

Pali Text Society

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JOURNAL

OF THE

PALI TEXT SOCIETY

VOLUME XI

EDITED BY

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*Published by*

THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY, LONDON

*Distributed by*

ROUTLEDGE & KEGAN PAUL LTD  
LONDON AND NEW YORK

1987

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ISBN 0 86013 271 4

*Printed in Great Britain by  
Redwood Burn Limited  
Trowbridge, Wiltshire*

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## OLD BODIES LIKE CARTS

In a famous passage in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* the Buddha, feeling old and ill, says to his attendant Ānanda — according to the PTS edition<sup>1</sup>:

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

Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids translate<sup>2</sup>: ‘. . . and just as a worn-out cart, Ānanda, can be kept going only with the help of thongs, so, methinks, the body of the Tathāgata can only be kept going by bandaging it up.’

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

The word *vegha-missakena* has already attracted attention in this *Journal*. In 1884 the Revd. Richard Morris devoted four pages<sup>4</sup> and much ingenuity to its explication.

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

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

K. R. Norman translates: ‘These people of harsh effort, who molest men with an action involving nooses and varying in aims, are treated in the same way, for their action does not perish.’ In his note on the verse<sup>5</sup>, he too discusses various readings and interpretations.

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

presumably glosses *veṭha-* in the text. The *Dīgha* sub-commentary<sup>7</sup> apparently read *vekha-*; there are many variants but neither *veṭha-* nor *vegha-* is among them. The commentary on the *Thera-gāthā*<sup>5</sup> glosses *vekha-*, but also reports the variant reading *vedha-*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Tad yathānah susamāhitam utsarjam yāyāt, evam evāyām*

śārīra ātmā prājñenātmanānvārūḍha utsarjan yāti, yatra itad  
ūrdhvocchvāsi bhavati.

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

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

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

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

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

*Notes*

1 D II 100

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

3 S V 153.

4 *JPTS* 1884, 97–101.

5 *Elders' Verses* I, 154.

6 *Sv.* II 548.

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

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

## NĀMARŪPASAMĀSO\*

According to Malalasekera<sup>1</sup>, this text may be assigned to the 10th century and ascribed to a therā, Khema, of Ceylon. Although it was once held in high esteem, it subsequently became better appreciated in Burma where it formed one of the nine *Let-Than* (*Lakkhaṇaganthā*) or 'little finger manuals' of Abhidhamma. A *tīkā* was composed in the 12th century by another Sinhalese therā, Vācissara.

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

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

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

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

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

forms a little handbook for the study of medieval Abhidhamma'.<sup>6</sup>

### Notes

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

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

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

3 M. W. Sumathipala, Ambalangoda 1908.

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

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

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

## THE SUMMARY OF MIND AND MATTER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Immoral-resultant rootless mind-consciousness-element accompanied by indifference performs the relinking and life-continuum in the fourfold Apāya<sup>5</sup> and investigating in the five sense-doors, retention in the six sense-doors and decease. These are the two of five places. Eight types of resultant-consciousness pertaining to the Sensuous sphere, two types of resultant rootless mind-consciousness-element

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Here ends the Miscellaneous section

Which are the skilful states? Whenever a skilful consciousness pertaining to the Sensuous sphere has arisen, accompanied by pleasant feeling, associated with knowledge, unprompted, and has as its object a sight, a sound, a smell, a taste, a touch, mental states<sup>6</sup> or what not, then there is (the group of five mentals beginning with 'contact':) contact, feeling, perception, volition, consciousness; (the group of the five *jhāna*-factors:) initial application, sustained application, joy, ease, one-pointedness; (the group of the eight faculties:) confidence based on knowledge, the faculty of energy, of mindfulness, the faculty of concentration, the faculty of insight, the faculty of ideation, the faculty of gladness, the faculty of life; (the group of the five factors of the Path:) right view, right thought, right endeavour, right mindfulness, right concentration; (the group of the seven Powers:) the power of confidence, the power of energy, the power of mindfulness, the power of concentration, the power of insight, the power of conscientiousness, the power of fear of blame; (the group of three root-conditions:) absence of greed, absence of hate, absence of delusion; (the group of the three which are the paths of *kamma*:) absence of covetousness, absence of hatred, right view; (the group of the two guardians of the world:) conscientiousness, fear of blame; (the group of the six pairs:) tranquillity of mind,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Consciousness, initial application, confidence, prudence,

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

*Thus ends the First Consciousness*

21. As to the second consciousness, it differs only in that it is 'prompted'.
22. As to the third consciousness which is unprompted, accompanied by pleasant feeling and dissociated from knowledge, this has 29 unmixed terms and of them 18 unclassifiable and 11 classifiable.

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

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

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

- Unmixed terms are 29, of which 17 are unclassifiable and 12 are classifiable. This is the only distinction.
25. As to the sixth consciousness, that it is prompted is the only distinction.
26. As to the seventh one, which is unprompted, accompanied by hedonic indifference and dissociated from knowledge, it has 48 terms, of which 28 are unmixed. 17 are unclassifiable as this consciousness lacks pleasurable interest and knowledge, and 11 are classifiable.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### *Immorals*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⟨14⟩ Recklessness is the power of recklessness in Power-tetrad and recklessness in Dark-couplet.

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

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

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

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

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

Feeling has three places.

Effort has four places.

One-pointedness (of mind) has five places.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Eight are unclassifiable and six classifiable.

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

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

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

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

Of them seven are unclassifiable and seven classifiable.

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

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

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

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

Both deciding and attention arise in the consciousness accompanied by agitation.<sup>7</sup>

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

### *Resultants*

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

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

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

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

As to the recipient consciousness which is one of the mind-elements<sup>8</sup> and a result of good, there arise in it the twelve states together with initial application and sustained application. The rest are as those in the eye-consciousness. As to the mind-consciousness-element<sup>9</sup> devoid of root-conditions and accompanied by pleasant feeling, which is a result of (previous) good, there arise in it thirteen mentals together with pleasurable interest. There is the feeling of ease and the faculty of joy. This much is the distinction.

As to the mind-consciousness element<sup>10</sup> devoid of root-conditions and accompanied by hedonic indifference, which is a result of (previous) good, its contents are just the same as those in the mind element<sup>11</sup>.

The eight great resultants<sup>12</sup> (the eight types of the resultant consciousness accompanied by the good root-conditions belonging to the *Kāmāvacara*-class) are like the eight types of moral consciousness related to the Sensuous sphere with regard to their contents.

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

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

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

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

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

### *Resultants of the immoral*

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

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

Thus end the mentals in the resultants of the immorals.

### *Functionals*

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

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

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

The functional mind-consciousness-element<sup>13</sup> devoid of root-conditions and accompanied by hedonic indifference resembles these foregoing ones. This arises devoid of pleasurable interest.

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

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

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

Thus ends the description of the mentals in functionals.

### *Matter*

1. ⟨18⟩ The supporting element, the binding element, the maturing element and the motion-element<sup>14</sup> — these four are called four great entities (or Primary Elements).

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

and masculinity,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus ends the epitome of psycho-physical states.

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### Notes

1 *Bhūmi* = sphere. Literally *bhūmi* means sphere, but actually these are the levels of the mind.

2 This directs the mental concomitants toward the object.

3 The four "Great Essentials" (*Mahābhūta*): the elements of extension (*paṭhavī*), cohesion (*āpa*), heat (*teja*) and motion (*vāyo*). There are also four subsidiary material qualities of colour (*vannā*), smell (*gandha*), taste (*rasa*) and nutritive essence (*oja*).

4 Two intimations (*viññatti*), bodily and mental. By means of *viññatti* one communicates one's ideas to another and understands another's intentions. As it is performed by both action and speech, there are two *viññatti*.

5 There are four states or places devoid (*apa +*) of happiness or gain (*aya* is *āpāya*): (i) the downward-path or "hell" as usually translated (*niraya*); (ii) the animal kingdom (*tiracchānayoni*); (iii) the ghost world (*pettivi-*

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

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



## PĀLI LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDIES IV<sup>1</sup> ELEVEN PĀLI ETYMOLOGIES

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

1. *akkhi(n)* 'gambler'

2. *ajjhābhava* 'losing throw'

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

*yena mittena saṃsaggā yogakkhemo vihimsati<sup>4</sup>  
pubbe v' ajjhābhavan tassa rakkhe akkhīva pañdito.*

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

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

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

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

### 3. *anugiyanti* ‘they are recited’

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

In an examination of consonant groups containing *-r-* in Pāli, von Hinüber has suggested<sup>14</sup> that this form with *-r-* arose from a miswriting of the word *anugiyanti* as *anaguīyanti*, by metathesis of the *u-mātrā*. The akṣara *gu* was then misinterpreted as *gra*, and von Hinüber gives other examples of this type of misinterpretation in an older form of the Sinhalese script.<sup>15</sup> The resultant form was then written as *anagrīyanti*. A variant of this appears in a Sinhalese MS of Nidd I (see below) as *anagriyanti*.<sup>16</sup> The restoration of the preverb *anu-* led to the form *anugrīyanti*.<sup>17</sup> This explanation has the merit that it explains how the reading *sikkhā na grīyanti* in Sadd came into being, but even so I cannot accept it. It would seem impossible that a scribe could metathesise the akṣaras *nu gī* into *na guī*, because the need to write an initial *ī*- in the middle of a word would have made it clear to

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

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

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

#### 4. *anuvicca* 'having discerned'

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

530, in a context with the word *anuvidito*, where Pj II 431,13 explains: *anu-viditvā*. Brough pointed out that in Gāndhārī Dharmapada 241 *anu'ija* occurs where Pāli Dhp 229 has *anuvicca*, glossed as *jānitvā* at Dhp-a III 329,7. By assigning *anuvicca* to the group of 'hyper-Palisms' exemplified by such words as *pāceti* (< *pra-aj-*) and *manta* (< *mandā*), he postulated a parallelism between the Pāli and the Gāndhārī words, although he also hinted<sup>21</sup> at a belief that a connection might have been seen with \**anu-vicya*, on the analogy with *vi-vicya* 'having discerned'.

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

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

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

It would seem likely that *anuvicca* is to be connected with the Ardha-Māgadhi words *anuvīi*, *anuvīt*, *anuvīti* and *anuvītiya*.<sup>28</sup> These are alleged to be derived from *anuvicint-*,<sup>29</sup> but this would seem to be impossible, as Schubring stated.<sup>30</sup> He derived them from *anuvici-*, and took *anuvīi(ya)* as being for \**anuviciya*. Pischel quotes<sup>31</sup> also *anucintya* and *vicārya* from the scholiasts, but rejects the idea that we are dealing with an absolute. He suggests that *anuvīi* is an adverb, to be derived from \**anuvīti*, with the meaning 'deeply, etc.'. On the other hand, if we assume that *anuvi(t)iya* is derived from a svarabhakti form of \**anuvitya*, which is a svarabhakti form of *anvitya*, then a derivation from *anveti* would be possible for both the Pāli and the Ardha-Māgadhi forms.

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

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

PED suggests that the etymology for this word is: *gotr* = *gotr*, Skt *goptr* to *gup* + *bhū*. The translation given by PED is, however, 'become of the lineage'. Brough pointed out<sup>32</sup> the inconsistency of this etymology and translation. He noted that if the etymology were correct, a *gotra-bhū* would be one who had come under the protection of the Buddha. This explanation is, however, not free from difficulties. Whatever the etymology, there is no doubt that the word *gotra* in Pāli quickly acquired the sense of Skt *gotra*, and *gotra-bhū* seems to have been used in the sense of one who had become a member of the Buddhist community, one who had become converted to Buddhism, but had not yet 'entered on the stream'.

In a very detailed investigation of the word, Ruegg decided<sup>33</sup> that *gotra* meant 'spiritual lineage', and he seemed to accept that *-bhū* was from the root *bhū-*, since he was content to translate the compound as '(one) having the state of the lineage'. At a later date von Hinüber<sup>34</sup> and Wijesekera<sup>35</sup> published, almost simultaneously, parallel suggestions that *gotra-bhū* was to be derived from *gotra-han*, translating 'das Geschlecht vernichtetend'<sup>36</sup> and 'one who discards his worldly (lit. clan) status'<sup>37</sup> respectively. This suggestion for the etymology was based upon the development of *bhūnahu* from *bhrūnahan*,<sup>38</sup> and *vatrabhū* from *vṛtrahan*, as Fausbøll suggested long ago.<sup>39</sup> Ruegg has re-examined<sup>40</sup> the matter in the light of this suggestion, and has pointed out that the proposed meaning, while not inappropriate for the use of the word in most contexts, does not seem to solve all the problems of its usage.

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

Ruegg, however, has given sufficient evidence<sup>41</sup> to show that at a later time, at least, *gotra* is used in the religious sense. If we could take this as certain, then it would be possible to explain the two different usages of *gotra-bhū* as being due to the fact that we are dealing with two quite different words. One, that used in a bad sense, is the word which has the meaning 'the destroyer of the religious family'. The other could be based upon the root *bhū-*, but I should prefer to follow another etymology, which is rejected by von Hinüber<sup>42</sup> in favour of the one he adopts. In the next section of this article I shall be dealing with the word *pāṇa-bhū* < *prāṇa-bhṛt*, and I suggest that the favourable sense of *gotra-bhū* is based upon a development from *gotra-bhṛt* 'supporting

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

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

Ruegg points out<sup>44</sup> that in BHS *gotrabhū* seems to refer to a place (= *gotra-bhūmi*). It is possible that the same meaning is to be seen in the Pāli compounds *āgotrabhūm* and *āgotrabhūto*<sup>45</sup> (= the ablative in *-to*). If this is so, then these two words are not connected with either of the *gotra-bhū* words I have been discussing.

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

PED lists both these words, but does not give an etymology for them. Helmer Smith gave<sup>46</sup> the etymology of the first as *prāṇa-bhṛt* 'bearing life'. When this word occurs as *pāṇa-bhuno*, in agreement with *sabbesam* (i.e. as a genitive plural) at Ja IV 494,27\*, it is explained by the commentator as *pāṇa-bhūtānam* (498,6'). This explanation seems to be based upon a belief that the second part of the compound is from the root *bhū-*, i.e. 'being a living creature'.

The word *pāṇa-bhūta* itself occurs at Sn 146: *ye keci pāṇabhūt' atthi*, where Pj I 245,11 explains: *pāṇā eva bhūtā pāṇabhūtā*. It was suggested by von Hinüber<sup>47</sup> that an Eastern form *-bhune* underlies *-bhūtā*, but a simpler explanation is to assume that there were two developments of *-bhṛt* in MIA: one showing the loss of the final *-t* and the change of *-ṛ- > -u-*, i.e. *-bhu*, and the other showing the addition of a thematic *-a* to the consonant, i.e. *-bhuta*. The same alternative development is to be seen in MIA *dhanu* and *dhanuha* (< \**dhanusa*) from *dhanuṣ*. The change of *-bhuta* to *-bhūta* was perhaps due to the belief that *pāṇa-bhū* contained the root *bhū-* (as noted above). It is also possible that the form

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

The reading of Ee at Ap 152,4 can hardly be correct: *pāñabhūtam bhayam n' atthi*. There is no v.1. listed in Ee. Be and Ce 1961<sup>49</sup> read *-bhūte*; Ce 1930<sup>50</sup> reads *-bhūnam*, which seems more satisfactory as representing the genitive plural ending of a stem in *-u* derived <*-ṛ(t)*. The genitive plural *-bhuno* at Ja IV 494,27\* (see above) probably shows the shortening of *-ū-* for metrical reasons. There are other examples of genitive plural forms in *-o*.<sup>51</sup>

### 7. *rattaññu*<sup>52</sup> 'senior, superior'

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

It seems likely that the interpretations based upon the words *ratna* or *rātra* are the products of folk etymology, although it must be noted that the BHS tradition followed the explanation based upon *rātra*, and produced the back-formation *rātrijña*.<sup>53</sup> I would agree with Mme Caillat<sup>54</sup> that the word is to be connected with the Ardha-Māgadī word *rāṇiya*, which is to be separated from the homonym *rāṇiya*

(< *rājanya*) ‘royal, related to a king’. The former is explained as being derived from \**rātnika*, which seems not to occur in Skt, interpreted as: *ratnāni jñānādīni tair ādhikyena caratī ti*, and translated as: ‘one who is older in initiation or merits such as knowledge’.<sup>55</sup> PSM gives<sup>56</sup> two meanings: (1) *cāritra vālā, samyamī*; (2) *paryāya se jyeṣṭha, sādhutva-prāpti kī avasthā se baṛā*. Jacobi translates as ‘superior’,<sup>57</sup> and gives the equivalence *rātnika* = *jyeṣṭha*.<sup>58</sup>

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

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

## 8. *vāri* ‘restraint’

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

under this heading the four compounds of the word with *-vārita*, *-yuta*, *-dhuta* and *-phuṭa* which are found in a list of Jain practices<sup>61</sup> at D I 57,27–29 (where the word occurs in the form *vāri*) and M I 377,1–2. The commentaries explain: *sabba-vāri-vārito cā ti vārita-sabba-udako, paṭikkhiita-sabba-sitodako ti attho. so kira sitodake satta-saññī hoti, tasmā tam na valañjeti. sabba-vāri-yuto ti sabbena pāpa-vāranena yutto. sabba-vāri-dhuto ti sabbena pāpa-vārañena dhuta-pāpo. sabba-vāri-phuṭho ti sabbena pāpa-vārañena phuṭho* (Sv 168,1–6 = Ps III 58,22 – 59,3 = Spk I 127,1–8 [ad S I 66,17 ‘*cātu-yāma-susamvuto*’]). In Ps, but not the other two commentaries, there is an addition at the end of the explanation of the first compound: *atha vā sabba-vāri-vārito ti sabbena pāpa-vārañena vārita-pāpo*.

Rhys Davids translated:<sup>62</sup> ‘. . . restrained with a fourfold self-restraint: . . . restrained as regards all water; restrained as regards all evil; all evil has he washed away; and he lives suffused with the sense of evil held at bay’. Miss Horner translated:<sup>63</sup> ‘Controlled by the control of the fourfold watch: he is wholly restrained in regard to water; he is bent on warding off all evil; he has shaken off all evil; he is permeated with the (warding off) of all evil’. Basham too includes<sup>64</sup> a reference to ‘water’ in the first restraint.

It is clear that there are problems in translating in this way, the most important being the fact that it entails taking *vāri* in the first restraint in a different sense from the others, which is doubtless why Ps gives the alternative explanation. Although Franke accepted the difference, and thought there was a deliberate word-play,<sup>65</sup> others have sought translations which avoided the difference. Mrs Rhys Davids stated<sup>66</sup> that all four restrictions applied to the use of water, a special Jain austerity, to avoid injuring the sattas or living souls there might be in it. Dalsukh Malvania stated<sup>67</sup> that *vāri* must have the sense of ‘sin’ in each compound, although I do not know his reasons for so saying. Nāṇamoli translated:<sup>68</sup> ‘Curbed by all curbs, clamped by all curbs, cleansed by all curbs, and claimed by all curbs’. It seems to me that this is on the right lines, and since at D I 57,26–27 we find the words *catu-yāma-*

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

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

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

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

#### 9. *vunhi* 'fire'

This word occurs four times in Pañca-g.<sup>74</sup> PED states that it must be meant for *v-unha* and *v' unhena*, and refers the reader to *unha* (< Skt *usṇa*). Elsewhere in this journal, however, Mrs Hazlewood very rightly points out<sup>75</sup> the connection with Skt *vahni* 'fire'. With the metathesis of *-h-* and *-n-*, and the common Prakrit retroflexion of *-n- > -ɳ-*, the word occurs in Prakrit in the form *vṇhi*.<sup>76</sup> The Pāli form shows the further development of the labialisation of *-a- > -u-* after *-v-*.<sup>77</sup> We can therefore deduce that in all probability the word was borrowed into Pāli from a Prakrit where the retroflexion of *-n-* took place.

