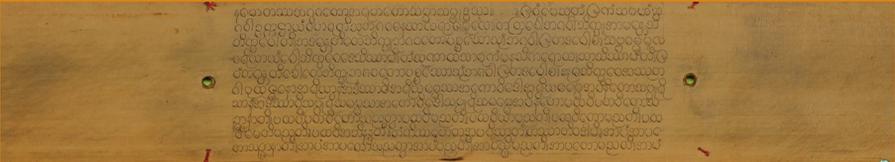


# Journal of the Pali Text Society

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## K. R. Norman: 1925–2020

Eivind Kahrs

Professor Kenneth Roy Norman died peacefully on 5 November 2020 at the age of ninety-five. With his death, the world of Middle Indo-Aryan philology, also known as the study of Pali and Prakrit, has lost one of its most eminent scholars and one of its clearest voices ever.

Roy Norman, as he preferred, was born on 21 July 1925, the son of Clement and Peggy Norman, in Wellington in Somerset where he was educated at Taunton School.

After military service in India and Malaya, he was admitted to Downing College, University of Cambridge, where he read Classics, obtaining his Cambridge MA degree in 1954. He was a Fellow and Tutor in Downing College from 1952 to 1964.

In 1953 Roy Norman married Pamela Raymont, who was to become his lifelong partner. Pam predeceased him by a year and a half. They are survived by a son, Matthew, and a daughter, Felicity.

Roy Norman studied classical philology, which in his student days included the study of the relationship between Latin, Greek, Sanskrit and other Indo-European languages. He went on to focus on Sanskrit and the dialects associated with Sanskrit—the Prakrits, or Middle Indo-Aryan—and in 1955 was appointed Lecturer in Middle Indo-Aryan Studies in the University of Cambridge, where he remained for his entire academic career.

These were still times when a PhD was not a necessity if you wanted to get on with your research and titles didn't matter much to him ('Mr Norman' would do), but Roy Norman was promoted to Reader in 1978 and Professor of Indian Studies in 1990, and retired as Professor Emeritus in 1992.

He was made a Foreign Member of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in 1983, and elected a Fellow of the British Academy (FBA) in 1985. Notably, Roy Norman was the longest serving member of

the Council of the Pali Text Society (1959–2010) and also served as its President from 1981 to 1994. He was editor of the *Journal of the Pali Text Society* from 1985 to 1994.

Roy Norman's contribution to Pali studies was immense. He was editor of the *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance* (vol. II, fascicles 4–9) from 1963 to 1973, and of *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* (vol. II, fascicles 11–17) from 1981 to 1990. The latter office took him several times to Copenhagen, and he also had lecturing and other engagements from Japan to California over the years.

A bibliography of Roy Norman's published work (mostly under the signature K. R. Norman) appeared in *JPTS* in 2009. Even with the customary abbreviations, it is 36 pages long (*JPTS* 30 (2009): 99–135) and lists 490 items, covering Middle Indo-Aryan in all its manifestations, including the Aśokan inscriptions and Jain studies, so I shall not go into details here. However, the last of the 152 articles listed, 'On translating literally' (*JPTS* 30 (2009): 89–97), brings to mind some of Roy Norman's outstanding, meticulously annotated translations of major metrical texts in Pali, including the *Theragāthā*, *Therīgāthā*, *Suttanipāta* and *Dhammapada*.<sup>1</sup>

Among his works two monographs stand out and deserve special mention. One is the monumental *Pāli Literature: Including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all the Hīnayāna Schools of Buddhism*, 1983.<sup>2</sup> The other is *A Philological Approach to Buddhism*,<sup>3</sup> which contains Roy Norman's Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai Lectures at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1994. They give a vivid and very accurate picture of what Roy Norman's work was all about. In a sense, this became his testament to the study of Buddhism and its inseparable and intimately dependent relationship with philology.

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- 1 *Elders' Verses*, vol. I. Translation of the *Theragāthā*, 1969; reprinted 1990, 1995; 2nd edn 2007; revised translation of the verses: *Poems of Early Buddhist Monks* (*Theragāthā*), 1997). *Elders' Verses*, vol. II. Translation of the *Therīgāthā*, 1971; reprinted 1992, 1995; 2nd edn 2007; revised translation of the verses: *Poems of Early Buddhist Nuns*, 1989. *The Group of Discourses*. Translation of the *Sutta-nipāta*, 1984; revised translation with introduction and notes published as vol. II, 1992; reprinted 1995; 2nd edn (not called vol. II), 2001. *The Word of the Doctrine*. Translation of the *Dhammapada*, 1997; reprinted with corrections 2000. All published by PTS.
  - 2 *Pāli Literature: Including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all the Hīnayāna Schools of Buddhism*, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. VII, fascicle 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983).
  - 3 *A Philological Approach to Buddhism* (The Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai Lectures 1994), *Buddhist Forum*, vol. V (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1997; 2nd corrected edn, Lancaster: PTS, 2006).

Roy Norman also leaves us with an outstanding collection of his scholarly output in eight volumes of *Collected Papers* (vols I–VIII, PTS, 1990–2007) which will have a lasting effect on Pali and Prakrit Studies.

Roy Norman’s university post was specified as Middle Indo-Aryan, but before his retirement in 1992, it was decided to readvertise it in Sanskrit, so when I became his ‘successor’ in 1989, Roy was still in post for three more years, due to a short-lived arrangement at the time. Some commission had decided that university faculties or departments could apply for someone to be replaced three years before their retirement. In my case this was extremely beneficial, and in due course we read all the Aśokan inscriptions (in the end twice), lots more epigraphy, Jain texts in Ardha-Māgadhi, the Gāndhāri *Dharmapada*, and literary texts such as the *Sattasai*.

Roy’s presence also added significantly to my understanding of how my new work-place worked (or didn’t work). His characteristic generosity and support revealed a heart of gold.

In the Faculty of Oriental Studies, coffee at 11 a.m. was one of the things that did work and kept people connected, even if they were from disciplines as diverse as Japanese Studies and Assyriology, and Roy Norman was a regular participant. Whether it was at morning coffee, PTS Council meetings in London or Faculty Board meetings in Cambridge, Roy Norman was always a voice of reason.

In the autumn of 1989, I was still fairly new to computers, whereas Roy was already quite into them and had seen their possibilities for our subjects. Sometimes Roy would knock on my door and say: ‘Shall we play?’ And we went down to the Faculty’s ‘computer room’ on the 1st floor and ‘played’.

When Roy Norman realised that my Sanskrit colleague John D. Smith and I had decided to retain some Pali and Prakrit texts, including some Aśokan inscriptions, as part of the Sanskrit undergraduate syllabus, he was delighted. Some years later, probably in 1995, I was about to teach Rock Edict XIII and realised a few days before the class that I had some questions for Roy. Brushing the questions aside for the moment, his immediate and enthusiastic reaction was: ‘Would you like me to teach it?’ This he did, and came all the way in from Shepreth for the two-hour class. When I raised the possibility of tape recording him, Roy replied: ‘I anticipated that,’ and handed me eighteen pages of notes, neatly typed out single-spaced.<sup>4</sup> There were just three students in the class, and they loved it.

4 The notes were subsequently published in *Indologica Taurinensia* as ‘Aśoka’s Thirteenth Rock Edict’, *IT*: 23–24 (Gregory M. Bongard-Levin Felicitation Volume), 1997–98 [1999]: 459–84 (*Collected Papers*, VIII, no. 135: 45–69).

Roy Norman was also exceptionally able handed, whether it involved mending his car, or more creatively in the realms of pottery or carving things from wood, or creating a real wood full of wonders in his and Pam's fairytale garden in Huttles Green in Shepreth.

Roy Norman's funeral became a limited affair, due to the pandemic restrictions at the time. I watched it online at the invitation of Roy's daughter, Felicity, who brought it a quiet dignity through her speech, reminiscent of Roy. She had also made ninety-five origami butterflies which she distributed at the end of the service, a fitting tribute to a scholar whose work was disseminated far and wide and shall continue to be read all over the world for generations to come.

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# Convention of Speech (*rūlhi*) in Theriya Buddhism

## The Law of Generalization

Aruna Gamage

*For Būṭāvatte Saraṇaṅkara thera*

### 1. *Nirukti* and convention

Semantic development of words—the development of secondary meanings of words in addition to and instead of their literal meanings—is a common phenomenon in many languages. Once a word's secondary meaning has developed, its literal meaning may either become redundant or disappear. As linguists point out, the word 'nice' originally meant 'ignorant' in Old English, but in Modern English it is used in the sense of 'polite'.<sup>1</sup> The original meaning of 'nice' has disappeared. Likewise, the Pali term *tela* literally means the 'essence of sesame seeds' (*tila*), i.e., sesame oil.<sup>2</sup> But when *tela* started to be used for 'oil' in general, the term *tilatela* had to be used to refer specifically to sesame oil. The literal meaning of *tela* faded away when its secondary meaning became dominant.<sup>3</sup>

As the Pāli commentaries show, the meaning of some terms in the Tipiṭaka has evolved significantly from their original meaning. Because the secondary meanings of these terms became commonplace, their original meanings seem to have become unknown. Pāli exegetical literature is enormously helpful in figuring out the original meaning of these terms. Below I will explain some of these terms, with some examples.

1 Shukla and Connor-Linton 2006: 284.

2 DOP, s.v. *tela*: 'sesamum oil; oil in general'. See also pw, s.v. *taila*: 'Sesamöl, Oel überh.'; KEWA, s.v. *tailaṃ*: 'Sesamöl, Öl / sesamum oil, oil [...]. Später geht der Zusammenhang mit dem Sesam-Wort verloren (vgl. *sārṣapaṃ tailaṃ* ummustard oil' [Suśruta] u.a.) und die tautologische Bildung *tila-tailaṃ* "Sesam-Öl" (Pāṇ. u. a.; Suśruta) wird nötig.'

3 See Vin III 251.22–23 (= IV 88.30–31; 348.7–8; ≠ V 129.4–5): *telaṃ nāma tilatelaṃ sāsapatelaṃ madbukatelaṃ eraṇḍatelaṃ vasāṭelaṃ*. Tr. BD II 132: 'Oil means: sesamum oil, oil of mustard seeds, oil from the "honey-tree", oil of the castor-oil plant, oil from tallow.'

The phrase *rathakārakula* occurs in several discourses in the Tipiṭaka.<sup>4</sup> It consists of three components, namely, *ratha* ('chariot'), *kāra* ('doer') and *kula* ('family'). Examining these components, one might assume that the phrase refers to 'a chariot-makers' family'.<sup>5</sup> In fact, *rathakārakula* has nothing to do with a chariot-makers' family, but refers to one of the (so-called) lower castes (*nicakula*) in India who functioned as 'workers in leather' or 'shoemakers'.<sup>6</sup>

In other cases, the exact meaning of a term is hard to determine from its *nirukti* ('etymological explanation'). For instance, its *nirukti* suggests *gocara* means 'a place where cattle wander', i.e., the pasture-ground for cattle. Yet, as far as I know, it does not occur in this sense in the Tipiṭaka. Rather, it has the sense of 'an appropriate place to wander', for creatures,<sup>7</sup> and especially monks; hence 'resort', and so forth.<sup>8</sup>

4 See S I 94.15; A I 107.22; II 85.15; III 385.8; Pp 51.23: *rathakārakule vā*. 'Or in a Rathakāras' family.'

5 See *rathakāra* = 'chariot makers' (Law 1924: 70–71); 'wheelwright' (Woodward 1932, 92, Woodward 1933: II 94; Hare 1934: III 274); 'cartwrights' (Bodhi 2000: 185); 'cart makers' (Bodhi 2012: 207, 467, 940). Edgerton translates *rathakāra* as 'cart-maker' and suggests that it occurs to mean a carpenter in Vedic texts. See Edgerton 1938: 707.

6 The Paribhāṣenduśekhara (PrBṣIś 100.15) refers to 'the maxim of the chapter on *rathakāra*'; the commentary explains that *rathakāra* denotes a member of a particular mixed caste (*kaścit samkīrnajātivīśeṣaḥ*); see Kielhorn 1874, 470 n. 4. See also pw, s.v. *rathakāra*; Edgerton 1938: 707–709; Kunjunni-Raja 1963: 66. Buddhaghosa (Spk I 162.26) explains *rathakārakule* (S I 93.30) as 'in a leatherworkers' family' (*cammakārakule*); see also Mp II 175.23; III 111.16; Pp-a 227.23–24. But Dhammapāla attempts to establish a relationship between *rathakāras* and chariots: '*Rathakāras* are called leatherworkers because they cover [?] the chariots with leather.' (Spk-pt I 194.23–24: *rathesu cammena hananakaraṇato rathakārā cammakārā* [≠ Spk I 162.26] *vuttā*). C. A. F. Rhys Davids (1917: I 118) translates *rathakāra* as 'leather-worker'.

7 As a *bahuvrīhi*, *vārigocara* occurs in the canon applied to (1) 'fish' (Sn 118.7, v. 605: *tato macche pi jānātha odake vārigocare*. 'Then, [you] should also know that fish [live] in water, and have water as their habitat.'; and (2) a frog (Vv 77.5: *maṇḍūko 'haṃ pure āsīṃ udake vārigocaro*. 'In the past, I was a frog [living] in water, having water as habitat.' In his commentaries Dhammapāla explains *vārigocaro*: 'Because the cattle roam here, [it] is [called] *gocara*. It is the place cattle search for food. But here, [it] is [called] *gocara*, because [it] resembles a pasture. Because *vāri* that is *udakaṃ* is the habitat of this [frog], [it] is [stated]: its habitat is water. For, some [creatures] residing in water, such as turtles, that can also have a non-water (i.e., land) habitat, [are still said] to have water as habitat.' (Vv-a 218.31–219.1 = Vism-mhṭ I 248.16–19 (to Vism 209.12–13): *gāvo caranti etthā ti gocaro, gunnaṃ ghās' esanaṭṭhānaṃ. idha pana gocaro viyā ti gocaro. vāri udakaṃ gocaro etassā ti vārigocaro. udakacāri pi hi koci kacchapādi avārigocaro pi hoti ti vārigocaro ti visesetvā vuttam*). See also Sp-ṭ I 294.14–16.

8 See M I 355.3: *ācāragocarasampanno* = '[H]e is perfect in conduct and resort' (Ñānamoli and Bodhi 1995: 461); see also CPD, s.v. *ācāra-gocara-sampanna*; BHSD, s.v. *gocara*; DOP, s.v. *gocara*. DOP, s.v. *gocara-gāma*: 'the village where bhikkhus or other ascetics

## 2. *rūl̥bis* in the Tipiṭaka

A *rūl̥bi* refers to the replacement of the original meaning of a term with a secondary one.<sup>9</sup>

This replacement typically occurs in dependence on some kind of relationship between the two meanings. As Pāli exegetical works show, many *rūl̥bis* have one of two opposed synecdochic functions in the Tipiṭaka, either expansion or contraction of the original meaning. The present article deals only with *rūl̥bis* belonging to the first category.<sup>10</sup>

Below I will discuss passages which illustrate how the Mahāvihāra school recognizes some canonical terms as *rūl̥bis* and offers scholastic exegeses of them. The school designates these words as *rūl̥bis*, even though their primary meanings could also serve the particular linguistic contexts well, thereby imputing new meanings to them in conformity with the scholastic tenets developed within the school. I first pay attention to the words of general linguistic usage and then examine some expressions in Buddhist thought in specific technical contexts.

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beg for food; a village where bhikkhus can (properly) beg for food'. With reference to this meaning, Dhammapāla comments: 'Because "the cattle pasture here", [it] is [called] *gocara*. [It] is [called] *gocara* as [it] resembles a pasture in that it is the place monks search for alms.' (Sv-pt 1 28.5-6: *gāvo caranti etthā ti gocaro* (# Sv 1 5.18). *gocaro viya gocaro, bhikkhācaranaṭṭhānam*.)

9 See pw, s.v. *rūḍhi*: 'eine überlieferte, nicht unmittelbar aus der Etymologie sich ergebende Bedeutung eines Wortes'. Viśvanātha (17th century) defines the term *rūḍha* as follows: 'Where the meaning [of a term] is cognized simply through the expressive capacity of the whole utterly irrespective of the expressive capacity of [its] components, such a [term] is [called] convention.' (SidMuv 71.12-13: *yatrāvayavaśaktinairapeksyena samudāyaśaktimātreṅārtho budhyate, tad rūḍham*. See also Mādhavānanda 1940: 156.) As Mammāṭa (11th century) states, conventional meaning is implied when the primary meaning of a term is restricted (KvyP 48.3-4: *mukhyārthabādhe tadyoge rūḍbito 'tha prajayanāt | anyo 'rtho lakṣyate yat sālakṣaṇāropitā kriyā* ||. Tr. Jha 1925: 17-18: 'When the primary meaning is precluded (by incompatibility), another meaning, in affinity therewith, comes to be implied,—either on the basis of usage or for a special purpose,—this process of imposed implication is called "Indication", *Lakṣaṇā*.' The *nirukti* will offer a meaning based on the actual linguistic components of a word, whereas a conventional meaning derives from practical usage. Indian philosophers of language recognize such terms as *yogarūḍhis* ('etymologico-conventional'). Edgerton (1938: 709) explains *yogarūḍhi* as follows: '[S]ometimes the results of interpretation by *rūḍhi* and by *yoga* coincide.' See also Kunjunni-Raja 1963: 46: 59, 61-62; Dash 1993; Phillips 2012: 76.

10 For *rūl̥bis* involving contraction of the original meaning, see Gamage 2023, 118-147. With a wealth of examples, Bullinger (1898) discusses how synecdoche is used in the Bible in these two ways under 'synecdoche of the species' (623-635) and 'synecdoche of the genus' (614-623) respectively.

### 3. Kosala and other toponyms

The commentators identify a number of toponyms found in the Tīpīṭaka as *rūl̥bis* or ‘conventions of speech.’<sup>11</sup> For instance, the *Ambaṭṭhasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* has:

*bbagavā Kosalesu cārikam caramāno*<sup>12</sup>

The Blessed One was wandering on tour in the Kosala country

Buddhaghosa glosses *Kosalesu* as follows:

*Kosalesū ti Kosalā nāma janapadino rājakumārā. tesam nivāso eko pi janapado rūl̥bisaddena kosalā ti vuccati. tasmim̐ Kosalesu janapade.*<sup>13</sup>

In the Kosala country: the princes belonging [to that] territory are called ‘the Kosalas’. Although the territory which is their residence is single, using a term due to the convention of speech, [it] is counted as ‘Kosalas’ (plural). In the Kosala territory.

As Buddhaghosa says, Kosala was originally used to denote the princes belonging to a particular territory. Later, this territory was also named Kosala after these princes. It was used in the plural despite referring to a single state. When the term Kosala is used to denote the territory rather than the princes who ruled it, it is called a *rūl̥bi*.<sup>14</sup> In the subcommentary, Dhammapāla supports Buddhaghosa:

*yadi eko janapado katham̐ bahuvacanan ti āba: rūl̥bisaddenā ti. akkharacintakā hi idisesu ṭhānesu yutte viya idisalīṅgavacanāni iccbanti. ayam ettha rūl̥bi, yathā aññattha pi Kurūsu vibarati* (e.g., D II 55.), *Āngesu vibarati* (e.g., M I 271.6–7) *ti ca.*<sup>15</sup>

11 The term *rūl̥bi* is rendered in many ways; ‘*Sprachgebrauch*’ (Nyanaponika 1955: 292), ‘extension’ (Masfield 1994 I 468), ‘popular usage’ (Pruitt 1998: 37), ‘convention’ (Philips 2012: 76), ‘stipulation’ (Philips 2012: 93), ‘convention of speech’ (Bodhi 2017: 501). In this article, I use the last. For *rūl̥bisadda*, we find ‘figure of speech’ (Tin 1920: 84), ‘*Alltagssprache*’ (Nyanatiloka 2014: 354), ‘term of common usage’ (Ñāṇamoli 1956: 304; Horner 1978: 19), ‘*üblicher Wortgebrauch*’ (Nyāṇaponika 2005: 136), ‘conventional name’ (Bodhi 2017: 887).

12 D I 87.1–2.

13 Sv I 239.2–4.

14 See Pind 1989: 69–70; 2008: 47–48.

15 Sv-pt I 372.6–10. Cf. Ps-pt I 327.26; II 230.2; as the editors of the Chaṭṭhasāṅgīti edition note here, *yutte viya salīṅgavacanāni* must refer to Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī rule (1.2.51): *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*. Tr. Joshi and Roodbergen 1987: 88: ‘given *lup* (—deletion of a *taddhita*-suffix, then) the gender and number (of the derivative word) are like (those of) the original noun-base.’ The point seems to be that, if we view the place name ‘Kosala’ as a nominal derivative, it should continue to conform to the gender and number rules

If it is a single territory, why is it in the plural? [Buddhaghosa] says [it is plural] **due to being a term of convention of speech**. For, in such places, the grammarians desire [to apply the rule]: ‘such [and such] a gender and number [of a derivative noun] as in the original noun-base’. This is a convention of speech here, as also elsewhere: [the Blessed One] dwells in the Kuru country and [the Blessed One] dwells in the Aṅga country.

Glossing *Kurūsu*, in the *Mabānidānasutta*, Dhammapāla makes the following statement:

*avayavesu siddho viseso samudāyassa visesako hotī ti ekam pi raṭṭhaṃ babuvacanena voharīyati.*<sup>16</sup>

Although it is a single kingdom it is used in the plural by common linguistic usage since the specific meaning acquired for the parts becomes the attribute of the whole.

This explanation shows how, according to Dhammapāla, the original meaning of a term is expanded. The rulers of a given kingdom can be considered as its principal parts. Therefore, the princes residing there can be considered parts (*avayava*) of that kingdom. Kurus was originally used to qualify the princes of this kingdom. The same name was secondarily used to qualify the entire kingdom (*raṭṭhaṃ*) in which they lived, as *Kurūsu* in the plural. Here, a part (*avayava*) is substituted for the whole (*samudāya*), that is the whole is represented by a part.<sup>17</sup>

From the perspective of the commentators, toponyms such as Aṅga, Magadha, Vajji, Malla, and Pañcāla are also *rūlhis* which were primarily used to refer to the princes living in those regions.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps after these

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of the term it derives from. Thus, as the place name ‘Kosala’ derives from the name of a group of princes, it continues to be declined in the plural. See Pind 1989: 70–71; Katre 1987: 44; Cardona 2009: 7 n. 16; Candotti and Pontillo 2014: 111–112. Although he refers to Paṇini’s rule, Dhammapāla implies that he does not agree with it by stressing at the end of his explanation that *Kosalā* here is a ‘convention of speech’ (*ayam ettha rūlhi*), adding two further canonical examples. For further glosses relating to *Kosala*, see Ps II 326.25–28; Pj II 400.19–21; Mp-nt II B<sup>c</sup> 150.22–25. Commenting on *Kosalesu* at Ud 38.11, Dhammapāla offers the same gloss as Buddhaghosa, but omitting the term *rūlhi* (Ud-a 240.29–31: *Kosalā nāma janapadavāsīno rājakumārā. tesam nivāso eko pi janapado Kosalā tv’eva vuccati. tasmim̐ Kosalajanapade*).

16 Sv-pt II 103.10–11 (to Sv II 481.3–5, to D II 55.2); Sv-pt II B<sup>c</sup> 79.1–6 omits this sentence. On *Kurūsu*, see also Ps I 225.1–4; Ps-pt I 327.23–328.2; Spk II 85.16–17; Spk-pt II 98.10–12.

17 This is one of the characteristics of synecdoche. See Bullinger 1898: 613, 686; for examples from the Pāli canon, see Gamage 2021: 261–267.

18 See Sv I 279.3–6; Ps II 312.1–4; Ps-pt II 229.28–230.4 (Aṅga); Sv I 294.3–5; Pj II I 135.26–28; Th-a II 74.22–25, 264.25–27 (Magadha); Ud-a 182.12–14 (Vajji); Sv III 816.3–5; Ud-a 377.11–13 (Malla); Pv-a C<sup>c</sup> 117.28–31 (Pañcāla).

names came to be commonly used to refer to these districts, their primary usage gradually disappeared.

#### 4. The Cāpāla Shrine, etc.

In the *Dīghanikāya*, *Samyuttanikāya*, *Aṅguttaranikāya* and *Udāna*, we find the same passage where the Buddha proposes to the Elder Ānanda to join him in visiting the Cāpāla shrine (*ceṭiya*) to spend the day. After approaching this place, he states that six shrines are all delightful: the Udena, Gotamaka, Sattamba, Bahuputta, Sārandada, and Cāpāla.<sup>19</sup> In the commentary on the *Udāna*, Dhammapāla glosses:

*Cāpālacetiyan ti pubbe Cāpālassa nāma yakkhassa vasitaṭṭhānaṃ Cāpālacetiyan ti paññāyittha. tattha bhagavato katavibhāro pi tāya rūlhiyā Cāpālacetiyan ti vuccati. Udenaṃ cetiyan ti evam ādisu pi es' eva nayo. Sattambaṃ ti Kikissa kira Kāsirañño dbitaro satta kumāriyo samvegajātā rājagebato nikkhamitvā yattha padhānaṃ padabimsu, taṃ ṭhānaṃ Sattambaṃ cetiyan ti vadanti. Bahuputtan ti bahupārobo eko nigrodharukkho. tasmim adbhivatthaṃ devataṃ babū manussā putte pattenti. tad upādāya taṃ ṭhānaṃ Bahuputtaṃ cetiyan ti paññāyittha. Sārandadan ti Sārandada-nāma yakkhassa vasitaṭṭhānaṃ. iti sabbān' eva tāni Buddhuppādato pubbe devatāpariggahitāni ti cetiyavohārena vohāritāni. Bhagavato vibhāre kate pi ca tath' eva paññātan ti.*<sup>20</sup>

[To] the shrine Cāpāla: it was known as the Cāpāla shrine as it was the place where the demon named Cāpāla previously dwelt. Even the *vibhāra* built there for the Blessed One is counted as the shrine Cāpāla according to the convention of speech. This same method [applies] with respect to the shrine Udena, etc., as well. [The shrine] Sattamba: they call the shrine 'Sattamba' as [it] is the place where the seven princesses who were the daughters of Kiki, king of Kāsi, filled with a sense of urgency, went forth from the royal palace and focused on religious striving.<sup>21</sup> The [shrine] Bahuputta: [there is] a banyan tree with many shoots [there and] many people pray for sons to the god who dwells in that [tree]. Owing to that [activity], that place was known as the shrine Bahuputta. The [shrine] Sārandada: the place where the demon named Sārandada dwelt. In this manner, all those entered common usage as the popular names for [these] shrines, since they had been occupied by the gods before the Buddha's emergence. And, although the

19 D II 102.5-19; S V 259.5-29; A IV 308.21-22-309.1-4; Ud 62.6-16.

20 Ud-a 322.20-323.13. (Ud-a 323.2 has *bāpālacetiyaṃ*, which is likely a typographical error.)

21 *sattamba* literally means seven women; the noun *ambā* is used either of a mother or a good woman. Dhammapāla here alludes to the past life story of the Therī Khemā (as Princess Samaṇī) and her seven sisters (Thī-a 122.9-14). (I am grateful to Alastair Gornall for pointing this out.)

*vihāras* [in these places] were built for the Blessed One, [they] were known by the same [former names].<sup>22</sup>

Dhammapāla states that the term Cāpālacetiya, according to *rūlhi*, stands for the *vihāra* that was built for the Buddha. Although this phrase initially referred to the shrine of the demon Cāpāla, later on that usage was apparently merged with the name of the *vihāra*. Hence, Cāpālacetiya here is a substitution for *vihāra*. The statement that ‘this same method [applies] with respect to the shrine Udena, etc., as well’, shows that all the names of shrines mentioned here are *rūlhis*, and refer to the *vihāras* built for the Buddha. Although these *vihāras* are entirely different from those *cetiya*s, their primary designations continued to be used. The six shrines are, therefore, not shrines but *vihāras*.<sup>23</sup>

### 5. *mārisa*

In the Pāli canon, the gods generally use the term *mārisa* to address the members of their community, the Buddha and eminent monks. In addition, kings also use the term to address one another. In the first discourse of the *Samyuttanikāya*, we see a certain god addressing the Buddha as *mārisa*:

*kathaṃ nu tvaṃ mārisa ogham atari ti?*

‘How, dear sir, did you cross the flood?’<sup>24</sup>

Bodhi (presumably following PED) assumes that this term comes from Sanskrit *mādrś*, ‘like me, resembling me’.<sup>25</sup> Buddhaghosa’s exegesis on this term is as follows:

<sup>22</sup> See also Masefield 1995: II 851–852.

<sup>23</sup> In the subcommentaries on the *Dīghanikāya* (Sv-pt II 190.28–30) and *Samyuttanikāya* (Spk-pt II 503.23–504.3), Dhammapāla explains the six shrines, but does not say they are *rūlhis*. Instead, he states that the previous common names for the shrines have come to be used for the *vihāras*. In his short glosses in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, *Sāratthappakāsini* and *Manorathapāraṇi*, Buddhaghosa also does not designate these six shrines as *rūlhis*, but implies that in the present context they refer to *vihāras*: ‘The *vihāra* built at the place of the shrine of the demon Udena is called Udenacetiya. This same method [applies] with respect to the [shrine] Gotamaka, etc., as well.’ (Sv II 554.21–22: *Udenacetiyan ti Udenayakkhassa cetiyaṭṭhāne katavihāro vuccati. Gotamakādīsu pi es’ eva nayo*) See also Mp II 373.12–17 (to A I 498.1); Mp IV 9.5–9 (to A IV 16.1–2).

<sup>24</sup> S I 1.8; Bodhi 2000: 89.

<sup>25</sup> Bodhi 2000: 341 fn. 1; PED, s.v. *mārisa*: ‘perhaps identical with *mādrśa*.’ However, the term *mārśa* occurs in hybrid Sanskrit texts in the same sense as *mārisa* in the *Tiṭṭaka*; e.g. Abhidh-k-bh II 6.24–25: *mā bbaṭṭa māṛṣāḥ* (‘don’t be afraid o respectable ones’). According to the dictionaries (PED, s.v. *mārisa*; BHSD, pw, SWTF, s.v. *mārśa*) *mārisa* and *mārśa* occur only in the vocative. Yet Śkd’s definition of *mārśa* as a noble person (*śreṣṭhabh*) suggests it can be declined in other cases. Dhammapāla mentions the nom-

*mārisā ti devatānaṃ piyasamudācāravacanam etaṃ. niddukkā ti vuttaṃ hoti. yadi evaṃ, ‘yadā kḥo te mārisa saṅkunā saṅku hadaye samāgaccheyya, atḥa naṃ vvaṃ jāneyyāsi vassasabhaṃ me niraye paṇḇamānassā’* (M I 337.9–11) *ti idaṃ viruḇjibati. na hi nerayikasatto niddukkḥo nāma hoti. kiṅcā pi na niddukkḥo, rūḇhisaddena paṇa evaṃ vuccati. pubbe kira paṇḇamakappikānaṃ niddukkānaṃ sukhasamappitānaṃ esa vobāro. aḇarabbāge paṇa dukkḥaṃ hotu vā mā vā, rūḇhisaddena ayaṃ vobāro vuccat’ eva, nippadumā pi nirudakā pi vā poḇkḥaraṇī poḇkḥaraṇī viya.*<sup>26</sup>

*Mārisa*: this is a term of cordial address among gods; [this] is to say, ‘O, one free from suffering.’ If this is the case, [it] contradicts this [statement]: ‘When, o friend, stake meets stake within [your] heart indeed, then you should know, “I have been boiling in the Niraya hell for a thousand years.”’ For, a living being who is suffering in the Niraya hell, is not called ‘one free from suffering’. Although [he] is not free from suffering, he is spoken of like this by virtue of convention of speech (*rūḇhi*). As is well known, this was formerly the common way of speaking of those belonging to the first aeon, who were free from suffering and endowed with happiness. But in a later time, this common way of speaking only used as a conventional term whether [it] invokes suffering or wards it off, it is, like how a ‘lotus pond’ [is called] *poḇkḥaraṇī* whether or not it has lotuses or water.<sup>27</sup>

Buddhaghosa begins by stating that the term *mārisa* is a term of cordial address among gods. But it occurs in the present context in the sense of *niddukkā*—one free from suffering. He does not, however, explain how *mārisa* is a synonym of *niddukkā*. It is probable that *niddukkā* is a reflex of *mā riṣat*, a Vedic benediction.<sup>28</sup>

The text Buddhaghosa quotes shows the guardians of Niraya hell addressing as *mārisa* a being who is being severely tortured.<sup>29</sup> Since the being

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inative of *mārisa* as *māriso* in his subcommentaries. See Ps-pt II 214.20–21. According to Śkd, s.v. *māriṣaḥ*, *māriṣa* means ‘a person who is patient with people’ (*māriṣaḥ mriṣyati kṣamate janān iti [...] śreṣṇḇaḥ*). As we shall see, Dharmapāla (Spk-pt I 44.16–18) also takes *mārisa* in the sense of enduring or patience.

26 Spk I 17.14–24.

27 See also Pj II II 536.8–9: *mārisā ti piyavacanam etaṃ, niddukkā ti vuttaṃ hoti. ‘Mārisa*: this is a term of cordial address; [this] is to say, “o, one free from suffering.” See also Ps II 290.5–6.

28 See KEWA, s.v. *māriṣaḥ*: ‘(meist im Vok.) ein werter, verdienstvoller Mann, a worthy man.’ As Leumann proposes *mārisa*/*mār(i)ṣa* comes from an old Vedic benediction *mā riṣat* ‘mög’s nicht schlimm gehen’, meaning ‘may (somebody) not suffer harm’. Buddhaghosa’s gloss *niddukkā* could be a reflex of this. (Martin Straube, personal email communication, 6 June, 2023.)

29 Buddhaghosa apparently quotes the *Māraṇajānīyasutta* (M I 337.9–11); neither the commentary (Ps II 421.22–422.6) nor the subcommentary (Ps-pt II 322.23–323.8) defines the term *mārisa* in this context.

is suffering severe torture, *niddukkha*, the proposed meaning of *mārisa*, obviously does not fit the context. Yet, the term *mārisa* occurs here as a *rūlhi*. Before concluding his gloss, Buddhaghosa further illustrates what *rūlhi* is, using an apt analogy of *pokkharāṇī*. Since the term *pokkbara* means both a ‘lotus-flower’ as well as ‘water’,<sup>30</sup> *pokkharāṇī* can literally mean a ‘pond with lotuses’ as well as a ‘pond with water’. But regardless of its literal meaning, as a *rūlhi*, we use the term *pokkharāṇī* even if the latter does not contain lotus flowers or water. In his subcommentary on the *Samyuttanikāya*, Dhammapāla explains Buddhaghosa’s words as follows:

*marisanatt̐hena p̐pānaṃ rogādi-anatt̐hānaṃ abbhavanaṃt̐hena māriso, dukkharahito. tenāba: niddukkā ti vuttaṃ boti ti. nirayapakkhe piyālaṇavacanasena upacāravacanañ c’ etaṃ yathā ‘devānaṃ piyā’ ti.<sup>31</sup>*

In the sense of enduring, [that is,] in the sense of overcoming evil [as well as] misfortunes such as illness [one is] *mārisa*, that is, [a person] who is without suffering. Therefore, [Buddhaghosa] says: [this] is to say, ‘o, one free of suffering’. But in the context of the Niraya hell, this is a metonymical expression by virtue of a term of address for someone who is dear, similar to [the expression] ‘O beloved of the gods’.

Here Dhammapāla explains that one who is capable of ‘enduring’ (*marisana*) or overcoming evil and misfortunes is called *mārisa*. Therefore, the term refers to ‘one who is without suffering’ (*dukkharahito*).<sup>32</sup> Dhammapāla

30 DOP, s.v. *pokkbara*: ‘lotus, water’; PSED, s.v. *puṣkaram*: ‘water’; pw, s.v. *puṣkara*: ‘Wasser’. See also Hanneder 2002: 296.

31 Spk-pt̐ I 44.16–18.

32 In the *Mahā-Saccakasutta*, gods address the Buddha by the term *mārisa* (M I 245.9–10). Dhammapāla (Ps-pt̐ II 214.20–21) explains as follows: *dharmasārīrassa arogabhāvena sādhubū ti marisaniyo ti māriso* (≠ 245.9–10; Ps II 290.5–6). ‘[The Buddha is called] *mārisa* as he is enduring, as he is excellent, due to the healthiness of the body of Teaching.’ Here, Dhammapāla stresses the suitability of addressing the Buddha by the term *mārisa*. Dhammapāla further points out in his subcommentary on the *Diḅbanikāya* how appropriately this term applies to gods as well. In the *Sakkapañhasutta*, Sakka, the king of gods, makes the following statement addressing the other gods dwelling in the heaven of the Thirty-three gods (D II 263.14): *ayaṃ mārisā Bhagavā Magadhesu vībarati*. ‘This Blessed One, o friends, dwells in the Magadha country.’ Buddhaghosa (Sv III 698.27–28) explains: *mārisā ti piyavacanā etaṃ devatānaṃ, p̐piyeko vobāro. niddukkā ti pi vuttaṃ boti*. ‘*Mārisā*: this is a term of cordial address among gods, a distinct designation. [This] is also to say, “O ones free of suffering.”’ Dhammapāla (Sv-pt̐ II 311.5–10) glosses this: *p̐piyeko vobāro ti āveṇiko piyasamudābāro. marisanīyasampattikā ti mārisā. tesāṃ hi sampattim̐ sayāṃ mahānubbāvatāya sabanti ubbahanti, aññe anissāmanakatāya c’ eva appabūtāya ca sabanti yeva. sā pana nesāṃ marisanīyasampattikatā dukkhavirābitatāya ti vuttaṃ niddukkā ti pi vuttaṃ boti ti*. ‘Distinct designation: a special cordial term of address. They have prosperity that is enduring, so [they] are *mārisā*. For they carry,

la identifies *māriṣa* as a term of metonymical expression (*upacāravacanam*) when it is used to address beings who are being tortured in the Niraya hell, suggesting this usage is similar to the expression *devānaṃ piya* ('o beloved of the gods').<sup>33</sup> At the end of the gloss, Dhammapāla provides us with a clear definition of *rūlhi*, as follows:

*kiñci nimittaṃ upādāya kismiñci atthe pavattassa saddassa tannimittarabite pavatti rūlhi nāma, gamanakiriyārabite viśāṇādimati piñḍe yathā gosad-dassa.*<sup>34</sup>

When a word used to refer to something by way of some feature is used to refer to something lacking that feature, it is called 'conventional usage', like [the use] of the word 'cow' (lit. 'goer') to refer to a body lacking the activity of going that has such features as horns.<sup>35</sup>

In accordance with *nirukti*, a cow (*go*) is so named because it goes. This term is literally confined to a walking cow. However, as a *rūlhi*, the term refers to a cow regardless of what posture it is in.<sup>36</sup>

## 6. *Kāsika*

The Aṭṭhakathās do not explicitly state that the term *kāsika* is a *rūlhi*. However, their interpretations of this term indicate that they did not follow its literal meaning in introducing it. In the Pāli canon, *Kāsi* is a city.<sup>37</sup>

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they bear, their prosperity, due to their having great dignity. Others even bear [it] due to their being without envy and without authority. But, as [the gods'] state of enduring prosperity is due to being separated from suffering, [Buddhaghosa] stated: [It] is also to say, "o, [dear ones] free of suffering?"

33 Cf. also Sv-pt I 161.6-8: *bhonto* (D I 5.28) *ti* (Sv I 81.2) *sādbūnaṃ piyasamudābhāro. sādbavo hi pare bhonto ti vā, devānaṃ piyā ti vā āyasmanto ti vā samālapanti*. '*Bhonto*: a cordial term of address [used] among good people. For good people properly address others either as *bhonto* ("sirs") or as *devānaṃ piyā* or as *āyasmanto* ("venerable ones").' See also Ps-pt II 101.9-11.

34 Spk-pt I 44.23-25; the reading *sāsanādimati paṭipīṇḍe* here is probably a contaminated reading; Vism-mhṭ II 11.13-14, in reading a similar context, reads *viśāṇādimati piñḍe*, which I have adopted as it appears to fit this context as well. See also Vism-mhṭ I 366.17-20; Vibh-anuṭ 7.10-13.

35 For *piñḍa* in the sense of 'body', see MW, s.v. *piñḍa*; pw, s.v. *piñḍa*: 'Körper, Leib; Person'.

36 Cf. Srds 348.7-8: *na ca vyutpatti balād eva sarvatra śabdah pravartate. tatbāve gacchati ti gaur iti vyutpattes tiṣṭhan gaur na syāt, gacchan devadattaś ca gauh syāt*. 'And, in every case [of usage], a term does not function only due to the power of [its] etymology. If that were the case, due to the etymology, "because it walks [it] is a cow", a cow would not be [a cow] when standing, Devadatta would be a cow when walking.'

37 For example, see S I 82.24-32.

Hence, as a secondary derivative, the term *kāsika* literally means something or someone ‘belonging to the city of Kāsi.’<sup>38</sup> As an adjective, the term *kāsika* naturally appears in the suttas to denote garments; hence *kāsikavatttha*, meaning ‘clothing from Kāsi.’<sup>39</sup>

Typically, the bare term *kāsika* in canonical verses means *kāsikavatttha*. For example, the expression *kāsikuttamadhbāriniṃ* in the Therīgāthā.<sup>40</sup> Although this expression literally means ‘she [who] is wearing [something] excellent belonging to Kāsi’, the context of the verse, as well as the contiguous context of the entire chapter on Cāpā, invites us to understand it thus: ‘she [who] is wearing excellent clothing coming from Kāsi.’<sup>41</sup> No doubt the term *vatttha* was dropped for metrical reasons, but commentators stress ‘the need for the term *vatttha* to complete the meaning of this verse.’<sup>42</sup>

*Kāsika* is sometimes combined with the term *candana* (‘sandalwood’) as *kāsikacandana*. For instance, the *Jaṭṭilasutta* of the Saṃyuttanikāya says that the king of Kosala enjoys *kāsikacandana*.<sup>43</sup> Does this mean the king enjoys

38 See DOP, s.v. *kāsika*: ‘coming from Kāsi’; pw, s.v. *kāṣṭka*: ‘aus Kāsi kommend’; MW, s.v. *kāsika*: ‘coming from Kāsi’. Some late canonical texts refer also to a city called Kāsika, e.g., Ap II 401.16; Bv 74.29, v. 14a: *Kāsikaṃ nāma nagaraṃ*.

39 e.g., *kāsikaṃ vattthaṃ* (D II 14.28; M III 123.3); *kāsikāni vattbhāni* (A III 50.3); Ja II 443.14 has *kāsiya* in the same sense (*kāsiyaṃ ca muduṃ vattthaṃ*, ‘and clothing from Kāsi that is soft’). In some cases, this term qualifies particular garments; e.g. *kāsikā kañcukā*, ‘jacket from Kāsi’ (A I 145.10). According to S v 45.1-2 ‘It is declared that, of all garments woven with threads, that of Kāsi is the best.’ (*yāni kānici tantāvutānaṃ vattbhānaṃ, kāsikavattthaṃ tesam aggama akkḃāyati*).

40 Thī 152.9-10, v. 298.

41 See also Rhys Davids 1997a: 111; Norman 1995: 32; Masset 2005: 74. It is clear that these translators understood the term *kāsika* in the sense of *kāsikavatttha*.

42 Thī-a 214.12: *kāsikuttamadhbāriniṃ ti uttama-kāsikavattthadhbāraṃ*. ‘[Me] wearing [something] excellent from Kāsi: [me] wearing excellent clothing from Kāsi’; cf. Pruitt 1998: 285. The expression *kāsikuttamadhbārini* occurs also at Pv 9.18, v. 8b, where again it seems we must understand *kāsikuttamavattthadhbārini*. Pv-a C<sup>c</sup> 38.33-34 glosses: *kāsikuttamadhbārini ti kāsikavattthato pi uttamavattthadhbārini*. ‘[She] wearing [something] excellent from Kāsi: she wearing clothing superior to even that from Kāsi.’ At Thī 159.14, v. 374c, we have *kāsikasukbumehi*. ‘With fine [things] from Kāsi’. See also Norman 1995: 38; Rhys Davids 1997a: 128; Masset 2005: 84; cf. DOP, s.v. *kāsikasukbuma*: ‘fine garment of muslim from Kāsi’. Thī-a 235.32-33 glosses: *kāsikakusumehi ti Kāsiraṭṭhe uppannehi ativiya sukbumehi*. ‘With fine [things] from Kāsi: with exceedingly fine [things] originated from the district of Kāsi.’ See also Pruitt 1998: 318. As far as I know, this is the only place where the commentators indicate a connection between the city of Kāsi and *kāsika*.

43 S I 78.21-22: *tayā [...] kāsikacandanaṃ paṇanubhontena*. ‘By you enjoying the use of sandalwood from Kāsi.’ See also Bodhi 2000: 173. Here, Mrs. Rhys Davids (1917: 105) renders *kāsikacandana* as ‘Benares sandalwood’. See also DOP, s.v. *kāsikacandana*: ‘fine sandal from Kāsi’.

the sandalwood from Kāsi? According to Buddhaghosa's interpretation, *kāsikacandana* here means 'smooth sandalwood' (*kāsikacandanān ti saṅha-candanāṃ*).<sup>44</sup> However, Dhammapāla glosses *kāsika* with *ujjala* ('shiny'), but goes on to further justify why Buddhaghosa interpreted *kāsika* as *saṅha*:

*kāsikacandanān ti ujjalacandanāṃ. taṃ kira vaṇṇavasena samujjalaṃ hoti pabbassaraṃ. tad attham eva naṃ saṅhataraṃ karonti. ten āba: kāsikacandanān ti saṅhacandanān ti.*<sup>45</sup>

*Kāsikacandanāṃ*: sandalwood that is shiny. As is well known, that [sandalwood] is fairly shiny [and] brilliant by virtue of colour. For the very same purpose (i.e., shine), [people] make it smoother. Therefore, [Buddhaghosa] says: *kāsikacandana* [means] smooth sandalwood.

The *Jaṭilasutta* is also found in the *Udāna*.<sup>46</sup> Interestingly, its commentary explains *kāsikacandana*, as follows:

*kāsikacandanān ti saṅhacandanāṃ, kāsikavattbañ ca candanañ cā ti vā attho.*<sup>47</sup>

*Kāsikacandanāṃ*: smooth sandalwood, or clothing from Kāsi and sandalwood, is the meaning.<sup>48</sup>

The first interpretation reiterates Buddhaghosa's, but the second takes *kāsika* as an ellipsis of *kāsikavattba* ('clothing from Kāsi').<sup>49</sup> In this manner the commentators usually go beyond the literal meaning of *kāsika* when it occurs as the first term in the compound *kāsikacandana*.

As a gloss in the commentary of the *Puggalapaññatti* shows, *kāsikavattba* does not have any connection with the city of Kāsi at all!

*kāsikavattbaṃ* (Pp 34.4) *nāma tayo kappāsamsū gabetvā kantitasuttena vāyitaṃ sukbumavattbaṃ.*<sup>50</sup>

What is called *kāsikavattba* is a delicate clothing woven with thread, which is spun taking three cotton fibres.

44 Spk I 149.12. See also A III 391.13–14; Mp III 400.25. At Ja V 302.14, v. 40b, the commentary glosses *kāsikacandanena* with *sukbumacandanena*, 'with sandalwood that is delicate'.

45 Spk-pt I 182.6–8.

46 Ud 65.25: *tayā* [...] *kāsikacandanāṃ paccanubhontena*. 'By you enjoying the use of sandalwood from Kāsi.'

47 Ud-a 332.5–6. Sāriputta reuses this gloss. See Mp-nt III B<sup>c</sup> 132.27–133.1.

48 See also Masfield 1995: II 864.

49 Cf. Ja V 490.30–491.1: *kāsikacandanāñ cā ti kāsikavattbañ ca lohita-candanāñ ca*. '*Kāsikacandanāñ ca*: clothing from Kāsi and red sandalwood.'

50 Pp-a 216.31–32. Cf. DOP, s.v. *kāsikavattbi(n)*: 'covered with fine muslin from Kāsi.'

To summarize, according to the earlier commentators like Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla, *kāsika* in the compound *kāsikacandana*, usually means either *saṅha* ('smooth') or *sukhuma* ('delicate') or *ujjala* ('shiny'). They typically take the term *kāsika* as an adjective. Nevertheless, the second interpretation of the *Udāna*-commentary takes it as a noun, *kāsikavattha* ('clothing from Kāsi').

When the Buddha reveals his luxurious household life as a prince, he observes that 'it would not occur to him to use 'sandalwood that is not from Kāsi' (*akāsikaṃ candanaṃ*).<sup>51</sup> Buddhaghosa explains *akāsikaṃ candanaṃ* by *asaṅhaṃ candanaṃ* ('sandal wood that is not smooth').<sup>52</sup> In his twelfth century subcommentary, Sāriputta explains why the Buddha qualifies *candana* with the term *akāsika*, as follows:

*kāsikasaddo ativiya saṅhe sukhume mahagghavatthe nirulbo, aññasmim pi ta-thājātike rūlḥivasena pavattati ti daṭṭhabbaṃ. tenāha: akāsikaṃ candanan (A 1 145.9) ti.*<sup>53</sup>

Understand that the term *kāsika*, which commonly refers to clothing of great value that is extremely soft and delicate, occurs also for other [things] having the same nature by virtue of convention of speech'. Therefore, [the Buddha] says: sandalwood that is not from Kāsi.

As this explanation shows, according to the commentators the term *kāsika* does not occur in its literal meaning (i.e., something or someone from Kāsi); its primary meaning is lost. It has, however, two referents. All the examples of *kāsika* we have seen confirm this idea. Sāriputta uses the word *nirulḥa* for the first referent and *rulḥi* for the second. The first referent of *kāsika* is extremely delicate clothing of great value, and the second is any other thing that is delicate and valuable. As a result, *kāsika* can occur as a qualifier of *candana*. In accordance with this interpretation, *kāsika* conveys the senses of 'delicate' and 'valuable'.

## 7. *nārī*

The term *nārī*, the feminine of *nara* ('man'), occurs in the *Vimānavatthu* to refer to a female deity.

51 A 1 145.8-9: *na kbo paṇ' assāhaṃ bhikkhave akāsikaṃ candanaṃ dbāremi*. See also Woodward 1932 1 128; Bodhi 2012: 240.

52 Mp II 237.19.

53 Mp-nt I 355.7-9. See also Mp-nt II B<sup>c</sup> 119.7-9 (reads *kāsikacandanān ti*).

*suvaṇṇacchadanaṃ nāvaṃ nārī āruyha tiṭṭhasi |  
ogābasi pokkharāṇiṃ padmaṃ chindasi pāṇinā ||*<sup>54</sup>

On a boat with a golden canopy, lady, you rest; you dip into the lotus pool, with your hand you pick the lotus.<sup>55</sup>

*Nārī* literally means ‘in relation to a man’.<sup>56</sup> As the commentary shows, this term was primarily used to refer to a female human but subsequently, as a *rūlhi*, it came to be used to denote other female beings as well:

*nārī ti tassā devadhītāya ālaṇaṇaṃ. narati neti ti naro, puriso. yathā hi paṭha-  
mapakatibhūto satto itarāya pakatiyā seṭṭhattbena puri seti ti puriso ti vuccati,  
evaṃ nayanatṭhena naro ti. puttābhātubbhūto pi hi puṅgalo mātujeṭṭhabhagi-  
ninaṃ pituṭṭhāne tiṭṭhati, paḅ eva bhattubbhūto. narassa eṣā ti nārī. ayaṅ ca  
samaññā manuss’ itthiṣu pavattā rūlhiवासena itarāsu pi tatthā vuccati.*<sup>57</sup>

*Nārī*: a vocative addressing that divine daughter. Because [one] leads [and] guides, [one] is a man, that is *purisa*. For a living being born from the first material is counted as *purisa* because he stays above (*purī seti*), due to [having] a better nature than [those from] another material. In the same manner, [a man] is [called] *nara* in the sense of leading. For, a person, even if he is a son or a brother, stands in as a father for [his] mother and elder sister; even more so if he is a husband. Because the [female] belongs to a man, [she] is a *nārī*. And this designation that refers to human ladies, by virtue of convention of speech, is used similarly for other females as well.

As this definition indicates, *nārī* can mean any female—human, divine, and so on.<sup>58</sup>

## 8. *kantāra*

The term *kantāra* (Skt. *kāntāra*) means a ‘desert’. In the Saṃyuttanikāya, a discourse entitled *Puttamamsa* (‘Son’s Flesh’) tells a parable about a cou-

54 Vv 6.16–17, v. 43.

55 Although the first *gāthā* refers to the female deity as *nārī*, the subsequent stanzas of this chapter use *devī* and *devatā* to designate her. See Vv 6.20, v. 45a, 6.24, v. 46a.

56 Hk, s.v. *narasyeyam*, defines *nārī* as: ‘This [female] relates to a man’.

57 Vv-a 42.17–24; I follow Vv-a C<sup>e</sup> 33.20–21. In reading *nayanatṭhena naro ti* where E<sup>c</sup> has *naratṭhena naro ti*. For a definition of *nārī*, see also Vism-mhṭ I 14.1–9.

58 We can note that in the expression *naradevānaṃ* (S I 5.25–26; 200.18–19), *nara* is taken by Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla in the sense of ‘male’ (rather than ‘man’) qualifying *devānaṃ*: ‘of god-men, of god-males in the meaning’ (Spk I 30.25–26: *devanānaṃ, devapurisānaṃ ti attbo*) ‘of deities who are male’ (Spk-pt I 75.2–3: *purisabbhūta-devatānaṃ*); see also Spk I 293.12 and Spk-pt I 301.13. Neither takes *nara* here as a *rūlhi*.

ple travelling with their son through a desert where there is no food: 'A husband and wife having taken limited provisions might enter upon a path located in a desert.' (*dve jayampatikā parittam sambalam ādāya kantāramaggam paṭipajjeyyūṃ*).<sup>59</sup> Buddhaghosa explains *kantāramaggam* as follows:

*kantāramaggan ti kantārabhūtaṃ maggam, kantāre vā maggam. kantāran bi corakantāraṃ vālakantāraṃ amanussakantāraṃ nirudakakantāraṃ appabbakkakantāran ti pañcavidham. tesu yattba corabhayaṃ attbi, taṃ corakantāraṃ. yattba sibabyagghādayo vāḷā attbi, taṃ vālakantāraṃ. yattba balavāmu-khayakkhini-ādīnaṃ amanussānaṃ vasena bhayaṃ attbi, taṃ amanussakantāraṃ. yattba pātuṃ vā nabāyitum vā udakaṃ natthi, taṃ nirudakakantāraṃ. yattba khādītabbam vā bhūñjitabbam vā antamaso kandamūlādīmattam pi natthi, taṃ appabbakkakantāraṃ nāma. yattba pan' etaṃ pañcavidham pi bhayaṃ attbi, taṃ kantāram eva.*<sup>60</sup>

**A road across a desert:** a road that has become like a desert, or, a road [located] in a desert. For a desert is fivefold: 1) a desert with thieves, 2) a desert with wild-beasts, 3) a desert with non-human beings, 4) a waterless desert, [and] 5) a desert with little food. Among these, where there is fear of thieves, that is a desert with thieves; where there are wild-beasts such as lions [and] tigers, that is a desert with beasts; where there is fear because of non-humans such as a female demon with a mare's mouth, that is a desert with non-human beings; where there is no water for drinking or bathing, that is a waterless desert; where there is nothing to be munched or to be eaten, not even a mere root, tuber etc., that is called a desert with little food. But, where all these five fears exist, that is a desert indeed.

After offering two interpretations for *kantāramaggam*, Buddhaghosa introduces the five *kantāras*. The term *kantāra* properly refers to a place threatened by thieves, wild animals, and non-human beings, and lack of water and food. However, if a place is at risk from only one of these five factors, that 'desert' is named after the factor causing the risk, e.g., 'a desert with thieves' (*corakantāra*). Dhammapāla initially interprets *kantāra* etymologically:

*dullabbatāya kaṃ udakaṃ tattba tāretī ti kantāraṃ, nirudakaṃ mahāvanam. ruḷhivasena itaram pi mahāvanam tathā vuccatī ti āha corakantāran ti ādi.*<sup>61</sup>

59 S II 98.9-10. See also Bodhi 2000: 597; Mrs. Rhys Davids 1922: II 68.

60 Spk II 103.27-104.3.

61 Spk-pt II 110.6-8.

Because, owing to [its] scarcity, one causes *kaṃ*, that is, water, to cross (*tārenti*) there, [it] is [called] a desert (*kantāra*), a great waterless forest. [Buddhaghosa] says: a desert with robbers, etc., because, by virtue of a convention of speech, other great forests are also likewise counted as [deserts].

Etymologically a desert is a place ‘one causes water to cross’, that is, where one must take water when crossing.<sup>62</sup>

Hence, the term *kantāra* stands primarily for the great waterless forest (*nirudakaṃ mahāvanaṃ*). This is the fourth in Buddhaghosa’s list. Buddhaghosa uses *kantāra* as a *rūlhi* to qualify four other places.<sup>63</sup> Dhammapāla says nothing about the Buddhaghosa’s statement, ‘But where all these five fears are, it is indeed a desert’ (*yattha paṇ’etaṃ pañcavidham pi bhayaṃ atthi, taṃ kantāram eva*).

62 Dhammapāla offers the same etymological explanation, deriving *kantāra* from *kaṃ* (water) and *tāra* (make cross), in other places: Vv-a 334.25–26: *kantāre* (Vv 126.10) *ti nirudake iriṇe. kaṃ tārenti nayanti etthā ti hi kantāro udakaṃ gabetvā taritabbaṭṭhānaṃ*. ‘In a desert: in a wilderness without water. For, as [people] make water (*kaṃ*) cross (*tārenti*), that is, lead [it] here, [it] is [called] *kantāra*, a place to be crossed taking water.’ Where Buddhaghosa glosses *kantāraddhānamaggam*, ‘a road across a desert’ (D I 73.4; M I 276.3) as *kantāram addhānamaggam nirudakaṃ dighamaggam*. ‘A road which is a desert, a long road with no water’ (Sv I 213.4–5; Ps II 318.9–11). Dhammapāla elaborates (Sv-pt I 337.24–25): *anudakatāya kaṃ pāṇiyaṃ tārenti etthā ti kantāro ti āha nirudakaṃ dighamaggam ti*. ‘As, due to the absence of water, [people] make water (*kaṃ*), that is, drinking water, cross (*tārenti*) here, it is *kantāra*, [therefore, Buddhaghosa] says “a road with no water”’; at Ps-pt II B<sup>c</sup> 235.4–5 Dhammapāla replaces *anudakatāya* with *dullabba-āpatāya* (‘owing to the scarcity of water’). The etymologies in Sanskrit lexicons differ markedly from those in Pāli exegetical literature. VcP, s.v. *kāntāra*: *kasya jalasyāntaṃ kāntaṃ manojñaṃ vā rasam ṛcchati*. ‘[*kāntāra* is what] moves to the end of *ka*, that is, of water; or to the pleasing (*kānta*), that is, an agreeable taste.’ The alternative *nirukti* seems to reflect the Skt use of *kāntāra* in the sense of ‘sugar cane’. See MW, s.v. *kāntāra*. ŚkD, s.v. *kāntāram*, takes *ka* as ‘happiness’: *kasya sukhasya antaṃ ṛcchati gacchati ti*, ‘[*kāntāra* is what] moves, goes, to the end of *ka*, that is, happiness’. ŚmhN, s.v. *kāntāram*, combines the previous explanations: *kasya jalasya sukhasya antaṃ taṃ, kāntaṃ manoharaṃ vā ṛcchati*. ‘[*kāntāra* is what] moves to the end of *ka*, that is, of happiness, of water; or [it moves] to the pleasing, that is, the agreeable.’

