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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 edition⁴:

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

Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids translate⁵: ‘... 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*. There the PTS editor, Feer, reads *vedha-missakena* both times.

The word *vedha-missakena* has already attracted attention in this *Journal*. In 1884 the Revd. Richard Morris devoted four pages⁶ and much ingenuity to its explication.

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

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

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 verse⁷, 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-, vetha-, vetha-, vedha-, vesa-, velu-. The commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya* must have read *vegha-*; because it glossed it as *veghana-*⁸. On the other hand, the commentary on the same passage in the *Samyutta Nikāya* in the PTS edition has *vetha-* for *veghana-*; if this is correct it
presumably glosses vetha- in the text. The Dīgha sub-
commentary refers apparently read vekha-; there are many variants
but neither vetha- nor vegha- is among them. The commentary
on the Theragāthā 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 Theragāthā
commentary takes the same line: vekha-missenā ti
varattaka-khandādinā.

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 vetha-. 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: “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 Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad which
is not a close enough parallel to provide a solution and yet
may shed light on the Buddha’s simile. It describes
the process of dying, in this case the death of an enlightened
man:

Tad yathānaḥ susamāhitam utsarjam yāyāt, evam evāyaṁ
śārīrā ātmā prājñenātmānanānīva vīdhya utṣarjam yāti, yatrātyad
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 com-
pared 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 Theragāthā. 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 V vyathā stretches from involuntary shaking to
pain and distress. The old cart would shake without feeling
pain, the Buddha painfully. In the Theragāthā verse the
shaking aspect is not relevant; that is only about giving pain.

The PED also supplies appropriate interpretations of yāpeti
and missa(ka)-. Yāpeti does not have any passive sense as in
the Rhys Davids’ translation; it means ‘keep going’. Missa(ka)
is a noun (as at Vin 133) meaning ‘a mixture of various’. So in
the Theragāthā verse I do not take it as a bahubhīhi agreeing
with kammunā, but as a tappūrīsa.

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
erlder’s verse I translate ‘molest men with a variety of damage’.

Oxford

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NĀMARŪPASAMĀSO*

According to Malalasekera\(^1\), this text may be assigned to the 10th century and ascribed to a thera, Khema, of Ceylon. Although it was once held in high esteem, it subsequently became better appreciated in Burma where it formed one of the nine *Let-Than (Lakkhaṇagāthā)* or ‘little finger manuals’ of Abhidhamma. *Tiṅkā* was composed in the 12th century by another Sinhalese thera, Vācissara.

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

An original Sinhala MS was discovered in Amburukkārmā, Welitara, ‘teeming with discrepancies’\(^2\). With the aid of the *Dhammasaṅgaini* and its Commentary, the *Aṭṭhasālinī*, however, it was revised by Baṭapola Dhammapāla, a pupil of C. A. Silakkhandha Mahāthera. Both the text and a Sinhala commentary, the *Silipatipata*, were subsequently published.\(^3\)

In the English Preface Dhammapāla assumed the original author to be Anuruddha (who composed the better known exegetical manual, *Abhidhammatthasaṅgha*, 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. Buddhadaṭṭa discovered the MSS, in Burmese script, of both the original text and its *tiṅkā* in the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon. He copied both MSS and these were subsequently utilised by P. Dhammarāma (a pupil of Ariyavamsa Mahāthera of Galle, Sri Lanka) in his edition in Roman script.\(^4\) In a Pali introduction, *Nāmarūpa-samāsa-Viṅñatti*, Dhammarāma acknowledged the authorship of Khema.

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

Let the late Malalasekera have the final word in this introduction: ‘The short disquisitions on the various subjects are concisely written in simple, easy style and the whole work
forms a little handbook for the study of medieval Abhidhamma. 6

Notes

*See the text in JPTS, 1915–1916, pp. 3–19, to which the numbers in pointed brackets refer.
2 See the preface to the text mentioned in n.3.
3 M. W. Sumathipala, Ambalangoda 1908.
5 According to A. P. Buddhodatta, Pāli Sāhityaya (Ambalangoda 1957, Part II, p. 320), Dhammapāla almost certainly referred to the Burmese MSS of text and tikā.

THE SUMMARY OF MIND AND MATTER

1. (3) The lord of men, spending the rainy season in the Nandana Park of the Thousand-eyed, explained the Dhamma which was profound and obscure.
2. Saluting the lord, his doctrine and his Order, the Summary of Mind and Matter is explained by me; please listen to it.
3. There are, in short, 89 types of consciousness.
4. They are fourfold. How? (i) Moral, (ii) Immoral, (iii) Resultant and (iv) Functional in classification. Of them, 21 types are Moral consciousness, 12 types Immoral consciousness, 36 types Resultant consciousness and 20 types Functional consciousness.
5. The Moral consciousness is classified in four spheres: 1 (i) Sensuous, (ii) Form, (iii) Formless and (iv) Supramundane. There are (i) eight types of Sensuous sphere, (ii) five types of Fine Material sphere, (iii) four types of Formless (or Immaterial) sphere and (iv) four types of Supramundane sphere.
6. These are the eight types of Moral consciousness of the Sensuous sphere: (i) One accompanied by pleasurable feeling, associated with knowledge, unprompted; (ii) One prompted; (iii) One accompanied by pleasurable feeling, dissociated from knowledge, unprompted; (iv) One prompted; (v) One accompanied by indifferent feeling, associated with knowledge, unprompted; (vi) One prompted; (vii) One accompanied by indifferent feeling, dissociated from knowledge, unprompted; (viii) One prompted.
7. These are the five types of Moral consciousness of the Fine Material sphere: (i) First jhāna accompanied by five constituents — initial application,2 sustained application, pleasurable interest, happiness and unification of consciousness; (ii) Second jhāna accompanied by four constituents — sustained application, pleasurable interest, happiness and unification of consciousness; (iii) Third jhāna accompanied by three constituents — pleasurable interest, happiness and
unification of consciousness; (iv) Fourth jhāna accompanied by two constituents — happiness and unification of consciousness; (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 accompanied by indifference, associated with knowledge, unprompted; (v) One prompted; (vi) One accompanied by indifference, dissociated from knowledge, unprompted; (vii) One prompted; (viii) One accompanied by indifference, dissociated from knowledge, unprompted; (ix) 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,3 put the mode of movement in motion and produce the intimations.4 26 types of consciousness generate matter, put the mode of movement in motion and do not produce the intimations. 19 types of consciousness generate matter do put the mode of movement in motion and do not produce the intimations. 16 types of consciousness do not generate matter, do 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 Apāya5 and investigating in the five sense-doors, retention in the six sense-doors and decease. These are the two of five places. Eight types of resultant-consciousness pertaining to the Sensuous sphere, two types of resultant rootless mind-consciousness-element accompanied by indifference having perceived a kamma or the sign of a kamma (kammānimittu) 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-continua in the cycle of existence and consciousness of decease at the time of decease.

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

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

Eight types of Moral consciousness, twelve types of Immoral consciousness, ten types of Functional consciousness, consciousness of Higher Knowledge (abhiññā) of the one whose depravities are extinguished (khināsava), consciousness of Higher Knowledge of the trainees and worldlings — these 32 types of consciousness generate matter, put the mode of movement in motion and produce the intimations. Five types of Moral consciousness pertaining to the Fine Material sphere, five types of Functional consciousness, four types of Moral consciousness pertaining to the Formless (Immaterial) sphere, four types of Functional consciousness, four types of Path-consciousness, four types of Fruition-consciousness — these 26 types of consciousness generate
matter, put the mode of movement in motion but do not produce intimations. Eleven types of Moral-resultant consciousness pertaining to the Sensuous sphere, two types of Immoral-resultant consciousness, functional rootless mind-element which turns towards five sense-objects, five types of Resultant-consciousness pertaining to the Form (Fine Material) sphere — these 19 types of consciousness generate matter, but neither put the mode of movement in motion nor produce the intimations.

Five pairs of Moral and Immoral-resultant consciousness, four types of Resultant pertaining to the Formless (Immaterial) sphere, decease-consciousness of those who have extinguished the cankers (*khīnasāvā), 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, twelve types of inferior moral-resultants, seven types of immoral-resultants, eight types of great Functional consciousness, three types of inferior Functional consciousness — these are the 54 types of consciousness pertaining to the Sensuous sphere.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Here ends the Miscellaneous section

Which are the skilful states? Whenever a skilful consciousness pertaining to the Sensuous sphere has arisen, accompanied by pleasant feeling, associated with knowledge, unprompted, and has as its object a sight, a sound, a smell, a taste, a touch, mental states⁶ or what not, then there is (the group of five mental 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, the faculty 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, directness 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 (pātī).

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 (appamāṇā) 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 Jhânas 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 mental,
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-distruction.

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-distruction 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 Jhana-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 mental arise. Pride arises in the four types of consciousness accompanied by greed, dissociated from wrong view. Jealousy, miserliness and worry — these three arise separately (not together) in two types of consciousness accompanied by grief. Both agitation and attention arise (together) in the consciousness accompanied by perplexity.

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

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

Resultants

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The resultants related to the Fine Material sphere are like the types of moral consciousness related to the same sphere as regards the mental states 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 immoral resultants resemble the same types that arise as the resultants of the morals. Here these (resultants of the immoral) 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 immoral.

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\textsuperscript{13} 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\textsuperscript{14} — 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
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 decades. They are produced by three (kamma, āhāra and utu). When counted together they are 44 material qualities.  
27. The four — eye, etc., — and the mind-base — these five are the material qualities which have one place (i.e., each is produced only in its own place).  
28. Body, femininity, masculinity and vitality — these are the material qualities (decads) which arise all throughout the body.

Thus ends the epitome of psycho-physical states.

**London**  
**Hammalava Saddhātissa**

**Notes**

1 *Bhūmi* = sphere. Literally bhūmi means sphere, but actually these are the levels of the mind.  
2 This directs the mental concomitants toward the object.  
3 The four “Great Essentials” (Mahābhūta): the elements of extension (pathavi), cohesion (āpa), heat (teja) and motion (vāya). There are also four subsidiary material qualities of colour (vāṇa), 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 āpaya): (i) the downward-path or “hell” as usually translated (niraya); (ii) the animal kingdom (tiracchāṇayoni); (iii) the ghost world (petivī-
PĀLI LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDIES IV
ELEVEN PĀLI ETYMOLOGIES

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

1. akkhi(n) ‘gambler’

2. aṭṭhābhava ‘losing throw’
   Lüders dealt at length with the playing of dice in ancient India. He did not mention what appears to be a reference to dice-playing at Ja II 357,6:
   
   yena mittaṃ sāmaggā yogakkhemo vihiṃsatī
pubbe v’ aṭṭhābhavan tassa rakkhe akkhiva paṇḍito.
   
   Rouse translated: ‘What time the nearness of a bosom friend threatens your peace to end, if you are wise, guard your supremacy like the apple of your eye’. It is, however, clear that this cannot be correct. It is ‘his supremacy’ (tassa aṭṭhābhavan), as the commentator makes clear: tassa pāpamittassa aṭṭhābhavan (357,15’). Here, then, the root rakkh- has the meaning not of ‘guard’ in the sense of ‘protect’, but of ‘ward off, guard against’, as in mano-padosam rakkheyya ‘one should ward off fault(s) of the mind’ (Sn 702).

   This being so, the sense is not appropriate if we take aṭṭhābhavan 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 aṭṭhābhavan is explained as tena abhiphavitabbam, i.e. it is assumed that there is little difference between the verbs adhy-ā-bhū- and abhi-bhū-.

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

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must ward off the ajjhābhava of a bad friend, and the akkhi 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 akkhi from *aṣkṣi(n) ‘one who possesses dice, a gambler’. According to Lüders, abhibhū equals kali ‘the losing throw’. This gives an insight into how 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’.

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) rubric tattha sikkhānaugiyanti at Sn 940. There are three v.11. listed in the Ee of Sn: -kriyanti, -griyanti and -griyanti, all from Burmese MSS. The phrase sikkhānaugiyanti 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 bhasā.

In an examination of consonant groups containing -r- in Pāli, von Hinüber has suggested that this form with -r- arose from a miswriting of the word anugiyanti as anugiyanti, 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. The resultant form was then written as anagriyanti. A variant of this appears in a Sinhalese MS of Nidd I (see below) as anagriyanti. The restoration of the preverb anu- led to the form anugriyanti. This explanation has the merit that it explains how the reading sikkhā na griyanti in Sadd came into being, but even so I cannot accept it. It would seem impossible that a scribe could metathesise the akṣaras nu gi into na gu, because the need to write an initial i- 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, and it perhaps happened that a ‘Sanskritising’ scribe thought that it was to be derived from the root gr- rather than from gā-. He accordingly ‘Sanskritised’ it to -griy-. Part of the scribal tradition changed this to -griy- because of the analogy with -kriy-, etc., while another part of the tradition did not recognise -griy-, and actually replaced it by -kriy-. If I do not accept von Hinüber’s explanation, then I have to explain the way in which the reading quoted in Sadd came into being. It seems possible that if the passive verb anugiy-was not common in Pāli, then the scribal tradition might have taken the received phrase sikkhānaugiyanti and divided it as sikkhā nu giyanti. 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 giyanti, not anugiyanti. There is, however, a v.1. for the first of the explanatory forms: nigiyanti for giyanti, which perhaps indicates a tradition which, faced with the form sikkhānugiyanti, interpreted it as sikkhā nigiyanti. Nidd-a I 432,18–19 (without v.1.) explains: sikkhā kathiyanti uggayhanti, which seems to be following Pj II 567,12 (also without v.1.): aneka-sikkhā kathiyanti uggayhanti vā. Both texts give sikkhānugiyanti in the lemma, without v.1.

4. anuvicca ‘having discerned’

As Brough pointed out, 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 anuvīja 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 (< manda), he postulated a parallelism between the Pāli and the Gāndhārī words, although he also hinted at a belief that a connection might have been seen with *anuvicya, 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 -tt/-ttḥ- > -ḍḍ/-ḍḍḥ-, 22 and perhaps -kkh- > -ggh-. 23 I know of no example of -cc- being voiced to -jj-, and if this is so, then there was no reason why a scribe finding a word containing -jj- in his exemplar should have thought that it was voiced from -cc-, and should consequently have wished to “restore” it to its “original” form. This would in any case seem extremely inappropriate in respect of the word *anuvīja, 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 haplology: *anuvicca (perhaps through anuvīyiicca?) or anuvivicca. More straightforward would be *anuvica, as Brough suggested, or a derivation from the verb anu-i-. Brough, however, doubted the latter, on the grounds that the recorded senses of anveti did not fit the verse. 24 Monier-Williams gives ‘reached by the mind, understood’ as meanings for the past participle anu-ita, 25 and if these could be accepted for the other verbal forms then a derivation from anu-i- would seem to be satisfactory. We could then postulate a form *anuv-itya with a svarabhakti vowel, or if we saw a derivation from anu-vi-i- (which exists in Sanskrit,

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

It would seem likely that anuvicca is to be connected with the Ardha-Māgadhī words anuvī, anuvīt, anuvitī and anuvitiya. 28 These are alleged to be derived from anuvicint- but this would seem to be impossible, as Schubring stated. 29 He derived them from anuvici-, and took anuvīya as being for *anuviciya. Pischel quotes also anucintya and vicārya from the scholiasts, but rejects the idea that we are dealing with an absolutive. He suggests that anuvī is an adverb, to be derived from *anuvīti, with the meaning ‘deeply, etc.’. On the other hand, if we assume that anuvitiya is derived from a svarabhakti form of *anuvitya, which is a svarabhakti form of anvitya, then a derivation from anvetai would be possible for both the Pāli and the Ardha-Māgadhī 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 anuvidita by which it was sometimes explained in the commentarial tradition, and therefore replaced anuvicca by anuvīja from anuvicdo.