#### 10. *santhana* 'loosening, untying'

PED states that this word is to be derived from the root *śam-*, and compares Skt *śāntvana*. Mrs Margaret Cone<sup>78</sup> has drawn my attention to the fact that the equivalent verse in Nakatani's unpublished edition<sup>79</sup> of the *Udāna-v* (137) has *śra(n)thana*, which makes it clear that the Pāli word is to be derived from Skt (lex.) *śranthana*, from the root *śranth-* 'to loosen'. Mrs Cone also points out that the various versions of the verse found at Dhp 275 have a variety of synonyms for the compound *salla-santhana*. The Patna Dharmapada (359)<sup>80</sup> has *-sramṣana* (cf. Skt *śalya-sramṣana*);<sup>81</sup> Bernhard's edition<sup>82</sup> of *Udāna-v* (12.9–10) has *krṇtana*. This reading, in the Pāli form *kantana*, is found in the Be of Dhp and Dhp-a, where the gloss is: *salla-santhanam* (Be *-kantanan*) *ti rāga-sallādīnam* *santhanam* (Be *kantanaṁ*) *nimmanthanam abbāhanam* (Dhp-a III 404,2–4). It is interesting to note that it is Be which agrees with the BHS version, which raises questions, not easily answered, about the precise relationship between the various Buddhist literary traditions.

The word *santhana* also occurs at Vv 18.6, where we find: *kāmam bhijatu yam kāyo n' eva ath' ettha santhanam*. PED gives the meaning 'satisfaction' for this context. The passage

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

### 11. *sotthāna* 'safety'

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

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

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

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### Notes

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

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

Dictionary, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924–48 (= CPD). In addition: BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Skt; Skt = Sanskrit; MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan; PTC = *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*; Be = Chatṭhasaṅgāyana edition; Ce = Simon Hewavitarne Bequest edition, unless otherwise stated; Ee = PTS edition; CDIAL = *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*.

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

etymology for *sagghasi*, while *jagghati* may represent a dialect development of *-kṣ-* > *-ggh-* (cf. Skt *jajjhāt-* 'laughing', showing the development of *-kṣ-* > *-jjh-*).

24 Brough, *op. cit.* (in n. 20), p. 251.

25 MW, p. 47, s.v. *anv-i*.

26 MW, p. 39, s.v. *anu-vī*.

27 Cf. the suggestion that *upagate* in the Maski version of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict I is due to a comparable 'restoration' of a consonant for a glide *-y-* (K.R. Norman, 'Some aspects of the phonology of the Prakrit underlying the Aśokan inscriptions', in *BSOAS* XXXIII, 1970, p. 137).

28 Intervocalic *-t-* is unlikely to survive in *Ardha-Māgadhi*, and probably represents a scribal 'restoration'. The writing of inorganic *-t-* in this way is common in the Jain scribal tradition.

29 See Pandit H.D.T. Sheth, *Pāiasaddamahāññavo*, Calcutta 1928, s.v. *añuvī* etc.

30 W. Schubring, *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, Leipzig 1910, Index s.v. 2 *ci*.

31 R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit-sprachen*, Strassburg 1900, § 593.

32 J. Brough, *The early Brahmanical system of gotra and pravara*, Cambridge 1953, p. 6.

33 D. Seyfort Ruegg, 'Pāli *gotta/gotra* and the term *gotrabhū* in Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit', in L. Cousins et al. (ed.): *Buddhist Studies in honour of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht 1974, pp. 199–210.

34 O. von Hinüber, 'Gotrabhū: Die sprachliche Vergeschichte eines philosophischen Terminus', in *ZDMG* 128, 1978, pp. 326–32.

35 O.H. de A. Wijesekera, 'The etymology of Pāli Gotrabhū', in A.K. Narain: *Studies in Pāli and Buddhism*, Delhi 1979, pp. 381–82.

36 von Hinüber, *op. cit.* (in n. 34), p. 331.

37 Wijesekera, *op. cit.* (in n. 35), p. 382.

38 See Baburam Saksena, 'Pāli *bhūnahu*', in *BSOS* VIII, 1936, pp. 713–14.

39 See Ja V 153 n. 3 *ad* 153,2\*.

40 D. Seyfort Ruegg, 'A further note on Pāli *gotrabhū*', in *JPTS* 1981, pp. 175–77.

41 Ruegg, *op. cit.* (in n. 33), p. 204.

42 von Hinüber, *op. cit.* (in n. 34), p. 331 n. 16.

43 *ibid.*, p. 331 n. 19.

44 Ruegg, *op. cit.* (in n. 33), pp. 206–7.

45 CPD Vol. II, p. 27 s.vv. *ā-gotrabhum*, *ā-gotrabhūto*.

46 See Sadd, Index p. 1594 s.v. *pāṇa*.

47 von Hinüber, *op. cit.* (in n. 34), p. 331 n. 16.

48 L. Alsdorf, *Die Āryā-Strophen des Pāli-Kanons*, Mainz 1968, p. 252 [10] prefers the former name, while A.K. Warder, *Pāli Metre*, London 1967, p. 139 prefers the latter.

49 Buddha Jayanti Tripitaka Series, Ceylon 1960.

50 Ed. A.P. Buddhadatta, Colombo 1930.

51 See K.R. Norman, 'Pāli and the language of the heretics', in *AO* 37 (1976), pp. 121–24.

52 The reading *rataññū* at D II 77,8 must be a misprint in Ee; the other editions read *ratt-*.

53 See E. Waldschmidt, *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Teil II, Berlin 1951, p. 122, § 2.10.

54 See C. Caillat, *Pour une nouvelle grammaire du pāli*, Turin 1970, p. 15, referring to W. Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas*, Berlin and Leipzig 1935, p. 159 n. 3.

55 See Ratnachandrajī, *An illustrated Ardha-Māgadī Dictionary*, Vol. IV. s.v. *rāñjia*.

56 See Sheth, *op. cit.* (in n. 29), s.v. *rāñjia*.

57 'The young monk should ask forgiveness of the superior, and the superior of the young monk': *sehe rāñiyam khāmijjā. rāñjie vi seham khāmijjā* (Kalpasūtra, Sāmācārī § 59).

58 H. Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, Leipzig 1879, Glossary s.v. *rāñjya*.

59 See K.R. Norman, 'The palatalisation of vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan', *JOI* (Baroda), Vol. XXV, pp. 328–42.

60 PED wrongly refers it to Skt *vadāniya*.

61 It is interesting to note that of all the versions of the teachings of the six heretics known to us, only the Pāli version mentions the four restraints. See G. MacQueen, 'The doctrines of the six heretics according to the Śrāmanyaphala Sūtra', in *IJJ* 27 (1984), p. 296.

62 T.W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, London 1910, p. 74.

63 I.B. Horner, *Middle Length Sayings*, Vol. II, London 1957, pp. 41–42.

64 A.L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, London 1951, p. 16.

65 See R.O. Franke, *Dīghanikāya*, Göttingen 1913, p. 61 n. 3.

66 Mrs C.A.F. Rhys Davids, *Kindred Sayings*, Vol. I, London 1917, p. 91 n. 1. What she calls there the substitution of precepts by the Buddha represents, in fact, the standard Jain usage.

67 In *Kshetresa Chandra Chattopadhyaya Felicitation Volume*, Allahabad 1972, which was reviewed by M.A. Mehendale in *IL* 34 (1973), p. 316. I regret that I have not personally seen the volume.

68 Ven. Nyanamoli Thera, *A Treasury of the Buddha's Discourses from the Majjhima-nikaya*, Vol. I, Bangkok n.d., p. 101.

69 See K.R. Norman, 'Middle Indo-Aryan Studies III' in *JOI* (Baroda) XI, p. 325.

70 See K.R. Norman, *Elders' Verses II*, London 1971, p. 57 (*ad v. 7*).

71 W. Schubring, *Isibhāsiyāim*, NAWG 1942, Nr. 6, Göttingen 1942, p. 567.

72 W. Schubring, *Isibhāsiyāim*, Ahmedabad 1974, p. 115.

73 W. Schubring, *Isibhāsiyāim*, Hamburg 1969, p. 31.

74 Pañca-g 13 15 19 35.

75 See pp. 131 foll.

76 See Sheth, *op. cit.* (in n. 29), s.v. *vanhī*.

77 See K.R. Norman, 'The labialisation of vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan', *StII* Vol. II, pp. 41–58.

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79 Made available to Mrs Cone through the kindness of Prof. G. Fussman, of the College de France.

80 The verse is numbered 360 in the edition by G. Roth, in H. Bechert (ed.): *The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, Göttingen 1980, but 359 in the edition by N.S. Shukla, Patna 1979, where the second part of the compound is read as *-mumsano*.

81 See MW, p. 1059, s.v. *śalya*.

82 F. Bernhard, *Udānavarga*, Göttingen 1965.

83 See W. Schubring, *op. cit.* (in n. 30), p. 54.

84 H. Lüders, *Philologica Indica*, Göttingen 1940, p. 283 n. 3.

85 See W. Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, Strassburg 1916, § 27, where examples of the change *-āya-* > *-ā-* are also given, including the case ending *-āya*. It is possible that this change has concealed the occurrence of a genuine dative form in *vāṇijā* at Ja IV 352,8\*, glossed *vāṇijakassa* (353,6').

86 '... die korrekte Ostform (mit ... Kontraktion von *āya* zu *ā*)': L. Alsdorf, 'Bemerkungen zum Vessantara-Jātaka', in *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 292.

86 See K.R. Norman, 'Samprasāraṇa in Middle Indo-Aryan', in *JRAS* 1958, pp. 44–50.

87 See Norman, *op. cit.* (in n. 77), pp. 47–48.

88 See R. Pischel, *The Deśināmamālā of Hemachandra*, Bombay (second edition) 1938, p. 28, and H.C. Bhayani, *Studies in Hemacandra's Deśināmamālā*, Varanasi 1966, p. 16.

89 See K.R. Norman, 'The role of Pāli in early Sinhalese Buddhism', in H. Bechert (ed.): *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*, Göttingen 1978, p. 32, and 'The pratyeka-buddha in Buddhism and Jainism', in P. Denwood and A. Piatigorsky (ed.): *Buddhist Studies*, London 1983, p. 95.



## KALYĀÑAMITTA AND KALYĀÑAMITTATĀ

### I

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## II

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

1. as a karmadhāraya, = 'good friend (sc. to others)' — *kalyāṇo mitto (aññesam) hotī ti kalyāṇamitto*.
2. as a tatpuruṣa, with (a) a masculine first member, = 'the friend of a good man (good men)' — *kalyāṇassa purisassa (kalyāṇam purisānam) mitto hotī ti kalyāṇamitto*.  
or with (b) a neuter first member, = 'a friend of the good (of Virtue)' — *yad kalyāṇam (e.g. sīlam) tassa mitto hotī ti kalyāṇamitto*.
3. as a bahuvrīhi, = 'who has a good friend (good friends)' — *assa kalyāṇo mitto hotī (kalyāṇā mittā hontī) ti kalyāṇamitto*.

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

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

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

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

### III

#### 1. 'Good friend(s)' as uncompounded adjective and noun.

I have mentioned that the Sigālovāda Sutta and its commentary use the uncompounded and compounded forms of *kalyāṇa-mitta* and *pāpa/mitta* with no difference in sense. The uncompounded form is found elsewhere, used of both householder and monastic friends. At M I 11 (= A III 389) among the things a monk is to avoid are *pāpake mitte*, glossed by the commentaries as 'disreputable, immoral, false friends, enemies (in the guise of friends)',<sup>21</sup> the latter two terms being commonly used in lay contexts. At Dhp 78, in a verse which would be at home in a general, gnomic or aphoristic text, we read 'do not associate with bad friends (*pāpake mitte*), nor the lowest of men; associate with good friends (*mitte kalyāne*), noble men'. The commentary (Dhp-a II 110-2) tells the story of the monk Channa, who reviled Sāriputta and Moggallāna, although they were his *kalyāṇa-mittā*. The passage reproduced at Nidd II 227-8 on the monastic friend is introduced in the Aṅguttara (IV 32) simply with the words 'monks, a friend endowed with seven qualities'<sup>22</sup> is to be followed'; and it is regularly found in commentarial exegeses of the compounded form *k-m*. In some other places the uncompounded form occurs (the commentaries give the compound), where the context is plainly monastic: Sn 338, Th 249, 588, 681.

#### 2. the *karmadhāraya* 'good friend'.

##### (i) the Buddha.

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

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

(ii) *other famous monks as exemplars.*

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

going through the jungle'.

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

ill-will (*vyāpāda*): 'good friends who delight in the development of amity (*mettā*) like the Elder Assagutta'

stiffness-and-torpor (*thīna-middha*): 'good friends who have abandoned stiffness-and-torpor, like the Elder Mahākassapa'

agitation-and-worry (*uddhacca-kukkucca*): 'good friends who are expert in the Vinaya, like the Elder Upāli'

uncertainty (*vicikicchā*): 'good friends who are resolute in faith, like the Elder Vakkali'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Given the importance of meditation in the Buddhist Path, it is hardly surprising that a *k-m.* should offer guidance in this area. Indeed, we are told that having a good friend is one of the (necessary) bases of meditative attainment (*jhāna*) (Pet 149).<sup>30</sup> Vajirañāṇa<sup>31</sup> has pointed out how the Buddha is shown in the suttas giving advice on meditation to his monks, and we have seen that in the list of meditation-subject-givers in Vism 89, 98 foll., the Buddha comes first. Such a *k-m.* is called an *ācariya* (ibid. 99), who should be senior (100); and elsewhere it is said that the relationship between teacher and pupil should be like that of father and son (Vin I 60). It may be thought that such an hierarchical and indeed quasi-kin relation does away with any real notion of friendship, and indeed in the later literature where *k-m.* appears as a technical term for a *kammaṭṭhāna-dāyaka* (e.g. As 168, Abhidh-av verses 800–3, quoting A IV 32), it may seem to have become a mere title. But one should remember here that the choice of a particular subject for meditation is made according to the particular character of the monk concerned, and the Vism goes on to give a long account of these various character-types or ‘temperaments’ (*cariyā*).<sup>32</sup> Naturally, it being a text, this is done rather schematically, according to a fixed set of ‘elements’ (*dhātu*) and ‘humours’ (*dosa*); and no doubt a clumsy or inconsiderate teacher might well apply the analyses mechanically. But one can easily imagine how a skilled teacher would need a sensitive insight into his pupil’s

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

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

### 3. *the bahuvrīhi 'one who has a good friend'.*

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

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

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

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

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

(ii) The group of terms *k-m.*, *k-sahāyo*, *k-sampavañko* is found in the *Kalyāṇamitta-sevana-sutta* and frequently elsewhere. *K-m.* is used in a bahuvrīhi sense, as is *k-sahāyo*, ‘one who has good companions’,<sup>35</sup> but *k-sampavañko* presents some problems. The corresponding Sanskrit text<sup>36</sup> has *kalyāṇamitra(tā)*, *kalyāṇasahāya(tā)*, *kalyāṇasamparka*. *Samparka* is a noun from the verb *sam-prc*, to mix or mingle. The nominal form *kalyāṇasamparkaḥ* (which corresponds to Pali *-sampavañkatā*, as an abstract noun) is most obviously interpreted as a tatpuruṣa with the meaning ‘mixing with good people’ (= *kalyāṇair janaiḥ samparkaḥ*). The adjectival form appears in the Sanskrit text as a plural, *kalyāṇa-samparkāḥ*, agreeing with the first person plural verb *vihariṣyāmaḥ*, in the aspiration to be made by monks ‘we shall live *k-m.* (etc.)’. Given that the nominal form is a tatpuruṣa, this is best taken as a bahuvrīhi based on the tatpuruṣa, with the literal meaning ‘one of whom there is mixing with good people’, or in reasonable English, ‘one who mixes with good people’. In Pali, the etymology of *sampavañka* is unclear — as Alsdorf says, that given by PED is not credible. There are two common commentarial exegeses of the word, which are sometimes blended. Examples are: at Mp II 198 on A I 127, and Pp-a 219 on Pp 37, we read ‘*k-*

*sampavañko ti kalyāñesu sucipuggalesu sampavañko tanninna-tappona-tappabbhāramānaso ti attho.* ‘The meaning of *k-s.* is “inclined to good, pure people, bent down towards them, sloping towards them, having a mind which leans towards them”. At Sv 1046 on D III 267, we read *cittena c’eva kāyena ca kalyāñamittesu sampavañko, onato ti k-s.* ‘*K-s.* means inclined, bending towards good friends in both mind and body.’ All of these terms suggest the idea of bending, inclining, etc.<sup>37</sup> As an etymology for *sampavañka*, K. R. Norman suggests<sup>38</sup> *vāñka* (Sanskrit *vakra*), with the prefixes *saṃ-pa*. Although *vāñka/vakra* often has a bad sense, as in the English ‘bent’ or ‘crooked’, the basic meaning of this, bent or curved, is in line with the commentarial glosses. The compound is thus to be taken as a *tatpuruṣa*, in both adjectival and nominal/abstract forms, and I suggest ‘inclined/inclination to good friends’ as a translation, to preserve the metaphor. (So also would ‘have a bent for’ or ‘a penchant for’, but neither seems appropriate in tone here.)

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

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

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

#### 4. the abstract noun *kalyāṇamittatā*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

What is ‘having good friends’? It is following after, etc., people who have faith, are of good morals, learned, generous and wise.<sup>45</sup>

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

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

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

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*Notes*

Abbreviations follow the Critical Pāli Dictionary (= CPD).

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

7 See Dhammanīti 96–111, Lokanīti 79–93, Mahāranīti 113–63, in Bechert and Braun, *Pāli Nīti texts from Burma* (PTS 1981).

8 *Mitra-bheda*, *mitra-samprāpti*. The Hitopadeśa's first book is called *mitralābha*. The parallels between these works and the Pāli Jātakas have long been recognised.

9 *Yo ve kataññū katavedi dhīro/Kalyāṇamitto dalhabhattī ca hoti / Dukhitassa sakkacca karoti kiccam / tathāvidham sappurisam vadanti.*

10 *Pūjako labhati pūjām vandako paṭivandanam / Yaso kittiñ ca pappoti yo mittānam na dūbhati.* The commentary: *vandako ti Buddhādīnam kalyāṇamittānam vandako punabbhave paṭivandanam labhati.*

11 This sentiment, which also occurs in the Sigālovāda Sutta, provides an interesting contrast with Christ's 'no greater love (*agapē*) has any man than that he should lay down his life for his friends (*tōn philōn*)' (John 15, 14). In Buddhism what is in one sense 'a greater love' is shown by monastic friends, whose practice of the Way is of far greater import than the ending of any given life-time (or as the Abhidhamma would say, 'any given life-faculty').

