to understand and speak it." He made every effort to learn the languages of Tonkin and Cochín-China. [*Relation* (1680), p. 66.]

⁸The other candidate was M. Chevreuil who had come to Thailand in 1671 after having been arrested by the Portuguese in Cambodia, sent from there to Macao and then to the Inquisition in Goa.

⁹Le sieur de l'Isle, in his *Relation historique de Siam* (Paris: Guillaume de Luyne, 1684) lists nineteen books used in writing his book, and carefully notes in the text the source of his information. But he did not go to Thailand himself, and his book is not very up-to-date in comparison with the works soon to be published.

¹⁰See Tachard (1686), p. 407; Chaumont, p. 137; Choisy, p. 245; La Loubère, pp. 152, 156. The French also understood the Thai to say that Devadatta was the Buddha's brother (rather than his cousin), and La Loubère [I, pp. 524f.; p. 136] says that though the name of the Buddha's mother was often written Many-ya, it was pronounced Maria, and that this contributed to the belief Devadatta was Jesus.

¹¹Bibl. nat., ms. fr. 24427, f. 39.

¹²See for example the long report concerning him written by Ceberes, Bibl. nat., ms. fr. nouv. acq. 9380, ff. 216^r-267^v. Maurice Garçon in his introduction [Choisy, pp. xxvi-xxxix] describes Tachard's attempts to give French troops to Phaulkon in order to rule Thailand.

¹³Gervaise gives a list of grades within the monkhood (p. 184): Ocnen [novice], Picou [Bhikkhu], Badloüang [sic], Chaucou, and Sanchrât [the highest grade]. La Loubère (I, p. 434; p. 113) says the novices were called Nens (=Ocnen). He also comments on Gervaise's list [La Loubère, I, pp. 454f; pp. 118f.], saying that Balouang is written Pat-loüang in Thai and is only a title of respect, one which is used in addressing the Jesuits as well as the monks. He says he has not heard the term Picou used, but rather Tchâou-cou (=Chaucou). This last term was explained to him as meaning Talapoin (monk) in Thai. There may be distinctions among the monks which the people he consulted did not know of ("tho' otherwise expert"). La Loubère (I, p. 435; p. 114) says the term Sanchrât is used of the most honourable of the superiors of the monasteries (who are called Tchâou-vat, "Lord or master of the convent").

¹⁴Compare this observation in La Loubère (I, p. 440; p. 115) which is probably more accurate, "The people approve the Doctrine which is preached to them in these Bali words, **sa-tou-sa**, which signifies, it is so Sir (ouï monseigneur), or in other Thai words which amount to the same thing.

¹⁵[La Loubère, plates after II, p. 98; plates after p. 176.] The English plates are slightly inaccurate. The Pāli alphabets are reproduced in Burnouf & Lassen, plate 1.

¹⁶La Loubère's authority is Barthélemy d'Herbelot de Molainville, who published his *Bibliothèque orientale* in 1697.

¹⁷Other writers mention chanting, without directly referring to Pāli: [Tachard (1689), pp. 181, 183:] "On entering [the building] we found a

monk who was saying his prayers before the pagoda--that is to say, the little statue placed on a very high table. He sang without making the least pause, and waved his fan with so much activity you would have said he was possessed. . . . Three monks came the next day before daybreak and began to sing before the idol with extraordinary modesty. I do not know if our presence inspired them to display this respect. They were seated on the floor, their hands joined, a little elevated, and intoned (psalmodierent) in this way for almost an hour, singing together without breaking off, and without looking at anything other than their idol." [Chaumont, p. 135, 140:] "The occupation of the monks is to read, sleep, eat, sing and ask for alms . . . What they sing in the pagodas consists of mythical stories, intermingled with some phrases . . ." [Gervaise, pp. 196f.:] "[The morning office] lasts for an hour. They sing it in a pleasing tone which resembles the intoning (la psalmodie) of Roman chant. They are divided into two choirs. They are seated cross-legged on mats on either side of the temple, facing each other. One monk, who is like the choir master (le choriste), begins, his side continues, and those on the other side respond, saying the following verset."

¹⁸Bourges describes their books as written on thin paper pasted together for support and folded several times "rather like the folding screens in our bedrooms." [Bourges, p. 157.]

A TRANSLATION OF
PAÑCAGATIDĪPANI

(FEER'S PAÑCAGATI-DĪPANAM)

For my translation I have used Feer's edition of the text Pañcagati-dīpanam, (Journal of the Pali Text Society 1884, pp.152-61). However, I prefer the title Pañcagatidīpanī, which is given in the colophon of manuscript M.2 and is consistent with other Pāli titles such as Chagatidīpanī and Paramatthadīpanī, to Feer's incorrect reading Pañcagatidīpanam (see Mus pp.24-5 and the final footnote of my translation). At the beginning of manuscripts M.1 and M.2 the title given is Pañcagati. The translation might be subtitled A Cambodian Variant on Chagatidīpanī, since the commentary included with M.2 (MS.BN 347) is an authentic Chagati identical with the commentary on the Chagatidīpanī (Mus pp.28,32), as discussed below.

Pañcagatidīpanī, Illumination of the Five Realms of Existence, has not been highly regarded but, as at least the work of Feer and the detailed studies of Mus attest, it has its own special interest for scholars and deserves more attention. Feer offers no comment on date or author but, as will be seen from the work of Mus*, it is possible to make a judgement.