5. gotra-bhū ‘supporting or destroying the religious family’

PED suggests that the etymology for this word is: gotr = gotṛ, Skt goṛṛ to gup + bhū. The translation given by PED is, however, ‘become of the lineage’. Brough pointed out 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 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 and Wijesekera, published, almost simultaneously, parallel suggestions that gotra-bhū was to be derived from gotra-han, translating ‘das Geschlecht vernichtend’ and ‘one who discards his worldly (lit. clan) status’ respectively. This suggestion for the etymology was based upon the development of bhūnaha from bhrūnahan, and vatrabhū from vṛtrahan, as Fausbøll suggested long ago. Ruegg has re-examined 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 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 in favour of the one he adopts. In the next section of this article I shall be dealing with the word pāṇa-bhū < pṛāṇa-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, he does so only as a variant for gotra-bhūd.

If this suggestion is correct, there were at an earlier stage of the language two separate words: gotra-han ‘destroying the family’ and gotra-bhū ‘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. katañña < kṛtañña and pāragu < pāraga, and the latter into gotra-bhū. The alternation bhū, found so commonly in bhavatihoti, then led to the change of the former to gotra-bhū, which was identical with the latter.

Ruegg points out that in BHS gotrabhū seems to refer to a place (= gotra-bhūmi). It is possible that the same meaning is to be seen in the Pāli compounds āgotrabhum and āgotrabhūto (= 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 the etymology of the first as pṛāṇa-bhṛt ‘bearing life’. When this word occurs as pāṇa-bhūno, in agreement with sabbesam (i.e. as a genitive plural) at Ja 494,27*, it is explained by the commentator as pāṇa-bhūtanām (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 pāṇabhū ‘a living creature’, where Pj I 245,11 explains: pāṇa eva bhūtā pāṇabhūtā. It was suggested by von Hinüber that an Eastern form -bhūne underlies -bhūta, 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 -r > -u, i.e. -bhū, 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 dhanus. 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. -bhūt’ at Sn 146, but the correct reading there must be -bhuṭ’, since this is confirmed by the metre, which is old āryā/gīti.\textsuperscript{48}

The reading of Ee at Ap 152,4 can hardly be correct: pāṇabhūtaṁ bhayaṁ n’athī. There is no v.1. listed in Ee. Be and Ce 1961\textsuperscript{49} read -bhūte; Ce 1930\textsuperscript{50} reads -bhunānt, which seems more satisfactory as representing the genitive plural ending of a stem in -u derived < -r(t). The genitive plural -bhuno at Ja IV 494.27\textsuperscript{*} (see above) probably shows the shortening of -u- for metrical reasons. There are other examples of genitive plural forms in -o.\textsuperscript{51}

7. rattanī\textsuperscript{52} ‘senior, superior’

This word commonly occurs in contexts with cira-pabbajīta. It is explained at Sv 143,10–11 (ad D I 48,2) as: pabbajjato paṭṭṣaya atikkanta bahū rattiyo jānantī, and at Pj II 423,32 – 424,2 (ad Sn p. 92,22) as: nibbānaratanām jānāma mayan ti evam sakāya paṭṭīnāya lokenāpi sammatā bahrattividdā vā. This indicates that the commentators analysed the compound as being from ratta (= ratna or rātra) + -nī (= -nā), with ratna taken as nibbāna, and rātra being interpreted as referring to the number of nights (= days) which had elapsed since the bhikkhu’s ordination (rattiyo jānantī ti rattanī, attano pabbajitadivasato paṭṭṣaya pahūta rattiyo jānantī, Sp 193,27–29). That the element -nī (whatever its origin) shows the same change of declension from -a to -u as -nā does to -nī is shown by the fact that the plural ending -nā in a context with aggānā and vamsaṇā at A II 27,16, which is glossed: rattanī ti digharattam pavatā ti jāntiabba (Mp I 45,10–11). Sadd 634,1 lists rattanī 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 rattijā.\textsuperscript{53} I would agree with Mme Caillat\textsuperscript{54} that the word is to be connected with the Artha-Māgadhi word rāṇīya, which is to be separated from the homonym rāṇīya (< rājanya) ‘royal, related to a king’. The former is explained as being derived from *rātika, which seems not to occur in Skt, interpreted as: ratnāni jnānādīni tair ādhikyena ca rati ti, and translated as: ‘one who is older in initiation or merits such as knowledge’.\textsuperscript{55} PSM gives\textsuperscript{56} two meanings: (1) cāritra vāla, samyami; (2) paryāya se jyeṣṭha, sādhvā-prāpti ki avasthā se bārah. Jacobi translates as ‘superior’,\textsuperscript{57} and gives the equivalence rātika = jyeṣṭha.\textsuperscript{58}

If the origin were *rātika, then it would not seem possible to derive the Pāli form from it, and I would rather suggest that the origin is *rātya. With a svarabhakti vowel, this would give *rāṇīya, from which Jain Skt rāṇika would be a back-formation. With another svarabhakti vowel we would get *rātaniya, which could develop to *rāyaniya and then, with palatalisation of -a- > -i- after -y-,\textsuperscript{59} to rā(y)iniya. This would give the Artha-Māgadhi form rāṇīya. The Pāli form would be derived from *rānyya with a different svarabhakti vowel, giving *rātya > *rātaṇa, and then with the alternation rāt-ratt- seen in the doublet rāt < rātri but ratta < rātra, *rātaṇa was replaced by rattanī. The development of the ending -a > -u is parallel to -jīn > -nī. Another example of -nīa becoming -nīu, although not derived from -jīa, can be seen in vadāṇīu < Skt vadāṇya,\textsuperscript{60} cf. (a)vadāṇi with a svarabhakti vowel.

The original meaning of rattanī 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 Aṇṇakokṣaṇa was the topmost of the bhikkhus who were rattanī (A I 23,17), just as Mahāpajāpati Gotamā was the topmost of the bhikkhus (A I 25,18). The commentary explains in the usual way: rattanīnānaṁ ti rattyo jānantānaṁ (Mp I 135,5 foll.), and goes on to say that, as he was the Buddha’s first follower: cira-kālam rattiyo jānantī ti rattanī u sabbaṭṭhamaṇā dhammassā paṭṭiveddhattā.

8. vārī ‘restraint’

PED lists vārī in the sense of ‘water’ only, and includes
under this heading the four compounds of the word with -vārīta, -yuta, -dhuta and -phuṭa which are found in a list of Jain practices at D I 57,27–29 (where the word occurs in the form vārī-) and M I 377,1–2. The commentaries explain: sabba-vārī-vārito cā ti vārīta-sabba-udako, paṭikkhiita-sabba-sitodako ti attho. so kira sitodake satta-saññī hoti, tasma tām na valanjeti. sabba-vārī-yuto ti sabbena pāpa-vāraṇena yutto. sabba-vārī-dhuto ti sabbena pāpa-vāraṇena dhuta-pāpo. sabba-vārī-phuṭho ti sabbena pāpa-vāraṇena phuṭho (SV 168,1–6 = Ps III 58,22 – 59,3 = Spk I 127,1–8 [ad S I 66,17 ‘cātu-yāma-saṁvuto’]). In Ps, but not the other two commentaries, there is an end at the end of the explanation of the first compound: attha vā sabba-vārī-vārito ti sabbena pāpa-vāraṇena vārīta-pāpo.

Rhys Davids translated: ‘... 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: ‘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 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 vārī 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, others have sought translations which avoided the difference. Mrs Rhys Davids stated 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 that vārī must have the sense of ‘sin’ in each compound, although I do not know his reasons for so saying. Nāṇamoli translated: ‘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-saṁvara-saṁvuto and sabba-vārī-vārito in close proximity, we should take vārī as coming from the same root as vārīta, and therefore having the same meaning as vāraṇa.

I therefore take the first compound to mean ‘restrained by all restraints’; the second to mean ‘fastened (or yoked) by (or to) all restraints’; I take the correct form of the fourth to be -phuṭho, which is the past participle of the verb phaseti, used of causing something unpleasant to impinge upon oneself. 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 dhota ‘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 dhuta can be quoted. 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 vārī in the required sense is supported by the phrase savva-vārīhīm vārī at Isibhāṣyāṇ 29.19, for which Schubring gives ‘Absonderung’ as the meaning in his first German translation, and ‘segregation’ in the English translation, but ‘von allen Pforten’ in the second German translation, taking vārīhīm 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 (vārīta), liberating oneself (dhuta), bound up in (phuṭha/phuṭho) 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 vārī to vāra (assuming a coincidental error or corruption in both traditions?), it seems better to retain the
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 sotthayanām. 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 Triśṭubh pāda. This variation is found elsewhere. It is, however, noteworthy that sotthāna is to be derived from sotthayaṇa, with the contraction of -aya- > -a-, as Lüders pointed out, in place of the more usual -e-. This development was regarded by Alsdorf as being an Eastern characteristic.

It is also noteworthy that in sotthāna we have the development of the consonant group -sty- > -tθ-, 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-, but it is more likely that -v- labialised the following -a- > -u- 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/-tθ- alternation is simply scribal, but there are examples which lead us to believe that the assimilation of a dental consonant + -v- to a geminate dental group rather than to a palatal consonant group was probably a dialect feature.

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Notes

2 Abbreviations are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenkner: A Critical Pāli
Dictionary, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924–48 (= CPD). In addition: BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Skt; Skt = Sanskrit; MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan; PTC = Pāli Tipitaka Concordance; Be = Chatthaśaṅgāyana edition; Ce = Simon Hewavitarne Bequest edition, unless otherwise stated; Ee = PTS edition; CDIAL = Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages.


4. Ee so (v.1. vihīyati); Be vihiyyati; Ce as Ee; Se vihiyate. The commentary explains it as parihāyati (357,14'). We should probably read -hiyy- or -hiy-.


7. tassā pāpamittassā ajjhābhavan, tena abhībhaviuddham attano lābhaya-sajjivam, yathā nam so na ajjhābhavati tathā pahamataram eva attano akkhā viya pandito puriso rakkheyya (357,14’-17’): ‘Your wealth, fame and livelihood which are to be overcome by him, first protect as a wise man his own eyes, so that he may not overcome (them)’.

8. Lüders, op. cit. (in n. 3), p. 146: ‘so kann auch . . . abhībhū nur der kali sein; . . . abhībhū sicherlich den kali bezeichnet; . . . sind also kali, abhībhū, aksarāṇa und nardita Synonyma’.

9. Elsewhere we read of the gambler ‘hiding’ the losing throw, rather than ‘warding it off’: attano pana chādeti kalim va kutavā sāhā (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 anuṣṇāyanti, although it mentions the v.1. anukiriyanti.

13. krubbati krubbanti ti ādini ca griyati griyantī ti ādini ca padāni Māgadhikā bhāsā eva: ‘tapo idha krubjati; tathā sikkhā na griyantī’ ti pāli-dassanato (Sadd 923,20-23).


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.


18. This is the only example of the passive quoted in either CPD or PTC.


21. ibid., p. 251.


23. ibid., §§ 149–50, although Turner (CDIAL § 13080) gives a different etymology for sagghasi, while jagghati may represent a dialect development of -kṣi > -gg-. (cf. Skt jajhāti: ‘laughing’, showing the development of -kṣi > -jjh-).


25. MW, p. 47, s.v. anuv.i.

26. MW, p. 39, s.v. anuv-iti.

27. Cf. the suggestion that upagate in the Maski version of Āśoka’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 Prākrit underlying the Āśokan inscriptions’, in BSOS XXXIII, 1970, p. 137).

28. Intervocalic -i- is unlikely to survive in Ardhā-Māgadhī, and probably represents a scribal ‘restoration’. The writing of inorganic -i- in this way is common in the Jain scribal tradition.

29. See Pandit H.D.T. Sheth, Pāiasaddamānaṇṇavo, Calcutta 1928, s.v. anuvīti etc.

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

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


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


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.


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

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

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


52 The reading rataṇṇā at D II 77,8 must be a misprint in Ee; the other editions read rattaṇ-.  
56 See Sheth, op. cit. (in n. 29), s.v. ṛāṇī.  
57 ‘The young monk should ask forgiveness of the superior, and the superior of the young monk’: sehe rāṇiyaṁ khāmiṣṭaṁ, rāṇīṁ vi sehaṁ khāmiṣṭaṁ (Kalpasūtra, Sāmācārī § 59).  
60 PED wrongly refers it to Skt vādaniya.  
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 Śrāmāṇyaphala Sūtra’, in III 27 (1984), p. 296.  
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.  
67 In Khethesa Chandra Chattopadhyaya Felicitation Volume, Allahabad 1972, which was reviewed by M.A. Mehendale in JL 34 (1973), p. 316. I regret that I have not personally seen the volume.  
69 See K.R. Norman, ‘Middle Indo-Aryan Studies III’ in JOI (Baroda) XI, p. 325.  
71 W. Schubring, Isibhāsiyāṁ, NAWG 1942, Nr. 6, Göttingen 1942, p. 567.  
74 Pañca-g 13 15 19 35.  
75 See pp. 131 foll.  
76 See Sheth, op. cit. (in n. 29), s.v. vañhi.  
78 Mrs Cone is Research Assistant in Pāli Lexicography in the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge.  
79 Made available to Mrs Cone through the kindness of Prof. G. Fussman, of the 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 -mūmsano.  
81 See MW, p. 1059, s.v. sālāya-.  
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- > -a- are also given, including the case ending -āya. It is possible that this change has concealed the occurrence of a genuine dative form in vānijā at Ja IV 352.8', glossed vānijākasa (353.6').  
KALYĀṆAMITTA AND KALYĀṆAMITTATĀ

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', kalyāṇamittatā. In doing so he also suggests the way in which some well-known suttas in the Pali Canon dealing with the latter topic (S I 87–9, V 2–4) have come to have their present form. In a future publication I hope to assess these arguments, which seem to me generally correct, but mistaken on a number of points; I will attempt thus to arrive at a revised text and translation of these suttas, the basic element of which we may call, after L. Feer, 'The Discourse on Following a Good Friend' (Kalyāṇamitta-sevanā-sutta). The present PTS texts and translations of these passages are seriously defective. In this article I shall be concerned with Alsdorf's other subject, the grammatical analysis of the terms kalyāṇamitta and kalyāṇamittatā (hereafter k-m. and k-m-tā respectively). The entries for these terms in PED are unsatisfactory, and they receive a bewildering variety of renderings in published PTS translations. Alsdorf has shown how they are to be correctly analysed and translated; I hope here to confirm and elaborate his account by a comprehensive survey of the use of the terms in all major Pali texts.

