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UTTARAVIHÄRATṬHAKATHĀ AND SĀRASAMĀSA
Some Unattributed Non-Mahāvihāravāsin Sources for the Pāli Commentaries*

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1. Controversial Points and Methodology

The study of the sources is one of the most important and basic subjects in the field of Pāli Āṭṭhakathā literature. The source material for this literature can be classified into six main groups:

1. The Tipiṭaka, i.e. the Pāli Canon
2. Three post-canonical texts: the Nettipakaraṇa, Petaṇkapadesa and Milindapaṭhā
3. The Pāli Āṭṭhakathās themselves
4. The so-called Śiṅhalatṭhakathā
5. Sources from schools other than the Mahāvīra fraternity
6. Other minor sources

The fifth of these can be further divided into two:

a. Views attributed to "Some" or "Others"
b. Views attributed to "Sophists" (Vitaṇḍavādins)

Of these two, the latter has been discussed by me not only in Japanese but also in English; the former will be studied here.
The Pāli Āṭṭhakathās which have been transmitted down to the present time by the Mahāvihāra fraternity of the Theravāda school as its own texts frequently quote or refer to the views of "some" or "others" (ame, itare, ekacce, eke, keci, pare, ye... te... etc.). These are almost always referred to in the plural form, which indicates a certain group, not a particular individual. The number of references is altogether about six hundred⁵. The names of these "others" are not usually given. Although the majority of them are unknown, some can be identified, through comments in the Tīkās, the commentaries on the Āṭṭhakathās. Those which are so identified can be divided into three groups:

1. The Abhayagiriāvihāra fraternity and its offshoot, i.e. the non-Mahāvihāra fraternity of the Theravāda school
2. Some groups (sometimes particular individuals) belonging to the Mahāvihāra fraternity
3. Mahāyāna or Hīnayāna schools other than the Theravādins

Of these three, the first is the largest in number and of the greatest importance. The references in the Tīkās are to "Abhayagiriāvāsino", "Uttaravihāra-āvāsino (-vāsikā, -vāsikathera)", "Śārasamāsā-ācariyā", "Upatissa as the author of the Vimuttimagga", etc. These names are always in the plural with the exception of "Upatissa".

In addition, there can be found the proper name "Śārasamāsa", which is always in the locative singular, except in the compound "Śārasamāsa-ācariyā". This must be the name of a text. These names can be recognized as referring to non-Mahāvihāra fraternities or their texts. By investigating these unattributed quotations from the non-Mahāvihāra-āvāsins, the present article aims to make clear the nature of the Āṭṭhakathā source materials as well as a certain relation between the Mahāvihāra and the non-Mahāvihāra traditions.

Several scholars have already paid attention to these unattributed sources. For instance, Rev. Nyanatiloka drew attention to those which appear in the Visuddhimagga in his German translation of that text⁶, as did Professor Mizuno in his Japanese translation of the same text⁷, and also Rev. Nyanamoli in his English translation of the Visuddhimagga⁸. Professor Bapat also referred to them in his comparative study of the Vimuttimagga and the Visuddhimagga⁹. Professor de Silva threw new light on the unnamed figures mentioned in the Sumanāgalavilāsini in the introduction to her edition of the Dighātiṭkā¹⁰. With reference to the unattributed sources found in the Buddhavamsaṭṭhakathā and other Āṭṭhakathās, Dr. Horner published two articles in recent years¹¹. All these studies, however, either are limited to a particular text or are too brief in their discussion, so that they never do more than bring the matter forward for consideration or point out the problems. Accordingly, there has as yet been no comprehensive research of a kind that can be expected to produce reliable conclusions.

I shall now explain my methodology. The unnamed sources which are identified as non-Mahāvihāra-āvāsin (with the various expressions already stated) in the Tīkās¹² are forty-one in number, and they are found as follows:

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¹²"[8], [37], [41]"
In the above list, the second column shows their original numbers and the fourth column other passages that are basically the same. Most of these duplicated examples are identical not only with respect to the unattributed quotations themselves but also to the passages which precede and follow. Therefore, the number in the first column in this list indicates the real number, excluding all duplications. That is to say, the total number of all the examples amounts to forty-one, while the real number of examples after eliminating the duplicates is twenty-nine. Although each example usually contains only one unattributed quotation, in some instances several quotations are found together, so that each example consists of a passage concerning one topic but not necessarily one quotation: in some instances there is more than one quotation. The twenty-nine examples are distributed as follows: seven in the Visuddhimagga, thirteen in the Dighaṭhakathā, eight in the Majhimaṭṭhakathā, and one in the Saṁyuttaṭhakathā. In the following sections of this article, they will be examined one by one in the order in which they appear in the list given above.

### 2. Examples found in the Visuddhimagga

1. Example One

**A. Vism (I 79 foll.)**

Tattha kusalattikato ti sabbān' eva hi dhutāṅgāni sekhaputhujjanakihānāsānā vasena siyā kusalāni, siyā avyākatāni, n' atthi dhutāṅgām akusalān ti . . . Yesam pi kusalattikavinīmuttaṃ dhutāṅgām, tesam atthato dhutāṅgām eva n' atthi. Asantaṃ kassa dhutanāto dhutāṅgām nāma bhavissati, dhutagunē samādāya vattattī vacanavirodho pi ca nesaṃ āpajjati; tasmā tāṃ na gahetabban ti.

**B. Vism-mhṭ (I 180, 4-6)**
**Yesan** ti Abhayagirivāsike sandhāyāha. Te hi dhutangaṃ nāma paṃmatti ti vadanti. Tathā sati tassa paramatthato avijjāmānato kilesānaṃ dhunanattho pi na siyā, samādātabbatā cā ti tesam vacanaṃ Pāliyā virujjhati ti dassetum - "kusalattikavinimuttam" ti ādi vuttaṃ.

**C. Ged (Taishō Vol 32, p 406b)***

**Question**: Who is called an observer of the ascetic practice (dhutanga)? How many kinds of the ascetic practice are there? . . .

**Answer**: There are thirteen ascetic practices: these are taught by the Buddha and are the precepts of the Buddha. These are called the ascetic practice. As regards them, the skilful (kusala), the unskilful (akusala) and the non-characterizable (avyākata) should not be discussed.

**D. mam par grol baḥi lam las slyans paḥi yon tan bstan pa**

De la sbyans paḥi yan lag ni ci žig yin l . . . De la sbyans paḥi yan lag ces bya ba ni gzi bcu gsum po de dag gi spon ba gaṅ yin pa de ni sbyans paḥi yan lag yin no l Sbyans paḥi yon tan cir brjod par bya že na l dge bar brjod par byaḥo l

As shown above, the view on the dhutanga, which is recorded as a divergent opinion in the Visuddhimagga (A), and which is said to be that of the Abhayagirivāsikas in its Tikā (B), accords with a view stated in the Gedatsudōron, the Chinese version of the Vīmuttimagga (C). On the other hand, the Tibetan translation of Vīm (D) does not agree with the Gedatsudōron (C) in this passage.

**2. Example Two**

**A. Vism (I 102 foll.)**


**B. Vism-mht (I 221, 8)**

**Ekacce** ti Upatissattheraṃ sandhāyāha, tena hi Vīmuttimagge tathā vuttaṃ.

**C. Ged (Taishō Vol 32, p 410a)**

**Question**: What are the causes of these three kinds of behaviour? How may it be known that this is a man of greedy temperament, that is a man of angry temperament and yet another is a man of infatuated temperament? . . .

**Answer**: Deeds done in the past are causes of behaviour. The elements are causes of behaviour. The cardinal humours are causes of behaviour. How do deeds done in the past become causes of behaviour? One who has accumulated good actions in past existences through desirable means becomes a man of greedy temperament, and also one who, passing away from a heavenly mansion, is reborn here. One who (in past existences) has perpetrated many undesirable deeds of killing, maiming, capturing and bearing a grudge becomes a man of angry temperament, and also one who, passing away from hell or a serpent state, is reborn here. One who (in past existences) has enjoyed much drinking and has been devoid (of learning and questioning) becomes a man of infatuated temperament, and also one who, passing away from a bestial state, is reborn here. Thus
deeds done in the past become causes of behaviour. How do elements become causes of behaviour? Because of the heightening of two elements, one becomes a man of infatuated temperament. These are the earth element (element of extension) and the water element (element of cohesion). Because of the heightening of two elements, one becomes a man of angry temperament. These are the fire element (element of heat) and the wind element (element of mobility). Because of the equalising of all elements, one becomes a man of greedy temperament. Thus the different elements become causes of behaviour. How do the cardinal humours become causes of behaviour? One who has an excess of phlegm becomes a man of greedy temperament. One who has an excess of choler becomes a man of angry temperament, and one who has an excess of wind becomes a man of infatuated temperament.

There is another view: one who has an excess of phlegm becomes a man of infatuated temperament and one who has an excess of wind becomes a man of greedy temperament. Thus the cardinal humours become causes of behaviour.

The above comment of the Visuddhimaggaṭikā (B) is the only reference so far known to Upatissa, the author of the Vimuttimagga, and also to the text itself throughout all the Atṭhakathās and Tikās. From this comment it is certain that Dhammapāla, the author of the Paramatthamaṭṭhūṣā, consulted the Vimuttimagga of Upatissa. The above passage from the Chinese version of the Vimuttimagga (C) basically corresponds with the quotation by 'Some' in the Visuddhimagga (A).

3. Example Three

A. Vism (I 148)


B. Vism-mhī (I 314, 11-12)

Eke ti Abhayagirivāsino. Te hi evam paṭipadā-visuddhi-ādike vanṇayanti, tad ayuttaṁ.

C. Ged (Taishō Vol 32, p 417a)⁶

(The three kinds of goodness: there are the initial, medial and final stages of goodness. Purity of practice is the initial stage; the increase of equanimity is the medial stage; and rejoicing is the final stage.) What is the purity of practice? It is the foundation of all goodness. What is the increase of equanimity? It is the fixed meditation (appanā samādhi). What is rejoicing? It is reviewing (paccavekkhanā). Thus there are three kinds of goodness in the First Meditation.

If we compare the quotation from eke, i.e. the Abhayagirivāsins, in the Visuddhimagga (A) with the parallel passages in the Gedatsudorōn (C), we find that these passages on the three kinds of goodness in the First Meditation accord with one another, except for the explanation of the purity of practice (paṭipadā-visuddhi). This minor difference arises probably from an incorrect translation into Chinese.

4. Example Four

A. Vism (I 266)
Idāni yan taṃ Bhagavata: "Ayam pi kho, bhikkhave, ānāpānasati-samādhi bhāvito bahulikato santo c’eva panīto ca asecanako ca sukho ca vihāro uppannuppanne ca pāpake akusale dhamme thānaso antaradhāpeti vūpasameti" ti evaṃ pasamsitvā; - "Kathāṃ bhāvito ca, bhikkhave, ānāpānasati-samādhi? Kathāṃ bahulikato santo c’eva panīto ca asecanako ca sukho ca vihāro uppannuppanne ca pāpake akusale dhamme thānaso antaradhāpeti vūpasameti? . . . ."

B. Vism (I 268)

Asecanako ca sukho ca vihāro ti ettha pana n’ āssa secanan ti asecanako; anāsittako abbokinno pāṭiyekko⁴⁵ āveniko. N’ athi ettha parikammena vā upacārena vā santātā; ādi-samannāhārato pabhutī attano sabhāven’ eva santo ca panīto cā ti atho. Kecī pana asecanako ti anāsittako ojavanto sabhāven’ eva madhuro ti vadanti. Evam ayaṃ asecanako⁴⁶ ca appitappitakkhane kāyikacetasikasukhapatiḻabhāya samvattanato sukho ca vihāro ti veditabbo.

C. Vism-mḥ (I 566, 8)

Kecī ti Uttarāvihāravāsike sandhāyāha.

D. Ged (Taishō Vol 32, p 429c)⁴⁷

Question: What is the concentration by respiration? What is the practising of it? What are its salient characteristic, function, near cause and benefits? What is its procedure? Answer: Inhalation (āna) is in-breathing. Exhalation (apāna) is out-breathing. On the occasion of in-breathing and out-breathing, one concentrates, is concentrated and is rightly concentrating. This is called the concentration by in-breathing and out-breathing. The state in which one’s mind is steady and undisturbed is called the practising of it. Causing the arising of perception as regards respiration is its salient characteristic. Attending to contact (phassa) is its function. Removal of discursive thought (vitakka) is its near cause. What are its benefits? If a man practises the concentration of respiration, he attains to the calm (santa), the exquisite (panita), the brilliant and lovely, and the blissful life (sukha vihāra).

This example, which is concerned with the exposition on "ānāpānasati" is exceptionally specific. It begins with two quotations from the Saṃyuttaniyāka (A). After quoting these two passages from SN (V 321 §9; V 322 §11), Buddhaghosa comments on some words or phrases in the latter quotation. When commenting upon them, he refers to the Saṃyuttaṇaṭṭhakathā of the Mahāvihāra. Buddhaghosa’s comments, with almost identical wording, recur in Spk.⁴⁸ On the other hand, the parallel passage in the Gedatsudorōn (D) does not contain any quotation from SN at this point, though it partially accords with the second quotation of Vism; with the result that it does not, unlike SN, have any comment on "asesanaka". Consequently, Buddhaghosa must have consulted the Saṃyutta commentary of the Uttarāvihāra and taken from it an alternative explanation. It is to be noted that the explanation of "asesanaka" by the Uttarāvihāra is not criticised or denied here by him.

5. Example Five

A. Vism (II 432)

Tattha keci khanapuccuppannam cittam cetopariyaññanassa āraṇmanam hoti ti vadanti. Kiṃ kāraṇā? Yasmā iddhimato ca parassa ca ekakkhane cittam uppajjati ti; idaṃ ca nesaṃ opamman. - Yathā ākāse khitte pupphamuṭṭhimhi avassaṃ ekaṃ puppham ekassa vanṭena vanṭama paṭivijjhati, evam parassa cittam jānissāmi ti rāsivasena mahājanassa citte avajjīte avassaṃ ekassa cittam ekena cittena uppādakkhane vā ṭhitikkhane vā bhāngakkhane vā paṭivijjhati ti. Taṃ pana vassasatam pi vassasahassam pi āvajjanto yena ca cittena āvajjati, yena ca jānati, tesam dvinnam sahaṭṭhānābhāvato avajjanajavanānaṃ ca anitiṭṭhāne nāṇārammanabhāvappattidosato ayuttan ti Aṭṭhakathāsu
What are the derived material qualities (upādā-rūpas)? These are the sense-organs of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, matter as a sense-object, sound as a sense-object, odour as a sense-object, taste as a sense-object, femininity, masculinity, life-principle, body-intimation, speech-intimation, element of space, buoyancy of matter, impressibility of matter, adaptability of matter, integration of matter, continuity of matter, occurrence of matter, decay of matter, impermanency of matter, solid food, the basis of the material element and the material quality of torpor.

According to the Khandhanidessa in the Visuddhimagga (II 443 foll.), the rūpakkhandha is divided into the four bhūta-rūpas and the twenty-four upādā-rūpas: the former are the pañhavi-dhātu, āpo-dhātu, tejo-dhātu and vāyo-dhātu, while the latter are cakkhu, sota, ghāna, jivhā, kāya, rūpa, sadda, gandha, rasa, itthindriya, purisindiya, jivitindriya, hadayavatthu, kāyaviṃsati, vacaviṃsati, ākāsadhātu, rūpassa lahatā, rūpassa mudutā, rūpassa kammaṃmatā, rūpassa upacaya, rūpassa santati, rūpassa jaratā, rūpassa aniccatā and kabalīnkārāhāra.

Immediately after the passage listing these twenty-eight rūpakkhandhas (in the Visuddhimagga), we find the above quotation (A), which states that some others (ekacce) include the middharūpa in them. According to the Visuddhimaggatīkā (B), it is clear that these others were the Abhayagirivāsins. On the other hand, the Gedatsudōron (C) lists twenty-six upādā-rūpas. Almost all of them are the same as those in the Visuddhimagga, but the middha-rūpa is exceptionally included in them, as was pointed out by Dhammapāla. He must have known this passage of the Gedatsudōron.

7. Example Seven

A. Vism (II 700)

B. Vism-mht (III 1662, 1-2)

Ye pana ti Abhayagiriṇāsino sandhāyāha. Te hi maggahalavipassanāya āloletvā vadanti.

The unnamed persons (ye ..., te ...) who are referred to in the Visuddhimagga (A) can be identified as the Abhayagiriṇāsins, according to its commentary (B). We cannot, however, find any passage closely corresponding to the above quotation of their view (in the Gedatusudōron); we can only find in this text an explanation which seems to have been made to answer the above criticism of the Mahāvihāra fraternity.