A French translation, Pañcagati, was made by Feer and published in the Annales du Musée Guimet, vol.V, 1883, pp.514-28, thus preceding the publication of his edition of the text. In the introduction to his edition, Feer states that he used MS.BN, Pāli 346 (Cambodian-mūl script), and that its companion MS.BN, Pāli 347 is the commentary on the text contained in 346.

* I am indebted to Prof. Dr Oskar von Hinüber of Freiburg for drawing my attention to the work of Mus referring to Pañcagatidīpanī, to which Lin Li-kouang alludes in L'Aide-mémoire de la Vraie Loi (SUS), and also Denis in La Lokapaññatti et les Idées cosmologiques du Bouddhisme ancien. I have included the comments and emendations of Mus on Feer's edition and translation in the footnotes to my translation.

In his La Lumière sur les Six Voies, Mus claims that the commentary (MS.BN, Pāli 347) was not used by Feer and points out that it cites not only 'one part' of the text, but the major part of the kārikās (doctrinal verses) of 346; and that for two-thirds of these it constitutes a second recension; also that the MS. 347 is, in spite of its title, internally an authentic Chagati (sa. Ṣaḍgati) (six realms of existence). Indeed, as demonstrated by this 'edition enclosed in a commentary', the Pañcagati (five realms of existence) was clearly originally copied from a manuscript which in title and content was a Chagati changed in title by the scribe (Mus p.28).

Mus says that the author's name, Aśvaghosa*, in MS. 347 is correctly transcribed in Pāli as Assaghosa. Aśvaghosa's 'summary' of the realms of existence is always Chagatidīpanī, the explanation of the six realms of existence; careless transcribers did not carry forward to the title the correction made in the text.

The metrical Pañcagatidīpanī (MS. 346) used by Feer lists five sections: naraka, animal, peta, human being and god; it places the passage about the asuras in 'the gati of the petas, the third' (see below, Summary of the Poem). But the Pañcagati commentary (MS. 347), like the Burmese manuscript (Chagati), specifically ends its description of the petāgati, passes on to the asuras and closes the chapter about them with the statement 'description of the asuragati'. The commentary therefore recognises an asuragati which, together with the others, brings the total to six. These decisive indications are confirmed by the two Cambodian manuscripts each entitled Pañcagati (m.1 and m.2). These Pañcagatis, like the MSS.BN, Pāli 346 and 347, are therefore identical except in title with the Burmese Chagati - therefore, through it, to the Sanskrit Ṣaḍgatikārikās and to their Chinese and Tibetan translations. The commentary on Chagati (B) is identical

* The Ṣaḍgatikārikā (of which Chagatidīpanī is the Pāli translation) are technical verses in Sanskrit about the six realms of existence that were extracted from the Saddharmasamrtyupasthāna by Dhārmikasubhūtiḥosa (according to the Tibetan translation) or by Aśvaghosa (according to the Nepalese MS.) (Mus pp. 3, 292-3).

with the tīkā on the Cambodian Pañcagati (m.2) (Mus p.32). The agreement between the different Pāli translations of the commentary confirms the Burmese traditions brought to notice by Mabel Bode, according to which the work (to which is attached the author's name Saddhammaghosa of Thatōn) was originally a Chagati. The text itself shows it to be a translation of a Sanskrit poem, identified by Sylvain Lévi with the Sanskrit Ṣaḍgatikārikā. Briefly, it entered Indochina from the north-west as a Chagati (the Burmese MS.) and further down the peninsula became a Pañcagati (the Cambodian MS.) (Mus pp.18-21, 29-30; Bode p.104, f.n.8).

Hence Pañcagatidīpanī may be a variant of the Chagatidīpanī written (or translated from the sa. Ṣaḍgatikārikā of Aśvaghosa) by 'Saddhammaghosa' of Thatōn, Burma, who was perhaps also the author of the Lokapañnatti (Bode p.104, f.n. 7,8; Denis vol.1, pp.I-XVII; Lin pp.103-6, 132n., 308) in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. (Norman p.174).

CANBERRA

ANN APPLEBY HAZLEWOOD

Abbreviations

Note: S, B, M.1, M.2 and m.1 from Mus p.215.

- | | |
|-----|---|
| S | Nepalese MS. of the Sanskrit <u>Ṣaḍgatikārikās</u> , copy made by a student of S. Lévi, M. Sherril, and revised by S. Lévi. |
| B | Burmese MS. of the <u>Chagatidīpanī</u> , with commentary, India Office, London. |
| M.1 | Thai-Cambodian (mūl script) MS. of the <u>Pañcagati-dīpanī</u> , without commentary, Bibl. Nat. Paris, Fonds pāli no. 346. |
| M.2 | Thai-Cambodian (id.) of the <u>Pañcagati [dīpanī]</u> , with commentary, Bibl. Nat. Paris, Fonds pāli no. 347. |
| m.1 | <u>Pañcagatidīpanī</u> , Royal Library of Phnom Penh, copy submitted by S. Karpeles. |
| m.2 | <u>Pañcagati[dīpanī]</u> with commentary, Royal Library of Phnom Penh, copy (id.). |
| COD | The Concise Oxford Dictionary 6th edn (Sykes 1976) |
| CPD | A Critical Pāli Dictionary (Trenckner 1924-) |

f.n. footnote
 PED The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary
 (Davids and Stede 1921-25)
 sa. Sanskrit

Note: For the sake of brevity, Pāli texts referred to in the footnotes are cited by title or abbreviation (CPD) only (see References).