12 *Dve mittā; āgārika-mitto ca anāgārika-mitto ca. Katamo āgārika-mitto? Idh' ekacco duddadam dadāti, duccajam cajati, dukkaram karoti, dukkhamam khamati, guyham assa ācikkhati guyham assa pariguyhati, āpadāsu na vijahati jīvitam c' assa atthāya paricattam hoti, khīne n' ātimaññati. Ayam āgārika-mitto. Katamo anāgārika-mitto? Idha bhikkhu piyo ca hoti manāpo ca hoti garu ca bhāvaniyo ca (vattā ca) vacanakkhamo ca gambhirañ ca katham kattā, (na c') atthāne niyojeti, adhisile samādapeti, catunnam sati-paṭṭhānānam bhāvan' ānuyoge samādapeti. Ayam anāgārika-mitto.*

The text here omits *vattā ca* and *na c'*, both of which I insert on the model of A IV 32 (cf. Nett. 164), which is being followed here. The translation follows that of Nānamoli, *The Guide* (PTS 1962) p. 216–7.

13 The history of this term is curious. It was coined by Lord Coverdale in 1535 to translate the Hebrew *chesed*, used of the love God has for man. The Septuagint translators and subsequent Greek texts often render this by *eleos*, which is standardly rendered in English as 'pity' or 'compassion', which of course is the usual rendering of the Buddhist virtue of *karuṇā*. I do not know who first used 'loving-kindness' for *mettā*.

14 *Pāpā Devadattādayo mittā assā ti pāpamitto. Pasenadissa Sāriputtatherādīnam vasena kalyāṇamittādītā veditabbā.*

15 He would thus learn the lesson taught at S I 37, that although in this life a companion (*sahāya*) may show friendship repeatedly when one is in need, in the next life one's friend is one's own good deeds! (*sayam katāni puññāni, tam mittam samparāyikan ti*).

16 It could also, of course, be based on the *tatpuruṣa* sense, that is as *kalyāṇa(purisa)-mittatā* rather than *kalyāṇamittatā*, but this is ruled out because the *tatpuruṣa* sense of *k-m.* itself is not found.

17 *Yassa silādi-guṇa-sampanno . . . upakārako mitto hoti, so puggalo kalyāṇamitto. Tassa bhāvo kalyāṇamittatā.*

18 *Yassa pāpā lāmakā mittā, so pāpamitto. Pāpamittassa bhāvo pāpamittatā.* (I assume throughout that the usage of *p-m.* and *p-m-tā* is perfectly valid evidence for *k-m.* and *k-m-tā*.)

19 Cited at *Elders' Verses II* (PTS 1971). The text of Thī-a has not been available to me. The reading *kalyāṇamittavantatā* is also found in some mss. of *Līnatthavaṇṇā* II 400, including the Burmese *Chatṭhasaṅgāyanā* edition.

20 *Yāya cetanāya puggalo pāpa-sampavānko nāma hoti, sā cetanā pāpamittatā.*

21 *Lāmake dussile mittapatiṛūpake amitte.*

22 *Dhamma* is used at A IV 32; at A IV 31 in the householder-friend passage, *anga* is preferred.

23 In the commentary to the *k-m-s-sutta* (Spk I 156–7), Ānanda is imagined to have thought that half of the holy life was *k-m-tā*, half was ‘individual effort’ (*paccatta-purisa-kāra*). It is then said that this is wrong, since the two contributions cannot be separated, just as one cannot separate the individual contributions of a number of people holding a stone pillar, or of parents raising a child. Elsewhere, *k-m-tā* is said to lie at the basis of the Path (see text pp. 63–4), and this is given at Ud-a 222 in explanation of its being ‘the whole’ of the holy life.

24 *Sammāsambuddho yeva sabbākārasampanno kalyāṇamitto.* I give Nāṇamoli’s translation (*Path of Purification*, Colombb, 1975, 3rd ed. p. 99), which depends on taking *yeva* in a strong sense as ‘only’, which may not be necessary. Pe Maung Tin’s PTS translation (*The Path of Purity*, 1923–31, p. 114) has simply ‘the Buddha supreme himself was a good friend endowed with all qualities’.

25 *Asubhakammika-Tissattherasadise asubhabhāvanārate kalyāṇamitte sevantassāpi kāmacchando pahīyati.* I give Nāṇamoli’s (forthcoming, PTS) translation of Vibh-a for this and for the other *nīvaraṇāni*.

26 . . . *appiccham̄ santuttham̄ dhutavādām sallekhavuttim̄ ācārasampannam̄. lajjīm̄ pesalañ garum̄ bhāvanīyam̄ vattārañ vacanakkhamam̄ codakam̄ pāpagarāhīm̄ ovādakam̄ anusāsakam̄ viññāpakam̄ sandassakam̄ samādapakam̄ samuttejakam̄ sampahamsakam̄.* I have substituted ‘one who can be spoken to’ for *vacanakkhama*, following Nāṇamoli (see reference in note 12).

27 This is a difficult word. I give Woodward’s rendering (in *Gradual Sayings* vol I, PTS. 1972, pp. 100 foll.).

28 *Bahussutā āgatāgama dhammadharā vinayadharā mātikadharā.*

29 I do not think we should necessarily take this as being implied by the use of (*upa)nissaya* in these kinds of passage.

30 The text reads *kalyāṇamittā jhānassa upanissā*. Nāṇamoli (*Pitaka-Disclosure*, PTS 1964 p. 202) suggests emending to *upanisā*, and translates this as ‘stipulate’. Words like (*upa)nissaya are common with *k-m.*, of course. (See CPD. s.v. *upanisā*.) Perhaps also we should emend to *k-m-tā* (and I have translated thus) since *kalyāṇa-sampavānkatā* is the next ‘basis’ for *jhāna* given. If *kalyāṇa-mittā* is retained, it should be taken as ‘good friends’ in the karmadhāraya sense.*

31 *Buddhist Meditation* (2nd. ed. Kuala Lumpur, 1975) pp. 95–7. See also Ps II 192, where the Buddha instructs the first five monks, cited by M. B. Carrithers, *The Forest Monks of Sri Lanka* (O.U.P. Delhi, 1983) p. 230.

32 I have discussed this notion in *Selfless Persons* (C.U.P., 1982), Chapter 5.2.3.

33 For modern examples see Carrithers (op. cit. note 31) Chapters 11 and 13.

34 Thus the commentary (Spk III 133) explains 'established in the possession of good friends like the dawn, the Noble Path along with insight arises, like the appearance of the sun'.

35 The commentaries explain this term as those who 'go along' with the monk, or with whom he 'goes along', in the four postures (i.e. in everyday life): e.g. Sv 1046, *te* (sc. *kalyāṇamittā*) *v'assa thāna-nisajjādisu saha ayanato sahāyā ti kalyāṇasahāyo*. Ud-a 221, *kalyāṇapuggaleh'eva sabb'iriyāpathesu saha ayati, pavattati, na vinā tehī ti kalyāṇasahāyo*.

36 E.g. *Avadāna-śataka*, ed. P. L. Vaidya (Mithila 1958), p. 95. The corresponding Sanskrit, Pali and Tibetan texts are given by Alsdorf.

37 For the words *ninna* and *poṇa* see K. R. Norman, "Middle Indo-Aryan Studies XV", in *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Baroda), 1979, vol. XXIX, Nos. 1–2, pp. 48–9; for *pabbhāra* see Edgerton, *BHSD* sv. *prāgbhāra*. (I am grateful to K. R. Norman for the information contained in this note.)

38 Private communication. He translates *kalyāṇasampavaṇka* as '(well)-disposed towards people who are *kalyāṇa*'.

39 On the other hand, monks who are *k-m.*, *k-s.*, *k-s.* become worthy of honour, etc., 'a field of merit for the world' (A V 199). Indeed, in one passage monks are said to be such if they display a variety of virtues, which include being *k-m.*, *k-s.*, *k-s.*, and also having the 'Three-fold Knowledge' (*tevijjā*), one of which, of course, is knowledge of the destruction of the *āsavā*, which is to say being enlightened (A IV 290–1). This is in marked contrast with the usual notion that being *k-m.*, etc. is a beginner's virtue. (The commentary, Mp IV 140, remarks nonchalantly that the meaning of the passage is clear, *uttāna!*)

40 This is Rhys Davids' rendering (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. 3, PTS, 1921, p. 231). Miss Horner (*Middle Length Sayings*, vol. 3, PTS, 1959, p. 384 and note 3) and Woodward (*Gradual Sayings*, vol. 5, PTS, 1936, p. 64 and note 1) have simply 'to be remembered', deriving the word from *sar*, to remember.

41 *Kalyāṇasahāyatā* is also based on the bahuvrīhi *kalyāṇasahāya*: as argued in the text, *kalyāṇasampavāṇkatā* is a tatpurusa. Cp. As 394, commenting on *sampavāṇkatā* in Dhs 1326/8, translated on pp. 66–7 of this article, which has *tesu* (sc. *kalyāṇesu* or *pāpesu*) *puggalesu kāyena c' eva citterna ca sampavāṇkabhbāvo*.

42 This concerns what is external, *bāhiram*. For what is internal, *ajjhattar*, it is 'careful attention', *yoniso manasikāra* (It 9, S V 101–2).

43 *Kalyāṇamittatā sīlānam āhāro, indriyasamvāro brahmacariyassa āhāro, avisamvādanā mittānam āhāro.*

44 *Kulaputto yasmiñ gāme vā nigame vā pañivasati, tattha ye te honti gahapati vā gahapatiputtā vā daharā vā vuddhasilino vuddhā vā vuddha-silino saddhāsampannā, sīlasampannā, cāgasampannā, paññāsampannā, tehi saddhīm santiñhati sallapati sākacchañ samāpajjati; yathārūpānam saddhāsampannānam saddhāsampadāñ anusikkhati, yathārūpānam sīla, . . . cāga-, . . . paññāsampannānam paññāsampadāñ anusikkhati.* My translation is slightly abridged. The whole Sutta is repeated at A IV 285–9 with Ujjayo the Brahmin.

45 1325. *Tattha katamā dovacassatā?*  
*Sahadhammike vuccamāne dovacassatāyam dovacassiyam dovacassatā vippañikūlagāhitā vipaccanikasātātā anādariyam anādaratā agāravatā appat-issavatā — ayam vuccati dovacassatā.*

1326. *Tattha katamā pāpamittatā?*  
*Ye te puggalā assaddhā dussīlā appassutā macchārino duppaññā — yā tesam sevanā nisevanā samsevanā bhajanā sambhajanā bhatti sambhatti sampavankatā — ayam vuccati pāpamittatā.*

1327. *Tattha katamā sovacassatā?*  
*Sahadhammike vuccamāne sovacassatāyam sovacassiyam sovacassatā appañikūlagāhitā avipaccanikasātātā sagāravatā sappañissavatā — ayam vuccati sovacassatā.*

1328. *Tattha katamā kalyāṇamittatā?*  
*Ye te puggalā saddhā sīlavanto bahussutā cāgavanto paññāvanto — yā tesam sevanā nisevanā samsevanā bhajanā sambhajanā bhatti sambhatti sampavankatā — ayam vuccati kalyāṇamittatā.*

See also Vbh 359, 369, 371, Pp 20, 24. The translation of these synonyms or near-synonyms is necessarily slightly arbitrary. In the passage on *pāpamittatā* I have given only ‘following after’ for *sevanā*, *nisevanā* and *samsevanā*, and ‘being devoted to’ for both *bhatti* and *sambhatti*.

46 Nāṇamoli, *Path of Purification*, p. 108, *The Guide*, p. 63, *Piṭaka-Disclosure*, p. 342. B. C. Law, *Human Types* (PTS, 1924) pp. 30, 35. See also *Middle Length Sayings*, vol. I pp. 125–6, and *Book of the Discipline* vol. I (PTS, 1938) p. 310.

47 In Christianity, compare, for example, the discussion of friendship by John Cassian (3rd–4th century), in his sixteenth Conference, in E. Pichery (ed. and transl.) *Jean Cassien: Conferences*, vol. II pp. 221–247 (*Sources Chrétiennes*, no. 54, Paris, 1958).

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

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

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

Though the construction is not in fact distributive, it seems to have struck Buddhaghosa the same way, to judge by his comment on the passage (*Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* III 851): *attano rāgādīnam damaṇādīhi ekam attānam damenti samenti parinibbāpenti ti vuccanti*: ‘By mastering etc. their own [the self’s] passion etc. they are said to . . .’ As I understand this gloss, Buddhaghosa is suggesting that ‘self’ is mentioned thrice to correspond to the three roots of evil: passion, hate and delusion. But that is not quite how he is interpreted by the sub-commentary, which evidently finds the passage troublesome (*Dīghanikāyātthakathā-ṭīkā* III 36): *Rāgādīnāti rāgadosamohamānādīnam. Damaṇādīhīti damana-samana-nibbāpanehi. Ekam attānanāti ekam cittam, ekaccam attano cittan ti attho. Rāgādīnam hi pubbabhāgiyam damaṇādī paccekaṁ icchitabbam, na maggakkhaṇe viya ekajjhām paṭisankhānamukhena pajahanato. Ekam attānanāti vā vi-vekavasena ekam ekākinam attānam*. ‘Passion etc. means passion, hate, delusion, pride etc. Taming etc. means mastering, calming, bringing to *nibbāna*. *Ekam attānam* means one thought, one particular thought of oneself. For it is desirable that passion etc. should each be mastered etc. in sequence, not by abandoning them all at once through ratiocination as happens at the moment of [entering on] the path. Or else *ekam attānam* means the self when it is sole, that is alone, by virtue of [being in] solitude.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our expression makes perfect sense in the mouth of a

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

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

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

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

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

OXFORD

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### *Notes*

1 All references are to PTS publications.

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

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

## *Introduction*

The epilogomena to volume I of the Critical Pāli Dictionary<sup>1</sup> give a list of 'fourteen minor texts' on Pāli grammar with a considerable number of exegetical works (see CPD Epilogomena 5.4.1–14)<sup>2</sup>. Most of these texts and their auxiliary literature were written in Burma between the 11th and the 19th century A.D.<sup>3</sup> The name 'minor grammar texts' (*saddā-nay-kyam*<sup>3</sup>) is found in the *Piṭaka-to<sup>2</sup>-samuiñ*<sup>3</sup>, a 19th century bibliography of the manuscripts kept in the Royal library at Mandalay.<sup>4</sup> It clearly refers to the size of the texts, which ranges from 20 to 568 verses, and is used in contrast to the 'major grammar texts' (*saddā-kri*<sup>3</sup>) written by Kaccāyana, Moggallāna, and Aggavamṣa.<sup>5</sup>

The list in *Piṭ-sm* is not limited to the fourteen texts given as a group in the CPD. This limitation was apparently just a publisher's choice when the texts were first printed in Burma.<sup>6</sup> However, we also find anthologies of '16 minor grammar texts' published in Burma in 1937, and '15 minor grammar texts' published in 1954.<sup>7</sup>

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

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

dhammadikti Mahāphussadeva<sup>11</sup>, a native of Haripuṇja (Lamphang in Northern Thailand)<sup>12</sup> in the late 15th century A.D.<sup>13</sup> The prologue mentions earlier subcommentaries.<sup>14</sup> Mahāphussadeva's work is called 'brand new subcommentary' in Northern Thailand.<sup>15</sup> It may have reached Burma when Chiangmai was under Burmese rule in the late 16th–18th century A.D.<sup>16</sup>, though it is not listed in Piṭ-sm.

A *Nissaya* on *Saddabindu* was written by Paṭhama Bā<sup>3</sup>karā Charāto<sup>2</sup> Rhaṇ Dhammābhinanda with the title *Tipiṭakālāñ-kārasiridhajamahādhammarājaguru* (1738–1800 A.D.)<sup>17</sup>

The text given here is based on the following sources:

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

N1 = *Saddā-ñay-nisya*, Rankun (Praññ-kri<sup>3</sup>maṇḍuiñ) 1922–25, fascicle 2, pp. 155–161;

N2 = *Saddā-ñay* 16 coṇ tvai nisya, Rankun (Jambū<sup>1</sup> mit chve) 1937, pp. 169–92;

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

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

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

The Ven. Charāto<sup>2</sup> U<sup>3</sup> Nyāṇika, a Burmese monk scholar at present residing in the new Burmese Buddhist Vihāra of London has kindly gone through the text and suggested a number of improvements. They have been included in the footnotes with the siglum (Ny).

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

## SADDABINDU

1. Yassa ñeyyesu dhammesu nāñumattam py aveditam natvā saddham-

masaṁghaṁ tam SADDABINDUM  
samārabhe.

2. kādīritā nava saṅkhyā  
pādayo pañca saṅkhyā ti  
3. sareh' eva sarā pubbā  
byañjanā c' āgamā vācī  
4. k' ākasen' āgato 's' isi<sup>4</sup>?  
arāj'-ākhv-aggi-mesinam  
sandhiyo.

5. buddho pumā yuvā santo  
yat'-ādi dehi jantu ca  
6. kaññā-'mmā-ratti-'tthī  
pokkha-  
napuṁsake tiyantā 'va  
7. gahitāggahañen' ettha  
vimalā<sup>6</sup> honti ch' antehi  
napuṁsake payogā tu  
8. padhānānugatā sabba-  
atilingā nipātādi  
suttānurūpato siddhā  
nāmaṁ.

9. cha kārake<sup>9</sup> ca sāmismiṁ  
taddhito kattu-kamma-  
sampa-

10. tisādhanamhi<sup>10</sup> ākhyāto  
sabbattha paṭhamā vutte  
11. manasā munino vutyā  
vatṭā bhīto vivaṭṭattham  
kārakam.

12. rāsi<sup>11</sup> dvippadakā<sup>12</sup> dvandā  
luttā tulyādhikaraṇe<sup>13</sup>  
13. tappurisā ca khepoyā<sup>14</sup>  
digavo cābyanā hārā<sup>16</sup>  
samāso.

14. Kaccādito pi ekamhā  
'nekatthe sati hont' eva  
taddhitam.

kamena tādi yādi ca  
suññā nāma sarañ-ñā-nā.  
luttā vācī<sup>1</sup> parā<sup>2</sup> ramā<sup>3</sup>  
dīgharassādisambhavā.  
ken' iddhim atidissati?  
s'-otuka-megha-y'-itthiyo.

rājā brahmā sakhā ca sā  
satthu pitā 'bhibhū vidū.

rañī-nady ūrū<sup>5</sup>-mātu-bhū  
pada-kamma-dadh'-āyuto.  
suddhe syādy-antakā pume  
'[t]hyañ<sup>7</sup> pañcantehi  
dādhikā<sup>8</sup>

janakā honti ty-antato.  
nāma-samāsa-taddhitā  
tato luttā 'va syādayo  
go tv anto 'tha panādayo.

samāso honti sambhavā

dān'-okāsa-sāmīsu  
kitako satta sādhane  
avutte dutiyādayo.  
vane buddhena vanṇite  
bhikkhu bhāveti  
bhāvanam.

liñgena vacanena ca  
bahubbīhi tu khepayu<sup>14</sup>.  
dayā<sup>15</sup> ca kammadhārayā  
ete sabbāvahāritā.

saddato niyamam vinā  
sabbe taddhita-paccayā.