63 At Vism 208.16–18 where Buddhaghosa lists just four types of deserts, omitting *amanussa-kantāra*; Dhammapāla (Vism-mḥ I 247.4–6) gives essentially the same gloss: *kaṃ tārenti etthā ti kantāro, nirudako araṇṇappadeso. rūlhiवासena paṇa itaro pi araṇṇappadeso tatthā vuccati*. ‘Because [people] make water (*kaṃ*) cross (*tārenti*) here, it is counted as a desert (*kantāra*), a region of wilderness where there is no water. But, by virtue of a convention of speech, even other region[s] of wilderness are likewise called [deserts].’ See also Sp-ṭ I 293.2–4; Vmv I 57.7–8. Vism-sn (II 500.9–11) explains Vism-mḥ’s gloss: *kaṃ = jalaya* (water), *etthā = mehi* (here), *tārenti ti = gēṇa yēt nu y* (because [people] carry [it]).

9. *methuna*

The first grave offence in the monastic law code (Vinaya) prohibits sexual intercourse (*methuna*) for monks. If a monk engages in sexual intercourse either with a human female or a female animal, he commits the offence called *pārājika* ('expulsion from the order').<sup>64</sup> This also applies to the monk who engages in this activity, even with a female corpse, whether undecomposed (*mataṃ akkhayitaṃ*) or for the most part undecomposed (*mataṃ yebbuyyena akkhayitaṃ*).<sup>65</sup> Buddhadatta versifies these factors in his *Vinayavinicchaya*:

*mate akkhayite cāpi yebbuyyakkhayite pi ca |  
methunaṃ patisevanto hoti pārājiko naro ||*<sup>66</sup>

Indulging in sexual intercourse with a [female] corpse undecomposed and with a [female] corpse for the most part undecomposed, a man commits an [offence of] *pārājikā*.

Buddhadatta does not use the term *bbikkhu*, but *naro* ('man') probably *metri causa* for one indulging in sexual intercourse. The term *methuna* (Skt. *maithuna*) is a secondary derivative from *mithuna* and stands for a pair consisting of a man and a woman; it literally means something belonging to the union of a man and woman, and refers to the sexual union.<sup>67</sup> This context speaks of a male inserting his penis into the vagina of a female corpse. There is no reaction from the female corpse, only the male engages in this act. The *Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā* explains how such an act of a male can be called *methunaṃ* as follows:

*methunan ti rāgapariyuṭṭhānena sadisabbāvāpattiyā mithunānaṃ idaṃ methunaṃ. matitthi-ādināṃ rāgapariyuṭṭhānena sadisattābhāve pi tattha vitikkamo rūlhiyā methunan ti vuccati.*<sup>68</sup>

***Methunaṃ*:** When pairs [of men and women] due to the outburst of passion reach a similar state, this is 'sexual union' (*methuna*). Even if this similarity due to outburst of passion is absent in a dead women, etc., the transgression there, according to the convention of speech, is counted as 'sexual union'.

64 Vin III 23.33–36. See also BD I 41–42. Von Hinüber (1985: 62) renders *pārājiko hoti* as 'zur Vertreibung (aus dem Orden) gehört', which I follow here.

65 Vin III 29.16–30.3 (BD I 49). Sp I 263.24–264.20 provides a detailed gloss relating to this theme with a view of the Elder Upatissa.

66 See Vin-vn 2.3–4.

67 Skt. *mithuna* can denote sexual intercourse; see pw, s.v. *mithuna*: 'Paarung, Begattung; auch Paarung im weitesten Sinne'. pw, s.v. *maithuna*: 'a) gepaart, ein Paar verschiedenen Geschlechts bildend. b) verschwägert'.

68 Vin-vn-ṭ 1 32.

In *methuna*, both male and female reach a similar state as a result of the outburst of their passion. Needless to say a female corpse does not have passion (*rāga*) thus does not reach such a position. Therefore, the necrophiliac act of a male indulging in sexual intercourse with a woman's corpse is literally not a *methuna*. But it is referred to as *methuna*, as a *rūlhi*.

### 10. *abbhuta*

The term *abbhutaṃ*, typically preceded by *acchariyaṃ*, is an expression of astonishment.<sup>69</sup> These two terms can be rendered as 'astounding' and 'amazing', respectively. The commentators understand both *acchariya* and *abbhuta* as terms expressing astonishment.<sup>70</sup> Kandaraka, a wandering ascetic, once approached the Buddha and was very struck by the complete stillness maintained by the disciples surrounding the Buddha. He expresses his astonishment:

*Kandarako paribhājako tuṅhibhūtaṃ tuṅhibhūtaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ anuviloketvā Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca: acchariyaṃ bho Gotama abbhutaṃ bho Gotama yāvañ c' idam bhotā Gotamena sammā bhikkhusaṅgho paṭipādīto.*<sup>71</sup>

The wanderer Kandaraka, having looked around at the community of monks which was absolutely silent, spoke thus to the Blessed One: 'It is astounding, venerable Gotama, it is amazing, venerable Gotama, how the community of monks has been properly guided by the venerable Gotama.'<sup>72</sup>

Buddhaghosa explains the term *abbhutaṃ* here as follows: 'Because [something] happened that didn't happen before, [it is] **amazing**' (*abbhūtapubbam*

69 D I 2.9-12; M I 83.21-23; S I 58.1-2; A IV 65.12-14; Ud 16.10-11. In verse too, *acchariya* precedes *abbhuta*; see Cp 9.15-18; Bv 3.19-20, v. 27a. But in the verses of Sundarī, only the term *abbhuta* occurs: Thi 154.1, v. 316a: *abbhutaṃ vata Vāseṭṭhi vācaṃ bhāsasi edisaṃ*. 'You, o Vāseṭṭhi, indeed speak an amazing utterance like this.' See also Rhys Davids 1997a: 116; Norman 1995: 33; Masset 2005: 76. Dhammapāla glosses here *abbhutaṃ* with *acchariyaṃ* (suggesting that the Mahāvihāra school treated these two terms as synonyms); see Thi-a 219.35: *abbhutaṃ vatā ti acchariyaṃ vata. taṃ hi abbhutaṃ pubbe abbhūtaṃ abbhutan ti vuccati*. '[It is] indeed amazing: [it is] indeed astounding. For, as what is amazing is that which has not happened (*abhūtaṃ*) previously, it is counted as **amazing** (*abbhuta*).' See also Pruitt 1999: 294. Pāli *abbhuta* corresponds to Skt. *adbhuta*, which Sanskrit lexicons take as an indeclinable in the sense of 'unforeseen' (*ākasmikārtha*): see Hk, s.v. *adbhuta*: '*ākasmikārtham avyayam*.' See also ŚmhN, s.v. *adbhuta*; ŚkD, s.v. *adbhutaṃ*; VcP, s.v. *adbhuta*. But NWS and pw list *adbhuta* as an adjective and noun.

70 Spk II 57.10-11: *acchariyaṃ abbhutan* (S II 36.24) *ti ubbayaṃ p' etaṃ vimhayaḍipānam eva*. '**Astounding, amazing**: both these simply convey astonishment.' See also Sv I 43.13-18; Ps II 53.35-54.1; Ps III 3.1-3; Bv-a 39.21-25.

71 M I 339.8-12.

72 My translation is based on Horner 1957: II 3; see also Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi 1995: 443.

*bbūtan ti abbhutaṃ*).<sup>73</sup> As Dhammapāla points out in the subcommentary, Buddhaghosa follows the etymological method, which is also in line with the convention of speech:

*abbūtapubbaṃ bbūtan ti ayaṃ niruttinayo, yebbuyyena upādāya rūḷhivasena vutto ti veditabbo.*<sup>74</sup>

[Something] **happened that didn't happen before**: This is the etymological method [for interpreting the meaning of the word]. It is to be understood that, according to the majority of cases, [the word] is used by virtue of a convention of speech (*rūḷhi*).

What Dhammapāla means is that in the present context, as in most contexts, the term *abbhuta* stands for the mere expression of astonishment and does not refer to something that has happened for the first time.

## II. *mūla*

The literal meaning of the term *mūla* is 'root'. But, as the commentators point out, when the term is preceded by a kind of tree such as *bodhi* and *sāla*,<sup>75</sup> it does not necessarily refer to the root of the bodhi or a sāla tree, respectively. In such cases, *mūla* means 'vicinity'. That is to say, the phrases like *rukkhamūla* ('root of a tree'), *bodhirukkhamūla* ('root of the bodhi tree') and *sālarājamūla* ('root of the royal sāla tree') found in the canon, have to be rendered as 'in the vicinity of a tree', 'in the vicinity of the Bodhi tree' and 'in the vicinity of the royal Sāla tree', respectively. Staying at the root (*mūla*) of a royal sāla tree, the Buddha preached the *Mūlapariyāyasutta*:

*Bhagavā Ukkatṭhāyaṃ viharati Subhagavane sālarājamūle.*<sup>76</sup>

The Blessed One was staying in [the city] Ukkatṭhā, in the Subhaga grove, at the root of the royal sāla tree.<sup>77</sup>

73 Ps III 3.2-3. For this definition, see also Sv I 43.17; Ps II 53.35-36; Spk II C<sup>c</sup> 42.33-34. This part of the gloss is missing in the PTS (Spk II 57.12). Dhammapāla and Buddhadatta reuse this definition. See Ud-a 128.3; Masefield 1994: I 298, Cp-a 87.6-7; Bv-a 39.4; Horner 1978: 59, Th-a 219.35-36; Pruitt 1999: 294.

74 See Ps-pt III 2.1-2.

75 PED, s.v. *bodhi*: 'the tree of wisdom, the sacred Bo tree, the fig tree (*Assattha*, *Ficus religiosa*) under which Gotama Buddha arrived at perfect knowledge'; s.v. *sāla*: 'a Sal tree (*Shorea robusta*).'

76 M I 1.1-2.

77 See also Horner 1954 I 3, Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi 1995: 83.

Commenting on the phrase *sālarājamūle*, Buddhaghosa offers the following explanation for the term *mūla*:

*mūlan ti samīpaṃ. ayaṃ hi mūlasaddo: mūlāni uddhāreyya antamaso usirānājamattāni pī* (≠ S II 88.8; S II 93.9–10; A I 204.27–28; II 199.3) *ti ādisu mūlamūle dissatī, lobbo akusalamūlan* (D III 214.19; M I 47.10; A I 201.19; Vin V 123.31; Dhs 79.13–14; Vibh 362.9) *ti ādisu asādhāraṇāhetumbi. yāva majjhantike kāle chāyā pharatī, nivāte paññāni patanti, ettāvātā rukkkhamūlan* (≠ Vin III 202.10–11) *ti ādisu samīpe. idha pana samīpe adhippeto. tasmā ‘Sālarājassa samīpe’ ti evam ettha attho daṭṭhabbo.*<sup>78</sup>

Root: vicinity. For the term *mūla* (‘root’) appears in [the sense of] a root that is [literally] a root in [statements] such as: [one] would pull out the roots, even the mere fine rootlets and root fibre; [it appears] in [the sense of] a cause not shared [in statements] such as: greed is a root of unwholesome [phenomena]; [it appears] in the [sense of] ‘vicinity’ in [statements] such as: as far as the shadow [of a tree] spreads at the time of midday, [and its] leaves fall in the absence of wind, thus far is the root of a tree. But here, it is intended in [the sense of] vicinity. Therefore, [one] should know the meaning likewise in this context: ‘in the vicinity of the royal Sāla tree.’<sup>79</sup>

The commentator begins his exegesis by stating that the term *mūla* in this context means vicinity (*samīpa*). He then illustrates how it differs according to context: it can mean either literally a ‘root’ of a tree (*mūlamūla*) or a cause that is not generally shared, i.e., a specific cause (*asādhāraṇāhetu*) or the vicinity of a tree (*samīpa*).<sup>80</sup> He quotes from the Canon to support each of these meanings. The first and the second quotations are attested in a number of discourses, while the third cannot be traced in the canon as it exists today.<sup>81</sup> He concludes his exegesis by stressing that the expression *sālarājamūle* should be understood as ‘in the vicinity of the royal Sāla tree’.

78 Ps I 12.6–12.

79 See also Masefield 1994: 1 49.

80 This is the typical commentarial interpretation of *rukkkhamūla*. See (1) Ud-a 241.5–7: *rukkkhamūlan* (Ud 38.13) *ti [...] rukkbassa samīpasānikhātāṃ mūlaṃ. ‘The root of a tree: a root of a tree reckoned as [its] vicinity’*; see also Masefield 1995: II 602); (2) Sv-pt I 333.14: *rukkkhamūlan* (D I 71.16; Sv I 209.20) *ti rukkkhasamīpaṃ. ‘The root of a tree: the vicinity of a tree.’* See also It-a II 147.16. (3) Vibh-a 366.11–12: *rukkkhamūlan* (Vibh 251.19) *ti rukkbassa heṭṭhā parikkhittāṃ vā aparikkhittāṃ vā. ‘The root of a tree: underneath a tree either surrounded or not surrounded [by a fence].’* See also Nāṇamoli 1996 II 92). (4) Paṭi-a II 490.10: *rukkkhamūlagato* (Paṭi I 175.18) *ti rukkkhasamīpaṃ gato. ‘[One] who went to the root of a tree: [one] who went to the vicinity of a tree.’*

81 At Vin III 202.10–11 we find a partial correspondence: *ekakulassa rukkkhamūlaṃ hoti yaṃ majjhantike kāle samantā chāyā pharatī. ‘A certain family has a root of a tree that spreads [its] shadow around at the time of midday.’*

This explanation reveals that the term *mūla*, which was originally used literally of a ‘root’ of a tree, came to be used more generally and figuratively. It is significant that Buddhaghosa does not explicitly state here that the term *mūla* functions as a *rūlbi*. With respect to its extended meaning, Dhammapāla states:

*nippariyāyena sākhādīmato saṅghātassa suppatitṭhitabbāvasādbane avayavavise-  
se pavattamāno mūlasaddo, yasmā taṃsadesu tannissaye padese ca rūlvivase-  
na pariyaṃyato pavattati, tasmā mūlāni uddhareyyā* (S II 88.8; S II 93.9–16; A I  
204.27; A II 199.3) *ti ettha nippariyāyamūlaṃ adhippetan ti ekena mūlasaddena  
viseṣetvā āha: mūlamūle dissati* (Ps I 12.7–8.) *ti yathā dukkhadukkhāṃ* (Nid I  
17.15), *rūparūpan* (Vism 451.25) *ti ca*.<sup>82</sup>

In a non-figurative sense, the term *mūla* functions with respect to (i.e., is used to denote) the specific parts (of a tree) that produce the firm establishment of the assemblage possessing [features] such as branches. Since, figuratively, by virtue of a convention of speech, it is used to denote things that are [root]-like and the area shaded by that [tree], [Buddhaghosa] specifies that, by the single word ‘root’, a root in a non-figurative sense is intended [in a canonical statement such as] ‘one should pull out the roots’, and then says: [the term *mūla*] appears in [the sense of] a root that is a root, similar to [the expressions] ‘suffering that is [physical and mental] suffering’ and ‘matter that is [concrete] matter’.

This gloss shows that while the term *mūla* stands for the root of a tree in a literal sense (*nippariyāyena*), as a *rūlbi*, it occurs referring to things that resemble a root (*taṃsadesu*) as well as to the area shaded by a tree (*tannissaye*). Dhammapāla makes clear that Buddhaghosa reduplicated the term *mūla* (as *mūlamūla*) in order to distinguish the root of a tree in a literal sense (*nippariyāyamūla*) from the two secondary senses, namely, ‘specific cause’ and ‘vicinity’. This reduplication is quite common in Pāli canonical and commentarial works. Dhammapāla legitimizes his view by adducing two examples of similar reduplication: as *dukkhadukkhā*<sup>83</sup> and *rūparūpa*.<sup>84</sup> When glossing the phrases *Naḷerupucimandamūle* (‘at the root of the Nimba tree of Naḷeru’) in the Vinaya and *bodhirukkhāmūle* (‘at the root of the Bodhi

82 Ps-pt I B<sup>c</sup> 45.19–24.

83 The discourses of the Pāli canon speak of three kinds of *dukkha*, namely, *dukkhadukkhā* (‘suffering of pain’), *vipariṇāmadukkhā* (‘suffering of change’) and *saṅkhāradukkhā* (‘suffering of formations’) (e.g., D III 216.22–23; S IV 259.11–13, V 56.26–27). Late canonical texts (e.g. Nidd I 17.1–18.4) as well as exegetical works (e.g., Vism 499.17–21) explain these in many ways. See also DOP, s.v. *dukkhadukkhā*: ‘the trouble that is physical or mental pain or distress’.

84 At Vism 451.25. Buddhaghosa uses the term *rūparūpa* to refer to ‘concrete matter’ (*nippbannarūpa*). See Ñānamoli 1957: 454, 511 fn. 9.

tree') in the *Udāna*, the authors of the respective commentaries follow the same method of exposition that we saw in the *Papañcasūdanī*.<sup>85</sup>

## 12. *akkamati* and *uppīleti*

The following sentence occurs in a discourse of the *Aṅguttaranikāya*:

*seyyathāpi bhikkhave sālīsūkaṃ vā yavasūkaṃ vā sammāpaṇibitaṃ hatthena vā pādena vā akkantaṃ batthaṃ vā pādaṃ vā bbecchati lobitaṃ vā uppādessati ti ṭhānam etaṃ vijjati.*<sup>86</sup>

Bhikkhus, suppose that a well-directed spike of hill rice or barley were pressed by the hand or foot. It is possible that it would pierce the hand or the foot and draw blood.<sup>87</sup>

This sentence qualifies both rice and barley spikes with the past participle *akkanta*. Furthermore, it uses the same participle distributively to describe one's act with hand and foot. If we understand the literal meaning of *akkanta* as 'stepped on',<sup>88</sup> it seems that the participle is well-suited to describe the act of the foot, i.e., *pādena akkantaṃ* ('stepped on with the foot'). However, one might find it odd in the case of *hatthena akkantaṃ*: 'stepped on with the hand'! Buddhaghosa insists that *akkanta* is ideally applicable only to describe an act of pressing on something with one's foot, and the appropriate collocating term in describing such an act done with the hand is to be read as *uppīlita*.<sup>89</sup> However, as a *rūlhi*, the term *akkanta* can be used even to refer to an act of pressing on something with one's hand. Buddhaghosa glosses:

*akkantan ti ettha pāden' eva akkantaṃ nāma hoti, hatthena uppīlitaṃ. rūlhi-saddavasena pana akkantaṃ t' eva vuttaṃ. ayaṃ b' ettha ariyavohāro.*<sup>90</sup>

**Stepped on:** in this context it is only by the foot that [something] is said to be (*nāma*) 'stepped on'; with the hand it is pressed (*uppīlita*). But, by

85 See Sp I 108.29–109.8 on Vin III 1.1–2; the author of the *tikā* then heavily relies on Dhammapāla's exegesis at Ps-pt I B<sup>c</sup> 45.19–24 when explaining Sp's gloss; see Sp-ṭ I B<sup>c</sup> 205.12–17. Dhammapāla's gloss on *bodhirukkhamūle* (Ud 2.1–2) at Ud-a 27.3–18 apparently borrows Buddhaghosa's gloss from Ps.

86 A I 8.10–13.

87 Bodhi 2012: 95.

88 CPD, s.v. *akkamati*: 1. 'to step or tread upon'; DOP, s.v. *akkamati*: 'steps on, treads upon; presses upon'. See also MW, s.v. *ākram*: 'to step or tread upon'.

89 CPD, s.v. *uppīleti*: 'to press against, touch; to put on, rest upon, use something (loc.) as a support'; DOP, s.v. *uppīleti*: 'presses on or against, squeezes'.

90 Mp I 55.24–56.1. The sentence here commented on (A I 8.10–13) is also found elsewhere (e.g., S V 10.29–32), but Buddhaghosa does comment on *akkanta* at Spk III 127.16–25.

virtue of the convention of speech (*rūlhi*), only ‘stepped on’ is said. For in this context, this is the common way of speaking of the nobles.

*Akkanta* collocates with *pādena* while *hatthena* collocates with *uppilīta*. Buddhaghosa states that the use of a participle with nouns, which do not typically collocate with them, is a common linguistic habit of noble people (*ariyavohāra*).<sup>91</sup> In the subcommentary, Sāriputta justifies this explanation further, emphasizing that *akkanta* is used as a *rūlhi* in the present context.<sup>92</sup> Within the gloss, Sāriputta employs the past participle *avamaddita* that can be commonly used to qualify an act of crushing something either with one’s hand or feet.<sup>93</sup>

The *Kosambiyasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* speaks of an infant pressing embers with his hand or foot.<sup>94</sup> Here, the sutta describes the act of the infant with *akkamitvā* (‘having stepped on’), the gerund of *akkanta*. According to the glosses on this term provided by Buddhaghosa<sup>95</sup> and Dhammapāla,<sup>96</sup> *akkamitvā* in this context has to be understood pragmatically: rather than ‘having stepped on’ it occurs here in the sense of ‘having touched’ (*phusitvā*). These commentators do not state that here *akkamitvā* plays the role of a *rūlhi*.

- 91 The subcommentary (Mp-nt 1 101.3) explains *ariyavohāra* as ‘the usage of common speech of the people dwelling in the noble country’ (*ariyadesavāsīnaṃ vohāro*). Apparently, by *ariyavohāra*, Buddhaghosa intends the usage of common speech of those who attained final enlightenment.
- 92 Mp-nt 1 101.1–3: *pādena avamaddite akkantan ti vuccamāne hatthena avamadditaṃ akkantaṃ viya akkantan ti rūlhi b’ esā ti āba: hatthena ... pa ... vuttan ti*. ‘When only that crushed with [one’s] foot is called *akkantaṃ*, that crushed with [one’s] hand is like *akkantaṃ*, for *akkantaṃ* is the convention of speech, [insofar Buddhaghosa] says: [what is crushed] with [one’s] hand [is also] stated [in the sutta as something that is pressed with one’s foot].’
- 93 See CPD, s.v. *avamaddana*: ‘crushing, striking, breaking off’; DOP, s.v. *avamaddati*: ‘crushes, breaks down.’ The verb *omaddati* also occurs in the canon in the same sense. See CPD, s.v. *omaddati*: ‘to squeeze, to press’; DOP, s.v. *omaddati*: ‘presses, crushes; tramples on; presses together; rubs into (+instr.); rubs, strokes.’
- 94 M 1 324.13–15: *daharo kumāro mando uttānaseyyako hatthena vā pādena vā aṅgāraṃ akkamitvā kbippam eva paṭisaṃharati*. ‘A tender little baby lying on its back, having stepped on a live ember with [its] hand or with [its] foot, draws [it] back quickly.’ See also Horner 1954: II 386; Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 1995: 422.
- 95 Ps II 402.10–11: *aṅgāraṃ akkamitvā* (M 1 324.14) *ti ito c’ ito ca pasārītena hatthena vā pādena vā phusitvā*. ‘Having stepped on a live ember: having touched either with [its] hand or with [its] foot, which is outstretched here and there.’
- 96 Ps-pt II 309.19–21: *yadi uttānaseyyako, katham assa aṅgārakkamanan ti. yatbā tatbā aṅgārassa phusanaṃ idha akkamanan ti adhippetan ti āba ito c’ ito cā* (Ps II 402.10–11) *ti ādi*. ‘[If the little baby is] lying on its back, how would his stepping on ember [become possible]? Because the touching of an ember in whatsoever [manner] is intended here as [the meaning of] stepping on, [Buddhaghosa] says: here and there, etc.’

The examples discussed so far allow the following conclusion: the past participle, *avamaddita*, can mean an act of crushing something, either with the hand or the foot; *uppiḷita* refers to the act of crushing something with the hand, while *akkanta* means the act of crushing something with the foot. Yet, one is able to use the second two past participles interchangeably as a *rūḷhi*. The meaning of these terms must be interpreted in the light of their context.

It is worth noting here that Buddhaghosa employs these two terms in exactly opposite ways in his commentaries. He uses *uppiḷeti* to mean the act of stepping on something with one's foot, while choosing *akkamati* to refer to the act of pressing on something with one's hand. I cite two typical examples:

- 1 *usabho* [...] *catubi pādehi paṭhavim uppiḷetvā*.<sup>97</sup>  
The bull having pressed on the ground with [its] four legs.
- 2 *hattbena tulaṃ akkamati*.<sup>98</sup>  
[The crafty trader] will press on the scale with [his] hand.

These examples illustrate that the commentators of the Mahāvihāra school have employed the terms under discussion as *rūḷhis* even though they did not always label them accordingly.

These uses may vary from region to region and may also change over time. Therefore, it can be assumed that the commentators use them as *rūḷhis* as one of several options. Some canonical terms related to the Buddha and his teaching are also labelled as *rūḷhis* in the commentaries. When it comes to some keywords in the Buddha's teaching, especially terms having scholastic significance, the authors of the exegetical works provide the reader with comprehensive *rūḷhi*-explanations. In the following passages I will discuss some of them.

97 Ps II 26.35–27.1; Spk II 45.34–46.1; Mp III 8.6–7. The commentators collocate *uppiḷo* with diverse nouns. In some attestations, it is used to refer to pressing on the ground with a knee. See As 146.30: *so jannunā bhūmiṃ uppiḷetvā pi dburaṃ vabati*. 'He [i.e., the bull] carries the burden even having pressed on the ground with [his] knee.' See also Nidd-a II 409.17–18. At times, the same term is used to denote pressing on something with a stick. See Ps IV 74.5–6: *yaṭṭhikoṭṭiyā uppiḷento viya*. 'Just as the man who presses on [something] with a point of a staff.'

98 Sv I 79.6; Ps II 210.35; Spk III 305.18; Mp III 192.23. In the *Samantapāsādikā akkamitvā* occurs in the sense of 'sweeping'. See Sp II 465.1–2: *āsanam* [...] *manussā sayam hattbena akkamitvā 'idha bhante nisīdatthā' ti denti*. 'People offer [it to a monk], having swept a seat with [their] hands themselves, [saying]: "respected sir, pray sit here".'

13. *cārikā*

The Buddha and his disciples travelled through many cities of India on their tours with the aim of spreading the teachings. These tours are called *cārikā*.<sup>99</sup> The Pāli canon describes this practice of the Buddha as *cārikaṃ caramāno*. '[Whilst the Buddha] was wandering on [his] tour.'<sup>100</sup> Many of the Buddha's disciples who followed this practice are also referred to in the canon by the same phrase.<sup>101</sup>

In the *Rathavinītasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya*, we see the Elder Puṇṇa wandering on his tour (*cārikaṃ caramāno*) in the Sāvatti country.<sup>102</sup> The *Papañcasūdanī* says that the term *cārikā* is a *rūlhi* in this context:

*cārikaṃ caramāno ti ettha kiñcāpi ayaṃ cārikā nāma mahājanasaṅgabatthaṃ Buddhānaṃ yeva labbhati, Buddhē upādāya pana rūlhisaddena sāvakānaṃ pi vuccati, kilañjādīhi kataṃ vijānaṃ pi tālavaṇṇaṃ vīya.*<sup>103</sup>

[While he] was wondering on [his] tour: in this instance, although this 'tour', as it is called, is proper only for Buddhas [going] for [the sake of] encouraging large [groups of] people. It is also used, however, alongside Buddhas, as a convention of speech for [their] disciples, just as a fan made of [various materials] such as a reed-matting [is referred to as] a fan made of the leaves of a fan-palm.

Although the term *cārikā* is ideally used for the tours of the Buddhas, as a *rūlhi*, it can also be used of the tours of the disciples (*sāvakānaṃ*).<sup>104</sup> To illustrate the function of a *rūlhi*, the commentator employs the analogy

99 DOP, s.v. *cārikā*: 'a going about; a journey, a tour.'

100 For example: see D I 87.1-2: *Bhagavā Kosalesu cārikaṃ caramāno*. '[While] the Blessed One was wandering on [his] tour in the Kosala country.' D I 111.1-2: *Bhagavā Aṅgesu cārikaṃ caramāno*. '[While] the Blessed One was wandering on [his] tour in the Aṅga country.' D I 127.1-2: *Bhagavā Magadhesu cārikaṃ caramāno*. '[While] the Blessed One was wandering on [his] tour in the Magadha country.' See also M I 285.1-2, 400.26-27; S IV 322.31-32, V 352.14-15; A I 180.14, III 30.5, V 122.1-9; Ud 41.17; Vin I 8.32, III 11.28-30, IV 16.14-16.

101 For example, see D II 316.2-3; M II 185.26-28, III 200.33-201.3, 269.19-24; S IV 62.32-63.5; Ud 58.29-59.1; Vin II 294.6-8.

102 M I 146.21-26: *āyasmā Puṇṇo Mantāniputto [...] anupubbena cārikaṃ caramāno yena Sāvatti tad avasari*. '[While] venerable Puṇṇa, the son of Mantāni was wandering on [his] tour in succession, he arrived at the Sāvatti country.'

103 Ps II 153.1-4. See also Sp-ṭ II 117.2-5.

104 The case of Sabhiya recorded in the *Suttanipāta* is different. He was a wandering ascetic (*paribbājako*) and was not a disciple of the Buddha at the moment that he was qualified with the phrase under discussion. See Sn 93.10-15: *Sabhiyo paribbājako [...] anupubbena cārikaṃ caramāno*. '[While] Sabhiya, the wandering ascetic was wandering on [his] gradual tour.'

with a *tālavaṇṭa*, that is, literally a ‘fan made of the leaves of the tala palm tree’. Yet, in addition to palm-leaves, a fan can be made of other materials, such as reed-matting (*kilañjādīhi*).<sup>105</sup> Irrespective of the material it is made of, a fan can be generally referred to as *tālavaṇṭa* as a *rūlhi*. As we shall see in the following passages, such analogy is very commonly employed by the commentators of the Mahāvihāra school, including Buddhaghosa.

#### 14.1 *sattā*, *pāṇā*, etc.

The ninth chapter of the *Visuddhimagga* is entitled Brahmavihāraniddesa (‘Instruction on Divine Abiding’).<sup>106</sup> In this chapter, referring to the *Paṭi-sambhidāmagga*, Buddhaghosa teaches the practitioner of meditation (*yogāvacara*) how to develop loving kindness (*mettā*) by following three methods. Of those methods, fivefold *anodhiso pharaṇā mettācetovimutti* (‘liberation of the mind by loving kindness pervading boundlessly’) relates to this theme. This method teaches how to pervade unreserved loving kindness to all living beings. The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* describes it as follows:

*sabbe sattā averā abyāpajjā anīghā sukhī attānaṃ paribarantu. sabbe pāṇā . . . pe . . . sabbe bhūtā, sabbe puggalā, sabbe attabhāvapariyāpannā averā abyāpajjā anīghā sukhī attānaṃ paribarantū ti. imehi pañcab’ ākārehi anodhiso pharaṇā mettācetovimutti.*<sup>107</sup>

May all ‘beings’ being free from enmity, ill-will and affliction, live [their] lives happily. May all beings, [being] free from enmity, free from ill will free from affliction, happy, look after themselves. May all [creatures] who are breathing’, . . . ‘who have come into existence’, all ‘persons’, all ‘who have entered into ‘individuality’, being free from enmity, ill-will and affliction, live [their] lives happily’. [One should know] the liberation of the mind by loving kindness pervading boundlessly, in these five ways.<sup>108</sup>

Buddhaghosa quotes this passage in his *Visuddhimagga*.<sup>109</sup> We can see that five generic terms appear as synonyms for living beings in this passage, namely, 1) *sattā* (‘beings’), 2) *pāṇā* (‘breathing creatures’), 3) *bhūtā* (‘those who have come into being’), 4) *puggalā* (‘persons’), and 5) *attabhāvapariyāpannā* (‘those who have entered into “individuality”’). He insists that the

105 Dhammapāla (Vv-a 147.26) defines *tālavaṇṭa* (Vv 45) as ‘a round fan made of the leaves of the fan-palm tree’ (*tālapattehi katamaṇḍalavijaniṃ*). See also Ps-pt II 14.9; DOP, s.v. *tālavaṇṭa*: ‘a palm-leaf used as a fan; a fan in general’.

106 Vism 295–325.

107 Paṭis II 130.23–131.2.

108 See also Nāṇamoli 1982: 317–318.

109 Vism 309.18–21. See also Pe Maung Tin 1930: II 356, Nāṇamoli 1957: 303–304.

meditator should consider these terms as *rūl̥hi*s and not be misled into concentrating on their literal meaning. If one takes these five terms literally, the loving kindness meditation does not work (*virujjhati*) for them. I quote the relevant passage in full:

*sattā ti rūpādisu khandhesu chandarāgena sattā visattā ti sattā. vuttaṃ b' etaṃ Bhagavatā: rūpe kbo Rādha yo chando yo rāgo yā nandi yā taṇhā tatra satto tatra visatto tasmā satto ti vuccati. vedanāya, saññāya, saṅkhāresu, viññāne yo chando yo rāgo yā nandi yā taṇhā tatra satto tatra visatto tasmā satto ti vuccati* (S III 190.3-7) *ti. rūḷhisaddena pana vitarāgesu pi ayaṃ vohāro vattati yeva, vilivamaye pi vijānivisesa tālavañtavohāro vīya. [...] pāṇanatāya pāṇā, assāsapaṣṣāyattavuttitāyā ti attho. bhūtattā bhūtā, sambhūtattā abhinibbatattā ti attho. 'pun' ti vuccati nirayo, tasmim galantī ti puggalā* (Paṭis II 130.25), *gacchantī ti attho. attabhāvo vuccati sariraṃ. khandhapañcakam eva vā, tam upādāya paññattimattasambhavato* (B<sup>c</sup>; E<sup>c</sup>; S<sup>c</sup> °sambhā°). *tasmim attabhāve pariyaṇṇā ti attabhāvapariyaṇṇā. 'pariyaṇṇā' ti paricchinā, antogadhā ti attho. yathā ca 'sattā' ti vacanaṃ, evaṃ sesāni pi rūḷhivasena āropetvā sabbān' etāni sabbasattavevacanāni ti veditabbāni. kāmā ca aññāni pi 'sabbe jantū', 'sabbe jīvā' ti-ādini sabbasattavevacanāni atthi. pākāvasena pana imān' eva pañca gahetvā 'pañcab' ākārehi anodhisopparanā mettā cetovimutti' ti vuttaṃ. ye pana: 'sattā', 'pāṇā' ti-ādinaṃ na kevalaṃ vacanamatato 'va, attha kbo atthato pi nānattam eva iccheyyūṃ, tesam anodhisopparanā virujjhati. tasmā tathā atthaṃ agahetvā imesu pañcasu ākāresu aññataravaseṇa anodhiso mettā pharitabbā.*<sup>110</sup>

**Beings:** beings that are attached, firmly attached to the aggregates such as form due to passion accompanied by desire. For this was stated by the Blessed One: [Because one has], Rādha, that desire, that passion, that delight and that craving for form, one is attached therein, firmly attached therein, therefore one is counted as a 'being', ... for feeling ... for perception ... for volitional formations ... [because one has], that desire, that passion, that delight and that craving for consciousness, [and] because one is attached therein, firmly attached therein, one is counted as a 'being'. This common way of speaking indeed occurs as a term of conventional speech (*rūl̥hi*) even with reference to those freed from passion. It is similar to the common way of speaking of a *tālavanta* ('fan made of the leaves of the fan-palm tree') with reference to a special kind of fan even if it is made of split-bamboo. Because of [their state of] breathing (*pāṇanatā*), they are **breathing creatures** (*pāṇā*). It means [they are so-called] because [their] existence depends on inhalation and exhalation. On account of the fact that

110 Vism 310.13-311.9 (= B<sup>c</sup> I 303.11-304.9; C<sup>c</sup> 229.33-230.18; S<sup>c</sup> II 112.13-113.16) ≠ Paṭis-a III 605.10-23.

[they] have come into being, they are *bbūtā*.<sup>111</sup> It means [they are so-called] on account of the fact that [they] are arisen [and] on account of the fact that [they] are reborn in another existence. The Niraya hell is counted as ‘*puṇ*’. Because they fall into that [*puṇ* hell], they are *puggalā*. It means [they are so-called] as [they] go to [that *puṇ* hell]. An individual is counted as the body,<sup>112</sup> or just the pentad of aggregates because of its (i.e., the individual’s) existence as a concept only with reference to that [pentad].<sup>113</sup> [The lives of beings] who have entered into that individuality are *attabbāvapariyāpannā*. ‘[Those who] are included’ means ‘[those who] are delimited’, ‘[those who] have plunged into’, is the meaning. As with the term ‘*sattā*’,<sup>114</sup> having attributed [a general meaning] to the remaining [terms] as well by virtue of convention of speech (*rūlhi*)<sup>115</sup> in the same manner, one should understand that these are all synonyms for ‘all beings’. And, certainly there are also other synonyms for all beings such as ‘all *jantus*’ (lit. those who grow old)<sup>116</sup> [and] ‘all *jivās*’ (lit. those who have the life faculty).<sup>117</sup> But having taken only these five [terms] by virtue of [their] well-known nature, ‘the liberation of the mind by loving kindness pervading boundlessly’, in these five ways is stated. But there may be those who believe there is no unity among the [terms]

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- 111 Dhammapāla (Vism-mhṭ 1 366.25–26) glosses Buddhaghosa’s *bbūtattā* as ‘on account of the fact that [they] have been born because of the afflictions of [past] actions’ (*kammakilesehi jātatā*).
- 112 See CPD, s.v. *attabbāva*: ‘the existence as an individual, proper nature; but most frequently concrete: a living being, or its bodily form, person’; DOP, s.v. *attabbāva*: ‘a body’; pw, s.v. *ātmabhāva*: ‘m. 1) *das Dasein der Seele ŚVETĀŚVUP* 1,2. 2) *das eigene Sein, Persönlichkeit Spr.* 2306. Bei den Buddhisten *dass. und Körper*’; MW, s.v. *ātmabhāva*: ‘the body.’
- 113 Vism-mhṭ 1 367.3–4: *paññattimattasabbhāvato ti paramatthato asante pi sattasāññite paññattimattena sabbhāvato*. ‘Because of the arising of the mere concept of [“being”] means: because of the arising as a mere concept with respect to a so-called being, even though it does not exist in the ultimate sense.’
- 114 Commenting on *yathā ca sattā ti vacanaṃ*, Dhammapāla states that *sattā* is a *rūlhi*. See Vism-mhṭ 1 367.5–6: *yathā ca sattā ti vacanaṃ ti yathā sattasaddo yathāvuttentatthena nippariyāyato padesavutti pi rūlhiwasena anavasesapariyādayako*. ‘And, just as in the case of the term “beings” means: even though just as the term *satta* has a limited reference literally in accordance with the meaning as stated, it encompasses [all beings] without remainder by virtue of convention of speech.’
- 115 Vism-mhṭ 1 367.7: *sesāni pi ti paññādivacanāni*. ‘The remaining [terms] as well means: the terms such as those living creatures.’ Vism-mhṭ 1 367.9–11: *rūlhiwasena āropetvā ti yathāvuttāya rūlhiyā vasena kattbaci visaye avijjamānam pi paṇapuggalabbhāvaṃ āropetvā*. ‘Having attributed by virtue of convention of speech means: by virtue of the convention of speech as stated, having attributed the state of breathing creature and person, even though it does not exist, to any [of those beings] as the object [in meditation].’
- 116 Nidd-a 1 26.12: *jāyati* (B<sup>c</sup>; S<sup>c</sup> *jiyati*) *ti jantu* (Nidd 1 3.15). ‘It is born (grows old), hence it is a *jantu*.’
- 117 Nidd-a 1 26.11: *jīvitindriyaṃ dhāreti ti jivo* (Nidd 1 3.15). ‘It bears the life-faculty, hence it is a *jiva*.’

such as ‘*sattā*’ [and] ‘*pāṇā*’ just on account of their mere phonetic form and so (believe) that there is also variation in their meaning. For them, the unspecified pervasion is obstructed. Therefore, without taking the meaning [of these terms] in that way, one should pervade ‘the liberation of the mind by loving kindness boundlessly’, in these five ways.<sup>118</sup>

So, according to Buddhaghosa, those who desire a difference of [the words] *sattā*, *pāṇā*—not only on account of the mere verbal expressions, but also on account of the meaning—will find their loving kindness, will be obstructed from pervading universally.

In the following passages (14.2–14.6) I will discuss the five terms, beginning with *sattā*.

#### 14.2 *sattā*

Buddhaghosa offers an alliterative explanation for the term *sattā*, quoting a canonical passage in support. This passage, presenting a fanciful but doctrinally significant *nirukti* for the term *satta*, is attested in the *Samyutta-nikāya*. It reads *satta* in the sense of ‘one who is attached’, which corresponds to the term *sakta* in Sanskrit.<sup>119</sup> The Sanskrit term which corresponds strictly with *satta* is *sattva*, meaning an ‘existing entity’.<sup>120</sup> Irrespective of this original meaning, the semantic elucidation is made in relation to the term *sakta* in the canon as well as in the commentaries as a means of illustrating the negative influence of mental defilements that bind living beings to the cyclic process of existence. Although, according to this explanation, *sattā* literally means ‘those who are attached’, as a *rūḷhi*, it embraces those who are freed from passion (i.e., *arabants*) as well. Buddhaghosa further explains using the now-familiar analogy of the *tālavaṇṭa*. This analogy helps the meditator to understand the term *sattā* as a generic term that encompasses all living beings.<sup>121</sup> Before concluding the passage,

118 In rendering this passage, I have relied on Pe Maung Tin (1930: II 357–358), Nyanatiloka (2014: 354) and Ñāṇamoli (1956: 304–305).

119 MW, s.v. *sakta*: ‘clinging or adhering to, sticking in, to stand as if nailed or as if rooted to the spot’

120 Deshpande 1992: 31. The term *sattva*, as Kunjunni Raja points out (1990: 107), ‘is derived from the root *√as*, meaning “to be”’. Sanskrit lexicons enumerate diverse meanings of *sattva*, among them, ‘being’ (*prāṇa*); see ŚkD, s.v. *sattva*, VcP, s.v. *sattvam*.

121 In two places, the author of the *Saddhammapakkāsīni* adaptively reuses Buddhaghosa’s explanation of *satta* (Paṭiṣ-a I 57.14–20; III 604.35–605.16). (For ‘reuse’ and ‘adaptive reuse’, see Freschi 2014: 88–89; Kieffer-Pülz 2016: 9–45.) In the *Madhurattahavilāsīni*, Buddhaddatta expands the definition of *satta* more alliteratively (Bv-a 12.29–31): *sattā* (Bv 1.3) *tī rūpādīsū kbandbesu chandarāgena sattā visattā āsattā laggā lagitā pattā sampattā tī pāṇino*

Buddhaghosa teaches the meditator to take the remaining four terms (*pāṇā*, *bhūtā*, *puṅgalā* and *attabhāvapariyāpannā*) too as synonyms for all living beings (*sabbasattavevacanāni*).

### 14.3 *pāṇā*

The term *pāṇā* ('living creatures') denotes 'those who are breathing' (*pāṇa-natāya pāṇā*).<sup>122</sup> Although one might think that all who are alive necessarily breathe, that is not always the case. In line with the canon and com-

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*vuccanti. rūlhisaddena pana vitarāgesu pi ayam vobāro vattati yeva.* 'Living creatures are called beings because they are attached upon, firmly attached upon, fixed to, attached to, stuck to, attained, properly attained the aggregates such as form with passion accompanied by desire. But this usage of common speech indeed occurs also with respect to those who are freed from passion as a term of convention of speech.' See also Horner 1978: 19. In the exegesis of the *Sattasutta* (Spk II 336.6-12) Buddhaghosa does not identify *satta* as a *rūlhi*; likewise, Dhammapāla in his subcommentary. But the latter does make clear that one should not follow this etymological meaning of *satta* in the case of those whose influxes have perished; see Spk-pt II 262.10-11: *yadi rūpādisu sattatā satto khināsavā katham satta ti? sattabbūtāpubbā ti katvā.* ('If a "being" is [so-called] on account of being attached to form, and so forth, how can those who have destroyed their influxes [be called] "beings"? By considering that they have been previously attached'). This account differs from Buddhaghosa's, yet, also suggests *satta* can be taken as a *rūlhi*.

122. The term *pāṇa* (Skt. *prāṇa*), means 'the air lying in the heart and wafting toward the corner of nostrils' (See ŚmhN, s.v. *prāṇa*: 'brdayasthe nāsāgrāvartini vāyau'. See also pw, s.v. *prāṇa*: '1) *Hauch, Athem*; im engsten Sinne *die eingeatmete Luft*. in (sic) weitesten *Lebenshauch* überh., *Lebensgeist*, *Lebensorgan*; MW, s.v. *prāṇa*: 'the breath of life, breath, respiration, spirit, vitality'. This etymological meaning of this term has influenced some scholarly translations. Although Pe Maung Tin once chose the phrase 'Living beings' to translate the term *pāṇā* (Pe Maung Tin 1930: II 357), he again rendered it as 'living things' (Pe Maung Tin 1930: II 356). Nāṇamoli constantly rendered it as '[b]reathing things' (Nāṇamoli 1957: 304, Nāṇamoli 1982: 317). Horner also used the same phrase to translate *pāṇino* (Horner 1978: 19). Nyānaponika took *pāṇā* as 'Lebewesen' (Nyānaponika 2005: 188). Of these, the first translation seems more appropriate. Nonetheless, the other two look a bit absurd because they appear to be too literal. The term, *pāṇa*, as a *babuvrihi* term, obviously occurs in the canon for living creatures including human beings. Let me quote here two attestations: (1) M I 371.11-12: *pāṇo* [...] *domanassam paṭisaṃvedeti*. 'The living creature experiences grief.' See also Horner 1957: II 35, Nāṇamoli and Bodhi 1995: 476, (2) S v 78.1-2: *pāṇā cattāro iriyāpathe kappenti*. 'The living creatures assume four postures.' See also Rhys Davids 1930: v 65; Bodhi 2000: 1579. Many commentators, including Buddhaghosa rightly explain the meaning of the term *pāṇa*. See Sv I 69.21-22: *pāṇo* (≠ D I 4.1) *ti c' ettha vobārato satto, paramatthato jīvitindriyam*. 'Living creature: in this context, [the term refers to] the living being in the conventional sense [and] the faculty of vitality in the absolute sense.' See also Ps I 198.10-11; Spk II 144.19-20; As 97.14-15. Tr. Nyānaponika 2005: 188: »Lebewesen« (*pāṇa*) ist im konventionellen Sinn gleichbedeutend mit »Wesen« (*satta*), im eigentlichen (d. h. philosophischen) Sinn mit Lebenskraft (*jīvitindriya*). See also Thi-a 236.4: *pāṇo* (Thi 159.21) *ti satto*. 'Living creature means: living being.' See also Pruitt 1999: 319. On these grounds, I translate the term *pāṇā* as 'living creatures'.

mentaries, some living beings—the inhabitants in the ‘fine-material sphere’ (*rūpabhava*) and the ‘immaterial sphere’ (*arūpabhava*), those who are in the fourth meditative absorption (*catuttbajjhāna*) and those who are in the attainment of the cessation of perception and feeling (*saññāvedayitanirodbasamāpatti*)—do not breathe.<sup>123</sup> The meditator who takes the term *pāṇā* as a *rūlhi*, should extend his loving kindness to all these individuals too.

#### 14.4 *bbūtā*

As a generic term, *bbūtā* can mean living beings. However, strictly speaking, as the Mahāvihāra exegetical works teach, the term does not apply to all living beings. For instance, besides those who have attained final enlightenment (*nibbāna*), all the other living beings, namely, those who are in the first three spiritual attainments starting from stream-entry (*sekkhā*) as well as the average people who do not possess any spiritual progress (*puthujjanā*) do not qualify as *bbūtas* but are referred to as *sambhavesins* (lit. ‘those who seek existence’). Interestingly, both the egg-born (*aṇḍaja*) and uterus-born (*jalābujā*) living beings, as long as they stay in the eggs and uteruses respectively, are also not designated *bbūtas*. Yet, neither do they qualify as *sambhavesins* or *bhavyas* (lit. ‘those who will come to existence’). So, for example, the *Mettasutta* refers to two kinds of living beings: *bbūtā vā sambhavesi vā* (‘not only those who have come to existence but also those who seek existence’).<sup>124</sup> The commentary glosses:

*bbūtā ti jātā abhinibbattā. ye bbūtā eva, na puna bhavissanti ti saṅkham gacchanti, tesam kbhīnāsavānaṃ etaṃ adbhivacanaṃ. sambhavam esanti ti ‘sambhavesino.’ appabhinabhavasamyojanattā āyatim pi sambhavam esantānaṃ sekkhāputhujjanānaṃ etaṃ adbhivacanaṃ. attha vā catusu yonisu aṇḍajajalābujā sattā jāva aṇḍakosaṃ vatthikosañ ca na bbindanti, tāva sambhavesi nāma. aṇḍakosaṃ vatthikosañ ca bbinditvā bahi nikkhantā bbūtā nāma. saṃsedajā opapātikā ca paṭhamacittakkhaṇe sambhavesi nāma, dutyacittakkhaṇato pabbhuti bbūtā nāma. yena vā iriyāpatthena jāyanti, jāva tato aññaṃ na pāpuṇanti, tāva sambhavesi nāma, tato paraṃ bbūtā ti.<sup>125</sup>*

123 Vism I 283.25–30: *ime assāpāpassāsā nāma [...] kassa vā natthi ti. [...] asaññābbūtānaṃ matānaṃ catuttbajjhānasamāpannānaṃ rūpārūpabhavasamaṅginaṃ nirodbasamāpannānaṃ ti. ‘Who does not have these, inhalation and exhalation? Those who are non-percipient, dead, entered the fourth meditative absorption, endowed with the existences of the fine-material [sphere], the immaterial [sphere], and entered the “attainment of cessation” do not have inhalation and exhalation.’* See also Sp II 425.9–14; Paṭi-a II 498.15–20.

124 Khp 8.19; Sn 26.3 See also Bodhi 2017: 179.

125 Pj I 246.25–247.9.

Those who **have come to be**: those that have been born, generated. This is a designation for arahants, who are reckoned thus: ‘They have come to be but will not come to be again.’ Those who **will come to be**: those seeking existence. This is a designation for trainees and worldlings who, because they have not abandoned the fetters of existence, are seeking future existence. Or alternatively, among the four modes of generation, of those beings born from eggs and from the womb it is said ‘they will come to be’ so long as they have not broken out from the egg shell or the cawl. But when they have broken out from the egg shell or the cawl and have emerged, they are said to ‘have come to be’. Of those beings born from moisture and those spontaneously born it is said ‘they will come to be’ at the first mind-moment. From the second mind-moment on, it is said they ‘have come to be’. Or else, when they are born in a particular posture, so long as they have not adopted another posture, it is said ‘they will come to be’. But following this, it is said ‘they have come to be’.<sup>126</sup>

Therefore, it seems that here Buddhaghosa conveys the following notion to his audience: ‘when developing loving kindness, irrespective of its literal meaning, one should apply the term *bhūta*, as a *rūlhi*, to *sambhavesins* and *bhavyas* as well.’

#### 14.5 *puggalā*

Persons are said to be *puggalā* because they are liable to fall into hell called ‘*pum*’.<sup>127</sup> Nevertheless, all the persons are not liable to go to that hell. Those

126 Bodhi 2017: 579. See also Ñānamoli 1960: 286–287. With reference to *bbūtānaṃ vā sattānaṃ ṭhitiyā, sambhavesiṇaṃ vā anuggabāya*, ‘for the maintenance of living beings who have come to existence and for the support of those who seek existence’ at M I 48.3–4 and S II 11.22–23, Buddhaghosa glosses *bhūta* and *sambhavesi* remarkably similarly; see Ps I 207.10–26 and Spk II 22.26–23.14. Cf. also Sv I 112.3–9 (to D I 18.15–16), Ps II 406.12–18. In all these glosses, the commentators read ‘new’ doctrinal meanings into the term *sambhavesi*, probably because it is regarded as supporting the doctrine of an *antarābhava* (‘intermediate existence’) held by the Sarvāstivāda and some other schools. As we know, the *Kathāvatthu* rejects the *antarābhava* (Kv 361–366), as does Mahāvīhāra exegetical literature. Apparently, the purpose of this exegesis of *sambhavesi* is also to undermine the position of schools that advocated the *antarābhava*.

127 See under 14.1. See also Nidd-a I 26.9–10: ‘*pum*’ *vuccati nirayo, taṃ galati ti puggalo* (Nidd I 3.15). See DOP, s.v. *puggala*. See also Paṭis-a II 442.6–7; III 605.11–12. The word *pum* here corresponds to *put*, which in Hindu mythology can refer to a specific hell; according to the *Manusmṛti* (9: 138), the son protects his father from this hell; MW, s.v. *put*: ‘hell or a partic. hell (to which the childless are condemned)’. Buddhaghosa appears to take *pum* as hell in general. He takes the *nirukti* of *puggala* to be *pum+gala*. The verbal root *√gala* means to ‘drip’ or to ‘ooze’ (cf. DOP, s.v. *gala*: ‘dripping; oozing; dropping’); he apparently adds *gacchanti ti attho* to indicate that *gala* occurs here in the

who have attained a spiritual status, such as stream-entry do not go to any kind of hell.<sup>128</sup> Taking the term *puggalā* as a *rūlhi*, the practitioner should spread loving kindness to all living beings.

#### 14.6 *attabbāvapariyāpannā*

*Attabbāva* can mean either *sarīra* or *khandhapañcaka*. *Sarīra* and *khandhapañcaka* are obviously not synonymous in this context, but they indicate two different meanings. Presumably, *sarīra* here refers only to the aggregate of form (*rūpakkhandha*).<sup>129</sup> Thus, *attabbāvapariyāpannā* ('those who have entered into individuality') can be understood as referring to:

- those who bear the aggregate of form
- those who bear all five aggregates

Non-percipient beings (*asañña-satta*) in the fine-material realm (*rūpabhava*) bear only one aggregate, *rūpa*, for the four immaterial aggregates, namely, feeling (*vedanā*), perception (*saññā*), conditional formations (*saṅkhāra*) and consciousness (*viññāṇa*) are not available in that realm. Therefore, non-percipient existence (*asaññabhava*) in *rūpabhava* is also called *ekavokārabhava* ('existence with a single aggregate'). Contrary to this, although

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sense of 'go'. Dhammapāla interprets the term differently. See Vism-mhṭ 1 367.26–28: *pūraṇato, galanato ca puggalā* (Paṭis II 130.25) *ti neruttā sattā hi nibbantā tā tam satanikāyaṃ pūrentā viya bonti. sabbāvattbanipātīyā ca galanti cavanti ti attho*. 'In accordance with the etymological explanation, *puggalā* [are so-called] because [they are] filling and falling, for living beings who are being reborn appear as if [they] are filling the various orders of beings. And they are dripping, [that is,] disappearing owing to the collapsing on every occasion, is the meaning.' Both the Śabdakalpadruma and the Vācaspatya interpret *puḍgala* similarly. See ŚkD, s.v. *puḍgala*: '*pūraṇāt put galanāt galaḥ*.' '[In the case of *puḍgala*,] it is *put* because of filling and *gala* because of falling'. Cf. VcP, s.v. *puḍgala*: '*pūraṇāt put galatī ti galaḥ*.' Dhammapāla slightly touches on the *pum*-hell. See Vism-mhṭ 1 367.8–9.

128 Vism-mhṭ II C<sup>o</sup> 299.4–5 (≠) Mp II 349.9: *avinipādadhammānam pum ādigalanassa* (Vism-mhṭ 1 367.8–9 *pugalanassa*) *abbāvato*. 'Due to the absence of falling down [into the hells] such as "pum" for those who are not subject to downfall.' The term, *vinipāta*, according to Buddhaghosa, refers to falling into the four descents. See Sv I 313.2: *avinipādadhammo* (D I 156.9) *ti catusu apāyesu apatanadhammo*. 'One whose nature is not downfall: one whose nature is not to fall down into the four descents.' For a detailed explanation, see Sv II 544.7–9; Ps I 162.29–33; Ud-a 290.5–7.