Summary of the Poem

Verse

1-	Homage
	[A. Three <u>Duggatis</u>]
	I. <u>Naraka Section</u>
5-	<u>The Eight Great Narakas</u>
22-	<u>Secondary Nirayas</u>
45-	II. <u>Animal Section</u>
	III. <u>Peta Section</u>
52-	<u>Petas</u>
60-	<u>Kumbhandas</u>
68-	<u>Asuras*</u>
	[B. Two <u>Sugatis</u>]
70-	IV. <u>Human Being Section</u>
	V. <u>Deva Section</u>
103-	<u>Devas</u>
110-114	[<u>Summary</u>]

* Asuragati, in Chagati a separate (sixth) section.

ILLUMINATION OF THE FIVE REALMS OF EXISTENCE

Let there be homage:

1. Homage to the Virtuous One, Conqueror of What must be Conquered, resplendent with right knowledge, always working for the good of others, the Teacher of the three worlds!
2. 'Whatever good or bad(2) deed is done by themselves with body and so on, people reap(2) the fruit of it; no other creator is found(2).'
3. With this thought, and displaying compassion, the Instructor, the One Teacher of the three worlds(3), spoke for people's benefit about the fruit of each deed.
4. Having heard what was said by the Completely Awakened One, I shall now(4) speak briefly about deeds good or bad to be done or to be eschewed by you.

I NARAKA SECTION

1 The Eight Great Narakas

5. There are the Sañjīva, Kālasutta, Saṅghāta and also the Roruva, Mahāroruva(5), Tapa, Mahātapa and Avīci [hells].
6. Those men who, because of greed, delusion, fear or

(2) subhāsubba[m]] subhāsubha[m].
bhujjati] M.1 bhujjanti (Mus p.216).
 Cf. Dh 165.

(3) tiloke kataru] tilokekagaru (Mus p.219).

(4) Read 'dhunā.

(5) Cf. SN I 92.
 This verse occurs only in M.1 (Mus p.219).

anger, kill living creatures, or, having reared(5) them, slaughter - they surely go to Sañjīva;

7. Though killed and killed again for many thousands of years, because they revive there [again and again] it has the name of 'Sañjīva' - the Revival Hell.
8. Men who show enmity to their friends including mother, father and dear ones, who are slanderers and liars - they go to Kālasutta;
9. Since they are split like wood with burning saws(9) along [a mark made by] black thread(9), so it is thought of as 'Kālasutta' - the Black Thread Hell.
10. Those men who kill goats(10), rams, jackals(10) and so on, hares, rats, deer and boar and other living beings - they go to Sañghāta;
11. Since, crushed together(11), they are slain(11) there in a total slaughter, therefore this niraya is considered to be named 'Sañghāta' - the Crushing Hell.
12. Those men who cause torment of body and mind to creatures and who are cheats(12) go to Roruva;
13. There they give forth terrible howls, constantly consumed(13) by fierce fire(13), so that is thought

(6) vadhayitvāna] read vaddhayitvāna (Mus p.220).

(9) kakkaccehi] kakacehi (Mus p.220).
See Mus p.79.

(10) ath-] M.1 aj'- (Mus p.221).
-liṅgāla-] read -si(ṅ)gāla- (Mus p.222).

(11) Sañghātā] Sañghātā.
ghātyante] ghātyante.

(12) kutakāpanakā] M.1 kūtakāpanakā; read kūtakappanakā (Mus p.224).

of as 'Roruva' - the Hell of Those Screaming Aloud.

14. Those who take the property of devas, brahmins and [their] gurus, by causing suffering(14) to them even, go to Mahāroruva, as well as those who steal what was entrusted to them;
15. The awfulness(15) of the fire(15)-torment and also the greatness of the howling [there give rise to the name] 'Great Roruva(15)'; its greatness [must be heard] with respect to Roruva(15), [which it surpasses].
16. Whoever burns creatures in conflagrations such as forest fires, that person, wailing, is consumed by fire in Tāpana in blazing flames(16);
17. And since severe torment by burning continues without interruption, therefore it is known in this world here as 'Tāpana' - the Burning Hell.
18. The nihilist who asserts perversely that Dhamma is non-Dhamma and whoever torments beings is consumed by fire in Patāpana(18);
19. Because it burns those beings there with fierce fire(19), greater than that of Tāpana, this is said to be 'Patāpana'.

(13) Metathesis of 'h'; cf. sa. vahninā ... dahyamānā.

(14) rakkhato] M.2, B dukkhato (Mus 1939, pp.222, 225).

(15) ghoratā] ghorattā (Mus p.227).
See verse 13.
roruvo ti mahā] read mahāroruvo ti.
Read Roruvā (Mus p.226).

(16) jalam jalane] M.1 jalajjalane (Mus p.227).

(18) cf. Mahātapa verse 5.

(19) See verse 13.

20. Those showing enmity to(20) those of greater virtue, slaying disciples and also mother(20), father, teacher - they are reborn in Avīci;
21. Even bones melt there because of the heat of terrible fire; since there is no intermission for comfort, it is considered to be 'Avīci' - the Hell Without Intermission(5-21).

Here end the Eight Great Narakas.