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 (miṭṭatā, 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 other’s company, although of course it frequently does; the relationship involved can be a straightforwardly reciprocal, indeed quasi-contractual, exchange of goods and services. 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-pitaka. These notions are not specific to Buddhism or even to India. 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’. These sorts of sentiment are ubiquitous in the Indian collections of gnomic or didactic poetry known as the subhāṣīta literature, in the recently edited Nīti texts from Burma, which share a common stock of ‘worldly wisdom’ with the Sanskritic tradition, and in collections of fables like the Pañcatantra, whose stories are grouped according to whether they demonstrate the ‘Separation’ or ‘Winning of Friends’. In these contexts, one quite naturally finds words for friend — notably mitta — joined with others: nātimitta, ‘relatives and friends’ (in upper-class English, perhaps, ‘one’s people’), or mittāmacca, ‘friends and colleagues’. Amacca can mean ‘king’s minister’, and the compound is often used for a king’s entourage at court. It is found in (complementary) opposition to nātisalohiya, ‘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’. 

Secondly, there is the level at which such sentiments are ‘Buddhised’ 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. 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 un compounded 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.).

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, 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.

Versions of both of these descriptions occur in the Anguttara, 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 sevitabo) (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’, 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 (ānīsaṃ) hoṭi ti kalyāṇamitto.
2. as a tatpuruṣa, with (a) a masculine first member, = ‘the friend of a good man (good men)’ — kalyāṇassa purisassa
(kalyāṇam purisāṇam) mitto hoṭi ti kalyāṇamitto.

or with (b) a neuter first member, = ‘a friend of the good (of Virtue)’ — yad kalyāṇaṃ (e.g. sīlaṃ) tassa mitto
hoṭi ti kalyāṇamitto.
3. as a bahuvihi, = ‘who has a good friend (good friends)’ — assa kalyāṇo mitto hoṭi (kalyāṇa mitta honti) 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 Kalyāṇamittas-śevāna-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 bahuvihi sense he cites S I 83, in which the kings Ajātasattu and Pasenadi are said to be pāpa-mitto 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.\textsuperscript{14} We may notice here two more instances. At Th 682 \textit{k-m.} occurs in a list of virtuous qualities, the possession of which would put an end to \textit{dukkha}. As the commentary notes (Th-a III 7), this is to be taken as ‘endowed with good friends’ (\textit{kalyāṇehi mittehi samannāgato}). At It 10 \textit{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, \textit{inter alia}, the knowledge that all beings have their own \textit{kamma}. Here we find the karmadhāraya and bahuvrīhi senses together: \textit{kalyāṇamitto puggalo kalyāṇamittam nissāya kammassakata-nāṇam uppādeti} (It-a I 65).\textsuperscript{15}

The abstract noun \textit{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.\textsuperscript{16} But as Alsdorf reported and I hope to prove, the former possibility is in fact never found in the texts. The commentary to It 10 just cited gives a form of explanation for \textit{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 \textit{k-m}. (Being in) this condition is \textit{k-m-tā}’.\textsuperscript{17} Similarly, when the Buddha says that he knows of nothing worse for the arising of bad states (\textit{akusala-dhammā}) and the destruction of good ones than \textit{pāpamittatā} (A I 13), the commentary (Mp I 80–1) explains that ‘the person who has bad, disreputable friends is called \textit{pāpamitto}. The state (or condition) of being one who has bad friends is called \textit{p-m-tā}’.\textsuperscript{18} The commentary to Thi 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 \textit{k-m-tā}, adds that it means \textit{kalyāṇa-mittavanta}, literally ‘the state (or simply “fact”) of having good friends’.\textsuperscript{19} The condition of having good friends is not merely a result of good fortune (Alsdorf’s \textit{das Glück} as opposed to \textit{der Vorzug}, op. cit. p. 15): as the sub-commentary to the Dīgha Nīkāya remarks (Linathāvanāna III 225, on Sv 978 on D III 212), in elucidation of \textit{pāpasa-sampavāṅkatā}, ‘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’.\textsuperscript{20}

III

1. ‘Good friend(s)’ as uncompounded adjective and noun.

I have mentioned that the Sīkālōvāda Sutta and its commentary use the uncompounded and compounded forms of \textit{kalyāṇa-mitta} and \textit{pāpasa-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 \textit{pāpake mitte}, glossed by the commentaries as ‘disreputable, immoral, false friends, enemies (in the guise of friends)’,\textsuperscript{21} 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 (\textit{pāpake mitte}), nor the lowest of men; associate with good friends (\textit{mitte kalyāṇe}), noble men’. The commentary (Dhp-a II 110–2) tells the story of the monk Channa, who reviled Sāriputta and Moggallāna, although they were his \textit{kalyāṇa-mittā}. The passage reproduced at Nidd II 227–8 on the monastic friend is introduced in the Ānuttara (IV 32) simply with the words ‘monks, a friend endowed with seven qualities\textsuperscript{22} is to be followed’; and it is regularly found in commentarial exegeses of the compounded form \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{prima facie} surprising assertion that \textit{k-m-tā} is ‘the whole’ (sakalam eva) of the holy life. (This is not the only explanation of the sentiment, however.) \textsuperscript{23} In a long discussion of the ‘good friend’ as the giver of a meditation subject the Visuddhimagga (98 foll.) says that it is only the Fully Enlightened One who possesses all the aspects of a good friend,\textsuperscript{24} quoting the \textit{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’ (kathāvaththāni). 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 \textit{nibbāna}, needed the help of such good friends himself (Cp-a 285, 287 foll., 311).

\textit{(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’ (puthujjana — clearly an ordinary monk must be meant), and finally comes to a person who knows only one collection (sangītī) and its commentary, and who is ‘conscientious’ (lajjī). 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 (nīvaraṇā). Each nīvaraṇā is abandoned by a differing list of factors, but \textit{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’.\textsuperscript{25} The other nīvaraṇā are then counteracted by taking an exemplar, as follows:

\begin{itemize}
  \item ill-will (vyāpāda): ‘good friends who delight in the development of amity (mettā) like the Elder Assagutta’
  \item stiffness-and-torpor (thīna-middha): ‘good friends who have abandoned stiffness-and-torpor, like the Elder Mahākassapa’
  \item agitation-and-worry (uddhacca-kukkucca): ‘good friends who are expert in the Vinaya, like the Elder Upāli’
  \item uncertainty (vicikicchā): ‘good friends who are resolute in faith, like the Elder Vakkali’.
\end{itemize}

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

\textit{(iii) any monk or layperson who advises and encourages.}

By far the commonest use of the karmadhāraya \textit{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 ovädaka-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-, upajjhāyasamānt). At Mil 380 a monk is to depend on any fellow monk as a k-m. (k-mittān sabrahmacārīm upanissāya vasītabbam), 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 Brahmāfarers).26

This can be taken as a definition of a k-m., as also can the qualities extolled in the following: at A I 116–7, a successful monk is compared to a successful shop-keeper (pāpaniko). Both have three qualities, being intelligent (cakkhumā), capable (vidhuro27), and possessed of a means of support (nissaya-sampanno). In the case of a monk, this means that he understands as they really are (yathābhūtam) the Four Noble Truths, that he is energetic in avoiding bad states and developing good ones, and that (whereas the shopkeeper’s means of support is obviously financial) he frequents monks who are ‘learned, versed in scripture, who know the Dhamma and the Discipline, and the lists’.28 He questions them on points of doctrine, and they resolve his doubts. The commentary (Mp II 190) glosses the three qualities as wisdom (paññā), energy (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 Saṅgha,29 is only an introductory or disciplinary status, so ‘following good friends’ is only appropriate for a beginner. At M I 477 foll. (cp. A IV 75 foll.) arahants, for whom there is ‘nothing more to do through diligence’ are contrasted with learners (sekha) 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 (ubhātobhāga-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 Saṅgha. The last are referred to as k-m., and Nandiya is to reflect ‘it is a gain for me, it is good fortune for me, that I have good friends who are compassionate and desire my welfare, who instruct and teach (me)’. The commentary remarks that ‘here recollecting the (good qualities of the) Saṅgha (saṅghānussai) 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-saṃsaggiṇa). The king sends two messengers, who reform him. The king is the Buddha, the young prince an inexperienced bhikkhu, and the two messengers are concentration and insight (Spk III 61–2).

(For other uses of k-m. as a karmadhāraya compare: Vin I 21–2 and Sp 968, Vin II 8, III 19 and Sp 215, Spk I 202, III 6, Pj I 126, 148, It-a I 43, 116, II 62, 63, 91, 129, 167, 172, 180 foll., Kv-a 30, Pp 41, Mil 373, 408, Peṭ 87, 210, 231, Pj II 1 341 on Sn 338.)

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

Given the importance of meditation in the Buddhist Path, it is hardly surprising that a k-m. should offer guidance in this area. Indeed, we are told that having a good friend is one of the (necessary) bases of meditative attainment (jhāna) (Peṭ 149). Vajiraṇāṇa31 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, Abhidhav 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’ (cariya). Naturally, it being a text, this is done rather schematically, according to a fixed set of ‘elements’ (dhātu) and ‘humours’ (dosa); and no doubt a clumsy or inconsiderate teacher might well apply the analyses mechanically. But one can easily imagine how a skilled teacher would need a sensitive insight into his pupil’s strengths and weaknesses, in order properly to guide him in this difficult area — an act of friendship indeed!33

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

(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-paño, ‘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 ‘expurgings’ (sallekha), which include the thought ‘others may be pāpamittā, we shall be k-m.’. The context shows that this cannot mean that monks are to wish to be good friends to others: it is a list of humble aspirations, to be uttered by those in training, and is immediately preceded by the aspiration ‘others may be dubbacā, we shall be subbacā’. These words are to be taken in a passive sense, ‘difficult’ and ‘easy to speak to’ (see below on do- and sovacassatā), and so the monks are clearly to wish to have good friends and to be obedient and receptive to them. At S V 29 foll., each of another long list of qualities, endowed with which a monk will develop the Path, is compared to the dawn as the fore-runner (pubbaṅgamam, pubbanimittam) of the sun. One of these is k-m-tā, and the k-m. bhikkhu similarly presages the
(day)-light of wisdom; the other qualities are all compounds with *sampanno*, and so *k-m.* here could be glossed as *kalyāṇamitta-sampanno.*

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

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

(ii) The group of terms *k-m.*, *k-sahāyo*, *k-sampavaṅko* is found in the *Kalyāṇamitta-sevanā-sutta* and frequently elsewhere. *K-m.* is used in a bahuvrīhi sense, as is *k-sahāyo*, ‘one who has good companions’, but *k-sampavaṅko* presents some problems. The corresponding Sanskrit text has *kalyāṇamitra(tā)*, *kalyāṇasahāya(tā)*, *kalyāṇasamparka.* *Samparka* is a noun from the verb *sam-prc*, to mix or mingle. The nominal form *kalyāṇasamparkah* (which corresponds to Pali *sampavaṅka(tā)*, as an abstract noun) is most obviously interpreted as a tatpuruṣa with the meaning ‘mixing with good people’ (= *kalyāṇa-janaih samparkah*). The adjectival form appears in the Sanskrit text as a plural, *kalyāṇa-samparkāḥ*, agreeing with the first person plural verb *viharisyāmāḥ*, 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 *sampavāṅka* is unclear — as Alsdorf says, that given by PED is not credible. There are two common commentarial exegeses of the word, which are sometimes blended. Examples are: at Mp II 198 on A I 127, and Pp-a 219 on Pp 37, we read ‘*k-

sampavaṅko ti kalyāṇesu sucipuggalesu sampavāṅko tanninna-tappaṇa-tappabhāramānasō 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 kalyāṇamitesu sampavāṅko, 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. As an etymology for *sampavāṅka*, K. R. Norman suggests *vāṅka* (Sanskrit *vakra*), with the prefixes *sam-pa.* Although *vāṅka* 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-miṁte sevamāno*, A IV 351, 356 = Ud 36 — this is the story of Meghiya, for present purposes a useful and instructive one). Although as a famous verse of the Dhammapada (160 = 380) has it, ‘one is one’s own master’ (*attā . . . attano nātho*), this can be seen as in some senses at least an end or ideal rather than a universal truth: a monk is to be ‘under protection’ (*sanātha*) rather than without protection (*anātha*) by being *k-m.*, *k-s.*, *k-s.* (A V 23–4); and being *k-m.*, *k-s.*, *k-s.* is one of the things that ‘make for protection’ (*nātha-karaṇa*) (D III 266–7).

It is not only the individual monk who benefits from being *k-m.*, *k-s.*, *k-s.*, however. In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, one of the conditions set by the Buddha for the welfare of the Saṅgha as a whole after his death is that the monks should not be *pāpa-mittā, pāpa-sahāyā, pāpasampavāṅkā* (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’ (sārāniya-dhammā), 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 bahuvrihi usage of k-m. Not only is there for the learner ‘no other factor so helpful as k-m-tā’ (It 10), 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). This abstract form occurs, in fact, in many of the passages cited earlier. In one place, the virtue is recommended to laymen. In conversation with a Koliyan layman with the appealing name of Long-Knee Tigerfoot (Dīgha jānu 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 consort 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).

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 pāpaṭṭatā and dovaccassatā. The Dhammasaṅgaṇi explains as follows, giving the vices first (which I shall follow, since I will cite the commentary, which comments only on the vices):

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

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

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

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

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

The commentary (As 393–4) elaborates dovaccassatā 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 (paṭikarohipi). The offending monk is then said not only to refuse, but to answer back vitupernatively and with malicious pleasure. The other terms given in elucidation of dovaccassatā 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 dukāniiddeso pi) is to be understood in the reverse manner’.

This close connexion between ‘friendly’ interpersonal relations, manner of mutual conversation, 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; dovaccassatā is ‘unamenability to correction’ at Pēt 254.

B. C. Law at Pp 20, 24, has forthrightly ‘obedience’ and
‘disobedience’ respectively. Although in comparison with Christian monasticism, Buddhism is remarkably free from undue emphasis on obedience, and it is certainly never seen as a virtue in itself, it is striking how friendship as a monastic virtue in both traditions comes much closer to the areas of discipline and control than our modern everyday use of the term might suggest.47

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.


5 P I I 135, 17–8. Pasāmi’ham Jambucittam sandiṭham saphalam mittam | guno kato mayā tuyham gunam patikarosi 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.


8 Mitra-bheda, mitra-sampratī. The Hitopadesa’s first book is called mitalābhā. The parallels between these works and the Pāli Jātaka have long been recognised.

9 Yo ve katarāṇā katavedi dhīro/Kalyāṇamitto dalabhappi ca hoti | Dukkhatissa sakkacca karoti kiccam | takhatvadinam sappurissan vadanti.

10 Pajāko labhati piyām vandako pañcāvadannām | Yaso kiti ca pappoti yo mitānām na dabhāti. The commentary: vandako ti Buddhādānām kalyāṇamittānām vandako punabhāve pañcāvadannām labhati.

11 This sentiment, which also occurs in the Sigālovāda Sutta, provides an interesting contrast with Christ’s ‘no greater love (agape) has any man than that he should lay down his life for his friends’ (tôn philôn) (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’).