129 The *Niddesa*-commentary confines *attabbāva* to form (*rūpa*); see Nidd-a I 149.2–3: *attabbāvo* (Nidd I 42.16) *ti rūpakkhandho*. Elsewhere Buddhaghosa equates *kalebara* with *attabbāva*; see Spk I 117.25; Mp III 88.21: *kalebare* (S I 62.20; A II 48.32) *ti attabbāve*. According to some glosses, *kalebara* stands for only the physical body, excluding the four immaterial aggregates beginning with feeling (*vedanā*); see Ps I 217.8: *rūpakāyasaṅkhātassa kalebarassa* ('of the body, reckoned as '[gross] material form'). See also Spk II 13.13–14; Paṭis-a I 153.25; Vibh-a 101.2.

the beings in the *arūpabbava* are endowed with the four immaterial aggregates, there is no *rūpa* at all in that realm. The *arūpabbava* is reckoned as *catuvokārabhava* ('existence with four aggregates'). The beings in the fine material sphere (other than non-percipient beings) and beings in the 'sense-sphere' (*kāmabbava*) have five aggregates. Therefore, these are designated as *pañcavokārabhava* ('existence with five aggregates').<sup>130</sup> Technically, the first interpretation of *attabhāva* excludes the beings in the *arūpabbava*, while the second excludes the beings in the *rūpabbava* who are non-percipient and all beings in the *arūpabbava*; it is confined to the beings in the *kāmabbava* and beings in the *rūpabbava* (other than non-percipient beings). Understanding *attabhāvapariyāpannā* as a *rūlhi*, denoting all living beings, the meditator can spread loving kindness without restriction.<sup>131</sup>

### 15. *paṇḍara*

The term *paṇḍaram* appears in several places of the Pāli canon. In the Mahāvihāra exegetical works, it typically stands for 'cognizance' (*citta*), while the plural *paṇḍarāni* refers to the six 'inner sense-bases' (*ajjhattikāni āyatanāni*). I would first like to consider an example in the second category. In the *Sabbhīyasutta* of the *Suttanipāta* there is the following verse:

*dubbayāni viceyya paṇḍarāni ajjhattaṃ babiddhā ca suddhipañño |*  
*kaṇhaṃ sukkam upātivatto paṇḍito tādi pavuccate tathattā ||<sup>132</sup>*

130 In the commentary on the *Niddesa*, we find a detailed explanation of the three realms. See Nidd-a I 44.31–45.5: *ekena rūpakbandhena vokiṇṇo bhavo, eko vā vokāro assa bhavassā ti ekavokārabhavo. so asaṇṇabbavo va. catūbi arūpakbandhebi vokiṇṇo bhavo, cattāro vā vokārā assa bhavassā ti catuvokārabhavo. so arūpabbavo eva. pañcabi khandhebi vokiṇṇo bhavo, pañca vā vokārā assa bhavassā ti pañcavokārabhavo. so kāmabbavo ca rūpabbavekadeso ca hoti.* '[It is] one-constituent existence in the sense that "the existence is endowed with the single aggregate of form"; alternatively, in the sense that "its existence has a single constituent". It is just the existence of non-percipient [beings]. [It is] four-constituent existence in the sense that "the existence is endowed with the four immaterial aggregates"; alternatively, in the sense that "its existence has four constituents". It is just the existence of the immaterial [sphere]. [It is] five-constituent existence in the sense that "the existence is endowed with five aggregates"; alternatively, in the sense that "its existence has five constituents". It is the existence of the sensual sphere and part of the existence of the fine-material [sphere]. See also Paṭi-a I 87.33–88.4. In the *Sāratthadīpanītikā* (Sp-ṭ I 232.17), Sāriputta states '*vokāra* is a synonym for the aggregates' (*vokāro ti vā khandhānam etaṃ adbhivacanam*). In translating *vokāra* in the above passage, I follow his interpretation.

131 See also Gamage 2022: 36–66.

132 Sn 526 (97.12–13).

Having examined both lucidities (*paṇḍarāṇi*), inside and outside, having pure wisdom, having transcended the black and white, one who is like that,<sup>133</sup> is truthfully called ‘wise’.

The language in this verse offering a definition for the term *paṇḍita* plays on several metaphors and symbols; *paṇḍarāṇi* is one such metaphors, and it has been rendered in many ways in this context.<sup>134</sup> The *Paramatthajotikā*’s exegesis here is:

*paṇḍarāṇi ti āyatanāni. tāni hi pakatiparisuddhattā rūlhiyā ca evaṃ vuccanti.*<sup>135</sup>

**Lucidities** (*paṇḍarāṇi*): the sense-bases, because they are originally absolutely pure and because of the convention of speech (*rūlhi*) they are referred to in this manner.<sup>136</sup>

The commentator says that the term *paṇḍarāṇi*, as a *rūlhi*, occurs in this verse to mean the six inner sense-bases (*āyatanāni*)—*cakkhu* or eye, *sota* or ear, *ghāṇa* or nose, *jivhā* or tongue, *kāya* or skin, and *mano* or consciousness. He alludes to the fact that the six sense bases are metaphorically called *paṇḍarāṇi* so long as they are not contaminated with various mental defilements that arise as a result of contact with their corresponding external objects, namely, forms (*rūpa*), sounds (*sadda*), odours (*gandha*), tastes (*rasa*), tactile things (*phoṭṭhabba*), and *dhammas* or phenomena. Whether or not the sense-bases are contaminated by defilements, they are called *paṇḍarāṇi* because they are originally absolutely pure (*pakatiparisuddhattā*). The six inner sense-bases of humans whose defilements have yet to be eliminated are typically impure. In contrast, those who have attained ultimate

133 For the term *tādi*, see Roth 1968: 47. See also Gamage 2020: 98 fn. 118.

134 For example, ‘senses’ (Fausböhl 1881, 90); ‘senses’ range’ (Chalmers 1932: 127); ‘warring states’ (Hare 1945: 79); ‘*Taten-Färbungen*’ (Nyanaponika 1955: 124); ‘*la purezza*’ (Talamo 1961: 119); ‘sense-fields’ (Norman 1992: 66); ‘(sense-)spheres of clarity’ (Jayawickrama 2001: 205); ‘translucencies’ (Bodhi 2017: 245); Nyanaponika (1955: 292) points out that it can mean ‘hell, weiß, bleich, gelblich’, but that to his knowledge it does not mean color (‘Farbe’) in general. PED, s.v. *paṇḍara*, gives ‘white, pale, yellowish’. Pe Maung Tin (1920 I 185) translates *paṇḍara* as ‘clear’; Tiṭṭila (1969: 113) as ‘lucence’, Nāṇamoli (1982: 193) as ‘lucidity’, Nyanaponika (2005: 249) as ‘das Helle’. Following Nāṇamoli, I use ‘lucidity’.

135 Pj II II 430.2–3.

136 Tr. Nyanaponika 1955: 292: ‘*Als paṇḍarāṇi, “die Hellen”, sind die Sinnengrundlagen zu verstehen. Sie werden so genannt wegen ihrer natürlichen Reinheit und des Sprachgebrauchs wegen.*’ Tr. Bodhi 2017: 922: ‘It is the sense bases that are called translucencies; for these are customarily spoken of in such a way because of their natural purity.’

enlightenment, like *arabants*, possess the six sense-bases, which are absolutely pure. The term *paṇḍarāṇi*, as a *rūlhi*, can be used to refer to the six inner sense-bases of ordinary people as well as those of *arabants*. The following passages show how the commentators of the Mahāvihāra interpret *paṇḍaram* in the Pāli canon as referring to any kind of cognizance.

Two texts from the Suttapiṭaka—the *Niddesa* and the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*—and two from the Abhidhammapiṭaka—the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* and the *Vibhaṅga*—give an almost identical passage that presents a string of synonymic designations for the mind.<sup>137</sup> The passage from the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* reads:

*katamaṃ tasmim̐ samaye cittaṃ hoti? yaṃ tasmim̐ samaye cittaṃ mano mānasaṃ hadayaṃ paṇḍaram̐ mano manāyatanam̐ manindriyam̐ viññāṇam̐ viññāṇakkhandho tajaṃ manoviññāṇadhātu. idaṃ tasmim̐ samaye cittaṃ hoti.*<sup>138</sup>

What is cognizance on that occasion? Whatever on that occasion [is] cognizance, mind, mentation, heart, lucidity, mind, mind-sense-base, mind faculty, consciousness, consciousness aggregate, element of mind-consciousness related to that, this is cognizance on that occasion.<sup>139</sup>

On the term *paṇḍara* in this list the *Atthasālinī* offers the following gloss:

*idha pana cittaṃ eva abbhantaratt̐hena hadayan ti vuttam̐. tam̐ eva parisuddhat̐hena paṇḍaram̐ bhavaṅgam̐ sandhāy' etaṃ vuttam̐. yathāba: 'paḥhasaram̐ idaṃ bhikkhave cittaṃ, tañ ca kbo āgantukehi upakkilesehi upakkilitt̐han' (A 1 10.11–12) ti. tato nikkbantatt̐ pana akusalam̐ pi, gaṅgāya nikkbantā nadi gaṅgā viya, godbāvarito nikkbantā godbāvari viya ca, paṇḍaran t' eva vuttam̐.*<sup>140</sup>

But here just the cognizance in the sense of [its being] internal is stated [by the term] *hadaya*. The very same [cognizance], in the sense of [its] absolute purity, is **lucidity** (*paṇḍara*). This is stated with reference to the *bhavaṅga*[-consciousness].<sup>141</sup> As [the *Anguttaranikāya*] says: ‘This conscious-

137 Nidd I 3.4–7; 176.13–16; Paṭis I 189.37–190.2; 190.4–6; Dhs 10.11–15; 11.27–31; Vibh 87.23–26.

138 As 10.11–15.

139 See Ñāṇamoli 1982: 193; Rhys Davids 1997b: 8. See also Thiṭṭila 1969: 113.

140 As 140.22–29.

141 DOP, s.v. *bhavaṅga*: ‘a factor of existence, of becoming.’ DOP, s.v. *bhavaṅga*: ‘dormant mental continuity (in which no mental process occurs).’ Bodhi translates the term *bhavaṅga* as ‘factor of existence’. See Bodhi 2012: 1597, fn. 46. Both Nyanatiloka and Nyanaponika rendered the *bhavaṅgacitta* as ‘*Unterbewußtsein*’ (Nyanatiloka 2014: 528; Nyanaponika 2005: 249). Again, the former scholar translated the very same term as ‘[*U*]nterbewußte Zustände’ (1927: 880). Pe Maung Tin and Ñāṇamoli select the ‘life-continuum’ for it. See Pe Maung Tin 1920: 1 185, Pe Maung Tin 1931: III 537; Ñāṇamoli 1956, 466. For scholarly discussions of *bhavaṅga*-consciousness, see Gethin 1994: 11–35; Anālayo 2017: 10–51.

ness, monks, is luminous, but it is defiled by adventitious defilements.’ But even unwholesome [consciousness]<sup>142</sup> is indeed called ‘lucid’, on account of the fact that it has emerged from that [*bhavaṅga*-consciousness], just as the tributary issued from the [river] Ganges [is also called] ‘Ganges’, and the [tributary] issued from the [river] Godhāvāri [is also called] ‘Godhāvāri’.<sup>143</sup>

In this gloss, the commentator does not explicitly state that the term *pañḍara* is a *rūlhi*. However, the way he describes the term strongly suggests that he understands that it occurs as a *rūlhi* in the canon. Because of its absolute purity, the cognizance or *citta* is designated as *pañḍara*; but *pañḍara* was originally used to denote *bhavaṅga*-consciousness. *Pañḍara* (‘lucidity’) symbolically demonstrates its nature. As Bodhi points out, this *bhavaṅga*-consciousness ‘occurs in the absence of active cognition’ and is ‘responsible for maintaining continuous personal identity throughout a given life and from one life to the next’.<sup>144</sup> After suggesting that the *bhavaṅga*-consciousness was originally intended by the term *pañḍara*, the author of the *Atthasālinī* provides a scriptural example in support. According to the commentators, ‘this consciousness [that] is defiled by adventitious defilements’ describes the *bhavaṅga*-consciousness. The commentators typically insist on this.<sup>145</sup> Although, for the commentators, the term *pañḍara* originally refers specifically to the *bhavaṅga*-consciousness, it comes to be used as referring to consciousness in general: any consciousness—whether wholesome or unwholesome—has emerged from the *bhavaṅga*-consciousness (*tato nikkantattā*). The analogy drawn by the commentator illustrates this: while flowing into the ocean, the rivers Ganges and Godhāvāri give rise to distributaries which are also named after the main river. In short, the term *pañḍara* occurs in the Mahāvihāra sources as a

142 Dhs-mṭ 95.17–20: *akusalam pi paṇḍaran ti vuttaṃ, ko pana vādo kusalan ti adhippāyo. tañ hi paṇḍarato nikkhantaṃ sayañ ca paṇḍaran ti. attha vā sabbam pi cittaṃ sabbhāvato paṇḍaram eva, āgantukopakkilesavadānehi pana sāvajjānavajjānaṃ upakkilittbhavisuddhataratā bontī ti.* ‘Even [if it is] an unwholesome [consciousness] it is called lucidity, how much more [so if it is] wholesome, [that is] the intention. For, the [unwholesome consciousness] issued from the lucidity, even itself is lucid. Or, each consciousness by nature is verily lucid, but due to the adventitious defilements as well as purifications there is a more defiled or cleaner state of the blamable and blameless [consciousnesses].’

143 See also Pe Maung Tin 1920 I 185–186; Nyanaponika 2005: 249.

144 Bodhi 2012: 1597, fn. 46.

145 For instance, see Ps I 167.20–27; Mp I 60.9–15; Dh-p-a I 23.10–19; Nidd-a I 22.18–20; II 290.8–10; Paṭis-a I 242.2–4; II 520.29–521.3.

metonym for *bhavaṅga*-consciousness. Other commentators share the *Atthasālinī* gloss.<sup>146</sup>

### 16. *vacisaṅkhāra*

According to the *Mahā-Cattārisakasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya*, each of the first five factors of the Noble Eightfold Path—1. *sammādiṭṭhi* or right view, 2. *sammāsaṅkappa* or right conceptualization, 3. *sammāvācā* or right speech, 4. *sammākammanta* or right action, and 5. *sammā-ājīva* or right livelihood—can be divided into two aspects. The first aspect deals with the mundane level and is qualified with three adjectives as *sāsava* ('with influxes'), *puññabhāgiya* ('partaking of merit') and *upadhivepakka* ('ripening in the acquisitions').<sup>147</sup> The second aspect that involves the supramundane level is modified with four designations, namely, *ariya* ('noble'), *anāsava* ('influx-less'), *lokuttara* ('supramundane') and *maggāṅga* ('factor of the path'). The sutta describes right conceptualization dealing with the supramundane level as follows:

*katamo ca bhikkhave sammāsaṅkappo ariyo anāsavo lokuttaro maggaṅgo? yo kbo bhikkhave ariyacittassa anāsavacittassa ariyamaggasamaṅgino (E<sup>c</sup> °maggassa sa<sup>o</sup>) ariyamaggaṃ bhāvayato takko vitakko saṅkappo appanā vyappanā cetaso abhiniropanā vacisaṅkhāro. ayaṃ bhikkhave sammāsaṅkappo ariyo anāsavo lokuttaro maggaṅgo.*<sup>148</sup>

And what, monks, is the right conceptualization that is noble, influx-less, supramundane and a factor of the path? Whatever, monks, reasoning, proper reasoning,<sup>149</sup> fixing, proper fixing, mind's fixing [on objects] and ver-

146 Nidd-a I 22.16–23; II 290.6–13. Mahānāma adds an alternative interpretation; see Paṭi-s-a II 520.22–521.9.

147 Nānamoli and Bodhi 1995: 935.

148 M III 73.11–17 (= M III C<sup>c</sup> 214.24–29. See also M III S<sup>c</sup> 182.20–183.4).

149 In translating terms such as *takka*, I relied on the definitions in the commentary. For convenient understanding, let me quote the relevant passage here: Ps IV 132.25–133.10 (= Ps IV C<sup>c</sup> 92.3–13; Ps IV S<sup>c</sup> 94.9–17): *takko ti ādisu takkanavasena takko (M III 73.15). sv eva ca upasaggena paḍaṃ vadḍhettvā vitakko ti vutto. sv eva saṅkappanavasena saṅkappo. ekaggo butvā ārammaṇe appeti ti appanā. upasaggena pana paḍaṃ vadḍhettvā vyappanā ti vuttaṃ. cetaso abhiniropanā ti cittassa abhiniropanā. vitakkasmiṃ hi sati vitakko ārammaṇe cittam abhiniropeti, vitakke pana asati attano yeva dhammatāya cittam ārammaṇaṃ abbi-rūhati, jātisampanno abbiññātapuriso viya rājagehaṃ. anabbiññātassa (E<sup>c</sup> abbiññātassa) bi paṭihārena vā dovārikena vā attbo hoti. abbiññātam jātisampannam sabb' eva rājarājamahāmattā jānantī ti attano 'va dhammatāya nikkhamati c' eva pavisati ca. evamsam-padam idaṃ veditabbaṃ. 'With regard to the [meaning of the terms] such as *takka*: it is [called] *takka* by virtue of reasoning. And, having developed the term with a prefix, the very same [*takka*] is called *vitakka* (i.e., "proper reasoning"); by virtue of conceptu-*

bal formation in one whose mind is noble, whose mind is influx-less, who possesses the noble path and is developing the noble path, this, o monks, is the right conceptualization that is noble, influx-less, supramundane and a factor of the path.<sup>150</sup>

This discourse uses seven terms, beginning with *takka*, for right conceptualization. While these terms are synonymous, they also describe divergent functions of right conceptualization.<sup>151</sup> For instance, *vitakka* (‘proper reasoning’) and *vacīsāṅkhāra* (‘verbal formation’) bear the same meaning in this context, and both express the attributes of *sammāsāṅkappa* belonging to the supramundane level. The *Papañcasūdanī* glosses *vacīsāṅkhāra* as follows:

*vācaṃ saṅkharoti ti vacīsāṅkhāro. ettha ca lokiyavitakko vācaṃ saṅkharoti, na lokuttaro. kiñcāpi na saṅkharoti, vacīsāṅkhāro t’ eva paṇ’ assa nāmaṃ boti.*<sup>152</sup>

[It is called] **verbal formation** because [it] constructs speech. And in this context, proper reasoning [belonging to] the mundane [level] forms speech; not the supramundane [level]. Although [the supramundane] does not form [speech], it still has the designation of ‘verbal formation’.

In line with the *Mahā-Cattārisakasutta*, the right conceptualization occurring on the supramundane level comprises seven states relating to one’s ideation, including *vitakka* and *vacīsāṅkhāra*. But, as Buddhaghosa’s gloss shows, proper reasoning (*vitakka*) forms utterances only on the mundane level (*lokīyavitakko vācaṃ saṅkharoti*), not on the supramundane level (*na lokuttaro*). *Vacīsāṅkhāra* is said to consist of two components, namely, *vitakka* and *vicāra*.<sup>153</sup> Thus, *vacīsāṅkhāras* are nothing more than *vitakka* and

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alizing, the very same [*takka*] (= *saṅkappa* (i.e., “conceptualization”). Because it fixes [one’s mind] on [objects], having become one pointed (= *appanā* (“fixing”). But, having developed the term with a prefix, [the very same *appanā*] (= *vyappanā* (i.e., “proper fixing”). *etaso abhiniropanā*: the mind’s fixing (on objects). For when the proper reasoning exists, it makes the mind fix one’s thought on objects. But, when the proper reasoning does not exist, one’s mind, by its own nature, fixes itself on an object, just like when a well-known person of high birth [entering] the royal palace. For a person who is not well-known is in need of a doorkeeper or a gatekeeper [when entering a royal palace]. Because all of the kings and royal chief ministers know of a well-known person of high birth, solely by his own nature he enters and leaves [the royal palace]. In the same manner, one should know this [presence and absence of proper reasoning] as having such a consequence.’

150 See also Horner 1959: III 116; Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi 1995: 936.

151 Ps IV 132.25–27.

152 Ps IV 133.11–13.

153 See M I 301.21; S IV 293.15–16: *vitakkavicārā vacīsāṅkhāro*. Tr. Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi 1995: 399: ‘applied thought and sustained thought are the verbal formation.’ See also Horner

*vicāra*. One first formulates a thought by the operation of *vacīsaṅkhāra*, and then produces utterances related to it.<sup>154</sup> Therefore, *vacīsaṅkhāra* typically precedes an intended utterance. When one is on the supramundane level, one's mind does not form any utterance. Although *vitakka* and *vicāra* do not function as *vacīsaṅkhāra* at all in one's mind on this level, *vitakka* is still referred to as *vacīsaṅkhāra*, merely as a conventional designation. Buddhaghosa does not make it explicit that *vacīsaṅkhāra* is a *rūlhi*. But, in his subcommentary,<sup>155</sup> Dhammapāla does make this explicit.

### 17. *nāṇaviṇṇayutta*

The *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*<sup>156</sup> introduces the first consciousness relating to the sphere of sensual experience (*kāmāvacara*) as follows:

*katame dhammā kusalā? yasmim̐ samaye kāmāvacaram kusalam cittaṃ uppannam̐ hoti somanassasabagataṃ nāṇasampayuttam̐ ...*

Which are the states that are wholesome? When a wholesome consciousness belonging to the sphere of sensual experience has arisen, accompanied by joy [and] associated with knowledge ...<sup>157</sup>

The author of the *Atthasālinī* explains:

*kosalam vuccati paññā, kosallato sambhūtattā kosallasambhūtaṭṭhena kusalam. nāṇasampayuttam̐ tāva evam̐ hotu, nāṇaviṇṇayuttam̐ kathān ti. tam pi rūlhi-*

1954: I 363. For the commentarial gloss, see Ps II 351.13-14; Paṭis-a I 316.7: *vacīsaṅkhāra* (Paṭis I 99.8-9) *ti vitakkavicārā*. 'Verbal formation: proper reasoning [and] sustained thought.' See also Moh 297.1-4.

154 S IV 293.23-25: *pubbe kho gahapati vitakketvā vicāretvā pacchā vācam̐ bbindati. tasmā vitakkavicārā vacīsaṅkhāro*. 'First, householder, [one] makes proper reasoning [and] a sustained thought, and then afterwards [one] breaks into speech. Therefore, reasoning and proper reasoning are verbal formation.' See also Bodhi 2000: 1322. M I 301.26-28; Horner 1954: I 363-364; Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi 1995: 399.

155 Ps-pt̐ III 308.4-7: *vācam̐ saṅkharoti* (Ps IV 133.11) *ti vācam̐ uppādeti, vaciḡbosuppattiyā vīsapaṇṇayo hoti ti attbo. lokiyavitakko* (Ps IV 133.11-12) *dvattiṃsacittasabagato vācam̐ saṅkharoti* (Ps IV 133.11) *vacivīññattijananato. vacīsaṅkhāro tv eva paṇassa nāmaṃ hoti* (Ps IV 133.13) *rulhito*. '[The mundane proper reasoning] forms utterances: [the mundane proper reasoning] generates utterances; [it] becomes a special condition for the generation of sounds of speech, is the meaning. Because it is included within the thirty-two consciousnesses, the proper reasoning [belonging to the] mundane [level] forms utterances, because it generates verbal intimation. But in accordance with convention of speech, its designation is "verbal formation", indeed.'

156 Dhs 9.1-3.

157 Here, I based myself on Rhys Davids 1997b.1.

*saddena kusalam eva. yathā hi tālapaṇṇehi akatvā kilaññādīhi katam pi* (E<sup>c</sup> omits *pi*) *tamsarikkhattā rūlhisaddena tālavanṭan tv' eva vuccati, evaṃ nāṇa-  
vip̄payuttam pi kusalan tv' eva veditabbaṃ.*<sup>158</sup>

Wholesomeness is counted as understanding. Because it is arisen from wholesomeness, in the sense of arisen from wholesomeness, it is wholesome. While the [consciousness] associated with knowledge may be like this, how may the [consciousness] dissociated from knowledge be [like this]? In accordance with the term [wholesome] as a convention of speech<sup>159</sup>, that [consciousness] is also wholesome, indeed. For, just as even [a fan] made of reed-matting, etc., and not made with fan-palm leaves, on account of its similarity to a [fan-palm-leaf fan], is still counted as a fan-palm-leaf fan by a convention of speech; [one] should know that, in the same manner, even the [consciousness] dissociated from knowledge is still to be understood as wholesome.<sup>160</sup>

The usual meaning of the adjective *kusala* is 'wholesome'. The commentator says that *citta* is to be described as 'wholesome' because it has arisen from 'understanding' (*paññā*). A *nāṇasampayutta-citta* is endowed with knowledge (*nāṇa*). However, *nāṇavip̄payuttacitta* is a kind of consciousness which is disassociated from knowledge. Since *paññā* and *nāṇa* are synonymous, how can such a *citta* be described as wholesome if wholesome means 'arisen from understanding'? The commentator finds a solution to solve this problem. Using the analogy of *tālavanṭa*, he stresses that *nāṇavip̄payutta-citta* can also be referred to as *kusala* as a *rūlhi*. Even though it has not strictly arisen from understanding.

## Summary

The semantic development of words is a common phenomenon in many languages. Once the secondary meaning of a particular word is developed, its primary meaning may disappear. The authors of Pāli exegetical works

158 As 63.5-11 (= B<sup>c</sup> 105.14-19; C<sup>c</sup> 80.31-36; S<sup>c</sup> 109.23-110.3).

159 Ānanda uses the term *rūlha* to qualify the *nāṇasampayutta*-consciousness as well as the *nāṇavip̄payutta*-consciousness. See Dhs-mṭ 64.12-14: *rūlhisaddenā* (As 63.9) *ti nāṇasampayuttesu rūlhenā saddena, nāṇasampayuttesu vā pavattitvā anavajjasukkhavip̄kātāya tamsadesesu nāṇavip̄payuttesu rūlhenā saddena*. 'By conventional use of the word means: By conventional use of the word [used] in the case of those (*cittas*) associated with knowledge; or having used [the word] in the case of those associated with knowledge, by conventional use of [that] word in the case of those dissociated from knowledge, which are similar to the former because of resulting in blameless happiness.'

160 See also Tin 1920: 83-84; Nyanaponika 2005: 136.

state that a number of terms and phrases in the canon are *rūlhis*. The exegeses of these *rūlhis* are philologically and philosophically important. As these exegeses show, by the time they appear in the canon, the original meaning of some words had already faded. Instead, such words appear in the canon in their secondary meaning. The exegetical works of the Mahāvihāra school are helpful in discerning the original meaning of some words like Cāpālacetiyā. Although the words like *mārisa* and *paṇḍara* were originally used in a limited sense, they later come to be used in a much broader sense. When interpreting verbs like *akkamati*, special attention must be paid to the context in which they appear in the canon. Although the term *vacīsāṅkhāra* can be taken in its literal meaning when used to qualify the word formation of ordinary people, its literal meaning must be disregarded when it occurs to qualify the supramundane mind at the moment of enlightenment. Referring to the wholesome consciousness that occurs in the *kāmāvacara*-sphere, consciousness ‘dissociated from knowledge’, must be understood as ‘wholesome’ even when wholesome is taken to mean ‘arisen from understanding’, since ‘wholesome’ plays the role of a *rūlhi*. As the sub-commentary of the *Visuddhimagga* shows, there are shortcomings when the meditator focuses on the literal meaning of the five terms beginning with *sattā* while developing loving kindness. Therefore, if one concentrates on the *rūlhi* meaning of these terms, one achieves the very goal of one’s meditation.

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## Abbreviations

A	<i>Āṅuttaranikāya</i>
Abhidh-k-bh	<i>Abhidharmakośabbāṣyam of Vasubandhu</i> , ed. by P. Pradhan, 2nd edn (Patna: Jayaswal Research Institute, 1975).
Ap	<i>Apadāna</i>
Ap-a	<i>Apadāna-Aṭṭhakathā</i>
As	<i>Attasālini</i>
BD	I. B. Horner, <i>The Book of the Discipline</i> , 6 vols (London: Pali Text Society, 1938–1966).
B <sup>c</sup>	Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Tipiṭaka Edition
BHSD	Franklin Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary</i> , 2 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).
BudSir	Buddhist scriptures information retrieval (Bangkok, Thailand: Mahidol University Computing Center [1994]).
Bv	<i>Buddhavaṃsa</i>
Bv-a	<i>Buddhavaṃsa-Aṭṭhakathā</i>
C <sup>c</sup>	Sinhalese Printed Version
Cp	<i>Cariyāpiṭaka</i>
Cp-a	<i>Cariyāpiṭaka-Aṭṭhakathā</i>
CPD	V. Trenckner and others, <i>A Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> , 3 vols (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Science and Letters, Bristol: Pali Text Society, 1924–2011).
D	<i>Dīghanikāya</i>
Dhs	<i>Dhammasaṅgaṇi</i>
Dhs-anuṭ	<i>Dhammasaṅgaṇi-anuṭikā</i>
Dhs-mṭ	<i>Dhammasaṅgaṇimūlaṭikā</i>
DOP	Margaret Cone, <i>A Dictionary of Pāli</i> . 3 vols (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2001–2020).
E <sup>c</sup>	Pali Text Society's Edition
Hk	Jayaśānkara Joṣhi, <i>Halāyudhakośaḥ</i> (Lakhnau: Uttara Pradeśa Hindi Saṃsthāna, 1957).
It	<i>Itivuttaka</i>
It-a	<i>Itivuttaka-Aṭṭhakathā</i>
J	<i>Jātaka</i>
J-a	<i>Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā</i>
KEWA	Manfred Mayrhofer, <i>Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen. A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary</i> , vol. 1, A–TH (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1956).
Khp	<i>Khuddakapāṭha</i>
KvyP	<i>Śri Mammaṭabhaṭṭapranītaḥ Kāvyaṇprakāśaḥ</i> ed. by R. Hariharāśāstri (Trivandrum: Royal Printers, 1926).
M	<i>Majjhimanikāya</i>

- Manu *Manusmṛti: with the Sanskrit Commentary Mānavartha-muktāvali of Kullūka-Bhaṭṭa* ed. by J. L. Shastri (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2000).
- Moh *Mohavicchedani*
- Mp *Manorathapūraṇi*
- Mp-nt *Manorathapūraṇi-ṇaṭikā* of Śāriputta
- Mp-pt *[Manorathapūraṇi-purāṇaṭikā* of Dhammapāla] *Ṇguttaranikāya-purāṇaṭikā Catutthā Līnatthappakāsini*, ed. by Primoz Pecenko (Bristol: Pali Text Society, 2012).
- MW Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899).
- Nett *Nettippakaraṇa*
- Nett-a *Nettippakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā*
- Nidd *Niddesa*
- Nidd-a *Niddesa-aṭṭhakathā*
- NWS *Kumulatives Nachtragswörterbuch des Sanskrit*
- Paṭis *Paṭisambhidāmagga*
- Paṭis-a *Paṭisambhidāmagga-aṭṭhakathā*
- PED T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede, *Pali-English Dictionary* (London: Pali Text Society, 1921–1925).
- Pj I *Paramatthajotikā I (Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā)*
- Pj II *Paramatthajotikā II (Suttanipāta-Aṭṭhakathā)*
- Pp *Puggalapaññatti*
- Pp-a *Puggalapaññatti-aṭṭhakathā*
- PrBṣĪś *Paribhāṣendūsekbara*, ed. by F. Kielhorn (Bombay: Indu-Prakash Press, 1868)
- Ps *Papañcasūdani*
- PSED Vaman Shivaram Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Poona: Shiralkar, 1890).
- Ps-pt *Papañcasūdani-purāṇaṭikā* (B<sup>c</sup>)
- Pv *Petavatthu*
- Pv-a *Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*
- pw [Petersburger Wörterbuch] Otto Böhtlingk, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung*, 7 vols (Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften: St. Petersburg, 1879–1889).
- S *Samyuttanikāya*
- S<sup>c</sup> Siamese BudSir Edition
- SidMuv *[Siddhāntamuktāvali] Bhāṣāparicchedaḥ (Kārikāvali) Siddhāntamuktāvalīyākhyopetaḥ* of Nyāyapañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya (Bombay: Śrī Venkaṭeśvara Press, 1829).
- ŚkD *[Śabdakalpadruma]* Raja Radha Kanta Deva, *Śabdakalpadrumaḥ*, 5 vols (Varanasi: Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, 1967).
- ŚmhN *[Śabdastomamahānidhi]* Sri Tārānātha Bhaṭṭācārya, *Śabdastomamahānidhi* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1967).

Sn	<i>Suttanipāta</i>
Sp	<i>Samantapāsādikā</i>
Spk	<i>Sārattbappakāsini</i>
Spk-pt	<i>Sārattbappakāsini-purāṇaṭīkā</i> (B <sup>c</sup> )
Sp-ṭ	<i>Sārattbadīpanīṭīkā</i>
SrdS	[ <i>Sarvadarśanasamgraha</i> ] <i>Śrīmat Sāyaṇa-Mādhavācāryapranītaḥ Sarvadarśanasamgrahaḥ</i> , ed. by Abhyamkara Vāsudeva Śāstri (Mumbai: Nirnaya Sagara Press, 1924).
Sv	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsini</i>
Sv-pt	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsini-purāṇaṭīkā</i>
SWTF	<i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden</i> , vol. 1, ed. by Georg von Simson and others (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994).
Th	<i>Theragāthā</i>
Th-a	<i>Theragāthā-Aṭṭhakathā</i>
Thi	<i>Therīgāthā</i>
Thi-a	<i>Therīgāthā-Aṭṭhakathā</i>
Ud	<i>Udāna</i>
Ud-a	<i>Udāna-Aṭṭhakathā</i>
VcP	[ <i>Vācaspatyam</i> ] Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati Bhaṭṭācārya, <i>Vācaspatyam</i> , 6 vols (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1969–1970).
Vibh	<i>Vibhaṅga</i>
Vibh-a	<i>Vibhaṅga-Aṭṭhakathā</i> ( <i>Sammohavinodanī</i> )
Vibh-nṭ	<i>Vibhaṅga-anuṭīkā</i>
Vibh-pt	<i>Vibhaṅgamūlaṭīkā</i>
Vin	<i>Vinaya-piṭaka</i>
Vin-vn	<i>Vinayavinicchaya</i>
Vin-vn-ṭ	<i>Vinayavinicchayaṭīkā</i>
Vism	<i>Visuddhimagga</i>
Vism-mhṭ	<i>Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā</i> ( <i>Paramatthamañjūsā</i> )
Vism-sn	<i>Visuddhīmārgaya</i> [ <i>Mahāsannaya</i> ]: <i>kalikālasābhīya sarvajña paṇḍitā-bhidhāna dvitīya Parākramabāhu mahīpālayan visin liyū mahāsanya sabhīya</i> , ed. by Bentara Śraddhātiṣya (Kolutara, Sri Lanka: Vidyātīlaka Press, 1949–1955).
Vmv	<i>Vimativinodanīṭīkā</i>
Vv	<i>Vimānavatthu</i>
Vv-a	<i>Vimānavatthu-Aṭṭhakathā</i>
Yam	<i>Yamaka</i>

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# Two Legal Judgments on Monastic Boundaries from Nineteenth-Century Burma:

Khañ ma kan charā tau Mañijota's *Simāvinicchaya*  
with an appendix on Aoñ mre rhve bhuṃ charā tau  
Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya*

Petra Kieffer-Pülz and D. Christian Lammerts

## Introduction

The Burmese palm-leaf manuscript accession number 8892 of the Collection of the Library of the Department of the Promotion and Propagation of the Sāsana, Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) at Kaba Aye Pagoda, Yangon, is a multi-text manuscript.<sup>1</sup> The bundle contains a formal letter in Pali, written in 1858 by the Burmese Saṅgharāja Ñeyyadhamma (1799–1866) and sent to Sri Lanka with the first delegation of Sinhalese monks that had come to Burma<sup>2</sup> in order to receive a judgment with regard to the dispute about the legal validity of the ‘water-splashing boundary’<sup>3</sup> (*udakukkepasimā*) in Balapitiya, Sri Lanka, in the middle of the 19th century CE (foll. rāḥ-lo).<sup>4</sup> Two parties were involved in this dispute, the confusion-

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1 Only part of this manuscript is at our disposal. All information concerning the texts contained in this manuscript refer to that part solely.

2 They left Sri Lanka on 5 May 1857 and arrived in Burma on 18 February 1858. They returned to Sri Lanka sometime after their reordination in Burma; according to the *Sāsanavaṃsa* on 5 July 1858 (see Kieffer-Pülz 2023a: 194–195).

3 This translation we borrow from Nagasena & Crosby (2022) because it is shorter, and thus easier to understand as a term for a type of *simā* in the translation. Literally *udakukkepasimā* means ‘boundary [defined] by throwing/splashing water’ or ‘boundary consisting in thrown/splashed water’.

4 As in several Burmese manuscripts of this text, the travelogue of the Sinhalese monks Vaskaḍuvē Dhammakkhandha (ca. 1831) and Pōhaddaramullē Vanaratana (ca. 1834) (foll. rāḥ v-lā r7) is preceding Ñeyyadhamma’s judgment (foll. lā r7–10), and there is no interruption between both texts, either by a colophon or introductory lines. An edition of the

ists (*saṅkaravādin*) who considered the ‘water-splashing boundary’ of *Ba-lapīṭiya* to be connected with a ‘village boundary’ (*gāmasīmā*), and thus legally invalid; and the non-confusionists (*asāṅkaravādin*) who considered it as not connected and legally valid.<sup>5</sup> Ñeyyadhamma’s judgment, bearing the title *Simāvivādavinicchayakathā* (‘Explanation of the judgment on the dispute about the monastic boundary’) in the text, was in favor of the position of the confusionists.

The following text in the manuscript is Kalyāṇa’s *nissaya* (foll. lau–sai r3) to Ñeyyadhamma’s *Simāvivādavinicchayakathā*. Both texts are designated as *Sihalaḍḍīpa-udakukkhepasīmāvivādavinicchaya* (‘Judgment on the dispute about the ‘water-splashing boundary’ on the Sinhalese island’; plus *nissaya* in the second case) in the margin of the manuscript (fol. lau v).

After these works comes a short Pāli text (foll. sai r3–so v1) to be dealt with here. It is followed by its *nissaya* (foll. so v1–hā r).<sup>6</sup> Neither the Pāṭha text<sup>7</sup> nor its *nissaya* are introduced by a Burmese statement or by the usual introductory homage (*namo tassa*) or by introductory stanzas as is often the case in treatises of Burmese authorship; and neither has an authorial colophon.<sup>8</sup> Neither contains the title of the text or the name of the author. However, the name of the author of the short Pāṭha text is given in the margin of the manuscript as *Khaṅ ma kaṃ* (= *Khaṅ ma kan*) *charā tau*, where we also find the titles: *Sihalaḍḍīpa-udakukkhepasīmavinicchaya kyamḥ* (fol. sai) and *Sihalaḍḍīpa-udakukkhepasīmavinicchaya nissaya* (fol. so) respectively. Whether the scribe who copied these texts into one manuscript knew something about the background of the short text which made him add this marginal title, or whether the title results from the fact that the two preceding texts—Ñeyyadhamma’s formal letter and Kalyāṇa’s

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judgment (without the travelogue) based on a single manuscript is found in Minayeff 1887: 17–34. A new edition and translation of the judgment is in progress (Kieffer-Pülz forthcoming).

5 For a summary of the background of this dispute, see Kariyawasam 1973: 28–41; Malalgoda 1976: 151–161, Kieffer-Pülz 2016–2017: 134–150.

6 The commentary on the Pāṭha ends on fol. ha r10, thereafter follows Burmese text till the end of fol. hā r.

7 We refer to this text as the ‘Pāṭha’ text, a term used to describe monolingual Pali texts in general. The usage of the term ‘root’ (*mūla*) text in Burmese materials is restricted to the initial layer of the *tipiṭaka*, and ordinarily does not operate outside of this narrow sense. So, in discussing the relationship between this Pali text and its gloss, we speak of the relation of Pāṭha and *nissaya*.

8 There only follows a scribal colophon after the *nissaya* on which see below, n. 199.

*nissaya* on it—are given a similar title, *Sihaḷadīpa-udakukkhepasīmāvivādavinicchaya* (and *nissya*), also in the margin, is unclear.

The short text deals with the possibility of connections between a ‘water-splashing boundary’ and a ‘village boundary’, and, thus, centers on the same topic as the two preceding texts. Whether it was created in the same context is perhaps likely, given the subject matter and references to Sri Lanka in the marginal title, but ultimately uncertain. Nothing in the Pāṭha text or the *nissaya* (or in Ketudhamma’s *Simāvivicchaya*, on which see below, pp. 61ff.) hints at a direct relation to the Sinhalese case. The short text rather thoroughly analyses the wording and meaning of relevant statements in the *Vinaya* (Vin) and the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*, i.e. the *Samantapāsādikā* (Sp; ca. 4th/5th c. CE), with the aim of refuting the judgments of some unidentified Theras. These Theras apparently had discussed this topic on the basis of subcommentarial texts such as the *Vimativinodaniṭṭikā* (Vmv; ca. 12th/13th c. CE),<sup>9</sup> without having appropriately considered what the *Vinaya* and its commentary had to say. As is stated in our text, these Elders wrote their opinion down in a ‘short/small<sup>10</sup> treatise’ (*kbuddakagandha*), the identity of which is unknown.<sup>11</sup> From the groups involved in the Balapitīya case, Am̐bagahapitīyē (also Vālitārē or Vālitotē) Vimalasāra-tissa (1825–1889) based his argumentation on a passage of the *Vimativino-*

9 This is a subcommentary to the *Vinaya* which represents a South Indian *Vinaya* tradition that was very influential in Burma, and often contrasts with the Sri Lankan tradition, for instance, with respect to the drinking of alcohol (Kieffer-Pülz 2005; Gornall 2014: 521ff.), or the connection of a ‘village boundary’ with a ‘determined boundary’ (Kieffer-Pülz 2016–2017: 115–134; 2021: 29–35).

10 Pāli *kbuddakagandha* can refer to the length of a book as ‘small’ or ‘short’, but could also refer to its quality as ‘inferior’. The *Niss* (fol. so v4) glosses the compound as *cā coṇ pe coṇ ṇay*, ‘short treatise’ or ‘little treatise’, which does not convey any explicitly derogatory meaning.

11 The Saṅgharāja Ñeyyadhamma was Mañijota’s contemporary, and it cannot be excluded yet that Mañijota intends to refer to his *Simāvivādavinicchayakathā* with these words. Ñeyyadhamma often quotes from the Vmv, but also from the Sp, never from the *Vinaya* root-text. There are, however, so many texts on *simā* from 19th c. Burma that it is too early to draw any conclusions. It also must be noted that in comparison to Mañijota’s *Simāvivicchaya* Ñeyyadhamma’s *Simāvivādavinicchaya* was a much longer text, even though only one third of it actually dealt with *simā* questions. In addition, they do not present opposing views. Another of Ñeyyadhamma’s writings in this context is his letter to the non-confusionists (*asaṅkaravādīn*) written on 23 March 1860 (manuscript PPL 4609.2) which too is much longer. It also contains plenty of quotations from the Vmv, and thus could be another candidate for the ‘*kbuddakagandha*’, depending on the date of Mañijota’s *Simāvivicchaya*.

*danīṭika* (Vmv III59.<sup>24–26</sup>), where it is stated that a ‘water-splashing boundary’ arises by it-self, implying that splashing water all around is unnecessary. According to this opinion, there is no connection, if no water is splashed out around the platform, because the bridge which creates the connection between the ‘water-splashing boundary’ and the ‘village boundary’ no longer protrudes into the water splashing area.<sup>12</sup> Since the chronological relation between Mañijota and Vimalasāratissa is unclear, it remains open whether Mañijota directs his remark towards that Sinhalese scholar.

The name of the author of the Pāṭha text given in the margin, Khañ ma kaṃ charā tau, is the best-known title of the monk Mañijota (1788–1865).<sup>13</sup> The title, otherwise spelled Khañ ma kan, is derived from the cavalry village Khañ ma kan which is close to Mañijota’s native village Sa munḥ kuiñḥ in Ta lut mrui. (modern Myingyan area). He was a disciple of Sūriya, Sai aṅḥ sāsanā puiñ charā tau (1763–1839), who was Saṅgharāja from 1837 up to his death in 1839. Mañijota was a senior contemporary of another of Sūriya’s famous disciples, namely of the already mentioned Ñeyyadhamma, who was Saṅgharāja from 1839 to 1845 and from 1853 till to his death in 1866. Though Mañijota did not become Saṅgharāja himself, he was one of the key monastic dignitaries in Amarapura and Mandalay. In terms of literary output, he was one of the most productive and influential scholars of his generation.<sup>14</sup> He received a Rājādhirājaguru title from the king,<sup>15</sup> as is proved by the mention of his name as Mañijota-saddhammālakāramahādhammarājādhirājagurutthera in Paññasāmi’s *Sāsanavaṃsa*, where he is listed as the author of Burmese-language Atthayo-jana commentaries (i.e., *nissayas*) on *Samyuttanikāya* and *Samyuttanikāya-ṭṭhakathā* (Sās 148.<sup>21–23</sup>).<sup>16</sup>

12 Vimalasāratissa, *Sāsanavaṃsadīpa*, vv. 1611–1612, see Kieffer-Pülz 2023b: 81 and n. 20.

13 Born on 21 February 1788, his cremation is recorded as having occurred on 10 May 1865 (information courtesy of Alexey Kirichenko).

14 All information courtesy of Alexey Kirichenko. Four other *Vinicchayas* (nos 29–31, 33) of his are printed in Vin-samūh 2011: II 1041–1045; 1046–1053; 1054–1060; and 1064–1067.

15 King Tharrawady (1837–1846) presented twelve of Sūriya’s disciples with such a title (Ko Ko Naing 2010: 75).

16 According to Maung Maung Nyunt 2003, in addition to *nissayas* on *Sagāthā*- and *Nidānavaggaśamyutta-aṭṭhakathā* (nos. 721–722), he wrote surviving *nissayas* on *Bhikkhupāṭi-mokkha* (no. 650), *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇi-aṭṭhakathā* (no. 892), *Mūlaṭṭhikādvārakathā* (no. 944), as well as a text entitled *Dānaggadīpani* (no. 1185).

Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya*

That this Mañijota actually is the author of our short text is confirmed by Aoñ mre rhve bhuṃ charā tau Ketudhamma's<sup>17</sup> *Simāvinicchaya*.<sup>18</sup> This undated *vinicchaya*, written in vernacular Burmese with copious Pali citations from the *Vinaya* commentaries to support its reasoning, was issued by Ketudhamma in response to a question posed to him by the monk Ariyavaṃsa requesting clarification on Mañijota's comment (in § 14 below, pp. 75, 87) that statements transmitted in the *Vimatiṭikā* (Vmv) are 'confused' (*byākula*) and 'contradictory' (*viloma*) to the Paḷi and *Aṭṭhakathā*. In Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* there are altogether six direct citations from Mañijota's *Simāvinicchaya*,<sup>19</sup> which is said to be authored by Mañijotālaṅkāradhaja mahādhammarājadhīra jaguru Khañ ma kan charā tau (p. 88). This confirms the author's name as given in the margin of our manuscript, but deviates with regard to the marginal text title, in that it does not link that text to the Sinhalese disputing parties.

Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* provides additional testimony not only for Mañijota's text but also for the degree to which the genre of judgment texts occasioned Pali and vernacular legal commentary by the Burmese saṅgha in the 19th century. In Burma, *vinicchaya* treatises on both monastic and non-monastic law often responded to and stimulated ongoing jurisprudential debates concerning matters of legal significance for lay and monastic jurists.<sup>20</sup> This adds an additional layer of difficulty to the study

17 Aoñ mre rhve bhuṃ charā tau is mentioned as author of a *Paññattipakāsani* in a manuscript dated Sakkarāj 1246 (1884) (Peters 2000: 151 [no. 846]; Peters 2004: 84 [948.5c]). According to KBZ (III, 149) he received the royal title Ketudhammavārālaṅkāradhaja mahādhammarāj jaguru in 1854. The same chronicle (III, 431) mentions him thirty years later in 1884, in connection with another ceremony of bestowing royal titles. Here it is stated that at this time Aoñ mre rhve bhuṃ charā tau, known as 'Ūḥ Ketu', was 78 years old (which would mean he was born in 1806), and received the title Ketudhammābhīdhaja-atuladhīpatisīripavaramahādhammarājadhīra jaguru. Rājinda (2004: 147) and Kelasa (1982: II 81) report that early in King Mindon's reign Aoñ mre rhve bhuṃ charā tau Ketudhammavārālaṅkāramahādhammarāj jaguru was responsible for editing the *Vinaya Mahāvagga-Aṭṭhakathā* on palm leaves for a royal edition of the *tipiṭaka* that was later inscribed on stones at the Kuthodaw Pagoda in Mandalay (for this edition, see Wiles *et al.* 2021: 155–226). A number of other *Vinicchayas* on *Vinaya* topics by Aoñ mre rhve bhuṃ charā tau Ketudhamma are printed in *Vin-samūh* 2011: II 756–906 (nos. 8–16, 18–19).

18 This text is printed in *Vin-samūh* 1976: II 239–250; *Vin-samūh* 2011: II 842–849.

19 Four are quoted under the title *Simāvinicchaya* (below, §§ 5.1, 6.1, 6.3, 7) and two under the title '*Simāvinicchaya* treatise' (*kyambḥ*; §§ 1, 4).

20 Concerning *vinicchaya* (Bur. *acbumḥ aḥbrat*, *pḥrat thumḥ*) texts related to the Burmese *dhammasattha* tradition see Lammerts 2018: II–12, 53, 170, 203–204.

of *vinicchayas*. Such treatises must wherever possible be assessed within the legal-historical contexts of the preceding debates to which they were issued in response, and the slow pace of research on Burmese legal (and other) manuscripts hampers our ability to discern such connections among texts. Nevertheless, for this reason, we provide an annotated English translation of Ketudhamma's judgment in the appendix. It should be noted that our witness to Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* is far from ideal: we are unaware of any surviving manuscripts of this work, and it is available to us only in a modern published edition and its later reprint, which provides no information regarding the extent of editorial intervention, the quantity or quality of manuscript sources consulted to establish the text, or other details that would be essential for a more secure presentation of the text.<sup>21</sup> In the case of Ketudhamma's work this is especially significant since, as our annotations to the translation in the appendix demonstrate, there are several statements in which the author appears to misconstrue opinions on *simā*-related regulations from the *Vinaya* commentarial tradition. However, it is impossible for us, at this stage, to determine whether these apparent faults in Ketudhamma's legal reasoning could be resolved on the basis of a more critical edition of his text.

For example, in describing the determination (*sammuti*) with a legal procedure (*kamma*) of a *nadīpārasimā*, that is, of a 'determined boundary' (*baddhasimā*) which includes areas on both sides of a river, Ketudhamma states that at the time of the *nadīpārasimā*'s determination with a *kammavācā* the monks in the river need not be brought into arm's length to the assembled Saṅgha, but only the monks in the village district (see below, App. § 5). This only makes sense if one adds that only the monks in the village district that are inside the boundary markers of the future *nadīpāra-*

21 The earliest testimony for Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* currently available to us is that published in vol. II of the 1976 printing of *Vin-samūh* by the Rangoon-Mandalay Book Depot (see below, p. 112). This publication represents itself as a reprint of a 1958 edition of *Vin-samūh* (of which only vols I & III are accessible to us), also by the Rangoon-Mandalay Book Depot, which itself claims to mark the 5th edition of the *Vin-samūh* as such. *Vin-samūh* was first printed in three volumes in 1899 (vol. I), 1900 (vol. II), and 1901 (vol. III) by the Mandalay Times Press (Mandalay), although this edition, held by the British Library, does not contain this text by Ketudhamma. A fourth edition of vol. I, if not also vols II and III, was published by Erāvati Press (Yangon) in 1904. It is evident that there has been significant editorial intervention over the course of these successive printings, although as yet (i.e.: 'most of the earliest editions remain inaccessible ...') the earliest editions remain inaccessible to us. We are grateful to Hlaing Hlaing Gyi (Universities' Central Library, Yangon) and Maria Kekki (British Library) for assistance regarding details of the publication history.

*sīmā* have to be brought into arm's length. It cannot be excluded that the words 'inside the markers' have been omitted in the manuscripts used for the edition.<sup>22</sup>

In the subsequent paragraph (App. § 5.1) Ketudhamma states that in reference to precisely this statement in the *Aṭṭhakathā* (Sp v 1047.30–33)—that is, to the determination of a *nadīpārasīmā*—it is said in Mañijota's *Simāvinicchaya* that there is no duty for the monks who perform a legal procedure on a bridge that is connected with a village to take into account the monks inside the river. Here Ketudhamma connects two different things. First, he refers to the statement of the *Aṭṭhakathā* according to which for a determination of a *nadīpārasīmā* monks in the river need not be taken into account. Second, he quotes another *Aṭṭhakathā* statement, which according to him refers to the first mentioned case (i.e. a *nadīpārasīmā* determination). In this second statement it is said that monks who perform a legal procedure on a bridge that is connected with a village do not need to take the monks in the river into account. This second statement in the *Aṭṭhakathā* refers to a 'water-splashing boundary' with assembly point on a bridge that is connected with the village, because its feet are on the riverbanks. Thus, this second statement deals with an 'undetermined boundary' (*abaddhasīmā*) and has nothing to do with the first described case of a 'determined boundary' (*baddhasīmā*). If the text is correct as we have it, then the stated relation between these two passages is incorrect.

There are further cases where Ketudhamma is in contradiction to the *Aṭṭhakathā*.<sup>23</sup> But most important is that he does not really give an answer to the question initially posed by Ariyāvamsa which asks him to identify the 'confused' passages of the Vmv, even though he declares this to be the purpose of his treatise. He quotes a passage from the Vmv—which is in accordance with the *Aṭṭhakathā*—and qualifies it as only the author's own opinion (*attanomati*). But he quotes only part of the relevant passage, and does not address the content at all (App. § 8). This gives the impression that Ketudhamma was not really aware of which passages of the Vmv Mañijota had in mind when he declared that commentary's statement to be confused. In the end (App. § 9.2) Ketudhamma refers to the conflict between Coliḥas and Sihaḥas concerning the relation of a 'determined boundary' (*baddhasīmā*) and a 'village boundary' (*gāmasīmā*). He refutes

22 It is safe to conclude that Ketudhamma knew this fact, since he quotes the relevant sentence from Sp v 1047.30–33 subsequently (see below, n. 225).

23 These are noted in the footnotes to the translation of Ketudhamma's text.

the South Indian position expressed in the Vmv<sup>24</sup> that confusions between these two *simā* types are irrelevant, and follows the Sinhalese interpretation according to which they invalidate legal procedures.<sup>25</sup> But this conflict has nothing to do with the conflict discussed in Mañijota's *Simāvinicchaya*, and therefore, it is improbable that Mañijota's comment about the Vmv referred to these passages.

### The Date of Mañijota's *Simāvinicchaya*

Concerning the date of composition of Mañijota's judgment, there is no clarity yet, except that it must have been written before the author's death in 1865.<sup>26</sup> In relative chronology Mañijota's *Simāvinicchaya* must predate Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya*, which itself is not dated. Since the latter is transmitted in the *Vinayasamūhavinicchaya* which was published in an edition by U Nigrodha in Mandalay in 1899–1901 for the first time, this date forms its *terminus ante quem*. In the case of Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* only the name Aoñ mre rvhe bhuṃ charā tau is given at the end of the text; none of Ketudhamma's titles he had received in 1854 and 1884 are mentioned.<sup>27</sup> It may be possible that Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* predates 1854, but this needs further investigation. If Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* had been written before 1854, then Mañijota's *Simāvinicchaya* was composed even before that time. This would probably exclude a connection of his text with the Sinhalese dispute about the *simā* of Balapiṭiya (which began in 1851), because this became officially linked with the Burmese clergy only in 1858.<sup>28</sup> It is to be hoped that the investigation of further Burmese

24 This is different from Ñeyyadhamma, who accepts the South Indian position.

25 For this conflict, see Kieffer-Pülz 2021.

26 The manuscript witnesses to Mañijota's text do not contain dates of composition. At the end of the *nissaya* only the copy-date 1251 (1889) is mentioned by the scribe.

27 In 1854 he received the title *mabādhhammarājaguru* (KBZ, III 149) and in 1884 (KBZ, III 431) the title *abhidbaja-atuladbipatisiripavaramabādhhammarājādhvirājaguru*. In his *Dhūmapānavinicchaya* Ketudhamma is mentioned with the title *varālaṅkāradbajamabādhhammarājaguru* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 756), and in the subheading of his *Upāhanavinicchaya* with his title *varālaṅkāradbajamabādhhammarājādhvirājaguru* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 840).

28 Previous attempts of the Sinhalese *saṅkāravādins* to send delegations (in 1852, and 1854) were unsuccessful according to the travelogue of the Sinhalese monks Vaskaḍuvē Dharmakkhandha and Pōhaddaramullē Vanaratana who arrived in Burma 18 February 1858 (see Kieffer-Pülz 2023a: 203–204). It can, however, not be excluded that before that first delegation letters were sent to Burma.

*simā* texts will throw light on Mañijota's treatise's exact position in the context of Burma's 19th century *simā* literature.

### The Contents of Mañijota's *Simāvinicchaya*

Both *Simāvinicchaya*<sup>29</sup> texts presented here belong to the large group of Pali and vernacular texts that deal with a multitude of aspects of the monastic boundary (*simā*).<sup>30</sup> A *simā* defines the space within which monks must assemble for the performance of legal procedures (*kamma*) such as ordination (*upasampadā*), the observance (*uposatha*), and so on. Each legal procedure must be performed by a complete (*samagga*) community (*saṅgha*). The completeness of the community is measured by the *simā*. All monks who are within the *simā* must be within arm's length (*batthapāsa*) of each other. If this is not the case, the congregation is counted as incomplete (*vagga*) and the legal procedure as invalid. It is therefore of utmost importance that the *simā* clearly delineates an area and is not connected with other boundaries either directly or by objects.<sup>31</sup> There are a number of different types of *simās* which can be roughly divided into two groups, the 'determined boundaries' (*baddhasimā*) which are determined by a local community in a legal procedure (*kamma*), and the 'undetermined boundaries' (*abaddhasimā*) for which no legal procedure is required. The latter group is again subdivided into three types, a 'village boundary' (*gāmasimā*), a 'seven-*abbhantara*-boundary' (*sattabbhantarasimā*) used in the wilderness (*arañña*), and a 'water-splashing boundary' (*udakukkhepasimā*) used in specific bodies of water, namely, a river, an ocean or a natural lake.

A 'village boundary' is the worldly boundary of any type of settlement, be it a town, village, or market town.<sup>32</sup> Such boundaries define the limits of settlements and, therefore, usually extend over solid earth. 'Village boundaries' can serve as monastic boundaries for a Buddhist community that does not have a 'determined boundary'. Therefore, a community can assemble within a 'village boundary' and perform legal procedures there.

29 There are large numbers of different texts with the title *Simāvinicchaya* (Kieffer-Pülz 2022: 3.1; 2023c: App. 1). Since *vinicchaya* may mean 'judgment, regulation, and so on', it can be used for any investigation into a subject. And the word *simā* can be used for all types of *simā*. Thus the title *Simāvinicchaya* does not indicate which specific aspect of *simā* an author tackles in his treatise.

30 For an overview over the *simā* titles known to date, see Kieffer-Pülz 2023c: App. 1.

31 For a recent overview of the basic *simā* regulations, see Nagasena & Crosby 2022: 18–40.

32 Sometimes the terms *nagarasimā* or *nigamasimā* are used as well, but mostly *gāmasimā* stands for all of them.

Although it is not possible to determine a monastic boundary in bodies of water, a community can assemble within a river, an ocean or a natural lake, and define a monastic boundary by throwing water all around the assembled community. Alternatively, sand can be used. This boundary called ‘water-splashing boundary’ extends to the location where the water or sand thrown by a man of average strength with all his power meets the water surface.<sup>33</sup> The banks however are considered ‘village boundary’-areas.