2 Secondary Nirayas

22. There are four secondary nirayas(22) for each and every niraya: the [cesspool of] Milhakūpa(22), the [embers of] Kukkula, [the trees of] the Asipattavana and the Nadī [river] (22).
23. Those beings issuing from a great niraya fall into the cesspit; they are pierced(23) with horrible hordes of worms;
24. And, issuing from the Milhakūpa, they fall in the Kukkula; fallen there, those beings are cooked like mustard seeds;
25. And, on issuing from the embers, they see trees shining, green and abounding in leaves - desiring comfort, they draw near;
26. There crows and vultures, dogs, owls(26) and boars, terrible herons, crows and so on, metal-beaked and

(20) katvā ... dosam: cf. sa. krtvā dvesam, showing enmity to', OR sa. krtvā dosam, 'reproaching'.
matā-] mātā-.

(5-21) Cf. Mvu I 5-27.

(22) Secondary nirayas: sixteen, cf. Vism 300.
milha-: see PED s.v. mīlha.
Cf. Sn 673; MN III 185.

(23) vijjare] vijjhare.

- very fearsome(26),
27. Surrounding everybody, devour their flesh - flesh grown back again, the victims rise up, [are devoured] and fall back.
28. And [those] who assail each other in battle to destroy [each other], because of this(28) wrongdoing are reborn with swords for nails and have suffering for their lot.
29. Their nails are swords indeed, made of iron, ablaze and sharp; since they cut each other to pieces with them so they are thought of as 'Those having Swords for Nails'.
30. By force they make the adulterer climb that simbali tree of metal, flaming, sharp-pointed(30) and with thorns sixteen finger-lengths long.
31. Metal-toothed, huge bodied, blazing fearsome females, embracing him, feed on the one who steals another's wife.
32. Torn up in the Asipattavana [forest], men who are traitors(32) wail(32) - [while] dogs, vultures, owls(32) and crows devour [them].
33. Those who steal others' property again and again feed on red-hot iron balls; they drink molten

(26) -oluka-] -olūka-.
Cf. MkP 107.

(28) pāpena- ... te tu] pāpena- ... tena.

(30) tikkhattam] M.1 tikkhaggam (Mus p.230-1).

(32) -ghātino] -ghātino.
āradante] ārudante 'weeping' (Mus pp.234-5).
-gijjhe luka-] M.1 -gijjholūka-.

copper(33).

34. Dogs with fearsome iron teeth violently devour(34) those men, though they cry out [like] bellowing cattle(34), [those men] who are always partial to hunting(34).
35. Those who kill [creatures] born in water, such as fish, go(35) to the terrible river Vetaraṇī whose running water is like blazing(35) copper; [there] one is consumed(35) by fire(35) for a long time.
36. Whoever, full of moha, goes to law contrary to the Dhamma because of his greed for bribes, weeping(36), is struck with the discus in naraka.
37. For a long time red-hot hammers like mechanical mountains crush those who in this world have caused crushing to creatures in various ways(37).
38. Those breakers of the Dhamma-bridges and those who preached the wrong Path weep as they follow a [real]

(33) Cf. Sn 667; see Mus pp.232,235.

(34) khadanti] khādanti.
?vassagonam; see Mus p.236.
sadā khetake] sadākhetake.

(35) yanti (plural) but S yāti.
jali-] read jalat-.
dayhate (singular).
See verse 13.
Verse: cf. Sn 674.

(36) kandam] kandam; ?PED 'for a while' Pañca-g 36 cited.

(37) Cf. verses 10,11.

path fitted with sharp blades(38).

39. Men who crush lice(39) and so on between their nails weep for a long time and are crushed again and again between rams as big(-bodied) as mountains.
40. And, whoever undertakes right conduct, but does not maintain it correctly is broiled for a long time in Kukkula with flesh and bones dissolving.
41. Anyone who lives even a little(41) by a wrong means of livelihood is plunged in dung and urine(41) and is eaten by hordes of worms.
42. Those who crush on sight the insects that appear in the midst of their rice(42) are crushed again and again by iron pestles(42) there indeed.
43. Men who are cruel(43), exceedingly wrathful, always intent on killing and gladdened by the suffering of others are reborn as Yama's rakkhasas(43).
44. Once the seeds(44) of absolutely all suffering have

(38) khuradharā pi tam] M.1 khuradhārāpitaṃ (for khuradhārappitaṃ; Mus pp.239-40); cf. khuradhāra, a niraya for abortionists (Ja V 269,274f.); cf. Vism 163; cf. Sn 674.

(39) -yukā-] -y-ūkā-, OR -yūkā-.
Cf. verse 42.

(41) anunā] aṇunā.
-mugge] M.1 -mutte (Mus p.240).

(42) disvāvīhi-] disvā vīhi-.
tatr-ayomusaleh-eva: cf. S āyasair musalais taptais, 'by burning iron pestles' (see Mus pp.240,242).
Cf. verse 39.

(43) Read kurūra.
See Mus pp.209sq.,242.
Cf. verse 10.

been distinguished, beginning with the first, [as to] any wrongdoing of body, speech and so on - one should not indulge in that [wrongdoing] even minutely(44).

Naraka - the first section

II ANIMAL SECTION

45. Because of passion, they are reborn in the womb of geese, doves and the like, [in the womb] of rhinoceroses(45), [in the womb of those] exceedingly influenced by passion(45); [and] because of [their] moha, in the wombs of insects and so on.
46. Because of anger and ill-will they become snakes, because of pride and obduracy, lions(46); some are reborn, on account of their excessive conceit, in the wombs of donkeys and dogs.
47. He who is avaricious [or] discontented gets birth as a monkey; the foul-mouthed, the fickle and the shameless are reborn in the wombs of crows.
48. Those flogging, fettering and injuring(48) elephants, horses, buffalo and the like become spiders(48) of cruel character, stinging insects and scorpions.