3. Examples found in the Dīghāṭṭhakathā

1. Example Eight

A. Sv (I 80) commenting upon DN (I 5)


B. Sv-ṭ (I 160)

Keci ti Sārasamāsācariya Uttaravihāraṇāsino ca.

From the above comment of the Dīghāṭṭhakathā (B), it is obvious that although the Sārasamāsācariyas were not identical with the Uttaravihāraṇāsins, nevertheless they had so close a relationship with one another that they shared a common explanation on this subject. Further examples will be shown later on. Incidentally, the above quotation of Sv (A), together with the preceding and following passages, is basically the same as those of the Majjhimaṭṭhakathā (II 211), the Aṅguttaraṭṭhakathā (III 194) and the Puggalapaṭṭhamatti-ṭṭhakathā (241). Of these parallel passages, the comments of the Majjhimaṭṭhakathā upon Ps19 and of the Aṅguttaraṭṭhikā upon Mp20 accord with that of the Dīghāṭṭhakathā upon Sv; whereas the Puggalapaṭṭhamatti-ṭṭhikā upon Pp-a21 does not give any comment on this passage.

2. Example Nine

A. DN (I 6)

"Yathā vā pan' eke bhonto samanā-brāhmaṇā saddhā-deyyāni bhogijāni bhūjijtva te evarūpaṃ visūka-dassanam anuyuttā viharanti - seyyathidham naccaṃ gitam vāditaṃ pekkhaṃ akkhānaṃ pāṇissaram vetālaṃ kumbha-thūnaṃ sobha-nagarakaṃ ... anika-dassanam - iti vā iti evarūpaṃ visūka-dassanā paṭivirato Samanī Gotamo ti".

B. Sv (I 84)

C. Sv-t (I 163)


By the expression "Sārasamāse" (locative masculine singular) in the above passage (C), it is clearly proved that the Sārasamāsa was the name of a text, implying that the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas are the teachers who composed and transmitted this text.

3. Example Ten

A. DN (I 7)

"Yathā vā pan' eke bhonto samana-brāhmaṇā saddhā-deyyāni bhojanāṇā bhuṣijitvā te evarūpam uccāsaya-mahāsayingaṃ anuyuttā viharanti - seyyathidaṃ āsandim pallan'ām gonakaṃ cittakam paṭikam paṭalikaṃ tūlikam vikatikaṃ uddha22-lomiṃ kaṭṭhisamaṃ . . ."

B. Sv, Sv-t


4. Example Eleven

A. Sv (I 93) commenting upon DN (I 9)

Bhūri-viṣṇu ti bhūri-gahre vasanta ni uggahetabba-manto.

B. Sv-t (I 167)

Bhūrivijjā sassavuddhikaranaviṣṇu ti Sārasamāse.

(A) is, needless to say, the orthodox view of the Mahāvihāra given by Buddhaghosa and (B) is a divergent comment of the Sārasamāsa introduced by Dhammapala.

5. Example Twelve

A. DN (I 19)


B. Sv (I 114)

Katame pana te devā ti? Ime nāma ti aṭṭhakathāya vicarāṇā n' atthi. Devatānām kammā-jejo balavā hoti, karajam mandan ti avisesena vuttaṃ pana ye keci kalabikārāhrupajīvino devā evaṃ karonti, te evaṃ cāvanti ti veditabbā, ye keci pan' āhu Nimmānarati-Paranिमni24-vasavattino te devā ti. Khīḍāyā padussanāmatten' eva h' ete khīḍā-padosikā ti vutta.
C. Sv-ṭ (I 207)

Kecī ti Abhayagirivāsino.

This is a very useful and interesting example. When Buddhaghosa was about to comment on the words "te devā" in DN, he could not find anything concerning this phrase in the old commentary of the Mahāvihāra, called simply "Atṭhakathā" here. He then consulted a commentary of the Abhayagiri, which gave the above comment upon "te devā" (B). It goes without saying that "te devā" (these heavenly beings), the particular phrase under consideration, is neither a technical term on doctrine nor a proper name, but a specific phrase which is to be properly commented upon only in a particular context. In other words, this phrase has no general meaning, independent of a particular context. Therefore the text which commented upon this phrase must have been a commentary, not an Abhidhammic thesis or a dictionary work. Some similar instances will be seen later.

6. Example Thirteen

A. DN (I 49 foll.)

Atha kho rājā Māgadhassa Ajātasattussa Vedehi-puttassa avidūre Ambavanassa ahud eva bhayam, ahu chambhitattām ahu lomahaṃso. Atha kho rājā Māgadhio Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto bhito samviggo loma-haṭṭhajāto Jivakaṃ komārabhaccaṃ etad avoca... 

B. Sv (I 150)


C. Sv-ṭ (I 280)

Eke ti Uttaravihāravāsino.

Here the interpretation of the Uttaravihāravāsins is rejected by Buddhaghosa.

7. Example Fourteen

A. DN (I 50)


B. Sv (I 152)


C. Sv-ṭ (I 280)

Eke ti Uttaravihāravāsino.

Here also the interpretation of the Uttaravihāravāsins is rejected by Buddhaghosa.

8. Example Fifteen

A. DN (I 53 foll.)

Cuddasa kho pan' imañi yoni-pamukha-sata-sahassāni saṭṭhiṅ ca saṭtāni cha ca saṭṭāni, pañca ca kammuno satāni pañca ca kammāni tīni ca kammāni kamme ca adhā-ka meille ca . . .

B. Sv (I 161 foll.)


C. Sv-ṭ (I 289)


The passage from DN (A) is also found in MN (I 517), and the comment of Ps (III 230) upon this is also basically identical to that of Sv given above (B). However, the above comment of Sv-ṭ (C) differs from the comment of Ps-ṭ (III 109, 26 foll.) upon the parallel passage of Ps. In particular, the comment of Ps-ṭ on "keci" does not agree with the above comment of Sv-ṭ on "keci" and remarks:

Keci ti Sārasamāsa-ācariyā.

If Ps-ṭ was written by the same Dhammapāla as the author of Sv-ṭ, what does the difference between these two comments mean? I suggest that when Dhammapāla commented upon this passage of Sv, he consulted the old commentary of the Uttaravihāra, omitting any reference to the Sārasamāsa, while on the other hand, when he commented upon the identical passage of Ps, he paid attention only to the Sārasamāsa, omitting the work of the Uttaravihāra. In many other instances, he consulted the views of both these two works.

9. Example Sixteen

A. DN (I 70)

B. Sv (I 184)


C. Sv-ṭ (I 316)

Keci ti Abhayagiriṇīsino.

The above statement of Sv, together with the passages preceding and following it, can be seen in Ps (I 253 foll., especially 253), Spk (I 181 foll., especially 182 foll.), and Vibh-a (347 foll., especially 347 foll.). As regards these three, only Spk-ṭ records the same comment as that of Sv-ṭ shown above (C), i.e. Keci ti Abhayagiriṇīsino, while the other two Tiṅkās, Ps-ṭ (I 354, 28) and Vibh-mṭ (180, 27) have no comment of this sort.

10. Example Seventeen

A. DN (I 88 foll.)

Sace agāraṁ ajjhāvasati rājā hoti cakkavatti dhammiko dhammad-rajā caturanto vijitāvi janapadtathāvariṇyappatto satta-ratanasmannāgato... Paro sahassam kho paṁ assa puttā bhavanti sūrā virāṅga-rūpā parasenetapamaddanā.

B. Sv (I 250)


C. Sv-ṭ (I 383)

Eke ti Sārasamās' acāriyaṁ aha.

11. Example Eighteen

A. DN (II 14)

Dhammadā esa bhikkhave, yado Bodhisatto mātu kucchismā nikkhamati, devā paṭhamamaṁ paṭiggamhanti, pacchā manussā. Ayam ettha dhammadā.

B. Sv (II 437)

patigghasesuṃ”. Tena vuttaṃ devā paṭhamam paṭiggaṇhanti pacchā manussā ti.

C. Sv-ṭ (II 36)

Eke ti Abhayagirivāsino.

12. Example Nineteen

A. Sv (II 514 foll.) commenting on DN (II 71)


B. Sv-ṭ (II 155 foll.)


13. Example Twenty

A. DN (II 213)


B. Sv (II 642)


C. Sv-ṭ (II 268)

The topic of this example is the interpretation of the "cattāro iddhipādā". As is clear from the above statement in the Dīghaṇṭṭhakathā, other detailed explanations of the "cattāro iddhipādā" are available in the Visuddhamagga25 and the Vibhaṅgaṇṭṭhakathā. Of these two explanations, which are not exactly the same, that of the Vibhaṅgaṇṭṭhakathā is more closely connected with the above passage from Sv. The Iddhipādavibhaṅga in Vibhaṅga (308) reads as follows:

Ken' aththena iddhī? Ken' aththena pado ti? Ijjhanakatthen' eva iddhī; patitthañcatthen' eva pado. Evam iddhīpi iddhī ti va pado ti va attassa kassaci adhivacanam, sampayuttakanam catunnama khandhānam yeva adhivacanam ti. Evam vutte pana idam āhamsu: Catunnama khandhānam eva adhivacanam bhaveyya yadi Satthā parato Uttaracūlabhājaniya nāma na āhareyya; Uttaracūlabhājaniye pana chando yeva chandiddhipādo, viriyam eva, cittam eva, vimāṃsa va vimāṃsiddhipādo ti kathitaṃ ti.

Keci pana iddhī nāma anippahāna, iddhipādo nipphanno ti vadimṣu. Tesam vacanam patikkhipitvā iddhī pi iddhipādo pi nipphanno tilakkhaṇabhāhato ti sannīṭṭhānaṃ kamaṃ.

Upon "kkeci" in the above passage, the Vibhaṅgaṇṭṭhā (169, 8 foll.) comments as follows:

Keci ti Uttarāvihāravāsitherā kira.

For the unnamed sources "kkeci" in the Aṭṭhakathās which refer to the non-Mahāvihāra fraternity, the respective Tīkās give as their explanation the apparently alternative names: "Abhayagiriśino" and "Uttarāvihāravāsitherā". This fact does not prove that these anonymous sources differed from one another, but rather suggests that the names given in the different Tīkās refer to one and the same group.

4. Examples found in the Majjhimaṇṭṭhakathā

1. Example Twenty-one

A. MN (I 1)

Idha bhikkhave assutavā puthujjano ariyānaṃ adassāvi ariyadhammassa akun ṅno ariyadhammo avinīto sappurisānaṃ adassāvi sappurisadhammassa akunīto sappurisadhammo avinīto paṭhaviṃ paṭhavito saṭṭhānīti, paṭhaviṃ paṭhavito saṇṇatvā paṭhaviṃ maṇṇati, paṭhaviyā maṇṇati, paṭhavito maṇṇati, paṭhaviṃ me ti maṇṇati, paṭhaviṃ abhinandati; tamaṃ kassa hetu: aparimātaṃ tassā ti vadāmi.

B. Ps (I 28)


C. Ps-t (I 74, 25)

Apare ti Sārasamāsācariyā.

The view of "apare", i.e. the Sārasamāsācariyas, quoted in Ps (B) is not found in the detailed interpretation on "paṭhavi-kasiṇa" in
the Gedatsudöron. We may conclude that it has been extracted from the Sārasamāsa itself, because the passage referred to is a comment upon a particular phrase, "paññavito māmati", which can be expounded only in a particular context. The text which expounded a word or a phrase (especially a phrase) in this way must have been a commentary (upon the Canon).

2. Example Twenty-two

A. Ps (I 37 foll.) commenting on MN (I 3 foll.)


B. Ps-t (I 88, 2-3)

Kecī ti Abhayagirivāsino.
Apare ti Sārasamāsācariyā.

This example is very important. The passage quoted above from Ps (A) refers in parallel to two different views of unnamed groups. These unnamed groups are respectively identified as the Abhayagirivāsins and the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas (B). It means that these two groups were different.

3. Example Twenty-three

A. MN (I 6)

Tasmātiha bhikkhave Tathāgato sabbaso tanhānaṃ khayaḥ virāgā nirodhā cāgā paṭinissaggā anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambuddho ti vadāmi ti.

B. Ps (I 54)


C. Ps-t (I 115, 3)

Apare ti Sārasamāsācariyā.

It is to be noted here that the different explanation of "apare", i.e. the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas, is introduced in parallel with the orthodox view of the Mahāvihāra, yet it is not rejected by Buddhaghosa.

4. Example Twenty-four

A. MN (I 7)

Bhagavā etad avoca: Jānato aham bhikkhave passato āsavānaṃ khayaṃ vadāmi, no ajānato no apassato . . . ti.
B. Ps (I 63)


C. Ps-ṭ (I 147, 17-20)

Keci ti Abhayagiriśi-Sārasamāsācariyā. Te hi "samādhinā jānato vipassanāya passato jānaṃ jānāti passaṃ passati. Evaṃ jānānaṃ samatho passanā vipassanā" ti ca ādinā papañcenti.

5. Example Twenty-five

A. MN (I 8)

So evam ayniso manasikaroți: Ahosin nu kho aham atitam addhānaṃ, nā nu kho ahosiṃ atitam addhānaṃ, kin nu kho ahosiṃ atitam addhānaṃ, kathan nu kho ahosiṃ atitam addhānaṃ, kim hutvā kim ahosiṃ nu kho aham atitam addhānaṃ . . .

B. Ps (I 69)


C. Ps-ṭ (I 155, 29 - 156, 3)

Keci ti Sārasamāsācariyā. Te hi "kathaṃ nu kho ti Issarena vā Brahmunā vā pabbakatena vā ahetuto vā nibbatto ti cinteti" ti ahu. Tena vuttam "hetuto kaṅkhati ti vadanti" ti. Ahetuto nibbatti-kaṅkhāpi hi hetuparāmasanam eva ti.

It is noteworthy that the above view of "keci", i.e. the Sārasamāsācariyas, in Ps (B) is introduced as a reference, but is not rejected. We can find identical passages in MN (A) and SN (II 26 §18); in Ps (B) and Spk (II 42); and in Ps-ṭ (C) and Spk-ṭ (II 56, 6 foll.). The above passage of Spk-ṭ is the comment upon the above passage of Spk, which is the comment upon that of SN.

6. Example Twenty-six

A. MN (I 21)

Āraddham kho pana me brāhmaṇa viriyam ahosi asallinam, upaṭṭhitā sati asammuṭṭhā passaddho kāyo āsāraddho, samāhitaṃ cittam ekaggam.

B. Ps (I 123)

Kecī ti Uttaravīrāvāsino.

7. Example Twenty-seven

A. MN (I 252 foll.)

Ekamantāṁ nisinnāṁ kho Sakkāṁ devānaṁ indāṁ āyasā Mahāmoggallāno etad avoca: Yathākathāṁ pana te Kosiya Bhagavā sankḥittena tanhāsankhayavimuttīṁ abhāsī, sādhu mayam pi etissā kathāya bhāgino assāma savanāyāti. - Mayaṁ kho mārīsa Moggallāna bahukiccā, mayāṁ bahukarāṇi, app eva sakena karaṇīyena api ca devānaṁ yeva Tāvatimsānāṁ karaṇīyena. Api ca mārīsa Moggallāna sussutaṁ yeva hoti suggahitam suanāsitaṁ sūpadhāraitam yan no khippar eva antaradāyati...

B. Ps (II 301 foll.)


C. Ps-t (II 221, 8 foll.)

Kecī ti Sārasamāsācariyā.

8. Example Twenty-eight

A. MN (II 262)

Kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā thānaṁ etam vijjati yaṁ taṁ saṁvattanikaṁ viṁśanāṁ assa ānāñjūpagaṁ. Ayāṁ, bhikkhave, paṭhamā ānāñjasappāyā patipadā akkhāyati.

B. Ps (IV 61 foll.)

Taṁ saṁvattanikaṁ viṁśanāṁ assa ānāñjūpagaṁ taṁ kāraṇaṁ vijjati ti attho. Etha ca taṁ saṁvattanikan ti tassa bhikkhuno saṁvattanikaṁ yena vipākaviṁśanena so bhikkhu taṁ saṁvattati nibbatti taṁ viṁśanāṁ ānāñjūpagaṁ ti kusalāni ājāsabhāvam upagataṁ assa tādisam eva bhaveyyā ti attho. Kecī kusalaviṁśanāṁ vaṇḍanti yan taṁ tassa bhikkhuno saṁvattanikan upappatihetubhūtaṁ kusalaviṁśanāṁ ānāñjūpagaṭam assa vipākakāle taṁ nāmakaṁ eva assā ti attho.

C. Ps-t (III 254, 31)

Kecī ti Abhayagirivāsino.