13 The history of this term is curious. It was coined by Lord Coverdale in 1555 to translate the Hebrew chesed, used of the love God has for man. The Septuagint translators and subsequent Greek texts often render this by elexos, which is standardly rendered in English as ’pity’ or ’compassion’, which of course is the usual rendering of the Buddhist virtue of karunā. I do not know who first used ’loving-kindness’ for mettā.

14 Pāpā Devadattādayo mitā assā ti pāpamito. Pasenadissa Sāriputtautherā-dinam vasena kalyāṇamittātā vediyābā.

15 He would thus learn the lesson taught at S I 37, that although in this life a companion (saḥāya) may show friendship repeatedly when one is in need, in the next life one’s friend is one’s own good deeds! (sayam kati’nā puniṅgā, tām mitto sampariṣeyikā tā).

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

17 Yassa sīlād-guna-sampanno . . . upakārako mitto hoti, so puggalo kalyāṇamitto. Tassa bhāvo kalyāṇamittātā.
18 Yassa pāpā lāmakā mittā, so pāpamitto. Pāpamittassa bhāvo pāpa-
mittātā. (I assume throughout that the usage of p-m. and p-m-tā is
correctly valid evidence for k-m. and k-m-tā.)
19 Cited at Elders’ Verses II (PTS 1971). The text of Thi-a has not been available
to me. The reading kalyāṇamittavānata is also found in some
mss. of Linathavannaṇṇa II 400, including the Burmese Caṭṭhasaṅgā-
yanā edition.
20 Yāya cetanāya puggalo pāpasaṃpavānko nāma hoti, sā cetanā pāpamitto.
21 Lāmahe dussile mittaṇaṭāraṇa amite.
22 Dhamma is used at A IV 32; at A IV 31 in the householder-friend
passage, aṅga is preferred.
23 In the commentary to the k-m-s-sutta (Spk I 156–7), Ānanda is imagined
to have thought that half of the holy life was k-m-tā, half was ‘individual
effort’ (paccatta-purisa-kārā). 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 Sāmmāsambuddho yeva sabbākārasampanno kalyāṇamitto. I give
Nāṇamoli’s translation (Path of Purification, Colomb, 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 Asubhaṇakamitaka-Tissattherasadise asubhabhāvanārāte kalyāṇamitte
sevanāsāpi kāmacchando pahiyati. I give Nāṇamoli’s (forthcoming,
PTS) translation of Vibh-a for this and for the other nivaranānānā.
26 . . . appiccham santuṭṭham dhūlavādam sallakkhavatāc ācārasampānam
lajjan pesalam garum bhāvaniyam vattaraṃ vacanakkhamam codakaṃ
pāpagarahim ovādakaṃ anusasakaṃ viṇṇaṅakam sandassakaṃ samādapa-
kaṃ samuttejakam sampahamsakam. I have substituted ‘one who can be
spoken to’ for vacanakkhamo, 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 āgatāgamā dhammadhara vinayadhara 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 upaniissā. Nāṇamoli (Piṭaka-
Disclosure, PTS 1964 p. 202) suggests emending to upaniissā, and
translates this as ‘stipulate’. Words like (upa)nissaya are common with
k-m., of course. (See CPD. s.v. upaniissā.) 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
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 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-nisaajadūs
sahā ayantaso sabhāya ti kalyāṇasahāya. Ud-a 221, kalyāṇapuggale veha
sabbiyīpāthesu satho ayaṭṭa, pavijittho, na vinā te tho kalyāṇasahāya.
36 E.g. Avadāna-sātaka, ed. P. L. Vaidya (Mithila 1958), p. 95. The
corresponding Sanskrit, Pali and Tibetan texts are given by Alsドル.
37 For the words ninna and pọsa see K. R. Norman, “Middle Indo-Aryan
XXIX, Nos. 1–2, pp. 48–9; for pabbhāra see Edgerton, BHSD sv.
prāgabhāra. (I am grateful to K. R. Norman for the information
contained in this note.)
38 Private communication. He translates kalyāṇasampavānsa 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’ (teviṭṭa), 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 Kalyāṇasahāyaṭṭa is also based on the bahuvrihi kalyāṇasahāya: as argued
in the text, kalyāṇasampavānkatā is a tatpurusa. Cp. As 394, commenting
on sampavānkatā in Dhs 1326/8, translated on pp. 66–7 of this article,
which has tesu (sc. kalyāṇesu or pāpesu) puggalese kāyena c’ eva cītena
c asampavānkahāvo.
42 This concerns what is external, bāhiram. For what is internal, ajjhattam,
it is ‘careful attention’, yonīso manasiṭṭha (It 9, S V 101–2).
THREE SOULS, ONE OR NONE: THE VAGARIES OF A PĀLI PERICOPE.

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

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

¹ 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 pāppamittā I have given only ‘following after’ for sevana, nisevana and samevana, and ‘being devoted to’ for both bhatti and sambhatti.

² 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).
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 (Sumanā-gala-vilāsīnī III 851): attano rāgādīnaṁ damanaṇīhi ekam attānaṁ damente pariṇibbāpenti 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 (Dīghanīkāyathathakā-tīkā III 36): Rāgādīnaṁ ti rāgadosamohānaṇādīnaṁ. Damanaṇīhi ti damana-samana-nibbāpanehi. Ekam attānaṁ ti ekam cittam, ekaccam attano cittan ti attho. Rāgādīnaṁ hi pubbabhāgīyatā damanaṇi paccekanāt icchitabbam, na maggakkhanī viyā ekajīham paṭīsaṅkhānamukhena pajahanato. Ekam attānaṁ ti vā vi-kavasena ekam ekākinānāt atānaṁ. ‘Passion etc. means passion, hate, delusion, pride etc. Taming etc. means mastering, calming, bringing to nibbāna. Ekam attānaṁ 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 attānaṁ means the self when it is sole, that is alone, by virtue of [being in] solitude.’

The PTS Pali-English Dictionary s.v. pariṇibbāpeti 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 attānaṁ damente ti ekam attano va attabhāvam indriyadamaṇī.

damente. samente ti attano cittam kilesavāpasamanana samente. pariṇibbāpenti ti kilesaparinibberten eva pariṇibbāpenti. ‘Ekam attānaṁ damente means: they master one, that is their own, life by mastering the senses. Samente means: they calm their own mind by laying to rest the defilements. Pariṇibbāpenti 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 śrāuta ritual. Ascetics and brahmins characterized by our set of three expressions are said to be the dakkhinēyyaggi, ‘the fire worthy of offerings’, which by a pun is equated with the brahminical southern fire (Sanskrit: daksināgni). 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 II 46, with the insignificant change of ‘taming’ for ‘mastering’. His footnote also refers to the commentary (Manoratha-pūraṇī IV 30), which is brief: attānaṁ ti cittam, damente ti indriyadamaṇī damente, rāgadosamamanana samente, tesānīyena pariṇibbāpanena pariṇibbāpenti. 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 attānāṃ damentī tī attano indriyadamanavasena ekam attānam eva damentī; ‘ekam attānāṃ 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 adverting 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 citam, 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-sihanāda Sutta last of all, because that is a much longer text, which like much of the Digha 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 brahmans can be relevant to understanding some aspects, including verbal details, of his teaching. This latter theme I intend to explore in future publications.

OXFORD

Richard Gombrich

Notes

1 All references are to PTS publications.

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

MINOR PĀLI GRAMMAR TEXTS:
THE SADDABINDU AND ITS ‘NEW’
SUBCOMMENTARY

Introduction

The epilogomena to volume I of the Critical Pāli Dictionary1 give a list of ‘fourteen minor texts’ on Pāli grammar with a considerable number of exegetical works (see CPD Epilogomena 5.4.1–14)2. Most of these texts and their auxiliary literature were written in Burma between the 11th and the 19th century A.D.3 The name ‘minor grammar texts’(saddā-ñay-kyām3) is found in the Piṭaka-to2-samuiṅ3, a 19th century bibliography of the manuscripts kept in the Royal library at Mandalay.4 It clearly refers to the size of the texts, which ranges from 20 to 568 verses, and is used in contrast to the ‘major grammar texts’ (saddā-kṛ̣5) written by Kaccāyana, Moggallāna, and Aggavaṃsa.5

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

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

The subcommentary apparently entitled Ganthasāro nāma Saddabinduvicchayyo (the investigation of the Saddabindu (text) called ‘Essence of Book(s)’)10 was written by Sad-
The Saddabindu and its ‘New’ Subcommentary

masañghāmaṁ tam Saddabinduṁ
saṁrabhe

2. kādirītā nava saṁkhyaṁ
pādayo pañca saṁkhyaṁ ti
kahemā tādi yādi ca
suñña nāma saaraṁ-ña-nā.

3. sāreḥ’ eva sāraṁ pubbā
yāñjanā c’ āgamā vāci
luttā vāci’ pariṁ raṁatā
digharassādisambhāvā.

4. k’ ākson’ āgato ’s’ isī?
araţ’-ākhv-aggi-mesinaṁ
ken’ iddhim atidissati?
s’-otuka-megha-y’-ithiyo.

5. buddho pumā yuvā santo
yat’-ādi dehi jantu ca
rājā brahmā sakhā ca sā
satthu pitā ’bhībhū vidū.

6. kaṁṇā’-mmā-ratti’-tthī
pokkha-
raṇi-nadya uru’-mātubhū
napūṃsake tiyanta’-va
pada-kamma-dadh’-āyuto.

7. gahitāggahāṇaṁ ettha
vimalā’ honti ch’ antehi
suddhe syādy-antaṅka pume
[ṛ]thyā’- pāñcantehi
napūṃsake payogā tu
dādhiṅaṅga
ejakā honti ty-antaṅto.

8. padhānānugatā sabb-
naṁ-samāsa-taddhitā
atilīṅga nipatādi
tato luttā ’va syādayo
tuttānuṟūpato saddha
nāmaṁ.

9. cha kārake’-9 ca sāṁśiṁī
samāso honti sambhava
saddhito kattu-kamma-
sampaṁ
dān’-okāsa-sāṁsu

10. tisādhanaṁ-10 ākhyāto
kitako satta sādhane
sabbatha paṭhamā vutte
avutte dutiyādayo.

11. manasā munino vutya
vattā bhito vivattattham
vane buddhena vanṇite
bhikkhu bhāveti
kārakamāṁ.

12. rāsī-11 dvippadakā-12 dvandā
lingena vacanena ca
luttā tulyādhikaranā-13 bahubhih’ tu khepayu-14
dayā-15 ca kammadharaya
e te sabbavaharīta.

13. tappurisā ca khepo-14
digavo cābyanā hāra-16
samāso.

14. Kaccādito pi ekamāṁ
saddato niyamaṁ vinā
’nekatthe sati hont’ eva
sabbe taddhita-paccayā.
taddhitam.
15. kattari nāṇṇāṭhā kamme sabbe te pañcadhātumhi
16. gamumhi18 tigunā etto anantā va payogā te
ākhyaṭām.
17. kitādipaccayā sabbe siyum 'nurūpato satta
kitakaṃ.
18. iminā kiṭci lesena payogā nānṭinā sindhu20
rammaṃ sīgahṃ pavesaṃya maggojumaggataṃ
maggaṃ
dhammadena sobhhipatinā22 kiṭci jaliito padipo
cittagabbha24 kone
dhamma- rājā25 gurunāmakena.
Saddabindupakaraṇaṃ samattaṃ.

SADDABINDU-ABHINAVAṬIKĀ
GANTHASĀRO NĀMA
SADDABINDUVINICCHAYO

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.

Namissitvāna sambuddhaṃ dhammaṃ ca vimalaṃ
samghaṃ saddatthāṃ içchantana
bhikkhunā Nāṇakittena
yācito 'ham karissāmi
Porāhehi katānekā
dañhi sakkā subuddhaṃ
tasmā naṃ vaṃñayissāmi
Pacchā tabbinicchayaṃ ca
tilokaṃ pi mahādayaṃ1
tathā bhāve tu merayā
saṅkepena marūmayaṃ17
sambhavā aṇṇadhatusu
ādesapaccayāḍhi3

($1$) Paramasukhumayanayasanāgataṃ sakasamayasa-
ayantaragahanaviggahaparamaṃ suvimalavipulapañṇa-
veyyatiyajananam4 saddalakkhasahitaṃ gāthāpadasaṅ-
khātaṃ varaṣanānaṃ passane akhilanayanisaṃ Sad-
addaṃ purahhanto pathamaṃ tava sabbatha
bhayanivaranasamaṃ ratanaṭayapananāmaṃ dassetum
jaya neyyesu dhamesu ty ādīm āha.

Ettha hi sammāsambuddhaṃ sadhaṃmasamghaṃ natva
hi iminā ratanaṭayapanāmo vutto. Tattha tathā ratanaṭay-
avananaṃ tava bahudhā vithhārenti. Visesato pana roga-
taryā vūpasamaṃ pathanti. Vuttañhi hi nipaccakārass' etassa—la—assesato (As 1, 15–16)5. Ratanaṭayavananaṃ hi atttha vandanakriyābhinipphādiktā kusalacetanā. Sā hi
vandikoppavandakānaṃ khetajjāhāsayasaṃpadāditāya ca diṭ-
thammadvedaniya bhūtā purāṇakassa kammassa bāla-
nuppādāvanasena purimakammanibbattitaṃ apanākasaṃtan-
assa rogaratāya karānī upapijako pachchedakakammanī vinā-
setva tāṃ nidānaṃ rogād’-upaddavasaṅkhāṭānaṃ rogaratā-
yānaṃ anabhinibbatitaṃ karoti. Tasmā ratanaṭayavanana-
karanaṃ attana samārahithabbassa satthassa anantaraya
sambajjanaththaṃ bālakulaputṭanāṃ vandanā puñṇaṃgamāya
paṭipattiya anantarayaṇa uggahāṇḍi-samajjanatthaṃ ca.
Ayaṃ ettha samudāyo, ayaṃ panāvavattho. Sammāsama-
buddhaṃ sammahassamghaṃ natva Saddabindupakara-
naṃ samārabhe ti sambandho.

Yassī ti puggalaniṇassanam etaṃ, neyyesu dhamesu ti
paññāvīsayanidassanam etaṃ, nānuttanam ti bhavanidasa-
nam etaṃ, aveditaṃ ti kriyāniddassanam etaṃ, natvā ti
kattuniṇassanam etaṃ, sadhammasamghan ti kammanidas-
sanam etaṃ, natvā ti kattuniṇassanam etaṃ, sadhamma-
saṃghan ti kammanidassanam etaṃ, Saddabindā ti saṅṇā-
nidassanam etaṃ, samārabhe ti ākhyātakriyāniddassanam
etaṃ. Yassī ti yena sambuddhena aveditan ti yojanā.
Neyyesu dhamesu ti padadvayaṃ niddhāranasamudāye
yatti iddhāhippeto. Sabbāvapariyatti nāma ki ce, maggaphalanibbānasankhāto sabhāvadhanno nāma, tepitakaṃ buddhavacanaṃ pariyyattidhammo nāma ti pariharavacanaṃ kātabbaṃ.