Since ‘village boundary’ and ‘water-splashing boundary’ come into being upon or in different kinds of terrain, a direct overlap or connection of the two types of boundaries is impossible. But they might be connected by various objects. It is on these connections that Mañijota concentrates in his *Simāvinicchaya*. Mañijota’s central statements are summarised briefly as follows:

- § 1 The starting point for Mañijota’s *Simāvinicchaya* is the judgment on the ‘water-splashing boundary’ by some unidentified Theras. They presented an interpretation—not shared by Mañijota—that was not compatible with Vin and Sp. Apparently they had it written down in a yet untraced treatise mentioned as ‘short treatise’ (*kbuddakagandha*, see above, n. 10). Their judgment prompted Mañijota to present his own investigation which he characterises as having the proper intended meaning (*adhippāya*) and being in agreement with Vin and Sp.
- § 2 Mañijota states that performing legal procedures within a ‘water-splashing boundary’ is not restricted to staying inside a river or being in a boat tied to a tree, but also is possible on a platform set up in a river, and so on, or on a tree growing inside a river, and so on.

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33 Nagasena & Crosby (2022: 34; Nagasena 2012: 233) describe the water-splashing boundary in present day Burma as only an imagined space, because the activity of splashing water around the assembled is no longer practiced since at least the second half of the 19th century CE. Interestingly the person they mention as the one who insisted on this practice, namely the Saṅgharāja Ñeyyadhamma, was the person involved in the dispute about the *simā* of Balapitiya in Sri Lanka, where water was still splashed all around the assembled community. And in his first formal letter to the Sinhalese, which shows that he shared the interpretation of the confusionists (*saṅkaravādin*), he mentions the splashing of water (Minayeff 1887: 21f). Nowhere does he state that one should not splash water all around the community. The assumption that the splashing of water was unnecessary was an argument of the non-confusionists (*asankaravādin*) (see n. 12).

- § 3 A platform may serve for legal procedures as long as it is not connected with a ‘determined boundary’ (*baddhasīmā*)<sup>34</sup> or an ‘undetermined boundary’ (*abaddhasīmā*)<sup>35</sup> outside the river. The same is valid for a tree that grows inside the river.
- § 4 In the case of a platform there is no uncertainty concerning possible connections, because the platform is intentionally set up by non-monastics<sup>36</sup>) for that purpose. In contrast, there may be uncertainty in the case of a tree within the river, because it grows on its own, and its branches may or may not touch ‘determined’ or ‘undetermined boundaries’ outside the river. Because of this uncertainty, a legal procedure may be performed, after either purifying the boundary area or removing the connecting parts of the tree.
- § 5 The two possible measures are then mentioned explicitly: (1) ‘purification of a boundary’ (*simāsodhana*) or (2) destroying the tree’s being established outside the river. Concerning purification, either (a) one leads the monks who are within the connected boundaries into arm’s length to the community that is assembled to perform a legal procedure, or (b) one excludes them from the connected boundary areas.
- § 6 Possible connections of a platform have to be seen in the light of the connections described in the Sp for a community assembled in a boat tied to a tree that grows outside the river—i.e., on the bank (= *gāmasīmā*)—or tied to a post driven into the bank.
- § 7 For a platform set up inside a river and for a bridge built in a river, the following questions are investigated: (1) whether or not legal procedures can be performed, (2) whether or not a monastic boundary is connected, and (3) whether or not either needs to be purified.
- § 8 A bridge can serve as a meeting place for a community within a ‘water-splashing boundary’ when it is not connected with a village, because it then has a ‘water-splashing boundary’-condition. It cannot serve for that purpose when it is connected with a village, because it then has a ‘village boundary’-condition. Following this state-

34 Basing himself on the Sp he mentions as a representative of a ‘determined boundary’ a ‘monastery boundary’ (*vihārasīmā*), see below, n. 116. For other types of *baddhasīmās*, see Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B Einl. 7, 8, 11; 242–259, 296–307; 2021: 91.

35 Basing himself on the Sp he mentions as a representative of an ‘undetermined boundary’ a ‘village boundary’ (*gāmasīmā*). For other types of *abaddhasīmās*, see Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B Einl. 7, 82–86, 327–355; 2021: 91.

36 We assume that Manijota mentions ‘non-monastics’ here, because it was in accordance with the actual customs that non-monastics, and not monks, built such platforms. The real point here, however, is that this platform did not come into being by chance, as is the case with trees, but was deliberately set up as a platform for legal procedures of a Buddhist community.

ment, Mañijota lists two possible objections: (1) Have not the two possible conditions of a bridge—‘water-splashing boundary’-condition or ‘village boundary’-condition—already been dealt with in Sp in connection with a bridge? And, (2) why must these two different conditions of a bridge be known at all?

To this Mañijota responds: (1a) the Blessed One has allowed a ‘water-splashing boundary’ only in a body of water. (1b) From this it follows that a bridge staying completely within the river is a river itself. (1c) Sp, stating that such an unconnected bridge may serve as a meeting place within a ‘water-splashing boundary’, has illuminated the ‘water-splashing boundary’-condition of such a bridge. Furthermore, (2a) the Blessed One has allowed a ‘village boundary’ as a monastic boundary. (2b) A bridge that has connected with a village thus is a village, and, therefore, (2c) the bridge has a ‘village boundary’-condition.

The Sp not only forbids performing legal procedures inside a ‘water-splashing boundary’ on a bridge that is connected with villages, but it also shows a way to perform a legal procedure there anyway, namely by purifying the connected boundary.

- § 9 Concerning places that have to be purified, or not to be purified, Mañijota states that only monks within the ‘water splash’—which in the case of a connected bridge also includes the monks within the ‘village boundary’—need to be led into arm’s length of the assembled monks or to be excluded from the boundary area, but not monks staying elsewhere outside the ‘water splash’.
- § 10 He then refers to a statement in the *Kaṅkabhāvitaraṇī* (Kkh; ca. 5th c. CE) according to which a monk who is outside the ‘water-splashing boundary’, but within a further splash of water from that boundary, also disturbs the legal procedure. This would mean that this monk would also have to be led into arm’s length or removed from the area. Mañijota says that this statement should be accepted in the *Sāratthadīpanī* (Sp-ṭ; 12th c. CE). Actually, this statement of the Kkh is very controversial, and the Sp-ṭ does not accept it in general, but only under certain premises.<sup>37</sup> By his comment, however, Mañijota reveals himself as one who accepts it.
- § 11 Despite this attitude, Mañijota declares that in the case of the performance of legal procedures on a bridge that is connected with a village there is no necessity to exclude monks staying elsewhere in the river.

37 See Kieffer-Pülz 2013: I 177f. n. 412.

- § 12 Only the monks in the connected village need to be excluded. The reason for this is that the ‘water-splashing boundary’ and the ‘village boundary’ are limited by their own nature. As long as there is a distance of one cubit, one span or four finger breadth between them,<sup>38</sup> there is no fault of combining them.
- § 13 Thereafter, Mañijota states that his remark about the ‘water-splashing boundary’-condition of a bridge that is not connected with villages, and the ‘village boundary’-condition of a bridge that is connected with villages also is to be understood in the context of the Sp statement concerning a platform set up inside a river.
- § 14 Mañijota concludes his *Simāvinicchaya* by referring again to the unidentified Theras mentioned in § 1, who had given a wrong judgment, because they did not rely on Vin and Sp. He now states that they based themselves on the Vmv and other texts. This for him was the reason to present a judgment based only on Vin and Sp as the more authoritative texts. By having compared earlier and later statements his judgment is proper and conforms to what is right.

## Mañijota’s *Simāvinicchaya*-Edition

### Witnesses

- Mañijota’s *Simāvinicchaya* is accessible to us in the single manuscript mentioned above (MORA 8892 foll. sai r3–so v1). Burmese script palm-leaf manuscript, 2 punch holes, 11 lines per folio; copy date 1875.<sup>39</sup>
- *nissaya* to Mañijota’s *Simāvinicchaya* (MORA 8892 foll. so vi–hā r).
- Quotations from Mañijota’s *Simāvinicchaya* in Aoñ mre rhve bhuṃ charā tau Ketudhamma’s *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 1976: II 239–250; 2011: II 841–849).
- Quotations from Vin.
- Quotations from Sp.

38 These measures are given in Sp for the distance between *baddbasimās*. Concerning *abaddbasimās* Sp gives only measures for distances between the same sort of *abaddbasimā*. See Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B 15.2.2 for the *sattabbhantarasimā*. Here the distance between two *sattabbhantarasimās* is seven *abbhantara* (ca. 80 m); B 15.4.3 for the *udakukkhepasimā*; the distance between two *udakukkhepasimās* is another ‘splash of water’ (*udakukkhepa*) which according to estimation is about 6 m. There are no statements in Sp concerning the distance between different types of *abaddbasimās*.

39 Fol. hā r11. In the preceding text, the *Sibāladīpasandesakatā*, the copy date is given as 10 waxing Tazaungmon, 1275 (= 7 November 1913 on fol. lo v8). Photos of this manuscript have been made by Alexey Kirichenko who kindly put them at our disposal.

## General Remarks

In order to enable the reader to check the wording of the text in the manuscript, the folio numbers and lines in the manuscript are inserted into the text within round brackets. Relevant variants in the quoted sources, in the *nissaya* gloss, and in the quotations from Mañijota's *Simāvinicchaya* transmitted in Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* are given in the footnotes. In our edition and translation, as well as in the Appendix, Burmese is transliterated diplomatically as written without standardization. References for the quoted sources are given in round brackets after the quotations. Quotations from Vin and Sp as well as names of texts are put in italics. In order to facilitate cross referencing the text is divided into paragraphs inserted by us from the point of view of content. In Burmese manuscripts *simā* is mostly written as *simā*. This also is the case in the present manuscript.

## Mañijota's *Simāvinicchaya*-Text

§ 1 (SAI R<sub>3</sub>) dvinnaṃ baddhābaddhasimānaṃ vinicchayo *Pāli-Atṭhakathāsu* (R<sub>4</sub>) pākaṭo yeva. atha ca pana abaddhasimāsu tisu udakukkhepasimaṭṭhāne ekacce therā *Pāli-Atṭhakathāya* ananulomāyuttaṃ atthavinicchayaṃ vadanti c' eva *Kbuddakagandhaṃ* likhanti ca. tasmā tasmīṃ simaṭṭhāne<sup>40</sup> āgate  
5 'antona<sub>(R5)</sub>diyaṃ baddhe' ty (Sp v 1053.29–30) ādi-*Atṭhakathā*-pāṭhe sānusandhiko *Pāli-Atṭhakathāya*<sup>41</sup> yuttānulomādhippāyo evaṃ vuccamānavacanena jānitabbo.

§ 2 nadiyā kammaṃ karontehi na kevaḷaṃ antonadiyaṃ yeva vā antonadiyaṃ jā<sub>(R6)</sub>tarukkhādimhi baddhanāvāya eva<sup>42</sup> vā kammaṃ kātabbaṃ, api  
10 ca kho *antonadiyaṃ baddhe aṭṭake pi antonadiyaṃ jātarukkhe pi ṭhitehi*<sup>43</sup> kammaṃ kātabban ti imassatthassa dassanattham āha:

*antonadiyaṃ baddhe ... la ... ṭhitehi* (R<sub>7</sub>) *kammaṃ kātuṃ vaṭṭati* ti  
(Sp v 1053.29–31).

§ 3 tattha uposathādikammakaraṇatthāya antonadiyaṃ baddhaṭṭassa bahi-  
15 naditire viharasimāya vā gāmasimāya vā kenaci vatthunā asambandhe<sup>44</sup> sati

40 So Niss fol. so v5; Pāṭha text *simiṭṭhāne*.

41 Niss (fol. so v7) °*kathāyaṃ*.

42 Niss (fol. so v8) *evaṃ*.

43 Sp v 1053.29–30.

44 Pāṭha and Niss (fol. sau r2) read *asambaddhe*. A nomen, *asambandhe*, would be expected, because of the genitive *baddhaṭṭassa*. *Sambandha* and *sambaddha* are sometimes confused in this manuscript. We translate accordingly.

tasmim̄ aṭṭake pi ṭhitehi kammaṃ kātuṃ (R8) vaṭṭati. antonadiyaṃ jātarukkhassa sākḥā vā tato nikkhantapāroho vā babinaditīre vihārasimāya vā gāmasimāya vā (Sp v 1053.31–1054.2) apatiṭṭhite sati tasmim̄ pi rukkhe ṭhitehi kammaṃ kātuṃ vaṭṭatī ti<sup>45</sup>veditabbo.

§ 4 etesu ca dvīsu pubbavā<sup>(R9)</sup>kye uposathādikammakaraṇatthāya antonadiyaṃ baddhaṭṭassa anupasampannādihi bandhitattā vihārasimāya vā gāmasimāya vā sambhedabhāve saṅkā yeva natthi. paravākye pana rukkḥassa sayam̄jātattā sākḥā vā tato ni<sup>(R10)</sup>kkhantapāroho vā bahinaditīre vihārasimāya vā gāmasimāya vā phusitvāpi tiṭṭheyya, aphasitvāpi. evaṃ ubhayathā ‘patiṭṭhite jātarukkhe pi kammaṃ kātappaṃ siyā nu kho no’ ti vā ‘simasambhedo siyā nu kho no’ ti vā (R11) saṅkā bhavēyya. tasmā taṃ<sup>46</sup> pariharanto sace pi rukkḥassa ty (≠ Sp v 1053.31) ādim āha.

§ 5 tatta rukkḥassa sākḥā vā tato nikkhantapāroho vā babinaditīre vihārasimāya vā gāmasimāya vā patiṭṭhito (Sp v 1053.31–1054.2). sace pi hoti (=) evaṃ sati, si<sup>(S11 V1)</sup>maṃ asodhetvā vā sākḥaṃ achinditvā vā tasmim̄ rukkhe ṭhitehi kammaṃ kātuṃ na vaṭṭati. sambhedadoso hoti. tena vuttaṃ:<sup>47</sup>

*sace pi rukkḥassa sākḥā vā ... la ... simaṃ vā sodhetvā sākḥaṃ vā chinditvā kammaṃ<sup>48</sup> kātappaṃ ti (≠ Sp v 1053.31–1054.3).*

<sup>a</sup>–ettha ca (v<sub>2</sub>) simasodhanaṃ nāma (1a) vihārasima-gāmasimāsu ṭhitānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ hatthapāsānayanavasena ca (1b) tato bahikaraṇavasena ca patiṭṭhāpanaṃ,<sup>49</sup> (2) sākḥaṃ vā chinditvā tassa rukkḥassa bahipatiṭṭhitabhāvena nāsanakaraṇāṇā cā ti<sup>50</sup>daṭṭha(v<sub>3</sub>)bbo<sup>51</sup>.<sup>–a</sup>

§ 6<sup>b</sup> babinaditīre jātarukkḥassa antonadiyaṃ pavīṭṭhasākḥāya vā pārohe vā<sup>–b</sup> <sup>c</sup> naditīre<sup>52</sup> kbāṇukaṃ koṭetvā<sup>–c</sup> tatta vā baddhanāvāya kammakaraṇe sambandhādibhedo vuttānusārena jānitabbo.

45 Niss (fol. sau r6) adds *adhippāyo* as subject to *veditabbo*.

46 Niss (fol. sau v4) explains *taṃ* as *saṅkaṃ*.

47 Niss (fol. sau v9) adds *ācariyena* as subject.

48 So Niss (fol. sau v9) and Sp; Pāṭha *kamma*<sup>o</sup>.

49 So Niss (fol. sau v11), Ketudhamma’s *Simāvinicchaya*; Pāṭha *patiṭṭhāpana*.

50 Niss (fol. sau r2) adds *adhippāyo* as subject to *daṭṭabbo*.

51 Ketudhamma’s *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 842.22): *daṭṭhabbā*.

52 So Niss (fol. sau r3) <sup>o</sup>*tīre*; Pāṭha *tīre*.

<sup>a</sup>Quoted in Ketudhamma’s *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 842.20–22; App. § 4, n. 217).

<sup>b</sup>This corresponds to Sp v 1054.3–4. <sup>c</sup>This corresponds to Sp v 1054.6–7; Mañijota here has combined two subsequent sentences of Sp.

§ 7 yathā *antonadiyaṃ* (v<sub>4</sub>) *baddhe* ty (≠ Sp v 1053.29–30) ādi-vākye kammaṣṣa kattabbākattabbabhāvo ca simāya simaṃ sambandhāsambandhabhāvo ca sodhitabbāsodhitabbabhāvo ca jānitabbo, tathā *nadiyaṃ setuṃ karonti* ty (Sp v 1054.7–8) ādi-vākye pi ti adhippāyo.

- 5 § 8 api c' ettha (v<sub>5</sub>) gāmādihi asambaddhasetuno udakukkhepasimabhāvo ca tāhi sambaddhasetuno gāmasimabhāvo ca jānitabbo.

‘nanu ca *nadiyaṃ setuṃ karonti* ... la ... *vaṭṭatī* ti (Sp v 1054.7–9) purimavākyena gāmādihi asambaddhase(v<sub>6</sub>)tuno udakukkhepasimabhāvo<sup>53</sup> ca sambaddhasetuno gāmasimakammaṣṣa<sup>54</sup> kattabbaṭṭhānabhāvo yeva ācariyena dassito. *sace pana* ... la ... *na vaṭṭatī* ti (Sp v 1054.9–11) uttaravākyena ca sambaddhasetuno<sup>55</sup> aka(v<sub>7</sub>)ttabbaṭṭhānabhāvo<sup>56</sup> yeva<sup>57</sup> dassito.

atha kasmā gāmādihi asambaddhasetuno udakukkhepasimabhāvo ca<sup>58</sup> sambaddhasetuno gāmasimabhāvo ca jānitabbo' ti ce.

- 15 *vuccate*:<sup>59</sup>

*nadiyā vā bhikkhave samu*(v<sub>8</sub>)*dde vā jātassare vā* ti (Vin I III.4–5) ādinā bhagavatā nadi-ādisu yeva udakukkhepasimāya anuññātattā gāmādihi asambaddhasetu<sup>60</sup> pi nadipariyāpanno hoti. tassetuno nadipariyāpannattā *Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ a*(v<sub>9</sub>)*ntonadiyaṃ* ... la ... *vaṭṭatī* ti (Sp v 1054.8–9) purimavākyena antonadiyaṃ gāmādihi asambaddhasetuno<sup>61</sup> kammaṣṣa kattabbaṭṭhānabhāvaṃ dassentena tassetuno pi udakukkhepasimabhāvo ca dīpito hoti ti.

<sup>d-</sup>*asammatāya bhikkha*(v<sub>10</sub>)*ve simāya aṭṭhapitāyā* ti (Vin I II0.36) ādinā pana bhagavatā gāmakhettam eva gāmasimā ti anuññātattā

25

53 Pāṭha °tāvo.

54 Niss (fol. saṃ 110) *kammaṣṣa* (om. *gamasima*).

55 Niss (fol. saṃ 111) adds *gāmādihi* before this word.

56 Niss (fol. saṃ 111) adds *kammaṣṣa* before this word.

57 Niss (fol. saṃ 11) adds *ācariyena* as subject to *dassito*.

58 Niss (fol. saṃ 112) adds *gāmādihi*.

59 Niss (fol. saṃ 112–3) explains *parihāro* ... *mayā* ... *vuccate*.

60 From here on the Pāṭha ms. reads °*sambandha*° for °*sambaddha*°; Niss (fol. saṃ 112) °*sambaddha*°.

61 So Niss (fol. saṃ 112); Pāṭha °*sambandha*°.

gāmādihi<sup>62</sup> sambaddhasetu<sup>63</sup> gāmapariyāpanno hoti. tassetuno gāmapariyāpannattā setu pi gāmasimabhā<sup>(v11)</sup>vaṃ gato<sup>-d</sup>

<sup>e</sup>yadi pana *Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ sace pana setu vā ... la ... na vaṭṭatī* ti (Sp v 1054.9-11) uttaravākyena gāmasimādihi<sup>64</sup> sambaddhasetuno<sup>65</sup> kammaṃ kaṭṭabbatthānabhāvo yeva dassito hoti, evaṃ kammakattabbatthānapaṭi<sup>(so r1)</sup>sedhena *sace pana* ty (Sp v 1054.9) ādi-vacanena niṭṭham katvā vattabbaṃ siyā. 5

na pana sannitṭhānaṃ *simaṃ sodhetvā kammaṃ kātabban* ti (Sp v 1054.11) vacanaṃ vattabbaṃ siyā. vuttañ ca. tasmā tena vacanena padantarasaṃniṭṭhānena tamhi yeva setumhi simasodhanena ka<sup>(R2)</sup>mmakattabbatam<sup>66</sup> dassentena gāmassa niyamenā aṭṭhatvā<sup>67</sup> hāyana-vaḍḍhanasabhāvattā tassetuno pi gāmasimabhāvo ca dipito va hoti ti<sup>-e</sup> 10

§ 9 sodhetabbāsodhetabbatṭhāne pana antonadiyaṃ ca<sup>68</sup> ṭhitasetumhi ca<sup>69</sup> ka<sup>(R3)</sup>mmaṃ karontehi bahitire gāmādisu ṭhitānaṃ sodhetabbakiccaṃ natthi. tena<sup>70</sup>vuttaṃ: 15

*antonadiyaṃ setum karonti. sace<sup>71</sup> antonadiyaṃ yeva setu vā setupādā vā honti, setumhi ṭhitēhi kammaṃ kātuṃ vaṭṭatī* ti (≠ Sp v 1054.7-9<sup>72</sup>).

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- 62 Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 844.12; App. § 6.1): *gāmāsimādihi*.  
 63 So Niss (fol. saṃ v9); Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya sambaddhasetu*; Pāṭha *sambandhi setu*, obviously with an attempt to correct something.  
 64 Niss (fol. saṃ v11) *gāmādihi*.  
 65 Niss (fol. saṃ v11); Pāṭha *sambandha*<sup>o</sup> corrected to *sambaddha*<sup>o</sup>.  
 66 Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 845.13; App. § 6.3) *kammaṃ kat-tabbatam*.  
 67 Niss (fol. sāh v5-6) *Aṭṭhakathā*.  
 68 *ca* does not fit into this sentence, but it is contained in the Pāṭha as well as in the Niss (fol. sāh v8). The *nissaya* adds a *ca* after *ṭhitasetumhi* (see n. 69) as well. This is a possible solution, see below, n. 171.  
 69 Pāṭha text missing; Niss (fol. sāh v8) adds *ca*.  
 70 As subject the Niss (fol. sāh v 10-11) mentions *ācariyena*, i.e., the Sp author.  
 71 Pāṭha adds *na*; this is not quoted and commented on in the Niss (fol. sāh v10), and since the passage in part is a quotation from Sp, it would also contradict the source text. From the point of view of content *na* also would contradict Manijota's own statements.  
 72 See translation, § 9, n. 148.

<sup>d</sup>Quoted in Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 844.11-13; App. § 6.1).

<sup>e</sup>Quoted in Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 845.8-14; App. § 6.3). Here and in Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* marked by *iti*. That this does not indicate a quotation is clear from the *nissaya* which explains this *iti* as the final point of the response (introduced by *vuccate*) to the preceding objections.

(R4) api ca kho anto-udakukkhepe yeva t̥hitānaṃ hatthapāsānayanādinā sodhetabbā, na udakukkhepato bahi t̥hāne. kasmā? udakukkhepasimāya attano sabhāvena baddhasimāsadisattā. tenāha bhagavā: (R5)

5 *nadiyā vā bhikkhave samudde vā jātassare vā yaṃ majjhimassa purisassa samantā udakukkhepā, ayaṃ tattha samānasamvāsā ekuposathā ti* (Vin I III.4-6),

*Aṭṭhakathāyaṇī* ca

10 *tassa anto hatthapāsāṃ vijāhitvā*<sup>73</sup> (R6) *t̥hito kammaṃ kopetī ti* (Sp v 1052.34-1053.1) <sup>74</sup>vuttaṃ.

§ 10 imasmiṃ t̥hāne *Mātikāṭṭhakathāya*<sup>75</sup> āgatavinicchayo *Sāratthadīpanī-tīkādisu* gahetabbo.

§ 11 <sup>8-</sup>gāmādihi pana sambaddhasetumhi<sup>76</sup> kammaṃ karontehi nadī-ādisu t̥hi(R7)tānaṃ<sup>77</sup> sodhetabbakiccaṃ natthi. tena <sup>78</sup>vuttaṃ:

15 *sace pana setu vā setupādā vā babhitire*<sup>79</sup> *patiṭṭhitā*,<sup>80</sup> *kammaṃ kātuṃ na vaṭṭati, simam sodhetvā kammaṃ*<sup>81</sup> *kātabban ti* (≠ Sp v 1054.9-11).

§ 12 <sup>f-</sup>api ca kho gāmādisu yeva t̥hitānaṃ hatthapā(R8)sānayanādinā sodhetabbā, na<sup>82</sup> setuno<sup>83</sup> samipaṭṭhe<sup>84</sup> udakatale.<sup>85</sup> kasmā?<sup>86</sup> udakukkhepagā-

73 Niss (fol. sāḥ v 4); Pāṭha: *vidbāhitvā*.

74 Niss (fol. sāḥ v4) adds *ācariyena* as subject to *vuttaṃ*, which refers to the Sp author.

75 Niss (fol. sāḥ v5) °ayaṃ. This reference refers to Kkh 12.20-23, see below, n. 179.

76 Pāṭha text, and Niss (fol. sāḥ v6); Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 843.19; App. § 5.1): *sambandha*°.

77 Niss (fol. sāḥ v6); Pāṭha °*kānaṃ*.

78 Niss (fol. sāḥ v8) adds *ācariyena* as subject to *vuttaṃ*, which refers to the Sp author.

79 Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 843.21; App. § 5.1): *babi naditire*.

80 Sp here adds *tattha t̥hitehi*, see below, n. 153.

81 So Niss (fol. sāḥ v7), and Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 843.20; App. § 5.1).

82 Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 845.21; App. § 5.1) quotes as follows: *sambaddhesu pana gāmasimādisu yeva || na*.

83 Om. in Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 845.21; App. § 5.1).

84 Pāṭha and Niss (fol. sāḥ v8) *samipaṭṭhe*; Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 845.21; App. § 5.1): *samīpe*.

85 Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 845.21; App. § 5.1): *udakapiṭṭhe*.

86 Om. in Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 845.21; App. § 5.1).

masimānaṃ<sup>87</sup> sakabhāvaparicchinnā<sup>88</sup> añña ñña<sup>89</sup> ratana-vidatthi-catur-  
aṅgulamattam pi antarite sambhedadoso natth' eva. tato a<sub>(R9)</sub>dhikanta-  
rite<sup>90</sup> pana vattabbam eva natthi,<sup>-f</sup> tasmā na sodhetabbā. tenāha bhagavā:

*asam<m>atāya bhikkhave simāya aṭṭhapitāya yaṃ gāmaṃ vā nigamaṃ  
vā upanissāya viharatī, yā tassa<sup>91</sup> gāmassa gāmasimā nigamassa<sup>92</sup> niga-  
masimā, (R10) ayaṃ tattha samānasaṃvāsā ekuposathā ti (Vin I 110.36–  
111.).*<sup>-g</sup>

§ 13 *api c' etthā* ti<sup>93</sup> ādinā vutto atthavinicchayo *antonadiyaṃ baddhe* ty (Sp  
v 1053.29)<sup>94</sup> ādinā yathāvutte *Aṭṭhakathāpāṭhe* pi netabbo.

§ 14 <sup>h-</sup>imasmim̄ ṭhāne ekacce therā *Pāḷi-Aṭṭhaka*(R11)*thāya* atthasabhāvaṃ 10  
asamapekkhitvā *Vimatiṭṭhikādisu* āgatavacaṇaṃ bahuṃ āharitvā byākula-  
vacaṇaṃ vilomādhippāyaṃ atthavinicchayaṃ<sup>95</sup> dipenti.<sup>-h</sup> tasmā *Ṭikā*-va-  
canaṃ anāharitvā *Pāḷi-Aṭṭhakathāya* eva āgataṃ (so v1) pubbāparaṃ<sup>96</sup> va-  
canaṃ saṃsanditvā apy ākulavacaṇaṃ yuttānulomādhippāyaṃ atthavini-  
cchayaṃ saṅkhepato mayā dassitaṃ. taṃ<sup>97</sup> attano hitesīno kulaputtā sā- 15  
dhukaṃ nāṇena upaparikkhitvā sallakkhanti.<sup>98</sup>

87 Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 843.23; 845.21–22; App. § 5.1): °gā-  
masimādinā ca.

88 So Niss (fol. sāh v9) and Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 843.23–24;  
App. § 5.1); Pāṭha *sakabhāga*°; (Vin-samūh 2011: II 845.22; App. § 7): *sakabhāvaparicchin-  
natā*.

89 Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 843.25; App. § 5.1): *añña*; (II 845.22;  
App. § 7): *añña asambaddhe sati*.

90 Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 843.25; App. § 5.1): *adbikarantarite*.

91 Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 843.27; App. § 5.1) and Vin ad vā.

92 Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 843.28; App. § 5.1) and Vin ad vā.

93 We assume that this takes up Mañijota's statement from above (§ 8) *api c' ettha* (5)  
*gāmādīhi asambaddhasetuno udakukkhepasimabbāvo ca tāhi sambaddhasetuno gāmasima-  
bbāvo ca jānitabbo*.

94 Quoted above, § 2; see also n. 119.

95 Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 841.8; App. § 1) *atthasabbhāvaṃ*.

96 Niss (fol. ha r7) *pubbāpara*°.

97 Niss (fol. ha r8–9) add *atthavinicchayaṃ*.

98 Niss (fol. ha r10) *sallakkbantu*.

<sup>f</sup>Quoted in Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 845.21–24), App. § 7. Though  
the *Simāvinicchaya* is given as the source, the text here deviates from the one traceable in the  
Pāṭha text and the *nissaya*. So it cannot be excluded that it comes from some other, similar  
*Simāvinicchaya*. <sup>g</sup>Quoted in Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 843.19–28;  
App. § 5.1). <sup>h</sup>Quoted in Ketudhamma's *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 841.6–8; App. §  
1).

### Manijota's *Simāvinicbaya*-Translation

§ 1 The judgment<sup>99</sup> concerning the two [types of monastic boundary, i.e. of] the 'determined boundary' and the 'undetermined boundary' in the root text (Vin) and the commentary (Sp) is straightforward indeed. And yet, with regard to the place of a 'water-splashing boundary', [which is one] of the three 'undetermined boundaries', some Elders<sup>100</sup> state a judgment on the sense,<sup>101</sup> that is improper and not in accordance with the root text (Vin) and the commentary (Sp), and they write 'a short treatise'.<sup>102</sup> Therefore,<sup>103</sup> the intended meaning (*adbippāya*) that is proper and in accordance with the root text (Vin) and the commentary (Sp), [and] that is related<sup>104</sup> to the reading of the commentary (Sp)—'on [a platform] set up inside a river',<sup>105</sup> etc.—which is handed down with regard to this monastic boundary place (i.e. to the *udakukkhepasīmā*), is to be known by the statement that is going to be stated thus:<sup>106</sup>

§ 2 [Bhikkhus<sup>107</sup>] who perform a legal procedure in a river, may perform the legal procedure not only inside the river, or only in a boat tied to a tree, and so on, that grows inside the river,<sup>108</sup> but rather they may perform a legal procedure staying on a platform set up inside the river as well as on a

99 *vinicbaya*. Niss (fol. so v2): *vinicbaya = acbumḥ aḥbrat*, 'judgment'. *Acbumḥ aḥbrat* is frequently employed in the sense of a legal judgment, ruling, or regulation, but may also refer to a non-legal 'decision' or 'opinion'.

100 Niss (fol. so v4): *ekacce therā = akyui. kun so mather tui. sañ*, 'some mahātheras'.

101 *atthavinicbayam*. Niss (fol. so v4): = *anak acbumḥ aḥbrat kui*, 'judgment on the sense.' Throughout we translate *attha* as 'sense' so as to disambiguate with *adbippāya*, 'intended meaning'.

102 *kbuddakagandha*. For the translation of *kbuddakagandha*, see above, n. 10.

103 Niss (fol. so v5): *tasmā = thui sui. pāḷi aṭṭhakatthā nḥaṇ. ma lyau ma sañ so atthavinicbaya kui pro chui reḥ sāḥ kra kun so kroṇ.*: 'Therefore, because they have stated and written that judgment regarding the sense that is improper and not in accordance with the Pali [i.e., 'root'] text and the commentary'.

104 *sānusandhiko*. See, for instance, the usage of *sānusandhika* in As 135.19 (*DdB* 243). Glossed as *anusandhe nḥaṇ. ta kva so* (Niss fol. so v6).

105 Sp v 1053.29–30, see n. III.

106 *vuccamānavacanena* We understand this as an introduction to Manijota's own judgment which is subsequently explained.

107 *Bhikkhūhi = rabaṇḥ tui. sañ* ('monks'), is supplied by the Niss (fol. so v7) as the subject.

108 This takes up the measures described in Sp v 1053.19–29 (Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B 15.5.1).

tree growing inside the river.<sup>109</sup> In order to show [the essence] of this meaning, [the author of Sp<sup>110</sup>] says:

‘It is suitable that [those staying on a platform] set up inside a river [...] perform a legal procedure.’<sup>111</sup>

§ 3 In that passage (<sup>112</sup>) [the intended meaning<sup>113</sup>] is to be understood [as follows]<sup>114</sup>—if there is no connection<sup>115</sup>—by any object—between the platform set up inside the river for performing a legal procedure such as the observance (*uposatha*), and so on, and a ‘monastery boundary’<sup>116</sup> or a ‘village boundary’<sup>117</sup> on the bank outside the river,<sup>118</sup> [then] it is suitable

109 This takes up the measures described in Sp v 1053.29–31 which is also subsequently quoted.

110 This is also stated in the Niss (fol. so v11), where *ācariyo āha* is glossed as *aṭṭhakathā charā sañ min. sa tañh*, ‘the teacher [who composed] the *Aṭṭhakathā* says’.

111 Sp v 1053.29–31: *antonadiyaṃ baddhe aṭṭake pi antonadiyaṃ jātārukke pi ṭhitebi kātuṃ vaṭṭati*. ‘It is suitable that [those] staying on a platform set up inside a river as well as [those staying] on a tree grown inside a river perform a [legal procedure].’ See Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B 15.5.1. Here only the first part of this statement is at stake, as the omissions in the quoted passage show.

112 *tattha*, Niss (fol. so v11): = *thui antonadiyaṃ baddhe ca so aṭṭhakathā pāṭh n\**, ‘in that *aṭṭhakathā* text beginning with *antonadiyaṃ baddhe*’. Thus this paragraph is meant as an explanation of the preceding quotation from Sp. It is common in commentarial literature to introduce such explanations by *tattha*, see for instance Kkh 2.12.20.27, etc.

113 *Adhippāyo* is supplied in the Niss (fol. sau r6) as the word related to *veditabbo*.

114 Niss (fol. so v11): following the gloss of *tattha* adds *iti veditabbo mhā svāh* (lit., ‘going in regard to “*iti veditabbo*”’) thus indicating that *tattha* ... *iti veditabbo* are considered a syntactical unit.

115 The text has ‘if it is not connected’ (*asambaddhe sati*), but the related subject in this sentence stands in the genitive, and therefore a reading as *asambandhe sati* is to be assumed. In the next sentence, however, also a verbal construction is used (*apatiṭṭhite sati*, see below, n. 120), thus it cannot be excluded that the author intended the verbal expression in both cases. However, it cannot be constructed, neither with the genitive (first case), nor with the nominative (second case). The *nissaya*’s (fol. sau r2) gloss for *asambaddhe sati* mirrors the verbal construction with *ma cap kbrañh sañ rbi sau*, ‘if there is no connection’.

116 A *vihārasīmā* is a specific ‘determined boundary’ (*baddhasīmā*) which encloses the monastery (*vihāra*; see Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B Einl. 10). By mentioning this type of boundary, the author covers the connection of an ‘undetermined boundary’ (*abaddhasīmā*), namely the ‘water-splashing boundary’, with a ‘determined boundary’ (see Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B 15.8).

117 By mentioning the ‘village boundary’, the author covers a connection of two different ‘undetermined boundaries’ (*abaddhasīmā*), namely ‘village boundary’ and ‘water-splashing [boundary]’, (Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B 15.8).

118 The relevant factor here is that these *sīmās* are outside the river. A ‘determined boundary’ (*baddhasīmā*) generally cannot be determined within a body of water, and the bank of a river generally counts as ‘village boundary’.

that those staying on the platform perform a legal procedure. [There is] <sup>i</sup>‘a branch of a tree’ that grows inside the river<sup>119</sup> ‘or a twig that sprouts from that [branch]’;<sup>-i</sup> if it (i.e. either the branch or the twig) is not established.<sup>120</sup>

§ 4 And<sup>121</sup> with regard to the former passage<sup>122</sup> of these two<sup>123</sup> there is no uncertainty indeed with respect to the state [of a ‘water-splashing boundary’s’] connection with a ‘monastery boundary’ or a ‘village boundary’ due to the fact that the platform set up inside a river for performing legal procedures such as the observance, and so on, has been set up by [people] not

119 In Sp v 1053.31, the tree is not characterized as growing inside a river, but this is evident from the context, since it is mentioned in the preceding sentence.

120 As in the preceding sentence here too a verbal form is used (*apatiṭṭhite*). In the present sentence, however, the related subjects stand in the nominative, probably because parts of it are borrowed from Sp. This cannot be constructed with the absolute locative used here. So we divided the sentence. *Apatiṭṭhite* is glossed by Niss (fol. sau r5) as *ma tañ ma thi sañ*, ‘not established (*tañ*) [and] not touching (*thi*)’; Niss, thus, here takes *apatiṭṭhite* to cover mere contact as well. However, below, *patiṭṭhite*, *patiṭṭhito*, and so on are glossed as simply *tañ so*, *tañ sañ* ‘established’ (e.g., fol. sau v2, sau v6). ‘either in a “monastery boundary” or a “village boundary” on the bank outside the river’, it is suitable that [those] staying on that tree perform a legal procedure. It is not to be assumed that the parts of the sentence Mañijota takes from Sp are an unnoticed quotation, because he combined portions from two sentences, and expressed in the positive what was stated in the negative in Sp v 1053.29–1054.3, see below, n. i.

121 Niss (fol. sau r6–7): *ca = antonadiyaṃ baddhe ca so rbeḥ nbac vākya e\* anusandhe nhai. ta kva | adhiṭṭhāya kui pra sañ mba ta pāḥ sace pana ca so nok vākya e\* anusandhe nhai. ta kva adhiṭṭhāya kui pra cui luik am..* ‘In addition to explaining the intended meaning and relation of the former [of] two sentences starting with *antonadiyaṃ baddhe*, I shall explain [in what follows] the intended meaning and relation of the latter sentence beginning *sace pana*.’

122 I.e. the one dealing with the platform set up in a river, quoted above § 2. This is confirmed by the Niss (fol. sau r7–8), where *pubbavākya* is glossed as *antonadiyaṃ baddhe aṭṭake pi hū so rbeḥ vākya n\**, ‘with regard to the former statement “*antonadiyaṃ baddhe aṭṭake pi*”.’

123 ‘Two’ refers to the former statement concerning the platform (above § 2) and the latter statement concerning the tree that grows inside a river (above § 3).

<sup>1</sup>The present sentence is an amalgamation of two sentences of the *Samantapāsādikā*, Sp v 1053.29–1054.3: *antonadiyaṃ baddhe aṭṭake pi antonadiyaṃ jātarukkhe pi ṭṭhite katum vaṭṭati. sace pana rukkbassa sākhā vā tato nikkhantapārobo vā babinaditire vihārasimāya vā gāmasimāya vā patiṭṭhito, simaṃ vā sodhetvā sākhāṃ vā chinditvā kammaṃ kātabbam.* ‘It is suitable that those staying on that very platform that has been set up inside the river as well as [those staying] on a tree grown inside a river perform [a legal procedure]. But if a branch of [that] tree or a twig that sprouts from that [branch], is established either in a “monastery boundary” or in a “village boundary” on the bank outside the river, [then] a legal procedure may be performed either having purified the boundary or having cut the branch.’ Perhaps it is because of this amalgamation that this sentence is not constructed properly.

ordained [as bhikkhus],<sup>124</sup> and so on (i.e. did not arise randomly). But with regard to the later passage,<sup>125</sup> a branch [of a tree grown in the river] or a twig that sprouts from [that branch] may either be touching<sup>126</sup> [something<sup>127</sup>] in a ‘monastery boundary’ or a ‘village boundary’ on the bank outside the river, or even not touching it, because the tree has grown on its own.<sup>128</sup> Thus, in both [these<sup>129</sup>] cases uncertainty may arise [in the following manner]: ‘Can a legal procedure be performed even on a tree grown [on its own and] established [there] or [must it] not [be performed]; is there a combination of boundaries or [is it] not?’ Therefore, avoiding this [uncertainty],<sup>130</sup> the commentator says the [sentence] beginning [with]: ‘Even “if of a tree”.’<sup>131</sup>

§ 5 There<sup>132</sup> [this intended meaning<sup>133</sup> is to be shown:<sup>134</sup> ‘A branch of a tree or a twig that sprouts from that [branch], is established either in a ‘monastery boundary’ or in a ‘village boundary’ on the bank outside the river’].<sup>135</sup> Even if

124 Niss (fol. sau r8): *anupasampannādīhi = lū sāmaṇe ca so sū tui sh*, ‘laypeople, novices, and so on.’ This interpretation of the Sp statement does not target on non-monastics versus monastics, but on the directed process of creating a place for the assembly (erection of a platform) versus an accidental origination (growth of a tree). See also n. 36.

125 Niss (fol. sau r10): *paravākye pana = antonadiyaṃ jātarukkhe pi ca so nok vākya n\* mū kāh*, ‘but with regard to the latter passage beginning with *antonadiyaṃ jātarukkhe pi*.’

126 *phusitvāpi tiṭṭhēyya*; in this connection of absolute and finite verb, *tiṭṭhati* to our opinion expresses duration.

127 *phusati* normally goes with the accusative; thus here an object is to be added which must cover everything that is within a *simā* (whether the ground, a building, a plant, and so on) or comes from that *simā* (like a creeper, robe, and so on; in that case the object is itself considered to be *simā*).

128 This means that it has not been deliberately created in a way which suits the *simā* rules.

129 Niss (fol. sau v1–2): *ubhayathā = ti sañ ma tañh sañ nhac pāḥ so akbrañh arā pbrañ.*, ‘in the two cases of touching [and] not [being] established’.

130 This follows the explanation of the Niss (fol. sau v4) *taṃ saṅkaṃ*.

131 Sp v 1053.31; the commentary actually has *sace pana rukkhassa* (see above, n. i), not *sace pi rukkhassa*. The same statement is quoted again in the subsequent sentence.

132 Niss (fol. sau v5): = *thui sace pi rukkhassa ca so ca kāh n\**, ‘in this statement beginning with *sace pi rukkhassa*.’ This gloss of *tattha* is followed by *iti daṭṭhabbo mbā svāḥ* (lit., ‘going in regard to “*iti daṭṭhabbo*”’) indicating that *tattha ... iti daṭṭhabbo* comprise a syntactical unit. Compare above, n. 114.

133 See n. 50, Niss adds *adhippāyo* as the word related to *daṭṭhabbo* (fol. sam r2).

134 Ketudhamma’s *Simāvinicchaya* reads *daṭṭhabbā* (above, n. 51). This would belong to the two measures (*patitṭhāpanaṃ* or *nāsanakaraṇaṃ*) for purification of a *simā* listed before (see below), and would have to be translated as ‘[These measures] have to be shown.’ The *nissaya*, however, glosses *daṭṭhabbo* and adds *adhippāyo* as related subject (see above, n. 50) and thus confirms this variant.

135 Sp v 1053.31–1054.3: *sace pana rukkhassa sākā vā tato nikkhantaṭṭhāro vā babinaditṭre vīhārasimāya vā gāmasimāya vā patitṭhito, simaṃ vā sodhetvā sākhaṃ vā chinditvā kammaṃ*

it is [so]<sup>136</sup> (=) if it is thus,<sup>137</sup> it is not suitable that those staying on that tree,<sup>138</sup> perform a legal procedure without having purified the boundary or cut the branch. [It] is a fault of combination (i.e. of boundaries). Therefore it is stated [in the *Samantapāsādikā*]:

*Even*<sup>139</sup> ‘if a branch of [that] tree [grown inside a river] or [a twig that sprouts from that branch, is established either in a ‘monastery boundary’ or in a ‘village boundary’ on the bank outside the river, then] a legal procedure may be performed either having purified the boundary or having cut the branch.’<sup>140</sup>

┆ And in this context<sup>141</sup> (*ettha*), ‘purification of a monastic boundary’ (*simā-sodhana*)<sup>142</sup> means:

- (1a) Establishing (*patiṭṭhāpana*) [the purification] either by virtue of leading into arm’s length the bhikkhus staying in the ‘monastery boundary’ or the ‘village boundary’,
- (1b) or by virtue of excluding [them] from that [boundary area];<sup>143</sup> or
- (2) by cutting the branch destroying this tree’s state of being established outside [the river].<sup>┆</sup>

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*kātabbaṃ*. See above, n. i. Mañjota here only quotes the first part of the Sp sentence, and then proceeds saying that legal procedures may not be performed without having implemented the measures mentioned in Sp for such a case.

136 Here Mañjota shows that from the point of view of meaning, the sentence which he has cited from Sp should start with *sace pi*. This is confirmed by the Niss (fol. sau v8), where simply the same Sp sentence preceded by *sace pi* is quoted. Though the text of Sp does not contain an ‘if’ (*sace*), it needs to be translated as if one were there. Therefore, Mañjota’s explanation is correct.

137 Here Mañjota simply gives an alternative expression for his inserted *sace pi hoti*.

138 Niss (fol. sau v7): *tasmīṃ rukke = thui vibārasim gāmasim n\* thi kkuik so sac pañ n\**, ‘on that tree which injuriously comes into contact with [or injuriously touches] a *vibārasimā* or *gāmasimā*’. The compound verb *thi kkuik* implies that the touching or contact has negative consequences or causes injury.

139 *pi* instead of *pana*, see n. i.

140 Sp v 1053.31–1054.3, see above, n. i.

141 The Niss (fol. sau v9–10) says *ī simaṃ vā sodhetvā hū so ca kāḥ n\**, ‘in this statement “*simaṃ vā sodhetvā*”’, which takes up part of the preceding sentence quoted from Sp.

142 For more details, see Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B 8.6.

143 At least from the commentarial layer of the *Aṭṭhakathās* onwards it is not only required that all monks assemble at one place within the monastic boundary, but in addition those who are within the boundary must be within arm’s length (*battapāsa*). If a bhikkhu is within the *simā* but beyond the *battapāsa* distance, the Saṅgha is said to be incomplete and valid legal procedures may not be performed. See Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B Einl. 13. Hence the bhikkhus either need to come into arm’s length to the assembled bhikkhus or they have to leave the areas which are connected with the *simā* area.

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<sup>┆</sup>Quoted in Ketudhamma’s *Simāvinichaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 842.20–22; App. § 4).

§ 6 The sort of connection (*sambandha*), and so on, needs to be known in accordance with [what] is stated [in the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*] in regard to the performing of legal procedures ‘in a boat tied’ either ‘to a branch or twig that has entered inside the river of a tree grown on the bank outside the river’,<sup>144</sup> or ‘tied to a post having driven it into the bank of the river’.<sup>145</sup>

§ 7 As in regard to the sentence: ‘On [a platform] set up inside a river’,<sup>146</sup> and so on, the condition of whether a legal procedure should be performed or should not be performed, the condition of whether there is a connection or non-connection of a boundary with a[nother] boundary,<sup>147</sup> and the condition of whether [a boundary] should be purified or should not be purified, must be known, [so] likewise [it must be understood] also in regard to the sentence beginning with: ‘[If] they set up a bridge in a river’, and so on.<sup>148</sup> [This is the] intended meaning.<sup>149</sup>

§ 8 Moreover, in this [passage] (*ettha*)<sup>150</sup> (i.e., ‘[If] they set up a bridge in a river’), the ‘water-splashing boundary’-condition of a bridge that is not connected with villages, and so on, and the ‘village boundary’-condition of a bridge that is connected with them, must be known. If [someone objects]:

144 Sp v 1054.3-5: *babinaḍḍire jātarukkhaṣṣa antonadiyaṃ pavitṭhasākhāya vā pārōhe vā nāvamaṃ bandhivā kammaṃ kātuṃ na vaṭṭati*. ‘Having tied a boat to a branch or a twig that has entered inside the river of a tree grown on the bank outside the river, it is not suitable to perform a legal procedure.’

145 Sp v 1054.6-7: *nadīṭṭire paṇa khāṇukaṃ koṣetvā tattha baddhanāvāya na vaṭṭati yeva*. ‘But having driven a post into the bank of the river, it is by no means suitable [to perform a legal procedure] in a boat tied there.’

146 ≠ Sp v 1053.29-30: *antonadiyaṃ baddha-aṭṭake pi antonadiyaṃ jātarukkhe pi ṭhitehi kātuṃ vaṭṭati*. ‘It is suitable that [those] staying on a platform set up inside a river as well as [those staying] on a tree grown inside a river perform [a legal procedure].’

147 *simāya simaṃ sambandhāsambandhabhāvo; simāya simaṃ* is taken over from the expression ‘to combine *simā* with *simā*’ (*simāya simaṃ sambbindanti*) also it grammatically goes not together with *sambandhāsambandhabhāvo*.

148 Sp v 1054.7-9: *nadiyaṃ setuṃ karonti, sacce antonadiyaṃ yeva setu vā setupādā vā, setumbi ṭhitehi kammaṃ kātuṃ vaṭṭati*. ‘[If] they set up a bridge in a river, [and] if the bridge or the feet of the bridge are only inside the river, [then] it is suitable that those staying on the bridge perform a legal procedure.’

149 The Niss (fol. saṃ 17-8) also relates *jānitabbo* to °bhāvo. Thus, *ti adbippāyo* stands separately.

150 According to the Niss (fol. saṃ 18) this refers to the second of the two examples mentioned in § 7. *Ettha* is glossed as *ī antonadiyaṃ setuṃ karonti a ca rhi so vākya n\**, ‘in the sentence beginning *antonadiyaṃ setuṃ karonti*’.

‘Has not,<sup>151</sup> by means of the former statement: “[*If*] they set up a bridge in the river ... it is suitable”,<sup>152</sup> the Ācariya shown the “water-splashing boundary”-condition of a bridge that is not connected with villages, and so on; and [has he not shown] solely the condition of “[being] a place where a legal procedure is to be performed in a ‘village boundary’ of a bridge that is connected [with villages, and so on]”; and [has he not] by means of the latter statement: “*But if ... it is not suitable*.”,<sup>153</sup> shown solely the condition of “[being] a place where [a legal procedure] is not to be performed” of a bridge that is connected [with villages, and so on]?

But why should the “water-splashing boundary”-condition of a bridge that is not connected with villages, and so on, and the “village boundary”-condition of a bridge that is connected [with villages, and so on] be known [at all]?’

[Then this] is conveyed (*vuccate*) [by me]:<sup>154</sup>

Because with [the statement]: ‘*Monks, in a river, in a sea or in a natural lake*’,<sup>155</sup> and so on, a ‘water-splashing boundary’ was permitted by the Blessed One only in a river, and so on,<sup>156</sup> [therefore,] even a bridge that is not connected<sup>157</sup> with villages, and so on, is included

151 *Nanu ca* often introduces objections in commentarial literature. The Niss (fol. saṃ 19) adds *codemi* (‘I object’) and glosses *nanu ca codemi* as *codanā ūḥ aṃ*. ‘if I/one may object.’

152 Sp v 1054.7-8, see above, n. 148.

153 Sp v 1054.9-11: *sace pana setu vā setupādā vā bahiṭṭire patiṭṭhitā, tattha ṭhitehi kammaṃ kātuṃ na vaṭṭati, sīmaṃ soḍhetvā kammaṃ kātappaṃ*. ‘But if the bridge or the feet of the bridge are established on the bank outside [the river], it is not suitable that [those] staying there perform a legal procedure. A legal procedure can be performed after having purified the boundary.’

154 *Vuccate* regularly introduces answers to objections. The additions follow the explanation of the Niss *parihāro ... mayā ... vuccate*, ‘A reply is conveyed by me’, ‘[This] refutation is stated by me’ (see above, n. 59). For this meaning of *parihāra*, see Kieffer-Pülz 2013: I 232-235.

155 Vin I 111.4-6: *nadiyā vā bhikkhave samudde vā jātassare vā yaṃ majjhimassa purisassa samantā udakukkhepā, ayaṃ tattha samānasamvāsā ekuposathā ti*. ‘Monks, in a river, in a sea or in a natural lake, which [water] is thrown all around by a man of average [strength] this in that case is [the boundary] for the same communion, for one observance.’

156 The ‘and so on’ refers to the other bodies of water within which a ‘water-splashing boundary’ can be used, namely, a natural lake (*jātassara*), and an ocean (*samudda*).

157 The Pāṭha here and subsequently reads *asambandhasetu* instead of *asambaddha*, though the latter is meant. The *nissaya* also has *asambaddha*° (see above, n. 60). We translate accordingly.

in ‘a river’. And because such a bridge is included in a river, [therefore,] the ‘water-splashing boundary’-condition of even such a bridge is illuminated [by the author of the *Vinayaṭṭhakathā*], showing with the former statement in the commentary: ‘*Inside a river ... it is suitable*’,<sup>158</sup> that a bridge inside a river, that is not connected with villages, and so on, has the condition of [being] a place where a legal procedure may be performed.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>k</sup>But because with [the statement:] ‘*Monks, if a boundary has not been agreed upon, not been established*’,<sup>160</sup> and so on, it was permitted by the Blessed One that a ‘village district’<sup>161</sup> indeed [is] a ‘village boundary’, [therefore] a bridge that is connected with villages, and so on, is included in a village. Because such a bridge is included in a village, [therefore,] even a bridge obtains the condition of a ‘village boundary’.<sup>-k</sup>

<sup>l</sup>But, if it was (lit. is) shown by the latter statement in the commentary: ‘*But if the bridge or ... it is not suitable*’,<sup>162</sup> that a bridge that is connected with a ‘village boundary’, and so on, only has the condition of [being] a place where a legal procedure is not to be performed, [and if it were] so,<sup>163</sup> [then] it should [have been] (lit. be)

158 Sp v 1054.8–9: *sace antonadiyaṃ yeva setu vā setupādā vā, setumbi ṭhitehi kammaṃ kātuṃ vaṭṭati*. ‘If the bridge or the feet of the bridge are only inside the river, [then] it is suitable that [the monks] staying on the bridge perform a legal procedure.’

159 The Niss (fol. sam v7–8) at this point adds as a gloss of *iti* and the subsequent *pana*: *iti | i kāḥ | purimaṃpucchā e\* visajjanā aprīḥ tañ | pana | uttarapucchā e\* visajjanā kui pra chui luik aṃ*. = ‘*iti* | this is the conclusion of the answer of the former question | *pana* | I shall now explain the answer of the latter question.’

160 Vin I 110.36–111.1: *asammatāya bhikkhave simāya aṭṭhapitāya yaṃ gāmaṃ vā nigamaṃ vā upanissāya viharati, yā tassa vā gāmassa gāmasimā nigamassa vā nigamasimā, ayaṃ tattha samānasamvāsā ekuposathā*. ‘Monks, when a boundary is not agreed upon, not established, whatever village or market town [a monk] lives depending on, whatever is the village boundary of that village or the market town boundary of that market town, this in that case is [the boundary] for the same communion, for one observance.’

161 *gāmakkhetta*. *Gāmakkhetta* is used synonymously with *gāmasimā* in the commentarial literature (Kkh 10.8–19, see Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B 15.1.1).

162 Sp v 1054.9–11, see above, n. 153.

163 The text only reads *evaṃ*, not *evaṃ sante* or *yadi evaṃ sante*. But according to the nissaya and to Ketudhamma (below, § 6.2), *evaṃ* is used here in the sense of *evaṃ sante*. We follow this interpretation, since it does not make sense to connect the *evaṃ* to the subsequent compound. This would lead to a translation as ‘a place where a legal procedure can be performed in this way’, but the way how to perform the *kamma* is not at stake here.

<sup>k</sup>Quoted in Ketudhamma’s *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 844.11–13; App. § 6.1).

said by concluding with the statement ‘*But if*’,<sup>164</sup> and so on, which is a prohibition [of it] as a place where a legal procedure can be performed.

However, the statement: ‘*A legal procedure can be performed after having purified the boundary*’,<sup>165</sup> should not be said as a verdict.<sup>166</sup> But it has been said.<sup>167</sup> Therefore, [the Aṭṭhakathā Ācariya in] showing with this statement—[which is] a verdict concerning another matter (*pada*)<sup>168</sup>—the fact that by means of purifying the boundary a legal procedure can be performed on that very bridge, moreover (*ca*) has illuminated the ‘village boundary’-condition of even such a bridge due to [its] condition of decreasing and increasing,<sup>169</sup> without stopping with the restriction to a village<sup>170–1</sup>

164 Sp v 1054.9, see above, n. 153.

165 Sp v 1054.11: *simam sodhetvā kamman kātabbam*. This sentence directly follows the text cited in the preceding paragraph (see above, n. 153). It thus shows an option how people on a bridge that is connected with a village might nevertheless perform a legal procedure, namely by purifying the boundary.

166 *Sanniṭṭhānaṃ*, ‘conclusion, concluding statement, consummation; resolve; conviction’, is often used in commentarial literature either with forms of *karoti*, *gacchati* or *gaṇhati* in the sense of ‘to make or come to or reach a conclusion or verdict, and so on’; it also marks a concluding statement after some discussion (It-a 1 141.30; Kkh 12.23; Sv-pt 1 151.14; and so on) or especially the conclusion of some earlier ācariyas (*atthakathācariyaṇaṃ idaṃ sanniṭṭhānaṃ*, Vjb 227.7–8). It also is used as an explanation for *pariyosāna* (end, finish, conclusion; Mp 11 201.16; Pp-a 213.24) or *vavatthāpanaṃ* (skt. *vyavasthāpana*; deciding, laying down a law, and so on, MW s.v.) which also is used in the sense of *nicchaya* (resolution, determination, and so on). It also is used in an explanation of *vinicchaya* (as ‘doubt-destroying-resolution’, *samsayachedakaṃ sanniṭṭhānaṃ*, Sv-pt 1 156.12). Niss (fol. sāh r2): *sanniṭṭhānaṃ = chumh pbrat kroṇh pbrac so*, paralleled in Ketudhamma (App. § 6.3). *Chumh pbrat* is the verbal form of the nominal compound *acumh apbrat* which is the standard gloss of *vinicchaya* (see above, n. 101). Thus here *sanniṭṭhānaṃ* is equated with *vinicchaya*. We therefore translate *sanniṭṭhāna* as ‘verdict’.