5. Example found in the Saṁyuttaṁkathā

1. Example Twenty-nine

A. SN (I 142)

Tena kho pana samayena Bakassa brahmuno evarūpaṁ pāpakāṁ diṭṭhigataṁ uppannaṁ hoti. Idāṁ niccam idam dhuvaṁ, idam sassataṁ idam kevalaṁ idam acavanadhāmmam, idam hi na jāyati na miyati na cavati na uppajjati, ito ca pan’ attāṁ uttarim nissaranāṁ n’ atthi ti.
parallel passages can be seen in the Gedatsudōron, the Chinese version of the Vimuttimagga, are only four: Examples 1, 2, 3 and 6. For the remaining three examples, i.e. 4, 5 and 7, no such parallel passages can be found in the Gedatsudōron. As is already well known, the Vimuttimagga, composed by Upatissa of the Abhayagiri vihāra, pre-dates the Visuddhimagga written by Buddhaghosa of the Mahāvihāra, and the former text is referred to without attribution as one of the basic source materials for the latter text. Comparative studies of these two doctrinal works have already been done in detail. The Vimuttimagga was not, however, the only text of the Abhayagiri vihāra to have been consulted by Buddhaghosa when he was writing the Visuddhimagga. Example 4 mentioned above proves that he referred to a certain old commentary, now lost, of the Uttaravihāra (Abhayagiri vihāra) on the Samyuttanikāya, of which further discussion will be made later. Moreover, examples 5 and 7 suggest that he made use of some other unknown source of the Abhayagiri vihāra, besides the above two texts. It might have been some oral transmission on doctrine or a commentarial work which will be considered later.

(2) In regard to the way in which the "different views" of the non-Mahāvihāravāsins are evaluated, the twenty-nine examples can be classified into two groups:

(a) The "different view" is criticised and rejected with some reason or evidence: these examples are 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24 and 29 - altogether fifteen in number. Most of the examples in the Visuddhimagga are included here.

(b) The "different view" is neither criticised nor rejected. This group is further divided into two:

(i) The "different view" is stated in parallel with the orthodox view of the Mahāvihāravāsins as a supplementary explanation. These
examples are 4, 9 (first half), 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27 and 28.

(ii) The orthodox view of the Mahāvihāravāsins is not mentioned, and only the "different view" of the non-Mahāvihāravāsins is introduced. In this case, the orthodox view seems not to have been available to be referred to. These examples are 9 (latter half) and 14.

In any case, it is noteworthy that in fourteen examples, i.e. nearly half of the total, the "different views" of the non-Mahāvihāravāsins are never rejected but recorded either as a supplement in parallel with the orthodox view or as the only reference without any orthodox view. Incidentally, if we exclude the seven examples in the Visuddhimagga, a doctrinal work, of the remaining twenty-two examples, the cases in which the "different view" is rejected are nine in number, and the reverse cases are thirteen: the latter cases are in the majority. As a consequence of the foregoing, we can conclude that, on the one hand, the Mahāvihāra and non-Mahāvihāra fraternities differed from one another especially on some doctrinal points; while, on the other hand, these twin fraternities in the same Theravāda school recognised each other and mutually supplied what was lacking in each other's commentarial source material.

(3) Next I shall proceed to the matter of the identifications which are made of the unnamed sources. As has already been explained in Section One, the expressions of the Tikās, which can be regarded as referring to the non-Mahāvihāra fraternity, are "Abhayagirivāsino", "Uttaravihāravāsino (-vāsikā, -vāsikatherā)", and "Sārasamāsa-ācāryā". The expressions which indicate the names of texts belonging to this fraternity are "Vimuttimagga of Upatissa" and "Sārasamāsa". Table I is intended to give a better understanding of the way in which these five kinds of names have been referred to: (1) the letter 'a' denotes the identification made by the Tikās of the unnamed source in the Example concerned - when
there is more than one reference in a given Example, a second reference is denoted by the letter 'b' and a third by the letter 'c'; (2) when 'a' or 'b' appears against more than one name in respect of a given Example, this is because more than one name is given by the Tikās for the one reference; whilst (3) a letter in parentheses means that alternative identifications are given in other Tikās when commenting upon the identical unnamed sources quoted in parallel passages in different Aṭṭhakathās. The commentaries cited are as follows:

**Sv**
- A: cty on the Brahmajālasutta (DN-1)
- B: cty on the Śāmanaphalasutta (DN-2)
- C: cty on the Ambatthasutta (DN-3)
- D: cty on the Mahāpadānasuttanta (DN-14)
- E: cty on the Mahānidānasuttanta (DN-15)
- F: cty on the Janavasabhasuttanta (DN-18)

**Ps**
- A: cty on the Mūlapariyāyasutta (MN-1)
- B: cty on the Sabbāsavasutta (MN-2)
- C: cty on the Bhayabhivasasutta (MN-4)
- D: cty on the Cūlatanhāsankhayasutta (MN-37)
- E: cty on the Ānāṭṭhasappāyasutta (MN-106)

**Spk**
- Cty on the Brahmasaṃyutta (SN-6)

From this Table, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. With respect to the Visuddhimagga, the name of the Abhayagirivāsins is the most frequent, and the Vimuttimagga of Upatissa is expressly mentioned. Yet the Visuddhimagga makes no reference to the Sārasamāsa.

2. In contrast to this, in the Dighatthakathā, the references to the Sārasamāsa and the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas are in the majority, and the name of the Uttaravihāravāsins is the next most frequent. Throughout the whole commentary on the Dihanikāya, only the parts commenting on six suttas headed by the Brahmajālasutta contain the names under consideration. (Other anonymous sources are found in the parts of the Dighatthakathā which comment upon these and other suttas).

3. In the Majjhimaṭṭhakathā also, the references to the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas are in the majority. The parts of the commentary in which the names under consideration can be seen are limited to the sections commenting upon only five suttas headed by the Mūlapariyāyasutta.

4. With regard to the examples in which more than one name is given for the same unnamed source (i.e. the names with the same marks in the same examples in the diagram), the grouping together of the Uttaravihāravāsins with the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas is the most frequent: five (or six) in all; and there is one instance of the grouping of the Abhayagirivāsins and Sārasamāsa-ācariyas. The grouping of the Abhayagirivāsins with the Uttaravihāravāsins, however, does not occur. It is quite clear from Example 22 that the Abhayagirivāsins were never identical with the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas. In this example, the "keci" who are first referred to are the Abhayagirivāsins, and "apare" who are next referred to are the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas. The textual evidence in Example 20 proves positively that the Abhayagirivāsins and the Uttaravihāravāsins were one and the same. This conclusion agrees with the fact that the grouping of these two as different fraternities does not occur, as described above. Therefore the Abhayagirivāsins, i.e. the Uttaravihāravāsins, were entirely different from the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas.

5. Next it will be asked what the Abhayagirivāsins, i.e. the Uttaravihāravāsins, and the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas really were. In this respect, the view of Professor de Silva should be considered here. She also considered the grouping of the above three kinds of names. As an explanation for the fact that there is a grouping of the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas with the Uttaravihāravāsins in the material
she investigated (i.e. DAT), but none of the former with the Abhayagirivāsins, she stated as follows:\textsuperscript{30}:

"Soon after the dissension in the Buddhist church during the reign of Vaṭṭagāminī Abhaya, the schismatics came to be called Abhayagirikā as opposed to the orthodoxy - the Mahāvihārikā. This usage may have gone on until the time of Gotthābhaya. The Nikāyasangrahava records that during the reign of Gotthābhaya (A.D. 309-22) an influential monk named Ussiliyatissa declined to accept the Vaitulyavāda, though the residents of Abhayagiri welcomed the new doctrine, and went to reside at the Dakkhināgiri together with a retinue of 500 monks. This group, under the leadership of Sāgala, came to be called Sāgaliyiyas. Perhaps it was after this event that the headquarters at Abhayagiri came to be designated Uttaravihāra to distinguish it from the sub-division at Dakkhināgiri. Now, both Uttaravihāra and Dakkhināgiri are heterodox, therefore they are both included in the name of the first schismatics, i.e. Abhayagirivāsino. When the term Uttaravihāra is used it only means the section at the headquarters. Therefore when DAT identifies a view as being held by the Abhayagirivāsins, it virtually means non-Mahāvihāravāsins, and has a wide connotation. But when it uses Uttaravihāra, only the headquarters of the heterodox schools set at Abhayagiri is to be understood."

With reference to this view, I can agree in part, yet cannot agree entirely. Only the examples in the Dighaṭṭhakathā were examined by Professor de Silva in the process of editing the PTS edition of the Dighaṭṭkā. That is to say, the material for her search was very limited. She did not refer to Example 24 in the Majjhimaṭṭhakathā, nor the examples in the Visuddhimagga, although the latter had been studied to a certain extent. (This is a weak point of her methodology). Certainly, the discussion would be simpler and clearer were we to regard Abhayagirivāsin as the name of the whole of the non-Mahāvihāra fraternity, including the Dakkhināgirivāhā, and the Uttaravihāravāsin as the name only of the headquarters of the heterodox fraternities at Abhayagiri. I do not think, however, that in reality these names were so strictly defined or were used in that way. Nevertheless, I consider it reasonable for her to have suggested that the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas were the group of monks in the Dakkhināgirivihāra, forming a sub-fraternity of the Abhayagirivihāra.

Now I shall state my view. Although the original name of the Abhayagirivihāra which was founded by king Vaṭṭagāminī Abhaya was "Abhayagiri", being named after a part of his name, there is the possibility that from the beginning this vihāra was also called the Uttaravihāra (North Monastery) because of its location to the north of Anurādhapura, the then capital of Sri Lanka. Moreover, as the Mahāvihāra was situated in the central part of the capital, and as the Dakkhināgirivihāra was in the southern part, the Abhayagiri was always regarded as the "monastery of the north" by the monks of these two monasteries.

In any case, of the twelve examples in which the name of the Uttaravihāravāsins is referred to in the Tikās, in five (or six) examples their name is referred to in parallel with that of the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas. This fact shows that there was a clear contrast between these two groups. The Sārasamāsa-ācariyas must have been the monks who lived in the Dakkhināgirivihāra mentioned above and who composed and transmitted a work entitled "Sārasamāsa". Consequently, the Abhayagirivihāravāsins were identical with the Uttaravihāravāsins, and the Sārasamāsa-ācariyas were identical with the Dakkhināgirivāsins. Among the forty-three references to these names in all, the references concerning the Abhayagirivihāra in general are twenty-five in number, and those concerning the Dakkhināgirivihāra in general are eighteen in number. However, if we omit the seven references contained in the Visuddhimagga, which does not refer to the
Sārasamāsa, the remaining thirty-six references which appear in the
commentarial texts such as Sv, Ps and Spk are equally divided
into eighteen from the Abhayagirivāsins, or the Uttaravīhāravāsins,
and another eighteen from the Sārasamāsa-ācāriyas or the
"Sārasamāsa". This suggests that generally speaking these two
sources were treated as equally authoritative and were referred to in
these commentaries.

(6) Finally, I shall put in order the unattributed sources from
which the views of "some" were quoted. As has already been
described in (1) of this Section, of the seven examples found in the
Visuddhimagga, the four headed by Example 1 are from the
Vimuttimagga of the Abhayagirivihāra, though this source is not
acknowledged. The source for Example 4 was the old
commentary, now lost, of the Abhayagiri fraternity on the
Samyuttaniikāya. The sources for the remaining two are still
unknown, which suggests that some other unknown texts or oral
transmission on doctrinal matters of this fraternity existed in the
past.

It has been shown clearly that a text entitled "Sārasamāsa" of the
Dakkhināgirivihāra, the sub-fraternity of the Abhayagirivihāra,
must have existed. It can be deduced that the quotations from
Sārasamāsa-ācāriyas were in fact from the Sārasamāsa itself.
Judging from the contents of the quotations from the Sārasamāsa,
this text can be regarded as being a commentary on the Nikāyas.
For instance, as in Example 8 which is the explanation of the word
"sāciyāga", most of the quotations from this text consist of
interpretations of something or descriptions of something.
Moreover, in Examples 22 and 24, the quotations are
interpretations of words which form a pair ("ekatta" and "nānatta";
"jānato" and "passato"), and in Examples 21, 25 and 27 what is
being interpreted is not a word but a phrase consisting of several
words ("paṭhavito maṃmāti"; "kathanu kho ahosim"; and "yan no
khippam eva antarādāyati"). These phrases, needless to say, make
sense only in a particular context, and can be properly expounded
upon only in relation to a particular sentence. From the above
discussion, it is clear that the text named "Sārasamāsa" was a work
which commented in detail upon passages from specific suttas; yet
it was not a systematic thesis on doctrine such as the
Visuddhimagga or the Vimuttimagga. Through the investigation
of the instances concerned, this text seems to have been a
commentary upon (at least) DN, MN, SN, and AN. Incidentally,
as to the commentary on AN, there is no example except the
duplicated ones (36 and 37 in the list of Section One), but it is
rather difficult to imagine the existence of a commentary on the
first three Nikāyas alone. At the same time, it is also difficult to
imagine the existence of a single commentary on all five Nikāyas,
though I have no Tikā material to help me to examine any
references to such a source in the commentaries on the fifteen texts
of the Khuddakanikāya. On the other hand, we find one example
in Pp-A (No. 41) as the only instance in the Abhidhamma-piṭaka
commentary concerning the Sārasamāsa. This is, however, a
duplicate of passages in three other commentaries, i.e. Sv, Ps and
Mp. To sum up, I believe the Sārasamāsa to have been a
commentary of the Dakkhināgirivihāra on the first four Nikāyas as
stated above.

Next, what was the source material, besides the source for the
Visuddhimagga, from which the interpretation of the
Abhayagirivāsins, i.e. the Uttaravīhāravāsins, was quoted? As has
already been explained, of the examples concerning this group,
Examples 8, 9, 10, 19 and 24 are common to the Sārasamāsa.
Examples 12, 14, 16, 18, 26, 28 and 29 show interpretations of
words or phrases, which can make sense only in particular
contexts. Example 12 is typical on this point: as discussed before,
the phrase commented upon is "te devā" (these heavenly beings)
and this cannot possibly be properly interpreted independent of its
context. From the above evidence, this source was beyond all
doubt a commentary upon the canon. As regards the subjects of
its comment, the great majority are from the first four Nikāyas,
while a few are from Abhidhamma-piṭaka texts such as Dhs
(No. 38), Vibh. (Nos. 39-40), and Pp (No. 41). However, as to the examples concerning AN and these three Abhidhamma-pitaka texts, the situation is exactly the same as with the Sārasamāsa. The examples concerning these texts are duplicated by passages in other Nikāyas.

This commentary, as the Sārasamāsa, can be regarded neither as a commentary on the first three Nikāyas, i.e., DN, MN and SN, nor as a commentary on both the Nikāyas and the Abhidhamma-pitaka. Therefore, as in the case of the Sārasamāsa, this text must have been a commentary on the first four Nikāyas. This unacknowledged commentary that is lost today must have been the "Uttaravihāra-aṭṭhakathā". This text is referred to at eight places in the Mahāvamsaṭīkā31, and is sometimes referred to as the "Uttaravihāravāsinānām aṭṭhakathā". In this connection, the same Tikā quotes from another text of the Abhayagiri fraternity, i.e., the "Uttaravihāravāsinānām Mahāvamsa"32, that is now also lost.

Saitama, Japan

Sodō Mori

* I am grateful to Mr. K. R. Norman of the University of Cambridge for the discussions that I had with him about this subject during my stay in England in 1985 and for one year since.

Notes

Abbreviations are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenckner, A Critical Pāli Dictionary, Vol I, Copenhagen 1924-1928. In addition, Cht = Châtthasangāyana edition; Ged = Gedatsudorōn; JIABS = Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies; Nanden = Nanden Daizōkyō; SHB = Simon Hewavitarne Bequest edition; Sv-t = Dighatīkā; Taishō = Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō; Vim = Vimuthmagga.

References to Pāli texts are to PTS editions except for the following: Vism-mht = B. N. Shukla, Rewatadhamma eds., Visuddhimagga with Paramatthamaṁjūṣṭikā, 3 vols, Varanasi, 1969-72; Ps-t I, II = Mūlapannāṣatiṅkā I, II; Ps-t III = Majhimaṁpannāsatiṅkā and Uparipannāsatiṅkā; Spk-t, Mp-t, Vibh-mt, Pp-t (in Ppk-t) being Chūt editions.