SADDABINDU-ABHINAVATĪKĀ  
GANTHASĀRO NĀMA  
SADDABINDUVINICCHAYO

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.

Namissitvāna sambuddham̄ tilokaṁ pi mahādayam̄<sup>1</sup>  
dhammañ ca vimalam̄

<b>saddattham</b> icchantena <b>bhikkhunā</b> Nāṇakittena <b>yācito</b> 'ham karissāmi	<b>saṃgham</b> puñakkhettaṃ anuttaram <b>tikkhapaññavisaradā</b> <sup>2</sup> <b>parisuddhaguṇesinā</b> <b>SADDABINDU-</b>
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Porāṇehi katānekā  
na tāhi sakkā subuddham  
tasmā nam̄ vaṇṇayissāmi  
Pacchā tabbinicchayañ ca

tilokam̄ pi mahādayam̄<sup>1</sup>

puññakkhettañ anuttaram  
tikkhapaññavisaradā<sup>2</sup>  
parisuddhagunesinā  
**SADDABINDU-**

VINICCHAYAM.  
santi yā pana vaṇṇanā  
atisaṅkhepa-atthato  
sabbe suṇātha sādhavo.  
sādhu gaṇhantu tatthikā

etam samāvicāretvā yuttam gaṇhantu pañditā  
ayuttam pana bhaddentu<sup>3</sup> mā ca issā bhavantu te ti.

(§1) Paramasukhumaṇayasaṁnāgataṁ sakasamayaśaṁ-  
ayantaragahaṇaviggāhaṇaśaṁmatthaṁ suvimalavipulapaññā-  
veyyattiyajananaṁ<sup>4</sup> saddalakkhaṇaśaṁhitāṁ gāthāpādaśaṁ-  
khātāṁ varajanānaṁ passane akhilanayaṇaśaṁ *Sadda-  
bindupakaraṇaṁ* ārabhanto pathamaṁ tāva sabbattha  
bhayaṇivaraṇaśaṁmatthaṁ ratanattayaṇāmaṁ dassetum  
yassa ḡeyyesu dhammesū ty ādim āha.

Ettha hi sammāsambuddhaṁ *saddhammasaṁghaṁ* natvā  
ti iminā ratanattayaṇāmo vutto. Tattha tattha ratanattay-  
avandanānaṁ tāva bahudhā vitthārenti. Visesato pana roga-  
tarāya vūpaśaṁmatthaṁ patthenti. Vuttañ hi: nipaccakārass'  
etassa—la—asesato (As 1, 15–16)<sup>5</sup>. Ratanattayavandanānaṁ  
hi athato vandanakriyābhiniṇḍikā kusalacetaṇā. Sā hi  
vanditabbavandakānaṁ khettajjhāsayasampadāditāya ca diṭ-  
ṭhadhammavedaniya bhūtā purāṇakassa kammaśa balā-  
nuppadānavasena purimakammanibbattitassa vipākaśantā-  
assa rogaṇtarāyakarāni upapīlako pacchedakammanī vinā-  
setvā tam niḍānaṁ rogaḍ'-upaddavasaṁkhātānaṁ rogaṇtarā-  
yānaṁ anabhinibbattitām karoti. Tasmā ratanattayavandan-  
akaraṇānaṁ attanā samārabhitabbassa satthassa anantarāyena  
sampaṇjanatthaṁ bālakulaputtānaṁ vandanā pubbaṅgamāya  
paṭipattiya anantarāyena uggahaṇādi-sampaṇjanatthañ ca.  
Ayaṁ ettha samudāyo, ayaṁ panāvayavattho. Sammāsam-  
buddhaṁ saddhammasaṁghaṁ natvā Saddabindupakar-  
aṇaṁ samārabhe ti sambandho.

*Yassā* ti puggalanidassanam etam, ḡeyyesu dhammesū ti  
paññāvisayanidassanam etam, nānuttaman ti bhavanidassanam  
etam, aveditan ti kriyānidassanam etam, natvā ti  
kattunidassanam etam, *saddhammasaṁghan* ti kammanidas-  
sanam etam, natvā ti kattunidassanam etam, *saddhamma-  
saṁghan* ti kammanidassanam etam, *Saddabindū* ti saññā-  
niddassanam etam, samārabhe ti ākhyātakriyānidassanam  
etam. *yassā* ti yena sambuddhena aveditan ti yojanā.  
Neyyesu dhammesū ti padadvayaṁ niddhāranasamudāye

yeva anumattaniddhāraṇiyam. Tattha ñeyyesū ti nātabbam ñeyyam. Sabhāvalakkhaṇarasapaccupatthānapadaṭṭhāna-saṅkhātam dhammam gambhīrasāgarasadisaṁ dubbiññeyyam bālaputhujjanehi na sakkā jānitum, dhammassa gambhīrasabhāvattā. Tam hi niravasesato sabbaññutaññassa ārammaṇam eva hoti, na anatikkamavasena pavattati, tasmā: yāvataṁ nāṇam tāvatakam ñeyyam, yāvatakam ñeyyam tāvatakam nāṇam ti ( ? ) vuttam. Tam pana vacanam udāhaṭam ganthā yāmakatā<sup>6</sup> bhaveyya, atha pana Samantapāsādi-kāvinayaṭṭhakathāyam (Sp 16-29) vitthāritaṁ eva. Tam pana oloketvā yathā icchitam eva gahetabbam.

Sabhāvam dhārentī ti *dhammā*. Paramatthasabhāvā pac-cayehi dhāriyantī ti *dhammā*, dhāriyanti yathā sabhāvato ti *dhamma*. Atha vā : pāpake dhamme dhunāti vidhamsetī ti *dhammo*, salakkhaṇam dhāretī ti *dhammo*, dhāriyati paṇḍitehi na bālehi ti vā *dhammo*. Tesu ñeyyā ca te dhammā cā ti *ñeyyadhammā*.

Tesu aṇati paṇṭatī ti *aṇu*, mānettabbam mattam, aṇukañ ca tam mattañ cā ti *añumattam*, aṇumattam pamāṇam ye sante ti *añumattā*, aṇukam mattan ti vattabbe *añumattan* ti vuttam. Kasmā ‘aṇukathūlānī’ ti (cf. Sn 431) pāliyā na sametī ti. Saccam etam, gāthābandhachandānurakkhanattham kārassa lopo daṭṭhabbo.

*Apī* ti upasaggo, api-saddo dvivācako garahatthe ruciātthe ti. Vuttam hi: garahatthe ‘ruci-atthe<sup>7</sup>, api-saddo dvivācako ti ( ? ). Tesu ‘ruci-attho<sup>7</sup> adhippeto. Ayam pana amhākam khanti. Keci pana garahatthe icchanti. Tam na yujjati. Kasmā ? ‘Yo kappakoṭihī pī’ ti (Sp 1, 4) na pametattā<sup>8</sup> api-saddo ‘ruci-atthe<sup>7</sup> ācariyena icchito. Tam pana amhākam khanti eva sameti. Atha pana aññathā icchamānā vīmaṇsivā gahetabbā.

Viditabbam *veditam*, nāṇam vidati jānāti etāyā ti vā *vedi*, vidaññāne ta-paccayam. Na *vedi* *avedi*, n’ atthi *vedi* etāyā ti *avedi*. Namitunā ti natvā ācariyo.

Sataṁ dhammo *saddhammo*, hanatī ti *saṅgho*, samaggam kammaṇ samupagacchatī ti vā *saṅgho*. *Saddhammo* ca so *saṅgho* cā ti *saddhammasaṅgho*. *Tan* ti sammāsambuddham.

Tattha *dhamma*-saddo pana sāmaññavacano dhammo sabhāvo pariyattī ti ādīsu pavattati. Tesu pana sabhāvapari-

yatti idhādhippeto. Sabhāvapariyatti nāma kin ti ce, magaphalanibbānasaṅkhāto sabhāvadhammo nāma, tepiṭakam buddhavacanam pariyattidhammo nāmā ti parihāravacanam kātabbam.

*Samgha-saddo pana sāmaññavacano. Catuvaggapañcavag-  
gadasavaggādike tathā maggaṭṭhe ca phalaṭṭhe ca samgha-  
saddo pavattī ti codanā. Tesu pana maggaṭṭhe ca phalaṭṭhe cā  
ti veditabbā. Vuttam hi:*

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

*Neyyesū* ti visesanaṁ, *dhammesū* ti visesyaṁ. Visesanaṁ nāma bahutaram: navatiṁsa visesanaṁ tulyādhikaraṇavisesanaṁ, bhinnādhikaraṇavisesanaṁ; tulyādhikaraṇavisesitabbam, bhinnādhikaraṇavisesitabbam, kammavisesitabbam, kattuvisesitabbam, karaṇavisesitabbam, sampadānavisesitabbam, apādānavisesitabbam, adhikaraṇavisesitabbam, ādhāravisesitabbam, okāsavisesitabbam, padesavisesitabbam, bhinnavisesitabbam, abhinnavisesitabbam, bhinnābhinnavisesitabbam, anubhūtavisesitabbam, jātivisesitabbam, kriyāvisesitabbam, guṇavisesitabbam, dabbavisesitabbam, nāma-visesitabbam, bhinnajātivisesitabbam, abhinnajātivisesitabbam, bhinnābhinnajātivisesitabbam, bhinnakriyāvisesitabbam, abhinnakriyāvisesitabbam, [binnābhinnakriyāvisesitabbam, bhinnaguṇavisesitabbam,] abhinnaguṇavisesitabbam, bhinnābhinnaguṇavisesitabbam, bhinnadabbavisesitabbam, abhinnadabbavisesitabbam, bhinnābhinnadabbavisesitabbam, bhinnanāmavisesitabbam, abhinnanāmavisesitabbam, bhinnābhinnanāmavisesitabbam ti codanā. *Tulyādhikaraṇavisesitabban* ti katham tulyādhikaraṇavisesitabban ti viññāyatī ti. Abhinnapavattinimittāsaddā ekasmiṁ vatthunipavattā tulyādhikaranā nāmā ti.

vacanato; atha *vā bhinnavisesanam*, *dabbavisesanam*, *gunavisesanam* ti. Hoti c' ettha:

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

Tassa visesanam̄ *tabbisesanam̄*, tassa visesyabhūtassa atthassa visesanam̄. Kim atthā ti vitthārena sadasatthantare yeva atibahūtarā honti. Sace idha pana vitthārena ganthabhīrukā bhaveyya dandhapañño, tam̄ 'navatīmsa visesanam̄ nāma bahutaram̄ kiñ, payojanan' ti sandhāya vuttan ti.

*Ahan* ti padam̄ *samārabhe* ti kattā. Kattā ca nāma pañcavidhā: sayamkattā, hetukattā, kammakattā, vuttakattā, avuttakattā ti pañcadhā kattukāraṇā. Tesam̄ pana bhedato: sayamkattā nāma 'suddho puññam̄ karotī' ty ādi, hetukattā nāma 'puriso purisam̄ kammam̄ kāretī' ty ādi, kammakattā nāma 'sayam eva koṭṭhābhijjate' ty ādi, vuttakattā nāma 'puriso ratham̄ karotī' ty ādi, avuttakattā nāma 'sūdena pacate odano' ty ādi. Vuttam̄ hi:

Sayamkattā hetukattā – pa – kattā pañcavidho hotī<sup>10</sup>  
 ti ( ? )

Tesu vuttakattā idhādhipetto

Kammañ pana duvidham̄ vuttāvuttabhedena. Vuttakammañ nāma 'ahinā daṭṭho naro' ty ādi, avuttakammañ nāma 'ratham̄ karoti puriso' ty ādi. Dvīsu avuttakammañ idhādhippetam̄. Kasmā ti ce, dutiyā vibhattidassanato. Puna kammañ nāma tividham̄ nipphattivikatipattibhedena. Nipphattikammañ nāma 'kuṭīm̄ karotī' ty ādi, vikatikammañ nāma 'kaṭṭham̄ jhāpetī' ty ādi, pattikammañ nāma 'rūpam̄ passatī' ty ādi. Tesu pana pattikammañ idhādhippetam̄. Duvidham̄ pana pattikammañ kāyacittabhedena. Kāyapattikammañ nāma 'buddham̄ vandetī' ty ādi, cittapattikammañ nāma 'ādiccam̄ namassatī' ty ādi. Dvīsu kāyapattikammañ<sup>11</sup> idhādhippetam̄. Icchitānicchitanevicchitanānicchitakammabhedena tividham̄. 'Bhattachārī bhuñjatī' ty ādi icchitakammañ, 'visam̄ gilatī' ty ādi anicchitakammañ; nevicchitanānicchitakammañ nāma 'gāmam̄ gacchanto rukkhamūlam̄ pāvisī' ty ādi. Tesu icchitakammañ gahetabbam̄ eva.<sup>12</sup>

Kasmā ti ce, natvā ti ce, pubbakālakriyāya katham̄ jānitabban ti. Tam̄ hi:

Ekakattā kriyānekā bhāvetvā ti amukasmiṁ c' etaram pubbakālatam tam tadaṭṭhakriyā [matā]<sup>13</sup> ti ( ? )

*natvā* pubbakālakriyā tāva pacchā *saṁārabhe* ti padam sandhāya vuttattā pubbakālakriyā yuttam eva hoti. Namudhātu, *natvā* ti c' ettha tvā-paccayo pubbakālādīsu catūsu atthesu dissati. Pubbakālo idha daṭṭhabbo ratanattaye. Kasmā ti ce. Apayuttito. Sace hi aparakālasmiṁ ganthakaraṇato pacchā namassanam siyā. Sace samānakālasmiri<sup>14</sup> ekakkhaṇe kriyādvayam bhaveyya. Sace hetumhi, namassanato yeva ganthakaraṇam.

No karuṇāya. Ayam ācariyo hi bahudhā pakārena ganthe passitum asakkonte dandhapaññe īnatvā dayā uppajjati: kathaṁ pan' ime puggalā saddasatthachekā siyūm; saddasatthā hi bahutarā, ime pana mandapaññā ti. Tasmā dayā ce ti idam sattham karoti, no namassanato. Namassanam pana kiṁ payojanan ti antarāya vināsanatthan ti. Nanu 'vocumhā: vandanaṁ pana vinā satthassa pakaraṇassa asijjhānattham karoti, sattham pana nippayojanam hoti. Tathā hi vuttam:

Vinā hi maṅgalaṁ seṭṭham karoti kira ghāṭeti padumasamit'<sup>15</sup> ācariyo, sīho tam vadhitvā gato<sup>16</sup> ti ( ? )

Ativiya dissati. Sīho ti kālaśīho idhādhippeto.

Tvā-paccayo tīsu sādhanesu kattusādhanam idhādhippetam, n' itaradvayaṁ. Kasmā ti ce. Atthāyuttito. Sace hi kammasādhanavacako siyā, tam sammāsambuddhan tī ty ādi padehi sambandho na yujjati. Kasmā ti ce. Sammāsambuddham ty ādi padānam avuttakammattā. Katham viññāyatī ti codanā. Diṭṭhadutiyā vibhattito. Dutiyā vibhatti ca avutto va hoti, kathaṁ viññāyatī ti. 'Kammani dutiyāya kto' ti (Kacc 626)<sup>17</sup> vacanato, 'vutte tu paṭhamā hoti, avutte dutiyādayo'<sup>18</sup> ti ( ? )

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

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

vijānītabbo. Nanu 'sāmaññām visesyaṁ, bhedanām visesanan' ti ( ? ) vacanato *samārabhe* ti padam visesanan ti. *natvā* ti hi padassa sādhanattaya vācakattā pubbakālādi catunnam atthānam vācakattā sāmaññām jātam. *samārabhe* ti padassa kat[t]-vatthe yeva vācakattā ekantaparakālikattā ca bhedanām jātan ti. Saccam etam, tathā pi evam idha na daṭṭhabbam. Imā pana *samārabhe* ti padam visesyaṁ, *samārabhe* ti vutte bhutvā sayitvā vatvā vāyam kiñci sabbakammaṁ katvā *samārabhe* ti aniyamam hoti. *Natvā* ti utte pana sesam sabbam pubbakriyam nivattetī ti. Tvan tena bhaviyamānā kriyākāmam viya yathāvā bhūtā. Tathā pi apadhānam hotī ti vuttam.

*Anumattan* ti padam paccattavacanam kammāni hoti. Katham viññāyatī ti ce, *yassā* ti padam tatiyā vibhattiyam eva bhajati. *yassā* ti yena sammāsambuddhenā ti vuttattā paṭhamā kammani hotī ti. Tathā hi vuttam:

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

Idha pana paccattavacanam kammani yeva hotī ti veditabbam. Sesam pana vattabbaṁ na vitthārema. Sace vitthāre ganthagarukā bhaveyya tam saddasatthantare yeva bahutaram. Vitthāretvā idha pana na vakkhāmi, tatthike hi gave-setvā gahetabbā ti.

Tattha sappati uccāriyatī ti *saddo*, saddiyati kathiyatī ti vā *saddo*, sappati sotaviññāṇārammaṇabhāvam āpajjatī ti vā *saddo*, uccāriyatī ti vā *saddo*. Utujasaddo cittajo ca, tattha pacchimo idhādhippeto. Kasmā ? So va munindamukham-bujasambhuto upādāyupasaṅkhāto saddo. Sappa-dhātu uccāraṇe ti hi dhātu 'rañju-dādihi 'dha di-dda kirā kvaci jada-lopo cā' ti (Kacc 661) suttena da-paccayaṁ katvā 'para dvebhāvo ṭhāne' ty (Kacc 40) anena da-kārassa dvebhāvam katvā rūpasiddhi veditabbā.

Bindati paggharatī ti *bindu*; bindapaggharaṇe ti hi dhātu. 'vid-ante ū' ti (Kacc 616) ū-paccayaṁ katvā 'kvacādi majjhatarādi'<sup>19</sup> suttena ū-paccayassa rassam katvā rūpasiddhi. Bindu viyā ti *bindu*. Atha vā saddānam Kaccāyanādīnam bindu *Saddabindu*, saddesu vā Kaccāyanādīsu bindu *Saddabindu*, saddañ ca tam bindu cā ti *Saddabindu*. Tesu paṭhamo tappurisadvayaṁ eva labbhati. Kasmā ti ce, *Saddabindū* ti na

vuttam. Saccam etam, *Saddabindū* ti paṭhanti. Na doso ti vacanam ācariyena vuttam. Nanu va-kārassa ba-kāram katvā kiṃ payojanan ti codanā. Va-kārassa ba-kāram avinābhāvato yathā tam pālī ti yuttam hoti. La-kārassa ḥa-kāram katvā pālī ti vuttam hoti. Tathā hi:

Sabba ty atra vikāro	he ty uccate anaññato
tassa rūpam dukā hoti	la-kārassa tathā pi vā
Chindadanto yathā nāgo	kuñjarakkhādhigacchatī
evam pi vanṇa-vikāro	tabbohāram vigacchatī ti ( ? )
vuttam hoti.	

Atthe kathā ti *atṭhakathā*, sabbathā pi yathānurūpavasena vanṇavikāram kātabbam.