Samgha-saddo pana sāmaññavacano. Catuvaggapañcavagdasavagga dāthe tathā maggaṭṭhe ca phalaṭṭhe ca samgha-saddo pavatti ti codāna. Tesu pana maggaṭṭhe ca phalaṭṭhe ca ti veditabbā. Vuttaṃ hi:

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


Yass’ ekattavibhattachitam ekasaṅkhyākriyā pi ca samānaṅgata c’ eva tulyādhikaraṇaṃ bhave ti (Kacc-bh 92)

vacanato; atha vā bhinnavisesanāṁ, dabbavisesanāṁ, guṇavisesanāṁ ti. Hoti c’ ettha:
Yasmā hi yā bhedañeyyaṁ hoti tabbisesanām
taṁ ca jāti-guṇa-kriyā
dabba-nāman ti

'nekdadhā ti (?)


Ahaṁ ti padaṁ samārabhe ti kattā. Kattā ca nāma pañcavidhdā: sayamkattā, hetukattā, kammakattā, vuttakattā, avuttakattā ti pañcahdhā kuttukanaṁ. Tesāṁ pana bhedato: sayamkattā nāma ‘suddho puññaṁ karoti’ ty ādi, hetukattā nāma ‘puriso purisaṁ kammaṁ kāreṇa’ ty ādi, kammakattā nāma ‘sayam eva koṭṭhabhijjate’ ty ādi, vuttakattā nāma ‘puriso ratham karoti’ ty ādi, avuttakattā nāma ‘śūdena pacate odano’ ty ādi. Vuttam ti:

Sayamkattā hetukattā — pa — kattā pañcavidho hoti

Tesu vuttakattā idhādhippeto


Kasma ti ce, navtā ti ce, pubbakālakriyāya katham jānitabbhi. Taṁ hi:

Anumattan ti padaṁ paccattavacanaṁ kammanṁ hoti. Kathāṁ viṇṇayati ti ce, yassa ti padaṁ tatiyā vibhātiyam eva bhajati. yassa ti yena samāsamuddhenā ti vuttataṁ paṭhamā kammanṁ hoti ti. Tathā hi vuttamaṁ:

Yadā ca paṭhamā kattā dutiya kammam eva ca
yadā ca tatiyā kattā paṭhamā hoti kammanṁ ti ( ? )

Idha padaṁ paccattavacanaṁ kammanṁ yeva hoti ti veditabbaṁ. Sesaṁ padaṁ vattabbaṁ na viṭṭhārema. Sace viṭṭhāre ganthagarukā bhaveyya tam saddasatthantare yeva bahutaram. Viṭṭhāretpā idha padaṁ na vakkhami, tathāhike hi gave
setvā gahetabba ti.

Tattha sappati uccāriyati ti saddo, saddiyati kathyāti ti vā saddo, sappati sotaviṇṇaṁarammaṇabhavam āpajhāti ti vā saddo, uccāriyati ti vā saddo. Utuṣasaddo cittajo ca, tattha pacchimo idhaṭṭhipeto. Kasmā ? So va munindamukham

Bindati paggharatī ti bindu; bindapaggaraṁte ti hi dhātu. ‘vid-ante ‘ti (Kacc 616) u-paccayaṁ katvā ‘kvacādi majjhat-
tarādi’19 suttena u-paccayassa rassam katvā rūpasiddhi. Bindu viyā ti bindu. Athā va sādanāṁ Kaccāyaṇādaṁ

Sabbha ty atra viķāro he ty uccate anañnato
tassa rūpaṁ dukā hoti la-kārassa tathā pi vā
Chindadanto yathā nāgo kuṇijarakhādhigacchati
evam pi vaṇṇa-viķāro
tabbohāraṁ vigacchati ti ( ? )
vuttam hoti.

Atthe kathā ti atṭhakathā, sabbathā pi yathānurūpavasena vaṇṇavikāraṁ kātabbaṁ.

The Saddabindu and its ‘New’ Subcommentary

lekhāṃ kāṭabbaṃ: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Ĥā ti padām 1 (ekam) lekhāṃ, -pa- dhā ti padām 9 (nava) lekhāṃ likhitabbaṃ eva: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Ya, ra, la, va, ša, sa, sa, ha, ĥā ti es’ eva nayo. Pā ti padām 1 (ekam) lekhāṃ -pa- mā ti padām 5 (pañca) lekhāṃ kāṭabbaṃ: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. A, ā, -pa- o, ŏa, nā ti suññā namā ti daṭṭhabbaṃ. Suññā nāma ātthā lakkhaṇaṃ: bindu kāṭabbaṃ o, o, o, o, o, o, o, o, o, o. Iđha lekhāṃ udāhaṭam: tiṃsaṃ purīse nāvuto, 39,000, ga- jha- a-na-na. Idam pana lekhāṃ sabbatha veditabbaṃ. Hoti c’ ettha:

ädī-vaggā nava saññhyā ŭti-yădi-vaggā tathā
dādi-vaggā pañca saññhyā
ete pañca vagge tāva

Tesaṃ atha saranaṃ byañjanānañ ca ekakkharanam ekapadaṃ bandhitvā23 kulaputtaṇaṃ mukhamāṇḍanaṃ yassaṃ āha:

a-daḍam ā-raṇam buddham
abhivaṭṭhaṃ puṇṇaṃbalaṃ
i hoti kāmakilesam
un’ ekameka pureti
ohāya lokam24 gaccheyya
aki-kāra-puppham idam
gata-kāre āna passa
na’kkhara sarā-nisāya
tasam’ v’ assa víkāro
vajeyya puṃ mahārāja
jan’ etthā ādānabrāhvena
nāṭṭabbaṃ dhammajaṭan ti
thatvā puṇṇaṃbāhvena
vaṭṭham vaḍḍhena ācāyaṃ
tārehi na-karaṇaṃ inaṃ
dadaṃ yatāna dhammena
narehi attano gehe
vālesi sariraṃ jāta
ayaṃ silavisuddhānaṃ
yāhi sagganivāsanāṃ

(The Saddabindu and its ‘New’ Subcommentary 91)

labhitvā attano gehāṃ dhammikam viya passati
ratana-tayassā mahā kāmadharehi khattiya
saritvā inane ante mane gaṇāṃ vinodaye
lā-ti kīlantarājano atha tejena tādinā ti (?).

Evamo dvēṭalīsakhaṃ gahetvā ekapadaṃ ekakkharanam subbandhitvā rājovadāṃ dasahi kāraṇupaṭyān ti kasmā ti ce, ekakkharanam nāma ekapadaṃ bandhitvā katthacī dissatī ti. Saccam, tam paṇ’ ekakkharanam ekapadaṃ nāma tāva hotu, caturo akkharā gātha nāma atthi, ’saddharmetthu’ty ādhī Porāṇavuttodayākāyaṃ (? ) vuttam. Atha vā dve akkharā ti-akkharā catu-akkharā ca gātha nāma honti ti:

Rāja pātu
sabbata maccam (?).
Sudevo vassatu
sabbassaṃ samāraṃ (?).

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

caja dujjanasamśaggaṃ bhaja sādu samāgamah
kara puṇnaṃ ahorattīṃ sara niccaṃ aniccaṇatā ti (?).

Tesaṃ atho ativiya pākaṭo yeva.


Digharassa ca akkharā yathā sambhavaṃ ti ādi-saddena c’ ettha samyo gakkharanamaṃ lopaṃ saṃgahati. Pubbaluttaparaluttasarānaṃ byañjanānaṃ c’ agamaṃ padaccheda kā-


Iti sandhi kappas’ attthavānantam paṭhamāṃ.


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


A-kāranta, i-kāranta, u-kāranta, o-kāranta sānkhatā pi antā napūmsakaliṅge honti (cf. vss. 7d). Vuttaṃ pi c’ etam:

Antā pumamhi raso32 ca usu ca itthilingikām napūmsake tiyantā va na vijjant’ etthā sensa ca sandehamā mā kare budho ti (?).

Attho pana tissāya siddho hoti ti.

The Saddabindu and its 'New' Subcommentary

"Tisamghâni ca ante ca pume syâdi vibhattiyo
sata dhâla itthiyo hir
tepitakesu vijjant
antaṭhânena pi neyay

gahita gahânena c’ ti ( ? )


Go-saddo sagga-râmîsû vajirânumevâdisu34
dassane nayanantesu35 pasumhi vacane bhûvi ti ( ? )36

Sesaṁ pana vattabberm eva n’ aththi ti.

Iti nâmakappâś’ athhavaññanam dutiyoam.


Karaṇam kâro, kâro eva kârako. Gamanapacânañdikan kriyaṁ karotib nippâdeti ti kârako. Cha eva kârako cha-

The Saddabindu and its 'New' Subcommentary


Vutte kâmmâdisâmisimīm liṅgatthe pathâma ti yâya
dutiyo anurûpato
ti vuttam. (Cf. Bâlavatâra vss. 359)38

Attho pana suvijânâtaddhem eva.


Khandhânaṁ ca patipâti dhâtu-åyatanaṇâ ca
aboccchinnam pavattâta
samsâro ti pavuccati [ti]
(Vism 544 = Vibh-a 149).42
The Saddabindu and its ‘New’ Subcommentary


Iti kāraṇakakappaṃ aththavaṇṇanam taṭiyaṃ.


Diguṇo ca te gavo cā ti dvegavo digu, sāṅkhya-pubbana-puṃsake kattasaṅkhātehi dvīhi lakkaṇhehi gato agavago ti digu, digusadisattā ayam pi samāso digu ti vuccati.

Byayaṃ bhavantī ti byayībhăvo, byayībhăvaṃṇaṃ patipakko ti byayībhăvo. Abhyānaṃ atthe vibhavantī ti vā byayībhăvo, vināsanavasaṇa anayanti pavattantī ti vā abyaṃ. Upasaggaṇipatpadadvayaṃ vuttaṃ ca:

Na byaso tisu liṅgesu sabbāsu ca vibhattisu

Yesaṃ n’ aththi padānānu ti tāni vaccanti abhyāyā ti ( ? ).
Abyayānaṃ atthaṃ bhāveti ti abhyībhăvo. Vuttaṃ ca:
Sadisaṃ tisu liṅgesu sabbāsu ca vibhattisu, vacanesu ca sabbesu yaṃ na byeti tad abhyāyan ti ( ? )
Tihi liṅgehi yo yasmāti vibhattiḥ ca sattahi abhyībhăvo ti kitiito.


Nāmapubpadpo ca so abhyayapubbapado tathā nāmapasaggaṇipatā va saṃadukhi mato ti ( ? )

The Saddabindu and its ‘New’ Subcommentary

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puppadāṭṭhānaṁ\(^{50}\) kim payojanaṁ. Payojanaṁ pana vi-
thārena saddasatthantaresu hoti. Idha pana saṁkhannya
vuttaṁ. Vuttaṁ ca:

Dvandā dvipadiṅkā c’ eva dus honti ca gaṅānā
bahu bhīhi tappuriso dvesatā gaṅasambhavā.
Kammadhārayasaṁsāsa kajā honti ca gaṅānā
digu’-byāya ca samāsā
dayitam ti yā saṁnītā [ti] (?)

Iti samāsakappass’ athavāvānanaṁ catuttham.

(§14) Evam gambhirasamāsakanaṁ dassetva idāni tad-
dhitakappam ārabhanto aha ‘Kaccādīto’ ty ādi. Kaccāya-
gottādito niyamanām niyamanām eva, vinā vajjetvā anekatthe
sai, sabbe taddhitapaccaya nādayo honti eva niyamanām na
hoti. Tatthi ‘ādi-saddena Vāsudevagottādayo. Api-saddena
arayā-ādi-taddhitadayo saṅgayhati.\(^{51}\) Gottataddhītā nāma
kim taṁ ti. Vāsiṭṭha, Gotama, Kaccāyaṇa, Aggvessana,
Moggallāṇ’-Ukatta,\(^{52}\) Vāsudeva, Vaccha\(^{53}\), Nārā[y]a\(^{54}\),
ukkaṭṭha\(^{55}\)-majjhimahīnakaṁhādisaṁkhāthi jāti-gottatad-
dhitādi daṭṭhābbā.\(^{56}\) Gottataddhīte aṭṭha paccaya honti,
yathā na, nāyana, nāna, neyya, ni, niṅka, nera, nava iti ‘me
aṭṭha veditabba.\(^{57}\) Taratāyāditaddhīte cattāro, ten’ āha:

Dve paccayāni ekā va dvīsu suttesu vuttate
vikappādiggahānena vuttā niṅkāṅkā duve ti
(Sj 446cd, 447ab).\(^{58}\)

Rāgataddhīte eko, ten’ āha:

Rāgādītaddhīte eko paccayo sa-ṇa-kārako
saṅkhepen’ eva jāneyya anekatthesu sodhito [ti]
(Sj 447cd).\(^{59}\)

Jātaddhīte cha paccayā honti, ten’ āha:

Suttena\(^{60}\) iminā c’ eva im’-iy’-ik’-ādiggahānena ca
kiyo cāpi ca saddena (cha) jātyā honti paccayā
ti (Sj 448).\(^{61}\)

Samūhataddhīte tayo paccayā honti, eko tā-paccayo
liṅgattayesu vuttati. Ten’ āha:

Upamātaddhīte eko, ten’ āha:

Upamātaddhīte eko
saddasatthe idya viya
therena na katā idhā ti
(Sj 451).\(^{65}\)

Nissite py eko\(^{66}\) va paccayo, saddasatthantare pana dve ti.
Ten’ āha:

Nissite paccaya dvidhā
ne eko paccayo eva
lottha aṅṇattha vattate
Kaccāyana\(^{67}\) na dipito [ti]
(cf. Sj 452).\(^{68}\)

Bahulataddhīte py eko\(^{66}\) va saddasatthe pana tayo, yathā:

Bahullataddhīte ālu
satthesu āluko c’ eva
paccaye ko vattattai
therena na katā idhā ti
(cf. Sj 453).\(^{69}\)

Setṭha-taddhīte paṇca paccaya, yathā:

Adhite paṇca paccaya
tara, tam’, isik’, iy’, iṭṭha
icc ete paṇca paccaya ti.
(cf. Sj 447cd).

Assathītaddhīte nava paccaya, saddasatthe pan’ ekādasa,
ten’ āha:

Assathī taddhīte vi ca
mantu ca sa-ṇa-kāro ca
i-ṣi-ika-ra-vantu ca
paccayā nava dipitā,
therena na katā idhā ti
(Sj 454 cd, 455 a-d).