1 This is a revised and abridged translation of Part IV of my book entitled Pāli bunkyō chūsaku bunken no kenkyū: Attakata no jōzabu-teki yōsō or A Study of the Pāli Commentaries: Theravādīc Aspects of the Āṭṭhakathās, Tokyo, Sankibō Busshorin 1984, 19, 6, viii, 8, 718pp. The original title (in English) of that Part (pp 559-689) is "Comparison of Views between the Mahāvihārikas and the Abhayagīrikas: Lineage: An Aspect of the Commentaries".

2 This refers to the Visuddhamagga and the direct commentaries on the Pāli canon. They are sometimes called in this article the Āṭṭhakathās, the Aṭṭhakathā texts, or the (Pāli) commentaries.

3 Sodō Mori, op cit (n 1), pp 128-139.

4 Sodō Mori, "The Vitaṇḍavādins (Sophists) as Seen in the Pāli Āṭṭhakathās", in Essays on the Pāli and Buddhist Civilization, or Pāli bunkyō bunka kenkyū, edited by the Pāli Bunka Kenkyūkai, Tokyo, Sankibō-Busshorin, 1982, pp 171-188.

5 The list of all of them is available in my work (n 1), pp 111-128.

6 Nyanaṭiloka, trans., Der Weg zur Reinheit, Konstanzen, Verlag Christiani, 1931-42. Ex. p 93, n 126 (p 873); p 123, n 79 (p 876); p 175, n 146 (p 883); p 309, n 133 (p 904); p 511, n 42 (p 916); p 842.


8 Bhikkhu Nyanaṭiloka, trans., The Path of Purification, Colombo, R. Semage, 1956. Ex. pp 180, n 18; 104, n 19; 154, n 32; 287, n 38; 428, n 25; 502, n 31; 822, n 5.


12 Here the Tikās refer to the Paramatthamaṁjūṣṭikā: Visuddhimagga Mahāṭīkā and the commentaries on the Āṭṭhakathās of the Pāli canon, except for the commentaries on the Khuddakaṁṭhakathās, which either do not exist or have not been published.
Chinese Passages

a. 問：誰名頭陀分。頭陀有幾種法。...答：有十三頭陀，是佛所說。佛所制戒，此謂頭陀分。此不應說善不善無記。

b. 問：此三行何因緣。云何可知此欲行人、此隣行人、此癡行人。...答：初所造因緣。諸行事界為因緣。過患為因緣。云何諸行事初所造因緣。於初可愛方便故，多善業成欲行人。復從天愛業所覆，從地獄從龍生，墮落生此。初多飲酒長間，成癡行人，從畜生墮落生此。如是行初造因緣。云何界為因緣。二界最近故，成癡行人、所謂地界水界。二界最近故，成隣行人、所謂火界風界。四界等故，成欲行人。如是諸行界心因緣。雲何過患為因緣。最多眾成欲行人、最多眾成隣行人、最多風成癡行人。復有說，最多眾成癡行人、最多風成欲行人。如是過患因緣。

c. (三種善者、謂初中後善。以清净修行行為初善、以捨增長為中善、以歡喜為後善。) 云何清净修行、謂諸善資具。云何捨增長、是謂安定。云何為歡喜、是謂為觀。如是初善成三善。

d. 問日，云何念安般。何修、何相、何味、何處、何功德、云何修行。答日，安者人、安者出於人相、彼念隱然正念、此謂念安般。心住不亂，此謂修。令起安般想為相。思惟意為香。斷覺為處。何功德者、若人修行念安般、成寂寂、成勝妙、成莊嚴可愛、自增益。

e. 云何四大所造色。眼人、耳人、鼻人、舌人、身人、色人、聲人、香人、味人、女根、男根、命根、身作、口作、虚空界色、輕色、軟色、堪受持色、增長色、相續色、生色、老色、無常、爛失、處色、眼色。

f. Taisho Vol.32, p.461a: 問，阿那含人為果定現觀、故故性除無隔。阿羅漢道生。答，非樂處故、不生現觀、無力故。
Here is another random collection of words which are either omitted from PED, or given an incorrect or inadequate meaning or etymology there.

1. apilapati “to recite”
2. a- and sa-ppaṭihīrakata “non-referential and referential”
3. pāṭhāra “introduction”
4. pānuta “clothed”
5. maṅgura-cchavi “with brown skin”
6. manesikā “mind-reading”
7. muṭṭha-sati “forgetfulness”
8. rakkha “tree”
9. saṃdana “trappings”
10. samavassari “(she) uttered”
11. samudda “sea”
12. sahavya “friendship”

1. apilapati “to recite”, apilāpeti “to recite, to remember by recitation”

At A II 185,12–13 we find the statement: tassa tattha sukhino dhammapadāṇi pi lapanti, (Ee reads so; Ce reads -padā pi lapanti; Be reads -padā plavanti). The cty, however, reads: dhammapadāpilapanti (vv.II. pilavanti, plavanti) ti ... sukhino ye pi pubbe ... vācāparihinā buddhavacanadhammā, te sabbe pasanne ādāse chāyā viya apilapanti (vv.II. pilavanti, plavanti). upaṭṭhahantī pākaṭā hutvā paññāyanti, Mp III 170,15–18. Clearly the cty is taking sukhino as genitive and apilapanti as intransitive. The variant readings plavanti and pilavanti, and the explanation in Mp (for the use of the verb upaṭṭhahantī, cf: sā [sati] pan’ esā upa-
asura with the removal of a-, and dhava from vidhava with the loss of vi-), and the resultant pilēpanatā was explained as “floating”: yā asati ananussati ... assarānattā adhāranatā pilēpanatā samussanatā (Ee has a wrong reading with a- for both of these) ... idam vuccatā muṣṭhasaccam, Dhs 232,7–8; udeke alābuṭaṇām viya ārammaṇe pilavati ti pilēpanatā, As 405,28–29. A distinction is therefore made between muṣṭhasaccam, which is connected with things floating on the (surface of the) mind, and sati which is connected with things not floating, i.e. entering into the mind.

In the references in A, whether we read dhammapiṇḍi 'pilapanti or dhammapadāpilapanti, I think we have the verb api-lapanti = abhi-lapanti. The three parallel statements at A II 185–86, with a subject, object and finite verb, persuade me that we ought to take sukhino (nom. pl.) as subject, dhammapadā(ni) as object, and apilapanti as a finite verb: “the happy ones recite the doctrine”. This then gives a verb apilapati “to recite” of which the causative api-lapati means “to cause to be recited, to enumerate” and then “to remind someone of something by enumerating it to them”. Because Mp does not recognise the verb api-lapati, it has to take (a)apilapanti as intransitive, with dhammapadā as subject, and sukhino as genitive (= dative) in agreement with tassa.

I presume that the phrases at A II 185,12–13 and Mp III 170,15–18 say the same thing, and so the difference is between sukhino dhammapadānī pilapanti and sukhino dhammapadā pilapanti. In the second of these it is not possible to say conclusively whether we have the coalescence of -padā and api- > -padāpi-, or whether there is elision of initial a-. This does happen with api-, even in Skt, where we find pidhiṇa for apidhiṇa, etc.

I think the difference between -padā and -padāni raises a question about the neuter plural ending. Geiger states that the nom. pl. in -ā is not rare, but he does not mention the acc. pl., although one would expect the two to be the same. He does not even list rūpā as a possible form for the acc. I think this is an omission on Geiger’s part. It may be that acc. forms in -ā are not

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—with a connection with the use of api-lapañā (iā) which we find elsewhere in the sense of sati: yā ... sati anussati ... saraṇātā dhāranatā api-lapañātā samussanatā ... idam ... satindriyaṃ hoti, Dhs 11,11. This is explained in words based upon Mil 37,6 foll.: sā pan'esā api-lapañā-lakkhaṇā upagāhanalakkhaṇā ca, As 121,18. This is explained: sati kusale dhamme api-lapeti, As 121,27 = Ps I 83,2. The explanation in Mil is: api-lapañā-lakkhaṇā ... sati upagāhanalakkhaṇā cā ti, Mil 37,6–7; sati ... uppajjāmāna kusalākusala- ... dhamme api-lapeti, 37;9; ettakā deva te hatthi, ettakā āsā ... ettakaṃ sāpateyyam, tam devo saratī ti raṇī sāpateyyam api-lapeti, 37,19–22. Mil 37,22 clearly takes the verb to be api-lapeti (≠ abhilapeti) “to repeat, to remember by repetition”. The noun from this is api-lapañātā = sati, e.g. sati api-lapañātā ti, As 144,4.

Other texts, however, even though they quote Mil (e.g. As 121,27 and Ps I 83,2) take this to be from plavati, from the root plu- “to swim, float”, and explain sati as being “non-floating”: anupavisañasaṅkhārāna gāhaṇanathena apilapanaḥvvo api-lapañatā. yathā hi lābukatahādini udeke pilavanti na upavisanti na tathā ārammaṇe sati. ārammaṇam hi esa anupavisi, tasmā api-lapañatā ti vuttā, As 147,11–15. We find at Nett 15,18: yathādiṭṭhaṃ api-lapañāṭṭhena sati, which Nāṇamoli translates “it is mindfulness in the sense of the act-of-not-floating-away [from its object] according as [it has] been seen”. He adds:4 “apilapanti non-floating away”: not as in PED for all Nett and similar references. The word is the same as the abstract form apilapanti (i.e. a + pilāpana + tā; see PED) and is glossed by Nett-a with ogāhana [itāra pana yathādiṭṭhaṃ yathāgaḥitaṃ ārammaṇam api-lapaṅañṭhena ogāhānaṭṭhena sati ti, (Nett 215,25–26)]. The root is plu (to swim or float), not lap; see PED pilavati, and also CPD. Mindfulness is regarded as keeping the mind ‘anchored’ on its object and preventing it from ‘floating away’ from it.”
as common as nom. forms, but they certainly exist, e.g. *dadanti dānā at A I 162,25, where the ending is confirmed by the metre.

2. a- and sa-ppāṭihārakata “non-referential” and “referential”

This word (with a-) occurs at D I 193,3,18,20; 194,15,17,28,29; 195,18,20; 239,17,20; 241,17,20; 242,10,30,33; 243,14,16; 244,4,7; M II 33,19,21; 41,2,4. The word (with sa-) occurs at D I 198,18,19,32; 199,18,19. Rhys Davids translated the former “without good ground” and also suggested “not apposite”; Buddhaghosa explains it as paṭihārakata-virahita aniyānīkam (Sv 380,7–8). Walshe translates it as “stupid”⁷, and I.B. Horner as “irresponsible”⁸. Jayatilleke investigated a number of possible etymological explanations and preferred Buddhaghosa’s at Ps III 273,10–11 (quoted by Miss Horner¹⁰): aniyānīka amūlaka nirtthaka “what does not lead onwards, is groundless, and without a goal”. He consequently translated “baseless and meaningless”.

Rhys Davids¹¹ noted a connection with the word for miracle, but stated that to render the word “unmiraculous” would make nonsense of the passage. It is true that both words are to be derived from the same root, i.e. prati + har- “to bring or carry, towards, against or back”. The development would seem to be from the noun pratihāra, and is based upon a ṭṛddhi formation pratihārya. This gives in Pāli pāṭihārya and (with a secondary development) pāṭihāra (via *pāṭhera). Judging from the references available to me, when it is prefixed by a- or sa- we find pāṭhārīya when it is freestanding, and pāṭihāra when compounded with -kata.

What do these various words mean? In Skt, among the other, more understandable, meanings, we find the sense of “doorkeeper” for pratihāra. This sense perhaps arose from the fact that he was the person who brought the visitors to the owner of the house. We also find, in the lexicons, the meaning “juggler, magician”. The ṭṛddhi formation noun pratihārya therefore has the meaning of “juggler”. It is not easy to see how the meaning “juggler” arose — perhaps from some punning use of the basic meaning of the word, e.g. “producer”. It is this “juggler, magic” idea which is translated as “miracle” in Pāli.

If we assume that “bring back, bring towards” is a possible meaning, then we could give a meaning based on a Latin quasi-parallel from re + fer, and suggest that “reference” might well be tried as a starting point. We might think of “referential” and “non-referential”, unless it is thought that these words already have a specific sense in philosophical discussion. “Appropriate” and “non-appropriate”, or “apposite” and non-apposite” would all be possible. Rhys Davids¹² seemed to suggest “apposite” for appāṭihāra-kata and “non-apposite” for sappāṭihāra-kata, but this seems to be incorrect, and is contradicted by what he went on to say in that note. In the same note he quoted two readings from Buddhaghosa which are not accepted by the editors of the commentary [pajihāna- and -viharanam], and these words should not be taken into consideration in this matter.

CPD suggests “not convincing, without arguments” for appāṭihāriya¹³, and “made unreliable” for appāṭihāra-kata. If we assume that this means “basis for argument”, i.e. the facts or references which one brings forward as the basis of a statement, then this would be an acceptable translation. Something like “arguable” and “non-arguable” would be possible. The idea would be that certain talk could be seen to be with (or without) reference, and therefore “arguable (or non-arguable)”, because there was (or was not) something to argue about.

3. pāṭihāra “introduction”

This word is found at Ja I 121,2§ (bāhirato vānijesu āgatesu tatiyena pāṭihārenā ārocetha) ≠ 122,5. PED defines “striking, that which strikes (with reference to marking the time)”, but that hardly fits the context here. Ja-Trs translates “let them
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This word (with *a-) occurs at D I 193,3,18,20; 194,15,17,28,29; 195,18,20; 239,17,20; 241,17,20; 242,10,30,33; 243,14,16; 244,4,7; M II 33,19,21; 41,2,4. The word (with *sa-) occurs at D I 198,18,19,32; 199,18,19. Rhys Davids translated the
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3. pāṭihāra “introduction”

This word is found at Ja I 121,29 (bāhirato vānijesu
āgatesu tatiyena pāṭihāreṇa ārocetha) ≠ 122,5. PED defines
“striking, that which strikes (with reference to marking the time)
but that hardly fits the context here. Ja-Trsl. translates “let them
be passed on by three successive ushers ... announced them by three successive ushers”14. We find pāṭihārakena used in a version of the same story found elsewhere at Mp I 219,18.

Apte15 gives as one of the meanings of pratihāra: “intimating arrival”: samprāpyaite mahāmāno Rāghavasya nivesānam viṣṭhītāḥ pratihārārtham (Rām. 7.1.7). For pratihāraṇa (s.v.) he gives: “entrance, permission to enter a door”.

We also find pāṭihāra-kamma in Pāli (yathā ca sabbakammiko amacco yodhakammam pi karoti, mantakammam pī ti sabbakiccāni sādheti, Spk III 171,6). The ūkā on this states: pāṭihāra-kamman ti rāhā̄ṇo santikaṃ āgatāṇam vacanaṃ rāhāṇo nivedetvā tato nesaṃ pāṭiharaṇakamman, Spk-pt.

We also find: vinā pāṭihārena upatihānāṃ anujāāni, Ja VI 345,27 (“without ceremony”, Ja-Trsl.16). Since the second time the phrase occurs in Ja I 122,5 we find the statement purimasaṅhāvasena tatiyena pāṭihārena tesam āgatabhāvaṃ ārocesuṃ, we must assume that the third pāṭihāra was in some way distinctive, and could be used to give information, in a way previously arranged, that the people being introduced were the particular people (the king) was expecting. It is therefore to be translated “(the third) method of introduction (of visitors to the king)”.

4. pārūta “clothed”

This word is given by Geiger17, and quoted from him by Renou18, as another example of the change of vr > nu. This is not correct. As PED correctly states, pārūta is the past participle of pārupati, which is a metathesised form of pāpurati. This is a hyper-form of *pāvurati, which is to be derived < *prāvarati (showing labialisation of -a- > -u- after -v-) = pravṛṇoti, i.e. pārūta is a conflation of pārupati and *pāvuta. The strange statement in PED19 that the form apārūta “is apparently only a neg. pārūta” should be changed to read “is only in appearance a negative of pārūta”, since it is, in fact, the past participle of apāpurati.

5. maṅgura-cchavi “with brown skin”

This compound occurs at M I 246,17 (referring to the colour of the Buddha’s body); 429,14 (referring to no-one in particular); II 33,14; D I 193,13; 242,2 (referring in these last three cases to the complexion of a unknown beautiful girl). In all these cases it is used together with the words kāla and sāma. We presumably have a graded series of colours — black, (dark) brown, (light) brown. It also occurs outside the canon at Vism 184,4 and Sp 238,19, where it is used with kāla and odāta. Here it presumably refers to a colour (halfway) between black and white.

The BHS equivalent, found in the references to the colour of the Buddha’s body in LV (255,5; 256,8) and Mvu (II 126,11; 127,15), is madguru. This is also the name of a fish, and it is interesting to note that Ps II 290,9 (on M I 246,17) states: maṅgura-cchavi ti maṅgura-maccha-chavi. Edgerton20 states that the two words are probably not connected, unless the fish was named for its colour, This, however, seems very likely, since there is also a fish called rohitā (Ja V 405,32*).