167 Namely in the *Aṭṭhakathā*.

168 Niss (fol. sāh r3–4): *padantarassanniṭṭhānena = pud ta pāh tui. pbrān. chumh pbrat kroṇh pbrac so*, ‘which reaches a verdict by reference to (inst.) different matters (pl.)’. For the equation of *sanniṭṭhāna* with *vinicchaya*, see n. 166

169 This refers to the fact that such *abaddhasimās* increase and decrease depending on the size of the assembly. Thus the areas which need to be taken into account if there exist mutual connections of monastic boundaries can vary. See Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B 15.2.3 (*sattabbhantarasimā*), B 15.3.3 (*udakukkhepasimā*).

170 I.e. not having restricted his statement to a regular village boundary, but having extended the definition of a village boundary by allowing its decrease or increase depending on connections with other areas. The Niss (fol. sāh r7) at this point again (see above, n. 159) adds as a gloss of *iti*: *i kāh uttarapucchā e\* visajjanā aprih tañ*, ‘this is the conclusion of the answer of the latter question.’

<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Ketudhamma’s *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: 11 845.8–14; App. § 6.3). Here and in Ketudhamma’s *Simāvinicchaya* the *iti* marks the end of the response to the objections.

§ 9 But with regard to a place that has to be purified or not to be purified, for those who perform a legal procedure inside a river or on a bridge that stands inside a river,<sup>171</sup> there is no duty to purify (i.e., to exclude) those staying in a village, and so on, on the bank outside [the river].<sup>172</sup> Therefore it is said:<sup>173</sup>

Inside ‘a river they build a bridge. If the bridge or the feet of the bridge are inside the river,<sup>174</sup> it is suitable that [those] staying on the bridge perform a legal procedure’.<sup>175</sup>

Besides, [a monastic boundary] is to be purified by leading into arm’s length, and so on, those staying inside the ‘water splash’ only;<sup>176</sup> not [by leading into arm’s length those staying] in a place outside the ‘water splash’. Why? Because a ‘water-splashing boundary’ is like a ‘determined boundary’ by virtue of its own nature. Therefore the Blessed One says:

‘Monks, in a river, in a sea or in a natural lake, which [water] is thrown all around by a man of average [strength] this in that case is [the boundary] for the same communion, for one observance.’<sup>177</sup>

And in the commentary it is said:

171 The Pāṭha has a *ca* after *antonadiyaṃ* which is confirmed by the *nissaya* (see above, n. 68) This does not fit the sentence as it is written. However, *Niss* indicates a second *ca* after *ṭhitasetumbi*. In that case a second *antonadiyaṃ* before *ṭhitasetumbi* would have to be added or *antonadiyaṃ* would have to be understood as applying to both: *antonadiyaṃ ca [antonadiyaṃ] ṭhitasetumbi ca kammaṃ karontebi*, ‘those who perform a legal procedure inside a river and on a bridge that stays [inside a river]’ This is precisely how the *nissaya* interprets the passage, while noting the supplied repetition of *antonadiyaṃ*: *antonadiyaṃ ca | mrac e\* atvañh n\* lañh | antonadiyaṃ | mrac e\* atvañh n\* | 4ñh pud luik sañ | ṭhitasetumbi ca | tañ so taṃ tāh n\* 4ñh* (fol. sāh r8).

172 Since there is no connection between the two areas, no measure is due.

173 *Tena vuttaṃ* indicates that the author here quotes an authoritative source (Kieffer-Pülz 2015: § 2.3). The *nissaya* with *ācariya* refers to the Sp author (see above, n. 70). Nevertheless, the quotation is not literal, unlike in an earlier case, see above § 7–8, and n. 148.

174 The Pāṭha here inserts a *na*. This is not confirmed by the *nissaya*, and it also is not contained in Sp. See above, n. 71.

175 ≠ Sp v 1054.7–9, see above, n. 148.

176 If the ‘water-splashing [boundary]’ is connected with a place outside the river, be it a ‘determined boundary’ or an ‘undetermined boundary’, then also bhikkhus in these areas count as being within the ‘water-splashing [boundary]’, and the purification thus consists in bringing all the bhikkhus from these other boundaries to the saṅgha assembled on the platform.

177 Vin I III.4–6, see above, n. 155.

'One who stays inside that [splash of water] having left arm's length [to the other bhikkhus], disturbs the legal procedure'.<sup>178</sup>

§ 10 The judgment that is transmitted in the *Mātikāṭṭhakathā*<sup>179</sup> with regard to this matter<sup>180</sup> should be accepted in the *Sāratthadīpanīṭikā*,<sup>181</sup> and so on.<sup>182</sup>

§ 11 <sup>m-</sup>But there is no duty that those performing a legal procedure on a bridge that is connected with a village, and so on, have to purify (i.e. exclude) those [monks] staying in the river, and so on. Therefore<sup>183</sup> it is said [in the *Aṭṭhakathā*]:

*'But if the bridge or the feet of the bridge are established on the bank outside [the river], it is not suitable to perform a legal procedure. A legal procedure can be performed after having purified the boundary'*<sup>184</sup>

§ 12 But why should [the boundary] be purified by leading into arm's length, and so on, those staying only in the village, and so on; should not [be purified by leading into arm's length those staying<sup>185</sup>] in the water area close to

178 Sp v 1052.34–1053.1, see Kieffer-Pülz 1992: 335, 337.

179 This refers to Kkh 12.20–23: *paricchedabbantare batthapāsaṃ vijāhitvā ṭhito pi paricchedato bahi aññaṃ tattakaṃ yeva paricchedaṃ anatikkamitvā ṭhito pi kammaṃ kopeti, idaṃ sabba-Aṭṭhakathāsu sanniṭṭhānaṃ ti*. '[A bhikkhu] who is inside the exact determination (that is, inside the *sīmā*), [but] who has left [the distance of] an arm's length [between himself and the other bhikkhus], as well as [a bhikkhu] who is outside the exact determination, [but] has not gone beyond another exact determination of exactly such a size, invalidates a legal procedure. This is the verdict in all the commentaries.' (Based on Norman *et al.* 2018: 26); see also Kieffer-Pülz 2013: I 178–179 n. 412.

While the first part of this statement is generally accepted, the second, not found in Vin or Sp, is discussed extensively in later literature. Here, however, it is only referred to the fact that the respective regulation of the Kkh should be accepted by the Sp-ṭ (12th c. CE), which it is not, at least not in general.

180 Niss (fol. sāḥ v4–5): *imasmiṃ ṭhāne = tassa anto batthapāsaṃ ca saññ phraṇi. lā so i vinicchaya arā n\**. 'In the matter of this judgment which is transmitted with regard to "tassa anto batthapāsaṃ"...'

181 Sp-ṭ III 274.11–27, has borrowed the quotation from Kkh, and subsequently states that the second part of this sentence (*tattakaṃ yeva paricchedaṃ anatikkamitvā ṭhito pi kammaṃ kopeti*) is to be found neither in Vin nor in Sp.

182 The 'and so on' refers to other *Vinaya* commentaries which discuss this topic.

183 Niss (fol. sāḥ v6–7): *tena = thui sui. mrac ca sañ tui. n\* tañ kun so rabaṇṭh tui. kui | sut sañ bhvay kicca ma rbi pñiḥ so kroṇi*. 'Therefore, because there is no duty to purify the monks staying in the river, and so on.'

184 Sp v 1054.9–11, see above, n. 153.

185 This addition is confirmed by the Niss (fol. sāḥ v9).

the bridge? Because a ‘water-splashing[-boundary]’ and a ‘village boundary’ are [each] limited<sup>186</sup> by their own nature,<sup>187</sup> if they are mutually separated by one cubit,<sup>188</sup> one span,<sup>189</sup> or even [only] four finger [breadths]<sup>190</sup> there is really no fault of combination.<sup>191</sup> But if they are separated by more than this, nothing needs to be said at all. Therefore [such boundaries] need not to be purified. Therefore, the Blessed One said:

*‘Monks, when a boundary is not agreed upon, not established, whatever village or market town [a monk] lives depending on, whatever is the village boundary of that village or the market town boundary of that market town, this in that case is [the boundary] for the same communion, for one observance’* (Vin I 110.<sub>36</sub>–111.1).<sup>m</sup>

§ 13 The judgment on the sense (*atthavinicchaya*) stated by ‘moreover in this passage’, and so on,<sup>192</sup> is to be understood even with regard to the reading of the commentary as stated by ‘on [a platform] set up inside a river’,<sup>193</sup> and so on.<sup>194</sup>

§ 14 <sup>n</sup>–With regard to this matter [i.e. the ‘water-splashing boundary’]<sup>195</sup> some Theras,<sup>196</sup> inconsiderate of the true sense (*atthasabbhāvaṃ*) of the root text (Vin) and the commentary (Sp), citing many statements transmitted

186 <sup>o</sup>*paricchinnā* here is ablative singular; compare the similar description in Ketudhamma’s *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 845.22) <sup>o</sup>*bbāvaṃparicchinnattā*, where the ablative is clearly recognizable.

187 A ‘water-splashing [boundary]’ is restricted to a river, a sea and a natural lake; a ‘village boundary’ is restricted to land.

188 One *ratana* is one *hattha*. See Norman *et al.* 2018: 595 s.v. *hattha*.

189 One *vidatthi* is half a *hattha*, see Norman *et al.* 2018: 603 s.v. *vidatthi*.

190 See Norman *et al.* 2018: 591 s.v. *aṅgula*.

191 Mañjota here borrows statements from Sp v 1056.<sub>24–27</sub>, made there with respect to the distance to be kept between determined boundaries (*baddhasimā*). See above, n. 38.

192 See Mañjota’s statement (above, § 8) where he in objection and reply explains the two natures of a bridge depending on whether or not it is connected with a village.

193 Sp v 1053.<sub>29–31</sub>: *antonadiyaṃ baḍḍhe ... la ... ṭhitehi kammaṃ kātuṃ vaṭṭatī ti*; cited above, n. 111.

194 Thus, Mañjota says that the same rules valid with respect to a bridge need also to be applied to a platform.

195 According to the Niss (fol. ha r3–4) the matter refers to the ‘water-splashing [boundary]’: *imasmīṃ ṭhāne = udakukkhepa simaṃ kui pra chui so ī arā n\**, ‘with regard to this matter explaining the *udakukkhepa simā*.’

196 Niss (fol. ha r4): *ekacce therā = akyui. so mather tui. sañ*, ‘some mahātheras.’

<sup>m</sup>Quoted in Ketudhamma’s *Simāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 843.<sub>19–28</sub>; App. § 5.1).

in the *Vimatiṭṭikā*, and so on, illuminate a judgment on the sense (*atthavinicchaya*) with a contradictory intended meaning, that is a confused statement.<sup>197–n</sup> Therefore, not having cited the statement of the *Ṭikā*, but having discussed earlier and later statements which are transmitted only in the root text (Vin) and commentary (Sp), a judgment on the sense (*atthavinicchaya*), [which is] a statement that is not confused, with an intended meaning (*adbhippāya*) that is proper and in conformity [with the root text and commentary], has been shown by me in brief. Having thoroughly examined it with wisdom, sons of good families seeking their own prosperity<sup>198</sup> understand it.<sup>199</sup>

### Appendix [Vin-samūh 2011: 841]

#### Aoṇ mre rhve bhūṃ charā tau [Ketudhamma] *Ṣimāvinicchaya*<sup>200</sup>

Homage to the Blessed One, the Exalted One, the Fully Awakened One  
(*Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*)

[Question asked by Ariyāvamsa:]

Benefactor, Teacher, your disciple Rhañḥ Ariyāvamsa<sup>201</sup> reverently petitions you:

§ 1 In the *Ṣimāvinicchaya* treatise composed by Khañ ma kan charā tau, recipient of the title Mañijotālañkāradhajamahādhammarājadhiguru,<sup>202</sup> it

197 Niss (fol. ha 15): *byākulavacanaṃ = nbok nbak sa ca kāḥ hi so*, ‘having a confused statement.’

198 Niss (fol. ha 19): *aciḥ apvāḥ kui chañḥ phūḥ rbā mbīḥ kun so*, ‘seeking to accumulate (*chañḥ phūḥ*) prosperity (*aciḥ apvāḥ*).’ See for this meaning of *bīta*, Lammerts 2018: 249, n. 38.

199 Following the end of the gloss, the glossator or copyist has written: *iti | ī sañ lbyañ | udakukkhepa sim kui chumḥ phrat so ca kāḥ apriḥ sat tañḥ*, ‘Thus is concluded the discourse which is a judgment on the “water-splashing boundary” (fol. ha 110).’ The copyist’s colophon follows (foll. ha 110–ha 111), and concludes with the copy-date: *sakkarāj 12[7]5 kbu nbac priḥ sañ*, ‘[copying] finished in *sakkarāj 12[7]5*.’

200 Thus Vin-samūh 2011; Vin-samūh 1976: II 239: *ṣima*<sup>o</sup>.

201 This monk remains unidentified.

202 This refers to the above published text by Mañijota, see pp. 21–30 (text), 31–51 (translation).

<sup>n</sup>Quoted in Ketudhamma’s *Ṣimāvinicchaya* (Vin-samūh 2011: II 841.6–8; App. § 1).

has been explained that statements transmitted in the *Vimatiṭṭikā*, and so on, are confused, not in accordance with the true sense of the Pāli and *Aṭṭhakathā*:<sup>203</sup>

With regard to this matter (i.e. the ‘water-splashing-boundary’) some Theras, inconsiderate of the true sense of the root text (Vin) and the commentary (Sp), citing many statements transmitted in the *Vimatiṭṭikā*, and so on, illuminate a judgment on the sense (*atthavinicchaya*) with a contradictory intended meaning, that is a confused statement.<sup>204</sup>

§ 2 [Mañijota] did not explain with detail the confused textual passages that are said to be confused and not in accordance with the true sense of the Pāli and *Aṭṭhakathā* among whichever textual passages. I wish to know the textual passages that are confused, not in accordance with the truth of the Pāli and *Aṭṭhakathā*. Having been asked concerning the confused textual passages that are not in accordance with the true sense of the Pāli and *Aṭṭhakathā*, I want you, Benefactor, Teacher, to write an answer so that future monks understand.

§ 3 [Response:]

According to the petition, having been asked I will write an answer so that future monks understand. Regarding [the question]: in the text of the *Aṭṭhakathā* it says:

*‘But if the bridge or the feet of the bridge are established on the bank outside [the river], it is not suitable that those staying there (i.e. on the bridge) perform a legal procedure. A legal procedure can be performed after having purified the boundary.’*<sup>205</sup>

203 Mañijota possibly has added the sentence quoted as follows because there were groups which discussed the ‘water-splashing-boundary’ on the basis of statements transmitted in the ṭīkās. Mañijota himself deliberately did not do this.

204 This is the first citation of Mañijota’s *Simāvinicchaya* to appear in Ketudhamma’s *Simāvinicchaya* (see above, § 14, pp. 75, 87). Subsequent citations provide the page numbers where the relevant parallels in Mañijota may be located, although we do not duplicate notes to the text or translation.

205 Sp v 1054.9–11: see above, n. 153. In Mañijota’s *Simāvinicchaya* (§ 11, above, pp. 74, 86) quoted without the words *tattba ṭhitebi*. This passage comes from the Sp section that tackles the manner in which legal procedures are to be performed inside a ‘water-splashing-boundary’. A bridge is considered a place where monks may assemble for performing a legal procedure inside a ‘water-splashing [boundary]’. But if the feet of the bridge stand on the banks of a river, the bridge is connected with the ‘village dis-

§ 3.1 With respect to the interpretation of ‘*after having purified the boundary*’ (*sīmaṃ sodhetvā*), is it suitable [for monks on a bridge] to perform a legal procedure upon a bridge, having brought into arm’s length [to the monks assembled on the bridge] the very monks who are staying both in a ‘river boundary’<sup>206</sup> (*nadī sim*) and a ‘village boundary’ (*gāma sim*)? *Vajira-buddhiṭikā* says:

‘*The bridge or the feet of the bridge* [...] (Sp v 1054.9–10): And here purification of the boundary means leading into arm’s length those who stay in the ‘village boundary’.<sup>207</sup>

In accordance with *Sārattbadāpāṇiṭikā*.<sup>208</sup>

‘*Or after having purified the boundary* (Sp v 1054.2): here purification of the boundary means leading into arm’s length those staying in the ‘village boundary’, and so on’,<sup>209</sup>

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trict’ or ‘village boundary’ (*gāmakkhetta* = *gāmasīmā*), since the banks of a river are considered as *gāmakkhetta* = *gāmasīmā*. Therefore, it is stated that those staying on that bridge must not perform a legal procedure. But thereafter, Sp shows a way out, viz. to perform the legal procedure after having purified the boundaries, i.e. the connected ‘village boundary’ (i.e. an ‘undetermined boundary’) or ‘monastery boundary’ (i.e. a ‘determined boundary’) (Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B 15.5.2). For the purification of *simās*, see above, § 5 and n. 176.

206 ‘River boundary’ (*nadīsīmā*) is a designation used in Pali texts (since the *Aṭṭhakathā*) for the worldly boundaries of a river, not for a monastic boundary (see below, n. 249). In the Sp the monks on the bridge are assembled to perform a legal procedure in a ‘water-splashing boundary’. Thus, the bridge has the same purpose as a platform or a boat in a river. If that bridge is connected to the banks of the river it connects river and village. It seems that Ketudhamma here uses the term *nadīsīmā* to refer to the monks in the water in opposition to those in the village.

207 Vjb 459.6–7: *setu vā setupādā vā* [...] *ti* (Sp v 1054.9–10) *ettha ca simasodhanaṃ nāma gāmasiṃaṭṭhe hatthapāsāyananaṃ*.

208 The Sp-ṭ passage quoted by Ketudhamma does not comment on Sp v 1054.9–10 which is commented upon by the Vjb (see above, n. 207), but refers to Sp v 1053.31–1054.3, which deals with the purification of a *simā* when a tree that grows in a river is connected with a ‘monastery boundary’ or a ‘village boundary’ on the banks of the river. This situation is similar to that of a bridge, with one difference, namely that in the case of a tree there are two possible measures of purification, leading the monks into arm’s length or removing the connecting branches. In accordance with this, the Sp-ṭ reads *hatthapāsāyananādi*, which in Ketudhamma’s text has been changed into *hatthapāsāyananaṃ*.

209 Sp-ṭ III 275.10–11: *sīmaṃ vā sodhetvā ti* (Sp v 1054.2) *ettha ‘simasodhanaṃ’ nāma gāmasiṃādisu thitānaṃ hatthapāsāyananaṃ* (Sp-ṭ *hatthapāsāyananādi*). The reading in Sp-ṭ ends in ‘*ādi*’, and thus indicates that the second option, namely to remove the connecting parts of the tree, is intended there as well. This is because the quotation comes from a different context (see above, n. 208).

having brought into arm's length just those monks staying in the 'village district' (*gāmakhet*), without having brought into arm's length the monks staying in the river, [the monks on the bridge] should perform a legal procedure upon the bridge. In 'in the "village boundary", and so on' (Sp-ṭ III 275.11: *gāmasimādisu*) we accept by the word 'and so on' (*ādi*) [that this includes] a 'monastery boundary' (*vihārasim*).<sup>210</sup> That which is called a 'monastery boundary' is indeed a 'determined boundary' (*baddhasim*). Therefore it is stated in *Sāratthadīpanīṭikā*:

“*Monastery boundary*’ (Sp v 1054.34) is said with regard to a ‘determined boundary’<sup>211</sup>

§ 4 In the text of the *Aṭṭhakathā* beginning with this [phrase] ‘*But if the bridge or*’,<sup>212</sup> by the text ‘*it is not suitable to perform a legal procedure*’,<sup>213</sup> as in the former sentence beginning ‘*If they erect a bridge in a river*’,<sup>214</sup> since the foot of a bridge (*taṃ tāḥ khre* [i.e., *setupādā*]) is connected with a village district [that] shows the condition of a legal procedure that is not to be performed as regards the condition of a ‘river boundary’ and a ‘water-splashing boundary’.<sup>215</sup> By the text ‘*A legal procedure can be performed after*

210 This conforms to Sp v 1054.1-2, where the two *simās* mentioned as being connected with a ‘water-splashing boundary’ are the ‘monastery boundary’ (as a representative of a *baddhasimā*), and the ‘village boundary’ (as a representative of an *abaddhasimā*).

211 Sp-ṭ III 275.17-18: *vihārasiman ti* (Sp v 1054.34) *baddhasimaṃ sandhāya vadati*. This quotation is taken again from another context, namely from the discussion of a *simā* that is flooded by water. In the case of a ‘monastery boundary’, its flooding does not lead to a change of its *simā* status. Being a ‘determined boundary’ (*baddhasimā*), a ‘monastery boundary’ persists until either it is annulled with a *kammavācā* or the Buddha *sāsana* perishes (Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B Einl. 10). At the time of Sp these were the only options how a ‘determined boundary’ could become annulled. But at the time of the Vmv a legal procedure was developed for annulling even an unknown ‘determined boundary’ (Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B 14.3 and n. 590), and since then it has become quite common to first perform the legal procedure of annulling a *baddhasimā* before one determines a new one (Nāgasena 2012: 331-347).

212 *sace pana setu vā*, Sp v 1054.9-10, see above, n. 153.

213 *kammaṃ kātuṃ na vaṭṭati*, Sp v 1054.10-11, see above, n. 153.

214 *nadiyaṃ setuṃ karonti*, Sp v 1054.7-8, see above, n. 148.

215 It seems Ketudhamma discusses the connection of a river with a ‘village boundary’ under two aspects: if monks want to perform a legal act (1) in a river (without a ‘water-splashing boundary’), and (2) if they want to perform it in a ‘water-splashing boundary’. The first option is not discussed in Sp. Based on the Vmv Ketudhamma later explains that connections between a river (without a ‘water-splashing boundary’) and a ‘village boundary’ do not disturb [the legal procedure] (see below, § 9).

having purified the boundary’,<sup>216</sup> since a bridge upon which a legal procedure is desired to be performed is included in the village because that bridge is connected with the village district, bringing into arm’s length or placing outside of the village district those monks staying in the village district shows the condition of a legal procedure that can be performed. Understand the intended meaning in this way. Therefore, in the *Simāvinicchaya* treatise, it is said:

‘And in this context, ‘purification of a monastic boundary’ (*simāso-dhana*) means:

- (1a) Establishing (*patiṭṭhāpana*) [the purification] either by virtue of leading into arm’s length the bhikkhus staying in the ‘monastery boundary’ or the ‘village boundary’,
- (1b) or by virtue of excluding [them] from that [boundary area]; or
- (2) by cutting the branch destroying this tree’s state of being established outside [the river].<sup>217</sup>

And also:

- ‘Not on a platform, and so on, that is connected [with a ‘village boundary’ or a ‘monastery boundary’],<sup>218</sup> for [if] they perform [a legal procedure] there, the legal procedure may be performed [only]
- (1a) either having purified the boundary by leading the bhikkhus staying in the ‘village boundary’, and so on, into arm’s length [to the bhikkhus assembled for the legal procedure] or
  - (1b) by virtue of making them ones [being] outside of it (i.e. of the ‘village boundary’, and so on), or
  - (2) by cutting the branch,
  - (3) or by destroying its condition of staying outside.<sup>219</sup> [2011: 843]

216 *siṃmaṃ sodhetvā kammaṃ kātappaṃ*, Sp v 1054.11, see above, n. 153.

217 Mañijota’s *Simāvinicchaya*, § 5: *ettha ca siṃmasodhanaṃ nāma vibhārasima-gāmasimāsu ṭhitānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ hatthapāsānayanavasena ca tato bahikaraṇavasena ca patiṭṭhāpanaṃ, sākhāṃ vā chinditvā tassa rukkhassa bahipatiṭṭhitabhāvena nāsanakaraṇāṇāṃ cā ti datṭhabbā*. See above, pp. 71, 79f., and n. 143.

218 It makes the impression as if the *na sambaddha-aṭṭādisu* is a separate sentence or the rest of a longer one, only quoted in part. If we separate the sentence after *aṭṭādisu*, the passage is in agreement with the *Aṭṭhakathā* and Mañijota’s *Simāvinicchaya*.

219 The syntax of Ketudhamma’s text would appear to attribute this passage to Mañijota, although it is not found in our witness: *na sambaddha-aṭṭādisu, tattha karonti hi gāmasimādisu ṭhitānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ hatthapāsānayanavasena <ca> tato bahikaraṇavasena ca siṃmaṃ sodhetvā vā sākhāṃ vā chinditvā tassa <rukkhassa> bahi<patiṭṭhā>ṭhitabhāvena*

§ 5 Regarding [the question]: referring to what state is it to be known that a legal procedure should be performed upon a bridge having brought into arm's length just those monks staying in the village thus?

“*Or where [there is] a regular bridge*” (Vin I 106.<sup>34-35</sup>): *where there is a bridge consisting of trees joined together or planks bound together, or a bridge for foot caravans, or a large bridge suitable for the crossing of elephants, horses, and so on; even a narrow footpath bridge suitable for the crossing of people [consisting of] a tree that has been cut that very moment, is called a regular bridge.*<sup>220</sup>

In accordance with [this text from] *Mahāvā[ggā]-Uposathakkhandhaka-Āṭṭhakathā* it might be a bridge composed of a timber raft, or a bridge made of timber planks, or a bridge over which groups of people go, or a large bridge big enough for the passage of elephants, horses, and so on, or minimally a bridge just a foot long, suitable for the passage of people, [consisting of] a tree that has been cut down just at that moment.<sup>221</sup>

It is to be known by referring to the state of success of a legal procedure (*kammasampatti*) at a river that has some permanent (*mrai* [i.e. *dhuvā*]) bridge among bridges that have been described thus,<sup>222</sup> if [the boundary is] determined by a *kammavācā*, having brought into arm's length just those monks in the village district [who are within the marks of the future

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*nāsetvā vā kammaṃ kātappaṃ.* The portions in <> are added based on the wording of the *Āṭṭhakathā*. Whether this portion was transmitted as it is in some text or whether it was quoted from a slightly distorted manuscript, remains unclear. By and large this definition of *simāsodbhava* is nearly identical with the one Ketudhamma quoted from Mañjota's *Simāvinicchaya* just before.

220 Sp v 1047.9-13: *dhuvasetu vā ti* (Vin I 106.<sup>34-35</sup>) *yattha rukkhasaṃghātamayo vā padara-baddho vā jaṅgbāsattbasetu vā hattbi-assādinam saṅcaraanayoggo mahāsetu vā atthi antamaso taṃ khaṇaṃ yeva rukkhaṃ chinditvā manussānaṃ saṅcaraanayoggo ekapadikasetu dhuvasetu tv eva saṅkhaṃ gacchati.* This passage of Sp stands in direct connection to the determination of a *nadīpārasimā* ('monastic boundary [stretching] to the other [side of a] river'). This is a special type of 'determined boundary' (*baddhasimā*), because it stretches over two banks of a river. One of the conditions for such a *simā* is the existence of a regular boat or permanent bridge, which enables the monks to meet on one bank.

221 This description is a paraphrase of the cited Sp passage (see above, n. 220).

222 It seems as if this explanation serves the purpose to make clear in which context this *dhuvasetu* has been used.

boundary],<sup>223</sup> without bringing into arm's length those monks staying in the river, at the time of the determination of the *nadīpāra* boundary.<sup>224</sup>

§ 5.1 Therefore, in the *Mahāvā[ggā]-Uposathakkhandhaka-Aṭṭhakathā* it is stated:

*Then having caused the bhikkhus that are inside all of the marks [of the nadīpārasimā] to having gone into arm's length [to the assembled bhikkhus,] the boundary (i.e. nadīpārasimā) is to be agreed upon with the formula for the legal procedure [for determining a simā]. Those who stay in the river do not disturb the legal procedure, even if they do not come [into arm's length to the assembled bhikkhus].*<sup>225</sup>

Alluding to precisely this statement transmitted in the *Aṭṭhakathā*,<sup>226</sup> in [Mañijota's] *Simāvinicchaya* it is stated:

'But there is no duty that those performing a legal procedure on a bridge that is connected with a village, and so on, have to purify

223 At the time of the determination of a *nadīpārasimā* the *nadīpārasimā* does not yet exist as a measure for the completeness of the assembled Saṅgha. In the Sp (v 1047.30–33, see below, n. 225) it is stated that all monks that stay within the marks of the *nadīpārasimā* should assemble in arm's length. This means that the monks on both banks and a possibly included island, who stay inside the marks of the future *nadīpārasimā* have to assemble. This implies that other monks on the bank who are outside the marks, need not come. Therefore the statement 'by bringing into arm's length just those monks in the "village-boundary"' is not sufficient in relation to the determination of a *nadīpārasimā*. Possibly these words have been omitted in the manuscript used by the editor. Another possibility is that these words are not stated, because the juxtaposition of village and river area is in the foreground.

224 This refers to the monks staying inside the marks of a *nadīpārasimā*, but within the river, not on land.

225 Sp v 1047.30–33: *atha* (ms. *aṭṭha*) *sabbanimittānaṃ anto ṭhite bhikkhu hatthapāsagate* (ms. *kate*) *katvā kammavācāya simā samannitabbā* (ms. °*tabbo*). *nadīyaṃ ṭhitā anāgatā pi kammaṃ na kopenṭi*. The misreading of *aṭṭha* for *atha* probably has to do with the fact, that in case of a regular *baddhasimā*, there are mostly eight (*aṭṭha*) marks for a *simā*. But in the case of a *nadīpārasimā*, there will have been many more, since the structure of this *simā* is more complex (see Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B 11.2). Also it is clear from the context, that '*atha*' is the correct reading.

226 In stating that the subsequent quotation from Mañijota's *Simāvinicchaya* refers to the above-mentioned case, Ketudhamma connects two different things: the above-mentioned statement of the *Aṭṭhakathā* (Sp v 1047.30–33, n. 225) refers to the determination of a *nadīpārasimā*, for which monks in the river need not be taken into account; the below-mentioned statement in Mañijota's *Simāvinicchaya* refers to an *udakukkhepasimā* with assembly point on a bridge that is connected with the village, because its feet are on the river banks. This latter case is dealt with in Sp nearly six pages later (Sp v 1054.9–11). Both cases are completely independent, and Mañijota's statement does not refer to Sp v 1047.30–33, n. 225.

those [monks] staying in the river, and so on. Therefore it is said [in the *Aṭṭhakathā*]:

“But if the bridge or the feet of the bridge are established on the bank outside [the river], it is not suitable to perform a legal procedure. A legal procedure can be performed after having purified the boundary” (≠ Sp v 1054.9–11).

‘But why should [the boundary] be purified by leading into arm’s length, and so on, those staying only in the village, and so on; should not [be purified by leading into arm’s length those staying] in the water area close to the bridge? Because a ‘water-splashing[-boundary]’ and a ‘village boundary’ are [each] limited by their own nature; if they are mutually separated by one cubit, one span, or even [only] four finger [breadths] there is really no fault of combination. But if they are separated by more than this, nothing needs to be said at all. Therefore [such boundaries] need not to be purified. Therefore, the Blessed One said:

“Monks, when a boundary is not agreed upon, not established, whatever village or market town [a monk] lives depending on, whatever is the ‘village boundary’ of that village or ‘the market town boundary’ of that market town, this in that case is [the boundary] for the same communion, for one observance” (Vin I 110.36–111.1).<sup>227</sup> [2011: 844]

§ 6 Regarding [the question]: that bridge whose post’s foot (*tuiṅ kbre*)<sup>228</sup> reaches the riverbank is included where? Is it included in the river? Or included in the village?

It should be understood that it is included in the village by referring to the statement of the *Aṭṭhakathā* which says that the monks staying in the river within the area determined as a *nadīpāra* boundary, in<sup>229</sup> the river

<sup>227</sup> Mañjota’s *Simāvinicchaya*, §§ 11–12 (see above, pp. 74ff., 86ff).

<sup>228</sup> Above (§ 4) only *kbre* (‘foot’) is used by Ketudhamma, whereas here and below we find *tuiṅ kbre*. *Tuiṅ* refers to the post or pillar of a bridge, and *kbre* is the foot of the post. In actual function there probably is no difference between the two. By ‘foot’ (*kbre*) the Burmese intends the location where the posts or supports connect with the ground.

<sup>229</sup> The portion of the river which lies inside the marks of the *nadīpārasimā*, nevertheless does not count as *simā* area, because within a body of water no *simā* can be determined. Thus only the land area within the marks of the *nadīpārasimā* form the *simā* area.

that has a permanent bridge (*dhuvasetu*), even if they do not come [into arm's length], do not invalidate a legal procedure.<sup>230</sup>

§ 6.1<sup>231</sup> Or, because the Excellent Lord, by [the statement] ‘*Monks, if a boundary has not been agreed upon*’,<sup>232</sup> and so on, permitted that a ‘village district’ indeed is a ‘village boundary’, a bridge that is connected with villages, and so on, is included in a village. Due to the condition of being included in a village of a bridge that is connected with villages, and so on, a bridge also attains the condition of a ‘village boundary’. This is to be known by referring to [Mañijota’s] *Simāvinicchaya* that explains:

‘But because with [the statement:] “*Monks, if a boundary has not been agreed upon, not been established*”, and so on, it was permitted by the Blessed One that a ‘village district’ (*gāmakkhetta*) indeed [is] a ‘village boundary’ (*gāmasimā*), [therefore] a bridge that is connected with villages, and so on, is included in a village. Because such a bridge is included in a village, [therefore,] even a bridge obtains the condition of a ‘village boundary’.<sup>233</sup>

§ 6.2 Regarding [the question]: if it is said that [a bridge] attains the condition of a ‘village boundary’ because of the condition of being included in a village of that bridge, by the latter statement in the *Aṭṭhakathā*: ‘*But if the bridge or ... it is not suitable*’,<sup>234</sup> is it not shown only the condition of not being a place where a legal procedure is to be performed of a bridge that is connected with a ‘village boundary’, and so on? So, how is the statement suitable that says ‘[a bridge] attains the condition of a ‘village boundary’ due to the condition of being included in a village of a bridge that is connected with that village’?<sup>235</sup>

230 This refers to Sp v 1047.32, where in the course of the description of how a *nadipārasimā* is to be agreed upon, it is stated that all bhikkhus within the marks of the *nadipārasimā* have to come into arm's length, except for those who are in the water. The reason is that a *nadipārasimā* as a *baddhasimā* only covers area on land, and this land is part of a settlement = village (*gāma* stands as representative for any type of settlement). Even though there is water included in that area, the *simā* condition does not extend to that water areas. Thus whoever is in the water does not count for the legal procedure of the *nadipārasimā*, whereas the monks on land = in the ‘village boundary’ count. It needs to be said, however, that the relation created here by Ketudhamma is not mandatory, and is not created in any of the commentaries to our knowledge.

231 This section comprises a nearly verbatim parallel with the *nissaya* to the passage from Mañijota cited immediately following (Niss, fol sam v8–10).

232 Vin I 110.36: *asammatāya bhikkhave simāya*.

233 Mañijota's *Simāvinicchaya*, § 8, see above, pp. 72f., 81.

234 Sp v 1054.9–11: *sace pana setu vā ... pa ... na vaṭṭati*, see above, n. 153.

235 The reference here is to the statement in § 6.1 above.

§ 6.3<sup>236</sup> If it has been shown by the latter statement in the *Aṭṭhakathā*: ‘*But if the bridge or ... it is not suitable*’,<sup>237</sup> only the condition of not being a place where a legal procedure is to be performed of a bridge that is connected with a ‘village boundary’, and so on, when this was [shown] it should have been said making a conclusion (*apriḥ sat*) with the statement: ‘*But if the bridge or ... it is not suitable*’,<sup>236</sup> which is a prohibition of [it as] a place where a legal procedure may be performed. The statement ‘*A legal procedure can be performed after having purified the boundary*’<sup>238</sup> should not be said as a verdict.<sup>239</sup> But the author of the *Aṭṭhakathā* has said it.<sup>240</sup> Therefore, because the author of the *Aṭṭhakathā* says the statement ‘*A legal procedure can be performed after having purified the boundary*’ as a verdict, the author of the *Aṭṭhakathā*, showing by the statement of this ‘*A legal procedure can be performed after having purified the boundary*’ [2011: 845], which is a verdict concerning a different matter,<sup>241</sup> the fact that by means of purifying the boundary a legal procedure can be performed on that very bridge which is connected to a village; [and] the author of the *Aṭṭhakathā* shows the ‘village-boundary’-condition indeed of the bridge connected with a village due to [its] condition of decreasing or increasing without stopping with the restriction of a village. Therefore, the statement ‘a bridge attains the condition of ‘village boundary’ due to the condition of being included in a village of a bridge which is connected to a village’ is said to be a statement that is suitable. This is to be known referring to [Mañijota’s] *Simāvinicchaya* that explains:

236 This section also comprises paraphrases of the final two paragraphs of Mañijota § 8 cited below. Ketudhamma’s Burmese is largely parallel with the *nissaya* on Mañijota’s text.

237 Sp v 1054.9–11, see n. 153.

238 Sp v 1054.11: *simāṃ sodhetvā kammaṃ kātappaṃ*. This sentence directly follows the text given above in n. 153. It thus shows an option how people on a bridge that is connected with a village might nevertheless perform a legal procedure, namely by purifying the boundary.

239 Here Ketudhamma’s statement parallels the gloss without the inclusion of *pana*, although the gloss is slightly abbreviated (Niss, fol sāḥ r2–3). Here and in the *nissaya* (fol sāḥ r2) *chumḥ pbrat kroṇḥ*, ‘judgement, verdict’ stands for *sanniṭṭhānaṃ*. On *sanniṭṭhāna* as ‘verdict’, see above, n. 166.

240 A verbatim parallel with the gloss of *vuttañ ca* (Niss, fol sāḥ r3).

241 Here Ketudhamma’s text is mostly parallel with the gloss for *tena vacanena padantarasanniṭṭhānena* (Niss, fol sāḥ r3–4, n. 168 above), although Ketudhamma has *pada°* as singular and *padantara°* in an accusative relation to *sanniṭṭhāna* (*pud ta pāḥ kui*) whereas the *nissaya* takes *pada°* as plural and *padantara°* in an instrumental relation (*pud ta pāḥ tui. pbrañ.*).

‘But, if it was (lit. is) shown by the latter statement in the Aṭṭhakathā: “*But if the bridge or . . . it is not suitable*”, that a bridge that is connected with a ‘village boundary’, and so on, only has the condition of [being] a place where a legal procedure is not to be performed, [and if it were] so, [then] it should [have been] (lit. be) said by concluding with the statement “*But if*”, and so on, which is a prohibition [of it] as a place where a legal procedure can be performed.

However, the statement: ‘*A legal procedure can be performed after having purified the boundary*’, should not be said as a verdict. But it has been said. Therefore, [the Aṭṭhakathā Ācariya in] showing with this statement—[which is] a verdict concerning another matter (*pada*)—the fact that by means of purifying the boundary a legal procedure can be performed on that very bridge, moreover (*ca*) has illuminated the ‘village boundary’-condition of even such a bridge due to [its] condition of decreasing and increasing, without stopping with the restriction to a village.<sup>242</sup>

§ 7 Regarding [the question]: should it not invalidate a legal procedure not having brought into arm’s length monks who are staying in a river since [a bridge] is included in the river because a certain [bridge’s] post’s foot falls in the river? Although a post’s foot falls in the river, because a ‘village boundary’ and ‘river boundary’ are demarcated as a result of their own nature, a legal procedure is not invalidated even though the monks staying in the river are not brought into arm’s length. This is to be known referring to [Mañijota’s] *Simāvinicchaya* that explains:

‘But why should [the boundary] be purified by leading into arm’s length, and so on, those staying only in the village, and so on; should not [be purified by leading into arm’s length those staying] in the water area close to the bridge? Because a ‘water-splashing[-boundary]’

242 Mañijota’s *Simāvinicchaya*, § 8 (above, pp. 72f., 81f.) *yadi pana Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ ‘sace pana setu vā . . . la . . . na vaṭṭati’ ti* (Sp v 1054.9–11) *uttaravākyena gāmasimādīhi sambaddhassetuno* (thus Vin-samūh 2011. Vin-samūh 1976 has *sammaddha*<sup>o</sup>.) *kammassa akattabbhānabhāvo yeva dassito hoti. evaṃ kammakattabbhānāpaṭisedhena ‘sace pana’ ty* (Sp v 1054.9) *ādi-vacanena niṭṭhaṃ katvā vattabbaṃ siyā. na pana sannīṭṭhānaṃ ‘simāṃ sodhetvā kammaṃ kātabbān’ ti* (Sp v 1054.11) *vacanavattabbaṃ* (Vin-samūh 2011 agrees with Mañijota: *vacanaṃ vattabbaṃ*) *siyā*, (Comma from Vin-samūh 2011, no punctuation in Vin-samūh 1976) *vuttañ ca. tasmā tena vacanena padantarasanīṭṭhānena tampi yeva setumbi simasodhanena kammaṃ kattabbataṃ dassentena gāmassa nīyamaṇa aṭṭhatvā* (thus Vin-samūh 1976; Vin-samūh 2011, *aṭṭhatvā*) *hāyanavaḍḍhanasabbhāvattā tassetuno pi gāmasimabhāvo ca dipito va hoti ti*.

and a ‘village boundary’ are [each] limited by their own nature; if they are mutually separated by one cubit, one span, or even [only] four finger [breadth] there is really no fault of combination. But if they are separated by more than this, nothing needs to be said at all.<sup>243</sup>

§ 7.1 Regarding [the question]: since [the boundaries] are thus demarcated as a result of their own nature, the condition of not invalidating a legal procedure is to be known referring to what state?<sup>244</sup> It is to be known referring to the state of success of a legal procedure (*kammasampatti*) in a short river<sup>245</sup> that has a permanent bridge,<sup>246</sup> while saṅghas perform the legal procedure for the observance from the source to the river’s mouth, [for] the monks who determine a *nadīpāra* boundary [2011: 846], although they determine [the boundary] without bringing into arm’s length the monks in the river.

243 Mañjota’s *Simāvinicchaya* § 12 (pp. 74, 86): *sambaddhesu pana gāmasimādisu yeva. na samīpe udakapīṭṭhe. udakukkhepaḡāmasimādīnañ ca sakabbhāvaparicchinnattā añño aññe-na asambaddhe sati ratanaividatthīcaturāṅgulamattam pi antarīte sambbedadoso natth’ eva. tato adbhikantarīte pana vattabbam eva natthī.*

244 This question aims to discern in which cases a legal procedure is valid, although the worldly boundaries of a territory are used as a measure of the completeness of the assembled, rather than one of the specific monastic boundaries.

245 This refers to the only instance where a short river has ever been mentioned in the *Aṭṭhakathā*, Sp v 1053.4–7; Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B 15.4.1

246 This refers to Sp v 1047.9–15 (n. 220); Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B 10.3. In his sentence Ketudhamma combines two different things mentioned in Sp, and in this manner creates a new case: first, a short river (*nāvidīghā nadi*) in which monks can perform legal procedures without a ‘water-splashing boundary’ if they are so many that they fill the entire river (Sp v 1053.4–7), and, second, a river that has a permanent bridge (Sp v 1047.9–15), which is a precondition for the determination of a *nadīpārasimā* and discussed only in this context (Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B 10).

Ketudhamma sets up the scenario that a group of monks establishes a *nadīpārasimā* at such a ‘short river’ that—as prescribed for a *nadīpārasimā*—has a permanent bridge. Simultaneously the river is used by other monks for the performance of the observance (*uposatha*). Since it is a short river, if the saṅgha consists of many monks and fills the entire river, it can perform the *uposatha* according to the worldly boundaries of that river (that is, without creating a ‘water-splashing boundary’). Due to the fact that for determining a *nadīpārasimā*, monks within the river need not be taken into account, the legal procedure (*kamma*) for the determination of the *nadīpārasimā* is successful (*sampatti*), and so is the *kamma* with which the *uposatha* has been performed.

With this scenario Ketudhamma obviously wants to show that the determination of a *nadīpārasimā* at a short river with a permanent bridge, even though filled with monks, is a successful legal procedure (*kammasampatti*).

If it is said it is to be known referring to the success of a legal procedure in the area of the determined *nadīpāra* boundary at a river that has a permanent bridge, the statement that says there should be success of a legal procedure is suitable because ‘river [boundaries]’ and ‘village [boundaries]’ are, respectively, [types of] ‘foundation boundaries’<sup>247</sup> and because they are [mutually] ‘heterogenous boundaries’ (*[vi]sabbhāga[simā]*)<sup>248</sup>.<sup>249</sup>

§ 7.2 Regarding [the question]: because monks performing a legal procedure in a river while a *nadīpāra* boundary is being determined are in need (*ñai. kbraṇḥ*)<sup>250</sup> of a ‘water-splashing boundary’ near the bridge, is there

247 *nissayasimā*. Kieffer-Pülz 2021: 155. This statement is correct if it is understood that the river is a ‘foundation boundary’ (*nissayasimā*) in relation to the ‘water-splashing boundaries’ (*udakukkhepasimā*) which are created in it, and the village is a ‘foundation boundary’ in relation to ‘determined boundaries’ (*baddhasimā*) agreed upon in the village areas. It is not correct that the river and the village are mutually ‘foundation boundaries’.

248 The editions read *sabbhāga* ‘homogenous’ which is wrong according to all texts that deal with the *sabbhāga-visabbhāga* condition of *simās*. Therefore, it is likely that here there is a mistake in the manuscript basis or a typo.

249 Whereas the words ‘village’ (*gāma*) and ‘boundary’ (*simā*) are connected as *gāmasimā* (‘village boundary’) from the earliest sources onwards (Vin I 110.38), it is not usual to speak of a ‘river boundary’ (*nadīsimā*) in the root layer of the *tipīṭaka*, and it comes up only once in the *Aṭṭhakathā* layer (Sp v 1048.1). But in the Vmv *simā* is added to *nadī*, analogous also to a ‘wilderness’ (*arañña*), and so on, to describe their worldly boundaries (Vmv II 148.19; 150.10; 163.30; 165.21–22; 167.13). Since the Vmv was very influential in the Burmese cultural area—probably also via Tipitakālaṅkāra’s *Vinayalāṅkāraṭīkā* (Pālim-ṅṅ), 17th c. CE—the usage of the compound *nadīsimā* for the worldly boundaries of rivers may have gained wider acceptance. But one should not merge the terms *nadīsimā* and ‘water-splashing boundary’ (*udakukkhepasimā*), since the *udakukkhepasimās* are created within *nadīsimās*. Therefore, it also is not relevant for the present context, that in § 7.4 Ketudhamma declares that *gāma* and *udakukkhepasimā* are ‘heterogenous’ (*visa-bhāga*). The *gāma* is heterogenous with the *nadī* (alternatively called *nadīsimā*) and the *udakukkhepasimā*. For the *sabbhāga-visabbhāga* relations, see Kieffer-Pülz 2021: 155–156.

250 Although the compound *simāpekkhā* is not used anywhere in this text, this statement clearly invokes the technical sense of the compound as used in later vinaya commentaries, where it is ordinarily glossed as *sim kui ñai*, literally ‘to be partial to a *simā*’, or ‘to favor a *simā*’. Cf. Vmv II 160.4 = Pālim-ṅṅ I 330.22 *apare pana: simāpekkhāya kiccaṃ natthi*—Vmv-niss, II 323: *simāpekkhāya = sim kui ñai. kbraṇḥ pbraṇ*; Vmv II 167.2–3 = Pālim-ṅṅ I 342.1–2: *simāpekkhānantaram eva sattabbhantarasiṃāya sambhavato*—Vmv-niss, II 340: *simāpekkhānantaram eva = sim kui ñai. saññ e\* akbraṇḥ mai. n\* sā lhyāñ*.

In fact, there are only few references for *simāpekkhā*, and these are in the Vmv and in the passages borrowed from it in the Pālim-ṅṅ as well as in the 16th c. *Simāvisodhanī* (Simāvis). ‘Need for a boundary’ is used in the sense that a monastic boundary—whether a *sattabbhantarasiṃā* or an *udakukkhepasimā*—is required for a saṅgha in order to avoid an incomplete monastic community during a legal procedure. According to the Vmv such a need for a monastic boundary does not exist if a saṅgha fills an entire wilderness or an entire river up to their natural boundaries (for example, Vmv II 158.24–159.4). Again others quoted in the Vmv think that there is generally no need for creating a monastic boundary in a wilderness or a body of water, since the *sattabbhantarasiṃā*

not a failure of a legal procedure (*kammavipatti*) [i.e., the determination of the *nadīpāra* boundary] if the boundary enters within the bridge's post's foot?<sup>251</sup>

In the *Aṭṭhakathā*, since ‘those staying in the river do not disturb the legal procedure even though they have not come [into arm's length (*batthapāsa*)]<sup>252</sup> is transmitted just in general (*sāmañña sā lā ra kāh*),<sup>253</sup> in this context it is suitable to accept both *udakukkhepāpekkha nadī* (‘a river in need of a ‘water-splashing [boundary]’) [and] *apekkha nadī* (‘a river not in need [of a “water-splashing boundary”]).<sup>254</sup> This ‘short river’ is the one called here a ‘river not in need of a “water-splashing boundary”’ whereas all other rivers are those in ‘need of a “water-splashing boundary”’. Although the ‘water-splashing boundary’ reaches within the bridge's post's foot, there can be success of a legal procedure, not a failure [of a legal procedure].<sup>255</sup>

§ 7.3 Regarding [the question]: if it is said that there is not a failure of a legal procedure, has this not contradicted the statement transmitted in *Vimati* that there is a failure of a legal procedure due to a fault of combination (*sambhedadosa*) because a ‘village boundary’ is heterogenous (*visa-bhāga*) with respect to a ‘water-splashing boundary’ and it (i.e. the ‘village boundary’) is a foundation (*nissaya*) [boundary, and the ‘water-splashing boundary’ is] a dependent (*nissita*) [boundary]?<sup>256</sup>

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used in a wilderness, and the *udakukkhepasimā* used in a body of water, arise all by themselves without any activity required by the monks (Vmv II 160.4ff).

251 Here Ketudhamma wants to know whether the different legal activities performed simultaneously by two saṅghas in close vicinity, lead to the invalidity of their legal procedures.

252 Sp V 1047.32–33: *nadiyaṃ thitā anāgatā pi kammaṃ na kopenti* (n. 225).

253 That is, it is transmitted in the ‘general’ or ‘common’ (*sāmañña*) sense without any specification. As the subsequent explanation shows, what Ketudhamma means is that the ‘river’ in this passage is not specified as one which needs or does not need a ‘water-splashing boundary’.

254 In Sp there is, however, no such differentiation. In general within a river legal procedures are performed in ‘water-splashing boundaries’. The only exception mentioned is the short river (*nāvidiḅhā nadī*). In that case the space inside the river is not sufficient to create a water splashing boundary. If the saṅgha fills the entire river a legal procedure can be performed according to the worldly boundaries of the river (see above, n. 245)

255 Since a ‘water-splashing boundary’ only comes into being within a body of water, it must be assumed that in the case described by Ketudhamma, the bridge's posts' feet are inside the river. Thus the bridge counts as river as well since it is not connected with the banks of the river. The *nadīpārasimā*, on the other hand, cannot extend over bodies of water, and therefore the two legal procedures performed in the *nadīpārasimā* area and in a ‘water-splashing boundary’ respectively have no mutual effect on each other.

256 Since in the case described above, there is no connection of the ‘water-splashing boundary’ and the ‘village boundary’, there is no fault. So there is also no contradiction to the Vmv.

Because a ‘village boundary’ is heterogenous with respect to a ‘water-splashing [boundary]’ and it is a foundation (*nissaya*), [and the ‘water-splashing boundary’ is] dependent (*nissita*), a legal procedure is invalidated due to a fault of combination.<sup>257</sup>

§ 8 Statements like this and others transmitted in *Vimati* are not all-inclusive (*sabbasaṅgahaka*) statements (i.e. statements covering everything) that are entirely in accordance with the true sense of the Pāli and *Aṭṭhakathā*. Some are in accordance, some are not in accordance. Because these are confused statements, they are mere opinion (*attanomati*). Therefore, the author of *Vimatiṭīkā* has himself admitted in the explanation of the mixing of homogenous and heterogenous boundaries, having stated:

‘[There are boundaries]<sup>258</sup> with respect to which there is no fault, even if they are mutually connected by trees, and so on.<sup>259</sup> 262– But with regard to which [boundaries] there is [a fault, there it is] not [right];<sup>260</sup> concerning these [i.e.] (the last mentioned type of *simās*),

257 This seems to be just a restatement of the preceding question. May be one of them is a quote from *Vmv*, but thus far we have not located a passage that contains all the words used here. One possible reference passage could be: *Vmv* II 164.17–29 (see below, n. 292) (*Ketudhamma* § 9.1)

258 *Ketudhamma* has left out a passage before his quote which he, however, touches upon, due to the fact that he quotes part of its concluding sentence. The omitted passage runs as follows, *Vmv* II 152.29–153.5: *keci pana ‘sace dve pi simāyo pūretvā nirantaram’ ṭhitesu bhikkhūsu kammaṃ karontesu ekissā eva simāya gaṇo ca upasampadāpekkho ca anussāvako ca ekato tiṭṭhati, kammaṃ sukataṃ eva hoti. sace pana kammārāho vā anussāvako vā simantaraṭṭho hoti, kammaṃ vipajjati’ ti vadanti, tañ ca baddhasimā-gāmasimādī-sabhāgasimāsu eva yujjati, yāsu aññamaññaṃ rukkhādīsambandhesu pi doso natthi.* ‘Some, however, say: “If the bhikkhus, staying without interval [between them], filling both [monastic] boundaries, are performing a legal procedure, [and if] the group (*gaṇa*), the one who desires ordination, and the one who recites the formula for the legal procedure stand together in only one [monastic] boundary, the legal procedure is performed well indeed. But if the one liable to a legal procedure and the one who recites the formula for the legal procedure stay in the other [monastic] boundary, the legal procedure fails.” This, however, fits in only with respect to homogenous boundaries, such as a “determined boundary” and a “village boundary”, with respect to which there is no fault, even if they have mutual connections by trees, and so on.’

Thus the author of the *Vmv* rejects this opinion for two *baddhasimās*, but accepts it for *baddhasimā* and *gāmasimā*—the latter is the foundation of the former—where according to the South Indian tradition (but not to the Sri Lankan tradition) connections between these *simās* do not render the legal procedures invalid (for this problem, see above, n. 9).

259 This is the accepted South Indian position concerning the relation of *baddhasimā* and *gāmasimā*, see below, n. 264.

260 *Neyyadhamma*, who also quotes this passage in his *Simāvivādavinicchayakathā* (Minayeff 1897: 21), does not cite this sentence, and neither does the *Simānayaḍappana* (Simānd 62). This sentence only makes sense in the *Vmv* context, but not in the context to

the ‘heterogenous boundaries’ (*visabhāgasīmā*), if there is a connection by trees, and so on, a [bhikkhu] who stands in one [boundary] indeed disturbs the legal procedure in the other place, because in the *Aṭṭhakatthā* the purification has been stated in a general manner.<sup>261</sup> This is our conviction.<sup>262</sup>

In this way the author of *Vimatiṭṭikā*, on account of having doubt (*saṃsaya*) regarding his own words, without reaching his own verdict (*sannīṭṭhān*), says: ‘[This is] our conviction. Having pondered it, it should be accepted.’<sup>263</sup> [His statement] should be understood as mere opinion (*attanomati*), not as an all-inclusive statement entirely in conformity with the true sense of the Pāli and *Aṭṭhakatthā*, by referring to this exhortation (*uyyojana*).<sup>264</sup> [2011: 847]

§ 9 Regarding [the question]: without needing (*ma nai. mū r\**)<sup>265</sup> a ‘water-splashing boundary’ because of being able to gather the saṅgha in a short river and because the saṅgha fills [the river] from its source to the river’s

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which it was transferred by the 19th century authors. For a discussion of this passage in the various texts, see Kieffer-Pülz forthcoming.

261 That is, there is no purification that would be specific for only some of the various *sīmā* types.

262 *yāsu aññamaññaṃ rukkhādisambandhesu pi doso natthi. yāsu pana attthi, (na)* (om. in Vin-samūh 1976, added in parentheses in Vin-samūh 2011), *tāsu visabhāgasīmāsu rukkhādisambandhesu* (B<sup>c</sup>: *rukkhādisambandhe*) *sati ekatttha t̥bitto itaraṭṭhānāṃ kammaṃ koṭeti eva, aṭṭhakatthāyaṃ* (\*ṃ om. in Vin-samūh 1976) *sāmaññato sodhanassa vuttatā ti ambakaṃ kbanti, vimaṃsitvā gabettabbaṃ* (Vmv II 153; Vmv-niss II 305–306). Actually the Vmv author states that one should accept his opinion having investigated it.

The citation in Ketudhamma is difficult to understand, because its context in Vmv is no longer visible due to the excerpt quoted. However, this passage has been similarly cut out for quotations in the *Simāvivādavinicchayakatthā* and the *Simānayadapana* (see above, n. 260).

263 *ambakaṃ kbanti vimaṃsitvā gabettabbaṃ*. Ketudhamma does not discuss the content of this quotation, but simply takes offense at the phrase “This is our conviction. . .”, because it characterizes the statement as a personal opinion of the Vmv author, rather than a generally accepted verdict.

264 The point which could have been understood differently is the statement that the spread of a saṅgha over two *sīmās* is suitable in connection with *baddha-* and *gāmasīmā*. As we know, this is the South Indian position not shared by the Sinhalese, nor shared by Dhammaceti in 15th c. Burma, but later accepted in Burma (at least by the Saṅgharāja Ñeyyadhamma in his *Simāvivādavinicchayakatthā*) and in Thailand (by the then Saṅgharāja Vajirañāṇavarorasa). See Kieffer-Pülz 2021: 17–21.

265 See the comment on *simāpekkhā* (n. 250).

mouth,<sup>266</sup> is there failure of a legal procedure due to a fault of combination when performing a legal procedure upon a boat having tied its rope to a timber stake that has been driven into the bank?<sup>267</sup> Or, can there be [success of a legal procedure]<sup>268</sup> because there ought not to be a fault of combination?

As regards the intention of the author of the *Vimatiṭikā*, it is suitable to understand [him] as saying that there is no fault of combination because a river [boundary] is homogenous<sup>269</sup> with respect to a village [boundary] and each are foundation boundaries.<sup>270</sup>

Therefore it is stated in *Vimati*:

‘But the five boundaries, which are defined in common language, [i.e.] a village[-boundary], a wilderness[-boundary], a river[-boundary], an ocean[-boundary] or a natural lake[-boundary], do not meet

266 This takes up the possibility mentioned in Sp to perform a legal procedure in a river (see above, n. 245) filling it with monks up to its natural boundaries, without the need to use a ‘water-splashing boundary’.