Pakatītaddhīte eko va, vuttaṁ ca:

Pakati taddhīte eko
bahupākāro vidhisu
maya-paccayanāmako
ñāttabam\(^{72}\) taddhītesinā ti.
(cf. Sj 455 cd).
The Saddabindu and its 'New' Subcommentary

पुराणत्तद्धिते पाणिः, ददसत्तधे पाणी सत्ता, 'तः भानो:
पुराणे पउच्छ्या पाणिः पुराणत्तधे पाण्यमाणि
त्ता, मा, 'पी-पाणिः साब्बे

सांख्यया त्तद्धिते एको वा पप्पयो। वुत्तान काः:
सांख्यया त्तद्धिते एको
विसाति विसात्तद्धिताः
(अब, अद = सज ४५६)।

Lopādēsāgamāvuddhī सांख्यया पाकतिही
न्योष्ठ ७७ सत्त्हाणसुरणाः

Vibhāgato-द्धिते द्वे, ददसत्तधे पाणी तयो, यथां काः:
ुस्तेन्वी पाप्यो वुत्तो
सो पाप्यो विखबागो
सरदसत्तधे विद्धां वुत्तो

Ime pannarasa taddhitāni. Sesā nidanattā
ddasa-सत्तधेत्रसु गाहेत्तब्‌न्‌ कि Kaccādito ti etena gottataddhite sādhana-saṭṭha ti dasseti. Apī ti padena sabbataddhite sādhāti ti dasseti. Attho pana suviṇ्नेयो।

Iti taddhitakappass' athavaṇṇaṁ paṇicamaṁ।

(§§15-16) Evaṁ paracittanayagambhirataddhitakaṇḍaṁ
dassetvā idāni akhyātakaṇḍaṁ ārabhanto 'yam acariyo aha:
'kaṭṭari ty aidi. Kaṭṭari ti kattusim, sabb' ete payogā paṇchā dhātumhi honti, nāṇṇathā. Satta satam te payogā pana
dsambhāvamurūpaṁ gahētāmā eva. Te ca paṇogā aṁnathathā dhātusu anantā aparimānaṁ eva. Ādesapaccaya-
dhi
dsambhavanti ti. Ettā vatā paṇogā paṇcadhatumhi
gānamāravasena marumayān aṁnadhātusū pī yebhyyyena

The Saddabindu and its 'New' Subcommentary

पवातांता ना gangitabba. Rūpasiddhipakaranā noloketvā
gahētāmā. Sesavacanān eva vattabbaṁ n' athi ti. Attho
dana supākaṇaḥ।

Iti akyātakappass' athavaṇṇanaṁ chaṭṭham।

(§17) Evaṁ akhyātakaṇḍaṁ dassetvā idāni kitakappaṁ
dasseto aha: kitādi ty aidi. Sabbe paccayā kitādi
ekadbhuto siyum. Anurūpato yathāsambhavato satta sādhane sati
pī pāyato yebhyyyena pavattanti, ettha adiv-saddena kitik-
capaccayā saṁghayhanta. Apī-saddena dhātusādhānāṁ saṁ-
ghayhanta. Kito adivi sante ti kitādaya. Paṭicca etasmā ti
caccayō. Kitādi eva paccayā kitādipurccayā. Saha ayavane
evattti ti sabbāṁ, payati yebhyyyena pavattati ti pāyo. Pāya-
saddo bahuṇnvacako, yebhyyyenā ti attho. Ye paccayā
bahuṇnā kattari pavattanti, te kitā nāma. Ye paccayā
bahuṇnā bhāvakammesu vattanti, te kicca nāma. Ye
paccayā sabbesu vattanti, te kitācicca nāma. Vuttaṁ c' etam:}

Tayo ca paccayā neyā
kītakicca-kanāmaṁ ca
kītakicca tu sabbattha

Kitakicca naṁ kim tanti pucchā. Vuttaṁ h' etam:}

Nv,[86] ro, ṃa, ka, ta, ti, tu ca
tama, tvāna c' ime tera-
aniyo,[89] tabba, ṃyo, ricca,
te kicca paccayā nāma
No ca yu kvi ca raṃmo ca
tītha, raṭṭhu, āni,[91] a, nu, kā

Kitapaccayā terasa
kitakicca pannarasa
catutthasa samūhato ti (?)。}

Saddasathanare pana kitakiccabhedena dvedhā vuttā ti.
Tathā pī lakkaṅvasena vuttan ti daṭṭhabbaṁ. Kitādi ti
etena kita-kicca-kitakiccaye sādheti ti dasseti. Apī ti padena
datta[93] sādhana vuttarūpaṁ[94] ti dasseti. Adhippāyo pana
ativiya pākaṇo yeva.
Iti kitakappass’ athavannanam sattamaṃ.


Iti GANTHASĀRAMAṃ SADDABINDUVINIC-CHAYAM samattam.

Yo thūpathupu vā dhīro samāno vasihi katehi anekanekā suvannapatehi acchādayitvā āvhatitabbo va nāma rammaṃ Yonanagare abhi-vaddhayanto visuddhasilo samanānanam indo laddhābhisekho PHUUSSADEVA-thero Rañjādhirajino ti pūjāyitvā. Tam thūpathupavarām nissaya TIKAM karonto HARIPUN-JAYASMIM SADDASSA BINDU-vivaranaṭtham setṭhassa gantham GANTHASĀRAsāri.
The Saddabindu and its 'New' Subcommentary

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 Prañā-kriṣṇa mānduṇin Press; the Gaṇṭhathi Nissaya is replaced by the Nissaya of the Rāpabheda-pakāsāni.

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 (CPD 5.4.12), Kaccāyanaṇhada (CPD 5.4.13), Kārikā (CPD 5.4.14), Gaṇṭhābharaṇa (CPD 5.4.10). Then follows Gaṇṭhathi-pakārana (CPD 5.4.11) in two versions, both with the serial number 14 but distinguished as Cullagāṇṭhiti-pakārana and Mahāgaṇṭhathi-pakārana in the preface (ICchāsayanidānam p. kha). The editors state that the larger text (101 prose items) is actually a subcommentary on the shorter text (36 prose items). Apparently CPD 5.4.11 refers to the larger text. The last text (serial number 15) is Rāpabheda-pakāsāni by Nān-kan Charātō U3 Cakkinda, also known as U3 Budh (1787–1842 A.D.).

CPD lists Sinhalese prints for the two texts written in Sri Lankan and several works written in Burma, i.e. the Viṃbhatthiyatha, and subsidiary works on Gaṇṭhābharaṇa, Kaccāyanaṇhada, and Kārikā. Sannayas for Gaṇṭhābharaṇa and Kaccāyanaṇhada are also mentioned.

The text is mentioned in Gv 64.4 (Kya-cvā-rāṇī Saddabindu nāma pakāram... akāsi) and 73.28 (Saddabindupakāram... atana mattivā Kya-cvā nāma raḫā kātā), Sās 76, 26, 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: Rājaguruthe). This view is apparently based on a faulty reading in Gv 73.28 (Ed 1886, S: dhāmmarājassa guṇaḥ anātārācariya kātaṃ); cf. Bode (JPTS 1894–95) p. 79, note 1. Sās 76, 11–17, 6 and Pit-sm § 289 (s.v. Paṃmatthabindu) give some details on King Kya-cvā. He was the son of King Jeyjasinkha, and took the title of Dhammarāja. His name Kya-cvā is regarded as a derivation from the Burmese word kya-na-cvā because he was extremely well versed in the Tipitaka (Sās 76, 13–16: Jeyjasinkhanāmakasā raṇī putto Kya-cvā nāmako rājā rajakā kāresi. Dhammarāja ti ni nāma lañčam patig Sending. Tisu pana pitačiye yathābhūtāṃ vijñanakārya Maramma-vohārena Kya-cvā (so read) ti vohāriyati).

Fausbøll (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 Saddabindutikāpakārana and the author Sirissadhammakitt-Mahāpussavedathera (cf. PLG 55). The title Saddabinduvinnichaya is mentioned by Bode (PLB 25 note 4). The title Gaṇṭhārāra is found in T used for this edition.

The Burmese printed edition refers to the author as Sirissadhammakitti-밀라hahpussavedathero both on the title page and in the terminal title. The verses in the codophone call him Phussar(ī)-evathera.

Haripuṇja (or Labhuṇja, Sās 48, 21 foll.) is sometimes identified with Chiangmai (so Sās 49, 5), but see Likhit Likhitandana (1980), pp. 64 foll. Haripuṇja is the earlier capital of the Mons which was captured by the Northern Thai, while Chiangmai was founded by them as their new capital.

Likit Likhitandana (1980) p. 72 describes the author as a contemporary of Nānakittī, the author of several Yojaṇa-s, who was a junior

Saddathabharaṇacānti (CPD 5.4.1), and Sambandhacānti (CPD 5.4.7) and a subcommentary on it were written in Sri Lankan; one subcommentary on Saddabindu (CPD 5.4.5,2) and Gaṇṭhābharaṇa (CPD 5.4.10.2) were written in Northern Thai; all other texts were written in Brīma. The Gaṇṭhathi-pakārana (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; 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 Pit-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 Prañā-kriṣṇa mānduṇin, the Nissaya being identical with N1 used for this edition. Moṇ Nīvānt Moṇ (1975) § 415 states that another...
Notes to Saddabindu

Notes to subcommentary

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

14 T vss. 3cd: porânáci katãneka santi yā pana vannanā. A subcommentary

by King Kya-cvā himself is mentioned in Pit-sm § 410 (cf. CPD 5.4.5.1).


17 cf. Pit-sm § 966 and Moñ Nñan1 Moñ (1975) § 415. The date is based on

Lha Samin (1961) p. ba.

36 cf. Ekakkarakosa 24–25

37 Ny lopam

38 source slightly different

39 so Ny; T kārana

40 Ny vimuccito

41 Ny vivattam

42 source slightly different

43 T-kārana

44 so Ny; T etassa

45 so Ny; T Dīguvo ca tī
di kārana

46 T sabbhusa

56 Cf. Sj 443–444:

57 cf. Sj 445:

58 cf. Kacc 350, 351; Sj 447: ni̊ka, nipta

59 Kacc 352: nā

60 Kacc 353

61 ima, iya, ika, kiya

62 T pi

63 Kacc 354: kañ, na Kacc 355: tā

64 Kacc 356: iyo, iya, eyya

65 āyutta

66 so Ny; T byako

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

68 lo, ne

69 Kacc 359: ālu, āluko

70 tara, tama, isika, iya, ittha;
cf. Kacc 363 and Sj 454

71 cf. vi ca, i, i, ika, ra, vantu,
mantu, na, iyā; (Kacc 364–370)
cf. Sj 454

72 so Ny; T-tabba

73 Kacc 372: maya

74 Kacc 373–374, 384–385: i, ma,

75 Kacc 378: ti

76 so Ny; T lopadesog-

77 T no yyo

78 Kacc 397: dhā sa
taddhatthinā? (Ny)

79 so P; T gemumi

80 so P; T ādesa paccayādi pi

81 so P; T gemumi

82 Ny kitādi

83 so Ny; T anurāpaga
to

84 so Ny; T -ati

85 so Ny; T -dhammesa

86 so Ny; T no

87 so Ny; T tāva

88 T tapaccaya

89 so Ny; T anīyo

90 so Ny; T sva

91 so Ny; T tu, ratthu

92 so Ny; T tu, ratthu

93 Kacc 372: maya

94 Kacc 373–374, 384–385: i, ma,
The Saddabindu and its 'New' Subcommentary

Fausböll, V.: 'Catalogue of the Mandalay MSS. in the India Office Library (formerly part of the King's Library at Mandalay)', (in: JPTS 1894–96, p. 1–52)

Franke, R. O.: Geschichte Kritik der Einheimischen Pāli-Grammatik und -Lexicographie, Strassburg 1902 (= PGL)

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Nñvan¹ Mon, Moñ: KUN³ bhoñ khet manam nissaya mya² ca cu ca rain³ (Catalogue of Burmese Nissayas belonging to the Kun³ bhoñ 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)

Yañ, Ü (Miiñ-khuiñ³ mruí³ cax³ piñata-to² up man³ kri³ Mahāsirijeyyasā): Piñata-to² samuin³, Rangoon (Hamsāvati) 1959

Gv = Ganthavamsa

Kacc-bh = Kaccāyabhadra

Sj = Saddasāratthājālīni

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

Friedgard Lottermoser

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Bode, Mabel: The Pali Literature of Burma, London 1909, repr. (= PLB)

Bode, Mabel: 'Index to the Gandhavamsa', (in: JPTS 1894–96, pp. 53–86)
THE OLDEST DATED MANUSCRIPT OF
THE MILINDAPAÑHA

As stated by V. Trenckner in his classic though pioneering edition of the Milindapañha (Mil), 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 dāi 857 tva nai pī dap hmīu Milindapañha nāy sin prahyā sān vai kap ham piṭak dā soy lee 'Sakarāja 857, in the year dap hmīu, the Milindapañha has been donated by Nāy Sin Prahyā to the Dā Soy library' the manuscript is dated in CS 857, dap hmīu, 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. 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.

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

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<td>Begins: namo tassa thu. milindo nāma so rājā, 1, 1 (photo 1)</td>
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<td>Ends: dutiyaṁ pi kho sabbad[nn]o, 30, 7 (photo 48)</td>
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<td>Begins: [mahā]rāja bhagavato, 137, 11 (photo 1)</td>
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<td>Begins: [ara][hati upāsako, 163, 25 (photo 1)</td>
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<td>Ends: pāṇippahāre hatha[cch][e]jjam, 193, 17 (photo 48)</td>
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<td>Ends: sūriyo mandam tapati, 273, 27 (photo 48)</td>
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<td>Ends: so tassa kālo kā[le], 302, 2 (photo 1)</td>
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<th>folios va–vah, sa–saḥ</th>
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<td>The pagination is mostly broken away, but still clearly readable in one or two instances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Begins: [a]nāmati, 400, 15 (photo 23)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Old Man's manuscript of the Milindapañha

Ends: pūjyaṁ ti. milindapañhā samattā paripuṇṇā niśṭhā, 420, 22 ff. (photo 57)

Those aksaras 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 ḍaḥ, ḍaḥ, etc. (not on the ka-folios): milindapanhā nāy sin prahyā sān vai kap haṁ pīṭak dā say.