It is difficult to believe that maṅgura and maṅguli (found at S II 260,3 = Vin III 107,11; and compounded with itthi at Vin III 100,22) are not connected, since they differ only in the -r/-l-alternation, and are both used of (a woman’s) appearance. It seems, however, that maṅguli is used only in a bad sense. It is glossed: maṅgulin ti virūpam duddasikam bibhaccham (Sp 511,1 = Spk II 221,10). In Pkt too maṅgula seems to be used only in a bad sense, since PSM21 gives the meanings: anisṭa, pāpa, asundara. It is presumably for this reason that Edgerton reads (a) maṅgurucchavir at Mula-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya I 36,1722, where it is used of a Cakravartin’s strīratna with nātigauri and nātisyāmā.

A bad sense is perhaps appropriate for Gotama’s colour in the particular circumstances, but possibly not for the beautiful
girl, unless we are to interpret it as meaning: “You really do not know whether she is beautiful or not”.

A Dravidian etymology is given at DEDR 4750 (= DEDR 3890), where maṇḍura and maṅgula are assumed to have the same (bad) meaning, i.e. “sallow, unhealthy (in appearance)”, although Mayrhofer23 expresses doubts about this.

6. manesikā “guessing another’s thoughts”

This is one of the eighteen examples given of games played by brāhmaṇa and sāmanas who are addicted to games and recreations. It occurs at D I 7,1, and is explained in the cty as: manesikā nāma manasā cintita-jñanana-kīlā (Sv 86,19). PED explains it as being derived from mano + *esikā, and defines it as “mind-searching”, i.e. guessing the thoughts of others, mindreading; a practice forbidden to bhikkhus. The word also occurs at Vin II 10,23 and III 180,28, and Sp 621,24 explains: manesikā vuccati manasā cintita-jñanana-kīlā.

The explanation given by PED is hardly satisfactory. Esikā is quoted only in the sense “desire” and it is found in this sense in the compound abbūhesika Even if we assumed that it was a form from the root is-/es- “to seek, search”, it would scarcely give the sense required here.

It seems more likely that we are dealing with a variant of the word which appears in Skt in the form manisikā “wisdom, intelligence”, and its use with reference to a particular type of intelligence is parallel to the way in which the adjective tevijja “having three knowledges” is used of three particular types of Buddhist knowledge.

7. rakkha “tree”

Geiger24 takes rukkha as being derived < vrksa, with vr > ru, presumably via *vru, although this would seem to be unparalleled. The same etymology is given by Sen25. The parallel which Geiger gives (pārua) is probably not a parallel (see above). On the other hand Pischel26 connects the word with Skt rukṣa, which may perhaps mean “tree”. Pkt also has vaccha, which is to be derived from vrksa. Wackernagel27 and Renou28 propose a metathesis. This is certainly the solution, but the metathesis is probably pre-Indo-Aryan, and is to be compared with the VR/RV alternation which is found in wolf and vulpes as opposed to lupus, lopāsa, rksa and Greek ὀλυμπης.

The derivation from rukṣa is not, however, possible for rakkha (Ja III 144,15). This is taken as a side-form by both PED and Geiger29. The occurrence, however, of rakṣa and rakṣka (as well as rukha) in GDbh, suggests that it is not merely “an old misreading” as PED says30. If we are to derive this from vrksa, then we would be forced to return to Geiger’s etymology for rukkha, i.e. vrksa > *vrukkha > rukkha, and assume vrksa > *vrakkha > rakkha. The same objection remains, but it is, however, possible that the loss of initial v- is not to be regarded as a specific MIA phenomenon, but rather to be located in OIA or even pre-OIA. We can, in fact, give several examples of this change, and they have been listed by John Brough31. We can quote: (v)ṛṣabha “bull”; (v)aṛc- “go crookedly”; (v)ṛddh- “go crookedly”; (v)arca- “be brilliant”; (v)ṛṣṭi “rain”; (v)as- “remain”. There seems, therefore, no reason to doubt that (v)vrksa “tree” could also be in this group. This would mean that all forms can be derived from related forms and by-forms, i.e *rūkṣa, vrksa and *vrksa.

On the other hand, a satisfactory etymology for the Skt form can be obtained by comparing vrksa with valśa, and assuming that the former is based upon the latter + -s-, with a weak grade of ar/al, i.e. vṛṣ/vṛṣ + s > vṛks/vṛks.32

The variation in the Aśokan inscriptions (vracha at G33; lukha at K Y J and rucha at M) probably reflects a situation where the original form in an Eastern Pkt had lukha, which with the North-Western changes of l > r and kh > ch gives M rucha.
Although it looks as though G confirms the \textit{vrkhal/vracha} stage between \textit{vrk\={a}} and \textit{vakkha}, I think that, in fact, it shows an attempt at Sanskritisation, i.e. \textit{rra} is the scribe’s attempt at reproducing the -\textit{r} sound in a script which did not have a character for it.

8. \textit{mu\={t}ha-sati “forgetfulness”}

The BHS equivalent of this is \textit{mu\={s}ita-sm\={r}ti}, which PED states is in appearance wrongly derived from P\={a}li \textit{mus\={a}ti “to rob”}. Edgerton, however, states \textsuperscript{34} that P\={a}li \textit{mu\={t}thasat} “pace PTS (Dictionary) … may well be from Skt \textit{mu\={s}\={t}a = mu\={s}\={i}ta}”. Morris\textsuperscript{35} also quotes Skt \textit{mu\={s}ita-sm\={r}ti}, but rejects the connection. The commentators give an explanation based upon \textit{mussati < m\={r}\={s}yati}, but I believe that they and both the modern commentators I have mentioned were all wrong, and I believe that Edgerton was correct.

PED is also wrong in stating that \textit{mu\={t}ha} occurs “only in two compounds”. It occurs twice uncompounded in the phrase \textit{sati mu\={t}h\={a} at Th 98 and 794, where mu\={t}h\={a} is glossed as na\={t}h\={a} (Th-a I 214,15).

In BHS \textit{mu\={s}ita-sm\={r}ti} is a noun. It is an adjective in Skt, with an abstract noun (lex.) formed by adding -\textit{t\={a}}. In P\={a}li it is a \textit{bahu\={v}rihi} compound adjective. The noun in P\={a}li is \textit{mu\={t}h\={a}-sacca}. PED states that this is derived < \textit{mu\={t}h\={a} + sati + ya}, but it is rather < \textit{mu\={t}h\={a} + sacca < *smartya}.

9. \textit{sand\={a}na “trappings”}

This word occurs at D II 188,5. It is presumably the same as the word \textit{sam\={d}\={a}na “bond, halter, fetter”} found in Skt, and PED queries whether we should not read \textit{sand\={a}na}. There seems to be no reason why we should do so. The word can perfectly well be explained as showing the weak grade form of the root \textit{d\={a} “to

10. \textit{samavassari “(she) uttered”}

PED does not list this word in this form, but under \textit{samavasarati} (sic) it states “of a goad or spur” with a reference to Thi 210, and instructs readers to see \textit{samosarati}. Under this last word, which is derived by PED from \textit{osarati} (< \textit{sr- “to flow”}), two meanings are given: “to flow down together” and “to come together, gather”. There is no reference to \textit{samavasarati}.

We must therefore assume that PED is suggesting a derivation from the root \textit{sr-} for \textit{samavassari}. If this is so, then we must also assume that the appearance of double -\textit{ss-} is metri causa. For the word \textit{patodam} to be the object of \textit{samavassari}, we must assume that it is a causative form. If this is so, then -\textit{ssari} must stand for -\textit{s\={a}rayi}, i.e. the vowel -\textit{\={a}}- has been shortened, again metri causa, and the ending -\textit{\={a}yi} has been replaced by -\textit{i}. Taken in themselves, none of these three changes is unparalleled, but it is perhaps rather unlikely that three such anomalous forms should occur in one word.

If the derivation is not from \textit{sam + ava + sr-}, then we must consider alternatives. If we assume that the reading is correct, with no changes metri causa, then we are looking for a root which could give the stem -\textit{ssar-}. I can think only of \textit{smar-} or \textit{svar-}. It is, of course, true that neither of these roots occurs in Skt with the prefixes \textit{sam + ava}, but there are formations from both roots which would not be inappropriate.

The root \textit{smar-} has among its meanings “to hand down memoriter, teach, declare” and “to recite”, while \textit{ava-svar-} has the meanings “to sound (as an instrument)” and “to sustain with gradually lowered voice”\textsuperscript{37}. The latter verb is very rare, but if we can assume that \textit{smar-} and \textit{svar-} were more common in MIA than in Skt, then either of these would give an acceptable etymology
and meaning, on the assumption that the verb does not have patodāṃ but rather gāthā as its object, i.e. “she uttered these verses as a spur”, rather than “she used a spur, i.e. these verses”.

11. samudda, “sea”

There is, of course, no doubt about this word or its meaning, but readers of Mil 85–86 may have been puzzled at the explanation of its meaning given there. It is explained as sama + uda + ra(vana). We can therefore see that *ravaṇa = lavaṇa = “salt”. This explains the retroflex -n-, which is otherwise inexplicable after -l-.

This agrees with the explanation given by Charpentier38. Against this is the explanation given by J.C. Wright39, who assumes it is < MIA lavāna “piece” (of rock salt), with the spontaneous development of -n- > -n-.

12. sahavya “friendship”

PED states that this is from sahāya, and compares Skt sāhāyya, but does not explain the development in detail. It would seem that in origin sahavya must be a vrddhi formation from sahāya, i.e. it is the direct development from sāhāyya, and it could well be that an original long -ā- in sāḥ- was shortened on the analogy of the short -a- in sahāya. The development of -yy- > -vv- is on the same lines as vanibbaka, pubba, etc.40, and the double -vv- was then “back-formed” or Sanskritised into -vy-. Perhaps because the long -ā- in the first syllable had been lost, the tradition did not know that sahavya was an abstract noun, with the result that another abstract noun was formed by adding the suffix -tā, giving sahavyatā. The word seems to have been known to the BHS tradition while it still had a form with -vv-, because the word occurs in BHS with the spelling sahavratā. This is doubtless based upon a “folk etymology”, which took the meaning to be “joint vow”.

NOTES

2 Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli and Sanskrit texts are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenckner: A Critical Pāli Dictionary, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924-48 (= CPD). In addition: CDIAL = Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages; DED(R) = Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (Revised edition); EWA = Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen; GDhp = Gandhāri Dharmapada; GS = Gradual Sayings; PSM = Pāyasaddamahānṇava; PTS = Pali Text Society; PED = PTS’s Pali-English Dictionary; BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit; MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan; OIA = Old Indo-Aryan; Pkt = Prakrit; Skt = Sanskrit.
3 According to GS II, p. 194 n. 1.
5 W. Geiger, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, Strassburg 1916, § 78.6.
7 M. Walshe, Thus Have I heard, London 1987, p. 166.
10 Horner, op. cit., p. 230 n. 3.
11 Rhys Davids, op. cit., p. 257 n. 3.
12 ibid., p. 257 n. 3.
13 s.v. appatihāriya.
15 Apte, Sanskrit Dictionary, s.v. prathāra, § 7.
19 See PED, s.v. pārūta.
20 F. Edgerton, BHS Dictionary, New Haven 1953, s.v. madgūra.
21 PSM, s.v. maṃgula.
22 (= N.N. Dutt, Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. III, part 1).
23 EWA II, p. 548.
26 R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, Strassburg 1900, § 320.
27 J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, I, Göttingen 1896, § 184b.
28 Renou, op. cit., p. 113.
29 Geiger, op. cit., § 13, f.n. 1.
30 PED, s.v. rakkhā.
32 See H.W. Bailey, Dictionary of Khotan Saka, Cambridge 1979, 162b s.v. durauṣa, and 275a s.v. bāggara.
33 G = Gīrṇā; K = Kālṣi; Y = Yērṛagūḍi; J = Jauṇḍa; M = Māṇśehrā.
34 F. Edgerton, op. cit., s.v. muṣita-smṛti.
35 R. Morris, “Notes and Queries”, in JPTS 1884, pp. 69-108 (p. 92), quoting the Kathāsārisāgara.
36 See the discussion of such matters in T. Burrow, The Problem of Shwa in Sanskrit, Oxford 1979, pp. 33 foll.
37 See M. Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s.v. smṛ and anuvṛt.
SADDHAMMOPĀYANA

The Gift-offering of the True Dhamma

INTRODUCTION

Saddhammopāyana (Sadh), a didactic poem of 629 verses, is the only known Buddhist epistle in Pāli. It was written by a Buddhist monk in Sri Lanka to his 'dear fellow-student Buddhahasoma'. Saddhammopāyana is quoted in Upāsakajanālaṅkāra (Upās), 'Adornment of the Buddhist Laity', (Saddhatissa 1965, p.59), written in the mid-twelfth century (Saddhatissa 1965, pp.36,45), and must therefore be an earlier work (Saddhatissa 1965, p.49); Saddhatissa agrees with Paranavitana (UCHC p.393) in assigning Saddhammopāyana to the tenth century (Saddhatissa 1965, pp.33, 59-64). Although the poem gives no evidence of its authorship, the colophon to the Sinhala commentary (Saddh-s), and also the introduction to a commentary called Saddhammopāyana-viggaḥa, give the author as Abhaya-giri Kavi-cakravarti Ananda Mahā-Thera (PLC p.212; SL p.4; Saddhatissa 1965, pp.31-2). Five doctrinal points of difference in Upās from the Sadd interpretation (which is possibly the Abhayagirivāsin view) are pointed out by Saddhatissa (1965, pp.59-64).

My translation is based on the text of Saddhammopāyana, edited by the Rev. Richard Morris and published in JPTS 1887 one hundred years ago, but until now untranslated (pers. comms, H. Bechert 1981 and Jacqueline Filiozat 1981). The poem is still held in high regard in Sri Lanka and parts of it are very frequently quoted by monks in the course of their sermons (PLC p.212).

Saddhammopāyana in the 'Letter Literature'

The Buddhist 'letter literature' includes Nāgārjuna's Suhrālekha 'Letter to a Friend' and Ratnāvali 'Jewel Garland' (both addressed to King Sātavāhana), Mātraceta's Mahārājakanikālekhā 'Letter to the Great King Kanika', Candragomin's Sisyalekha 'Letter to a Pupil', all written in Sanskrit between the second and fourth centuries A.D., and Saddhammopāyana in Pāli in the tenth century: 'The epistle form was much cultivated among the Buddhists from this time until the twelfth century ... Several were written to kings by famous monks, exhorting them to rule well, and others were addressed to pupils, to a son or to a teacher' (Warder 1974, p.232).

*See also Diets 1984.
The common purpose of these epistles was to expound traditional Buddhist morality in a way easy to understand for the laity not versed in the canon, and they have much content in common. Suhrllekha, perhaps the best known, summarises Buddhist ethics with particular reference to the laity and in accordance with early doctrine practically common to all the schools.

Saddhammopāyana is said to be based on Śisyalekha (SL p.211), composed about six hundred years earlier, which is in fact a very considerable time lapse, and one cannot but conjecture on the possibility of other epistles in the interval which have not perhaps survived. Śisyalekha, like Saddha, describes the miseries of pretas (petas) and purgatories, states the difficulty of attaining birth as a human being, discusses impermanence, and recommends meditation to dispel ignorance and attachment, as well as working for the good of others.

The influence of Saddhammopāyana is seen in later Buddhist literature in Sri Lanka, in both Pāli and Siṁhala texts. Upāsakaṇaṇālankāra, written in Pāli probably in the mid-twelfth century A.D., uses a deal of Saddha material including quoting over one hundred verses (Saddhatissa 1965, pp.49,59-64,122). Lūvādasaṅgarāva, 'The Compendium of the World’s Good', was written in Siṁhala in the fifteenth century and Lokāpakāra, 'The Help of the World', was written in Pāli in 1893 and based on Saddha, dealing with practically the same subjects (PLC p.311).

The high regard for Saddhammopāyana in Sri Lanka could hardly be more clearly shown by the selection of the same ideas for discussion and emphasis and, in the case of Upās, so much quotation of its verses.

The whole mediaeval period (362-1505 A.D.) in Sri Lanka was one of great literary activity. The literature of this golden era merits being read, studied and enjoyed in its own right and not merely being dismissed as a pale shadow of the canon.