(§2) Evañ ratanattayavandanam dassetvā idāni attanā sammārabhitassa pakarañassa paṭiññātabhāvam dassetum *kādīrītā* ty ādim āha. Tattha *kādī* ti ko ādiye sante ti kādayo; īritabbā kathetabbā ti *īritā*, īra-dhātu kathane. Nimitabbā *sankhyā*. Navañ ca navañ ca navañ ca *navā* ekaseso kātabbo. Navañ ca tam saṅkhyā cā ti navasaṅkhyā. To ādiye sante ti *ṭādayo*, yo ādiye sante ti *yādiyo*, po ādiye sante ti *pādayo*, saro ca ño ca no ca *sara-ñña-nā*. Tattha *kādī*-akkharā nāma yathā ka, kha, ga, gha, ña, ca, cha, ja, jhā ti navakkharā nāma saṅkhyā nāma kavīhi kathitā. *Tādy*-akkharā nāma yathā ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ña, ta, tha, da, dhā ti navakkharā nāma saṅkhyā nāma saddasatthavidūhi vuttā. *Yādy*-akkharā nāma yathā ya, ra, la, va, śa, ṣa, sa, ha, ḥā ti 'me navakkharā nāma saṅkhyā nāma viññūhi īritā. *Pādy*-akkharā nāma yathā pa, pha, ba, bha, mā ti pañcakkharā pañca saṅkhyā nāma pañditehi bhāsitā. *Sara-ñña-nā* ty *atṭha* sarā ña-nā yeva suññam nāma cā ti, tam yathā a, -pa- o, ña, nā ti pakāsitā ti. *Kamenā* <sup>20</sup> kamam eva padacchedo. Evañ dvitālis'-akkhare lekhañā ti ime <sup>21</sup> pañca vagge katvā kulaputtānam tipiṭakesev eva paṭubhāvāyā ti. Tesu pana ka-ṭa-yā ti tayo vaggā *nava saṅkhyā* nāma, pādi-vaggā *pañca saṅkhyā* nāma, *sara-ñña-nā* ti dasakkharā *suññā* nāma. Tesam nāma pabhedato saññā pan' atthāya pañcavagge katvā ty adhippāyo. Tesam pana lakkhañam katham viññāyatī ti. Tattha kā ti padam 1 (ekam) lekham, khā ti padam 2 (dve) lekham, -pa- jhā ti 9 (nava)

lekhaṁ kātabbam: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Tā ti padam 1 (ekam) lekhaṁ, -pa- dhā ti padam 9 (nava) lekhaṁ likhitabbam eva: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Ya, ra, la, va, śa, śa, sa, ha, ĥa ti es' eva nayo. Pā ti padam 1 (ekam) lekhaṁ -pa- mā ti padam 5 (pañca) lekhaṁ kātabbam: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. A, ā, -pa- o, ū, nā ti suññā nāmā ti daṭṭhabbam. Suññā nāma aṭṭha lakkhaṇam: bindu kātabbam o, o, o, o, o, o, o, o. Idha lekhaṁ udāhaṭam: tiṁsame purise nāvutyo, 39,000, ga-jha-a-ñā-na. Idam pana lekhaṁ sabbattha veditabbam. Hoti c' ettha:

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

ṭādi-yādi-vaggā tathā  
ādi-n'-antā suññā pi ca,  
pacchā lekhaṁ kare budhā<sup>22</sup>  
ti ( ? )

Tesam atha sarānam byañjanānañ ca ekakkharam ekapādam bandhitvā<sup>23</sup> kulaputtānam mukhamanḍanāya dassento āha:

a-dadam ā-raṇam buddham  
abhivaḍḍham puññabalam  
i hoti kāmakilesam  
un'-ekameka pureti  
ohāya lokam<sup>24</sup> gaccheyya  
aki-kāra-puppham idam  
gata-kāre jane passa  
na-'kkharo sara-nissāya  
tasmā v' assa vikāro  
vajjeyya pum mahārājā  
jan' etth' ādānabhāvena  
ñātabbam dhammajātan ti  
ṭhatvā puññanubhāvena  
vadḍham vadḍhena ācāyam  
tārehi na-karam iṇam  
dadam yantāna dhammena  
narehi attano gehe  
vālesi sarīram jātā  
ayaṁ sīlavisuddhānam  
yāhi sagganivāsanam

.....  
iritaṁ dhammaṁ uttamam.  
u-ṭi-cchedasaṅgam ekaṁ  
sambodhā ca varuttamam  
heh' etam paṇamām' aham  
kham caranti vihaṅgame  
ghaṭeti vāyāmaṁ iṭha  
n' atth' ekaṁ piṭakattaye  
niggahitan ti avhayum  
chaḍde jaṭam vijaṭahi  
c' āgamā puññasampadam  
phutam rañcato iṭa va  
ṭāhi gañhāhi phaladaṁ  
ṇahi iṇam na gāheyya  
tāhi rājatavānubhā  
dhammaṁ gaccheyya kāmato  
bāhirakkhāhi samaṇe  
phāsu pase viyo hoti  
maritvā idha lokamhā  
ratim pemaṁ rājājane

labhitvā attano geham	dhammikam viya passati
ratana-ttayassa mahā	kāmadharehi khattiya
saritvā inane ante	maṇe gaṇam vinodaye
la-ti kīlantarājāno	atha tejena tādinā ti ( ? ).

Evaṁ dvetālīsakkhare gahetvā ekapādam ekakkharam subandhitvā rājovādaṁ dasahi kāraṇupāyan ti kasmā ti ce, ekakkharam nāma ekapādaṁ bandhitvā katthaci dissatī ti. Saccam, tam pan' ekakkharam ekapādaṁ nāma tāva hotu, caturo akkharā gāthā nāma atthi, 'sādhimetthu'ty ādīhi *Porāṇavuttodayatīkāyam* ( ? ) vuttaṁ. Atha vā dve akkharā ti-akkharā catu-akkharā ca gāthā nāma hontī ti:

Rājā	pātu
sabbam	maccam ( ? ).
Sudevo	vassatu
sabbassam	saññaram ( ? ).

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

caja dujjanasam̄saggam	bhaja sādhu samāgamam
kara puññam ahorattim	sara niccam aniccatan ti ( ? ).

Tesam attho ativiya pākaṭo yeva.

(§3) Evaṁ dvetālīsakkhare pañca vagge katvā gāthābandhane ca dassetvā idāni pubbaluttaparaluttasarānam bhedam dassento āha: *sareh' eva* ty ādi. Tattha *sarā* ti saranti gacchanti pavattantī ti *sarā*. Tehi *eva*-saddo sanniṭṭhānakaraṇattho adhippeto. Pubbe bhavā *pubbā*, pubbe jātā *pubbā*, pubbe pavattā ti vā *pubbā*. Adassanam lopo, luppanam vā lopo, pubbañ ca tam lopanī<sup>25</sup> cā ti *pubbaluttam*. Pubbaluttassa bhāvo pubbaluttā ti pi apare. *Vācī* ti saṅkhyāvacanam, catusaṭṭhī ti vuttaṁ hoti. Para luttā *parā*<sup>26</sup>, pariyośāne luttā *parā*<sup>26</sup>ty attho. *Ramā* ti saṅkhyāvacanam, dvipaññāsā ti vuttaṁ hoti. *Byañjanānañ ca āgama[t]ṭhāne vācī*, catusaṭṭhī hontī ti attho.

*Dīgharassā* ca akkharā yathā *sambhavā* ti ādi-saddena c' ettha saṃyogakkharānam lopam saṅgayhati. Pubbalutta-paraluttasarānam byañjanānañ c' āgamam padacchedo kā-

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

(§4) Evam pubbaluttaparaluttādibhedam dassetvā idāni sandhipadacchedam dassetum āha: *k'ākāsenā* ty ādi. Tattha padacchedo tāva vuccate: ko ākāsenā āgato, so isi. Kena iddhim atidissati. Ari, aja, ākhu, aggi, mā, isinam, sā, otukam, meghā, ya, itthiyo ti padacchedo. Ari, aja, ākhu, aggi, mā, isinam, sā, otukam, megha, yā, itthiyo ti padacchedo ty apare. *Ko* ti ko jano, *so* iti eva; *kena* kāraṇena, *iddhī* ti jānam, *ati* bahutarā, *ari* ti paccatthikā, *ajā* ti elako, *ākhū* ti undūro, *sā* ti sunakho, *otukan* ti bilāro, *mā* ti indu<sup>27</sup>, *yā* ti mahikā mattikāpuñjo<sup>28</sup>, undati khanatī ti *undūro*<sup>29</sup>, susu-saddam nadatī *sunakho*, sāmikam suṇatī ti *sunakho*, bilāyam saddam rātī ti *bilāro*, vivegena satte lāti gañhātī ti *bilāro*, mahiyam setī ti *mahimso* (As 62, 26), mahiyam ravatī ti vā *mahikā*. Sā aja-paccatthikā, otukam ākhu-paccatthikā, meghā aggi-paccatthikā, itthi isinam paccatthikā, mā yā-paccatthikā cā ti sambandho. Sesam uttānattham eva, attho pi suviññeyyo vā ti. Idam gāthābandham sandhicchedapakāsanatthāya katan ti adhippāyo.

Iti sandhikappass' atthavaṇṇanam paṭhamam.

(§5) Evam paramavicittasandhikaṇḍam dassetvā idāni nāmakaṇḍabhedam dassetum āha: *buddho* ty ādi. Buddho ti buddha-saddo, puma-saddo, yuvā-saddo, santa-saddo, rāja-saddo, brahma-saddo, sakha-saddo yathākkamam<sup>30</sup> etesam va sā cha anto pume yeva hotī (cf. vss. 7bc) ti veditabbā. Nibbacanam pan' ettha kattabbam eva. Bujjhati uccāriyati ti *buddho*, buddha-saddo. Sesam vicāretvā viggaho kātabbo. Buddho ca pumo ca yuvo ca santo ca rājā ca brahmā ca sakhā cā ti samāhāradvando kātabbo. Ca-saddo pan' ettha samuc-cayattho adhippeto. Yati-saddo ca ādi-saddo ca dehī-saddo ca jantu-saddo ca satthu-saddo ca pitu-saddo ca abhibhū-saddo ca vidū-saddo cā ti, pume yeva hontī ti daṭṭhabbā. Cha

antā nāma a-kāranta, ā-kāranta, ī-kāranta, u-kāranta, ū-kāranta, o-kāranta sañkhātā honti.

(§6) Evam pumalingādibhedaṁ dassetvā itthiliṅgādibhedaṁ dasseto āha: *kaññā* ty ādi. Tāsam pi pa[da]cchedo tāva kaññā, ammā, ratti, itthī, pokkharaṇī, nadī, ūrū, mātu, bhū kātabbo. Attho ca viggaho ca pākaṭo yeva. *Itthiyam eva pañca antā* honti (cf. vss. 7d), yathā: ā-kāranta, ī-kāranta, u-kāranta, ū-kāranta, o-kāranta sañkhātā pañca antā nāma. Evam itthiliṅgādibhedaṁ dassetvā idāni napuṁsakaliṅgam dasseto āha: *napuṁsake* ty ādi. Tiyantam eva napuṁsakaliṅgā bhavanti, pada, kamma, dadhi, āyuvasesa viññāyatī ti. *Eva-saddo pan' ettha sanniṭṭhāpako adhippeto.*<sup>31</sup> *Tiyantā ti-anta.* 'Jinavacanayuttam hi' (Kacc 52); 'Liṅgañ ca nippajjate' (Kacc 53); 'Tato ca vibhattiyo' ty (Kacc 54) ādi sutte adhikicca 'Jhalānam i-y-u vā sare vā' ti (Kacc 70) suttena i-kārassa iy-ādesaṁ katvā, 'Pubbam adho' ty (cf. Kacc 10) ādi suttena, 'Saralopo' ty (cf. Kacc 83) ādi suttena, 'Naye param yutte' (Kacc 11) suttena rūpasiddhi veditabbo.

A-kāranta, ī-kāranta, u-kāranta, o-kāranta sañkhātā pi antā napuṁsakaliṅge honti (cf. vss. 7d). Vuttam pi c' etam:

Antā pumamhi raso <sup>32</sup> ca	usu ca itthiliṅgikam
napuṁsake tiyantā va	tepiṭakesu saññitā.
na vijjant' ettha sensā ca	sandeham mā kare budho
	ti ( ? ).

Attho pana tissāya siddho hotī ti.

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

'Tisamghāni ca ante ca  
sataṁ dālhā itthiyām hi  
tepiṭakesu vijjanti  
antaṭṭhānena pi neyya      pume syādi vibhattiyo  
atṭhasataṁ napumṣake  
na ūnaṁ adhikam pi vā  
gahitā gahaṇena cā' ti ( ? )

(§8) Evam pumādiliṅgabhedāñ ca dassetvā idāni vibhat-  
tilopapadhānaṁ dassento āha: *padhānā* ty ādi. Avayave na  
sahavattatī ti *sabbam*, nāmañ ca nāmañ ca nāmāni, sabbañ ca  
tam nāmañ cā ti *sabbanāmam*. Samasanaṁ *samāso*, tesam  
hitam *taddhitam*, sabbanāmañ ca samāso ca taddhitañ cā ti  
dvando. *Sabbanāmasamāsataddhitasaṅkhātā padhānaliṅ-*  
*gānugatā* eva bhavanti. *Atiliṅgā* tiliṅgavirahito ty attho. Ādi-  
saddena upasaggādīnaṁ saṅgayhati, *syādayo* vibhattiyo tato  
*nipāta*-upasaggatṭhānato honti. *Luttā eva siddhā* ti eva-saddo  
sannitṭhāpako adhippeto. *Go* ti go-saddo, anta-virahito go-  
saddo atthapadhānasaṅkhātō saddo *siddhā*<sup>33</sup> yeva *suttena*  
*anurūpato* ti go-saddo dasa vācako hoti:

Go-saddo sagga-ramśisu      vajirānunevādisu<sup>34</sup>  
dassane nayanantesu<sup>35</sup>      pasumhi vacane bhuvī ti ( ? )<sup>36</sup>

Sesam pana vattabbam eva n' atthī ti.

Iti nāmakappass' athavaṇṇanam dutiyam.

(§§9–10) Evam vicittanāmakaṇḍam dassetvā idāni kāra-  
kakaṇḍam dassento *cha kārake* ty ādi. *Cha kārakesū* ti *cha*  
*kārakesu* *samāso hoti*, *sāmismim* pana yathārahām ti daṭ-  
ṭhabbam. *Kattu-kamma-sampadāna-okāsa-sāmi ca taddhito*  
ti gotta-taddhitādayo *sambhavanti*.

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

Karaṇam *kāro*, *kāro* eva *kārako*. Gamanapacanādikam  
kriyam karoti nipphādetī ti *kārako*. *Cha* eva *kārako* *cha-*

*kārako*. Tesu sam̄ dhanam̄ assa atthī ti *sāmī*. Tasmim̄ samasanañ *saṁśāso*, saddo samāsīyatī ti samāso attho. Sammā anurūpā bhavantī ti *sambhavā*. Karotī ti *kattā*, karīyate tam̄ ti *kammañ*, sam̄ suṭṭhum̄ ādadāti gaṇhātī ti *sampadānam̄*. Okāsam̄ viya ācikkhatī ti *okāso*, sahavattatī ti *sāmī*. Taddhitañ ca kattu ca kammañ ca sampadānañ ca okāsañ ca sāmī cā ti *dvando*. Sādhetabba sādhanam̄ ti eva *sādhanam̄*. Ācikkhatī ti *ākhyāto*. Vibhattiyo kitetabbādikā paccayā. *Cha kārakesū* ti vattabbe chandānurakkhanaththam̄ ū-kārassa rassam̄<sup>37</sup> katvā ti veditabbam̄.

Sabbapadesu *pathamā* yeva hontī ti *vutte* samāsataddhitā-khyātakitakehi dutiyā ca na bhavitabbam̄. Kasmā? Samāsa-taddhitākhyātakitakādīhi *na vutte dutiyādi* yathārahām̄ eva hoti.

Vutte kammādisāmismiñ  
na vutte ca bhavant' aññā  
ti vuttam̄. liṅgatthe pathamā siyā  
dutīya anurūpato  
(Cf. Bālāvatāra vss. 359)<sup>38</sup>

Attho pana suvijānitabbam̄ eva.

(§11) Tad anantaram̄ eva kāraka<sup>39</sup> sambandham̄ katvā āha: *manasā* ty ādi. *Vuttyā* ti vuttinā, *vatṭā* ti *samsāravaṭṭā*, *vivatṭan* ti *vipañcītukāmassa*<sup>40</sup>, *bhāvanan* ti *kasiṇaparikammādīhi* vaḍḍhanam̄. Tattha viggaho kātabbo. Monam̄ vuccati ñāṇam̄, monam̄ assa atthī ti *muni*. Ko so bhagavā, tassa vaṇṇitabbe *vaṇṇite*. *Vane* vatṭati, punappunañ nibbattatī ti *vatṭā*, *samsārā* visesena vatṭati kammañ muñcatī ti *vatṭam*<sup>41</sup>. Tasmā bhīyati dassatī ti *bhūto*, ko so bhikkhu; chinnabhin-napaṭam̄ dhāretī ti *bhikkhu*; *samsārabhayañ* ikkhati passatī ti vā *bhikkhu*; kilese bhindatī ti vā *bhikkhu*, bhikkhati yācatī ti vā *bhikkhu*. Bhāveti punappunañ vaḍḍhetī ti *bhāvanā*, *kasiṇaparikammādikam̄*. *Samsāro* nāma kin ti, khandha-dhātu-āyatanānam̄ abbocchinnam̄ pavattattā *samsāro* ti. Ten' āha:

Khandhānañ ca paṭipāti  
abbocchinnam̄ pavattattā dhātu-āyatanāna ca  
samsāro ti pavuccati [ti]  
(Vism 544 = Vibh-a 149).<sup>42</sup>

Evaṁ vutta saṁsaravaṭṭam nāma *manasā bhāvanam muninā* vutte *vanṇite*, *buddhena vanṇite vane bhāveti vattavivatṭam* bhāveti *bhūto bhikkhū* ti yojanā. Tass ' attho channam kārakānam eva siddhantā dasseti. Katham ? Bhikkhu kat-tukārakam, bhāva[nam] kammakārakam, vutyā karapakārakam<sup>43</sup>, vaṭṭā apādānakārakam, vane okāsakārakañ cā ti dasseti. Manasā munino vutyā ti gāthābandhena channam kārakānam siddhantā dasseti. Attho ca suviññeyyo va.

Iti kārakakappass' atthavaṇṇanam tatīyam.

(§§12–13) Evaṁ nayavicitakārakakaṇḍam dassetvā idāni samāsakanḍaṁ ārabhanto āha: *rāsi dvipadikā* ty ādi. Tathā *rāsi* ti saṅkhyāvacano, dvisattatī ti vuttam hoti. *Dvandā* ti dvandasamāsā dvipadikā rāsi, bahubbihisamāsā *tulyādhikarāṇā* eva *liṅgena ca vacanena* ca vibhāttinā honti. *Khemayu* satapañcadvedasa kammadhārayasamāsādayo saṅkham visati digu-abyayībhāvasamāsā ca *hārā* atṭhavīsatī. Tattha *dvipadikā dvandā* ti dve padāni dvedvenā vā *dvandā*. Dvandasadisattā ayam pi samāso dvando ti vuccati. Līnam aṅgam *liṅgam*, liṅgam viyā *tiliṅgam*. Vuccate anenā ti *vacanam*. Ca-saddo atṭhānapayogo. Tulyam samānam adhikaraṇam attho yassa tam *tulyādhikarāṇam*. Bahavo vīhayo yassa so *bahubbīhi*, *bahubbīhi* sadisattā ayam pi samāso *bahubbīhi* ti vuccati.