267 Here Ketudhamma again draws a scenario combining two things not related in Sp. On the one hand he again takes up the short river filled with monks from its origin to its mouth, who perform a legal procedure taking the natural boundaries of the river as monastic boundary (see above, n. 245). The second case he mentions is a saṅgha assembled in a boat in a river that is fixed by tying it to a stake driven into the bank of the river. This case is mentioned in Sp v 1054.6–7 to show the fault of connection between a ‘water-splashing boundary’ (the monks in the boat) and the ‘village boundary’ (the stake at the bank of the river) (Kieffer-Pülz 1992: B 15.5.1).

Taking the statements of Sp literally, the combination of these two cases should not be possible, since the ‘short river’ case only occurs when the entire river is filled with monks. Thus there would not be any place for a boat with a different saṅgha who fixes that boat by tying it to the stake on the bank of the river.

But if Ketudhamma assumes that part of the same saṅgha is assembled in a river, part in a boat that is connected to the bank of the river, he creates a new scenario. For that case the question whether or not a connection is relevant is not answered by the commentaries. But in taking from the Vmv what has been reported for worldly boundaries Ketudhamma assumes that there is no fault.

268 The editions read ‘failure of a procedure’ (*kammavipatti*). But this does not make sense, since this case obviously is intended as the alternative to the preceding case.

269 Normally one would not classify a ‘river boundary’ as ‘homogenous’ with a ‘village boundary’. Ketudhamma probably describes them as *sabhāga* because they are both ‘foundation boundaries’ (*nissayasīmā*) and because of the quotation from the *Vimativinodanīṭika* which he quotes subsequently and which states that in a worldly context a connection between a ‘river boundary’ and a ‘village boundary’ are not considered as creating a connection. None of the earlier legal commentaries known to us describes the relation between the two as *sabhāga*.

270 It seems as if Ketudhamma here takes a position concerning the Vmv quotation above, which he characterized as Vmv’s ‘own opinion’ (*attanomati*).

with a fault [of combination] even if there [is] a mutual connection by a tree, and so on; similarly because of [its] absence from common language. For [people] in the world do not say that through the mere combination with a tree, and so on, villages, and so on, are combined with other villages, and so on, and with rivers, and so on.<sup>271</sup>

The statement that has said that in the connection of a ‘river [boundary]’ with a ‘village [boundary]’ there is no fault of combination [means] there should be no fault of combination in only a river that does not need a ‘water-splashing boundary’.<sup>272</sup> <sup>273</sup>But in a river that needs a ‘water-splashing boundary’ the author of *Vīmatīṭikā* has the opinion that there should be a fault of combination.<sup>274</sup>

§ 9.1 Regarding [the question]: is this opinion of the author of *Vīmatīṭikā* indeed a doctrine that accords with the passage transmitted in the *Aṭṭhakathā*?

*‘But having driven a post into the bank of the river, it is by no means suitable [to perform a legal procedure] in a boat tied there.’<sup>275</sup>*

271 Vmv II 165.5-7: *yā pan’ etā lokavohārasiddhā* (om. in Vin-samūh 1976, added in parenthesis in Vin-samūh 2011) *gāmārañña-na>disamudda-jātassarasimā pañcā, tā aññamañña-rukkhādīsambandhe pi sambbedadosaṃ nāpajja-na>ti, tatthā lokavohārābhāvato. na hi gāmādayo* (thus Vin-samūh 2011. Vin-samūh 1976 reads *nadīgāmādayo*) *gāmantarādīhi nadi* (Vin-samūh 1976: *nadi*<sup>o</sup>)-*ādīhi ca rukkhādīsambandhamattena sambhinā ti.*

The first part of this passage is also cited in Ñeyyadhamma’s writing to the Asaṅkaravādins, in his rejection of the sixth Sinhalese Thera’s opinion. Based on this statement of the Vmv which is concerned only with worldly boundaries, not with monastic ones, this Thera considered that practice valid for monastic *simās* as well. The same argument is later taken by the Asaṅkaravādins in the 1880s. But the final sentence in Vmv, not quoted here, clearly shows that the author of the Vmv did not have the opinion that the worldly practice was valid for monastic boundaries. See below, n. 272.

272 This the author of the Vmv explains with regard to worldly boundaries only, as is obvious when one looks at the entire passage. After the lines quoted above, Vmv states (II 165.9-12): *lokavohārasiddhānañ ca lokavohārato va sambbedo vā asambbedo vā gabetabbo, nāññato. ten’ eva Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ tāsamaññamaññaṃ kattvaci sambbedanayo na dassito, sāsana-vohārasiddho yeva dassito.* ‘And for those defined by common language a combination or not combination is to be grasped due to the common language, not due to something else. Exactly therefore in the *Aṭṭhakathā* the method of their mutual combination anywhere has not been shown, it has been shown only as defined in the language of the Teaching.’

273 This Ketudhamma assumes based on the Vmv’s discussion of the meaningless connections of worldly boundaries. That the Vmv author explicitly refers to the difference between worldly and monastic boundaries (see above, n. 272), he does not mention.

274 This latter falls under the regulations for the monastic boundaries, and in stating this the Vmv author follows the regulation in the *Aṭṭhakathā*.

275 Sp v 1054.6-7: *nadītīre pana khāṇukamañ koṭetvā tatthā baddhanāvāyo na vaṭṭati yeva.*

In [this statement in] the *Aṭṭhakathā*, *udakukkḃepāpekkhanadī* (‘a river in need of a “water-splashing [boundary]”’) is not transmitted. Since just [the word] ‘river’ is transmitted in general (*sāmañña*),<sup>276</sup> it could be a river that needs a ‘water-splashing boundary’, or a river that does not need [one].<sup>277</sup> Having tied a boat in either type of river with a rope to a timber stake that has been driven into the bank, without purifying the boundary, if a legal procedure is performed upon that boat, there is a failure of a legal procedure due to a fault of combination.<sup>278</sup> Since it is suitable to accept that, it is suitable to understand that the doctrine of the author of *Vimatiṭṭikā* is not a doctrine that is in accordance with the *Aṭṭhakathā*.<sup>279</sup>

Because the doctrine is thus not in accordance with the statement transmitted in the *Aṭṭhakathā*, monks who perform a legal procedure upon a boat

276 See above, n. 253.

277 This argumentation is anachronistic insofar as the differentiation into a river in need of a ‘water-splashing boundary’ and one that is not in need of it, is not yet discussed at the time of the *Aṭṭhakathā*. At that time a saṅgha that wanted to perform a legal procedure in a body of water generally had to create a ‘water-splashing boundary’. The only exception mentioned, and this only once, is the short river which is so short that the saṅgha when it enters the river fills it from its origin to its mouth (see above, n. 245). In such a river there is no more space within the body of water to mark a ‘water-splashing boundary’, since the water splash would come down on the banks of the river. Thus, river in the *Aṭṭhakathā* in general, and in this passage especially, clearly refers to a river within which a ‘water-splashing boundary’ can be generated. This becomes obvious from the subsequent mention of a boat which is tied to a stake at the bank of the river. In the case of the short river no boat, platform, and so on are used for the assembling Saṅgha, but the Saṅgha members are within the river.

278 And this is also the case according to the *Vimativinodaniṭṭika*, as stated in the chapter on the ‘water-splashing boundary’, see Vmv II 150.1-8: *‘vihārasimāya vā gāmasimāya vā patiṭṭhitō’* ti (Sp v 1054.1-2) ca, *‘nāditire pana kbāṇukaṃ koṭṭetvā tattha baddhanāvāya vā na vaṭṭati’* ti (Sp v 1054.6-7) ca *‘sace pana (5) setu vā setupādā vā bābitire patiṭṭhitā, kammaṃ kātuṃ na vaṭṭati’* ti (Sp v 1054.9-11) ca *evaṃ visabbhāgāsu gāmasimāsu sākḃhādinaṃ phusanam eva saṅkaradosakāraṇattena vuttam, na bhikkhūphusanan.* “**[If a branch of a tree grown inside the river] is established in a ‘monastery boundary’ or a ‘village boundary’**”, and **“having driven a stake into the bank of the river, it is not suitable [to perform a legal procedure] in a boat tied there”,** and **“but if the bridge or the feet of the bridge are established on the bank outside [the river], it is not suitable to perform a legal procedure”,** and thus only the touching of branches, and so on, in ‘village boundaries’ which are heterogenous (i.e. in comparison to the ‘water-splashing boundaries’), is mentioned as a cause for the fault of confusion, not the touching of the bhikkhus.’

279 It is to be assumed that Ketudhamma here has the Vmv statement in mind which he has previously quoted, because after its quotation he poses the question whether this is in agreement with the *Aṭṭhakathā*. He states a contradiction between the Vmv and *Aṭṭhakathā*. But this contradiction only exists because Ketudhamma ignores that the author of Vmv makes this statement solely with respect to worldly usage, not with regard to monastic boundaries. As is explained elsewhere in the Vmv (see above, n. 278), Vmv and *Aṭṭhakathā* are completely in agreement concerning this question.

as formerly described, should perform a legal procedure having brought into arm's length just the monks who are staying in the village district.<sup>280</sup> [This is] because the location of a boat which is tied to a tree which stands on the bank is the village, in accordance with *Vajirabuddhiṭikā*:

‘With regard to a boat tied to a tree that stands on the bank [of the river] the village is the basis.’<sup>281</sup>

Or, [this is] because the boat, on account of being connected with a village, is included in the village district, in accordance with *Mahāvā[ḡga]*, *Uposathakkhandhaka-Pāli*:

‘Monks, if no boundary is agreed upon, is established ... for one uposatha’.<sup>282</sup> [2011: 848]

Therefore [the following] is transmitted in the discussion on the confusion of boundaries (*simāsaṅkarakathā*) in *Vimatiṭikā*:

‘For as a mutual connection by trees, and so on, of these [‘determined boundaries’] is not suitable because (*iti*) a ‘determined boundary’ agreed upon in a ‘determined boundary’ is a defective boundary (*vipattisimā*),<sup>283</sup> so it is proved that a connection by trees, and so on, of this [‘determined boundary’] even with them (i.e. river, ocean, lake) is not suitable, because a ‘determined boundary’ even though agreed upon in a river, and so forth, is only a defective boundary.’<sup>284</sup>

According to this method the non-suitability (*na vaṭṭanaka*)<sup>285</sup> of a connection by trees, and so on, must be known for a ‘seven-

280 Since the contradiction of Vmv to Sp stated by Ketudhamma does not exist, both texts completely agree with the conclusion drawn here by Ketudhamma.

281 Vjb 459.9-10: *tīraṭṭhe rukke baddhanāvāya gāmo ābhāro*. See Kieffer-Pülz 2013: III 1925, 1932-1935.

282 Vin I 110.36-111.1: *asammatāya bhikkhave simāya aṭṭhapitāya ... pa ... ekuposathā*. For the complete sentence see above, n. 160.

283 This statement is based on Vin I 111.7-22 where it is declared that in overlapping or confusing a second determined boundary with an earlier one, the second does not come into being.

284 This is based on Vin v 221.8, where boundaries determined in a river, an ocean or a natural sea are listed as defective *simās* (Kieffer-Pülz 1992: 142-143).

285 The words *na vaṭṭanakabbāvo* (v.l. *vattakabbāvo*) appear only here and in the parallel passage in Palim-ṅ, where the text is borrowed from the Vmv. We understand it here as a noun to *vaṭṭati*.

The ‘water-splashing boundary’ and the ‘seven-*abbantara*-boundary’ both are valid only for as long as the legal procedure lasts; also, these *simās* do not have definitive shapes, because their size depends on the size of the assembled saṅgha. Therefore, it is not possible to indicate definite connections for them.

*abbhantara*-boundary' with a village, a river, and so on,<sup>286</sup> and of a 'water-splashing-boundary' with a wilderness, and so on.

Thus, the 'determined boundary', the 'seven-*abbhantara*-boundary' and the 'water-splashing boundary' allowed by the Blessed One, meet with the fault of combination if there is a connection by trees, and so on, mutually (i.e. between these various types of boundaries), and with the boundaries of the foundations of the one or the other (i.e. of all) [boundaries]<sup>287</sup> exempt from the [respective] own foundation. Therefore (*ti*) the method 'in conformity to the Sutta (Vin)' (*suttānuloma*) must be known indeed.

It should be shown that In conformity to the combining and overlapping allowed<sup>288</sup> by the Blessed One at the time of the arising of the three [boundaries], 'determined boundary', and so on,<sup>289</sup> with the village, and so on,<sup>290</sup> which are each [boundary's] respective own foundation, even<sup>291</sup> a connection by trees, and so on, [of these boundaries with their respective foundations] is allowed indeed.<sup>292</sup>

286 The 'and so on' stands for the other bodies of water within which a 'water-splashing boundary' can come into being, that is, the ocean and the natural lake.

287 This refers to the areas within which these boundaries come into being. Instead of 'foundation boundaries' (*nissayasimā*) we also find simply 'foundations' (*nissaya*) being used.

288 The *Vinaya* does not contain an explicit statement of this type. But from the fact that each of these *simās* is established in a specific area (foundation = *nissaya*), and this is not considered a problem for the validity of the *simā*, the Vmv author concludes that also connections between *simās* and their foundations do not lead to problems.

289 I.e. 'seven-*abbhantara*-boundary' and 'water-splashing-boundary'.

290 The village is the foundation of a 'determined boundary'; the 'and so on' refers to the foundations of the other two boundaries, that is, to the wilderness (*arañña*) and a body of water (*nadī, samudda, jātasara*).

291 The Vmv reads *pi* 'even'.

292 Vmv II 164.17-29: *tatrīdaṃ suttānulomato nayaggabaṇamukhaṃ: yathā hi baddhasimāyaṃ sammatā vipattisimā hotī ti tāsāṃ aññamaññāṃ rukkabhādisambandho na vaṭṭati. evaṃ nadi-ādīsu sammatā pi baddhasimā vipattisimā va hotī ti tāhi pi saddhīṃ tassā rukkha-disambandho na vaṭṭati ti sījibati. iminā nayena sattabbhantarasimāya gāma-nadī-ādīhi saddhīṃ, udakukkhepasimāya ca araññādihi saddhīṃ rukkabhādisambandhassa na vaṭṭana-kabbāvo (Vin-samūh 1976: vattakabbāvo) nātabbo. evam etā bhagavatā anuññātā baddhasimā sattabbhantara-udakukkhepasimā aññamaññā c' eva attano nissayavirahitāhi itaritarāsaṃ (Vin-samūh 1976: 'taṃ) nissaya simāhi ca rukkabhādisambandhe sati sambhedodasam āpajjati ti suttānulomanayo nātabbo (Vin-samūh 1976: nñātabbo) va. attano attano pana nissayabhūtagāmādihi saddhīṃ baddhasimādināṃ tissannaṃ uppattikāle bhagavatā anuññātassa sambhedajjibbottharaṇassa anulomato rukkabhādisambandho pi anuññāto va hotī ti daṭṭhabbam.*

These are not all-inclusive statements entirely in accordance with the true sense of the Pāli and *Aṭṭhakathā*. Some are in accordance, some are not in accordance. Because they are confounded and confused statements, they are mere opinion.

§ 9.2 On account of it being mere opinion, unable to endure (*a[k]khama*) the statement by the author of *Vimatiṭṭikā* that there should be no combination [of boundaries] at the site of connection between a ‘village boundary’ and a ‘determined boundary’ (*baddha sim*),<sup>293</sup> the Sinhalese (*sibalaṅvāsī*) Vācissaramahāthera, who endeavored the contrary (*paṭikkhepa*), has stated in the treatise *Simālankāra*:

‘21.–22. A [monastic boundary] free of any of the failures of the [monastic] boundary among the eleven failures [listed in the *Vinaya*] is connected with the three successful attainments [of a monastic boundary], because (*bi*) a ‘determined boundary’ (*baddha-simā*) that [remains] unconfused also with other [monastic] boundaries through trees, branches, and so on, is considered suitable for all legal procedures of the Buddhist community.

23. It has been said in the *Aṭṭhakathā* indeed (*bi*) that, when a confusion arises [between monastic] boundaries but [a legal procedure] is performed without [first] having purified [the monastic boundary], the legal procedure of a Buddhist monastic community is disturbed. [2011: 849]

24. Some [persons] (*keci*; i.e. the Coḷīyas) declare that, even if [there] exists a confusion (*saṅkara*) of some [monastic] boundaries, this [does not] spoil a legal procedure performed [therein] without having [previously] purified the [monastic boundary].

25. ‘If [there exists] a connection (*sambandha*) of a “determined boundary” (*baddha-simā*) with a “village boundary” (*gāma-simā*) by branches, and so on, [this] is not a confusion (*saṅkara*).’ This is the opinion of the Coḷīyas.<sup>294</sup>

293 That a connection between a ‘determined boundary’ and a ‘village boundary’ are considered as not creating a confusion of these boundaries is due to the fact that the South Indians put the function of the ‘village boundary’ as a foundation for a ‘determined boundary’ in the foreground. As in the case of the other boundaries, here too, they consider connections between a boundary and its foundation irrelevant. See above, n. 9.

294 *Simā* vv. 21–25: for an edition and translation, see Kieffer-Pülz 2021: 70–71, 96–98:

And so on.

The excellent master by the name Munindasāra,<sup>295</sup> a native of Ññiõ Kan village, *dharmācariya* of Paṭhama auṭh kyoṅḥ charā tau,<sup>296</sup> Dutiya auṭh kyoṅḥ charā tau,<sup>297</sup> and Praññ charā tau,<sup>298</sup> as a result of his fondness for the judgment (*vinicchaya*) transmitted in the *Simālaṅkāra* treatise among the two statements, [i.e.,] the judgement transmitted in the *Vimativinodanī* treatise and the judgment transmitted in the *Simālaṅkāra* treatise, in *Vinayasāraṅḡṭhi*,<sup>299</sup> which was composed by him, stated:

‘The excellent vinayadhara masters who are modest, well-behaved and desiring training say that because all the authors of *Ṭikās* and *Ḡaṅṡhis* do not accept the opinions that are only accepted by the teachers who live in Cola [Country] (*colavāsi charā*), such as the opinion of the author of the *Vimativinodanīṭika*, and because [those opinions] are not in conformity with the Pāli and *Aṭṡhakathā*, performing [a legal procedure] in accordance with [what is] transmitted in *Vimativinodanī* results in failure (*vipatti*).’<sup>300</sup>

*Ekādasaviṡṡattinaṡ yāyam aññatarāya pi*  
*Simaviṡṡattiyā muttā tisamṡṡattibi samyuttā* (21)

*Rukkbāsākbhādinaññābi simābi pi asaṅkarā*  
*Baddbasimā hi sā sabbasaṅghakammārāhā matā.* (22)

*Saṅkare sati simānām asodbetvā katham paṅa,*  
*Kuppate samghakammanti vuttam Aṭṡhakathāya hi* (23)

*Keci kāsaṅci simānaṡ vijjamāne pi saṅkare*  
*Katassa taṡ asodbetvā kammassākopam abravuṡ.* (24)

*Gāmasimāya sambbandhe baddbasimāya saṅkaro,*  
*Sākbhādbihi na boti ti Coliyānam idaṡ matam.* (25)

295 Munindasāra (1769–?). Some details about him are recorded in Kelasa 2010: 162–168. We are indebted to Alexey Kirichenko for assistance with the identification and dates of the figures mentioned in this paragraph.

296 Puññaraṡsi, also known as Ūḥ Puiḥ (1778–1830). Some details about him are recorded in Kelasa 2009: 157–159.

297 Jambudhāja, also known as Cakkinda and Ūḥ Put/Budh (1787–1842). Some details about him are recorded in Kelasa 2009: 182–191.

298 Medha, also known as Medhālaṅkāra (1788–1864). Some details about him are recorded in Kelasa 2010: 192–207.

299 This treatise was completed on 5 waxing Tawthalin in *sāsana* year 2346 (= 1 September 1802). An edition was prepared by Charā Ñṅaṅ and published in Yangon by Sudhammavati Press in 1933.

300 This comprises a verbatim citation from *Vinayasāraṅḡṭhi* (Ñṅaṅ 1933, 340)—aside from the minor addition of *ḡṅṡhi charā* (*‘ḡṅṡhi authors’*) by Ketudhamma—where this statement follows Munindasāra’s discussion of vv. 1–26 of Simāl. After commenting on each stanza individually, and immediately before the passage cited here, Munindasāra remarks: ‘With regard to this matter of the confusion of boundaries (*simasambheda*), it is

Having investigated with wisdom these statements that have been said, by keeping in mind whichever textual passages are textual passages that are confounded and confused, and not in accordance with the true sense of the Pāli and *Aṭṭhakathā*, modest, well-behaved monks, desiring training [and being] scrupulous (*kukkuccaka*) should carry out legal procedures such as higher ordination (*upasampada*), and so on, in a ‘water-splashing boundary’ having accepted [this] judgment indeed which is in accordance with the true sense of the Pāli and *Aṭṭhakathā*.

*Simāvinicchaya*,  
the judgment of Aoṇ mre rhve bhuṃ charā tau bhurāḥ kriḥ,  
is concluded.

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## Abbreviations

The abbreviations of Pāli texts follow the abbreviations suggested in Helmer Smith, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary, Epilegomena to vol. 1*, Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1948 <<https://cpd.uni-koeln.de/intro/>>. The texts are quoted according to the editions of the Pali Text Society as far as available, for the rest the Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgiti editions are quoted.

App.	Appendix in the present article
CSCD	Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana CD-Rom, Version 4.0 (Igatpuri; Vipassana Research Institute).
fol(s).	folio(s)

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a very difficult matter indeed, as the doctrines of authors of treatises (*kyamḥ charā*) are divergent. In the present time, some authors record a verdict (*samṇiṭṭhān*) reached in accordance with *Vimativinodaniṭṭika*. The author of *Vinayālaṅkāraṭṭikā* [i.e., *Tipiṭakālaṅkāra*], also, speaks firmly in accordance with [the doctrine] transmitted in *Vimativinodaniṭṭika*. Although, [this] should be noted and considered because [he] speaks having subscribed to the wisdom of the author of *Vimativinodaniṭṭika* by his own opinion (*attanomati*) [...]’ (Ñāṇ 1933: 339–340). This is interesting insofar as Dhammaceti in his Kalyāṇi Inscriptions clearly opts for the Sinhalese interpretation, see above, n. 264.

- DdB *Darlegung der Bedeutung (Attbasālinī). Der Kommentar zur Dhammasaṅgani*, übersetzt von Bhikkhu Nyānaponika, redaktionell bearbeitet und ediert von Sven Bretfeld und Rainer Knopf (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2005).
- KBZ Moñ Moñ Tañ [Maung Maung Tin], *Kunḥ bhoñ chak mabārājavan tau kriḥ* [Extended Royal Chronicle of the Konbaung Dynasty]. 3 vols, 4th edn (Yangon: Universities' Historical Research Centre, 2004).
- Kkh *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇi* by Bhadantācariya Buddhaghosa, ed. by Kenneth Roy Norman and William Pruitt (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2003).
- MORA Ministry of Religious Affairs.
- Niss *nissaya*; here used for the *nissaya* to Mañjota's *Simāvinicchaya*.
- Pālim-nt Tipiṭakālaṅkāra, [*Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayanavaṭṭikā*] *Vinayālaṅkāraṭṭikā*, 2 vols (Yangon: Buddhasāsanasamiti, 1962).
- Pāṭha text, here: Mañjota's *Simāvinicchaya*
- r recto
- Sās [*Sāsanavaṃsa*] Paññasāmi, *Sāsanavaṃsa*, ed. by Mabel Bode (London: Pali Text Society, 1897).
- Simāl *Simālaṅkārasaṅgaha*, see References: Kieffer-Pülz. 2021.
- Simā-nd [*Simānayaḍappana*] [*Saddhammavaṃsamahānikāyika Sugatasāsanaḍhājavānayaṅcariya*] Dhammālaṅkāra [Abhidhāna Saṅghanāyakaṭṭhara], *Simānayaḍappana*, [with a Pāli preface and an English summary of it by L. Corneille Wijesinha (Mudaliyar)]; print caused by the minister Tomas Māndis Vijayavikkama Sirivaḍḍhana in Kolambanagare and by the Thānantarika named Arondābrev Vijayasīha in Vālukātitthagāma in the year] 2428 = 1885.
- Simāvis [*Simāvisodhanī*] Sāgarabuddhi, *Simāvisodhanī*, CSCD.
- Sp *Samantapāsādikā Vinayattḥakathā*, 7 vols, ed. by J. Takakusu, M. Nagai (and K. Mizuno in vols v and vii) (London: Pali Text Society, 1924–1947).
- Sp-ṭ [*Sāratṭhadīpanīṭikā*] Sāriputta [of Poḷonnaruva], *Sāratṭhadīpani*, 3 vols (Yangon: Buddhasāsanasamiti, 1960).
- v verso
- Vin *Vinaya Piṭaka*, 5 vols, ed. by Hermann Oldenberg (London: Williams and Norgate, 1879–1883).
- Vin-samūh *Vinayasamūhavinicchaya*, ed. Ūḥ Nigrodha 1899–1901 [1st ed.] *Vinayasamūhavinicchaya*, 3 vols (Mandalay: Mandalay Times Press). 1904 [4th ed.] *Vinayasamūhavinicchaya*, vol. 1 (Yangon: Erāvati). 1958 [5th ed.] *Vinayasamūhavinicchaya*, vol. 1 § 3 (Mandalay: Rangoon-Mandalay Book Depot). 1976 [repr. of 1958] *Vinayasamūhavinicchaya*, vol. 2 (Mandalay: Rangoon-Mandalay Book Depot).

- 2011 [6th ed.] *Vinayasamūhavinicchaya*, 3 vols (Yangon: Buddha cā pe aphvai).
- Vmv Colīya Kassa, *Vimativinodaniṭṭika*, 2 vols (Yangon: Buddhasāsana-samiti, 1960).
- Vmv-niss Indāsabha, *Vimativinodaniṭṭika-nissaya*, 2 vols (Yangon: Piṭakabyū-hā, 1983–1984).

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- abaddbasimā* ('undetermined boundary') 63, 65, 67; notes 35, 38, 116, 117, 169, 210
- achumḥ apbrat* see *vinicchaya*
- adhippāya* ('intended meaning') note 101
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68–69, 76; 'water-splashing boundary-condition' 68, 69, notes 3, 38, 247, 249–250,  
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# Princess Bualai's Embroidered *Kammavācā* Manuscripts from Thailand

Peera Panarut and Silpsupa Jaengsawang\*

## 1. Introduction

In the past few decades, scholarly work has shown that a manuscript, regardless to which culture it belongs, is more than a mere carrier of text, but a cultural object with its dynamic cultural meanings and social functions.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes a manuscript plays an essential role in a religious ritual without being read, functioning as a ritual object.<sup>2</sup> In many cases, a manuscript can be produced to be displayed for its artistic value, functioning as an art object. An example of the latter case are two embroidered *kammavācā* manuscripts produced by Princess Bualai Thepphawong (1847–1932) from Phrae in Northern Thailand. One, in the Lan Na Dhamma script, a traditional script of Northern Thailand,<sup>3</sup> was donated to Wat Phra Bat Ming Mueang monastery (Phrae) in 1873. The other, in the Khom script, the religious script of Central Thailand, was sent as a royal gift to King Chulalongkorn (1853–1910; r. 1868–1910) of Bangkok around the turn of the twentieth century. Instead of being incised on a leaf by a stylus or being written on paper with ink as widely practised in the manuscript cultures of Buddhist mainland Southeast Asia, the writing in both manuscripts is embroidered with silk on a long piece of cloth. These two manuscripts, therefore, have outstanding artistic value.<sup>4</sup>

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1 For the case of the Buddhist manuscript culture of the Northern Thailand, see Veidlinger 2006.

2 For example, see Griffiths 1999, Jaengsawang 2019.

3 Grabowsky 2008: 16.

4 See the image of both manuscripts in the appendices at the end of the article.

Both manuscripts preserve the same text, though with variations, namely, the formula (Pāli *kammavācā*, Thai *kammawacha*)<sup>5</sup> for higher ordination (Pāli *upasampadā*) as a Buddhist monk and some formally fixed text portions required for that ceremony. Most of the main text consists of the Pāli text, which is to be recited by the ordinand and the monks who are going to ordain him. But occasionally, ceremonial instructions and explanations in a vernacular language are inserted.

The text of *kammavācā* formulae was necessary for the monastic administration of the Buddhist communities (*saṅgha*), because many of a *saṅgha*'s affairs were regulated in legal procedures (*kamma*) carried out with corresponding formulae for these procedures. Therefore, sponsoring the production of *kammavācā* manuscripts for monastic donations has long been perceived as an act of merit.<sup>6</sup> *Kammavācās* have been transmitted in separate manuscripts for practical reasons, and therefore constitute a broad manuscript tradition.<sup>7</sup> As a result, a large number of Pāli *kammavācā* manuscripts have been found from different Theravada Buddhist countries, namely, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia. Among the countless copies of *kammavācā* manuscripts from various manuscript cultures, Burmese manuscripts are best known for their outstanding decorative features.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, many Burmese *kammavācā* manuscripts consisting of lacquered cloth, metal, ivory, etc., with text in the specific decorative type of script called Tamarind seed script (Burmese *mgyi-zi*),<sup>9</sup> have found their way into libraries and museums in Europe and America during the past few centuries.<sup>10</sup> However, there are also decorative *kammavācā* manuscripts from Northern Thailand.<sup>11</sup>

The two embroidered *kammavācā* manuscripts discussed here are arguably among the most extraordinary of the decorative *kammavācā* manuscripts originating from Thailand. Both manuscripts have already been mentioned in secondary literature,<sup>12</sup> but have never been published in their

5 These formulae which are recited in legal procedures (Pāli *kamma*) of Buddhist communities are partly cited from the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, partly adjusted, and partly newly created (Kieffer-Pülz 2020–21: 153; 2024: 65–66).

6 Ward 2015: 72.

7 von Hinüber 2000: 15.

8 Ward 2015: 70–72.

9 See Peters 1993.

10 For the case of the British Library's collection, see San San May & Igunma 2018.

11 Kieffer-Pülz 2024: 77.

12 For the 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript' from Wat Phra Bat Ming Mueang, see Panita Sarawasi 2021. For the 'Khom embroidered manuscript' from the National Library of Thailand, see Panarut 2015; 2021.

entirety. In this paper, therefore, we would like to present these two manuscripts in more detail, discussing their background, function, and significance, as well as providing their images and transliterations as appendices.

## 2. Princess Bualai Theppawong and her embroidery masterpieces

According to the colophons of these two manuscripts, the original producer of both manuscripts is Princess Bualai Thepphawong, the consort of the last prince governor of Phrae, Prince Phiriya Thepphawong (1836–1912 CE). Princess Bualai was born as a princess in Nan (Northern Thailand) in 1847 and later married Prince Phiriya Thepphawong of Phrae. They had seven children.<sup>13</sup> When the prince became prince governor of Phrae in 1889, Princess Bualai therefore became the consort of the prince governor. This title she held until the so-called Shan rebellion in 1902 (see below). At the beginning of her tenure, she was even appointed as the regent of Phrae in the absence of her husband for seven days, thus also known as *mae chao luang* ('princess regent').<sup>14</sup>

Princess Bualai was well-known for her embroidery. As the consort of the prince governor, she always presented many embroidered objects such as curtains, pillows and a triangular backrest, to King Chulalongkorn of Siam as royal tribute. Her presents always pleased the King so much that he dedicated a chamber in his Grand Palace exclusively for her collection. The King entitled the chamber 'Bualai Chamber' in her honour.<sup>15</sup> In addition, seemingly even before her tenure, she had also donated embroidered objects such as a manuscript wrapping cloth to Wat Phra Bat Ming Mueang monastery in Phrae, which was under the patronage of Princess Bualai and her husband.<sup>16</sup> The two embroidered *kammavācā* manuscripts are the only known embroidered written artefacts produced by her that have survived to the present and have been preserved in a relatively good

13 Their children consist of six daughters and one son, see Buaphew Wongphrathang 1999a: 3419; 1999b: 4688. The most famous descendant of Prince Phiriya Thepphawong and Princess Bualai is undeniably their grandson, Chot Phraephon (1907–1956), who was a famous novelist of twentieth-century Thailand. He was the first born of Princess Bualai's only son, Prince Inpaeng (c. 1888–1920; Prachuap Kanchanalap 1994: 322). Chot's best-known major work is *Phu Chana Sip Thit* ('A Victor in Every Direction'), a story of love, adventure, and heroism with a historical background set in the sixteenth-century Burmese royal court (Wenk 2009: 78).

14 Buaphew Wongphrathang et al. 1993: 40.

15 Buaphew Wongphrathang et al. 1993: 40.

16 Buaphew Wongphrathang 1999a: 3419.

condition. Both are undoubtedly among Princess Bualai's embroidery masterpieces.



Figure 1: A photo of Princess Bualai Theppawong (now exhibited at the Museum of the Residence of the Prince Governor of Phrae or *khum chao luang*). Photograph by Peera Panarut.

The first embroidered manuscript to be mentioned here is the one now kept at Wat Phra Bat Ming Mueang monastery (Phrae province). It is embroidered in the Lan Na Dhamma script, and therefore referred to henceforth as the 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript'. The colophon of the manuscript appears in the Tai Yuan language and the Lan Na Dhamma script, stating that Princess Bualai embroidered this manuscript to be donated to Wat Phra Bat Ming Mueang monastery in 1873.

Sixteen to twenty-nine years after its production, during the time Princess Bualai had officially become the consort of the prince governor (between 1889 and 1902), she made a second *kammavācā* manuscript—a leprello—, embroidered in the Khom script. It was to be sent as a gift to the king of Bangkok. This manuscript is now preserved in the Manuscript

Collection of the National Library of Thailand (NLT, Bangkok) and is registered as NLT: Illustrated Manuscripts Subsection: Ms no. 134 (henceforth: 'Khom embroidered manuscript').



Figure 2: A photo of Princess Bualai and her silk embroidery from circa 1889 (now exhibited at the Museum of Residence of the Prince Governor of Phrae). Her daughter, Princess Wiang Chuen, was sitting beside her in the photo. Photograph by Peera Panarut.

Though the two manuscripts both are embroidered books produced by the same person, preserve nearly the same *kammavācā* text, and showcase an amalgamation between book arts, calligraphy and embroidery, they were produced to serve different purposes in different contexts, as will be discussed below.

### 3. The 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript': Manuscript art as a donated object

The 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript' is made of a long piece of originally white silk fabric that has turned greyish with age being folded in a concertina or leporello fashion, imitating the form of leporello (folded) books which have been widely used in Northern Thailand and are traditionally called *pap sa* ('fold of mulberry paper'). One folded page or folio measures around  $57.8 \times 13.1$  cm. Thus, this manuscript, containing 18 folded pages, can be unfolded into a 2.3-metre-long piece of silk fabric. Textual and border lines drawn by pencils are visible, implying that the text had been drafted with a pencil or chalk before it was embroidered. The text, embroidered with golden silk, was written in Pāli and vernacular Tai Yuan languages, both in the Lan Na Dhamma script. The covers of the manuscript are made of wood wrapped by cloth that is adorned with

colourful embroidered patterns. The back cover<sup>17</sup> consists of black cloth colourfully decorated with flowers, fish, birds, and butterflies. Of the eighteen folded pages sixteen on the recto side bear the writing, while the verso sides are left blank. The manuscript is now exhibited at the Wat Phra Bat Ming Mueang Museum, being steadily hung in a tall glass showcase.<sup>18</sup>



Figure 3: The ‘Dhamma embroidered manuscript’ exhibited in a showcase (more than 2-metre height) at the Wat Phra Bat Ming Mueang Museum. Photograph by Silpsupa Jaengsawang.

The colophon of the manuscript, embroidered on the last recto pages (fols. 15–16r), appears in the Tai Yuan language, mentioning Princess Bualai as

17 Due to limited access to the manuscript, we could only investigate the back cover during our survey.

18 The Wat Phra Bat Ming Mueang Museum is a built-in museum in the main monastic hall of the monastery.

the producer of the manuscript, not just as the sponsor as regularly found in other cases. It also records the date of production as Tuesday 28th October 1873. At this time Princess Bualai was 26 years of age, and her husband was still a prince of Phrae, not yet the prince governor. Even though it is unclear when exactly Princess Bualai married Prince Phiriya Thepphawong, this colophon suggests that they must have been married some time before 1873, and have had children already, since their children are included in the colophon as sponsors of the manuscript.<sup>19</sup> According to the colophon, Princess Bualai was the principal initiator herself. Together with her husband, Phiriya Thepphawong, her parents, and her children, she made this manuscript with her ardent religious faith in the Buddhist Triple Gems. The colophon also states that Princess Bualai 'took the tiny silk threads to embroider the letters to prolong and sustain the Buddhist religion for 5000 years'.<sup>20</sup> Then, she wished for meritorious results of the donation: a new rebirth in the period of Metteyya Buddha, Enlightenment, and a new great rebirth as a great lady of the land. The colophon ends with the Pāli formula *Arahantimaggāññānaṃ tividhaṃ sukkhaṃ nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukkhaṃ* ('[May we reach] the knowledge of the path of arahantship, the threefold happiness,<sup>21</sup> [and] Nibbāna the most eminent happiness'). Viewed against the backdrop of the belief in the Five Disappearances (*pañca-antaradhāna*),<sup>22</sup> not only was this manuscript offered to the monastery to preserve the Buddhist text which is considered to prevent the extinction of the Buddha's Teachings (*pariyatti-antaradhāna*), it was to sustain the monkhood ordination ceremony which is regarded as the prevention of the disappearance of [its outward] sign (*līnga-antaradhāna*). In so doing, the disappearance of the Buddhist practices (*paṭipatti-antaradhāna*) and the disappearance of the comprehension [of the true meaning] (*paṭivedha-*

19 Children of Prince Phiriya Thepphawong and Princess Bualai mentioned here in the colophon are referring solely to their daughters, because their last child and only son, Prince Inpaeng, was not born until around 1888 (Prachuap Kanchanalap 1994: 322).

20 See the entire colophon of the 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript' and its translation in Appendix I at the end of the article.

21 'Human happiness, heavenly happiness and the happiness that is *nibbāna*' (*manus-sasukkaṃ divasukkaṃ nibbānasukkaṃ ti tividhaṃ pi sukkaṃ*, Ud-a 111).

22 The Five Disappearances were prophesied by Gotama Buddha, defining five things that will gradually worsen or die out before the complete end of the Buddhist five-thousand-year period (Paramanuchit Chinorot 2009: 439–446). Among the five disappearances, the disappearance of the Buddha's Teachings will occur first. To sustain Buddhism to last until the end of five thousand years, religious manuscripts were therefore dedicated to monasteries, in order to prevent the other four disappearances from taking place.

*antaradhāna*) will also be prevented or delayed because, with the support of ordination ceremonies, the number of monks increases. The Princess's intention to sustain Buddhism with this embroidered manuscript is therefore mentioned in the colophon with the words 'sustaining the Buddhist religion to last for 5000 years.'

The usage of the Lan Na Dhamma script corresponds to the Princess' intention, i.e., to donate this embroidered manuscript to the/a monastic community in Northern Thailand. From the three scripts used in the Lan Na manuscript culture of Northern Thailand,<sup>23</sup> the Dhamma script is not only the most widespread, but also strongly associated with the Teachings of the Buddha, and thus most often used for writing Buddhist texts and manuscripts.<sup>24</sup> Unlike the 'Khom embroidered manuscript' made with colourful threads and intended as a present for a king, the 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript' was embroidered only with a plain gold thread and thus looks humbly plain, because the Princess intended to dedicate this written artefact to the Buddhist religion represented by a monastic community.

The golden colour of the embroidery thread on the one hand represents Princess Bualai's religious faith and on the other her social status. Gold as a costly material is especially used for objects of veneration such as Buddha images, pagodas, parasols, and other veneration items. They are either coated with gold or are of golden colour, considered sacred and highly precious.<sup>25</sup> The embroidery thread represents gold, regardless of whether it was coated with gold or only with a golden-coloured chemical. Due to the rarity and value of the material—access to golden threads was limited to

23 Apart from the Dhamma script, the other two scripts used in manuscripts and inscriptions of Northern Thailand are the Fak Kham script and the Thai Nithet script (see Thawat Punnothok 2006).

24 The earliest evidence of the Dhamma script is a Pāli inscription in which one single line on a golden leaf in a stupa in Sukhothai was written in the Dhamma script in 1376 (National Library of Thailand 2005: 489–490).

25 The tradition of decorating manuscripts with expensive material by high-ranking sponsors were, especially, commonly found in wooden covers of palm-leaf manuscripts that, as an open space of decorations free of inscribed texts, welcomed free-decorative embellishment crafted by available, or sometimes, rare material that showed the sponsors' privilege, increased meritorious value of a manuscript, and protected the leaves with the text. Furthermore, gold was important in commercial affairs and was used to represent religious faith: golden Buddha images, gold-coated pagodas, manuscripts written with gold ink (Gallop 2022; Bennett 2009: 101).

only influential and wealthy people of high social status<sup>26</sup>—the choice of the thread's colour can be understood to stand for Princess Bualai's faith in the Dhamma as well as her social status.

When considering that certain material and colours (such as white) were related to certain traditional practices in Thailand,<sup>27</sup> the white colour<sup>28</sup> of the cloth also corresponds to her intention to dedicate this manuscript to a monastic community. Though similar to blackish *khoi*-paper leporello manuscripts in central Thailand in which golden, yellow, and white ink were priority colours for writing text,<sup>29</sup> a dark cloth would have been a better choice as a backdrop for the golden script, Princess Bualai selected the white colour, which in many contexts has been employed to present the purity of Buddhism.<sup>30</sup> The readability of the writing is thus subordinate to the purpose of religious devotion. The cover of the manuscript, on the other hand, is black and adorned with decorative embroidered figures of animals and flowers (see below, p. 149, fig. 4), obviously emphasising the aesthetic quality of the manuscript. As the text is religious and the manuscript was dedicated to a monastery in expectation of merit for the scribe and her family, the cover was perhaps the only space allowing her to showcase her expertise in embroidery. Like manuscript wrapping cloth in general, which in premodern time was woven or created by laywomen,<sup>31</sup> the cover of this manuscript expresses the embroidery skills, creativity, social status, and ardent religious faith of Princess Bualai.

The text of the *kammavācā* could be commonly found in Northern Thailand<sup>32</sup> and the scribe must have copied the text from an extant manuscript available at that time, before being embroidered. The writing

26 One example of the use of golden thread in association with a high-ranking elite society is a cotton wrapper of a manuscript from Thailand that was inscribed in the late nineteenth century. The wrapping cloth is red and was decorated with embroidery figures made of golden thread. The manuscript is a Thai royal court version of *Samantapāsādikā atthakathā yojanā*, a sub commentary on the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. 'The manuscript is stored in a red silk and cotton wrapper of Indian origin with a golden thread pattern, made to order for the Thai royal court. It is of the same high standard as manuscripts given to Wat Chetuphon in Bangkok by King Rama III (r. 1824–51).' (San San May & Igunma 2018: 23–24).

27 Surapol Damrikul 1999: 227–228.

28 The colour of the cloth is white but looks relatively greyish due to its age.

29 Kongkaew Weeraprachak 2010: 20. For example, see San San May & Igunma 2018; Ginsburg 2000.

30 Chalermchai Suwanwattana 2010: 8–9, 16, 80.

31 Pranee Asvapoositkul and Supaporn Rojanasupamit 2016: 112.

32 According to the digitized manuscript source in the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM) under the CrossAsia, there are twenty-nine *kammavācā*

thus took a long time as it was processed with two consecutive procedures: drafting and embroidering. Furthermore, some traces of proofreading practices are still visible in the manuscript, as corrections are added between the lines written by pencil (e.g. 2r5, 9r3). There is no reliable evidence implying that the copyist who drafted this manuscript was the same person as the embroiderer and the proofreader.

The Pāli text from the ‘Dhamma embroidered manuscript’ begins with paying homage to the Buddha (*namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa*), directly followed by the statement that the ordinand first should take a monk as his preceptor (*upajjhāya*), and thereafter point out his three robes and the alms bowl. Then the instructing monk informs the community that he will instruct the ordinand. This instruction takes place outside the assembly. Next comes the Pāli text the instructor speaks to the ordinand (fols. 1r5–3r3). Then the ordinand asks the *saṅgha* for ordination (fols. 3r4–4r2), and the instructor informs the *saṅgha* that he will question the ordinand about the obstructing factors for ordination in the presence of the *saṅgha* (fol. 4r2–3), and then asks the ordinand about these obstructing factors. This is a repetition of what he taught the ordinand away from the *saṅgha* (fols. 4r3–5r4). Only then does the actual *kammavācā* for ordination begin (fols. 5r4–9r1). Thereafter, measures to be taken are enumerated, namely, measuring the shadow to determine the time of day, announcing the season, part of the day and assembly, and giving the four supports (*nissāya*) and the four things not to be done (*akaraṇīya*, fol. 9r1–3).<sup>33</sup> Subsequently, the four supports are enumerated in detail. After each of them, the newly ordained candidate accepts them with the words ‘Yes, venerable sir’ (*āma bhante*, fols. 9r3–10r5). Then follow the four *akaraṇīyas* (fols. 10r5–14r3). Thereafter the *kammavācā*, characterized as *yatti-kammavācā*,<sup>34</sup> is declared to be completed. This is repeated in Tai Yuan (fol. 14r4) and marks the end of the text. The final text is the colophon in the vernacular Tai Yuan (fols. 15r–16r). The text given for the ordination in this manuscript

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manuscripts in northern Thailand that were written before 1873 CE, eight of which are dated: Six manuscripts are made of palm leaves: 1724 CE, 1780 CE, 1788 CE, 1860 CE, and 1865 CE (x 2). Two are made of mulberry paper: 1764 CE and 1863 CE (Access on 2 July 2023).

33 These are the four rules that mean expulsion from the order. Breaking other rules can be overcome through confession.

34 For *ñatticatuttakamma*.

corresponds to that usually contained in Burmese collections of nine *kammavācās*,<sup>35</sup> while the text from the 'Khom embroidered manuscript' differs (see below).

The punctuation, which divides different parts of the text, either marking the beginning or the end of a part or section, is arguably one important feature of the 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript'. The double vertical strokes or double Danda (||) are most common for dividing minor parts, namely, between the texts recited by the instructor and the replies of the ordinand (e.g. fol. 4r5). For major sections, larger floral signs are embroidered. They do not always go together with a division of the text from the point of view of content. Some floral signs appear only in specific locations, for example:

-  (fol. 1r1): the beginning of the manuscript (before the homage to the Buddha)
-  (fol. 1r1): the end of the homage to the Buddha, the beginning of the Pali text.
- ||** (fol. 1r5): the beginning and end of the instruction in the Tai Yuan language (อาจารย์ออก 'instructor enters')
-  (fol. 14r4): after the Pāli *kammavācā* text, before the Tai Yuan text marking the end of the *kammavācā*
-  (fol. 14r4): after the Tai Yuan text marking the end of the *kammavācā*
-  (fol. 15r1): the beginning of the colophon
-  (fol. 16r5): the end of the colophon and the end of the entire manuscript

Some of them appear more than once in a corresponding shape. However, it is unclear whether they are used specifically for a particular part. These floral signs are, for instance:

-  (fol. 1r4): the end of the ceremonial instruction in the Tai Yuan language (นาคออก 'ordinand enters'); (fol. 3r3): the beginning of the speech of the instructing monk (*anusāsaka bhikkhu*); (fol. 3r4): the beginning of the ordinand's request for *upasampadā*; (fol. 4r2): the end of the ordinand's request for *upasampadā*; (fol. 5r4): the end of the information about the name of the *upajjhāya*;

35 See Peters 1997.



(fol. 4r3): the end of the questions concerning the obstructing factors (*antarāyikadhamma*); (fol. 5r4): the beginning of the information about the name of the *upajjhāya*.

These floral signs function both as decoration and punctuation. They are only used often in the ‘Dhamma embroidered manuscript’ not in the ‘Khom embroidered manuscript’.

#### 4. The ‘Khom embroidered manuscript’: Manuscript art as a royal gift

The form of the ‘Khom embroidered manuscript’ differs slightly from the ‘Dhamma embroidered manuscript’. It imitates a leporello which is made of cloth and paper. Both, the front and back covers, are made of wood and are decorated with embroidered flowers (see below, p. 163, fig. 5). The writing appears only on the recto sides of a long, blackened piece of cloth which was attached firmly to a long panel of paper before being folded like a leporello manuscript. The text is entirely embroidered with variously coloured silk threads. The colour changes rather often, either after a sentence, a phrase or a word. There are also some traces of white pencil around the embroidered text. Presumably, the text was drafted first with a steatite pencil before the embroidery began. One folded page measures 45 × 13 cm. When completely unfolded, the whole pile of cloth covers a length of more than three metres. The script used for the manuscript is a neat type of Khom script, which is normally used in the manuscript culture of Central and Southern Thailand,<sup>36</sup> but not in Northern Thailand, where the Lan Na Dhamma script was established, as represented also by the ‘Dhamma embroidered manuscript’.

On the first recto page, there is a piece of modern industrial paper attached to the manuscript, written in the Thai language with (Central) Thai script. It bears the colophon,<sup>37</sup> indicating that Princess Bualai embroidered this *kammavācā* manuscript to be presented to King Chulalongkorn of Bangkok. The exact date of this ‘Khom embroidered manuscript’ is unknown. But in the colophon, Princess Bualai clearly addresses herself as the consort of the prince governor of Phrae. Therefore, this manuscript was

<sup>36</sup> Grabowsky 2011: 145.

<sup>37</sup> See the colophon of the ‘Khom embroidered manuscript’ and its translation in Appendix I at the end of the article.

most likely created during the period in which her spouse, Prince Phiriya Thepphawong, still had his position as the prince governor, that is, between 1889 and 1902.<sup>38</sup>

The 'Khom embroidered manuscript' contains the same text as the 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript' (fols. 8r1–24r3), covering the parts from the *anusāseyyaṃ* to the end of the *kammavācā* text. But before that portion of the text it presents the texts for the 'novice ordination (*pabbajjā*; fols. 2r–3r2), the threefold refuge (*saraṇa*; fols. 3r2–4r5), the ten training rules (*sīla*; fols. 4r5–6r3) and the threefold request for dependence (*nissaya*), i.e. for a specific monk to be his preceptor (*upajjhāya*) (fols. 6r4–7r5).<sup>39</sup> The structure and text of the 'Khom embroidered manuscript' mainly correspond to the ordination texts used in Southeast Asia, especially in the Mahānikāya tradition,<sup>40</sup> which is the largest monastic order in Thailand. After the end of the *kammavācā* text, the 'Khom embroidered manuscript' presents the text for taking a monk's robes into formal possession (fols. 24r3–25r3)—not contained in the 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript'. With this the manuscript ends.

Comparing these two manuscripts there are variations as well as errors in spelling in both of them. For example, the Pāli words *apamāro* and *rājabbhaṭṭa* appear in the 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript' once as *appamālo* (fol. 4r5) and *lājabbhaṭṭa* (fol. 2r5).<sup>41</sup> These forms never occur in the Khom manuscript counterpart. However, in some cases, deviating spellings such as *uppajjhāya* for *upajjhāya* occur consistently throughout the 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript', while in the 'Khom embroidered manuscript' both forms appear side by side. Furthermore, the word *addhayogo* appears in the 'Khom embroidered manuscript' as *adhayogo* (fol. 20r1), but in the 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript' as *addhayogo* (fol. 10r3). We can see that a number of words are spelt differently in both manuscripts in a form deviating from the modern printed Pāli texts. These orthographic variations (e.g. *uppajjhāya* for *upajjhāya*) might influence the pronunciation when reciting the *kammavācā* texts, but the slightly deviating pronunciations (e.g. addition or omission of final consonants, confusion between voiced and voiceless consonants, and short and long vowels) have been con-

38 Buaphew Wongphrathang 1999b: 4688.

39 That is, the dependence of a newly ordained monk on his teacher lasts for ten years.

40 See Bizot 1988: 26–32.

41 The usage of *l* for *r* appears often in Burmese manuscripts. Given that this manuscript contains the text as transmitted in Burmese manuscripts, this may hint at a Burmese template in the transmission of the text.

sidered acceptable—though not preferable—by the monastic communities in Thailand for the ordination, as long as the pronunciation variations do not change the original meaning of the *kammavācā* texts.<sup>42</sup>

In addition, the ritual instructions in the two manuscripts do not correspond with each other. In some cases instructions appear only in the ‘Dhamma embroidered manuscript’. For example, at the beginning of the *kammavācā* formula, the instructions inserted in the ‘Dhamma embroidered manuscript’ (in Tai Yuan language, transliterated into Modern Thai script below) read:

*gaccha amumbi okāse tiṭṭhāhi* | นาคออก (‘ordinand enters’)<sup>43</sup> || *suṇātu me bhante saṅgho Nāgo āyasmato Tissassa upasampadāpekkho yadi saṅghassa pattakallaṃ ahaṃ Nāgaṃ anusāseyyaṃ* | อากานออก (‘instructor enters’; fol. 1r4–5).

The same part of the text in the Khom manuscript counterpart does not contain any instructions.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, on the whole the ‘Khom embroidered manuscript’ contains more instructions than the ‘Dhamma embroidered manuscript’, for example:

*yadi saṅghassa pattakallaṃ Nāgo āgaccheyya āgacchāhi ti vattabbo āgacchāhi* | เข้ามาหนึ่งลงเอามือจับเท้า (‘Come sit down and grasp the [preceptor’s] feet with the hands’) อนุกมฺมาจาใหว้สจฺจตังปวงแล้ววาทั้งนี้ (‘[When] the *anukammavācā*(*cariya*)<sup>45</sup> pays respect to all monks, then recite as follows.’) | *saṅgham bhante upasampadaṃ yācāmi* (fol. 1r3–4)

The ‘Dhamma embroidered manuscript’ does not contain any instructions in the corresponding part. Therefore, based on the variation of spellings, ritual instructions, and the differences in the presented text, it is obvious that Princess Bualai, the embroiderer, and the scribes who made the drafts of both manuscripts have employed different manuscripts as templates

42 See Khiao Dhammadinno 1958: 22–23; Pan Simuk 1952: 24–25; Vajirañāṇavarorasa 2012: 8–11. The corresponding orthographic variations are also attested in other Pāli texts transmitted in Thailand (for example, see Sayam Patthranuprawat and Rungroj Piromanukul 2003: 54–55).

43 The English translation of the ritual instructions placed in square brackets are by the authors of the article.

44 Compare the same text in the ‘Khom embroidered manuscript’ from fol. 8r4–5.

45 In the early twentieth century, *anukammavācācariya* (Thai: อนุกรรณวาทจาจารย์ / *anukammawachachan*) was an alternative word for *anusāvanācāriya* or the monk who recites the *anusāvana*, as it was used in an official announcement published in the royal gazette in 1924 (Ratchakitchanubeksa 1924: 1242).

for the copying and embroidering process. It is noteworthy that corrections of the omissions that erroneously occurred in the main text are added to the Khom manuscript by being embroidered between the lines or in the margins, suggesting that Princess Bualai herself might be the one who added these corrections after the proofreading process.

The other difference between the two embroidered manuscripts is the use of punctuation. As mentioned above, floral signs are often used in the 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript' to mark the beginning or the end of different parts of the texts. In the 'Khom embroidered manuscript' an embroidered floral sign appears only once, marking the end of the entire manuscript (fol. 25r). However, the manuscript still employs traditional punctuations rather often, namely, *angkhan diao* ๓ (to mark the end of minor parts of the texts), *angkhan khu* ๓ (in this case, to mark the beginning of the manuscript), and *wisanchnani* ๓ (to mark that the word at the end of the line is incomplete and is continued in the following line).

Unlike its 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript' counterpart, the 'Khom embroidered manuscript' has a different function in a different context in that it is a royal gift to the Siamese king. Even though the 'Khom embroidered manuscript' preserves the *kammavācā* text for the ordination rite, it might never have been used as a manuscript with the ceremonial text in a monastery at all. Instead, it might have been kept in King Chulalongkorn's collection in the so-called Bualai Chamber, where its beauty could be appreciated.

## 5 Historical Background of the Khom embroidered manuscript

The 'Khom embroidered manuscript' was created in Northern Thailand sometime between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, the period in which the local authorities of Northern Thailand had been replaced by the centralized bureaucracy. The kingdom of Lan Na can be historically traced back to its establishment in the thirteenth century with its golden age in the following centuries. However, after the conquest of the Burmese in 1558, the Lan Na Kingdom lost its autonomy under Burmese rule for more than two centuries.<sup>46</sup> In the late eighteenth century, the local princes of Lan Na, with military support from the Siamese, fought against the Burmese and gained authority over the region with royal approval from

46 Sarassawadee Ongsakul 2010: 253.

the Siamese king. After that, the states in the former kingdom of Lan Na became Siamese tribute states, maintaining their own authority while accepting the superiority of the Siamese king by presenting him with tributes, mainly golden and silver trees.<sup>47</sup> The Lan Na Kingdom remained a tribute state until the late nineteenth century.

After King Chulalongkorn's administrative reform in 1884, the status of Lan Na as a tribute state was completely repealed, because all of the local princes had lost their authority in the region during the process of displacement brought about by modern bureaucracy.<sup>48</sup> This drastic change in the political system began to cause displeasure among the princes and the people in 1900, especially in Phrae, which had long been considered a marginal city by the nineteenth-century Siamese authority.<sup>49</sup> Tensions developed among the local folks until a rebellion broke out in 1902, in which the Shan people in Phrae and other cities, partially supported by the local princes, fought against Siamese authority. This incident, later called the 'Shan Rebellion', was centred in Phrae, where many Siamese officials were killed and official buildings were attacked. Additionally, there were also uprisings in other northern cities such as Phayao, Chiang Rai and Chiang Saen.<sup>50</sup> As a result of this uprising, Prince Phiriya Thepphawong was convicted as a supporter of the rebellion. He was deposed from his post as the prince governor and then exiled to Luang Prabang in Laos, where he spent the rest of his life until his death, ending Princess Bualai's tenure as the consort of the prince governor in 1902.<sup>51</sup>

Within the context of late nineteenth-century Northern Thailand, in which the administrative reform had already begun, Princess Bualai no longer had authority over the region while accepting the sovereignty of Siam. The presentation of art objects such as the illuminated manuscript and other embroidered pillows as royal gifts to King Chulalongkorn in the late nineteenth century is quite different from the traditional way of

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47 Chawalee Na Thalang 1998: 47.