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Summary of the Text

verse 1- namaskāra
Section 1

4- The eight inopportune births
Section 2

53- The ten evil deeds
73- Their results in this life
93- Their results in the next life

97- peta-suffering
129- Animal-suffering
176- niraya-suffering

Section 3

211- The twelve ways of meritorious action
228- Their rewards
263- Giving and its rewards
278- The death of a miser
294- The death of a generous giver
303- The rewards of a generous giver
310- His paean of joy
337- Good conduct and its rewards
371- Restraint of the senses, livelihood, moderation
415- The rewards in this life of good conduct
431- The rewards in the next life of good conduct
451- Mental development
471- The rewards of mental development
497- Transference of merit and its rewards
510- Rejoicing in others’ merit and its rewards
517- Instructive teaching and its rewards
528- Listening to the Dhamma and its rewards
539- Paying homage and its rewards
555- Humble service and its rewards
563- Gladdening others and its rewards
569- Taking refuge in the Triad and its rewards
580- Mindfulness and its rewards

Section 4

588- Needfulness of all meritorious action
590- The Buddha-land
602- Wrong views of beauty, comfort, permanence and self
616- Prayer that all folk may attain nibbāna

1- Prayer that the poet may attain nibbāna
THE GIFT-OFFERING OF THE TRUE DHAMMA

Homage to that Exalted One, Arahat, Rightly Awakened!

1. [Saluting] the One Who is freed from all the āsavas, the Mine of every good Merit, the Teacher of all the worlds, the Hero, the Benefactor giving the Way to the amata of nibbāna(1),

2. First of all, because of [my] faith, saluting with head bowed that Rightly Awakened One with every honour, and then [saluting] the Dhamma and the Saṅgha,

3. I shall compose a small 'gift-offering of the True Dhamma' to send to Buddhasoma, my dear fellow-student.

I. VERSES EXPLAINING THE INOPPORTUNE BIRTHS

4. Meritorious action should always be performed by a wise man who has obtained opportune birth freed from the eight inopportune births(4), [opportune birth] which is most difficult to obtain:

5. [Birth] in the three apāyas, [birth] in the state of formless and unconscious beings, and also [birth] in a border country, [birth] with the five sense faculties deficient(5), [birth] in a state of having

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(1) All the āsavas (mind intoxicants): kāma, bhava, ditthi and avijjā (PED s.v. āsava).

The good merits (sādhuguna) are sila, samādhi, pāñña, vimutti and vimuttiñānādassana (Saddh-s).

The Buddha is called a Hero because he performed deeds not performable by others and because he attained omniscience not attainable by others. He is called a Benefactor because, just as medicine is of benefit to the sick, he relieves the suffering of all beings and because he guides the guidable (Saddh-s).

(4) Eight: see verses 7-14.

Inopportune births: in circumstances such that one cannot learn from a Buddha (BHSD s.v. aksana).
harsh, wrong views.

6. And [birth] in a world with no appearance of the Buddha, who gives the amata of the True Dhamma. These [births] are explained as 'The Eight Untimely(6) Inopportune Births'.

7. Ceaselessly performing hard labour in niraya, labour which is very cruel, frightful and terrible - how will one perform meritorious action?

8. Without awareness of the True Dhamma and life always in jeopardy(8), being in the form of an animal - how will one perform meritorious action?

9. Going to the realm of petas, withered away by torment(9) and exhausted by hunger and thirst - how will one perform meritorious action?

10. In the worlds of formlessness and unconsciousness, where one lacks the means to listen and is deprived of listening to the True Dhamma, how will one perform meritorious action(10)?

11. Born in a border country(5), where complete unrighteousness prevails and which lacks the sons of the Chief of Sages(11) - how will one perform meritorious action?

12. Being stupid or dumb and so on(12), existing in a state impeded(12) by the consequences [of bad deeds in a former life], deprived of the means of comprehending [the True Dhamma], how will one perform meritorious action?

13. Fallen into false views that can in no way be reversed and become a very pillar of saṃsāra - how will one perform meritorious action?

14. Existing in the darkness of delusion when the Buddha-sun(14) that sheds light on the Way of complete attainment has not arisen - how will one perform meritorious action?

15. These are considered the inopportune births because of lack of opportunity for that meritorious action which consists in mental development and which brings about comprehension of the truths(15).

16. Opportune birth, freed from the eight inopportune births, is most difficult to obtain; having obtained that which promotes every success, who would be negligent?

17. Human existence without deficiency [in the senses](17) and adorned by the Buddha-sun(14) is extremely difficult to obtain, for that [alone] is the opportune birth for the complete attainment of

(5) The three apāyas are birth in naraka, birth as an animal and birth in the peta-world (Saddh-s); cf. PED: the fourth is birth as an asura.
Border country: barbarian region (BHSD s.v. aksana).
The five sense faculties consist of cakkhu, sota, ghāna, jivha and kāya (Saddh-s); PED s.v. indriya.

(6) Untimely: for performing acts of merit (Saddh-s).
There is a ninth akkhana cf. DN III 263ff.: birth as an asura (BHSD s.v. aksana).

(8) A life in jeopardy means a life in the state of fear of death (Saddh-s).

(9) Torment comprises the burning of fire and the burning of mental anguish (Saddh-s).

(10) Because there is no suffering in these two worlds (Saddh-s).

(11) The sons of the Chief of Sages are the children or disciples of the Perfect One (Saddh-s).

(12) A stupid person has not the intelligence even to listen and bear in mind what is said by people who know. People who are dumb and so on are the mute, the blind and the deaf (Saddh-s).
Impeded: being reborn without root-conditions (Saddh-s): humans who are crippled, blind, deaf, mentally deficient, etc. (Nyanatiloka 1980, p.172).

(14) Existence adorned by the Buddha-sun occurs at a time of appearance of the Buddha (Buddha-period) (BHSD s.v. kṣaṇa).

(15) The (four) noble truths are the truth about dukkha, samudaya, nirodha, and magga (Saddh-s).
nibbāna.

18. Human existence, because of the difficulty of achieving the conditions for it and because of its intrinsic worth and great value, is like a jewel of great worth, very difficult to obtain.

19. Indeed, the meritorious action which is the condition of birth into human existence is very difficult to perform; the proof of that is indeed the scarcity of those desiring to perform meritorious action in the world.

20. The difficulty of meritorious action and the ease of non-meritorious action can be understood by the [difficulty] of giving away a house and by the [ease of the house's] burning after having built it.

21. The mind continually turns to evil without any trouble at all but [turns] to meritorious action only with great trouble; [the illustration of] the river (21) will demonstrate this.

22. The lands of the fruit of non-meritorious action are seen to be as full as the lands of the fruit of meritorious action are seen to be empty (22).

23. Would not a swarm of ants come from a single hole indeed surpass the number of men in the land of Jambudīpa (23)?

24. Because of the arduousness of performing meritorious action, human existence is indeed very hard to obtain; the lack of fruit in the lack of seed is sufficient to indicate it.

25. Wherever anything is indeed honoured in the world there it is named most excellent; therefore human existence is most excellent on account of being honoured by the good.

26. 'Action (26) which bears fine fruit and which brings about nibbāna all thrives [only] here in this life.' The great value therein should be known as such.

27. For such reasons, human existence is very hard to obtain and, when it is not obtained, the achieving of heaven and so on (27) is truly hard to obtain.

28. If human existence which is hard to obtain is obtainable by the very insignificant furthering of one's own good,

29. Then, even in the three worlds (29), nothing is found of comparable arduousness to the very significant furthering of the good of others.

30. While in a world seeking its own comfort even by [a man] causing suffering to his [own] son (30), who will there be that is determined on the good of others?

31. Not asked to help, who would bear burdens for unknown, ungrateful, wicked folk?

32. Placing cool water in the midst of the burning coals of naraka, what [man] without iddhis could preserve its coolness for any length of time?

33. In the same way, while in the pit (33) of existence aflame with the fire of the faults of its beings, who could maintain the coolness of compassion for any length of time?

(26) There are two kinds of action: worldly (giving excellent results) and other-worldly, consisting of insight and meditation (bringing about nibbāna) (Sadhī-s).

(27) 'Heaven and so on' means heaven and the good fortune of both nibbāna and human rebirth (Sadhī-s).

(29) The three worlds (states of existence): kāma-, rūpa- and arūpa-loka (PED s.v. tiīloka and bhava).

(30) Cf. the story of the hungry tigress - Jāt-m I; see also Pv I 6.

(33) Read -āvāte.
34. As for those whose wish to direct towards themselves all the sorrow suffered by others is always uninterrupted and whose wish has complete deliverance as its goal,

35. Because of being accustomed to giving [their own] kingdoms [yet] without giving the Buddha-kingdom which does not pass on (35) [to others], and ashamed as it were to continue long - have they entered niibbana?

36. Who indeed knows the arduousness of the undertakings in the world of those heroes who are engrossed in the welfare of others and are mines of the chief virtues?

37. Perceiving that this world is oppressed by suffering and lacking enjoyment like the avici hell, who is able enough to enter it just for the sake of other beings?

38. And even the four great oceans cannot equal the blood which was shed in the giving of eyes and so on by those [heroes](38);

39. The One Who believes in even a fraction of their meritorious action is indeed very hard to find; so who will there be to perform [meritorious action], with reverence(39) to it?

40. Thus, because furthering the welfare of others is indeed extremely difficult to achieve, the arising of the Buddha-sun(14) is thought to be an extreme rarity.

41. When the Buddha-sun(14) is not arisen, not even Brahmā, Indra, the moon or the sun can bring about the appearance of the Way for attaining niibbana.

(35) asaṅkāmaṁ, 'which moves not (though one may wish to confer it)' (Saddh-s); cf. Vism 554.
The Buddha-kingdom: cf. verse 596.

(38) caturu ... mahānnavā: 'one for every quarter of the sky' (MW s.v. samudra); cf. SN II 180, 187; Thī 495-7; As 10sq.; Mv 368; cf. 'the four oceans surrounding Mt Sumeru' Kawamura 1975, p.59; I have not been able to trace the names of the four great oceans.
The giving of eyes: cf. Sivi Ja IV 401-12.
And so on: wife and child, cf. verse 218,517; cf. Vessantara Ja VI 479.

(39) sādhātāhi | sādhātā hi.

42. If a stone is thrown up into the sky, its stay aloft is very short because of its nature not to remain still, by virtue of its weight;

43. So indeed one causing [himself] to sink down because of his faults, remains a very long time in the apāya regions, and remains a short time in a happy state - so it is thought.

44. By means of the Ekapuggala Sutta and also the parable of the blind turtle, the rarity of both should be understood by one who knows(44).

45. Opportune birth, the conjunction of the two(44), is very rare indeed, so a wise man engrossed in his own good would not obstruct that opportune birth.

46. Indeed on account of the rarity of that opportune birth(46), the never wearied disciples of the Buddha thought 'Even if skin should wither away as well as sinew and bone(46),

47. 'Without realising the eternal tranquil state which is taught by the Awakened One, we shall never in any way whatsoever leave this cross-legged position!'(47)

48. Having mentally developed the Highest Way with all reverence, those disciples obtained complete niibbana, where there is no further fear of losing opportune birth(48).

49. The effort of those great heroes is indeed inconceivable; why does it not explain for us the fleeting nature of that supremely opportune

(44) Ekapuggala Sutta: see AN I 22f.
The blind turtle: see MN III 169; SN V 455.
The rarity of both: rebirth when a Buddha is present on earth and also rebirth as a human being (Saddh-s).

(46) Opportune birth: the ninth khana which is difficult to obtain (Saddh-s).
Quoted from Ja I 71.

(47) Cf. Ja I 71.

(48) OR 'fear of being destroyed at every moment'.
Play on the word khana, 'opportune birth' also 'moment'.

75 Saddhampāyana Translation
50. A wise man, attaining that state which is both difficult to obtain and fleeting, is never attached to his life, which is as brief as that of a mosquito in the middle of a web;

51. He is never attached in any way whatsoever to insipid enjoyments, which are worthless and perishable and are the roots of evil;

52. And, avoiding evil like a man desirous of life avoids food known to be poisonous, he should be intent on deeds of merit.

The verses explaining the inopportune births are complete.

First section

II. VERSES ABOUT THE DANGERS OF THE TEN EVIL DEEDS

53. As to evil: intent is called evil when connected with delusions through greed, also with delusions through anger, or with pure delusion.

54. It is explained thus: there are ten kinds of non-meritorious action which come from evil intent by way of the three gates;

55. Killing, stealing and the pursuit of other men’s wives are thought of as coming through the body[-gate]; lying, slander, harsh speech and gossip are thought of as coming through the speech[-gate];

56. And covetousness, also malice(56) and wrong views are thought of as coming through the mind[-gate]. These [ten evil] ways become kamma-courses; it should be understood that there are those as well which do not become so:

57. Detention(57) and so on coming from evil intent but not become activities such as killing should be understood as not become

58. With reference to a being, the recognition that it is a being, murderous intent, attack(58), and destruction of life with that attack(58-65) - killing with one’s own hand is fourfold.

59. The command in accord with one’s purpose, acceptance likewise of that [command], and the carrying out [of that command] accordingly without breaking any promise -

60. Regarding those [four] things said above [but] leaving aside the accomplishment [of the deed], [though] including those [three above], the taking of life on command is sixfold.(58-60)

61. Taking with one’s own hands what is not freely given is considered to be fivefold: goods the property of another, the recognition of its being another’s property, single-mindedness regarding stealing and so on(61), shifting that property from its [proper] place, and the accomplishment [of the deed];

62. The command in accord with one’s purpose, acceptance likewise of that [command], and carrying out [of that command] accordingly without breaking any promise -

63. Taking into consideration the five [aspects of stealing] but putting aside both the shifting of property from its proper place and the accomplishment [of the deed], it is explained that the taking on command of what is not freely given is sixfold.

64. Regarding the wives of others, there is a fourfold transgression: a wife who is the property of another, the recognition of her being another’s property, the thought of transgression(64), and likewise

(57) ’Detention and so on’: restraints such as tying with chains and gaoling, also beating, starving and neck-poling (Sadh-d-s) [as where poles are tied to the necks of cattle to prevent their passing through a gap].

(58) Attack: beating and so on with weapons and sticks (Sadh-d-s).


(61) And so on: taking by force and imaginary taking (Sadh-d-s).

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(49) Cf. verse 46: the best khaana is the ninth (Sadh-d-s).

(56) Malice: vyāpādo; cf. verse 70 byāpādo.
71. Any adherence to the false (71) by statements such as 'Almsgiving is useless!' and so on (71) is said to be the holding of wrong views - the opposite is right view.

72. Intention said to be the deed (72) and arisen with regard to [each of] these kinds of action above bears undesirable fruit. If you ask, 'How is that?', I should say (72):

THE DANGERS OF THE TEN EVIL DEEDS (Saddh-s)

73. Understanding the consequences of one's actions is said to be Buddha-knowledge (73) not well understood (73) by others; who will know it other than that [Buddha]?

74. Therefore, following the bidding of the Kinsman of the Sun (74) Himself, [understanding the consequences of one's actions] can be inferred by one who has gained the instruction of a teacher.

75. And the ten kinds of non-meritorious action being very powerful in accordance with their fruit, bear the fruit [of rebirth] in the āpāyas; but the others [not becoming kamma-courses (57)], however,

76. Bear fruit for one reborn among men, either in accordance with their power or through their cause; if you ask, 'How is that?', I

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(71) aṭṭata- | aṭṭāta-. The ten false views (heresies) are: there is no merit in almsgiving, there is no merit in sacrificial rites, there is no merit in sacrificial offerings, there is no consequence of deeds easy to do or difficult to do, there is no world here, there is no other world, there is no mother, there is no father, there are no beings born without their union, and there are no monks or brahmans (grahants) in this world here who are in a state of harmony and are rightly disposed (Pp 39; Vism 569; Dhs 1215; Vibh 375).

(72) Intention is kamma: cf. AN III 415. Cf. verses 103, 226.

(73) Buddha-knowledge is boundless (Saddh-s). v.l. sudubbuddham, 'very difficult to understand for other than the Buddha' (Saddh-s).

Play on words: buddhaññan ... subuddhan, 'Buddha-knowledge ... well understood'.

(74) Kinsman of the Sun: adiccabandhu.
should say (77-90):

77. Killing gives rise to a short life, much sickness, an abundance of the suffering arising from separation (77), and dwelling in jeopardy (78).

78. A man taking what is not freely given will obtain poverty and wretchedness, cruelly dashed hopes and a livelihood dependent on another.

79. A man intent on another’s wife (79) gains many rivals, does not have the desired woman, becomes a woman or even a eunuch.

80. A man intent on lying becomes depressed by the suffering caused by words (80), is beaten because of false tales, is not believed by others, and has a very foul-smelling mouth (80).

81. He who indulged in slander in a former life causing lack of friends (81), here in this life loses even his closest friends for no reason (81).