(44) bhijjā-] read bīja- (Mus pp.242-3).
yam tam dandāpi] read yat tad anv api.
 See Mus pp.217,243.

(45) khattānam] M.1 khaggānam (Mus p.244).
 M.2,B: gadrabhānam, 'of asses' (Mus p.244).
 In SUS k. 18: "quadrupèdes, oiseaux, poissons, insectes, etc., considérés tout d'abord d'après leurs caractères: lascifs, féroces, jaloux etc. ..." (Lin Li-kouang p.23).

(46) mittādhīpā] M.1 miggādhīpā; read mīgādhīpā.

(48) -middhāhi] -middhehi (Mus p.246).
sukā] lūtā (Mus p.246).

49. Men who are flesh-eating(49), angry and avaricious are reborn after death as tigers, cats, jackals, bears, vultures, wolves(49) and so on.
50. Men who are generous givers yet angry and cruel (become) Nāgas of great iddhi-power; though charitable they become garuda-lords because of anger and haughtiness.
51. If any wrongdoing in thought and so on has been done by themselves, they are reborn in the realms of animals; therefore one should shun that [wrongdoing](45-51).

Animals - the second section

III PETA SECTION

1 Petas

52. Those who(52) steal what can be chewed and eaten and who lack energy [for good deeds] become corpse(52)-eating petas, Katapūtanas.
53. Those who oppress the young and cheat them because of greed are themselves reborn Katapūtanas to feed(53) on birth-impurities.
54. Whatsoever men are engaged in low practices, the mean, the avaricious and the constantly greedy are reborn after death as goitrous(54) petas.

(49) mamsadā] M.1 mamsādā (Mus pp.246-7).
-vāka-] M.1 -vaka- (Mus pp.246-7).

(45-51) Cf. Mvu I 27-8.

(52) yehi] ye hi.
kunāpa-] kunāpa-.

(53) -āharā] -āhārā.

(54) Read galagandakā 'goitres' (Mus p.248).

55. Whoever prevents others from giving and does not himself give anything becomes a hungry, thirsty peta, needle-mouthed and big-bellied.
56. Whoever preserves(56) [his] wealth for his family [but] neither enjoys nor gives it(56) is reborn a peta taking [only] what is given, eating funeral offerings(56).
57. Whoever longs to steal another's property, and gives and then regrets it, is reborn as a peta feeding(57) on dung, phlegm and vomit.
58. Whoever speaks unpleasantly in anger, words hitting vital spots(58), because of that deed becomes for a long time a peta with mouth like a furnace.
59. And whoever is cruel-minded, without sympathy and quarrelsome, would become a fiery peta eating worms, insects and beetles(59)(52-9).

2 Kumbhandas

60. Any village(60)-fraud who himself gives but stops [others] giving is reborn a kumbhanda, deformed, [but] doing honour(60).

(56) bhujjati] M.1 rakkhati (Mus p.250).
laddha-] saddha- (Mus pp.250-4).
 Cf. AN II 68.

(57) bhakkako] bhakkhako.

(58) vākyam amm-] read vākyam mamm- (Mus pp.254-7);
 see also Mus p.248.
-avaghatanam] read -avaghattanam (Mus p.254).

(59) See Mus pp.250-4,257.
 (52-9) Cf. Mvu I 28-9.

(60) gama-] M.1 gāma- (Mus p.258).
pūjamāno] cf. S pūjyamānaḥ (Mus p.258).

61. Whoever pitilessly kills animals, but gives [them] to be eaten [by others] inevitably(61), after death finds [his] various kinds of food [as] a rakkhasa.
62. Those who are always intent on scent and garlands, are slow to anger and are munificent are reborn after death as gandhabbas, furthering the delight of the devas.
63. Whoever is angry, malicious and offers goods out of greed is reborn as a pisāca, evil-minded, with deformed visage.
64. Those men who are constantly corrupt, fickle, causing pain(64) to others, [but] constantly delighting in giving, become bhūtas after death.
65. Those who are horrible, angered, [but] generous, and those fond of intoxicating liquors are reborn after death as yakkhas, feeding on horrible things(65), fond of liquor.
66. Those who in this world convey folk such as mother, father and guru in carriages become yakkhas travelling in celestial palaces, provided(66) with ease.
67. Because of the fault which is craving and avarice, after death people are reborn petas; [and they are reborn as] yakkhas and so on because of deeds good(67) but spoiled - therefore one should shun wickedness.

(61) vassa] read 'vassam'; cf. verse 107.

(64) -pīla-] -pīlā-.

(65) m.1,m.2: ghorācārā, 'whose conduct is cruel' (Mus p.259).

(66) -saṃyuttā] -saṃyutā.

(67) petāsubhehi] petā subhehi.

3 Asuras

68. That treacherous person who is always deceitful [but] commits no other sin, who is quarrelsome [but] generous, becomes lord of the asuras(68).
69. Vepacitti's asuras went to the realm of the Thirty-three devas; those named the Kālakāñja asuras(69) were included among the petas.