Tassa puriso *tappuriso*, tappuriso viyā ti *tappuriso*, tap-purisadisattā ayam pi samāso *tappuriso* ti vuccati. Uttar-apadatthapadhāno *tappuriso* ti vuttattā. Kammam iva dvayam dhāretī ti *kammadhārayo*, yathākammañ kriyañ ca payojanañ ca dvayam dhāreti. Tathā ayam samāso ekass<sup>44</sup> atthassa dve nāmāni dhāretī ti adhippāyo.

Diguṇo ca te gavo<sup>45</sup> cā ti dvegavo *digu*, saṅkhyāpubbana-puṁsake kattasaṅkhātehi dvīhi lakkhaṇehi gato avagato ti *digu*, digusadisattā ayam pi samāso *digū* ti vuccati.

Byayam bhavantī ti *byayībhāvā*, byayībhāvānam paṭipak-kho ti *abyayībhāvo*. Abyayānam atthe vibhāvayantī ti vā *abyayībhāvo*, vināsanavasena anayanti pavattantī ti vā *abyayam*. Upasagganipātāpadadvayam vuttañ ca:

Na byaso tīsu liṅgesu

sabbāsu ca vibhātīsu

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

Abyayānam attham bhāvetī ti *abyayībhāvo*. Vuttañ ca:

Sadisam tīsu liñgesu sabbāsu<sup>46</sup> ca vibhattīsu,  
vacanesu ca sabbesu yam na byeti tad *abyayan*  
ti ( ? )

Tīhi liñgehi yo yasmā vibhattīhi<sup>47</sup> ca sattahi  
byayam na pāpuñatī ti abyayībhāvā ti kittito.

Sayam katañ makkatiko<sup>48</sup> va jālanti ettha pana dve pañipātiyā atthassa gahetabbattā abyayatthavibhāvanā n' atthī ti sayam katan ti samāso abyayībhāvo na hoti. Tathā pubbapadatthapadhāno abyayībhāvo. Keci pana: abyayātthapubbañgamattā anabyayam bhavatī ti *abyayībhāvo* ti pi vadanti. Ayam pana amhākañ khanti ruci. Abyayatthapubbañgamattā anabyayam pi padam ekadesena abyayam bha-vati etthā ti *abyayībhāvo*. Ettha ca ekadesaggahañam 'ko 'yam majjhe samuddasmin' ti ( ? ) imāya pāliyā sameti, samuddassa majjhe, majjhe samuddasmin ti hi viggaho. Attho pana samuddassa majjhe icc eva yojetabbam. Abyayībhāvo nāma du[vi]dhā nāmapubbapadam abyayapubbapadañ cā ti. Tattha gāmapati nagarapati ty ādīsu nāmapadapubbapado ti, upanagaram upagañgan ty ādīsu abyayapubbapadañ cā ti. Vuttañ ca:

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

Abyayībhāvo satta vibhattīhi vattati. Tam yathā: yāni yāni phalānī ti yathāphalam, pathamā abyayībhāvo; sotam anuvattate [ti] anusotam, dutiyā; jīvassa parimāñe na tiñthate [ti] yāvajīvam, tatīyā; saddhāya upeto [ti] upasaddham, catutthī; guñato uddham [ti] uddhamguñam, pañcamī; nagarassa anto [ti] antonagaram, chañthī,; itthiyam adhikicca<sup>49</sup> [ti] adhitthi, sattamī abyayībhāvo nāmā ti veditabbo. Abyayībhāvo nāma niccāniccavasena duvidho vā ekavidho vā ti codanā. Abyayībhāvo nāma aññapadassa viggahattā pubbapadhāno apara-padhāno ti ce, pubbapadhāno ti parihāro. Tathā nicco, so abyayībhāvo saññāvasena dīpito. Eko padhāno abyayībhāvo

pubbapadaṭṭhānam<sup>50</sup> kiṃ payojanam. Payojanam pana vit-thārena saddasaththantesu hoti. Idha pana saṃkhittena vuttam. Vuttañ ca:

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

(§14) Evam gambhīrasamāsakaṇḍam dassetvā idāni taddhitakappam ārabhanto āha 'Kaccādito' ty ādi. Kaccāyana-gottādito niyamam niyamanam eva, vinā vajjetvā anekatthe sati, sabbe taddhitapaccayā ḥādayo honti eva niyamanam na hoti. Tatth' ādi-saddena Vāsudevagottādayo. Api-saddena taraty-ādi-taddhitādayo saṅgayhati<sup>51</sup>. Gottataddhitā nāma kin tam ti. Vāsiṭha, Gotama, Kaccāyana, Aggivessana, Moggallān'-Ukatta,<sup>52</sup> Vāsudeva, Vaccha<sup>53</sup>, Nārā[ya]na<sup>54</sup>, ukkaṭṭha<sup>55</sup>-majjhimahinakāṇhādisaṅkhātehi jātigottataddhitādi daṭṭhabbā.<sup>56</sup> Gottataddhite aṭṭha paccayā honti, yathā ḥa, ḥāyana, ḥāna, ḥeyya, ḥi, ḥika, ḥera, ḥava iti 'me aṭṭha veditabbā<sup>57</sup>. Taratyāditaddhite cattāro, ten' āha:

Dve paccayāni ekā va vikappādiggahaṇena	dvīsu suttesu vattate vuttā ḥikānikā duve ti (Sj 446cd, 447ab). <sup>58</sup>
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Rāgataddhite eko, ten' āha:

Rāgāditaddhite eko saṅkhepen' eva jāneyya	paccayo sa-ḥa-kārako anekatthesu sodhito [ti] (ab = Sj 447cd). <sup>59</sup>
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Jātataddhite cha paccayā honti, ten' āha:

Suttēna <sup>60</sup> iminā c' eva kiyo cāpi ca saddena	im'-iy'-ik'-ādiggahaṇena ca (cha) jātyā honti paccayā ti (Sj 448). <sup>61</sup>
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Samūhataddhite tayo paccayā honti, eko tā-paccayo liṅgattayesu vattati. Ten' āha:

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

Thānataddhite eko, ten' āha:

Iyo so paccayo eko  
saddasatthe iya, eyya vattati thānataddhite  
te vidhanavīcārīti  
(Sj 450).<sup>64</sup>

Upamātaddhite eko, ten' āha:

Upamātaddhite eko  
saddasatthe idha viya āyitattam pavattati  
therena na katā idhā ti  
(Sj 451).<sup>65</sup>

Nissite py eko<sup>66</sup> va paccayo, saddasatthantare pana dve ti.  
Ten' āha:

Nissite paccayā dvidhā  
ne eko paccayo eva lottha aññattha vattate  
Kaccāyane<sup>67</sup> na dīpito [ti]  
(cf. Sj 452).<sup>68</sup>

Bahulataddhite py eko<sup>66</sup> va saddasatthe pana tayo, yathā:

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

Setṭha-taddhite pañca paccayā, yathā:

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

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

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

Pakatitaddhite eko va, vuttañ ca:

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

Pūraṇataddhite pañca, saddasatthe pana satta, ten' āha:

Pūraṇe paccayā pañca  
pūraṇatthe pavattanti  
tha, ma, a-paccayā sabbe

ima, tṭha, ttā, tiye pi ca  
ñātabbo taddhitesinā  
therena [na] katā idhā ti.  
(ab, cd = Sj 456).<sup>74</sup>

Saṅkhyātaddhite eko va paccayo. Vuttañ ca:

Saṅkhyāya taddhite eko  
vīsatī vīsataddhitam

paccayo ko ti dīpito,  
tass' odāharaṇam matañ ti  
(ab = Sj 457 ab).<sup>75</sup>

Lopādesāgamāvuddhi<sup>76</sup>  
ñeyyo<sup>77</sup> satthānusārena

saṅkhyāne pakatīhi ca  
aññatra vividhā katā ti ( ? ).

Vibhāgataddhite dve, saddasatthe pana tayo, yath' āha:

Suttēna paccayo vutto  
so paccayo vibhāgato  
saddasatthe vidham vutto

vibhāge dhā vibhāgato  
ca-saddena pakāsito  
vibhāgo ca vibhāgato ti ( ? ).<sup>78</sup>

Ime pannarasa taddhitāni. Sesā nidhanatti<sup>79</sup> nāñavatā  
saddasatthesu gahetabban ti *Kaccādito* ti etena gottataddhite  
sādhanatthan ti dasseti. *Apī* ti padena sabbataddhite sādhetī  
ti dasseti. Attho pana suviññeyyo.

Iti taddhitakappass' athavaṇṇanam pañcamam.

(§§15–16) Evam paracittanayagambhīrataddhitakaṇḍam  
dassetvā idāni ākhyātakaṇḍam ārabhanto 'yam ācariyo āha:  
'kattarī' ty ādi. Kattarī ti kattusmīm, sabb' ete payogā pañca  
dhātumhi honti, nāññāthā. Satta satam te payogā pana  
kamme yeva honti, tathā nāññāthā. Bhāve payogā vipavat-  
tanti, merayā satavīsapañcādhika saṅkhyāvacano. Pañca  
dhātumhi payogā honti, saṅkhepena saṅkhittena, maruma-  
yam sahassa pañcasatavīsapañcādhika saṅkhyāvacane,  
gamumhi<sup>80</sup> payogā pana tiguṇā tīhi guṇitā honti. Etto  
pañcadhātuto sambhavānurūpam gahetabbam eva. Te ca  
payogā aññathā dhātusū anantā aparimāṇā eva. Ādesapac-  
cayādīhi<sup>81</sup> sambhavantī ti. Ettā vatā payogā pañcadhātumhi  
gaṇanavasena marūmayam aññadhātūsu pi yebhuyyena

pavattantā na gaṇitabbā. *Rūpasiddhipakarāṇam* oloketvā gahetabbam. Sesavacanam eva vattabbaṇ n' atthī ti. Attho pana supākaṭo.

Iti ākhyātakappass' atthavaṇṇanam chatṭham.

(§17) Evam ākhyātakanḍam dassetvā idāni kitakappam dassento āha: *kitādī* ty ādi. *Sabbe paccayā kitādi<sup>82</sup> ekadhātuto siyūm*. Anurūpato<sup>83</sup> yathāsambhavato *satta sādhane sati* pi pāyato yebhuyyena pavattanti, ettha ādi-saddena kitakiccapaccayā saṅgayhanti<sup>84</sup>. *Api*-saddena dhātusādhanāni saṅgayhanti.<sup>84</sup> Kito ādiye sante ti *kitādayo*. Paṭicca etasmā ti *paccayo*. Kitādi eva paccayā *kitādipaccayā*. Saha avayavena vattati ti *sabbam*, payati yebhuyyena pavattatī ti *pāyo*. Pāya-saddo bāhullavācako, yebhuyyenā ti attho. Ye paccayā bāhullena kattari pavattanti, te kitā nāma. Ye paccayā bāhullena bhāvakammesu<sup>85</sup> vattanti, te kiccā nāma. Ye paccayā sabbesu vattanti, te kitakiccā nāma. Vuttañ c' etam:

Tayo ca paccayā ūneyyā  
kitakiccañāmañ ca  
Kitakā kattari ūneyyā  
kitakiccā tu sabbattha

kitakā kiccañāmañ ca  
saddasatthe pakāsitā.  
bhāvakammesu kiccañā  
yebhuyyena pavattare ti ( ? ).

Kitapaccayā nāma kiñ tanti pucchā. Vuttañ h' etam:

᳚nu,<sup>86</sup> ro, ṣa, ka, ta, ti, tu ca  
tuna, tvāna c' ime tera-  
anīyo,<sup>89</sup> tabba, ṣyo, ricca,  
te kiccāpaccayā nāma  
No ca yu kvi ca rammo ca  
ṭṭha, rāṭṭha, āni,<sup>91</sup> a, nu, kā  
kitapaccayā terasa  
kitakiccā pannarasa

tāve,<sup>87</sup> i, anta, māna, tum,  
se kitapaccayā<sup>88</sup> siyūm.  
ririya, kha sabbapaccayā  
ñātabbā paccayesinā.  
᳚nu,<sup>90</sup> ᳚nu, tu, āvī idha a  
pannarasa kitakiccā ti  
(cf. Sj 483–96, Kacc-bh 169–72).  
cha honti kiccapaccayā  
catutīmsa samūhato ti ( ? ).<sup>92</sup>

Saddasatthantare pana kitakiccabhedena dvedhā vuttā ti. Tathā pi lakkhaṇavasena vuttan ti daṭṭhabbam. Kitādī ti etena kita-kicca-kitakiccyaye sādhetī ti dasseti. *Api* ti padena satta<sup>93</sup> sādhana vuttarūpam<sup>94</sup> ti dasseti. Adhippāyo pana ativiya pākaṭo yeva.

Iti kitakappass' atthavaṇṇanam sattamam.

(§18–20) [Evaṁ kitakanḍam] dassetvā idāni attanā kattabbassa pakaraṇassa guṇam dassetum *iminā kiñci lesena* ti ādi āraddhaṁ. Sabbe *payogā* pana *ekena bindunā nāñinā* kula-puttena nāñena samannāgatā *saddāraññe* saddasañkhātē āraññe<sup>95</sup> *jināgame* vihitā *sakkā*<sup>96</sup> nātum pañitum, *binduraso*<sup>97</sup> bindurasa-upalakkhito vegena sīghagamanena, *iminā kiñci lesena* iminā upāyena te payoge jānitvāna<sup>98</sup> sīgham<sup>99</sup> pavesāya *puram*<sup>100</sup> piñkasankhātam puram [*rammam*] ramitabbam nānā nayehi *maggo* upāyo *ujumaggam tam* kulaputtānam *maggam* upāyam visodhito mayā ti adhippāyo. Nānānayena *saddāraññe* ti yojanā. Patisaraṇam karotī ti *pañikam*, pañi-visum vā karotī ti *pañikam*, patisaraṇam kariyati etehī ti vā pañikam, pañikam viyā ti pañikam. 'Tisu vuddhī'<sup>101</sup> ti (Kacc 404) ādinā suttena pañika-saddassa piñkādeso hotī ti kate rūpam. Saññiyate saññī, piñkā ti saññī piñkasaññī,<sup>102</sup> piñkasaññī eva piñkasaññī<sup>102</sup>, piñkasaññī yassa tam piñkasaññitam, tassa bhāvo *piñkasaññitam*.<sup>103</sup>

Iti GANTHASĀRAM<sup>104</sup> SADDABINDUVINIC-  
CHAYAM samattam.

Yo thūpathūpo va dhiro  
samāno<sup>105</sup>  
vasīhi katehi anekanekā  
suvaṇṇapaṭehi acchādayitvā  
āvhayitabbo<sup>109</sup> va nāma  
Yonanagare<sup>111</sup> abhi-  
laddhābhisekho<sup>112</sup> PHUSSA-  
DEVA-tthero<sup>113</sup>  
Tam thūpathūpavaram  
nissaya TĪKAM  
SADDASSA BINDU-  
vivaraṇattham

jinassa dhātu  
patiñṭhānabhūto<sup>106</sup>  
kārāpayante HARIPUÑ-  
JAYASMIM<sup>107</sup>  
harissaramsīhi<sup>108</sup> jajjalamāno  
nānātta so nayena āvuto.<sup>110</sup>  
visuddhasilo samaṇānam indo  
rājādhirājino ti pūjayitvā.  
karonto HARIPUÑ-  
JAYASMIM  
sethassa gantham  
GANTHASĀRAsāri.

Evam saddanayagambhire

ganthā saddhānaddhiyā sattasu  
dhammatoatibhayisāyam<sup>114</sup> GANTHA-  
SĀRASĀRAMsotunam uttama<sup>116</sup> tipiṭaka  
jānanaṁ<sup>117</sup>Tasmā yeva ca dhirā  
nipuṇā<sup>118</sup>  
sumana<sup>119</sup> patipakaram  
vārayeyyammandapaññā ca ye etam  
vasocitte<sup>120</sup> te 'bhiññātavārā.Pamuditahadayānam  
sattupamegaveyyam acchambha  
sīlavutti<sup>121</sup>sadhusiparasati sihā-  
dhūre sabbaṅgasampanne  
ramme sādhujanākiṇhe  
vaḍḍhane sabbavatthūhi  
nagare gocaram katvā  
vasissāmi āham etthanādaṁ nāññoye deyyuṁ<sup>122</sup>  
HARIPUÑJAYA<sup>122</sup> nāmake  
janasutanisevite  
rājasetṭhanivāsite  
ārāme RAMMA nāmake  
TĪKĀYAM racitā mayā ti.Iti bhaddanta SIRISADDHAMMAKITTI-MAHĀ-  
PHUSSADEVAttherena<sup>123</sup> racito GANTHASĀRO nāma<sup>124</sup>  
niṭṭhito, paripuṇo, samatto.Devaloke manusse vā  
sabbesaṁ pavaro hutvā  
Manussalābhām laddhāham  
sarūpo nāñasampannosaṁsaranto punappunaṁ  
nāñatikkhaṁ labhām' aham  
virūpo mā bhave mama  
pahomi piṭakattaye.

SADDABINDUTĪKĀ niṭṭhitā.

*Notes to the Introduction*

1 siglum CPD Epil, see bibliography.

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

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

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

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

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

4 siglum Piṭ-sm, see bibliography.

5 CPD 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3 respectively

6 The two Burmese printed books mentioned as 'Saddā nay 14, Rangoon 1281 B.E.' and 'Saddā-nay nisya, Rangoon 1284 B.E.' were most likely published by Praññā-kri<sup>3</sup> manduin, the *Nissaya* being identical with N1 used for this edition. Mon Nñvan<sup>1</sup> Mon (1975) § 415 states that another

*Nissaya* publication was issued in 5 fascicles by Kavi-myak mhan Press between 1898 and 1904 and reprinted in 1923 (approximately). The order of texts differs from the issue by Praññ-kri<sup>3</sup> manduñ Press; the *Ganthalīthi Nissaya* is replaced by the *Nissaya* of the *Rūpabhedapakāsanī*.