82. A man fond of harsh speech in a former life, though not at fault here in this world, becomes hated on sight and unpleasant to listen to, rough-sounding.

83. A man who spoke useless gossip in a former life becomes one with all limbs loose-jointed and also with speech not worth noticing.

(77-90) Cf. Pañca-g 70-102.

(77) Separation: from loved ones; cf. Pañca-g 111; SN V 421; Vism 498, 505.

(79) paraḍā- | paraḍāra-.


(81) Causing lack of friends: causing friends to fall out with one another (Saddha-s).

piyasaṃ-; pesuṇam: cf. verse 66.

v.l mittābhijjanti kāraṇa, ‘for this reason’.

(84) ījhati saññhetum: ‘desires to accomplish’ (Saddha-s); cf. abhijjhati, ‘wishes for’ (PED).

v.l. niñjhāti, ‘thinks’.

(87) The eleven items of non-meritorious action: cf. verse 75sq.
91. He [will] be reborn. Thus the endless fruit born of evil should be recognised after examining [it] according to the Path indicated by the suttas.

92. Even the brilliance of the eye in a peacock’s plume arises from brilliant deeds [in a former life]. Whoever understands each [of these kinds of non-meritorious action] in this way becomes indeed the best of men in the world.

93. Those who practise evil may be reborn in the apāyas, in which the suffering is incomparable, beyond telling.

94. Whatever evil was done in a former life in whatever manner, the fruit is unbearable, suitable indeed for each evil.

95. Saying ‘It is hard to endure, difficult to describe, terrible, endless, hard to overcome, unendurable and exceedingly painful’, apāya should be feared.

96. People are born into the worlds of the petas because of the evil of excessive greed, into the world of animals because of the evil of excessive delusion and indeed into niraya because of the evil of excessive anger.

III. VERSES DESCRIBING THE SUFFERING IN THE PETA WORLDS

97. People who do not practise generosity according to their ability and power, who are possessed with envy and are avaricious are born again among the petas.

98. Even having experienced the sufferings connected with acquiring things and so on, if in the end these things acquired because of being possessed with greed cause the peta-existence,

99. And cause misfortune in the beginning, in the middle and at the end, why indeed do people strive, thinking, ‘Wealth is beneficial’?

100. Restricted in their food and water on account of their deeds [in former lives], because they restlessly go forth [100] here and there for food, they are called ‘petas’ [Those Gone On and On] [100].

101. Exhausted from hunger and thirst, emaciated and large-headed, with skeletons visible and rib spaces sunken[101].

102. With the skin of their completely starved bellies clinging to their spines, their faces wrinkled through being crumpled like unripe and dried-up gourds,

103. Their bodies having only skin, bones and tendons remaining, their eyes and cheeks sunken and their faces darkened by long, dishevelled hair,

104. With long-grown finger-nails and long hair in their armpits, with coarse, dark, wrinkled skin, they are like the ugliness of the whole world massed together in the same place[104].

(97) Avarice is the main cause of rebirth in the petaloka (PED s.v. macchariya).

(100) The torment of hunger and thirst is the special lot of a class of petas (Mil 294); see also PED s.v. khuppipassā.

Etymology: peta, ‘ghost’, is interpreted as pa-āyāta, ‘gone forth’. payāta | payāta; read pāyāta.


(102) Read kućitāsatā.

(104) With lengthened hair in their armpits, long nails and long body-hair (Saddh-s).
105. Completely withered away by the suffering of remorse, they may be remarked by those who have seen them, thinking 'Misfortune made manifest!' (105)

106. Neither covered with loin-cloths nor obtaining a drop of water or food, they lie down exhausted from the anguish of hunger.

107. After many thousands of years they hear hollow words increasing their longing, 'Come, eat, drink!'

108. Then, clinging to each other (108) because of their need for gruel and water, they all, even though disabled, arise with great pain.

109. The petas, arising hastily, trembling and falling down because of their weakness, get rid of those who cling on.

110. Using conciliatory (110) [words] thus, 'Although strong, you cling to one who is weak and trembling! Ah, you are heartless!'

111. Arising, they fall down, trembling like a shadow on the water; their unfulfilled greedy desire (111) raises them again and again.

112. How could a compassionate person continue living, bearing in mind the pain of getting up for those who are mere skeletons?

113. 'Today [at last] this sound as extraordinary as a horn on a horse (113) is heard by us [waiting] since birth: "[Here is] gruel and water!"'

(105) paccekkhato alakkhiyā: meaning obscure. Play on words: alakkhiyā ... lakkhiyā.

(108) v.l. añña aññāvalambiya; meaning unchanged.

(110) This statement seems contradictory. sāman: 'negotiation', one of the four means of success against an enemy; the others are dāna, bheda and danda (MW s.v. 2sāman and upāya).

(111) v.l. lābhāsā, 'desire to obtain what was not obtained before'.

(113) ?p.e. sasasingo 'hare's horn'; see Ja III 477; also Vism 507 (sasavisana). ?assasingo | sasasingo.

114. Saying thus, they raise their voices, and with clasped hands outstretched ready to receive, run in all directions without even seeing any giver [of gruel and water].

115. Then, in as little as the twinkling of an eye, the tormenting words, 'There is none!' pierce their ears like red-hot needles.

116. Why should those petas not hear the very harsh words 'There is none!' when, although there were suitable things to offer, they themselves dismissed suppliants [in their former life], saying 'There is none!'?

117. Thus, in feeble condition, exhausted with dejection, their desires frustrated, they fall down senseless like felled palm trees.

118. And in the world the suffering of hunger caused by starving for one day only is hard to endure - who will conceive of the suffering of the petas?

119. The garlands of flame rising from the hair-roots of some petas burn their whole body, just as a flame of fire burns up its own source.

120. The belly of petas always burns with the heat of hunger, (120) their outside always burns with fire risen from the body, and their mind always burns with remorse.

121. Whatsoever impurity is vomited up, spat out, or delivered in the birth-process, as well as whatever else is unclean should be completely shunned by this world;

122. And yet just for the sake of that (122), those petas run many yojanas, robbing each other; some obtain it and some do not.

123. For the petas, shade becomes the heat of the sun, great lakes empty and naturally cool winds become hot.

124. The cool rays of the moon touch them like flames of fire; whatever in the world is considered good is all changed [to its opposite].

(120) kucchijghacchā - kucch jghacchā.

(122) This second class of petas eat what has been vomited; others are consumed by craving, and some live on gifts to others (Mil 294).
125. How can those with limited lifespan describe the endless suffering arising in the peta-world? What is described here is only a mere drop.

126. What naraka does the suffering, the frustration of desire of petas, afflicted with hunger and leading a life of suffering, not surpass?

127. Having recognised that the suffering in the realm of the petas originates in greed, one possessed of insight, energetic in the destruction of the enemy which is greed,

128. Thinking 'Giving is the weapon! Those receiving are my friends(128)', should unhesitatingly give even his own flesh to the poor.

This is the description of peta-suffering (Saddh-s).

IV. VERSES DESCRIBING THE SUFFERING OF ANIMALS

129. Because of their evil ways people are also reborn in animal form, which is hard to escape from, is full of great suffering, violent passion and great fear, and lacks the concept of Dhamma.

130. Horizontally indeed they think and move about and lie down(130); with desire for the Dhammas gone horizontal [disappeared], they are considered to be going horizontally [animals].

131. Enumeration(131) of the animal births is difficult even for those who know the meaning(131); who will describe the full magnitude of the suffering(131) in those [births]?

132. In rotten fish and also in sores, and similarly in a dirty pool, in a [place] contaminated and full of stinking, impure, evil-smelling scum(132),

133. Some creatures give birth, are born and move about, eat and indulge their lust, lie down and die.

134. In the same way, even in this body, a mine of all the impurities, there are as many as eighty families of worms(134) contained.

135. Since this [body] is the lying-in chamber for those [worms] along with their children and grandchildren, is the place of their growth and fights,(135) is their cloister and their sleeping-chamber,

136. And since it is eaten by them and is also their dunghill, is a place for disease and pleasures and so on and is their charnel-ground, the place to throw bodies, then wise men have no interest in the body and are not attached to it(136).

137. Even the thought [of those worms] feeding on impure(137) food and born in extreme impurity causes vomiting - how much more the seeing of their kind(137)?

(131) -sañkhāhi | -sañkhā hi.
Those who know the meaning: the Buddhas (Saddh-s).
dukkham mahattaṃ | dukkhamahattaṃ.

(152) Cf. the anguishes of animal rebirth in MN III 167-9.


(135) pāvudāhi kalahattānaṃ | pāvudāhikalahatthānaṃ.

(136) Play on words: virajjanti na rajjanti, 'show lack of interest, are not attached'; cf. Sn 813.

(137) v.l. avajjha; ?meaning.
Cf. Vism 259.
138. Reborn in animal form, born on dry land or even in the water, [animals] lie down and wander about in terror of each other;

139. Though blameless, some are killed in various ways for their tail-hair, body-hair, nails, sinews, flesh, horns, bones and so on;

140. Cattle and the like, trembling because of the suffering of flaying, suffer so much - what is the like of it?

141. Pierced in both eyes, hung head downwards, taken to be killed, birds suffer so much;

142. Thrown into hot water and boiled while still alive, they suffer so much - who indeed will measure it?

143. Never seeing dry land before, delighting in continuous stretches of water, pulled out while still alive by merciless humans,

144. Thrown onto hard ground(144), covered over with a stone, distressed by bursting open and heat, much afflicted with hunger and thirst,

145. Crying pitifully(145) along with their mothers, fathers and kinsmen, not allowed to turn over, their pain continuous,

146. Blameless shellfish and oysters(146) suffer so much - I am unable to describe even a portion of a drop of their suffering!

147. Some unwilling [animals] carry [the powerless] - beaten with sticks and goads and whips, threatened repeatedly with pricks and heels and hands,

(158) Their feet bound to stakes, fire set all round them, those thirsty ones given undrinkable salt water,

148. Bound with many ropes, not allowed to move at will, predestined by their own previous deeds - though powerful [they themselves carry] powerless beings.

149. There is no moving at will for those who are completely dependent on others - what other person will know the extent of their suffering?

150. Yoked to carriage-shaft, plough or cart, shoulders bruised, threatened, some carry crushing loads.

151. On those who have not the ability even to say 'I cannot carry it, I am hot, I am hungry, I am thirsty, it is heavy!,'

152. Putting a great load impossible for them to carry, again and again people flog those wretched creatures standing there unable to move.

153. They pull them with nose-ropes and twist their tails, stab them with pricks and kick them with their heels,

154. They burn the roots of their tails, their shoulders, backs, flanks, bellies and so on; they cut off their ears, they threaten them and wound(154) them all over.

155. Standing up with fear and falling down through weakness, [animals] suffer so much - who will describe it?

156. Among animals honoured by people thinking 'She is divine!' and nourished with an offering of the finest quality(156), like a mother,

157. Pleasing, auspicious, meritorious and recognized as purity-giving - even the suffering of these animals(157) is unequalled; why talk of others there [in the animal-world]?

(158) (Saddh-)s.

(154) vilikkhanti | vilikhanti.

(156) Offering of the finest quality: ghee (Saddh-s).

(157) These animals: cows (Saddh-s).
159. Again, those purged ones given bitter water causing great sufferings, threshed cruelly with many big sticks,

160. Cattle and the like in Yavana-land, burned alive, completely exhausted by great heat, see the fruit of evil(160);

161. Making a loud outcry, sighing at length and looking here and there with faces withered and miserable,

162. Here in this world they experience such sufferings, unbearable even to hear about; while I think of it, my heart splits open as it were.

163. Whatever pity there is for childhood which deserves the pity of all people indeed is lost in the animal world. Should an intelligent man say 'How is that truly evident?';

164. [It is explained thus:] there [in the animal world] the young, not enduring separation from their mothers even for a moment, helpless, lie down out of extreme weakness;

165. 'Why then can we not see our mother who went off very early in the morning? Does she not even think "I have children"?'

166. Thus lost in thought, wretched of eye, crying out,(166) looking in the direction she went, they sniff about in all directions;

167. At evening, seeing their mother coming back from foraging, they run towards her, glad with joy and excitement.

168. Confident in their mother's love, they who leap about everywhere, they who wag their ears and tails and approach her playfully,(168)

169. Hungry and thinking affectionately 'It is our mother!', they who go to suck at her teats - she, observed by them with tender eyes moving to and fro,

170. Forsaking love of child and resolving(170) to be fierce, even their natural mother all at once become like somebody else -

171. If she eats [those young ones] crying pitifully and trembling, what more should be said of the fear that arises in the animal-world?

172. In a state where great fear comes to children even on account of their own mother, where there is no(172) cessation of distress(172), neither shame nor the Dhamma nor mindfulness nor the knowledge of what ought not to be done, how therefore could there be any escape from it?

173. [A wise man thinks] 'This [animal-world] is hard to escape from, full of perpetual anguish and great suffering, full of feeding on one another, unhappy and covered with the net of delusion;

174. 'A conglomeration of everything non-beneficial, named [birth as an] animal, is inevitable for those coming again and again into samsāra, subject to the defilements'

175. 'And not seeing the truth!' Thus agitated in mind, a wise man exerts himself to comprehend the truth.

The description of animal-suffering is finished (Saddh-s).

V. VERSES ABOUT THE DANGER OF EVIL

176. Those who without hesitation commit exceedingly evil deeds are undoubtedly reborn in niraya which is very terrible.

177. 'Aya [happiness] is good'(177), it is agreed; where it is not found,(177) aya has vanished, so it is said to be niraya

(160) Yavana:- Moorish; 'Moors kill cattle'; Sorata (1963) s.v. yon 2; see also Vism 525 and Vism tr. Maung Tin 1971, p.626 f.n.

(166) kujantā | kujantā.

(168) salit- | salit-.

(170) addhiṭṭhāya | adhiṭṭhāya.

(172) n'atthī ti | n'atthī.  
There is no cessation of distress: 'there is not indeed any affection' (Saddh-s).
happiness] by those who know this.

178. It has four gates and four corners, has divisions, is laid out in squares, has an iron wall as boundary and is covered over with iron (178-9).

179. Its floor is made of iron, burning and full of heat; spread out everywhere for a hundred yojana, it remains forever.

180. Whoever has done evil suffers so much in the avici-niraya, which is one uninterrupted dense flame; all limbs ablaze,

181. Uttering cries of distress, running here and there - who is able to make clear even just a portion of that suffering?

182. [Avici] whose pan made of iron, covered and thick, is fiercely blazing with fire within; if it dries up an endless flood of water

183. Rushing forth(183) in a moment from the four quarters of the compass, what of one of tender body existing within [that pan]

184. With body melting, diseased, writhing, stumbling, falling, swooning again and again, overcome with disappointment, shaking from his labours,

185. Wailing pitifully, helpless, perplexed - who will describe his unendurable, unparalleled keen suffering?

186. [Climbing] the simbali tree(186), made of iron and huge, with thorns sixteen fingerlengths long, encircled by a garland of flames and arising a yojana high,

187. Being punished again and again by Death's fierce messengers, stabbed with pricks and rods and struck with daggers and so on;

188. With all his limbs burst asunder, uttering cries of distress, terrified, face tearful, wretched, climbing up again and again,

189. His face distorted, looking at the demons he closes his eyes with fear, hugging himself to hide (189);

190. Not finding a resting-place, trembling and swooning, a being suffers so much - what would be the like of it?

191. Since the nirayas are wholly unpleasant and thus very cruel, therefore 'That suffering' is indescribable,' said the Conqueror (191).

192. Just as the difference between fire and sandal paste (192) is indeed great, so indeed the difference is great between the fire of niraya and fire here in this life.

193. The unthinkable suffering of one stabbed by three hundred spears is as different from the suffering of one doomed to niraya as a mustard seed is from the Himālaya.

194. The avici-, the gūtha-niraya, the kukkula-, the kotisimbari-(194) and also the asippattavāna-, likewise the kharodika-nadi-(194,195),

195. And also the aṅgārapabbata-, the saṅghati- and the roruva-, the kālahatthi-, the mahāyanta-(195) and also the lohakumbhi-niraya

(177) Cf. Pv-a 53; Pargiter 1904, p.68f.n.
no palabbhati | nopalabbhati.
Play on words: ayo ... niggatiyo ... nirayo, 'happiness ... happiness vanished ... no happiness'.
Etymology: nir-aya, 'no happiness', is interpreted as niggata-aya, 'happiness vanished'.

(178-9) Quoted from AN I 141; see also MN III 165-7,183; Pv 9,21.

(183) pakkhatam | pakkantam.

(186) Ja V 275; Ja I 202.