Petas - the third section

IV HUMAN-BEING SECTION

70. Among devas, asuras and men, man is short-lived because of injuries [done by him] or long-lived because of injuries not [done] - therefore one should avoid [causing] injury(70-102).
71. Leprosy, wasting, fever, madness and other ills of human beings exist here on earth(71) among men because of killing, flogging and fettering.
72. Whoever is a thief of others' goods and offers nothing whatever does not acquire wealth, however great his effort(72).
73. Whoever takes wealth ungiven and gives gifts is reborn after death [first] wealthy then penniless(73).

(68) Cf. Mvu I 30.

(69) Cf. Kv VIII I.

(70) himsā] himsam (S himsām; see Mus p.179).
(70-102) Cf. Saddh 77-90; see also Mus pp.179sq., 260.

(71) honti ha] hontīha.

(72) See Mus p.262.

(73) nidhano] niddhano.

74. Any man who is neither thief nor giver nor exceedingly miserly surely obtains, with great difficulty, lasting wealth.
75. That man who is never a thief of others' goods, generous and free from avarice, obtains many rich(75) possessions which cannot be stolen.
76. Whoever gives food here on earth(76) is always reborn to comfort, given long life, beauty and strength, is wise and avoids disease.
77. Whoever would offer garments is reborn modest, beautiful, splendid(77), dear to people and receives(77) garments.
78. Whoever gives houses here on earth(78) with joyful heart, for that creature there will arise palaces(78) rich in all the pleasures of the senses.
79. Whatsoever men offer bridges, sandals and so on(79) are always comfortable [in the next life]; they obtain the best of carriages.
80. Those who build watering-places - wells, tanks, ponds - are [reborn] comfortable, free from heat and free from thirst.
81. Whoever offers a garden, the refuge of all

(75) S istam, '(possessions) desired' (Mus p.265).

(76) dadāti ha] read dadātīha (S) Mus p.264.

(77) suchāyo] succhāyo.
-labhī] -lābhī.

(78) dadāti ha] M.1 dadātīha (Mus pp.263,265).
pasādā] M.1 pāsādā (Mus pp.263,266).
Play on words: vippasanna, pāsāda (cf. sīdati) (Mus 1939, p.267).

(79) And so on: embankments, causeways (Mus p.268).

creatures, would be reborn worshipped with flowers, be always rich and glorious.

82. Erudition is obtained(82) by giving knowledge, and wisdom by means of analysis(82); by giving medicine and safety, one is reborn free from illness.
83. By giving lamps one becomes clear-sighted, by giving the sound of music one becomes sweet-voiced, by giving bed and seat a man obtains ease.
84. Whoever here on earth gives(84) a cow and so on, and edibles along with(84) milk and the like becomes strong, beautiful, wealthy and long-lived.
85. By giving a maiden one obtains(85) sensual pleasures and a retinue; and by giving land one is reborn prosperous in money and grain.
86. Whichever return(86) is desired(86) [of one] - leaf, flower, fruit, water and also(86) a pleasing conveyance(86) - should be given to whoever wants it(86).
87. Here on earth he who gives(87), spoiling [his gift], for the sake of heaven or on account of fear, for

(82) paññā-vyāsenā] M.1 paññā vyāsenā.
M.2 'bhyāsenā, 'by causing repetition (of reading)' (Mus p.271).

labhate] M.1 labbhate (Mus p.270).

(84) dadāti ha] read dadātiha (Mus p.274).
-samyuttam] -samyutam.

(85) labhī] lābhī.

(86) OR read bhattiyā, 'with reverence' (Mus p.275).
yathecchitam] M.1 yathecchitam.
atthāpi] M.1 athāpi (Mus p.274).
S vacanam priyam, 'benevolent speech' (Mus p.274).
-atthinā] M.1 -atthino.

fame or for comfort, reaps spoiled fruit.

88. Whoever gives something for the good of others, with heart full of sympathy, not heeding his own good, reaps unspoiled fruit.
89. Anything whatever that is given to another at the proper time in the proper way - [in the next life] all that is present in just that [same] way.
90. Not oppressing others, at the proper time [and] according to what is desired, without spoiling [the gift], one should oneself give that [giving] indeed(90) not contrary to the Dhamma.
91. There is indeed yielding of fruit from gift[s] being given in this way - giving is thought to be the most important cause of all the comforts [that can accrue from deeds].
92. Whoever keeps away from another's wife indeed obtains a comely wife; whoever even with his own wife avoids the wrong place and time(92) becomes a man.
93. [But] that man who does not stop his lecherous intentions towards the wives of others and takes pleasure in amours(93) becomes a woman.

(87) dadāti ha] read dadātiha.

(90) tam hi] S hitam, 'what is beneficial' (Mus p.276-7).

(92) snehappadesakālādi] read sehi-pp-adesakālādi (for sehi-pi).
Wrong place: in front of a monument raised above relics of the Buddha, in front of a holy image, a book, a teacher and so on; wrong time: when a woman is menstruating, pregnant and so on (Mus p.278); wrong time: by day; cf. MkP 14.74 (Pargiter p.81).

(93) OR pleasure 'par des voies défendues' (Mus p.279).

94. That woman who loathes her womanhood(94), is moral, is little affected by passion and always longs for manhood would attain manhood.
95. And whoever properly enters(95) upon a religious life which is free of disquiet(95) becomes splendid, very virtuous, wealthy and venerated even by the devas.
96. An abstainer from the drinking of intoxicating liquors [is reborn] with sure memory, not bewildered; a truthful person is reborn glorious, and provided(96) with comfort.
97. Whoever causes no division(97), even between people [already] of divided views, is reborn strong-minded and with faithful(97) retinue.
98. Whoever always carries out(98) gurus' commands with joyful mind and teaches what is beneficial and non-beneficial becomes one whose words are welcome.
99. Humbled by their disrespect of others, elevated by the opposite, people have(99) comfort having given comfort, and suffering having given suffering.
100. Those who indulge in contempt for others, are

(94) narattam] read nārittam with verse 93.