- 7 These two anthologies are used as P and N2 for this edition. In Be 1954 the order of texts is slightly different. The first nine texts are the same. Next come *Vācakopadesa* (CDP 5.4.12), *Kaccāyanabheda* (CDP 5.4.13), *Kārikā* (CDP 5.4.14), *Ganthābharaṇa* (CDP 5.4.10). Then follows *Ganthalīthipakarana* (CDP 5.4.11) in two versions, both with the serial number 14 but distinguished as *Cullaganthalīthipakarana* and *Mahāganthalīthipakarana* in the preface (*Ichchāsayanidānam* p. kha). The editors state that the larger text (101 prose items) is actually a subcommentary on the shorter text (36 prose items). Apparently CDP 5.4.11 refers to the larger text. The last text (serial number 15) is *Rūpabhedapakāsanī* by Nñon-kan Charāto<sup>2</sup> U<sup>3</sup> Cakkinda, also known as U<sup>3</sup> Budh (1787–1842 A.D.).
- 8 CPD lists Sinhalese prints for the two texts written in Sri Lankā and several works written in Burma, i.e. the *Vibhattyattha*, and subsidiary works on *Ganthābharaṇa*, *Kaccāyanabheda*, and *Kārikā*. *Sannayas* for *Sambandhacintā* and *Kaccāyanabheda* are also mentioned.
- 9 The text is mentioned in Gv 64,4 (*Kyacvā-rañño Saddabindu nāma pakaranañ . . . akāsi*) and 73,28 (*Saddabindupakaranañ . . . attano matiyā Kyacvā nāma raññā katā*), Sās 76, 25, Pit-sm § 409, PLB 25, Bode (JPTS 1908) p. 99, Bode (JPTS 1894–96) p. 79. Bode (l.c.) and Franke (PGL 55) state that King Kya-cvā's preceptor is regarded as author by some sources (PGL 55: *Rājaguruthera*). This view is apparently based on a faulty reading in Gv 73,28 (Ee 1886, M: *dhammarājassa gurunā aññatarācariya katam*); cf. Bode (JPTS 1894–95) p. 79, note 1. Sās 76, 11–77, 6 and Pit-sm § 289 (s.v. *Pa:amatthabindu*) give some details on King Kya-cvā. He was the son of King Jeyyasiñkha, and took the title of *Dhammarāja*. His name Kya-cvā is regarded as a derivation from the Burmese word *kya-na-cvā* because he was extremely well versed in the Tipiṭaka (Sās 76, 13–16: . . . *Jeyyasiñkhanāmakassa rañño putto Kyacvā nāmako rājā rajjam kāresi. Dhammarājā ti pi nāma lañcham pañgganhi. Tisu pana piñakesu yathābhūtam vijānakataya Marammavoharena Kya-cvā* (so read) *ti vohāriyati*).
- 10 Fausböll (JPTS 1894–96 pp. 49–50, § 162) describes a manuscript of this subcommentary in the India Office Library and gives the text of the prologue and the terminal title with the author's name. The subcommentary is called *Saddabindūtikāpakarana* and the author Sirisaddhammakitti-Mahāphussadevathera (cf. PLG 55). The title *Saddabindūvinicchya* is mentioned by Bode (PLB 25 note 4). The title *Ganthalīsāro* is found in T used for this edition.
- 11 The Burmese printed edition refers to the author as Sirisaddhammakittimahāphussarevathero both on the title page and in the terminal title. The verses in the colophon call him Phussar(!)evatthera.
- 12 Haribhūñja (or Labhuñja, Sās 48, 21 foll.) is sometimes identified with Chiangmai (so Sās 49,5), but see Likhit Likhitananda (1980), pp. 64 foll. Haripuñja is the older capital of the Mons which was captured by the Northern Thais, while Chiangmai was founded by them as their new capital.
- 13 Likit Likhitananda (1980) p. 72 describes the author as a contemporary of Nānakitti, the author of several *Yojanā-s*, who was a junior

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

14 T vss. 3cd: *porānehi katānekā santi yā pana vannanā*. A subcommentary by King Kya-cvā himself is mentioned in Piṭ-sm § 410 (cf. CPD 5.4.5,1).

15 So Likhit Likhitananda (1980) p. 72

16 from 1578–1774 (Likhit Likhitananda (1980) p. 66).

17 cf. Pit-sm § 966 and Mon Nñvan<sup>1</sup> Mon (1975) § 415. The date is based on Lha Šamin (1961) p. ba.

### Notes to *Saddabindu*

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

### Notes to subcommentary

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

36 cf. Ekakkharakosa 24–25

go gone thi pume sese

sagge vajire vācāyam

gītari khandhe gandhabbe

īse surassati-disāyañ ca

pumindriye jale kare

bhumyam nāñe ca sūriye

cande dukkhe sugāyane

go-saddo samudīrito.

and Abhidhānapadīpikātikā (ad Abh 495 goṇo go)

sagge kare ca vajire

thī sorabheyyi nett'-ambu-

balibaddhe ca go pumā

disā-vacana-bhūmisu.

37 Ny lopam

38 source slightly different

39 so Ny; T kāraṇa

40 Ny vimuccitu<sup>o</sup>

41 Ny vivattam

42 source slightly different

43 T -kāraṇam

44 so Ny; T etassa

45 so Ny; T Diguvo cā ti

46 T sabbesu

56 Cf. Sj 443–444:

Vāsittho Gotamo c' eva

Moggallāyano 'cc ādi ca

Vāsudevo ca Vaccho ca

majjhimo kañhādi gottam

47 metrical passage (Ny); T vibhatti

48 Ny -tako

49 T -kicca

50 Ny pubbapadapadhānam

51 Ny -anti

52 Ny Sakata

53 T -ā

54 T Narana

55 so Ny; T aggaṭṭha

Kaccāno Aggivessāno

uttamo ti pavuccati.

Nārāyano Sākaṭo pi

hīno nāmā ti vuccate.

57 cf. Sj 445:

ño nāyano ca nāño ca

ni ca niko ca aṭṭh' ete

Cf. also Kacc 344–349.

neyyo nero nāo pi ca

apecca honti paccayā.

58 cf. Kacc 350, 351; Sj 447: ḥika, ḥiya

59 Kacc 352: ḥa

60 Kacc 353

61 ima, iya, ika, kiya

62 T pi

63 Kacc 354: kañ, ḥa Kacc 355: tā

64 Kacc 356: iyo, iya, eyya

65 āyitatta

66 so Ny' T byako

67 so Ky; T -yana, cf. Kacc 358

68 lo, ḥe

69 Kacc 359: ālu, āluko

70 tara, tama, isika, iya, itṭha;

cf. Kacc 363 and Sj 454

71 cf. vī ca, ī, sī, ika, ra, vantu,

mantu, ḥa, iyā; (Kacc 364–370)

72 so Ny; T -tabba

73 Kacc 372: maya

74 Kacc 373–374, 384–385: i, ma,

tt̄ha, ttā, tiya, tha, ma, a

75 Kacc 378: ti

76 so Ny; T lopādesog-

77 T ḥo yyo

78 Kacc 397: dhā sa

79 taddhitatthinā ? (Ny)

80 so P; T gemumi

81 so P; T ādese paccayādi pi

82 Ny kitādi

83 so Ny; T anurūpagato

84 so Ny; T -ati

85 so Ny; T -dhammesu

86 so Ny; T ḥo

87 so Ny; T tāva

88 T tapaccayā

89 so Ny; T aniyō

90 so Ny; T sva

90 so Ny; T tu, ratthu

91 so Ny; T tu, ratthu

92 terasa kitapaccayā:

ṇvu (Kacc ), ro (Kacc 534–535, 538–539), na (Kacc 524, 528–529),  
 ka (Kacc ), ta (Kacc 555–557), ti (Kacc 552), tu (Kacc ), tāvē  
 (Kacc ), i (Kacc 551), anta, māna, tum (Kacc 565), tuna, tvāna  
 (Kacc 564);

cha kiccapaccayā:

aniyo tabba (Kacc 540), ḥyo (Kacc 541), ricca (Kacc 542), ririya (Kacc 554), kha (Kacc 560);

pannarasa kitakiccapaccayā:

ṇo (Kacc ), ca (Kacc ), yu (Kacc 533, 547–548), kvi (Kacc 530),  
 rammo (Kacc 531), nu (Kacc ), ḣvu, tu, āvi (Kacc 527), ṭha, ratthu,  
 ini, a, nu, kā (Kacc 566).

93 T sattā

99 so Ny; T sikkhā

94 ?

100 so P; T rūpam

95 so Ny; T -sangahe aññe

101 Kacc 404: tesu vuddilopāgama-  
 vikāraviparitādesā ca

96 so P; T sattā

102 T repeats

97 P sindhuraso

98 so Ny, T jānitāna

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

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

(§20) *dhammena dhammānurūpam, sobbhipatinā (vā sabbhapatinā)*  
 sahasamuddena pathavite issarena, *paratthanipaken' eva* paresam  
 atthahitāvahē nipuṇena, *gurunāmakena* gurūhi dinna-(Kya-cvā ti)-  
 nāmakena, *dhammarājā* dhammarājena, *Kaccāyanuttaratane*-Kaccā-  
 yanācariyena utta-(kathita)-saddanaya-atthanayasankhātehi ratanehi  
 sampunne, *cittagabbhakone* vicitragabbhassa, ovarakassa koṇe, ekadese,  
*padipo* dipajālā, *kiñci* thokamattam, *jalito* ujjālito.

105 T samano

114 so Ny; T ti abhayisāyam

106 so Ny; T patipatthāna-

115 T parāganthi-

107 so Ny; T paripañca

116 so Ny; T sotunamattama-

108 T harisaraṇsihi

117 T bhi-

109 so Ny; T avavha-

118 so Ny; T -puṇṇā

110 so Ny; T avatto

119 so Ny; T tumana-

111 T yoha- cf. Sās 48,18–52,3 on  
*Buddhism in Yonakaraṭṭha*

120 so Ny; T paso-

112 so Ny; T laddho

121 T sīhavutti

113 T PHUSSAREVA

122 so Ny; T 'RIPUÑCEYYA

123 so Ny; T ganthasāronodha

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Lha Samin, ဦ<sup>3</sup>: *Mranmā-nuñ-nam ganthavan pugguil-kyo<sup>2</sup>myā<sup>3</sup>at-thuppat*, (Biographies of famous persons in the history of Books in Burma), Rangoon (Hamsāvatī) 1961

Likhit Likhitana: 'The Golden Age of Buddhist Literature in Lanna Thai' (in: *Buddhism in Northern Thailand*, Chiangmai 1980), p. 64–80

Ññvan<sup>1</sup> Mon, Mon: *Kun<sup>3</sup> bhoiñ khet mranmā nissaya myā<sup>3</sup> cā cu cā ran<sup>3</sup>* (Catalogue of Burmese Nissayas belonging to the Kun<sup>3</sup> bhoi Era, 1748–1888), Rangoon 1975, unpublished thesis for the diploma of library science at the University of Rangoon

Trenckner, V., a.o.: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*; Epilegomena to Vol. I by Helmer Smith, Copenhagen 1948 ( = CPD)

Yam, ဦ<sup>3</sup> (Muñ<sup>3</sup>khuiñ<sup>3</sup> mrui<sup>1</sup>cā<sup>3</sup> piñaka-to<sup>2</sup> 'up mañ<sup>3</sup>kri<sup>3</sup> Mahāsiri-jeyyasū): *Piñakat-to<sup>2</sup> samuiñ<sup>3</sup>*, Rangoon (Hamsāvatī) 1959

Gv = *Ganthavañsa*

Kacc-bh = *Kaccāyanabheda*

Sj = *Saddasāratthajālinī*

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

MAINZ

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## THE OLDEST DATED MANUSCRIPT OF THE MILINDAPAÑHA

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

The donor, the *prahyā* Sin, who gave the manuscript to the monastic library (*ham piṭak* corresponding to modern Thai *ho trai*), is unknown, while the place name *Dā Soy* of unknown location<sup>4</sup> occurs more often in colophons of old manuscripts from Wat Lai Hin. Unfortunately, only about half of this valuable manuscript has survived, which, most probably consisted of 15 *phūk* (fasciculi) originally. For the last *phūk* should have been no. 16 (*ha, la*) rather, if the

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

*phūk* 1: folios *ka*–*kaḥ*, *kha*–*khah*

Begins: *namo tassa tthu. milindo nāma so rājā*, 1, 1  
(photo 1)

Ends: *dutiyam pi kho sabbadi[nno]*, 30, 7 (photo 48)

*phūk* 2: folios *ga*–*gah*, *gha*–*ghah*

Begins: *[sabbadi]nno āha(āha ex corr.)gacchatu*,  
30, 7 (photo 48)

Ends: *āñāpeti*, 57, 29 (photo 1)

*phūk* 4: folios *cha*–*chah*, *ja*–*jah*

Begins: *[mahārāja pañcayojanikassa(!) macchassa*,  
85 16 (photo 5!)

Ends: *kanṭhakam niha[r]e[yya]*, 112, 29 (photo 1)  
[om. *na*.]

*phūk* 5: folios *jha*–*jhah*, *ñā*–*ñah*

Begins: *[niha]r[e]yya marañam*, 112, 29 (photo 1)

Ends: *nipatitā yo pi mahā[rāja]*, 137, 11 (photo 48)

*phūk* 6: folios *ṭa*–*ṭah*, *ṭha*–*ṭhah*

Begins: *[mahā]rāja bhagavato*, 137, 11 (photo 1)

Ends: *°vibhūsanābhīrato ti ara[hati]*, 163, 25  
(photo 48)

*phūk* 7: folios *ḍa*–*ḍah*, *ḍha*–*ḍhah*

Begins: *[ara]hati upāsako*, 163, 25 (photo 1)

Ends: *pāñippahāre hattha[cch]e[jjām]*, 193, 17  
(photo 48)

*phūk* 10: folios *dha*–*dhah*, *na*–*nah*

Begins: *sacetā buddhā(!)*, 247, 21 (photo 1)

Ends: *suriyo mandam tapati*, 273, 27 (photo 48)

*phūk* 11: folios *pa*–*paḥ*, *pha*–*phah*

Begins: *ime kho*, 273, 27 (photo 50)

Ends: *so tassa kālo kā[le]*, 302, 2 (photo 1)

*phūk* 15: folios *va*–*vah*, *sa*–*sah* (The pagination is mostly broken away, but still clearly readable in one or two instances).

Begins: *[o]ñamati*, 400, 15 (photo 23)

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

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

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

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

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

1,3 *sāgalānam*; 1,8 *abbhūtā* (always -ū-); 1,11 *bhāsayitvāna*; 1,12 °*vidālāye*; 1,18 °*āndāla*°; 1,19 °*parikhāra*°; 1,21 *sup-pasāditā*° (thus always); 2,2 *bhimagiri*°; 2,7 f. °*vatthābharaṇa-sampannam*; 2,10 °*singādivānija*°; 2,11 °*rajaṭa*° (so always); 2,13 *bahunnapānam*; 2,19 om. *ti*; 2,23 *pubbayoggo*; 2,25 *paṭivasanti*; 2,27 °*āvajjento*; 2,32 om. *bhikkhu*; 3,5 *paṭhamam paṭhamam paṭṭhapesi*; 3,25 *nikumbam*; 3,27 om. *rājā*; 3,28 *samantā yoga*°; 3,30 *niggahitāni*; 3,31 om. *gaṇikā*; 3,32 *yudhā chandā muttā pāvacanena ekavīsatī*; 4,1 *duppāsaho*; 4,3 om. *koci*; 4,4 *addho*; 4,7 °*kāmya*°; 4,8 *senāgaṇam*; 4,13 *saṅgha-gaṇi*; 4,14 *parijāyamāno*; 4,17 *puraṇo* (so always); 4,17 *gosānelā*(!); 4,18 *sañjayo veddhalhappato* (cf. Sn 92, 3 with Pj II 423, 10 foll.); 4,21 foll. *paṭivinassu ti*; 4,24 *bhadūvahanam*; 5,8 *phalavipāko*; 5,27 *kaṁ nu nv*(!) *ajja*; 6,7 *sotuyā*; 6,9 om. *bhikkhu*; 6,32 after *viheṭhetūti* inserted on the lower margin of the page by a second hand: *sabbe pi te bhikkhū tassa pañhe*

vissajjetum asakkontā nagarato nikkhamitvā yena vā tena vā  
 pakkamanti. sāgalanagaram dvādasa vassāni samanebhi  
 suññam ahosi. tasmi bhagavato sāsanam palutam ahosi. ; 6,33  
 om. assaguttam; 6,34 *kho* mahantena ketu°; 7,4–7 om. *atha*  
*kho* . . . °*pattiyāti*; 7,18 *kiñci* (so read here and elsewhere,  
 e.g. Mil 122,31 with all manuscripts including this one: O. v.  
 Hinüber: Die Grundlagen des älteren Mittelindisch. Wien  
 1986 §379 and addenda); 7,23 *hatthatuñño*; 8,3 *khanam* yeva;  
 8,7 *pamujjante*; 8,9 *tenāvuso*; 8,13 *upapajjissati*; 8,15 foll.  
 om. *nīharitvā*; 8,22 *sammā* for *dhammā*; 8,23 *abhipathanam*;  
 8,27 *abhivādanañ ca*; 9,4 *gamtvā* (thus always); 9,10 *hiyo*  
 (thus always); 10,4 *sippāni* for *sippam*; 10,5 om. ācariya-  
 brāhmañassa; 10,2 om. *ahesum*; 10,15 *anvayo*; 11,11 *koc-*  
*chapalibodho* *sucipalibodho* *kappakapalibodho*: this brings  
 the number of *palibodha* up to 16; 11,16 om. *yathā*; 11,23  
*dātum* *sa/kkhā*; 12,3 *santi pabba/jissa detīti*; 12,9 *vijamhavat-*  
*thum*: -m- ex corr.; 12,10 *vijamha*°; 12,21 *dhammasaṅgiñiñ*;  
 13,9 om. *vitthārena*; 13,11 *appothesum* (thus always); 13,11  
*dibbāni ca nānācunñāni*; 13,15 *pubbañha* (thus always);  
 13,17 *upādisi*; 13,23 *parivitakkesi na* *kho*; 13,27 *yañ*  
*nūnāham*; 14,18 added by the scribe of the manuscript at the  
 bottom of the folio in front of *ko nāmo*: *tvam kiñnāmo si ti*  
*vutto nāgaseno ti vadesi*; 14,30 *upajjhāyo me*; 15,7 *sammajjāt-*  
*thānam*; 15,9 *tañ danta*°; 15,17 *tumhākam assagutta*; 16,5  
*dhammakathāya*; 16,5 *suññatāya pati*°; 16,7 *tasmiñ ñeva*; 16,7  
*dhammacakkhu* (thus always); 16,13 foll. *nisinno dvinam*(!);  
 16,24 *kiñ viduram*, -am ex corr. from -e by a second hand;  
 16,28 *labhissāsi*; 16,28 foll. *vigatakālikam*; 17,16 *kiñnāmo*;  
 17,20 ābhidhammiko written twice; 17,23 *yeva ca*; 18,16 foll.  
*hotu bhante ettakena pi ten' eva*; 18,23 foll. *himavantapabbate*;  
 18,25 *pāheñsu*; 18,32 *pañham pucchāya*; 19,6 *akamīñsu* (thus  
 here only); 19,9 foll. *kañ nu khv ajja*; 19,12 *kañkha(!)pañ-*  
*vinodetun ti*; 19,17 *bhaddantassa*, thus only rarely; 19,30  
 after *pabbajjā* (*pa* is omitted by mistake in the manuscript)  
 follows an insertion mark for *devamanussānam* *atthāya*  
*hitāya sukhāya* written at the bottom of the folio by a second  
 hand; 19,32–20,1 *bhagavatā . . . pavattentena*; 20,4–10 *na*  
*pabbajitā/tena hi*, om. *puna ca . . . pabbajitā ti*, at the right  
 margin following *pabbajitā* by a second hand: *eka yeva*, and

by the same hand at the bottom on the right side of this folio *pabbajito ti*. It is not clear how these additions should fit into the text; 20,23 *pana vo bhante*; 20,23 *bhikkhū(abbhokasika)* *nesajjikā*: parentheses as in the manuscript; 20,24 *panthe dūsakā*; 21,13 °*gaṇa*° added by a second hand below the line; 21,16 *pabhinnasambhido*; 21,20 *durattaro*; 21,21 *asaṅkhobhō*; 21,24 *rājamattānam*; 21,24 *gurukato*; 21,25 °*pindipāta*° (thus always); 21,30 *ussāpento* (for *yajanto*) *dhammayāgam* *paggan̄hanto*; 21,31 °*ketum* *ussāpento* *dhammasaṅkham*; 22,2 °*vijuthāla*°(?); 22,3 *sakalam lokam*; 22,5 *patto*; 22,16 *tad avasi*; 22,24 foll. *pucchasu ti*; 22,27 om. *va*; 23,13 °*sahassena*; 23,22 *koṭhuko*; 23,28 *vessavannā*°; 24,4 foll. *tassam* . . . °*parisāyam*; 24,7 *vuddhataro*; 24,17 *anakkhātañ ñeva*; 24,18 *milindarañño*; 24,26 *cittam nāsakkhitam ti kathā*(!) *niṭhitā*; 25,7 *kiñnāmo*; 25,10 foll. om. *sīhaseno ti vā*; 25,13 *puggalo ti*; 25,23 om. *ko* before *adinnam*; 25,27 *phalavipākam*; 26,5 *kinu kho* (thus frequently); 26,8 *mānsanahārū*; 26,8 *atthi-  
mañjam*; 26,11 foll. *muttam matthaluñgam*; 26,12–15 om. *kin  
nu . . . mahārājā ti*; (26,28 *unhāya*: E° misprint: *uṇ*°); 26,28 *sakharakalalavālijhākā*; 26,29 *rujjhanti*; 27,8 *pato-  
dayaṭhi*, cf. BHS *pratodayaṭhi*; 27,13 *pucchanto* (only once); 27,17 *bhāsitvā*; 27,21, *kalla nu*; 28,12 *visajjītāni nāmapañ-  
ham/paṭhamam niṭhitam*. *kativasso*: The colophon of this chapter has been added at the right and left margins almost certainly by the scribe himself, B° (1962) *vassagaṇapañhā dutiyā*, 27,14; 28,24 om. *satta*; 29,1 *paṭiviseso*, *paṭi*° added below the line by a second hand, B° has *vissāso*, *paṭivissāso*, which may be a reading influenced by 29,8 *vissattho*, for *viseso* cf. Mil 94,7; 29,18 *yā ca*, ex corr. *yāni ca* by the same hand as in Mil 29,1; 29,19 *atthāñ*; 29,20 *yanunāham*; 29,32 *āgacchatu* = B°; 30,7 *saabbadi*: end of *phūk* 1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