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 phûk on the microfilm is nos. 1, 2, 10, 7, 5, 4, 11, 6, 15, phûk 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 phûk has been compared to the printed text of the PTS edition:

1,3 sāgalānāṃ; 1,8 abbhūtā (always -ū-); 1,11 bhāsāyītvān; 1,12 ivađāye; 1,18 anāḍā; 1,19 parikārā; 1,21 suppāsādītā (thus always); 2,2 bhimagiri; 2,7 f. vatthābharaṇa-sampannaṁ; 2,10 sūṅgādiviṇija; 2,11 rajatā (so always); 2,13 bhunnapaṇām; 2,19 om. ti; 2,23 pubbayoggo; 2,25 paṭivasanti; 2,27 āvajento; 2,32 om. bhikkhu; 3,9 paṭhamām paṭhamām paṭhāpesi; 3,25 nikumbhaṇ; 3,27 om. rājā; 3,28 samantaḥ yoga; 3,30 nīghahitāni; 3,31 om. gaṅkā; 3,32 yudhā chaṇḍā mutta pāvacanena ekaviṣṭā; 4,1 duppañño; 4,3 om. koci; 4,4 addho; 4,7 “kāmya”; 4,8 senagaṇam; 4,13 samgha-gani; 4,14 pariṭiṇamāno; 4,17 puraṇo (so always); 4,17 ghosāñi; 4,18 sanjayo veddhalapatto (cf. Sn 92, 3 with Pj II 423, 10 foll.); 4,21 foll. pativinassu ti; 4,24 bhadavaṇaṇa; 5,8 phalavipāko; 5,27 kam nu nv(ā) ajja; 6,7 sutuyā; 6,9 om. bhikkhu; 6,32 after viheṭheti inserted on the lower margin of the page by a second hand: sabbe pi te bhikkhū tassa pañhe
The Oldest Dated manuscript of the Milindapañha

vissajetum asakkantā nagerato nikkhamitvā yena vā tena vā pakkamanti. sāgalañagamā dvādasa vassāni samanēbhi suññān āhosi. tasmī bhagavato sāsanāṃ palutatā āhosi; 6,33 om. assagutam; 6,34 kho mahāntēna ketu; 6,34–7 om. aha kho . . . 6 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 haṭhatūnaḥ; 8,3 khanāṃ yeva; 8,7 pamujjante; 8,9 tenāvuso; 8,13 upapajjissati; 8,15 foll. om. niñhitvā; 8,22 samma for dhimmā; 8,23 abhipatpanāṃ; 8,27 abhividdānān ca; 9,4 gaṃtvā (thus always); 9,10 hiyo (thus always); 10,4 sippāni for sippam; 10,5 om. ācariyabrāhmaṇassā; 10,2 om. ahesum; 10,15 anvayo; 11,11 kocchaphalibodho sucipalibodho kappakapalibodho: this brings the number of palibodha up to 16; 11,16 om. yathā; 11,23 dātum sa/kkāḥ; 12,3 santi pabbljissa detīti; 12,9 vijamhavaṭhun- -m- ex corr.; 12,10 vijamha; 12,21 dhāmmanāgīṇīniṃ; 13,9 om. viṁhāreṇa; 13,11 appothesam (thus always); 13,11 dibbāni ca nañacunñāni; 13,15 pubbanha (thus always); 13,17 upādīsi; 13,23 parivitakkesi na kho; 13,27 yaṃ nañānam; 14,18 added by the scribe of the manuscript at the bottom of the folio in front of ko nāmo: tvam kinnāmo ti vutto nāgaseno ti vadesi; 14,30 upajjhāyo me; 15,7 sammañjaṭṭhānaṃ; 15,9 taṃ danta; 15,17 tinhkham assagutta; 16,5 dhāmmanakathāya; 16,5 suññātaya paṭṭa; 16,7 tasmī nīvatā; 16,7 dhāmmapakkkho (thus always); 16,13 foll. nissinno dvinaṃ(!); 16,24 kiṃ viduraṃ - am ex corr. from -e by a second hand; 16,26 labhissi; 16,28 foll. vigatañkālam; 17,16 kiṃnāmo; 17,20 abhīdhimaṅkiko written twice; 17,23 yeva ca; 18,16 foll. hotu bhante ettakana pi ten eva; 18,23 foll. himavantapabbate; 18,25 pāheisu; 18,32 pahāṃ pacchāya; 19,6 akiṃṣisu (thus here only); 19,9 foll. kam nu kha ajja; 19,12 kaṅkha(!) paṭṭivinodetun ti; 19,17 bhaddatassa, thus only rarely; 19,30 after pabbajjā (pa is omitted by mistake in the manuscript) follows an insertion mark for devamanussānam athṭhāya hitāya sukkhāya written at the bottom of the folio by a second hand; 19,32–20,1 bhagavatā . . . pavatattentena; 20,4–10 na pabbajjātēna hi, om. pūpa ca . . . pabbajjā ti, at the right margin following pabbajjā by a second hand: eka yeva, and

Letters marked as ṇḥḥ 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 -t- common in SE Asian manuscripts of inferior quality. The word for ‘silver’ rajātra is
written thus in accordance with the SE Asian Pāli orthography. The vowels /i/ and /u/ have been distinguished only rarely, a common use in Thai Pāli manuscripts. There is no visible distinction in this manuscript between ठिथ and धािि. Instead of the anusvāra, which is hardly ever marked after /i/, the manuscript has /-i/ regularly as in the aorists ending in -īnsa, in hānsa, 24,11 etc., what has not been noted in the preceding collation. The most conspicuous, though isolated form in this context is pāheiṣu, 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 patodayaṭhi, cf. pratodayaṭhi, Divyāvadāna (index) or perhaps maṇḍ for mṛṇḍja or guru for gur. The frequent kina, kalla nu, 27,21 and first of all yanu, 29,20 are forms similar to those met with in Mūlasarvāstivāda texts from Gilgit. 5

The ultimate origin of this manuscript seems to be Ceylon as shown by some very characteristic misreadings confusing aksaras of the Sinhala alphabet: bhī: bhāsatirtvāna, 1,11 for hā; bhimagiri, 2,2 for hima; vijhavathum, 12,9,10 for -mīh-. Further, -a- and subscript -r- have been confused in bhadā, 4,24 for bhadra, and finally ca stands for va in yāna: yāni ca, 29,18.

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

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

The 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 anatta as M; 418,28 rogato pey ganaṭo; 418,29 itito as M; 418,30 attāraṇaṭo against all of Trenckner's manuscripts; 418,31 aḷenaṭo; 418,31 aḷañato by mistake; 419,4–6 The text is disturbed by repetition: imasmi kāyogāvacareṇa sāyapāṭaṁ ārammaṇe upāśitaṁ paṁ daharāja issatthassa ca tuṭṭham aṅgam gaheṭtām. bhasitaṁ paṁ daharāja yoginā yogāvacareṇa sāyaṁ pāṭaṁ ārammaṇe . . . M and the Wat Lai Hin manuscript have sāyaṁ pāṭaṁ throughout. The lines 3 and 4 of photo no. 55 are identical for the better part, and identical aksaras have been written below each other; 419,11* sāyātaṁ by mistake; 419,12* labhātī bhattavettanāṁ.

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

419,14* foll.: . . . adhigacchāti. milindapaño niṭṭhito. milindapaṇha vāyakaraṇaṁ vaṇe samuddakucchiyā nighoso viya sādhhukara/56,i/saddo + (bahu)lo ahosi. (de)vasabhā milindoffā rājā pa (miswritten for ca) orodhagānas parīṣa ca anjali paṇāmetvā vandus. so nihaṭamānāthambho
The Oldest Dated manuscript of the Milindapañha

udhāta-dāttī vīya bhujagindo evam āha. sādhu bhante nāgasena buddhavisayo pañño tayā visajjīyā amasmi sāsane ṭhapetvā dhammadesanā(l)pati sāript(ā)putta-atheraṁ aṁno tayā sadiso pañhāvī(ss)ajjane nathitī. khamaṁa me bhante nāgasena ma(ma) dosam upāskam ca maṁ dhāretha ajjatagge pāñupetam saranaṁ gataṁ ti. tathā rājā(sā) saha balanikāye(hi) na(l)gasenatheraṁ pariyupāsīvatī milinda-viḥāram nāma mahāviḥāram kāretvā therava niyādetvā (ca)tuḥ pac-cayehi nāgasenassa kotisahassabhikkhuhi saddhi paricaritvā nāgasenassa paññāya pasidūtvā puttassa rājāṁ niyādetvā agārasmā anāgāriyaṁ pabbajītvā aṭṭhānattam pāpuṇī. tena vuttaṁ

The concluding verse is the same as in E. However, the following variants may be noted: 420,17† lokasmī katā; 420,20† visesassadhāro aggasettho anuttaro as in B; 420,21† hitam attano as in B for atham attano; 420,22† paññāvantam bhipujeyya.

The text ends: . . . pūjīyan ti. milinda-pañhā samattā paripūṇṇā niṭṭhitā.

Freiburg

O. v. Hinüber

Notes


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 Ceylonense 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.


6 The statement by Godakumbura (see above n. 3), p. 50b: ‘The final portion of a newer MS . . .’ contradicts Trencker, 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 PÅLI IN 17TH-CENTURY FRENCH BOOKS

1. 17th-century French books on Thailand

Mr K.R. Norman points out in Påli Literature¹ that the term "Påli" 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 Påli.² Many books on Thailand were published in France during the second half of the 17th century, however, and, as we shall see, Påli was mentioned by the French in several books before 1691. (The French generally wrote the word as they heard it pronounced, Bâli or Baly [feminine: Bâlie, 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 "Påli" 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.


[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).


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

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

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

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

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

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

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.3

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

Ambassadors were sent from Thailand to France in 1684 and 1686. Louis XIV responded with two embassies to Thailand, sending M. de Vaudricourt, M. de Chaumont and the Abbé de
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.\textsuperscript{10}

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

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

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

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.\textsuperscript{9} And, unlike the others, La Loubère generally cites his sources. He does not say who translated the Buddhist texts he gives, however. In a note to the reader at the beginning of the second volume, La Loubère says, "I had almost no hand in this volume aside from assembling the parts. Some of these are translations which I have made; for some others, about all I did was write with my pen when the substance was dictated to me."

An examination of the discussion of Buddhism in these works is of interest not only for the information and misinformation available in Europe at the time, but also for the picture given of Buddhism as practised in Thailand in the 17th century.
Tachard goes on to accuse the Abbé de Lione of having a personal vendetta against him, influencing the Evêque de Metellosopolis and La Loubère, writing to Rome to denounce him. He says that the Abbé de Choisy, the Abbé de Lione 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.  

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 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 footprint 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 as least know how to read and explain a little to be ordained Badlōuan. 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 Portuguese 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: Sā tou sā [Sadhu], 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. He discusses at length the order of the consonants and the pronunciation of the consonants and vowels and their various combinations. La Loubère also speculates about the origins of Pāli. [La Loubère, I, p. 536; p. 139.] He says he consulted M. Herbelot concerning any common features between Pāli and Arabic, Turkish and Persian. He was told that ancient Persian was called "Pahalevi or Pahali [Pahali]" and that the Persians would not make any difference between Pahali and Bahali.

Also of interest is La Loubère's attempt to explain what he considers to be superstitious veneration of the monks. His theory is based on an explanation of how the instruction was originally given and how the texts came to be corrupted. [La Loubère, I, pp. 517f.; pp. 134f.] He seems to suggest that the teachings came to Thailand from India via China. Originally the texts were in poetry set to music. As men grew weary of singing the same thing and as they lost the meaning of the songs, they stopped singing them and looked for commentaries on the verses. The magistrates let other men make the commentaries and these men imposed their beliefs on the people, adding texts which were to their own advantage. But the point of particular interest for our discussion here is the mention of music. "The monks are therefore obliged to supply the ancient music," La Loubère continues, "and to explain
their Bali books to the people in an audible voice." [La Loubère, I, p. 522; p. 135.]

In recounting the daily occupations of the monks, La Loubère describes their chanting. 17 [La Loubère, I, pp. 448f.; p. 117.] They go to the temple the first thing in the morning. "There they sing or recite out of the Bali, and what they sing is written on the leaves of a tree somewhat longish and fastened at one of the ends. 18 . . . The people do not have a prayer book. The posture of the monks while they sing is to sit cross-legged and to continually fan themselves, so that their fan goes or comes at each syllable which they pronounce. And they pronounce them all with equal measure (à temps égaux) on the same tone (sur le même ton)." In the evening, they sing in the temple for another two hours. La Loubère also remarks that they have rosaries with one-hundred-eight beads, on which they recite certain Pâli 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 another in this office." [La Loubère, I, p. 440; p. 115.]

Further details concerning the discourses given by the monks are found in a commentary made on one of the rules for the monks. The rule La Loubère gives is not found in the Pâtimokkha, 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 Pâli exams than Gervaise. According to La Loubère [I, p. 439; p. 115], the purpose of the exams is to keep too many men from escaping the six-months' service due to the king by becoming monks. "To diminish the number of these privileged persons [the monks], he causes them to be examined from time to time concerning their knowledge with respect to the Bali language and its books. When we arrived in this country, he had just reduced several thousand to the secular condition, because they had not been found learned enough." The exams were given by a young layman, Oc-Louang Souracac, 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 Pâli was to gain a sufficient knowledge of religious terminology in order to translate the missionaries' message. The first usage of the knowledge of Pâli 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 on how to gradually introduce the Christian religion without shocking those of other beliefs.

William Pruitt

NOTES


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

5. A very similar observation was made by Robert Knox concerning Sri Lanka in a book published in 1681: "Their books are only of their Religion and of Physick. Their chief Arts are Astronomy and Magick. They have a language something differing from the vulgar tongue (like Latin to us) which their books are writ in." (R. Knox, An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon . . . 1681, p. 109; see also 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.


7. For example, M. Lalloys 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 Cochinchina. [Relation (1680), p. 66.]
8The other candidate was M. Chevreul who had come to Thailand in 1671 after having been arrested by the Portuguese in Cambodia, sent from there to Macao and then to the Inquisition in Goa.

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

10See Tachard (1686), p. 407; Chaumont, p. 137; Choisy, p. 215; 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.


12See for example the long report concerning him written by Ceberees, Bibl. nat., ms. fr. nouv. acq. 9380, ff. 216f.-217v. Maurice Garçon in his introduction [Choisy, pp. xxvi-xxvii] describes Tachard's attempts to give French troops to Phaoukam in order to rule Thailand.

13Gervaise gives a list of grades within the monkhood (p. 184): Ocon [novice], Picou [Bhikkhu], Badouang [sic], Chaouc, and Sancrat [the highest grade]. La Loubère (I, p. 434; p. 113) says the novices were called Nens (=Ocon). He also comments on Gervaise's list [La Loubère, I, pp. 454f.; pp. 118f.], saying that Balouang is written Pat-louang 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 Tchou-cou (=Chaucoo). 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 Tchou-couvat, "Lord or master of the convent").

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

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

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

17Other writers mention chanting, without directly referring to Pāli: [Tachard (1689), pp. 181, 183:] "On entering [the building] we found a monk who was saying his prayers before the pagoda—this 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 (psalmody) in this way for almost an hour, singing together without breaking off, and without looking at anything other than their idol." [Chaumont, p. 135, 140:] "The occupation of the monks is to read, sleep, eat, sing and ask for alms . . . What they sing in the pagodas consists of mythical stories, intermingled with some phrases . . . " [Gervaise, pp. 196f.:] "[The morning office] lasts for an hour. They sing it in a pleasing tone which resembles the intoning (la psalmodie) of Roman chant. They are divided into two choirs. They are seated cross-legged on mats on either side of the temple, facing each other. One monk, who is like the choir master (le choriste), begins, his side continues, and those on the other side respond, saying the following verset."

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

(Feer's PANCAGATI-DIPANAM)

For my translation I have used Feer's edition of the
text Pāncagati-dīpanam, (Journal of the Pali Text Society
1884, pp.152-61). However, I prefer the title
Pāncagatidīpani, which is given in the colophon of
manuscript M.2 and is consistent with other Pāli titles
such as Chagatidīpani and Paramatthadīpani, to Feer's
incorrect reading Pāncagatidīpanam (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 Pāncagati.
The translation might be subtitled A Cambodian Variant on
Chagatidīpani, since the commentary included with M.2
(MS.BN 347) is an authentic Chagati identical with the
commentary on the Chagatidīpani (Mus pp.28,32), as
discussed below.