(95) nivesati] cf. S nisevati.
nivātaṅkam] M.1 nirātaṅkam ?'irreproachable' (Mus 1939, p.279).

(96) -samyutto] -samyuto.

(97) Cf. It 11.
 Play on words: bhinna 'division', bheda 'divided' and abhejja 'not to be divided'.

(98) kuruto] ?kurute.

(99) bharanti] M.1 bhavanti (Mus p.281).

treacherous and untruthful, and take pride in their beauty become hunchbacks and dwarves.

101. Avaricious for skills, one would become stupid; and unpleasant to the pleasant, become dumb. Whoever is indignant at friendly words is reborn deaf and bewildered.
102. Suffering is the fruit of evil, comfort of meritorious action, a mixture of a mixture - one should know that every fruit corresponds to the deeds.

Human-beings - the fourth section

V DEVA SECTION

1

103. And whoever is not looking for his own comfort and takes no joy in his household, this one(103) as chief of planets would attain the realm of the Mahārājika gods.
104. Whoever honours mother, father and clan(104) elders, is charitable, patient and takes no pleasure in quarrelling would be reborn among the Thirty-three Gods.
105. Those men who are neither devoted to dispute nor indeed joyful-minded in quarrels but devoted exclusively to righteousness go to the Yama gods(105).
106. Those men who have much learning, know the Dhamma [by heart], are very wise, longing for mokkha, completely content(106) with the virtues go to the

(103) vāyam] cāyam.
 Play on words: pariggaha, gaha (Mus p.283).

(104) -kule-] S -kula- (Mus p.284).

(105) See Mus pp.68,n.1,cf.69sq.,250-4,286.

- Tusita(106) gods.
107. Those men who by themselves are based on right conduct, giving(107) and monastic discipline, and are full of effort inevitably(107) go to the Nimmānarati gods.
108. And those who are of superior virtue, are open-minded and attached to giving, self-control [and] restraint [will be among] the Paranimittavatti(108) gods.
109. One attains to the Tāvātimsa heaven by right conduct, to the blessing of Brahmā's world by jhāna meditation and to nibbāna by knowledge(109) of things as they really are(103-9).

2

110. The fruit of one's deeds is pleasant or unpleasant. This fruit has been expounded by me - one goes to a comfortable state because of pleasant deeds; suffering has unpleasant deeds as its origin.
111. This trio should be pondered: death, disease and indeed old age, separation from things loved(111), [and whatever] was the fruit of each deed(111) -

(106) Cf. Sn 58.

Tussitopagā] Tusitopagā.

(107) OR -ppadāna-] ?-ppadhāna-, 'effort'.
vassam] 'vassam (Mus p.288); cf. verse 61.

(108) Parinimittavattino] Paranimittavattino.

(109) -pariññānam] M.1 -pariññānā (Mus p.288).
(103-9) Cf. Mvu I 30-3.

(111) Cf. SN V 421; Vism 498,505.
kammano tassa tam phalam] cf. kammuno yassa yapphalam
(verse 3).

112. In this way one reaches destruction of passions; whoever is free from passions attains(112) meritorious action; thus one renounces evil. You must all listen to this briefly(112):
113. This has been spoken about by the Great Isi: 'Doing what is beneficial for others and avoiding what is harmful to others is meritorious action; evil is the reverse(113)'.

114. The realms of the devas and men and the three evil(114) regions are the five courses [of rebirth], explained(114) by the Buddha Himself to be the three states of existence.

Devas - the fifth section

Pañcagatidīpanī is
complete*.

(112) icchati] cf. S rochati.
samāsato: cf. samāsena verse 4.

(113) puñña-pāpa-vipallāso] read puññam pāpam
vipallāso.
Sadgatikārikā and Chagatidīpanī end here; M.1 adds verse
114 (Mus p.293).

(114) pāpā yā] M.1 pāpāya.
niditthā] nidditthā.

* -dīpana(m) samattam] read -dīpanī samattā (M.1
-dīpana sapattā); cf. Mus pp.24-5.

Glossary and Index of Proper Names

* indicates a word from the text which occurs in neither CPD nor PED, OR a word from the text which does occur in either CPD or PED, but with inappropriate meaning. Commonly occurring Pāli words, including technical terms, are included only if they appear in the translation or footnotes.