48 Sarassawadee Ongsakul 2010: 449.

49 Chaiyaphong Samniang 2022: 116–120.

50 Sarassawadee Ongsakul 2010: 458.

51 Following the incidents during the rebellion, Princess Bualai lost her status as the prince governor's consort and was then sent with her children to Bangkok for 4–5 years before moving to Chiang Rai, a province in Northern Thailand, where her youngest daughter lived. Princess Bualai died in Chiang Rai in 1932 (Buaphew Wongphrathang 1999a: 3420).

presenting a tribute. Up until the second half of the nineteenth century, the vassal kings of the tributary states presented royal gifts in acknowledgement of the greater king's superiority while still maintaining their sovereignty over their domains.<sup>52</sup> On the contrary, Princess Bualai in the late nineteenth century presented her art artefacts to King Chulalongkorn in a new relationship in which she and other local princes in the Northern regions were the subjects of the Siamese absolute monarch. Under this new political relationship, the 'Khom embroidered manuscript' from Princess Bualai implies her loyalty to the king and also her acceptance of his supremacy.

The text of Princess Bualai's manuscript, the *kammavācā* for ordination, is considered one of the important Buddhist ceremonial texts. It could be widely found in every part of Thailand. However, the text from this manuscript is based on the Siamese version commonly used by the Mahānikāya monastic order, whereas the one used for the 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript' reflects the Burmese tradition. The ritual instructions in the 'Khom embroidered manuscript', in addition, appear in the Siamese or Central Thai language, not the Tai Yuan language which is the common tongue in Northern Thailand. Furthermore, the text, both in Pāli and Thai languages, is embroidered in Khom script, a traditional script used in the central part of Thailand, and not in the traditional script of the Lan Na region—the Lan Na Dhamma script—which Princess Bualai had used for her 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript' years earlier. The use of the Khom script and Central Thai vernacular language in this later-produced manuscript also highlights her acceptance of Siam's centralization, in which the language and script of Central Thailand had been standardized and prioritized over the regional scripts and dialects. During the administrative reform, Princess Bualai, as well as her husband, Prince Phiriya Thepphawong, had even learned to read and write the Central Thai language and script in order to make contact with the Siamese officers from the royal court in Bangkok.<sup>53</sup> Although it is not certain whether Princess Bualai wrote the Khom script template herself before embroidering or whether she simply had it copied by someone else from a Central Thai manuscript exemplar. The colophon written in the Central Thai

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52 Chawalee Na Thalang 1998: 47.

53 Srisak Walliphodom and Walailak Songsiri 2008: 223.

language and script seems to be Princess Bualai's original words. The use of scripts and language of Central Thailand in the context of the nineteenth century as it appears in the manuscript could be thought to imply the loyalty and acceptance of Siamese centralization, while the use of her own regional language and script would be, according to the same logic, interpreted in the opposite way.

Therefore, the 'Khom embroidered manuscript' has become one of the most interesting cases, in which a Khom manuscript was produced in Lan Na and then sent as a gift to the Siamese king. It also showcases that one Buddhist manuscript, bearing the Pāli *kammavācā* text, can play its role as an art object and a royal gift to the absolute monarch, far removed from the usual monastic context.

## 6. Conclusion

The two embroidered manuscripts of Princess Bualai can be considered decorative manuscripts, due to their artistic features and values. The National Library of Thailand also registers the 'Khom embroidered manuscript' into the Subsection of Illustrated Manuscripts of its Manuscript Collection, along with other illuminated and decorative manuscripts. However, it is noteworthy that these two embroidered manuscripts are different from other illuminated and illustrated manuscripts from Thailand in some regards. Firstly, both manuscripts combine the artistic forms of writing and embroidery. Secondly, the decoration in the manuscripts includes the entirety of the text itself, not the spaces around the text as in the regular illuminated and illustrated manuscripts.<sup>54</sup> Thirdly, and most importantly, these manuscripts were created with an aesthetic focus, making them art objects, not conventionally written texts like traditional manuscripts. One was donated as a monastic gift; the other as a royal gift. A creative context of this nature seems to be otherwise scarcely found in the Buddhist manuscript culture of Thailand.

For these reasons, Princess Bualai's manuscripts should not only be considered to be illuminated manuscripts from Thai-Tai manuscript cultures but also a very unique artwork of manuscript embroidery created with the purpose of being an art object for a religious donation and for presentation to the King within the context of administrative centralization

<sup>54</sup> For examples of the illustrated and illuminated manuscripts from Thailand, see Ginsburg 1989: 2000; Panarut 2021.

in the late nineteenth century. This function indicates a shift from the manuscript as a carrier of linguistic and textual information as found in traditional manuscripts, to an object of art representing the creator's faith in Buddhism, in the case of the 'Dhamma embroidered manuscript', and representing the loyalty its creator paid to the receiver for the 'Khom embroidered manuscript'.

Among a limited group of extant illuminated manuscripts found in Thailand, Princess Bualai's manuscripts present a unique case of manuscript creation in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.<sup>55</sup> Their significance lies in their codicological and cultural aspects instead of in the textual and content value. Furthermore, Princess Bualai's manuscripts are among very few embroidered manuscripts, let alone embroidered *kammavācā* manuscripts, which combine the artistic forms of writing and embroidery. Despite being a rarity of embroidered written artefacts, these two manuscripts stand among the most beautiful and most decorative *kammavācā* manuscripts from Thailand.

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<sup>55</sup> Apart from Princess Bualai's two embroidered manuscripts, the National Library of Thailand still possesses several 'woven-fabric' written artefacts, as exhibited nowadays in its manuscript reading room. The first one is a woven-fabric manuscript (Thai: *lan tho*) (Cabinet no. W 66, Object no. 3), a type of palm-leaf manuscript in which each leaf is wrapped in a woven fabric bearing the woven writing, in this case, in the Khom script. The other is a woven manuscript-title label (Cabinet no. 35, Object no. 10) with its writing woven in the Khom script. The use of the Khom script from both woven artefacts implies their origin in Central or Southern Thailand. These two artefacts undeniably offer remarkable examples of manuscript creation and tapestry, showcasing the weaving skill of the creator. Nevertheless, these woven written artefacts from the National Library of Thailand are at the moment unpublished and understudied.

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## Appendices

### Images and Transliterations of the Two Embroidered Manuscripts

#### Note on Transliteration

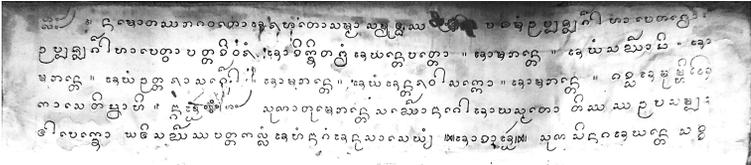
In the transliteration of the two embroidered manuscripts, Pāli texts are transliterated into Roman script, while the vernaculars, Tai Yuan and Central Thai, are transliterated into Modern Thai script. The translation of the vernacular languages is provided in round brackets and in quotation marks. Even though the texts appear in the original manuscripts in *scriptio continua*, i.e. without spaces between words, the transliterated Pāli texts will be given divided into individual words as they appear in most modern Pāli printed texts. The original spacing, however, can be traced from the images of the manuscripts. Other modern sigla are also employed, both in Thai and Roman transliteration, namely, ( ) for editors' suggestion and < > for any word missing in the original text, but added or corrected by the scribe over or underneath the line with a small cross.

For the ‘Dhamma embroidered manuscript’ (Appendix I), a double vertical stroke used in the manuscript as punctuation will be transliterated as double Danda (||), while the double dot which marks the incomplete parts of a word or sentence, corresponding to *wisanchani* used in manuscripts from Central Thailand is transliterated into †. Each floral sign used as punctuation will be kept as it appears in the manuscript, to show the individual forms of the signs and their location. For the ‘Khom embroidered manuscript’ (Appendix II), three traditional punctuations: *angkhan diao* ๑, *angkhan khu* ๒ and *wisanchani* ๓ are transliterated respectively into |, ||, and † in the Romanized text. In addition, the words appearing before the *pik ka* sign } which nests and groups words with the same syntactic function in a sentence in the same way as the modern brace } sign does, will be recorded in the transliteration and separated by a slash /. The floral sign at the end of the ‘Khom embroidered manuscript’ is shown in the same form as in the original manuscript.

### Appendix I

#### Dhamma embroidered *Kammavācā* manuscript from the Wat Phra Bat Ming Mueang Museum, Phrae (Northern Thailand)

fol. 1r

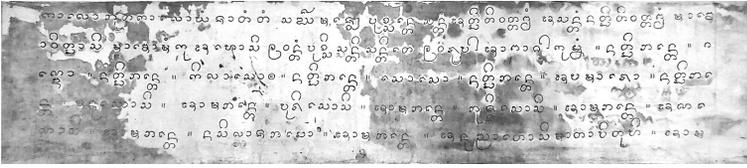


- line 1 ๙๙) namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa ๙๙ pathamaṃ  
uppaññaṃ gāhāpetabbo
- 2 uppaññaṃ gāhāpetvā pattacivaraṃ ācikkhitabbaṃ ayan te patto || āma  
bhante || ayaṃ saṅghāṭi || ā †
- 3 ma bhante || ayaṃ uttarāsaṅgo || āma bhante || ayaṃ antaravāsakko' || āma  
bhante || gaccha amuṃhi o †
- 4 kāse tiṭṭhāhi || นาคออก ('ordinand enters'). ๙๙) suṇātu me bhante saṅgho  
Nāgo āyasmato Tissassa upasampa †
- 5 dāpekkho yadi saṅghassa pattakallaṃ ahaṃ Nāgaṃ anusāseyyaṃ ๙๙<sup>๑</sup>  
อาจานออก ('instructor enters'). ๙๙) suṇasi Nāga ayan te sacca †

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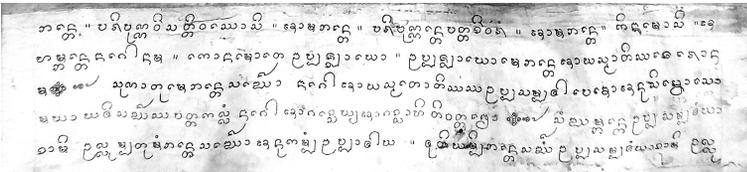
1 For *antaravāsako*.

fol. 2r



- line 1 kālo bhūtakālo yaṃ jātaṃ taṃ saṅghamajjhe pucchante santam atthi ti vattabbaṃ asantaṃ natthi ti vattabbaṃ mā kho
- 2 vitthāsi mā kho maṃku ahoṣi evaṃ taṃ pucchisanti<sup>2</sup> santi te evarūpā ābādā kuṭṭhaṃ || natthi bhante || ga !
- 3 ṇḍo || natthi bhante || kilāso ☉ || natthi bhante || soso || natthi bhante || apamāro || natthi bhan !
- 4 te || manusso (')si || āma bhante || puriso (')si || āma bhante || bhujjiso<sup>3</sup> (')si || āma bhante || aṇa !
- 5 ṇo (')si || āma bhante || na (')si lājabbāṭo<sup>4</sup> || āma bhante || anuññāto (')si mātāpitūhi || āma

fol. 3r

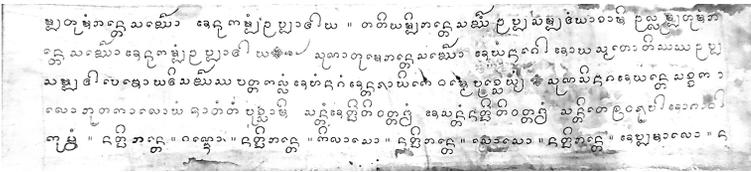


- line 1 bhante || paripuṇṇavisattivasso<sup>5</sup> (')si || āma bhante || paripuṇṇaṃ te pat-tacivaraṃ || āma bhante || kin nāmo (')si || a !
- 2 ham bhante Nāgo nāma || ko nāmo te uppajjhāyo<sup>6</sup> || uppajjhāyo me bhante āyasmā Tissathero nā !
- 3 ma ☞ suṇātu me bhante saṅgho Nāgo āyasmato Tissassa uppasaṃ-padāpekho<sup>7</sup> anuṣiṭṭho so
- 4 mayā yadi saṅghassa pattakallaṃ nāgo āgaccheyya || āgacchāhi ti vattabbo ☞ saṅgham bhante uppasaṃpadaṃ<sup>8</sup> yā !
- 5 cāmi ullumpatu maṃ bhante saṅgho anakampaṃ uppādāya<sup>9</sup> || dutiyam pi bhante saṅghaṃ uppasaṃpadaṃ yācāmi ullu !

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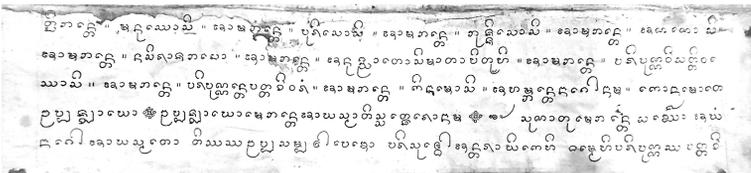
- 2 For *pucchissanti*.
- 3 For *bhujjiso*.
- 4 For *na 'si rājabbāṭo*.
- 5 For *°visati*<sup>o</sup>.
- 6 Constantly for *uppajjhāya*.
- 7 Mostly for *upasampadāpekkho*.
- 8 Constantly for *upasampadaṃ*.
- 9 Constantly for *upādāya*.

fol. 4r



- line 1 mpatu maṃ bhante saṅgho anukampaṃ uppādāya || tatiyam pi bhante saṅghaṃ uppasampadaṃ yācāmi ullumpatu maṃ bha ၊
- 2 nte saṅgho anukampaṃ uppādāya ❀ suṇātu me bhante saṅgho ayaṃ Nāgo āyasmato Tissassa uppa ၊
- 3 sampadāpekho yadi saṅghassa pattakallaṃ ahaṃ Nāgaṃ antarāyike dhamme puccheyyaṃ ❀ suṇasi Nāga ayan te saccakā ၊
- 4 lo bhūtakālo yaṃ jātaṃ taṃ pucchāmi santam atthi ti vattabbaṃ asantaṃ natthi ti vattabbaṃ santi te evarūpā ābādhā
- 5 kuṭṭhaṃ || natthi bhante || gaṇḍo || natthi bhante || kilāso || natthi bhante || soso || natthi bhante || appamālo || na ၊

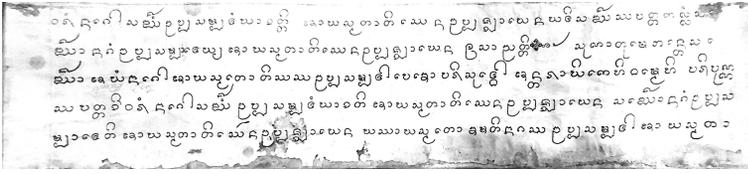
fol. 5r



- line 1 tthi bhante || manusso (')si || āma bhante || puriso (')si || āma bhante || bhujjiso<sup>10</sup> (')si || āma bhante || aṇaṇo (')si ||
- 2 āma bhante || n(') asi rājabhaṭo || āma bhante || anuññāto (')si māṭāpitūhi || āma bhante || paripuṇṇavisattiva<sup>11</sup> ||
- 3 sso (')si || āma bhante || paripuṇṇan te pattacivaraṃ || āma bhante || kin nāmo (')si || aham bhante Nāgo nāma || ko nāmo te
- 4 uppajjhāyo ❀ uppajjhāyo me bhante āyasmā Tissatthero nāma ❀ suṇātu me bhante saṅgho ayaṃ
- 5 Nāgo āyasmato Tissassa uppasampadāpekho parisuddho antarāyikehi dhammehi paripuṇṇ(') assa pattaci ၊

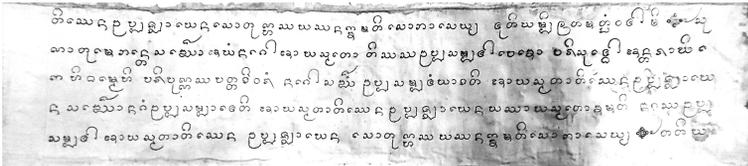
10 For *bhujjiso*.  
 11 For *°visatti°*.

fol. 6r



- line 1 varam Nāgo saṅghaṃ uppasampadam yācatti<sup>12</sup> āyasmatā Tissena uppajjhāyena yadī saṅghassa pattakallaṃ sa !
- 2 ṅho Nāgaṃ uppasampadeyya āyasmatā Tissena uppajjhāyena eṣā ñatti suṇātu me bhante sa !
- 3 ṅho ayaṃ Nāgo āyasmato Tissassa uppasampadāpekho parisuddho antarāyikehi dhammehi paripuṇṇ(°) a !
- 4 ssa pattacivaram Nāgo saṅghaṃ uppasampadam yāceti āyasmatā Tissena uppajjhāyena saṅho Nāgaṃ uppaṣa !
- 5 mpādeti<sup>13</sup> āyasmatā Tissena uppajjhāyena yassāyasmato khamati Nāgassa uppasampadā āyasmatā

fol. 7r

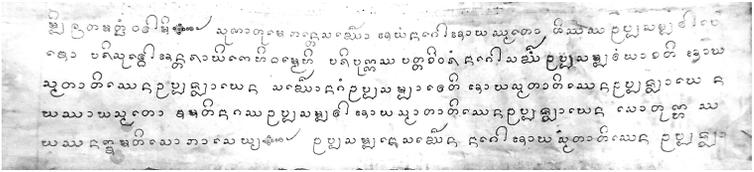


- line 1 Tissena uppajjhāyena so tuṅh(°) assa yassa na kkhāmati so bhāseyya dutiyam pi etam atthaṃ vadāmi su !
- 2 ṇātu me bhante saṅho ayaṃ Nāgo āyasmato Tissassa uppasampadāpekho parisuddho antarāyi !
- 3 kehi dhammehi paripuṇṇ(°) assa pattacivaram Nāgo saṅghaṃ uppasampadam yāceti āyasmatā Tissena uppajjhāye !
- 4 na saṅho Nāgaṃ uppasampādeti āyasmatā Tissena uppajjhāyena yassāyasmato khamati Nāgassa uppa !
- 5 sampadā āyasmatā Tissena uppajjhāyena so tuṅh(°) assa yassa na kkhāmati so bhāseyya tatiya !

12 For yācatti.

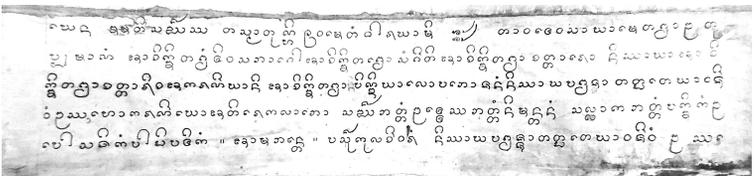
13 For upasampādeti.

fol. 8r



- line 1 m pi etam atthaṃ vadāmi  suṇātu me bhante saṅgho ayaṃ Nāgo āyassamato<sup>14</sup> Tissassa uppasampadāpe |
- 2 kho parisuddho antarāyikehi dhammehi paripuṇṇ(°) assa pattacivaraṃ Nāgo saṅghaṃ uppasampadaṃ yācāti āya |
- 3 smatā Tissena uppajjhāyena saṅgho Nāgaṃ uppasampādeti āyasmatā Tissenena uppajjhāyena
- 4 yassāyasmato khamati Nāgassa uppasampadā āyasmatā<sup>15</sup> Tissena uppajjhāyena so tuṅh(°) assa
- 5 yassa na kkhamaṭi so bhāseyya  uppasampanno saṅghena Nāgo āyasmatā Tissenena uppajjhā |

fol. 9r

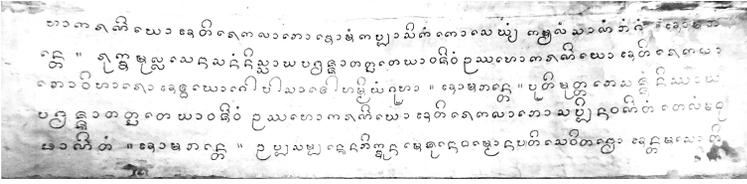


- line 1 yena khamati saṅghassa tasmā tuṅhi evam etaṃ dhārayāmi  tāvad eva sāyā<sup>16</sup> metabbā utu |
- 2 ppmāṇaṃ ācikkhitabbaṃ divasabhāgo ācikkhitabbo saṃgīti ācikkhitabbā cattāro nissāyā<sup>17</sup> āci |
- 3 kkhitaṭṭā cattāri ca akaraṇiyāni ācikkhitabbā<ni> piṇḍiyālopabhojanaṃ nissāya pabbajā<sup>18</sup> tattha te yāvaji |
- 4 vaṃ uss<ā>ho karaṇiyō atirekalābho saṅghabhattaṃ uddesabhattaṃ<sup>19</sup> nimantanaṃ sallākabhattaṃ<sup>20</sup> pakkhikaṃ u |
- 5 posathikaṃ pāṭipadikaṃ || āma bhante || paṇsukulacivaraṃ<sup>21</sup> nissāya pabbajā tattha te yāvajivaṃ ussa |

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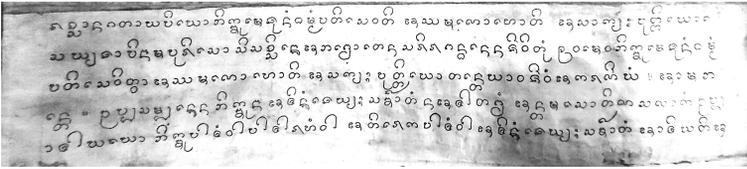
- 14 For āyasmato.
- 15 For āyasmatā.
- 16 For chāyā.
- 17 For nissāyā.
- 18 For pabbajā.
- 19 For uddesabhattaṃ.
- 20 For sallākabhattaṃ.
- 21 For paṇsukūla°.

fol. 10r



- line 1 ho karaṇiyo atirekalābho khomaṃ kappāsikaṃ koseyyaṃ kambalaṃ sā-  
ṇaṃ bhaṃgaṃ | āma bha !
- 2 nte || rukkhamullasenāsaṇaṃ<sup>22</sup> nissāya pabbajjā tattha te yāvajivaṃ us-  
saho<sup>23</sup> karaṇiyo atirekalā !
- 3 bho vihāro addhayogo pāsādo hammiyaṃ gūhā || āma bhante || pūtimut-  
tabhesajjaṃ nissāya
- 4 pabbajjā tattha te yāvajivaṃ ussaho<sup>24</sup> karaṇiyo atirekalābho sappi navaṇi-  
taṃ telaṃ madhu
- 5 phāṇitaṃ || āma bhante || uppasampanna<sup>25</sup> bhikkhunā methuno dham-  
mo na patisevitabbo antamaso ti !

fol. 11r

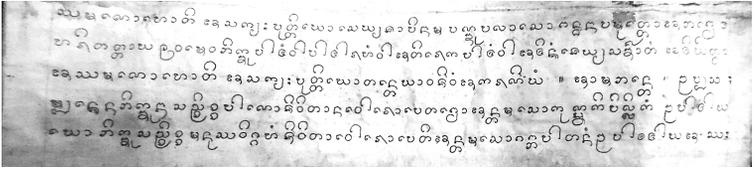


- line 1 racchānagatāya pi yo bhikkhu methunaṃ dhammaṃ patisevati assamaṇo  
hoti asākyahputtiyo<sup>26</sup>
- 2 seyyathāpi nāma puriso sisacchinno<sup>27</sup> abhabbo tena sarirabandhanena<sup>28</sup>  
jivituṃ evam eva bhikkhu methunaṃ dhammaṃ
- 3 patisevitvā assamaṇo hoti asakyahputtiyo tan te yāvajivaṃ akaraṇiyaṃ |  
āma bha !
- 4 nte || uppasampanna bhikkhunā adinnaṃ theyyaḥsaṅkhātā<sup>29</sup> na adā-  
tabbam<sup>30</sup> antamaso tiṇasalākaṃ upp !
- 5 ādāya yo bhikkhu pādaṃ vā pādārahaṃ vā atirekapādaṃ vā adinnaṃ  
theyyaḥsaṅkhātā ādiyati a !

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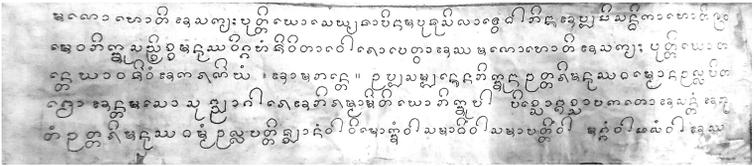
- 22 For °mūla°.
- 23 For ussābo.
- 24 For ussābo.
- 25 For upasampanna.
- 26 For asakyahputtiyo.
- 27 For sīsa°.
- 28 For sarira°.
- 29 For theyyasāṅkhātā.
- 30 For ādātabbam.

fol. 12r



- line 1 ssamaṇo hoti asakyaḥputtiyo seyyathāpi nāma paṇḍupalāso bandhanā pa-  
mutto abhabbo
- 2 haritattāya evam eva bhikkhu pādaṃ vā pādārahaṃ vā atirekapādaṃ vā  
adinnaṃ theyyasaṅkhātāṃ adiyitvā<sup>31</sup>
- 3 assamaṇo hoti asakyaḥputtiyo tan te yāvajivaṃ akaraṇiyaṃ || āma bhante  
|| uppasa !
- 4 mpannena bhikkhunā sañcicca paṇo jīvitaṃ na voropetabbo antamaso kuṇ-  
ṭhakipillikaṃ upādāya
- 5 yo bhikkhu sañcicca manussaviggaḥaṃ jivitaṃ voropeti antamaso gabbhapā-  
tanāṃ upāvadāya assa !

fol. 13r

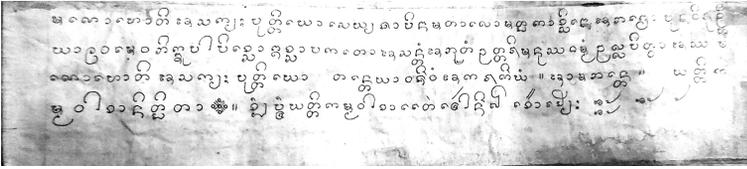


- line 1 maṇo hoti asakyaḥputtiyo seyyathāpi nāma puthusilā dvedhā bhinnā appa-  
ṭṭisandhikā hoti eva !
- 2 m eva bhikkhu sañcicca manussaviggaḥaṃ jivitaṃ voropetvā assamaṇo hoti  
asakyaḥputtiyo ta !
- 3 n te yāvajivaṃ akaraṇiyaṃ || āma bhante || uppasampannena bhikkhunā  
uttarimanussadhammo na ullapita !
- 4 bbo antamaso suññāgāre abhirammāmi<sup>32</sup> ti yo bhikkhu pāpiccho icchā-  
pakato asantaṃ abhū !
- 5 taṃ uttarimanussadhammaṃ ullapatti<sup>33</sup> jjhānaṃ vā vimokkhaṃ vā samā-  
dhiṃ vā samāpattiṃ vā maggaṃ vā phalaṃ vā assa !

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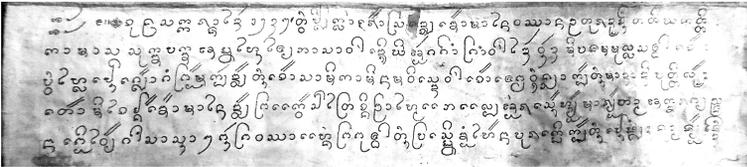
31 For *ādiyitvā*.  
 32 For *abhirammāmi*.  
 33 For *ullapati*.

fol. 14r



- line 1 maṇo hoti asakyaḥputtiyo seyyathāpi nāma tālo matthakācchinno<sup>34</sup> abhabbo punna<sup>35</sup> viruḥhi !
- 2 yā evam eva bhikkhu pāpiccho icchāpakato asantaṃ abhūtaṃ uttarimannussadhammaṃ ullapitvā assama!
- 3 ṇo hoti asakyaḥputtiyo tan te yāvajivaṃ akaraṇiyaṃ || āma bhante || yattika !
- 4 mmavācā<sup>36</sup> nitthitā ❀ || จบทยตติกมมาจาแต่เท่านั้นแลเจ้าเฮย ('This is the end of the *kammavācā* text'). ❀

fol. 15r

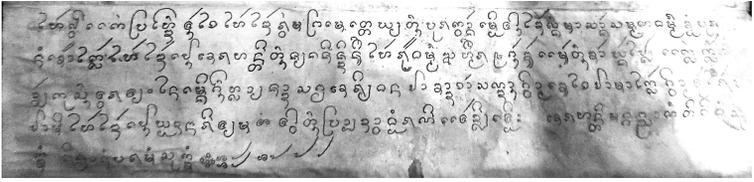


- line 1 ❀ จุฬสกุกราชได้ ๑๒๓๕ ตัวปลุกกล้าเร้าสรเทงเข้ามาในวสุสถานอุตรทูลนตติยกตติ
- 2 กามาตสกุขปุกขอภูฐาไนไทยภาสาว่าเทินย็ออก ๘ คำพราว่าไ้วัน ๓ มีปถมมุลลสทฐาเจ้า
- 3 บัวไหลเปนเคล้าศุพร้อมกับท้วยตนเจ้าสามิกามีนามวิเสทว่าเจ้าเทพพวงสงสาักับตนาทาที่ปุตติลูก!
- 4 เต้ามีใจอยังเข้ามาในท้วยพุดแก้ว ๓ ไตรจึงเอาใหม่แกแลบอ้อรเส้นนุ้ยนอยมาร้อยตามอกขรพยุณช
- 5 นาเพื่อไ้ยคำสาสนา ๕ พันพรุรสสาแห่งพุดพุทธาตนปุเรสิฐขอให้นาบุรเก็กกับตนาเปนผละงามช้อยโขท

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34 For *mattbaka*.  
 35 For *puna*.  
 36 For *ñatticatuttakammavācā*.

fol. 16r



- line 1 ให้แล้วแก่ปรุโหทพันใจให้ไว้ร่วมพรเมตเดยยตนบุรกว่างเมื่อทานไต้ลงมาล้างสมมณธรมม์ขอบุร
- 2 นำเข้าไกล้ให้ไว้เป็นอรพหุติดนเชียงชชิตชินให้รู้ธรมม์ ๘ หมื่น ๘ พันชั้นแมนตนเข้ายังไปลแก่ลกล้า
- 3 ท่วยกุสนทวรเทียวในเมิงคนหลายชาตสพพอรียนอุยาชาตจากสณถานความเขนใจอยามาไกล้ ความทุกไร่
- 4 อยูามให้ไว้เป็นยอทนารีเทยมทาวตนปฺรปทาวธอรณิแท้ทีหลิเทือะ arahantima-ggaṅgikāṇaṃ tividhaṃ su
- 5 kkhāṃ nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukkhaṃ ๗

## TRANSLATION OF THE COLOPHON (15r-16r):

In the year 1235 of the Chunla Sakka era (Lesser Era), the *ka rao* year, in the rainy season, on Tuesday the eighth waxing-moon day of the twelfth month, known according to the Thai calendar as Tuesday the eighth waxing day of the second month, Princess Bualai, along with her husband Prince Thepphawong, her mother, and her children, had faith in the Triple Gems of Buddhism. Therefore, she took the tiny silk threads to embroider the letters to prolong and sustain the Buddhist religion for 5000 years. May there be merits which result in us being born at the time when Metteyya Buddha is born to fulfil his enlightenment. May there be merits, which cause us to be close to Arahatship. May we be well-rounded in all 84,000 Dhamma doctrines. If we do not possess the greater merits and are still reborn in this human world, may we possess great wealth. May we be far from bad people and from all suffering. May I be reborn as a high lady of the same rank as the great king. *Arahantī maggaṅgikāṇaṃ tividhaṃ sukkhaṃ nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukkhaṃ* ('[May we reach] the knowledge of the path of arahantship, the threefold happiness, [and] Nibbāna the most eminent happiness').



Figure 4: Back cover of the ‘Dhamma embroidered manuscript’ (along with fols. 15–16r). Photograph by Peera Panarut.

## Appendix II

### Khmer embroidered *Kammavācā* manuscript from the National Library of Thailand<sup>37</sup>

fol. 1r



COLOPHON IN A MODERN PAPER ATTACHED TO FOL. 1R READS:

๑ ขอเดชะพระธรรมกรมวาจาคุณนี้ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าบัวไหลกรรยาเจ้าเมืองแพร่เป็นผู้ปักพระดิสชูแล้วไปด้วยไหมแพร ลงมาทูลเกล้าฯ ถวายแต่พระบาทสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัวควรสมควรแล้วแต่จะทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้าโปรดเกล้าฯ ขอเดชะฯ

37 (NLT: Illustrated Manuscript Subsection: Ms no. 134)

TRANSLATION:

May it please Your Majesty! I, Princess Bualai, the consort of the governor of Phrae, embroidered this *kammavācā* manuscript completely with silk, sending it down (from north to south) to present Your Majesty. May the matter rest upon Your Majesty’s judgment.

fol. 2r



- line 1 | ukāsa<sup>38</sup> vandāmi bhante sabbam aparādham khamatha me bhante | mayā kataṃ puññam sāmi |
- 2 nā anumoditabbam sāmi<nā> kataṃ puññam mayham dātabbam<sup>39</sup> sādhu sādhu anumodāmi | ukā |
- 3 sa kārūñña(m) katvā pabbajjam detha me bhante | แล้วหนึ่งลงว่า (“Then sit down and say”) | aham bhante pabbajjam yā(cā)mi
- 4 duti-/tatiyam pi aham bhante pabbajjam yācāmi | sabbadukkhanissaraṇa-nibbānasacchikara(ṇa)tthāya
- 5 | imaṃ kāsavaṃ gahetvā pabbājetha maṃ bhante anukampam upādāya | ၃ တီ (‘3 times’) | sabbadukkha |

fol. 3r




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38 For *okāsa*, see Bizot 1988: 26.  
 39 For *databbam*.

- line 1 nissaraṇanibbānasacchikaranatthāya etaṃ kāsavaṃ datvā pabbajetha maṃ bhante anukampaṃ
- 2 upādāya| ๓ ที (‘3 times’) | ท่านว่าเกสาจึงว่าตาม | แล้วไปนุ่งผ้าแล้วเข้ามาว่า-  
ทั้งนี้ (‘When the instructor says *kesā*, let repeat. After wearing the coat,  
coming back [to the ceremony] and then repeat’<sup>40</sup>) ukāsa
- 3 vandāmi bhante sabbaṃ aparādhaṃ khamatha me bhante mayā kataṃ  
puṅgiṇaṃ sāmīnā anumoditabbaṃ
- 4 sāmīnā kataṃ puṅgiṇaṃ mayhaṃ dāttabbaṃ sādhu sādhu anumodāmi | แล้ว  
ว่าทั้งนี้ (‘Then recite as follows’) | ukāsa
- 5 sa kārūṇiṇaṃ katvā tisaraṇena saha silāni detha me bhante | แล้วหุ่้นลงว่า  
(‘Then sit down and recite’) | ahaṃ

fol. 4r

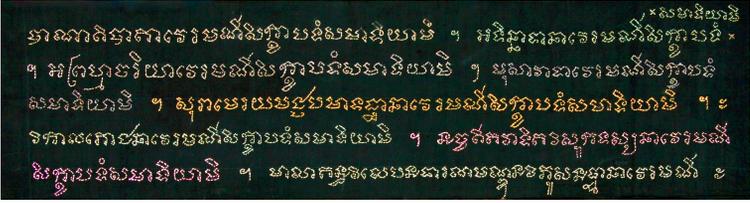


- line 1 bhante saraṇasilaṃ yācāmi duti-/tatiyaṃ pi ahaṃ bhante saraṇasilaṃ  
yācāmi | namo
- 2 tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa ๓ ที (‘3 times’) | buddham  
saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ
- 3 saraṇaṃ gacchāmi saṃghaṃ<sup>41</sup> saraṇaṃ gacchāmi | duti-/tatiyaṃ pi bud-  
dham/dhamma/saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ
- 4 gacchāmi | buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi  
saṃghaṃ <sa>raṇaṃ gacchāmi | duti-/tatiyaṃ pi
- 5 buddhaṃ / dhammaṃ /saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi | ท่านว่าทั้งนี้ (‘The in-  
structor recites’) (ti)saraṇāgamaṇaṃ | จึงรับว่า (‘Then reply’) | ukāsa ā(ma)  
bhante |

<sup>40</sup> According to Bizot: 1988: 26, the preceptor or *upajjhāya* speaks the following words in a deep voice, and these are repeated by the ordinand: *kesā – lomā – nakhā – dantā – taco – taco – dantā – nakhā – lomā – kesā*. This can be considered a kind of mantra, because the series is repeated the other way round once he arrived at *taco*.

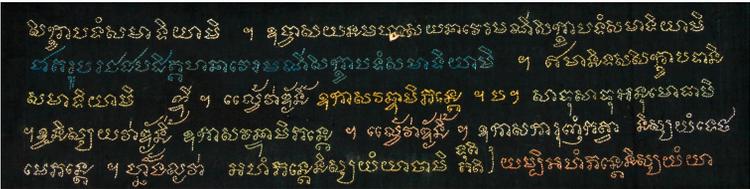
<sup>41</sup> Constantly for *saṅgha*<sup>o</sup>.

fol. 5r



- line 1 pāṇātipātā veramaṇisikkhāpadam samādiyāmi | adinnādānā veramaṇisikkhāpadam <samādiyāmi>
- 2 | abrahmacariyā veramaṇisikkhāpadam samādiyāmi | musāvādā veramaṇisikkhāpadam
- 3 samādiyāmi | surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇisikkhāpadam samādiyāmi |
- 4 vikālabhojanā veramaṇisikkhāpadam samādiyāmi | naccagītavāditavisūkadassanā veramaṇi |
- 5 sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi | mālāgandhavilepanadhāraṇamaṇḍhanavibhūsanaṭṭhānā veramaṇi |

fol. 6r



- line 1 sikkhāpadam samādiyāmi | uccāsayanamahāsayanā veramaṇisikkhāpadam samādiyāmi
- 2 jātarūparajataṭṭhapaṭiggahanā veramaṇisikkhāpadam samādiyāmi | imāni dasa sikkhapadāni
- 3 samādiyāmi ๓ ที ('3 times') | แล้วว่าทั้งนี้ ('Then recite as follows') ukāsa vandāmi bhante | pa<sup>42</sup> | sādhu sādhu anumodāmi

42 Pa (also pe) is abbreviated from *peyyāla* ('repetition, session, formula') and is used as a sign of abbreviation in Pāli, functioning like *et cetera*. Therefore, the text as given above (from the end of fol. 4r5 to the beginning of fol. 6r3) has to be repeated here completely.

- 4 | ขอนิสฺสาযว่าทังนี้ ('When requesting for dependance (*nissaya*), recite as follows') ukāsa vandāmi bhante<sup>43</sup> | แล้วว่าทังนี้ ('Then recite as follows') | ukāsa kāruṅṅiṅam katvā nissayaṃ detha
- 5 | me bhante | หนึ่งลงว่า ('Sit down and recite') ahaṃ bhante nissayaṃ yācāmi duti-/tatiyam pi ahaṃ bhante nissayaṃ yā !

fol. 7r



- line 1 cāmi | ว่าทังนี้ ('Then recite as follows') uppajjhāyo<sup>44</sup> me bhante hohi ๓ ที ('3 times') | พุรอุปฺปชฺฌมาว่าทังนี้ ('The preceptor [*upajjhāya*] says') sāhu
- 2 กุที ('as well') lahu กุที ('as well') opāyikaṃ กุที ('as well') paṭirūpaṃ กุที ('as well') pāsādikena sampādehi กุที ท่านวาทโทบท
- 3 หนึ่งจึงรับว่า ('Whenever he recites any of these, then reply') | ukāsa sam- paṭicchāmi sampāṭicchāmi sampāṭicchāmi | ajjhatagge<sup>45</sup> dāni tthe !
- 4 ro mayhaṃ bhāro ahaṃ pi therassa bhāro ๓ ที ('3 times') | แล้วเอาบาตรส- พายภิกขุผู้เปนกมฺมาจาจึ่ง !
- 5 สมมุติติว่าท่านหลูชื่อวานาค จึงรับว่า ('Then take the bowl. After the monk who recites the *kammavācā* or, i.e., the *kammavācācariya* knows the name of the ordinand or Nāga, let reply that') ukāsa<sup>46</sup> | อุปฺปชฺฌมาแห่งท่าน หลูชื่อต- สฺสุดเถร จึ่งรับ

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- 43 Here again the entire text needs to be repeated.
- 44 Constantly for *upajjhā*.
- 45 For *ajjhatagge*.
- 46 Here again the entire text needs to be repeated.

fol. 8r



- line 1    ဘုံ (‘When knowing the title of the preceptor as [marked here as] *Tis-sathera*, then reply that’) *ukāsa* | *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsa-buddhassa* | *pathamaṃ uppajjham*<sup>47</sup> *gā* |
- 2    *hāpetabbo uppajjham gāhāpetvā pattacivaraṃ acikkhitabbaṃ ayan te patto* | *āma*
- 3    *bhante* | *ayaṃ saṃghāṭi* | *āma bhante* | *ayaṃ uttarāsaṃṅgo*<sup>48</sup> | *āma bhante* |
- 4    *ayaṃ antarāvāsako* | *āma bhante* | *gaccha amumhi okāse tiṭṭhāhi* | *suṇātu me*
- 5    *bhante saṃgho Nāgo āyasmato Tissa<ssa> upasampadāpekho*<sup>49</sup> | *yadi saṃghassa patta* |

fol. 9r



- line 1    *kallaṃ ahaṃ Nāgaṃ anusāseyyaṃ* | *suṇasi Nāga* | *ayaṃ*<sup>50</sup> *te saccakālo bhūtaka* |
- 2    *lo yaṃ jātaṃ taṃ saṃghamaññhe pucchante santaṃ atthi ti vattaḃbaṃ asantaṃ atthi ti vattaḃbaṃ* | *mā kho*
- 3    *viṭṭhāsi mā kho maṃku ahoṣi* | *evan taṃ pucchissanti santi te evarūpā ābādha*
- 4    *kuṭṭhaṃ* | *natthi bhante* | *gantho*<sup>51</sup> | *natthi bhante* | *kilāso* | *natthi bhante* |
- 5    *soso* | *natthi bhante* | *apamāro* | *natthi bhante* | *manusso* (‘) *si* | *ā* |

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47    For *upajjham*.  
 48    For *saṅgo*.  
 49    For *pekko*.  
 50    For *ayan*.  
 51    For *ganḍho*.

fol. 10r



- line 1 ma bhante | puriso (‘)si | āma bhante | bhujjhisso<sup>52</sup> (‘)si | āma bhante |
- 2 anaṇo (‘)si | āma bhante | na (‘)si rājabhaṭo | āma bhante | anuññā |
- 3 to (‘)si mātāpitūhi | āma bhante | paripuṇṇavisativasso (‘)si | āma
- 4 bhante | paripuṇṇan te pattacīvaraṃ | āma bhante | kinnāmo (‘)si | ahaṃ
- bhante
- 5 Nāgo nāma | ko nāmo<sup>53</sup> te uppajjhāyo | uppajjhāyo me bhante āya |

fol. 11r



- line 1 smā Tissatthero nāma | suṇātu me bhante saṃgho | Nāgo āyasmato Tissa
- |
- 2 ssa upasampadāpekho | anusitṭho so mayā | yadi saṃghassa pattakallaṃ |
- 3 Nāgo āgaccheyya āgacchāhi ti vattabbo āgacchāhi<sup>54</sup> | เข้ามาหนึ่งลงเอามือ
- อจับเท้า (‘Come sit down and grasp the [preceptor’s] feet with the hands’)
- 4 อนุภุมมาจาเหตุวิสงคทั้งปางแล้วว่าดังนี้ (‘[When] the *anukammavācā*[*car-*
- ya*] pays respect to all monks, then recite as follows’) | saṃgham bhante
- upasampadaṃ yācāmi | ullu |
- 5 mpatu maṃ bhante saṃgho anukampaṃ upādāya | dutiyam pi bhante
- saṃghaṃ upasampadaṃ yā(cā)mi |

52 Constantly for *bhūjiso*.

53 For *nāma*.

54 This direct call is not contained in the ‘Dhamma Lanna embroidered manuscript’.

fol. 12r



- line 1 ullumpatu maṃ bhante saṃgho anukampaṃ upādāya | tatiyam pi bhante saṃghaṃ upasampadam
- 2 yācāmi | ullumpatu maṃ bhante saṃgho anukampaṃ upādāya | แล้วท่านยืนขึ้นสวด (“Then he stands up and recites”) ;
- 3 suṇātu me bhante saṃgho ayaṃ Nāgo āyasmato Tissassa upasampadāpekho | yadi
- 4 saṃghassa pattakallaṃ ahaṃ Nāgaṃ antarāyike dhamme puccheyyaṃ suṇasi Nāga ayan te saccakālo bhū |
- 5 takālo | yaṃ jātaṃ pucchāmi santaṃ atthi ti vattabbaṃ asantaṃ natthi ti vattabbaṃ | santi te

fol. 13r

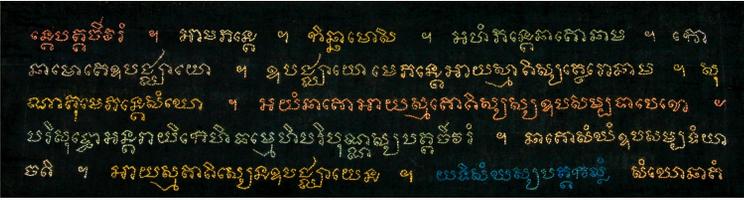


- line 1 evarūpā ābādhā kuṭṭhaṃ | natthi bhante | gandho | natthi bhante | kilāso | natthi
- 2 bhante | soso | natthi bhante | apamāro | natthi bhante | manusso (‘)si
- 3 | āma bhante | puriso (‘)si | āma bhante | bhujjhisso (‘)si | āma bhante | ana |
- 4 ṇo (‘)si | āma bhante | na (‘)si rājabhaṭo | āma bhante | anuññāto (‘)si mātā
- 5 pitūhi | āma bhante | paripuṇṇavisativasso<sup>55</sup> (‘)si | āma bhante | paripuṇṇa |

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55 Constantly for *paripuṇṇā*.

fol. 14r



- line 1 n te pattacivaram | āma bhante | kin nāmo (°)si | ahaṃ bhante Nāgo nāma | ko
- 2 nāmo te upajjhāyo | upajjhāyo me bhante āyasmā Tissatthero nāma | su |
- 3 ṇātu me bhante saṃgho | ayaṃ Nāgo āyasmato Tissassa upasampadāpekho
- 4 parisuddho antarāyikehi dhammehi paripuṇṇassa pattacivaram | Nāgo saṃghaṃ upasampadaṃ yā |
- 5 cati | āyasmatā Tissena upajjhāyena | yadi saṃghassa pattakallaṃ saṃgho Nāgaṃ

fol. 15r



- line 1 upasampādeyya āyasmatā Tissena upajjhāyena esā ṇatti | suṇātu me bhante saṃ |
- 2 gho ayaṃ Nāgo āyasmato Tissassa upasampadāpekho<sup>6</sup> | parisuddho anta |
- 3 rāyikehi dhammehi paripuṇṇ(°) assa pattacivaram | Nāgo saṃghaṃ upasampadaṃ yācati |
- 4 āyasmatā Tissena upajjhāyena | saṃgho Nāgaṃ upasampādeti | āyasmatā
- 5 Tissena upajjhāyena | yassāyasmato khamati Nāgassa upasampadā āya |

56 Everywhere for °pekkho.

fol. 16r



- line 1 smatā Tissena upajjhāyena | so tuṅh(‘) assa yassa na kkhāmati so bhāseyya | du !
- 2 tiyaṃ pi etam atthaṃ vadāmi | suṇātu me bhante saṃgho ayaṃ Nāgo āyasmato Tissassa
- 3 upasampadāpekho | parisuddho antarāyikehi dhammehi paripuṇṇ(‘) assa pattācivaraṃ |
- 4 Nāgo saṃghaṃ upasampadaṃ yācati āyasmatā Tissena upajjhāyena | saṃgho Nāgaṃ
- 5 upasampādeti | āyasmatā Tissena upajjhāyena | yassāyasmato khamati !

fol. 17r



- line 1 Nāgassa upasampadā āyasmatā Tissena upajjhāyena | so tuṅh(‘) assa yassa na
- 2 kkhāmati so bhāseyya tatiyaṃ pi etam atthaṃ vadāmi | suṇātu me bhante saṃgho !
- 3 ayaṃ Nāgo āyasmato Tissassa upasampadāpekho | parisuddho antarāyikehi !
- 4 dhammehi paripuṇṇ(‘) assa pattācivaraṃ | Nāgo saṃghaṃ upasampadaṃ yācati āyasmatā Tisse !
- 5 na upajjhāyena | saṃgho Nāgaṃ upasampādeti āyasmatā Tissena upajjhāyena

fol. 18r



- line 1 yassāyasmato khamati Nāgassa upasampadā āyasmato Tissena upajjhāyena so tu !
- 2 ṇh(°) assa yassa na kkhmati so bhāseyya | upasampanno saṃghena Nāgo āyasmatā Ti !
- 3 ssena upajjhāyena | khamati saṃghassa tasmā tuṇhī evam etaṃ dhārayāmi | จบสวด ('The recitation ends') |
- 4 tāvad eva chāyā mettabbā<sup>57</sup> utupamāṇaṃ<sup>58</sup> ācikkhitabbaṃ | divasabhāgo<sup>59</sup> ācikkhitabbo | saṅgī !
- 5 ti ācikkhitabbā | cattāro nissāyā ācikkhitabbā | cattāri ca akaraṇīyāni ācikkhi !

fol. 19r



- line 1 tabbāni | piṇḍiyālopabhojanaṃ nissāya pabbajjā tattha te yāvajivaṃ ussāho karaṇi !
- 2 yo atirekalābho | saṃghabhattaṃ uddhesabhattaṃ<sup>60</sup> nimantanāṃ salāka-bhattaṃ pakkhikaṃ uposathikaṃ<sup>61</sup>
- 3 pāṭipadikaṃ | āma bhante | paṃsukulacivaram<sup>62</sup> nissā<ya> pabbajjā tattha te yāvajivaṃ ussā !
- 4 ho karaṇīyo atirekalābho | kho maṃ kappās<i>kaṃ koseyyaṃ kambalaṃ sāṇaṃ bhaṅgaṃ
- 5 | āma bhante | rukkhamūlasenānaṃ nissāya pabbajjā tattha te yā(va)-jivaṃ ussāho karaṇi !

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- 57 For mettabbā.
- 58 For utuppa°.
- 59 For diva°.
- 60 For uddesa°.
- 61 For uposathikaṃ.
- 62 For paṃsukūla°.

fol. 20r



- line 1 yo atirekalābho | vihāro aḍhayogo<sup>63</sup> pāsādo hammiyaṃ gūhā | āma
- 2 bhante | pūtimuttibhesajjaṃ nissāya pabbajjā tattha te yāvajivaṃ ussāho karaṇiyo
- 3 atirekalābho | sappi navanitaṃ<sup>64</sup> telaṃ madhu phānitaṃ<sup>65</sup> | āma bhante | upasampanne |
- 4 na bhikkhunā methuno dhammo na ppaṭisevitabbo antamaso tiracchānagatāya pi | yo
- 5 bhikkhu methunaṃ dhammaṃ patisevati<sup>66</sup> assamaṇo hoti asākyaputtiyo<sup>67</sup> seyyathāpi nā |

fol. 21r



- line 1 ma puriso sisacchinno abhabbo tena sarirabandanena<sup>68</sup> jīvitum evam eva bhikkhu methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭi |
- 2 sevitvā assamaṇo hoti asākyaputtiyo | tan te yāvajivaṃ akaraṇiyaṃ | ā(ma)
- 3 bhante | upasampannena bhikkhunā adinnaṃ theyyasaṃkhātāṃ na ādātābbaṃ an<tamaso> tiṇasalākāṃ upād<ā> |
- 4 ya | yo bhikkhu pādaṃ vā pādārahaṃ vā atirekapādaṃ vā adinnaṃ theyyasaṃkhātāṃ ādiyati | assa |
- 5 maṇo hoti asākyaputtiyo | seyyathāpi nāma paṇḍāpalāso<sup>69</sup> bandanā<sup>70</sup> pavutto abha |

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- 63 For *aḍḍhayogo*.
- 64 For *°nitaṃ*.
- 65 For *phānitaṃ*.
- 66 For *paṭi°*.
- 67 Continuously for *asakya°*.
- 68 For *sarirabandha°*.
- 69 For *paṇḍūpalāso*.
- 70 For *bandhanā*.

fol. 22



- line 1 bbo harittattāya | evam eva bhikkhu pādamaṃ vā pādarahaṃ vā atirekapādamaṃ vā adinnaṃ theyyasamkhātamaṃ |
- 2 ādiyitvā | assamaṇo hoti asākyaputtiyo | tan te yāvajivaṃ akaraṇiyaṃ |
- 3 āma bhante | upasampannena bhikkhunā sañcicca pāno jivitā (na) voropetabbo antamaso kuṇḍa |
- 4 kipilikamaṃ upādāya | yo bhikkhu sañcicca manussaviggaḥamaṃ jivitā voropeti antamaso
- 5 gabbhapātanaṃ upādāya | assamaṇo hoti asākyaputtiyo | seyyathāpi nāma

fol. 23r



- line 1 puthusilā dvedhā bhinnā appaṭṭisandhikā hoti | evam eva bhikkhu sañcicca manussaviggaḥamaṃ jivitā
- 2 voropetvā | assamaṇo hoti asākyaputtiyo | tan te yāvajivaṃ akaraṇiyaṃ
- 3 | āma bhante | upasampannena bhikkhunā uttarimanussadhammo (na) ul-lapitabbo antamaso su |
- 4 ññāgāre abhiraṃmāmi ti | yo bhikkhu pāpiccho icchāpakato asantaṃ abhū-taṃ uttarimanussadhammaṃ
- 5 ullapati | jhānaṃ vā vimokkhaṃ vā samādiṃ<sup>71</sup> vā samāpattiṃ vā maggaṃ vā phalaṃ vā | assamaṇo

71 For samādhiṃ.



- line 1 hoti asākyaputtiyo | seyyathāpi nāma tālo matthakacchinno<sup>72</sup> abhabbo pu-  
na virulhi |
- 2 yā | evam eva bhikku<sup>73</sup> pāpiccho icchāpakato asantaṃ abhūtaṃ uttarima-  
nussadhammaṃ ullapitvā | |
- 3 assamaṇo hoti asākyaputtiyo | tan te yāvajivaṃ akaraṇiyaṃ | āma bhante |
- 4 yatticatuttakammaṃ<sup>74</sup> niṭṭhitaṃ | พิณฑพผ้าว่าทั้งนี้ (‘For dotting [to con-  
secrate] the robes, recite as follows’) | imaṃ bindukappaṃ karomi duti-  
/tatiyaṃ pi imaṃ bindukappaṃ
- 5 karomi | อธิฏฐานผ้าสัฆาฎีว่าทั้งนี้ (‘For the *saṅghāṭi* robes, recite as follows’)  
imaṃ saṃghāṭiṃ adhiṭṭhāmi ๓ ที (‘3 times’) | ผ้าจิวรว่าทั้งนี้ (‘For the *civara*  
robes, recite as follows’) imaṃ uttarā |



- line 1 saṅgaṃ adhiṭṭhāmi ๓ ที (‘3 times’) | ผ้าสบงว่าทั้งนี้ (‘For the *sabong* robes  
[referring to the *antaravāsaka*], recite as follows’) imaṃ antaravāsakaṃ  
adhiṭṭhāmi ๓ ที (‘3 times’) | ราวตุตคทว่าทั้งนี้ (‘For the *rat prakhot* robes  
[referring to the *kāyabandhana* or girdle], recite as follows’) imaṃ kāya |

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72 For *°kācbinno*.  
 73 For *bbikkhu*.  
 74 For *ñatticatuttakammaṃ*.

- 2 bandana(m)<sup>75</sup> adhiṭṭhāmi ๓ ที ('3 times') | ปจจุจรรว่าพั้งนี้ ('For giving up [the robes] or *paccuddhāra*, recite as follows') imaṃ saṃghāṭiṃ paccud-dharāmi ๓ ที ('3 times') | จิวรว่าพั้งนี้ ('For the *civara* robes, recite as follows') imaṃ uttarāsaṃghaṃ<sup>76</sup> pa !
- 3 cuddharāmi ๓ ที ('3 times') | ๓



Figure 5: The back cover of the 'Khom embroidered manuscript' from the National Library of Thailand. (© NLT: Illustrated Manuscripts Subsec-tion: Ms no. 134)

75 For °bandhanaṃ.

76 For uttarāsaṅgaṃ.



## Two Systems of Numerical Notation in Pali Buddhism

Javier Schnake

From the earliest time of Pali Buddhism numbers are not limited in their use to their ordinal function. They are also didactic and pedagogic tools, their manipulation serving the organization, memorization, and preservation of teachings. The constitution of lists exposed in the *nikāyas* facilitates the manipulation of material: through summaries consisting in apposite grouping of lists, for instance, the 37 conditions that contribute to awakening (*bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*); by employing the principles of numerical association, for example in the *Saṅgīti-sutta* and the *Dasuttara-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* or in a systematic way in the *Samyutta-nikāya* and *Anguttara-nikāya*; and in some *mātikās* present in Abhidhamma texts, acting as a basis for further exposition by following tables of items built up also according to a system of numerical progression.<sup>1</sup> Finally, in more recent times, numbers are also endowed with magical properties, active elements of geometric figures or *yantras*, such as magic squares present, for instance, in the Thai Buddhist practices using Pali (Schnake 2018a: 180–9).

In this paper I aim to call attention to other ways of dealing with numbers. Two encoding methods that have not attracted the attention of scholars working with Buddhist sources are succinctly presented here: the *bhū-tasaṅkhyā* and the *kaṭṭapayādi* methods, with more emphasis on the second due to the available material. The presence and developments of these systems, which have Indic origins, in the various fields of expression of the Pali language appear as marginal curiosities, especially when compared with

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<sup>1</sup> All these points are developed in Gethin 1992: 149–64.

their actual histories and destinies in their original cradle. However, they are one sign of the external influences exerted on Pali, notably the Sanskrit norms, but also testify to the plasticity of this language, even if they remain very circumscribed.