418,21 *imasmi*: the *anusvāra* is not marked after *-i* throughout; 418,22 °ālakam; 418,23 *vaka*°; 418,28 *anattato* as M; 418,28 *rogato pey gandato*; 418,29 *ītito* as M; 418,30 *attārañato* against all of Trenckner's manuscripts; 418,31 *alenato*; 418,31 *aranato* by mistake; 419,4–6 The text is disturbed by repetition: *imasmi kāyogāvacarena sāyapā/tam ārammañe upāsitabbam idam mahārāja issatthassa catuttham aṅgam gahetabbam. bhāsitam petam mahārāja yoginā yogāvacarena sāyam pā/tam ārammañe . . .*, M and the Wat Lai Hin manuscript have *sāyam pātam* throughout. The lines 3 and 4 of photo no. 55 are identical for the better part, and identical *akṣaras* have been written below each other; 419,11\* *sāyātam* by mistake; 419,12\* *labhati bhattavettanam*.

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

419,14\* foll.: . . . *adhigacchatīti. milindapañho niṭṭhito. milindapañhavyākarañāvasāne samuddakucchiyā nighoso viya sādhukara/56,1/saddo + (bahu)lo ahosi. (de)vasabhā milindofṭā rājā pa (miswritten for ca) orodhagānañā parisā ca añjalī pañāmetvā vandisu. so nihatamānathambho*

uddhaṭṭadāṭṭho viya bhujagindo evam āha. sādhu bhante nāgasena buddhaviso pañho tayā visajjito imasmi sāsane ṭhapetvā dhammadesanā(!)pati sāriphū(!)/puttatheram anño tayā sadiso pañhāvi(ss)ajjane natthīti. khamatha me bhante nāgasena ma(ma) dosam upāskam ca marṇ dhāretha ajjatagge pāñupetam saraṇam gatan ti. tathā rā(jā) saha balanikāyehi na(!)gasenattheram pariyupāsitvā milindavihāram nāma mahāvihāram kāretvā therassa niyādetvā (ca)tūhi pac-cayehi nāgasenassa koṭisahassabhikkhūhi saddhi paricaritvā nāgasenassa paññāya pasiditvā puttassa rajjam niyādetvā agārasmā anāgāriyam pabbajitvā aṭṭhrahattam pāpuṇi. tena vuttam

The concluding verse is the same as in E<sup>e</sup>. However, the following variants may be noted: 420,17\* *lokasmī katā*; 420,20 °*visesassādhāro aggaseṭṭho anuttaro* as in B<sup>e</sup>; 420,21\* *hitam attano* as in B<sup>e</sup> for *attam attano*; 420,22\* *paññāvantam bhipujeyya*.

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

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### Notes

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

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

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



## REFERENCES TO PĀLI IN 17TH-CENTURY FRENCH BOOKS

### 1. 17th-century French books on Thailand

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Chaumont] Alexandre de Chaumont. *Relation de*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The grammars and dictionaries do not seem to have survived. But a translation into Thai of the gospel of Luke with a preface and postface in Pāli is to be found in the archives of the Missions étrangères, Paris.<sup>6</sup> This translation was finished in 1685. Numerous other references to missionaries learning Asian languages are found,<sup>7</sup> but only M. Laneau seems to have studied Pāli. This is one of the reasons given for electing him to the post of Evêque de Metellopolis in September 1673.<sup>8</sup> "Indeed, with regards to the kingdom of Siam, where it was appropriate that the new bishop should be normally in residence, we thought he had the advantage over the other missionary [considered] in several respects, knowing the languages that are used there," as well as being highly regarded by the king and the people. [Relation (1680), p. 109.]

#### 4. Buddhism in Thailand as seen by the French

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tachard goes on to accuse the Abbé de LIONNE of having a personal vendetta against him, influencing the Evêque de METELLOPOLIS and La LOUBÈRE, writing to Rome to denounce him. He says that the Abbé de CHOISY, the Abbé de LIONNE and M. VACHET took all his papers out of his chest on the boat and sent copies of them to Rome.

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

### 5. References to Pāli.

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

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

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

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

confusion four years ago."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

William Pruitt

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, pp. 1f.

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

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

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

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

<sup>6</sup> AME 1074, 2 vols., 354 pp., 177pp.

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

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

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

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

<sup>11</sup> Bibl. nat., ms. fr. 24427, f. 39.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

18

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



A TRANSLATION OF  
PĀNCAGATIDĪPANI

(FEER'S PĀNCAGATI-DĪPANAM)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CANBERRA

ANN APPLEBY HAZLEWOOD

### Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

### Summary of the Poem

#### Verse

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

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

## ILLUMINATION OF THE FIVE REALMS OF EXISTENCE

Let there be homage:

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

I NARAKA SECTION

1 The Eight Great Narakas

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

(2) subhāsubba[m] ] subhāsubha[m].  
bhūñjati ] M.1 bhūñjanti (Mus p.216).  
 Cf. Dhp 165.

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

(4) Read 'dhunā'.

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

anger, kill living creatures, or, having reared(6) them, slaughter - they surely go to Sañjīva;

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

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

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

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

(11) Saṅghātā ] Saṅghātā.  
ghātyante ] ghātyante.

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

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

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

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

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

(15) ghoratā ] ghorattā (Mus p.227).

See verse 13.

roruvo ti mahā ] read mahāroruvo ti.

Read Roruvā (Mus p.226).

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

(18) cf. Mahātapa verse 5.

(19) See verse 13.

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

Here end the Eight Great Narakas.

2 Secondary Nirayas

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

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

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

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

(23) vijjare ] vijjhare.

very fearsome(26),

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

(26) -oluka- ] -olūka-.  
Cf. MkP 107.

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

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

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

copper(33).

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

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

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

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

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

(37) Cf. verses 10,11.

path fitted with sharp blades(38).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Naraka - the first section

II ANIMAL SECTION

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

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

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

(46) mittādhipā ] M.1 miggādhipā; read migādhipā.

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

49. Men who are flesh-eating(49), angry and avaricious are reborn after death as tigers, cats, jackals, bears, vultures, wolves(49) and so on.

50. Men who are generous givers yet angry and cruel (become) Nāgas of great iddhi-power; though charitable they become garuda-lords because of anger and haughtiness.

51. If any wrongdoing in thought and so on has been done by themselves, they are reborn in the realms of animals; therefore one should shun that [wrongdoing](45-51).

Animals - the second section

III PETA SECTION

1 Petas

52. Those who(52) steal what can be chewed and eaten and who lack energy [for good deeds] became corpse(52)-eating petas, Katapūtanās.

53. Those who oppress the young and cheat them because of greed are themselves reborn Katapūtanās to feed(53) on birth-impurities.

54. Whatsoever men are engaged in low practices, the mean, the avaricious and the constantly greedy are reborn after death as goitrous(54) petas.

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

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

(52) yehi ] ye hi.  
kunāpa- ] kunapa-.

(53) -āharā ] -āhārā.

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

55. Whoever prevents others from giving and does not himself give anything becomes a hungry, thirsty peta, needle-mouthed and big-bellied.

56. Whoever preserves(56) [his] wealth for his family [but] neither enjoys nor gives it(56) is reborn a peta taking [only] what is given, eating funeral offerings(56).

57. Whoever longs to steal another's property, and gives and then regrets it, is reborn as a peta feeding(57) on dung, phlegm and vomit.

58. Whoever speaks unpleasantly in anger, words hitting vital spots(58), because of that deed becomes for a long time a peta with mouth like a furnace.

59. And whoever is cruel-minded, without sympathy and quarrelsome, would become a fiery peta eating worms, insects and beetles(59)(52-9).

## 2 Kumbhandas

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

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

(57) bhakkako ] bhakkako.

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

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

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

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

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

(64) -pīla- ] -pīlā-.

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

(66) -samyuttā ] -samyutā.

(67) petāsubhehi ] petā subhehi.

3 Asuras

68. That treacherous person who is always deceitful [but] commits no other sin, who is quarrelsome [but] generous, becomes lord of the asuras(68).

69. Vepacitti's asuras went to the realm of the Thirty-three devas; those named the Kālakañja asuras(69) were included among the petas.

Petas - the third section

## IV HUMAN-BEING SECTION

70. Among devas, asuras and men, man is short-lived because of injuries [done by him] or long-lived because of injuries not [done] - therefore one should avoid [causing] injury(70-102).

71. Leprosy, wasting, fever, madness and other ills of human beings exist here on earth(71) among men because of killing, flogging and fettering.

72. Whoever is a thief of others' goods and offers nothing whatever does not acquire wealth, however great his effort(72).

73. Whoever takes wealth ungiven and gives gifts is reborn after death [first] wealthy then penniless(73).

(68) Cf. Mvu I 30.

(69) Cf. Kv VIII I.

(70) himsā ] himsam (S himsām; see Mus p.179).

(70-102) Cf. Saddh 77-90; see also Mus pp.179sq., 260.

(71) honti ha ] hontīha.

(72) See Mus p.262.

(73) nidhano ] niddhano.

74. Any man who is neither thief nor giver nor exceedingly miserly surely obtains, with great difficulty, lasting wealth.

75. That man who is never a thief of others' goods, generous and free from avarice, obtains many rich(75) possessions which cannot be stolen.

76. Whoever gives food here on earth(76) is always reborn to comfort, given long life, beauty and strength, is wise and avoids disease.

77. Whoever would offer garments is reborn modest, beautiful, splendid(77), dear to people and receives(77) garments.

78. Whoever gives houses here on earth(78) with joyful heart, for that creature there will arise palaces(78) rich in all the pleasures of the senses.

79. Whatsoever men offer bridges, sandals and so on(79) are always comfortable [in the next life]; they obtain the best of carriages.

80. Those who build watering-places - wells, tanks, ponds - are [reborn] comfortable, free from heat and free from thirst.

81. Whoever offers a garden, the refuge of all

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(82) paññā-vyāsena ] M.1 paññā vyāsena.  
 M.2 'bhyasena, 'by causing repetition (of reading)' (Mus p.271).  
labhate ] M.1 labbhate (Mus p.270).

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

(85) labhī ] lābhī.

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

fame or for comfort, reaps spoiled fruit.

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

(87) dadāti ha ] read dadātīha.

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

(92) snehappadesakālādi ] read sehi-pp-adesakālādi (for sehi-pi).

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

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

94. That woman who loathes her womanhood(94), is moral, is little affected by passion and always longs for manhood would attain manhood.

95. And whoever properly enters(95) upon a religious life which is free of disquiet(95) becomes splendid, very virtuous, wealthy and venerated even by the devas.

96. An abstainer from the drinking of intoxicating liquors [is reborn] with sure memory, not bewildered; a truthful person is reborn glorious, and provided(96) with comfort.

97. Whoever causes no division(97), even between people [already] of divided views, is reborn strong-minded and with faithful(97) retinue.

98. Whoever always carries out(98) gurus' commands with joyful mind and teaches what is beneficial and non-beneficial becomes one whose words are welcome.

99. Humbled by their disrespect of others, elevated by the opposite, people have(99) comfort having given comfort, and suffering having given suffering.

100. Those who indulge in contempt for others, are

(94) narattam ] read nārittam with verse 93.

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

(96) -samyutto ] -samyuto.

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

(98) kuruto ] ?kurute.

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

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

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

Human-beings - the fourth section

V DEVA SECTION

1

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

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(103) vāyam ] cāyam.

Play on words: pariggaha, gaha (Mus p.283).

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

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

Tusita(106) gods.

107. Those men who by themselves are based on right conduct, giving(107) and monastic discipline, and are full of effort inevitably(107) go to the Nimmānarati gods.

108. And those who are of superior virtue, are open-minded and attached to giving, self-control [and] restraint [will be among] the Paranimmittavatti(108) gods.

109. One attains to the Tāvatimsa heaven by right conduct, to the blessing of Brahmā's world by *jhāna* meditation and to nibbāna by knowledge(109) of things as they really are(103-9).

2

110. The fruit of one's deeds is pleasant or unpleasant. This fruit has been expounded by me - one goes to a comfortable state because of pleasant deeds; suffering has unpleasant deeds as its origin.

111. This trio should be pondered: death, disease and indeed old age, separation from things loved(111), [and whatever] was the fruit of each deed(111) -

(106) Cf. Sn 58.

Tussitopagā ] Tusitopagā.

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

(108) Parinimmittavattino ] Paranimmittavattino.

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

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

112. In this way one reaches destruction of passions; whoever is free from passions attains(112) meritorious action; thus one renounces evil. You must all listen to this briefly(112):

113. This has been spoken about by the Great Isi: 'Doing what is beneficial for others and avoiding what is harmful to others is meritorious action; evil is the reverse(113)'.

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

Devas - the fifth section

Pañcagatidīpanī is  
complete\*.

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(112) icchati ] cf. S rcchati.  
samāsato: cf. samāsenā verse 4.

(113) pūñña-pāpa-vipallāso ] read pūññam pāpam.  
vipallāso.  
Sadgatikarikā and Chagatidīpanī end here; M.1 adds verse 114 (Mus p.293).

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

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

Glossary and Index of Proper Names

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

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

gandhabba 62: class of deities, the lowest of the deva groups; the heavenly musicians.

garuda 50: class of huge mythical birds living in simbali-groves; Ja I 202.

guru 14,66,98: see COD.

\*cintanīya 111: to be pondered; PED only cinteyya and cintetabba.

\*cunnanti 42: cf. sa. curnyate, is crushed.

\*cūṇīta 39: crushed.

\*jalat 35: blazing.

jhāna 109: special religious experience in meditation, reached in a certain order of mental states.

Tāvatīmsa 109: the second of the six deva-worlds, the realm of the Thirty-three gods.

Tusita 106: 'full of delight', the fourth of the six deva-worlds.

\*tejassī 95: cf. sa. tejasvin, splendid.

duggati: realm of misery.

deva 14 etc.: god.

\*drava 35: running; see dava PED.

Dhamma 18,36,38,90,106: cf. Dharma COD.

\*dhīmant 76: intelligent; see dhīmant PED.

naraka 36: see niraya.

nāga 50: serpent demon.

nibbāna 109: cf. nirvana COD.

Nimmañnarati 107: 'delighting in own creation', the fifth of the six deva-worlds.

niraya 11,22-3: hell.

\*nirātāṅka 95f.n.: free from fear or pain.

\*padātar 65,68: liberal; ?PED 'extravagant, a squanderer' Pañca-g 65,68 cited.

Paranimmittavattin 108: 'rejoicing in the work of other (devas)', the sixth and highest of the six deva-worlds.

\*parituttha 106: cf. sa. paritusta, completely satisfied.

\*parivāravant 85: having a great retinue.

\*pāṇin 42: [worms and] insects (Mus p.242).

pisāca 63: demon.

\*pūtana 52-3: class of demons, presumably stinking.

peta 52,54-9,67,69: ghost.

\*phālyante 9: are split.

brahman 14: see COD.

Brahmā 109: chief of the gods.

\*bhatya 86: cf. sa. (lexicographers) bhrtyā, support, maintenance, wages; see bhati PED.

bhūta 64: demon.

Mahārājika 103: the retinue of the Four Kings, the lowest of the six deva-worlds.

\*miggādhipa 46: lion; see migādhibhū PED.

\*middha 48: hurting.

Milhakūpa 22,24: cesspit niraya.  
 \*mēsa 39: cf. sa. mesa, 'ram'.  
 mokkha 106: liberation.  
 moha 36,45: delusion.  
 yakkha 65-7: demi-god.  
 Yama 43: Death.  
 Yāma 105: third of the six deva-worlds.  
 \*yūkā 39: louse.  
 rakkhasa 43,61: demon.  
 \*lobhin 54: covetous.  
 \*vassa 34: cf. sa. vāsra, 'bellowing'.  
 \*vāla 83: cf. sa. vāda, sounding (of a musical instrument); ?PED 'music' Pāñca-83 cited.  
 \*vunhi 13,15,19,35: cf. sa. vahni, fire (metathesis of 'h').  
 Veturani 35: river in the great niraya.  
 Vepacitti 69: asura chieftain.  
 \*salajja 77: feeling modesty.  
 simbali 30: silk-cotton (kapok) tree in hell.  
 sugati: realm of bliss.  
 \*succhāya 77: beautiful, splendid.

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### Texts

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

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

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The Council of the Pali Text Society plan to continue publication of the *Journal* on an *ad hoc* basis, as and when sufficient material of a publishable standard is received.

The *Journal* will publish short Pali texts, translations, and commentaries on texts, catalogues and handlists of Pali books and manuscripts, and similar material.

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