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

* I am indebted to Prof. Dr Oskar von Hinüber of
Freiburg for drawing my attention to the work of Mus
referring to Pāncagatidīpani, to which Lin Li-kuang
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 Peer 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. Saddatā) (six realms of existence). Indeed, as demonstrated by this 'edition enclosed in a commentary’, the Pānca-gati (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, Āsvaghosa*, in MS. 347 is correctly transcribed in Pāli as Assaghosa. Āsvaghosa's 'summary' of the realms of existence is always ChagatiPānca-gati, 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 Pānca-gatiPānca-gati (MS. 346) used by Peer lists five sections: paraka, 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 Pānca-gati 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 Pānca-gati (m.1 and m.2). These Pānca-gatis, like the MSS.BN, Pāli 346 and 347, are therefore identical except in title with the Burmese Chagati - therefore, through it, to the Sanskrit Saddatākārikās and to their Chinese and Tibetan translations. The commentary on Chagati (B) is identical

with the *ti khā* on the Cambodian Pānca-gati (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 Saddhammassena of Thaton) was originally a Chagati. The text itself shows it to be a translation of a Sanskrit poem, identified by Sylvain Lévi with the Sanskrit Saddatākārikās. Briefly, it entered Indochina from the north-west as a Chagati (the Burmese MS.) and further down the peninsula became a Pānca-gati (the Cambodian MS.) (Mus pp.18-21, 29-30; Bode p.104, f.8).

Hence Pānca-gatiPānca-gati may be a variant of the ChagatiPānca-gati written (or translated from the sa. Saddatākārikā of Āsvaghosa) by 'Saddhammassena of Thaton, Burma, who was perhaps also the author of the Lokapānmati (Bode p.104, f.8; Denis vol.1, pp.1-5; Lin pp.103-6, 132n., 308) in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. (Norman p.174).

**Abbreviations**

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

**S** Nepalese MS. of the Sanskrit Saddatākārikās, copy made by a student of S. Lévi, M. Sherrill, and revised by S. Lévi.

**B** Burmese MS. of the ChagatiPānca-gati, with commentary, India Office, London.


**m.1** Pānca-gatiPānca-gati, Royal Library of Phnom Penh, copy submitted by S. Karpelas.

**m.2** Pānca-gatiPānca-gati with commentary, Royal Library of Phnom Penh, copy (id.).

**COD** The Concise Oxford Dictionary 6th edn (Sykes 1976)

**CPD** A Critical Pāli Dictionary (Trencher 1924–)
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 SāmiIva, Kālasutta, Saṅghāta and also the Roruva, Mahāroruva(5), Tapā, Mahātapā and Avīcī [hells].

6. Those men who, because of greed, delusion, fear or

(2) subhāsubba[m] ] subhāsubha[m].


Cf. Dhp 165.

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

(4) Read ´dhumā.

(5) Cf. SN I 92.

This verse occurs only in M.1 (Mīs p.219).

* Asuragati, in Chagati a separate (sixth) section.
anger, kill living creatures, or, having reared(5) them, slaughter - they surely go to Saṁjīva;

7. Though killed and killed again for many thousands of years, because they revive there [again and again] it has the name of 'Saṁjīva' - 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 Saṁghīṭa;

11. Since, crushed together(11), they are slain(11) there in a total slaughter, therefore this niraya is considered to be named 'Saṁghīṭa' - 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 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(15);

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 ... dahyanānā.

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


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

(18) cf. Mahātapa verse 5.

(19) See verse 13.

(5) vadhayitvāna ] read vaḍḍhayitvāna (Mus p.220).

(9) kakkaacahi ] kakacahi (Mus p.220). See Mus p.79.

(10) ath- ] M.1 aj- (Mus p.221).

lingāla- ] read si(h)gāla- (Mus p.222).


ghātyante ] ghātyante.

(12) kutakāpanakā ] M.1 kūtakāpanakā; read kūtakappanakā (Mus p.224).
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 Asippattavana and the Nadī [river] (22).

23. Those beings issuing from a great niraya fall into the cesspit; they are pierced(23) with horrible hordes of worms;

24. And, issuing from the Milhakūpa, they fall in the Kukkula; fallen there, those beings are cooked like mustard seeds;

25. And, on issuing from the embers, they see trees shining, green and abounding in leaves - desiring comfort, they draw near;

26. There crows and vultures, dogs, owls(26) and boars, terrible herons, crows and so on, metal-beaked and

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, blazing, 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 Asippattavana [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

(20) katvā ... dosam: cf. sa. krtvā dveṣam, showing enmity to’, OR sa. krtvā dosam, reproaching: mata- ] mātā-.

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


milha: see PED s.v. milha.

Cf. Sn 673; MN III 185.

(23) vijjare ] vijjhare.

(26) -oluka- ] -olūka-.

Cf. Mkp 707.

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

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

(32) -ghātino ] -ghātino.

ārādante ] ārādante ‘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 Vetalanī 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 nāraka.

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]

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 glutted by the suffering of others are reborn as Yama’s rakkhasas(43).

44. Once the seeds(44) of absolutely all suffering have

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

(34) khadanti ] khādanti.?
vassagonām; see Mus p.236.

sādā khetake ] sādākhetake.

(35) yanti (plural) but S yāti.

jali- ] read jalat-.

dayhate (singular).

Verse: cf. Sn 674.

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

(37) Cf. verses 10,11.

(38) Khuradhārā pī tam ] M.1 Khuradharāpitam (for khuradhārapitam; Mus pp.239-40); cf. Khuradhāra, a nīrāya for abortionists (Ja V 269,274f.); cf. Vism 163; cf. Sn 674.

(39) -yuka- ] -yūkā-, OR -yūkā-. Cf. verse 42.

(41) anunā ] anunā.


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.

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 iḍḍhi-power; though charitable they become garuda-lords because of anger and haughtiness.

51. If any wrongdoing in thought and so on has been done by themselves, they are reborn in the realms of animals; therefore one should shun that [wrongdoing](45-51).

Animals - the second section

III PETA SECTION

1 Petas

52. Those who(52) steal what can be chewed and eaten and who lack energy [for good deeds] become corpse(52)-eating petas, Kadāṭanās.

53. Those who oppress the young and cheat them because of greed are themselves reborn Kadāṭanās 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.

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(44) bhijā- ] read bījā- (Mūs pp.242-3).

yam tam dandapi ] read yat tad any api.

See Mūs pp.217,243.

(45) Khattānam ] M.1 khaggānam (Mūs p.244).

M.2,B: gadrabhānam, 'of asses' (Mūs p.244).

In SUS k. 18: 'quadrupèdes, oiseaux, poissons, insectes, etc., considérés tout d’abord d’après leurs caractères: lascifs, féroces, jaloux etc. ...' (Lin Li-kouang p.23).

(46) mittādhīpā ] M.1 miggāḍhīpā; read mīgaḍhīpā.

(49) mamsadā ] M.1 mamsadā (Mūs pp.246-7).


(52) yehi ] ye hi.

kunāpa- ] kunāpa-.

(53) -āharā ] -āharā.

(54) Read galagandakā 'goitres' (Mūs 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 (55) 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).

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(57) bhakkako ] bhakkhako.

(58) vākyam amm- ] read vākyam mam- (Mus pp.254-7); see also Mus p.248. -avaññanam ] read -avaññanam (Mus p.254).


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61. Whoever pitilessly kills animals, but gives [then] to be eaten [by others] inevitably (61), after death finds [his] various kinds of food [as] a rakkhaśa.

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 pītakka, evil-minded, with deformed visage.

64. Those men who are constantly corrupt, fickle, causing pain (64) to others, [but] constantly delighting in giving, become bhūtas after death.

65. Those who are horrible, angered, [but] generous, and those fond of intoxicating liquors are reborn after death as yakkhas, feeding on horrible things (65), fond of liquor.

66. Those who in this world convey folk such as mother, father and guru in carriages become yakkhas travelling in celestial palaces, provided (66) with ease.

67. Because of the fault which is craving and avarice, after death people are reborn petas; [and they are reborn as] yakkhas and so on because of deeds good (67) but spoiled - therefore one should shun wickedness.

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(61) vassa ] read 'vassaṅ; of. verse 107.

(64) -pīla- ] -pīḷā-

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

(66) -sanyuttā ] -sanyutā.

(67) petāsubhehi ] peta 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 Klakaṅja 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. Mv 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) niddhāno ] niddhāno.

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) sucbhāyo ] sucbhāyo.

-laṁbhi ] -laṁbhi.

(78) dadāti ha ] M.1 dadātīha (Mus pp.263,266).
pasāda ] M.1 pāsāda (Mus pp.263,266).
Play on words: viṇṇasanna, pāsāda (cf. sidati) (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. Brudition 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 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.

(82) pannya-vyāsena ] M.1 pannya vyāsena.
M.2 'by causing repetition (of reading)' (Mus p.271).
labhate ] M.1 labhate (Mus p.270).

(84) dadāṭi ha ] read dadāṭiha (Mus p.274).
-samyutam ] -samyoṭam.

(85) labhi ] lābhi.

(86) OR read bhattachā, 'with reverence' (Mus p.275).
yatthechitaṃ ] M.1 yatthechitaṃ.
atthāpi ] M.1 athāpi (Mus p.274).
S vacanam priyam, 'benevolent speech' (Mus p.274).

(87) dadāṭi ha ] read dadāṭiha.

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

(92) snehappadesakālādī ] read sehi-pp-adesakālādī (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 mankind would attain mankind.

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(gurus' commands with joyful mind and teaches what is beneficial and non-beneficial becomes one whose words are welcome.

99. Humiliated 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
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
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).

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) -

112. In this way one reaches destruction of passions; whoever is free from passions attains(112) meritorious action; thus one renounces evil. You must all listen to this briefly(112):

113. This has been spoken about by the Great Isi: ‘Doing what is beneficial for others and avoiding what is harmful to others is meritorious action; evil is the reverse(113)’.

***

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

Devas - the fifth section

Pāñcagatīpāni is
complete*.

(106) Cf. Sn 58.
Tussitopagā ] Tusitopagā.

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


(103-9) Cf. Mvu I 30-3.

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

samāsato: cf. samāsena verse 4.

(113) punña-pāpa-vipallāso ] read punnām pānam vipallāso.
Sadgatikārikā and Chagatiṭipāni end here; M.1 adds verse 114 (Mus p.293).

(114) pāpā yā ] M.1 pāpaya.
nidīthā ] nidīthĀ.

* -dīpana(m) samattā ] read -dīpanā 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 an inappropriate meaning. Commonly occurring Pāli words, including technical terms, are included only if they appear in the translation or footnotes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akesayitvā 90</td>
<td>see kesayitvā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atikapana 74</td>
<td>very miserable; PED 'very miserable' Pañca-g 74 cited.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anānga 93</td>
<td>l'amour; volupté (Burnouf 1865 p.19).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adesakāla 92</td>
<td>wrong place and time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apahārin 31</td>
<td>thief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abhpusyaka 101</td>
<td>cf. sa. abhyasâyaka, indignant; CPD 'envious, calumnious'; PED 'zealous'; Pañca-g 101 cited in both.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avirodhita 90</td>
<td>not contrary to; PED virodhita, 'obstructed' Pañca-g 90 cited.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asammagga 38</td>
<td>wrong Path; cf. sa. sanmārga, right path. Asipattavana 22: sword-leaf-wood, a nīrāya; Sūtra 673.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asura 68-9</td>
<td>opponent of the gods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āradante 32</td>
<td>(they gnash) brass teeth Pañca-g 32 cited; read ārudante, 'weeping'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iddi 50</td>
<td>psychic powers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isi 113</td>
<td>inspired holy man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalippya 68</td>
<td>quarrlesome; PED 'gambler' Pañca-g 68 cited.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kālakañña 69</td>
<td>the very lowest of the asura groups, of fearsome shape.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēkula 22,24,40</td>
<td>glowing-coals nīrāya; Jā V 114,143-4; MN III 185.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumbhanda 60</td>
<td>pot-testicle, class of demons with huge stomachs etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalijeththa 104</td>
<td>clan elders (PED s.v. jettha).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūta-kāpanaka 12</td>
<td>kūta-kappana, cheat (Mūs p.224).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kesayitvā 87,90</td>
<td>cf. sa. kesayitvā, having spoiled; see klešetī PED.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kopana 43</td>
<td>wrathful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krtā 50, kuru 43,48,59</td>
<td>cruel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khajjara 48</td>
<td>cf. sa. kharjāra; stinging insect; PED 'caterpillar' Pañca-g 48 cited.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khamin 104</td>
<td>patient.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyla 17</td>
<td>named; PED only khāyati, 'seems to be, appears like'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

gandhambha 52: class of devitī, the lowest of the deva groups; the heavenly musicians.
garud 50: class of huge mythical birds living in simbali-groves; Jā I 202.
gurū 14,66,98: see COD.
qintayya 111: to be pondered; PED only qinteyya and qintetabba.
cunantī 42: cf. sa. omrīyate, is crushed.
cunītha 39: crushed.
jalāt 35: blazing.
jñāna 109: special religious experience in meditation, reached in a certain order of mental states.
Tavatīṣa 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.
vrāma 35: running; see dava PED.
Dhamma 18,36,38,90,106: cf. Dhamma COD.
dhitotānta 76: intelligent; see dhīmant PED.
nāra 36: see nīrāya.
nāga 50: serpent demon.
nibbāna 109: cf. nirvāna COD.
Nimmanaratī 107: 'delighting in own creation', the fifth of the six deva-worlds.
nīrāya 11,22-3: hell.
irīnātha 95f.n.: free from fear or pain.
pidāta 65,68: liberal; PED 'extravagant, a squanderer' Pañca-g 55,68 cited.
Paranimittavattī 108: 'rejoicing in the work of other (devas)', the sixth and highest of the six deva-worlds.
parituṣṭa 106: cf. sa. paritūṣṭa, completely satisfied.
puravān 95: having a great retinue.
pāthina 42: [worms and] insects (Mūs p.224).
piṣāca 53: demon.
pūtana 52-3: class of demons, presumably stinking.
phālyante 9: are split.
brahmā 14: see COD.
brahmā 109: chief of the gods.
bhātaya 95: cf. sa. (lexicographers) bhṛtya, support, maintenance, wages; see bhāti PED.
bhūta 64: demon.
Mahārāja 103: the retinue of the Kings, the lowest of the six deva-worlds.
migādhīpa 46: lion; see migādhiḥ PED.
middha 48: hurting.
Milhakūpa 22,24: cesspit niraya.
*mesa 39: cf. sa. mesa, rám.
mokkha 106: liberation.
moha 36,45: delusion.
yakkha 55-7: 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. vásra, 'bellowing'.
*vāla 83: cf. sa. vāda, sounding (of a musical instrument); Pīd 'music' Pañca-g 83 cited.
*vunhi 13,15,19,35: cf. sa. vahni, fire (metathesis of 'h')
Vestarani 35: river in the great niraya.
Vepacitti 59: asura chieftain.
*sallajja 77: feeling modesty.
simbi 30: silk-cotton (kapok) tree in hell.
sugati: realm of bliss.
*succhāya 77: beautiful, splendid.

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Mus, P. (1939), La Lumière sur les six voies: I


Texts

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

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