## I. The *bbūtasankhyā*

The *bbūtasankhyā* ('object numeral') is a well-known system operating in India since early times: it is a common practice in verse-inscriptions to give the date in the form of chronograms (Salomon 1998: 173); it has also been adopted in Vedic literature, in Tantric texts, in music to designate the division of musical patterns, in architecture, and in colophons of manuscripts for giving dates; but a more systematic use of the method is found in astronomy and mathematics, where the manipulation of numbers is central since the beginning of the Christian era (Sarma 2003: 39–41). Sreeramula R. Sarma thus defines the *bbūtasankhyā* method:

[It] refers to a system of numerical notation where a word denoting an object, concept, idea, or group implies, besides its normal meaning, a number by dint of meaning, convention, or use, for that reason that is used to denote the number in question. (Sarma 2003: 38)

For example, *ākāsa* (sky) is for 0, *canda* (moon) is equal to 1, *nayana* (eye) to 2, and so on. These words pertain to a cultural or religious background that the audience is already familiar with and refer to well-known notions and conceptions, making them easy to recognize and memorize. The possibility of using a large range of synonyms also provides a certain amount of flexibility, notably when they are included in verse-compositions, allowing consideration of metrical aspects. Conventionally, the compounds obtained by the addition of several of these words should be read from right to left.

Although the *bbūtasankhyā* system is widely evidenced in the Indic context, its use in the Pali traditions seems to be rare. However, this method shows signs of existence in different fields of Pali culture:

### 1. Manuscripts and epigraphy

#### 1.1 Manuscripts

Scribal practices adopted this system to mention dates in the form of chronograms. This method is rare but known in Burmese manuscripts as

*saṅketasaṅkhyā* (Bechert 1979: xx).<sup>2</sup> For instance, the *Ñāṇavaḍḍhanadīpanī* traced in the catalogue of *Burmese Manuscripts*, Part 1,<sup>3</sup> mentions in its colophon two dates which are mixes of classical and *bbūtasāṅkhyā* numbers: *pañcarasojammaduve* for 2265 BS (1721 CE), composed of *pañca* (5) – *raso* (taste) for 6 – *jamma* (i.e. *camma*) (skin) for 2 – *duve* (i.e. *dve*) for 2; and *ekāthasunñāsūrace* for 1081 CS (1719 CE), *racce* (i.e. *rajje*) (royalty) for 1, *sū* (?) for 8,<sup>4</sup> *suñña* (empty) for 0, *ekātha* (i.e. Pali *ekattha*) (in one place) for 1.

## 1.2 Epigraphy

Chronograms are also present in the Pali epigraphy. Two main pieces of evidence originate from different geographical and cultural places, the system having surely been assimilated there for different reasons.

The most ancient witnesses are found in the corpus of Cambodian inscriptions written in Pali. Among the dozen epigraphs highlighted (de Bernon 2006: 54–56), two contain dates using the *bbūtasāṅkhyā* method, whether in a pure form (K. 754)—all numbers are mentioned by means of this method—, or in a hybrid form (K. 501)—the date mixes *bbūtasāṅkhyā* and traditional systems—(Chhom 2016: 396–398).<sup>5</sup> For instance, in the bilingual Pali-Khmer inscription K. 754 dated 1230 MS (1308 CE)<sup>6</sup> recording a donation made by King Śrīndravarman (Pali *Sirisirindavamma*) (r. 1296–1307 CE) (Coëdès 1936: 14), three stanzas deal with the *bbūtasāṅkhyā*:

2. *sirisirindavammākhyabbūpeso guṇabbūsaṇo*  
*yasodharapure āsi maṅgalinduyamindunā*
3. *nabbaggiyamacandambi assinītārakānvite*  
*ravivārambi tatiye yāme tite dvipādake [...]*
7. *candaggiyamacandambi bbūpādhipatīpesitā*  
*buddharūpaṇ ṭhāpapetvā dāsīdāsādike adā*

2 This method is also evoked by W. A. de Silva in the Sinhalese context. He gave as an example a date composed by means of Sanskrit words (*gagana-rsi varna-nayane* for 2470 CS [1832 CE]). We could not however identify the manuscript in question which probably contains a text written in Sanskrit (de Silva 1938: xxiv). Nevertheless, nothing can assure us that this method does not exist for dating manuscripts in Pali.

3 Cf. ms. 106 in Bechert 1979: 152.

4 The word is incomplete but, as indicated by the editor, it corresponds to number 8.

5 K. Chhom considers also inscription K. 966 which has a link with the *bbūtasāṅkhyā* system only because it must be read from right to left. Numbers are however not been transformed in ‘object numerals’.

6 It is no longer the ‘oldest Pali inscription of Cambodia’, as stated by the French scholar, as it has been supplanted by the Angkor Borei tablet (K. 1355). It remains however the earliest Pali composition in the region (Skilling 2019: 45).

2. Il y eut à Yasodharapura, **en lune (1)** (i.e. moon) – **couple (2)** (i.e. pair) – **lune (1)** – **porte-bonheur (8)** (i.e. auspicious), un roi paré de vertus nommé Sirisirindavamma.
3. **En lune (1)** – **couple (2)** – **feux (3)** (i.e. fire) – **ciel (0)** (i.e. sky), sous l'étoile Assinī, un dimanche, deux pāda après la troisième veille révolue, (...)
7. **En lune (1)** – **couple (2)** – **feux (3)** – **lune (1)**, par ordre du (roi), elle fit ériger une statue du Buddha et donna des esclaves des deux sexes et autres présents. (French transl. Cœdès 1936: 18)

The dates (in bold) are expressed by the compounds 'maṅgala (auspicious) for 8<sup>7</sup> – indu (moon) for 1 – yama (pair) for 2 – indu (moon) for 1', standing for 1218 MS (1296 CE); 'nabha (sky) for 0 – aggi (fire) for 3<sup>8</sup> – yama (pair) for 2 – canda (moon) for 1', that is 1230 MS (1308 CE); and 'canda (moon) for 1 – aggi (fire) for 3 – yama (pair) for 2 – canda (moon) for 1', that is 1231 MS (1309 CE).

The presence of this system in the Cambodian inscriptions engraved in Pali could be a direct inheritance from the Sanskrit epigraphic tradition which was current previously. From the 7th to the 14th century, inscriptions were essentially written in Sanskrit in the area, and it was a common practice to figure numbers by using the *bhūtasankhyā* system (Chhom 2016: 276–278). It seems



Figure 1: K. 754 inscription (Cœdès 1936: 15)

7 It probably refers to the eight auspicious symbols or objects (Pali *aṭṭhamāṅgala*, Skt. *aṣṭamaṅgala*) found for certain occasions.

8 The set of three fires in Pali Buddhism designates *rāga*, *dosa*, and *moha*, but this number may also have been chosen in this context with reference to the three sacrificial fires of Vedic ritual.

that even when Pali became the new sacred idiom after this period, the *bhū-tasaṅkhyā* continued to be traditionally used by the royal court as a system of datation.

The *bhūtasāṅkhyā* is also evidenced in the epigraphy of Burma. The long and important Kalyāṇī inscription (Kalyāṇī) dated 1479 CE (Taw Sein Ko 1892), which was commissioned by King Dhammaceti (1472–1492 CE) of Bago (Pegu) to record the reform of the *saṅgha*, frequently uses this method for expressing dates. This text is written in prose, and metrical considerations seem not really to have been an issue in the use of the *bhūtasāṅkhyā* system. For example:

*Ānandathero pana catupaññāsavassāni Pugāmanagare sāsanam jotayitvā, muni-suñña-rasa-sakkarāje sampatte yatbākamam gato.* (Kalyāṇī 8.22–23)

And Ānandathera, after spending fifty-four rainy seasons in maintaining the Religion in splendor in Pugāma (i.e. Pagan), also passed away according to his deeds in the year ‘wise-empty-taste’<sup>9</sup>, Sakkarāj. (Transl. Kalyāṇī 56.8–10)

Here, ‘muni (wise) for 7 – suñña (empty) for 0 – rasa (taste) for 6’ refers to 607 CS (1245 CE).

## 2. Literature

### 2.1 The *Vuttodaya*

Although the *bhūtasāṅkhyā* is well-known in Burmese vernacular literature, the use of this method in Pali works is not evidenced in documents that have come to us. However, this numerical method is presented in one of the appendices of the *Saddanīti* edition, where Helmer Smith took up the list of numbers and their correspondences in the entry dedicated to metrical aspects (Sadd 1149). He specified that he referred to the *Saddanīti*’s *nissaya* which uses this type of codification (Sadd 1148), borrowing from a Pali treatise very popular in Burma that has given rise to various commentaries, the *Vuttodaya*. Composed in Ceylon by Saṅgharakkhita (12th–13th century), the *Vuttodaya* deals with prosody and metrical matter, following the same outline as a metrical treatise in Sanskrit (the *Vṛttaratnākara*). It thus assimilates the *bhūtasāṅkhyā* as a basic principle for its inner develop-

9 The translator did not translate this portion in bold word for word, preferring to directly convert the date into a number (that is 607).

ment, as clearly stated in the preliminary section describing the symbols and terminology used throughout:<sup>10</sup>

*viññeyyā lokato saññā samuddosurasādinam.* (Vutt 10ab)

The [conventional] terms should be known from worldly things: ocean, arrow, tastes, and so on.

Here *samudda* stands for 4 (oceans), *sura* for 5 (arrows belonging to the Hindu god Kāmadeva), *rasa* is for 6 (tastes). Generally, Saṅgharakkhita adapted the Sanskrit text to the peculiarities of the Pali language. He maintained, however, some of the Indic cultural or religious elements at work.

How are these ‘conventional terms’ used in the *Vuttodaya*? They participate in the elaboration of the definitions of the different metres described in this work and presented in short aphorisms. For instance, the *Sālinī* metre is revealed in this way:

*vedassehi mtā tgagā Sālinī sā.* (Vutt 66ab)

The *Sālinī* is *ma*, *ta*, *ta*, *ga*, and *ga*, with the Veda and the horses.

The formula details the elements shaping the *Sālinī* metre, which corresponds to a rhythmic pattern ----, -∪---∪--- alternating heavy (*garu*, -) and light (*labu*, ∪) syllables. *Ma* and *ta* are the abbreviations of the *gaṇas* (bars or sections) consisting of divisions of three syllables, a kind of shorthand used to describe the metrical patterns.<sup>11</sup> *ga* is the abbreviation of *garu*, a heavy syllable. In the prevailing prosodical conventions, a *bbūtasankhyā* word in the instrumental case, like *vedassehi* here, indicates the position of the word-break: ‘With the Veda and the horses’ is then understood as ‘after the fourth and after the seventh [syllables]’, indicated in the metrical pattern with the comma.

The *Vuttodaya* uses a specific terminology in which the *bbūtasankhyā* takes part, that is to say, it is considered as one linguistic tool among others shared by learned poets. This work is till now the only one that systematically uses the *bbūtasankhyā* technique, leading us to suppose, in absence of other data, that it could mark the first use of this system in Pali writings.

10 In his edition of the *Vuttodaya*, R. Siddharatha called this system *bbūtasankhyāvidhi* (Siddharatha 1929: 5).

11 The *ma-gaṇa* has three heavy syllables (---), and the *ta-gaṇa* has two heavy and one light syllable (-∪-).

## 2.2 The *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha*

The *bbūtasāṅkhyā* also reached the Lanna kingdom in the Pali *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha* (Vss) composed by Ratanapañña (1534 CE) (Schnake 2021). Rare occurrences are scattered throughout the work, as in the first *pāda* of Vss 57 *yantā uswidhā nyādi* ('the five parts starting with *ni* and ending with *ya*') where *usu* (arrow) stands for five.<sup>12</sup> However, Ratanapañña dedicates a very short section to this method entitled *lokasaññāṅkitasaṅkhyā* ('Numbers designated by conventional terms'), making these elements the central point of arrangements. Only two stanzas constitute this chapter:

*pādap' eko bhavakkhandbo sarasākho bahūdalo*  
*Sineruggo suphalado a vi su iti nāmako.* (Vss 104)  
*sādhūbi naradevehi mabito varapādapo*  
*bbavaggo dvādasasākho narappatto bbavapupphīyo*  
*sindhuphalo bbavaṅkūro dvimūlo jinaropīto.* (Vss 105)

At first sight, the real meaning of these verses is almost impenetrable. The articulation of the elements of the compounds (in bold) tends to nonsense. The resolution is allowed only by treating nouns not syntactically, but numerically: *bhava* is for 3 (the three types of existences), *sara* for 5 (Kāmadeva's five arrows), *Sineru* for 1 (Mount Sineru), *sindhu* for 4 (the oceans):

The unique tree with **three** trunks, **five** branches, many leaves,  
 With the **unique** summit, which gives the perfect fruits, is called 'a vi su'.  
 (Vss 104)

It is the excellent tree revered by men and gods, by the virtuous,  
 With the **three** summits, the twelve branches,<sup>13</sup> the **twenty** leaves, the **three**  
 flowers,  
 The **four** fruits, the **three** burgeons, the two roots,  
 It has been planted by the Conqueror. (Vss 105)

Here we obtain different notions revolving around a twofold metaphor of the tree:

1. The first stanza highlights the Tipiṭaka and its ramifications: '*a vi su*' stands for Abhidhamma, Vinaya, and Suttanta, a formula well-known in

12 This *pāda* belongs to a chapter dedicated to 'abbreviations by the beginning and the end' (*ādyantasāṅketa*) (*ibid.* chap. 3). Here, 'the five parts starting with *ni* and ending with *ya*' are the five *nikāyas*.

13 For *na-ra* = 12 cf. the next chapter.

the Thai context and animated with magical properties;<sup>14</sup> the ‘five branches’ are the five *nikāyas*; the ‘many leaves’ correspond to the 84,000 portions of Dhamma; the ‘perfect fruits’ refer to the spiritual results expected by people following the right practice; the ‘unique summit’ is the *Buddhavacana*.<sup>15</sup>

2. The second stanza refers to the conditionality or causal conditions of phenomena (*paṭiccasamuppāda*), and is inspired by this conceptualization formalized in the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*:

*tattha tayo addhā dvādas’angāni vīsāt’ ākāraṃ tisandhi  
catusaṅkhepā tīṇi vaṭṭāni dve mūlāni ca vedītabbāni.* (Abhidh-s 40 §5)

It should be understood that there are here **three** periods, **twelve** factors, **Twenty** modes, **three** connections, **four** groups, **three** rounds, and **two** roots. (Transl. Bodhi 1993: 299)

This stanza adopts an angle of analysis of the twelve factors’ chain by ‘categories of analysis’: factors are understood and articulated through the prism of each of these aspects (periods, modes, connections, etc.). It aims to demonstrate the complexity of the links which unite them, connected to each other in different ways.<sup>16</sup>

So, this metaphor of the tree is rich and essential. It conceals fundamental aspects of the Buddhist doctrine: the Pali canon which proceeds from the word of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*); and what is considered by some to be the heart of the Buddhist doctrine, the teachings related to the conditioned production of phenomena (*paṭiccasamuppāda*). The manipulation of the *bbūtasāṅkhyā* (or *lokasaññāṅkitasāṅkhyā*) in the *Vajirasārattthasaṅgaha* goes beyond the purely pragmatic aspects of this system encountered so far. It integrates the system and puts it at the heart of compositions for enigmatic or esoteric purposes. In the opinion of its author, Ratanapañña, these facets are not in contradiction with scholastic or technical aspects; on the contrary, they are intertwined.

## II. The *kaṭapayādi* system

The *kaṭapayādi* method organizes numbers differently, giving initially a numerical value to each of the consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet from 0 to

14 For the details regarding this method of abbreviation called *ādisāṅketa* cf. Schnake 2018a: 159–180 and Vss Introduction pp. xxx–xxxii and chapter 1.

15 This reading of the different elements comes from Yaem 1969: 99.

16 For a detailed explanation cf. Bodhi 1993: 299–303.

9. Many hypotheses regarding the antiquity of this numerical system have been proposed. Its presence is, however, attested some time before the 7th century CE, confined essentially to Kerala (South India), from where it spread sporadically to other parts of the subcontinent. It has been employed continuously until present times, mainly for scientific purposes in astronomy and mathematics. It also spread beyond the scientific area and found different ways of expression: in music in order to designate the 72 *rāgas*; in the form of chronograms in textual compositions and epigraphy; and in the field of esotericism in Northern India (essentially to draw *yantra* or magic squares) (Sarma 2003: 41–44; Sarma 2012). Here is the chart summarizing this data:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
<i>ka</i>	<i>kba</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>gba</i>	<i>ña</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>jba</i>	<i>ña</i>
<i>ṭa</i>	<i>ṭba</i>	<i>ḍa</i>	<i>ḍba</i>	<i>ṇa</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tba</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dba</i>	<i>na</i>
<i>pa</i>	<i>pba</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>bba</i>	<i>ma</i>					
<i>ya</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>śa</i>	<i>ṣa</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ba</i>		<i>unattached vowels</i>

Compounds have to be read from right to left. For instance, *va-ra* refers to 4 and 2, that is to say, 24.

In the current state of knowledge, the only scholarly evidence for the use of *kaṭapayādi* method outside India goes back to John Faithfull Fleet, that is, more than a century ago (Fleet 1911: 792–793). He reported the existence of two chronograms taken from Burmese manuscripts written in Pali, without suspecting that the presence and use of the *kaṭapayādi* was much wider than that.

### 1. Method of dating

The dating of manuscripts using the *kaṭapayādi* method, in the form of chronograms, was known in Burma (Hla Pe 1964: 395; Bechert 1979: xix–xx) and Ceylon (de Silva 1938: xxiv), but at a relatively recent date (late 18th century), corresponding to the state of preservation of manuscripts. It is therefore difficult to know from when this system was actually used in this way. We could not find any trace of evidence of this system in manuscripts written in Khom or Tham script.

This technique makes it possible to create terms that are not necessarily provided with meaning but are easy to memorize and to place in the composition. The non-exhaustive review of certain catalogues of collections of manuscripts related to Pali literature, including mixed Pali-vernacular glosses, provides some instances of the use of the system as chronograms. Sinhalese manuscripts make the greatest use of the *kaṭapayādi* system, which is also shared by pieces written in Sinhalese and Sanskrit.<sup>17</sup> For instance:

- The *Viśuddhimārga-mahā-sannaya* (ms. 15), a Sinhalese gloss of the *Viśuddhimagga*, contained in the *Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum*.<sup>18</sup> In this copy dated to the beginning of the 19th century we read *solarudraṃ*, which gives the key date: *so* (7) *la* (3) *rud*<sup>19</sup> (2) *raṃ* (2) that is equivalent to 2237 BS (1694 CE), the probable date of the composition according to the author.
- Fragments of the Pali *Majjhimanikāya* in Sinhalese characters (Paris, BNF 66),<sup>20</sup> mentions in its colophon the date *nāmagotram*, whose number correspondence is: *nā* (0) *ma* (5) *got* (3) *raṃ* (2), that is to say, 2350 BS (1807 CE).

Dates encoded by this numerical system in Burmese manuscripts are rare, but evidence can be retrieved from the *Burmese Manuscripts, Part 1*:

- The *Alaṅkā nissaya sac* (*Subodhālaṅkāra nissaya*) (ms. 21) is dated twice by *ripuṃ lakkbe* and *nalāṭake*. They refer to: *ri* (2) *puṃ* (1) *la* (3) *kkbe* (2) is 2312 BS (1758 CE); and *na* (0) *lā* (3) *ṭa* (1) *ke* (1) is 1130 CS (1768 CE).
- The *Samvegavattbudīpani* (ms. 101) also has one date mentioned in two different eras, *rattbakkhayaṃ* and *bbānuvakkhaṃ*: *ra* (2) *tthā*<sup>21</sup> (2) *kkba* (2) *yaṃ* (1), for 1222 CS (1860 CE); and *bbā* (4) *nu* (0) *va* (4) *kkhaṃ* (2), that is 2404 BS (1860 CE).

17 Cf. for instance, Wickremasinghe 1900: mss. 88B; Somadasa 1996: mss. 73, 253, 441, 442.

18 Wickremasinghe 1900: ms. no.15.

19 It seems that in practice we can meet forms that are not limited to the presentation of a single syllable.

20 Filliozat 2003: ms. no. 66.

21 There is surely a mistake in the text, the letter is surely *tṭha*.

## 2. The *kaṭṭapayādi* in Pali literature

The first evidence of this method in the field of Pali literature can be found in a pair of texts sometimes attributed to a single author, King Kyacva of the Pagan dynasty (1234–1250 CE). Mention of this monarch and his works seems to have circulated among learned Burmese scholars: for instance, the *Gandhavaṃsa* succinctly informs us twice about the works he produced, namely, the *Saddabindu* and the *Paramatthabindu*,<sup>22</sup> as does also the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, which also contains indications regarding their use;<sup>23</sup> the Burmese *Glass Palace Chronicle* alludes only to the composition of the *Paramatthabindu*.<sup>24</sup>

What are these two works?

### 2.1 The *Saddabindu*

The *Saddabindu* is well-known in Burma as one of the fourteen ‘minor grammar texts’.<sup>25</sup> The work seems to be well-known in all the Pali traditions of South and Southeast Asia, as suggested by its considerable presence in many monastic libraries and catalogues dealing with manuscripts written in Pali.<sup>26</sup> Despite this widespread diffusion, little information is

22 Gv 64.3–5: *Kyacvārañño Saddabindu nāma pakaraṇaṃ Paramatthabindupakaraṇaṃ akāsi*. (‘The works that are the *Saddabindu* and the *Paramatthabindu* were composed by King Kyacva’). Gv 73.28–29: *Saddabindupakaraṇaṃ ca Paramatthabindupakaraṇaṃ ca attano matiṃ Kyacvā nāma raññā katā* (‘The works that are the *Saddabindu* and the *Paramatthabindu* were composed by the king named Kyacva on his own accord’).

23 Sās 76.24–28: *gandbaṃ uggaṇbantānaṃ orodbhānaṃ atthāya saṃkhepato Saddabindun nāma pakaraṇaṃ Paramatthabindun ca nāma pakaraṇaṃ akāsi*. (‘For the use of those in his harem, who were learning the book, he wrote in an abridged form the book called the *Saddabindu* as well as the book called the *Paramatthabindu*’ transl. Law 1952: 84).

24 ‘For the sake of his concubines he composed the *Paramatthabindu*, that they might know of mind and the qualities of mind, matter, *nirvana*, form and being, and personality’ (transl. Pe Maung Tin & Luce 1923: 155).

25 Lottermoser 1987: 79. Concerning the authorship, this work is also attributed to the preceptor of King Kyocva (*ibid.*, p. 105 note 9 for further details). Mabel H. Bode relied on the *Piṭakatthamain* to give the date 1234 CE for its composition (Bode 1909: 25 note 4), while the translation given by Peter Nyunt gives this date as corresponding to the coronation of the king (Piṭ-s § 289).

26 Without being exhaustive, the *Saddabindu* is mentioned in catalogues and inventories of Thai manuscripts (Skilling & Pakdeekham 2002), Sinhalese manuscripts (de Silva 1938), Burmese manuscripts (Nyunt 2012, 2014–2016), Khmer manuscripts (de Bernon 2018). Manuscripts are referenced in the databases of Lao manuscripts (*Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts*, <https://www.laomanuscripts.net>), Northern Thai manuscripts (*Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts*, <http://lannamanuscripts.net>), Burmese manuscripts (*U Po Thi Library*, <https://mmdl.utoronto.ca/databases/u-po-thi-library>).

available regarding the content of this short Pali grammar. Anyway, its second stanza dealing with *sandhi* rules refers directly to the *kaṭapayādi* system, expounding its main principles:

*kādīritā navasaṃkhyā kamena ṭādi yādi ca  
pādayo pañcasamkyā suññānāmā saraṃ ṇanā.* (Sadd-b 2)

Nine numbers are said to start respectively with *ka*, *ṭa* and *ya*,  
Five numbers start with *pa*; the vowels, the *ṇa*, and the *na* are the zero.

Nothing more is said regarding the inclusion of the *kaṭapayādi* system in a Pali grammar. However, in grammatical works the *sandhi* section starts traditionally with the description of the different letters/sounds (*akkkhara*) of the Pali alphabet, elements that are able to convey and create syntactic/semantic meanings. The *Saddabindu* adds another level of understanding of the *akkkharas*, which is of numerical nature.<sup>27</sup> This manner of assuming number serves the exposition of grammatical contents in the rest of the text, as for instance in the following stanza dedicated to *sandhis*:

*sareh' eva sarā pubbā luttā vāci parā ramā  
byañjanā c' āgamā vāci dīgharasādisambhavā.* (Sadd-b 3)

[Between] vowels, **sixty-four** are elided with the previous vowels, **fifty-two** with the following [vowels].

**Sixty-four** are insertions of consonants [after a vowel]; long and short [letters] are produced, etc.<sup>28</sup>

Here, three numbers are involved, associated with different types of elision. Between two succeeding vowels (*sarasandhi*): elision of the previous vowel, that is to say 64 possibilities (*vā-ci*) (8 vowels × 8 vowels); elision of the posterior vowels, when this one is *asarūpa* ('dissimilar'),<sup>29</sup> meaning 52 combinations (*ra-mā*) that are the 64 previous possibilities minus

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Different editions also exist in Sinhalese script (cf. Kitsudo 2015: § 99), in Thai script (TNPC 2008: 65–67), in Burmese script (Anonymous 1912: 38–39). Furthermore, the *Saddabindu* is present in a list of text sent to the royal court at Kandy on behalf of the king of Siam 18th century (von Hinüber 1988:175–184); alternative titles (*Saddabinduvit-thāra*, °*saikkhapa*) are present in a 'ideal' Tipiṭaka painted in the Wat Thong Nopphakhun (Thailand) (Pakdeekham 2021); etc.

27 This conception seems to have been perfectly accepted by scholarly monks till today, as its wide diffusion shows, as well as its inclusion in an 'ideal' set of Pali texts during the 6th Burmese council that took place in Yangon in 1954. Cf. the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana database ([www.tipitaka.org](http://www.tipitaka.org)).

28 This translation is currently conjectural, pending further study of this text.

29 It concerns *a ā i ī u* and *ū*, that is to say twelve possibilities (*a + ā, ā + a, i + ī, ī + i*, etc.). I thank Alex Ruiz-Falqués for clarifying this point.

the 12 *asarūpas*. And insertion (*āgama*) of a consonant after a vowel (or *sandhi*-consonant) to avoid hiatus,<sup>30</sup> that is to say 64 possibilities (*vā-ci*) (8 consonants × 8 vowels).

The concise definition provided by the *Saddabindu* supposes some external aid, as it gives no further explanation of the internal functioning of this numerical system. Two commentaries to the *Saddabindu* fulfil this task:<sup>31</sup> the *Linatthasūdani* (or *Saddabindu-purāṇa-ṭikā*) written by Nāṇavilāsa in Pagan (Burma) at an uncertain date (Geiger 1916: 35);<sup>32</sup> and the *Saddabinduvinicchaya* composed by Dhammakitti Mahāphussadeva in Haripūñjaya (present-day Lamphun, Northern Thailand) in the late 15th century (Lottermoser 1987: 79–109). These two commentaries developed the concise definition provided by the *mūla* text. Here is the section dealing with the construction of the *kaṭṭapayādi* in the *Linatthasūdani*:

He said the stanza ‘nine numbers are said to start respectively with *ka*, *ṭa* and *ya*, five numbers start with *pa*; the vowels, the *ñā*, the *na* are the zero’. Here, nine numbers are said respectively [refers to] the range of consonants that start with ‘ka’ and ‘kha’, and the set of numbers—one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine—with the exception of the nine which end with vowels and the *niggahīta*; to start with *ka* [means] to begin with the letter ‘ka’, etc., and end with the letter ‘jha’.

Here, the letter ‘ka’ and the character ‘one’ refer to the number ‘one’; the letter ‘kha’ and the character ‘two’ refers to the number ‘two’; the letter ‘ga’ and the character ‘three’ to the number ‘three’; the letter ‘gha’ and the character ‘four’; the letter ‘ja’ and the character ‘five’; the letter ‘ca’ and the character ‘six’; the letter ‘cha’ and the character ‘seven’; the letter ‘ja’ and the character ‘eight’; the letter ‘jha’ and the character ‘nine’ refer to the number ‘nine’.

Thus, nine numbers are said [means] the nine letters to start with *ṭa*, [i.e.] starting with the letter ‘ṭa’ and ending with the letter ‘dha’; and nine numbers [means] the nine letters to start with *ya*, [i.e.] starting with the letter ‘ya’ and ending with the letter ‘la’.

30 There are eight consonants possible (*y*, *v*, *m*, *d*, *n*, *t*, *r*, and *l*) according to Kacc 35 *yavamadanataralā c’ āgamā*.

31 The localization of these works is sometimes delicate. Notably because these texts may bear the generic title *Saddabindu-ṭikā* (or variants), which is present in various collections of manuscripts. To make research more complex, the *Saddabindu-ṭikā* may also contain other unlisted *Saddabindu*’s commentaries: for instance, there is a *Saddabindu-samvaṇṇanā* in Laos and Northern Thailand (cf. mss. *Ṭikā Saddābindu* [*Saddabindu-samvaṇṇanā*] and *Pali ṭika Santbaphintbu* [*Saddabindu-samvaṇṇanā*]), and a *Saddabindu-vaṇṇanā* in Northern Thailand (cf. ms. *Pali Saddābindu* [*Saddabindu-vaṇṇanā*]).

32 Geiger stated that the work had been composed in the 16th century.

After positioning the letters 'sa' and 'ṣa' in the fifth and sixth places, beginning with 'ya', [and] the letters 'sa' 'ha' and 'la' in the seventh, [eighth], ninth [positions], we produce 'ya, ra, la, va, [śa, ṣa,] sa, ha, and la'. Why do we retain the two letters [śa and ṣa]? Because in the books of the ancients it was used for an old science of numbers. After having harmonized the figures developed in Sanskrit in the books of the ancients, we kept the two letters [śa and ṣa] to include [before] 'sa', 'ha', and 'la' that are for the numbers seven, eight, and nine.

*Five numbers* are said to start respectively with five letters beginning *pa*. As it has already been said, we must know [the value] of the letters and the characters after having ... (?), and after making the eight vowels, the letters 'ña' and 'na' as the zero. Such is what is meant.<sup>33</sup>

The *Saddabinduvinicchaya* is surely the most didactic explanation regarding the construction of the *kaṭapayādi* method. It probably expresses the increasing interest in this matter in Lanna during its 'golden age' (Penth 1994: 42–125), and the need to fully grasp this new method of codification. Here is the gloss on the *kaṭapayādi* system:

It was said first '(...) are said (...) to start with *ka*'. Here, to start with *ka* [means] 'ka', etc., that is to say, when *ka* is located at the beginning; *are said* [means] we have to say, to formulate; the root 'ira' means to formulate. *Numbers* have to be figured (?). *Nine*, [means] nine and nine and nine; the one remaining [sequence of letters] should be treated. *Nine numbers* [means] they are nine and they are numbers. *To start with ṭa* [means] that 'ṭa' is located at the beginning; *to start with ya* [means] that 'ya' is located at the beginning; *starting with pa* [means] that 'pa' is located at the beginning; *the vowels, the ña, the na*, [means] the vowels and the *ña* and the *na*.

33 Ms. *Ṭikā Saddābindu [Līnatthasūdanī]*, folio 12.line 3–folio 13.line 5: 'kādīritā navasamkhyā, kamena ṭādi yādi ca pādāyo pañcasamkhyā suññanāmā saram ṇanā' ti gātham āba. tatttha kādi kakārādayo jhakārāntā nava vaññasarantaṃ niggaḥitaṃ vajjetvā byañjanaṃ mattā kakkādinam eka-dvi-ti-catu-pañca-cha-satta-aṭṭha-navasamkhyaganaṃ ca kamena navasamkhyā ti iritā. tatttha kakāro ekasamkhyā ekalekkaṃ bhajati, khakāro dvi-samkhyā dvilekkaṃ bhajati, gākāro tisamkhyā tilekkaṃ, gbakāro catulekkaṃ, ṇakāro (it should be ja<sup>o</sup>) pañcalekkaṃ, cakāro cbalekkaṃ, chakāro sattalekkaṃ, jakāro attbalekkaṃ, jhakāro navasamkhyā navalekkaṃ bhajati. evaṃ ddbādi (it should be ṭādi) ṭakārādayo dbakārāntā navavaññā navasamkhyā ti ca yādi ca yakādayo lakārāntā navavaññā navasamkhyā ti ca iritā. yādimbi ca pañcamachattthāne śakāra-ṣakāre pakkhipitvā, sa-ba-lā-kāre sattama[attthama]navame karoti ya-ra-la-va-sa-ba-la iti. kasmā dvevaññā gahitā ti porāṇakasattbasamkhyānaṃ purāṇattthaṃ porāṇakasattthesu hi sakkatābhāsāya katasaṃkhyāya samaggaṃ katvā, sa-ba-lānaṃ sattaṭṭhanavamasamkhyāsu samgahaṇattthaṃ dvevaññā gahitā ti. pādāyo pañcavaññā kamena pañcasamkhyā ti iritā ti. yatthavutte vaññalekkāyo byañjanānaṃ nissayasare a<sup>o</sup>obhārikam katvā aṭṭha sare ṇakāre nakāre ca suññam katvā ṇetabbā ti adbhīppayo.

In this way, letters *starting with ka* are the nine letters 'ka kha ga gha ṅa ca cha ja jha'. They are the nine numbers formulated by poets. Letters [said] *to start with ṭa* are the nine letters 'ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa ta tha da dha'. They are the nine numbers formulated by experts and learned people. Letters [said] *to start with ya* are the nine letters 'ya ra la va śa ṣa sa ha ḷa' enunciated by the scholars, they are the nine numbers. Letters [said] *to start with pa* are the five letters 'pa pha ba bha ma' for five numbers, enunciated by masters.

*The vowels, the ṅa, the na* [means] that the eight vowels, the 'ṅa' and the 'na' are the zero, they are then formulated 'a, etc., o, ṅa, na'. *Respectively* [means] that each term is treated in this way. Thus, the five sections, which are the forty-two letters written, were treated to make the sons of good family experts in the Tipiṭaka. And in these sections, *nine numbers* are the three sections 'ka ṭa ya', *five numbers* are the section beginning with 'pa', *the zero* is the ten letters that are the vowels, the 'ṅa', and the 'na'. We made [these] five sections according to the classification of these [letters/numbers] for the understanding of this set, this is the intention. But how do we recognize their characteristics? There, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 have to be done with the word 'ka' which is the character 1, the word 'kha' which is the character 2, etc., 'jha' which is the character 9. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 have to be written with the word 'ṭa' which is the character 1, etc., the word 'dha' which is the character 9. This is also the method for 'ya, ra, la, va, śa, ṣa, sa, ha, ḷa'. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 must be made with the word 'pa' which is the character 1, etc., the word 'ma' which is the character 5. We must consider that the zero is 'a, ā, etc., o, ṅa, na'. The zero has eight signs: it must be made like o, o, o, o, o, o, o, o. Here, the letters are illustrated: 'my thirty-nine thousand men' [is] 39,000 [is] 'ga-jha-a-ṅa-na'.<sup>34</sup> These letters should be known under all circumstances.<sup>35</sup>

34 Sadd 307.20-33 explains that *tiṃsa nāvutiyo* is a well-known popular expression corresponding to 'thirty-thousand and nine-hundred', that is to say 39,000.

35 Sadd-v 89.15-90.9: [..] 'kādiritā' ty ādim āha. tattha 'kādi' ti ko ādiye sante ti kādayo; 'iritabbā katbetabbā' ti iritā, ira-dhātu kabhane. nimitabbā saṅkhyā. navañ ca navañ ca navañ ca navañ ekaseso kātabbo. navañ ca taṃ saṅkhyā cā ti navasaṅkhyā. 'ṭo ādiye sante' ti ṭādayo, 'yo ādiye sante' ti yādiyo, 'po ādiye sante' ti pādayo, 'saro ca ṅo ca no ca' sara-ṅā-nā. tattha kādi-akkharā nāma yathā 'ka, kha, ga, gha, ṅa, ca, cha, ja, jhā' ti navakkharā nava saṅkhyā nāma kavīhi katbitā. ṭādyakkharā nāma yathā 'ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa, ta, tha, da, dha' ti navakkharā nava saṅkhyā nāma saddasattbhavidūhi vuttā. yādyakkarā nāma yathā 'ya, ra, la, va, śa, ṣa, sa, ha, ḷa' ti' me navakkharā nava saṅkhyā nāma viññūhi iritā. pādyakkharā nāma yathā 'pa, pha, ba, bha, mā' ti pañcakkharā pañca saṅkhyā nāma pañḍitehi bhāsītā. 'sara-ṅā-nā' ty atṭha sarā ṅa-nā yeva suññaṃ nāma cā ti, taṃ yathā 'a, pa, o, ṅa, na' ti pakasītā ti. 'kamenā' ti kamaṃ eva padacchedo. evaṃ dvitālisakkbare lekhaṇā ti ime pañca vagge katvā kulaputtānaṃ tipiṭakesu eva paṭubhāvāyā ti. tesu paṇa 'ka-ṭa-yā' ti tayo vaggā nava saṅkhyā nāma, pādivaggā pañca saṅkhyā nāma, 'sara-ṅā-nā' ti dasakkharā suñña nāma. tesam nāma pabbhedato saññā pañ' atthāya pañcavagge katvā ty adhippāyo. tesam paṇa lakkhaṇaṃ kathaṃ viññāyāti ti. tattha 'ka' ti padaṃ 1 (ekaṃ)

The scheme from these two commentaries is summed up in the following chart. It differs from the Sanskrit scheme only by the addition of the letter *la*, keeping also the two sibilants *śa* and *ṣa*. The reading of compounds remains the same, from right to left:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
<i>ka</i>	<i>kba</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>gha</i>	<i>ṅa</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>jba</i>	<i>ṅa</i>
<i>ṭa</i>	<i>ṭba</i>	<i>ḍa</i>	<i>ḍba</i>	<i>ṇa</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tba</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dba</i>	<i>na</i>
<i>pa</i>	<i>pba</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>bba</i>	<i>ma</i>					
<i>ya</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>śa</i>	<i>ṣa</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>la</i>	unattached vowels

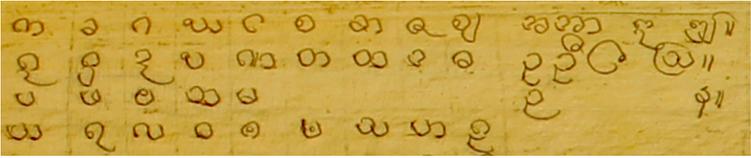


Figure 2: Visualization of a chart in a Burmese manuscript, cf. ms. *Paramatthabindu paṭṭh nissaya* folio 52b

## 2.2 The *Paramatthabindu*

The second work attributed to Kyocva, the *Paramatthabindu*, does not seem to have enjoyed the same success as the *Saddabindu*. Very little is known about it,<sup>36</sup> and manuscripts remain rare in catalogues and monastic libraries. So far, we have been able to trace this text only in Burmese script. Its contents, which is difficult to grasp and transmit, may explain its apparently limited circulation. In ten stanzas which are particularly cryptic

*lekhaṃ, 'khā' ti padaṃ 2 (dve) lekhaṃ, pa, 'jhbā' ti 9 (nava) lekhaṃ kātappaṃ: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. 'ṭā' 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, ba, lā' ti es' eva nayo. 'pā' ti padaṃ 1 (eka) lekhaṃ, pa, 'mā' ti padaṃ 5 (pañca) lekhaṃ kātappaṃ: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 'a, ā, pa, o, ṅa, nā' ti suṅṅā nāmā ti daṭṭhabbaṃ. suṅṅā nāma aṭṭhalakkhaṇaṃ: bindu kātappaṃ o, o, o, o, o, o, o, o, o. idha lekhaṃ udābaṭṭaṃ: 'tiṃsa me purise nāvutyō, 39000, ga-jba-a-ṅa-na. idaṃ pana lekhaṃ sabbattha veditappaṃ.*

<sup>36</sup> It is mentioned in Bode 1909: 25 and Law 1933: 582, who relied on the Gv and Piṭ-s § 289. For a preliminary critical edition of this work cf. Schnake 2018b: Annex 8.

the *Paramatthabindu* deals with Abhidhamma topics encoded through the *kaṭapayādi* method. This is hardly surprising, since the Abhidhamma system appreciates the classification and organization of elements by numbers, the *kaṭapayādi* is perfectly suited to this purpose.

The *Paramatthabindu* also has a key-stanza defining the method, close in its wording to the one explained in the *Saddabindu*, and well-known in Burma as *Piṭakasankhyā* (Bechert 1979: xx):

*kāditādiyakārādi navasaṅkhyā pakāsītā*  
*pañcasankhyā pakārādi suññā nāma sarañanā.* (Pb introductory stanza)

Nine numbers are known, starting with the letters *ka*, *ṭa*, and *ya*,  
 Five numbers start with the *pa* letter; vowels, *ñā*, and *na* are the zero.

Its commentary, the *Paramatthabindu-ṭikā* (or *Paramatthamañjūsā*) composed by Mahākassapa<sup>37</sup> at an unknown date offers a shorter development than the *Linatthasūdani*. This relative brevity suggests that explanations of the system were already known:

After making four lines thus ‘one line is from the consonant *ka* to the consonant *jha*; one line is from the consonant *ṭa* to the consonant *dha*; one line is from the consonant *pa* to the consonant *ma*; one line is from the consonant *ya* to the consonant *ḷa*’, we get one, two, three, etc., according to the conventional method.

We should understand that in each line we have counted from the initial consonant: the consonant *ka* is one, the consonant *kha* is two, the consonant *ga* is three, the consonant *gha* is four, the consonant *ṇa* is five, the consonant *ca* is six, the consonant *cha* is seven, the consonant *ja* is eight, the consonant *jha* is nine.

In the same way for the line starting with *ṭa*, etc., and starting with *ya*. But for the *pa*-line, etc., we should get five numbers. For others—that are the eight vowels, the consonant *ñā*, and the consonant *na*— we should understand that they are the ten letters for the zero.<sup>38</sup>

37 The only information at our disposal comes from Bode 1909: 25 note 4, relying on the *Piṭakatthamaing* (cf. Piṭ-s § 321).

38 Ms. *Paramatthabindubū-ṭikā*, folio 67a, lines 9–folio 67b, line 2: *kakkharato yāva jhakkharā ekaṃ paṃṇaṃ ṇakkharato [sic] yāva dbakkharā ekaṃ, pakkharato yāva makkharā ekaṃ, yakkharato yāva ḷakkharā ekaṃ ti cattāro pappe karitvā lokavobārānuruṇṇe eko dve tīṇi ādinā nayena. tesu ekamekasmiṇṇ pappe ādyakkharato pathāya gaṇiyamāne kamakkharo [sic] eko, kbakkharo dve, gakkharo trīṇi [sic], ghakkharo catu, ṇakkharo pañca, cakkharo cha chakkharo satta jakkharo aṭṭha jhakkharo navā ti veditabbā. tathā ṭādiyādiṇṇapappesu pi pādi pappe pana yāva pañca saṅkhyā laddhabbā avasesā pana aṭṭhasarā ca ṇakkharanakkharāṇi cā t’ ime dasa suññakkharā ti veditabbā.*

How does the *Paramatthabindu* assimilate this system? It summarizes large sets of Abhidhamma data, as in the following stanza, whose commentary is indispensable for its understanding:

*cbalaṃ dumbi nadaṃ sumbi maṇaṃ suddbimbi dutiye  
cacc' āditatiye Vehapphale mutāṃ rūpe dbutaṃ.* (Pb 3)

Thirty-seven are in *du*, eighty in *su*, fifty-five in the Pures, sixty-six in the second, sixty-five in the first and the third [planes of *jhāna*] and in the Great Rewards [plane], and sixty-nine in the form-sphere.

This stanza is part of a longer development that deals with the realms where the 89 varieties of consciousness distinguished in the Abhidhamma can occur. It summarizes their distribution according to the various planes and spheres of existence. Pb 3 gives the varieties of consciousness arising (1) in the sense-desire sphere (*kāmaḥbhūmi*), distinguished by the levels of unhappy destiny (*duggati*) and the happy destiny (*sugati*), abbreviated using their first syllable *su* and *du*;<sup>39</sup> (2) in the form-sphere (*rūpabhūmi*) including the levels of the first/second/third *jhāna*, and levels of the Pure Abodes (*Suddhāvāsa*) and of the Great Reward (*Vehapphala*) both belonging to the level of the fourth *jhāna*.<sup>40</sup>

It is difficult to know with certainty the reason for such encrypting. We assume that this way to present lists of numbers could be a didactic device for *ābbidhammikas* to learn and memorize teachings through numerical data.

### 2.3 Spread of the *kaṭapayādi* system

The presence of the *Saddabindu* and commentaries in the different Pali traditions of South Asia indicates that the *kaṭapayādi* was known in certain scholarly circles. However, this system has managed to go beyond the scope of these works, even if literary evidence remains scarce.

To date, only one work is known to have fully developed the potential of the *kaṭapayādi* method in its compositions. It is the *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha* (1534 CE), already mentioned, where around 63 stanzas use this numer-

39 If the *ādisaṅketa* method is a tool privileged in the field of magic, it is also used in more didactic ways as one linguistic mechanism used by *ābbidhammikas*. For instance, it is present in the *Nāmacārādīpaka* (Nāmac 185 to 191).

40 The number of consciousness arising in the level of the Unconscious Beings (*Asaññasattā*), which belongs also to the level of the fourth *jhāna*, is not mentioned for one reason: beings reborn in this noumenal level without conscious experience of any kind, have form only.

ical technique, mainly in the handling of Abhidhamma topics. Its author, Ratanapañña, manipulates numerical data in different ways: some stanzas are borrowed from the *Paramatthabindu*—strictly, with variations in contents, or built on the same model—, others use number sporadically to help in the composition of enigmatic statements, while the implementation of others is much more elaborate. We let aside examples recalling the *Paramatthabindu*, since they have already been illustrated, and present Vss 21 where the *kaṭṭapayādi* is used as a tool to help in composition:

*pa bba ā da sa ghā sā phu saṃ tī vo jo ta cu ki bbyā*  
*pa bhā ā vi saṃ ti vo jo ta cu thā nayam pakāsitaṃ.* (Vss 21)  
*pa bba ā da sa ghā sā phu saṃ tī vo jo ta cu* are the **fourteen** *ki*,  
*pa bhā ā vi saṃ ti vo jo ta cu* are the **ten** *thā* that have been expounded.

This stanza describes the fourteen functions of consciousness (*ki* for *kiccacitta*) that occur within a cognitive process or cognitive series (*cittavāṭṭhi*), as well as their summarized form by phase (*thā* for *thāna*). We find the description of this series in summarized form in the *Visuddhimagga* (Vism 457.19–460.20) as well as in the later *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (Abhidh-s 13, §§ 18–19). These functions are here expounded according to a system of abbreviation referring to items by their first syllable (*ādisaṅketa*), and presented in the order of their appearance, from rebirth (*paṭisandhi*) to death (*cuti*).<sup>41</sup> Here, the hidden numbers are *bbyā* and *nayam* (in bold), that is to say, *bba* + *ya* = 4 + 1 = 14, and *na* + *ya* = 0 + 1 = 10.

Ratanapañña also provides complex compositions playing with different levels of understanding. In a short chapter entitled *dvatthaka* ('double meaning'),<sup>42</sup> there are six stanzas, such as Vss 99 belonging to a series of four dedicated to the same topic:

*ghaniddhilūnaṃ dulabhakkuluppannaṃ*  
*anīraṃ akkaṃ kudabaṃ bhavallunaṃ*  
*phutaṅgalilaṃ yasaggaṃ āriṇipūñṇakaṃ*  
*divārilu' ggāṇ' iha viddhibhīñṇavaṃ.* (Vss 99)

He put an end [to the harmful elements] thanks to his exceptional powers, born in a rare lineage,

41 These different functions are: *paṭisandhi* (relinking), *bbavaṅga* (existence-continuum), *āvajjana* (adverting), *dassana* (seeing), *savana* (hearing), *ghayana* (smelling), *sayana* (tasting), *phussana* (touching), *sampañcchana* (receiving), *santīrana* (investigating), *voṭṭhapana* (determining), *javana* (impulsion), *tadārammaṇa* (retention), and *cuti* (decease).

42 Cf. Vss Chapter 7.

He is unshakable, the sun that burns that which is harmful,  
 He destroyed the states of existence, has a clear physical grace,  
 He has the best fame, virtuous towards enemies,  
 He destroyed the enemies of the divine here, has the greatest authority,  
 He possesses extraordinary powers and clairvoyance.

This stanza celebrating the Blessed One's virtue takes another turn if we consider the text as a series of syllables, and then of numbers. Then it reveals an essential aspect of the Buddhist doctrine:

*gha ni ddbi lū naṃ du la bba kku lu ppa naṃ*<sup>43</sup>  
*a nī ram a kkaṃ ku da haṃ bba va llu naṃ*  
*phu ṭ añ ga lī laṃ ya sa ggā ri pu nna kaṃ*  
*di vā ri lu' ggā ñi ba vi ddbi bbi nna vaṃ. (Vss 99)*

13,143,803,904

34,488,115,200

101,237,133,312

404,948,533,248.

These huge numbers refer to a section of the *Pañcappakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā* commenting on the *Paṭṭhāna* (Paṭṭh-a 394–410), the last book of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka. The *Paṭṭhāna*, well-known as 'all-encompassing infinite methods' (*anantanayasamanta*), aims to highlight from a different angle the method of dependent arising (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) as represented by the twelve factored chain.<sup>44</sup> Its specific approach shows the very nature and dynamism of the relations binding mental and physical phenomena of existence (*dhamma*), intertwined, and interdependent within a vast network of possibilities. The *dhammas* listed in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*—the 22 triplets (*tika*) and the 100 couplets (*duka*), that is to say, 266 *dhammas* ((22 × 3) + (100 × 2))—are the basis of this vast synthesis: the *Paṭṭhāna* organizes and describes all the possible relationships between them, according to a complex procedure. Commentators calculated the extent of these relations, following a model of analysis called 'combinatoric' in mathematical language. The vertiginous figures obtained in Vss 99 are then the different mathematical steps putting into perspective the total of conditional relations (in bold), that is 'the depth of causality' (Kyaw 2014: 15).

43 Vss-ṭ 99 specifies that the two final *naṃs* are not included in the counting. They have been inserted here probably to respect the metrical pattern.

44 For a detailed account of this work see Kyaw 2014.

Figure 3: *yan ariyasat solot mongkhon*

At this point, it is difficult to assess the reason for such elaboration in the *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha*. It may have mnemonic purposes, *ābhidhammikas* using them to memorize some of the *Paṭṭhāna*'s contents. But it may also belong to the field of esotericism: this text enjoys also great popularity in certain traditions, especially Burmese, for its protective role in Buddhist rituals and practice (Kyaw 2014: 124–140). The active role of the *kaṭapayādi* method in esoteric activities is quite plausible, as the process has quietly penetrated the esoteric practices of today's Thai Buddhism. It operates for instance in the *yan ariyasat solot mongkhon* (ยันต์ อริยสัจจ์ สप्तส มงคล) (Urakhin 1966: 179), a magic diagram or *yantra* which combines in each of its entries a syllable/syllables with a number (in Khom script) according to the logical correspondence provided by the *kaṭapayādi* method (see Fig. 3). The literature where this *yantra* appears says nothing about this system. This is hardly surprising since it serves primarily to reference and prescribe. It is then impossible to know what degree of knowledge these authors had, and only further research will be able to draw the outlines of this singular field of application.

The *kaṭapayādi* system also found its way into the oldest Buddhist text known to have originated in Laos (mid-16th century), the *Gurupadesa*, which deals with legal concerns (Kourilsky 2023). One passage is, how-

ever, dedicated to the life-span of the 24 Buddhas starting from Dīpaṅkara and listed in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. For this purpose, the *Gurupadesa* resorts to the *kaṭapayādi* method, relying explicitly on the *Saddabindu*. For instance:

KO [is meant] for the Buddha Koṇāgamana; he is aged GA-*nabuti*, that is, 30,000 years old. KA is meant for the Buddha Kassapa whose lifespan was RO-*nabuti*, that is, 20,000 years old. [Syllables] VE RE are meant for all 24 Buddhas, whose lifespan was not below *eka-nabuti*, that is 10,000 years old. GO is meant for the Buddha Gotama, whose lifespan was only 80 years old. The preceding *gāthā* are given according to the numbers given in the *Saddabindu*. (Transl. Kourilsky 2023: 337)

Like the *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha*, the *Gurupadesa* makes use of a mix of *ādi-saṅketa* and *kaṭapayādi* systems for its development. For example, the number of Buddhas is *ve-re*, that is to say,  $ve + re = 4 + 2$ , that is 24. The influence of Lanna scholars, and then Burmese ideas and concepts, is here obvious and not surprising, as the religious culture of Northern Thailand had at that time a deep impact in what was the Lan Xan kingdom, on literature, epigraphy and art (Kourilsky 2023: 282).

Finally, the *kaṭapayādi* is also present in a contemporary Khmer chant composed by the layman Suttantaprijā Ind (late 19th or early 20th century). The *Ārādbanā dhammakathik oy samtèn dhaṛm* ('Invitation to a Preacher to Preach the Dharma') (Walker 2020: 56–63) includes four additional Pali stanzas praising the Buddha and inviting the preacher to deliver a sermon on the Dhamma. The third stanza of this text contains an element related to our purpose:

*tato pabbūti sambuddho  
anūnā dhammadesanam  
māgha-vassāni desesi  
sattānam atthasiddhakam.*

From that complete beginning, the Perfect Buddha  
for **forty-five** rainy seasons  
preached sermons on the Dhamma  
to fulfill the aims of living beings. (Transl. Walker 2020: 62)

Here, *māgha* is not the name of a constellation, but the number composed of *mā* and *gha* ( $5 + 4 = 45$ ). Beyond the fact that it informs us about the presence of the *kaṭapayādi* in the Khmer Buddhist tradition, this discrete use has also the merit of showing that this system is still alive in certain scholarly circles and has not fallen into oblivion.

## Conclusion

Only a few traces of the *bhūtasāṅkhyā* and *kaṭṭapayādi* methods exist in the different Pali traditions from South and Southeast Asia. These systems did not meet the same success as in Indic culture. Nevertheless, their field of application and expression are not negligible (Pali literature, epigraphy, or copyist practices). For both techniques, their uses range from the most practical—for instance in the case of chronograms—to the most complex and esoteric compositions. Further research is needed to delineate the spread and use of these two numerical systems. It is likely that the few examples given in this modest contribution are not isolated cases.

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## Abbreviations

Abhidh-s	<i>Abbidhammatthasaṅgaha and Abbidhammatthavibhāvini-ṭīkā</i> , ed. by Hammalawa Saddhatissa (London: Pali Text Society, 1989).
BS	<i>Buddhasakarāja</i> (Buddhist Era, begin 544 CE)
CE	Common Era
CS	<i>Cullasakkarāja</i> (Lesser Era, begin 638 CE)
Gv	<i>Gandha-Vamsa</i> , ed. by Ivan P. Minayeff, <i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i> , 2 (1886), 54–80.
Kacc	<i>Kaccāyana and Kaccāyanavutti</i> , ed. by Ole Pind (London: Pali Text Society, 2013).
Kalyāni	<i>The Kalyāni Inscriptions Erected by King Dhammaceti at Pegu in 1476 A.D.</i> , ed. and trans. by Taw Sein Ko (Rangoon: Government Printing, 1892).
MS	Mahāsakarāja (Great Era, begin 78 CE)
Nāmac	‘ <i>Nāmacārādīpaka</i> of Chapaṭa’, ed. by Hammalawa Saddhātissa, <i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i> , 15 (1990), 1–28.
Paṭṭh-a	<i>Paṭṭhāna-aṭṭhakathā</i> in <i>Pañcapakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā</i> , <i>Aṭṭhakathā Series</i> , 50 (Yangon: Buddhasāsana Society, Ministry of Religious Affairs, 2008).
Pb	<i>Paramatthabindu</i> ; cf. Schnake 2018b (Annex 8).

Piṭ-s	<i>Piṭakatthamaing</i> ; cf. Nyunt 2012.
Sadd	<i>Saddanīti</i> , ed. by Helmer Smith, 5 vols (London: Pali Text Society, 1928–1966, repr. 2001).
Sadd-b	<i>Saddabindu</i> , ed. by Friedgard Lottermoser, ‘Minor Pāli Grammar Texts: the Saddabindu and its “New” Subcommentary’, <i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i> , 15 (1987), 79–109 (80–82).
Sadd-v	<i>Saddabinduvinicchaya</i> , ed. by Friedgard Lottermoser, ‘Minor Pāli Grammar Texts: the Saddabindu and its “New” Subcommentary’, <i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i> , 15 (1987), 79–109 (82–103).
Sās	<i>Sāsanavaṃsa</i> , ed. by Mabel Haynes Bode (London: Amen Corner E.C., 1897).
Vism	<i>Visuddhimagga</i> , ed. by C.A.F. Rhys Davids (London: Pali Text Society, 1920–1921, repr. 1975).
Vutt	<i>Vuttodaya: the Composition of Metre by Ven. Saṅgharakkhita</i> , ed. and trans by Ānandajoti Bhikkhu (2016), < <a href="https://www.ancient-buddhist-texts.net/Textual-Studies/Vuttodaya/index.htm">https://www.ancient-buddhist-texts.net/Textual-Studies/Vuttodaya/index.htm</a> >
Vss	<i>Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha</i> , cf. Schnake 2021.
Vss-t	<i>Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha-ṭīkā</i> , cf. Schnake 2021.

## Manuscripts of Pali texts

- Ṭīkā Saddābindu* [*Linatthasūdanī*]. 3 fascicles, 70 folios (*ka à chaṃ*), in *Pba pālī ṭīkā saddasāra, ṭīkā saddabindu vaṇṇanā, ṭīkā saddavutti, ṭīkā vibhattikatthā, pba ṭīkā bālapabodhi, saddhagati pakaraṇa, pba dhammapada ban ton* [collection of texts], 13 fascicles, 388 folios, Pali, Tham script, no. 13092504026\_00, Vat Canthasalo (Laos).
- Ṭīkā Saddābindu* [*Saddabindu-saṃvaṇṇanā*]. 7 fascicles, 185 folios, Pali, Tham script, no. 06018504183\_00, Luang Prabang Provincial Museum (Laos).
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- Paramatthabindu pāth nissaya* [*Paramatthabindu and nissaya*]. 5 folios, Pali, Burmese script, no. UPT\_520.2, U Pho Thi library in Thaton (Burma).
- Paramatthabindhu-ṭīkā*. 22 folios, Pali, Burmese script, no. UPT524.5, U Po Thi Library in Thaton (Burma).

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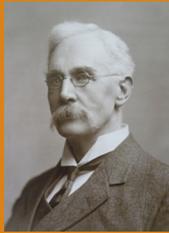
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T. W. Rhys Davids (1843–1922)

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