- *akesayitvā 90: see kesayitvā.
 *atikapaṇa 74: very miserly; ?PED 'very miserable' Pañca-g 74 cited.
 *anaṅga 93: l'amour; volupté (Burnouf 1865 p.19).
 *adesakāla 92: wrong place and time.
 *apahārin 31,33: thief.
 *abbhusūyaka 101: cf. sa. abhyasūyaka, indignant; ?CPD 'envious, calumnious'; ?PED 'zealous'; Pañca-g 101 cited in both.
 *abhigāmin 8: approaching.
 *avaghatana 58: read avaghaṭṭana, striking.
 *avirodhita 90: not contrary to; ?PED virodhita, 'obstructed' Pañca-g 90 cited.
 *asammagga 38: wrong Path; cf. sa. sammārga, right path.
 Asipattavana 22: sword-leaf-wood, a niraya; Sn 673.
 asura 68-9: opponent of the gods.
 *āradante 32: ?CPD '(they gnash) brass teeth' Pañca-g 32 cited; read ārudante, 'weeping'.
 iddhi 50: psychic powers.
 Isi 113: inspired holy man.
 *kalippiya 68: quarrelsome; ?PED 'gambler' Pañca-g 68 cited.
 Kālakāñja 69: the very lowest of the asura groups, of fearsome shape.
 Kukkula 22,24,40: glowing-coals niraya; Ja V 114,143-4; MN III 185.
 kumbhaṇḍa 60: pot-testicle, class of demons with huge stomachs etc.
 kulejēṭṭha 104: clan elders (PED s.v. jettha).
 *kūṭa-kāpamaka 12: kūṭakappanaka, cheat (Mus p.224).
 *kesayitvā 87,90: cf. sa. klesayitvā, having spoiled; see kileseti PED.
 *kopana 43: wrathful.
 *krūra 50, kurūra 43,48,59: cruel.
 *khajjara 48: cf. sa. kharjūra; stinging insect; ?PED 'caterpillar' Pañca-g 48 cited.
 *khamin 104: patient.
 *khyāta 17: named; PED only khāyati, 'seems to be, appears like'.

- gandhabba 62: class of deities, the lowest of the deva groups; the heavenly musicians.
 garuḍa 50: class of huge mythical birds living in simbali-groves; Ja I 202.
 guru 14,66,98: see COD.
 *cintaniya 111: to be pondered; PED only cinteyya and cintetabba.
 *cunnantī 42: cf. sa. cūrnyate, is crushed.
 *cunṇita 39: crushed.
 *jalat 35: blazing.
 jhāna 109: special religious experience in meditation, reached in a certain order of mental states.
 Tāvatiṃsa 109: the second of the six deva-worlds, the realm of the Thirty-three gods.
 Tusita 106: 'full of delight', the fourth of the six deva-worlds.
 *tejassī 95: cf. sa. tejasvin, splendid.
 duggati: realm of misery.
 deva 14 etc.: god.
 *drava 35: running; see dava PED.
 Dhamma 18,36,38,90,106: cf. Dharma COD.
 *dhīmant 76: intelligent; see dhīmant PED.
 naraka 36: see niraya.
 nāga 50: serpent demon.
 nibbāna 109: cf. nirvana COD.
 Nimmānaratī 107: 'delighting in own creation', the fifth of the six deva-worlds.
 niraya 11,22-3: hell.
 *nirātaṅka 95f.n.: free from fear or pain.
 *padātar 65,68: liberal; ?PED 'extravagant, a squanderer' Pañca-g 65,68 cited.
 Paranimittavattin 108: 'rejoicing in the work of other (devas)', the sixth and highest of the six deva-worlds.
 *paritūttha 106: cf. sa. paritūsta, completely satisfied.
 *parivāravant 85: having a great retinue.
 *pāṇin 42: [worms and] insects (Mus p.242).
 pisāca 63: demon.
 *pūtana 52-3: class of demons, presumably stinking.
 peta 52,54-9,67,69: ghost.
 *phālyante 9: are split.
 brahman 14: see COD.
 Brahmā 109: chief of the gods.
 *bhatya 86: cf. sa. (lexicographers) bhṛtyā, support, maintenance, wages; see bhati PED.
 bhūta 64: demon.
 Mahārājika 103: the retinue of the Four Kings, the lowest of the six deva-worlds.
 *miggādhīpa 46: lion; see miggādhībhū PED.
 *middha 48: hurting.

- Milhakūpa 22,24: cesspit niraya.
 *mēsa 39: cf. sa. mēsa, 'ram'.
 mokkha 106: liberation.
 moha 36,45: delusion.
 yakkha 65-7: demi-god.
 Yama 43: Death.
 Yāma 105: third of the six deva-worlds.
 *yūkā 39: louse.
 rakkhāsa 43,61: demon.
 *lobhin 54: covetous.
 *vassa 34: cf. sa. vāśra, 'bellowing'.
 *vāla 83: cf. sa. vāda, sounding (of a musical instrument); ?PED 'music' Pañca-g 83 cited.
 *vunhi 13,15,19,35: cf. sa. vahni, fire (metathesis of 'h').
 Vetaraṇi 35: river in the great niraya.
 Vepacitti 59: asura chieftain.
 *salajja 77: feeling modesty.
 simbali 30: silk-cotton (kapok) tree in hell.
 sugati: realm of bliss.
 *succhāya 77: beautiful, splendid.

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Texts

Note: texts cited in footnotes by title only; all are editions of the Pali Text Society except where otherwise indicated.

AN	Āṅguttara-Nikāya
It	Itivuttaka
Kv	Kathā-vatthu
Ja	The Jātaka together with its commentary (V. Fausbøll) I-VI, 1877-1896
Dhp	Dhammapada (V. Fausbøll, 2 edd.), Copenhagen 1855 & London 1900 [verses]
Pañca-g	Pañcagati-dīpanī
MN	Majjhima-Nikāya
Mvu	Mahāvastu (Senart), I-III, Paris 1882-97
MkP	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna (see References s.v. Pargiter)
Vism	Visuddhi-magga
SN	Samyutta-Nikāya
Saddh	Saddhamopāyana
SUS	See References s.v. Lin Li-kouang.
Sn	Sutta-nipāta

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