(189) aṅgam aṅge 'va guhayam, '?hiding limb in limb'.

(191) Quotation not traced.

(192) Cf. Vism 350; sandal paste is used medicinally as a cooling salve (Dash & Kashyap 1980, p.59-60, 418-9). 
Cf. Rtus verse 2 line 3.
196. Are unlimited [in suffering], hard to endure and dreadful; they are terrible and heart-rending. In a niraya great sufferings are to be experienced by an evil-doer.

197. As for these evil deeds, the consequence of each is considerable and even over many centuries would be difficult to describe completely.

198. Only by undergoing it is the suffering of niraya to be understood - and even describing it, how will one explain it completely?

199. Even being told 'Here are fires: surely [your] feet will burn?', not believing [that] and still keeping on, one comes to cruel suffering;

200. Therefore believing the words of the isis, an attentive person avoiding evil deeds does not come to that hellish abode.

201. For one pricked by a thorn there is a melted drop of ghee - although a remedy, its burning heat is difficult to endure;

202. The suffering borne by those reduced to a single flame by the acrid fire of niraya over many thousands of years - who could describe it?

203. They continue existing in niraya having become one great mass of fire and yet still kept there by their kamma; alas, kamma is very cruel!

204. Such wrong-doing is done in a moment for the sake of small comfort; if the fruit is such that it lasts for immeasurable time,

205. What man not maddened, already distressed by the great suffering of mankind, would interest himself in evil even for a moment?

206. And a deluded person, longing for comfort, performs kamma

(194) kūtasimbañ (Saddh-s).
(194,195) Cf Tel V 58; Ja V 266-70; Mkp 12.13; Mus 1939, p.251.
(195) kālahatthi-, mahāyanta-: not traced; cf. Ras ii 134.

(200) vajētvāna | vajētvā na.

(206) dukkhāvahā | dukkhāvahām.
(209) Cf. Vism 531.
(210) Ms. adds 'Here "One should be intent on meritorious action!!"'
(211) The passions and so on are the kilesas including doṣa, moha, mada, mānas and macchariya (Saddh-s).
217. Whatever giving there is of food,(217) clothes and so on on behalf of another, experienced teachers of the True Dhamma say is transference of merit to others(217).

218. Here grateful rejoicing for what was given [by another], like Maddi in regard to the gift of her children(218), is said by the One Speaking Best(218) to be rejoicing [in others' merit].

219. Whatever instruction in welfare there is through being firmly fixed on another's welfare, the Good Instructor(219) showed to be the meritorious action of instructive teaching.

220. The impurity of confusion forsworn and understanding completed, listening to the True Dhamma here is explained to be the meritorious action of listening(220).

221. Doing honour, comprising paying homage and so on to those endowed with virtue, is declared by the Sage(221) Who should be Paid Homage to be the meritorious action of paying homage(221).

222. And regarding giving and so on to the sick and the virtuous, giving a seat, drink and the like is named the meritorious action of humble service(222).

223. Commendation according to the virtue [of their deeds and thereby]

(217) ann- | anne-.
The fruit of transference of merit: Chapter X.

(218) Vessantarā Jā Vī 479.
The One Speaking Best is the Buddha (Saddh-s).
The fruit of rejoicing [in others' merit]: Chapter XI.

(219) The Good Instructor is the Buddha (Saddh-s).
The fruit of instructive teaching: Chapter XII.

(220) The fruit of listening: Chapter XIII.

(221) mutinā | muninā.
The fruit of paying homage: Chapter XIV.

(222) The fruit of humble service: Chapter XV.
creating cheerfulness and encouragement in those doing deeds of merit is proclaimed as the meritorious action of praise (223).

224. Truly going for refuge to the Three Objects (213) with esteem for the virtues and with the idea of shelter is thought to be the meritorious action of going to the threefold refuge (224).

225. Regarding the six subjects to keep in mind (213) and other deeds of merit, whatever, free from moral impurity, is kept in mind according to their virtue, here (225) [that is taught to be (the meritorious action) of keeping (the special subjects) in mind by those free from moral impurities].

226. Intention is considered to be meritorious action; it arises with regard to [each of] these twelve ways and gives rise to the fruit desired. Asked 'How is that?' I should say (72),

227. The answer (227) to it is said to be, 'That is the fruit of this [meritorious action]!' A little is proclaimed in obedience to the indications of my teachers and the tradition:

THE FRUITS OF THE TWELVE WAYS OF MERITORIOUS ACTION (Saddh-s):

228. Giving brings prosperity; good conduct brings good family, heaven and so on; mental development gives rise to rebirth in formed and also formless existence, special knowledge and [likewise] mokkha (228-35).

(223) The fruit of praise: Chapter XVI.

(224) The fruit of going to the refuge: Chapter XVII.

(225) Ms. adds vigatāpakkilesehi desitānussatiti yā, vigatāpakkilesehi desitānussatiti sā must originally have formed a third line to this verse; inadvertently omitted from Baṭuvantuḍāvā’s Sinhala edn; Saddh-s adds vigatāpakkilesehi, anussatiti desitā, sā.

The fruit of keeping (the special subjects) in mind: Chapter XVIII.

(227) The answer given by the Buddha (Saddh-s).

Cf. Vism 345.

(228-35) The fruits of the twelve ways of meritorious action.

229. Transference of merit has giving for its fruit; rejoicing in others’ merit brings good humour; instructive teaching and also the listening [to it] are both thought to bring wisdom.

230. Paying homage to those worthy of homage brings rebirth in good families (230); humble service is considered to be the cause of abundant retinue.

231. Praiseworthiness comes through praise; freedom from the depravities (231) comes with the [threefold] refuge (231); all [kinds of] prosperity is the fruit of the excellent keeping in mind [of the special subjects].

232. Such is conformable fruit; non-conformable fruit also should be known as endless because of the particularity of the causes (232).

233. Apart from the Path and the concentrated mind with reference to the [merit] consisting in mental development, all [other] meritorious action of giving and so on bears fruit in the kāma-world:

234. Long life, health and beauty, fame, glory, good family and strength, sovereignty, supremacy and wealth, and even the Buddha-form and so on (234).

235. Also, apart from the fruits of the Path and jhāna-meditation, whatever other worldly prosperity there is, [prosperity] which has for its causes [acts] with consequent comforts, all arises from meritorious action in the kāma-world.

236. And the meritorious action [in the worlds] of the formed and the formless brings about [rebirth into] the worlds of the formed and

(230) Good families are those of kings, brahmans and merchants (Saddh-s).

(231) rāṇa, ‘depravity’, kilesa (BHS).

v.l. saranena saranattanem, ‘a state of refuge comes with refuge’.

(232) Causes (four): gati-, kāla-, payoga- and sarīra-sampatti (Saddh-s); cf. PED s.v.sampatti.

(234) Buddha and so on means the Buddha, pacceka-buddhas and arahants (Saddh-s); cf. Verses 540, 561.

List of fruit: cf. Mil 341; cf. verses 511, 549, 602.
formless; the Fourfold Path(236) likewise bears its own fruit.

237. Whosoever practise these meritorious actions are reborn in the heavens; the incomparable comfort there is indescribable(237-43).

238. The least comfort in the heavens compared with the comfort of a universal emperor is thought to be as different as the Himālaya compared with a handful of rock(238).

239. Whatever is fifty years for men is but a day there; a month is thirty [of those] days and nights; a year is twelve [of those] months; a divine lifespan is thought to be five hundred times that year(239).

240. And also, [the lifespan] of the devas of the six [worlds] each higher and higher(240), should be recognised as four times the lifespan of the devas(240) of the heaven below.

241. Who will describe the comfort of those travelling in celestial palaces bright with the finest jewels, taking the way of the birds?

242. Where a single tree bears as fruit everything according to one's wish, who will describe the comfort of those living there?

243. Who will describe the supreme comfort of those whose merit makes even their golden ornaments fragrant and comfortable to the touch(243)?

(236) Fourfold Path: *sotāpanna*, *sakadāgami*, *anāgami*, *arahatta-magga* (PED s.v. *magga*).

(237-43) Description of the heavens.

(238) Cf. MN III 166.

(239) Cf. Dharmaprap p.73.

(240) The six heavenly worlds: *Cātumahāraja*, *Tāvatimsa*, *Yāma*, *Tusita*, *Nimmāraja*, *Paranimmita-vasavatta* (PED s.v. *cātur*, *deva*).


(243) Cf. verse 425; cf. Dhp 58.56.

244. [Parks] with celestial nymphs for lightning flashes and adorned with a hundred marvels, covered with pearls for sand and in keeping with the fruit of meritorious action(244-8),

245. Adorned with handsome majestic trees, the support of blossoming creepers(245), made noisy with the lovely song of birds with variegated wings,

246. [Parks] with tanks of dark pure water, with steps of gold and jewels, faultless and strewed over with many fragrant blossoms,

247. Fabricated by the Great Artisan(247) of one's deeds of merit, increasing one's joy and giving comforts contrary to the dwellings(247) of those intent on evil deeds,

248. With comfort corresponding to every season(248), delightful parks such as Nandana give joy. Who will describe their supreme comfort?

249. How would suffering come to those enjoying themselves with those celestial nymphs whose voice, adornment and appearance and so on follows the very desire?

250. Who will describe the comfort of those whose bodies are healthy and never old, free from impurity like the flame of a lamp, radiating light from themselves?

251. For one staying there, a cause of displeasure, however small, is very hard to find - who will describe the comfort in that heaven?

252. Whatever such wonderful comfort arising from sense-desires there is in the world of the devas - who, with limited knowledge, will describe that comfort just as it is?

(244-8) Description of the heavenly parks.

(245) "'creepers (like ropes) to cling to' (CPD s.v. *lālamba*).

(247) *pāpakammaraṭāvāsa* *vipakkasukhadāyikā*: meaning obscure.


Dwellings: the *apāyas* the *duggatis*.

253. Having seen such fruit even of the humblest among meritorious deeds, who would even for a moment restrain his efforts to do deeds of merit?

254. The comfort of the kāma-sphere was reproved by the Completely Awakened One as being 'low, vulgar and ignoble' (254); but even the excellence [in the comfort] of that [sphere] is such [as already described].

255. Whatever brahma-gods there are engaged in meditation, of immeasurable splendour, feeding on joy, of great power - who, not being the Sage, will describe their comfort?

256. The lowest in the brahma-worlds (256) live for one-third of a kappa; the highest in them live for eighty-four thousand kappas (256).

257. In a granary a vojana long (257) in every direction there are mustard seeds to the brim; one lone seed is thrown out when each century ends until the granary is empty; a kappa is longer even than that (257)!

258. The rest of their realisation of comfort is indeed recognisable by their longevity; [however that same comfort] can be effected in a short time by this foul body.

259. Here on earth, what would be the like of the supreme comfort of those whose life is many hundreds of kappas, those whose comfort is produced by the mind?

260. Here the best meritorious action brings about nibbāna indeed; middling [meritorious action] bears that fine fruit in the brahma-worlds in this way [as already described].

261. And the least meritorious action increases the pleasure of the five senses (5) in the kāma-world; the other two (261) give completely every benefit and comfort.

262. This body, though frail like a bubble and very difficult to obtain, promotes such meritorious action. Engaging it in non-meritorious action, man is lamentable like one fallen from the summit of Mount Sineru.

The fifth section, about the fruit of meritorious action, is finished (Saddh-s).

VII. VERSES ABOUT THE ADVANTAGES ACCRUING FROM GIVING

263. Now I shall tell just a little about the greatness of the advantages accruing from the [twelve] ways of meritorious action - a little to gladden the minds of the pure.

264. The factors of giving are the intent, the object [given] and the receiving; the least [giving] ensures prosperity, middling [ensures] heaven, and the best [ensures] mokkha.

265. By its very nature giving provides enjoyment both heavenly and human; by means of [giving's] fulfilment (265) [giving] is the foundation for mokkha.

266. The blessing of intent is the absence of greed and so forth (266) in regard to things to give, receiving, deeds and also the fruits of deeds.

267. In this regard the blessing of the object [given] is [that it is] obtained by proper conduct, without trading in wine and so on (267) or indeed by causing any distress to others;

(254) Cf. Vin I 10, Paṭis 147.

(256) brahma-worlds: there are twenty, one above the other (PED s.v. brahma). Cf. verses 239-40; see also Gogerly 1908, pp.228-9.


(261) Other two: best and middling.

(265) Fulfilment through the mere intent to give (Saddh-s).

(266) Greed and so on: greed, anger and delusion (Saddh-s).

(267) Trade in wine and so on - five trades must not be carried on by lay followers of the Buddha: trade in swords, living beings, meat, intoxicants and poisons (PED s.v. vanijja).
268. And the blessing of the receiver is tranquillity of mind through absence of greed and so on (264) in regard to gain, loss and enjoyment [of the object].

269. The [act of] giving, which is extremely pure in all three (269) or two or one [of the above factors] or which is merely pure in all three of them, should be known as best (264), in that order. (269)

270. Just as, from a seed the size of a mustard [seed] arises a banyan tree rich in its hundreds of branches, like a great dark cloud,

271. So there is great fruit from the smallest deed of merit. A wise man should not be neglectful, thinking 'That deed has little merit!' (271).

272. It should be recognised that meritorious action and non-meritorious [action] bear fruit in this birth and the next world when the causes gain strength.

273. Fruit in this life is very weak, like a shoot from a seed; whatever the fruit is in the next world, it is unimaginable, like that fruit [which is the tree arising from that seed] (273).

274. The fruit which accrues to a giver in this life is large and fivefold: thus it was said by the Lion of Sages to General Siha [Lion] (274).

[THE FIVE FRUITS:]

275. The five fruits are: a liberal donor is beloved like a rain-cloud in time of heat; many beings resort to him, like birds to a fruit tree;

276. A generous person receives [a position of] advantage honoured by the three worlds (29) and the sound of glory, as did the Hare King and as did King Arindama (276);

277. And, quite confident, a generous person goes forth into the assembly just as a person diligent in the teachings (277) goes forth into the assembly of people not diligent in the teachings.

278. When, crushed by old age and disease, suffering, a person is laid on his last bed and when the force of his deeds in his former [existence] is spent (278-93),

279. The signs of his approaching death are seen by his doctors; he is racked with great hiccoughs and pierced with the acute pain of his joints' snapping (279).

280. Then, his sense faculties becoming entirely obscured, when darkness has come about, obscuring (280) the sense faculties,

281. When his weeping kinsmen are overwhelmed by their great grief, he is tormented by his kinsmen's grief as though by caustic sprinkled in a wound.

282. When there is no protection anywhere and great fear has come, his mind is exceedingly bewildered just as in a fall down a great cliff.

(276) Hare King: Sasa (pandita) Ja IV 84sq.
King Arindama: Sonaka Ja V 247-61.

(277) v.l. katassavavaganthesu, 'after hearing the texts'.
Cf. Vism 9; Vin II 202.

(278-293) Cf. verses 294-302.
Cf. Vism 548-51; MkP 43: MN III 164-5; Nett 179-80.

(279) Cf. Vism 554.

(280) Read uparundhante for uparujhante (CPD); meaning unchanged.
283. At that time, for a person who has not performed meritorious action or has performed meritorious action, [in his mind] his own deeds arise to his non-benefit or benefit.

284. Whatever evil deeds were done by him at an [earlier] time clinging to his mind at the time of death.

285. At that time, omens unwished for and very terrible - the guards of niraya, fire and so on - appear to the person going to niraya:

286. [Seeing messengers] with red eyes, crooked fangs and hair like tawny manes, fierce, looking like a mass of collyrium, remorseless and very cruel,

287. At that time his mind becomes distraught, seeing Yama's messengers who have put compassion aside and come on account of Kālandaṇa.

288. And then he swoons, his thirst and fever increase and the suffering of remorse crushes him thoroughly.

289. Pierced by the dart of sorrow, come to the ocean of misfortune and his shelter not made when he was able, he reflects deeply in this way:

290. 'Certainly I did no good, and I did do wrong; powerless in niraya I shall enjoy the fruit of evil!'

291. Thus crying aloud, frightened and distressed in mind, powerless and trembling because of his own evil deeds,

292. The fool is taken to niraya like a frog by a water-snake; for that evil-doer there is always a death full of delusion.

293. Thus death, endless, to be borne by all creatures, insurmountable and horrible, will come inevitably.

294. At that time for one of cruel deeds there is suffering such as this, but that suffering departs far from one who has committed no evil.

295. However when one who has performed meritorious action, afflicted by the force of Death, is likewise laid on his bed when death is near,

296. Those deeds of merit which were done by him at an [earlier] time clinging to his mind at the time of death;

297. Then favourable desired omens, the best carriages, celestial palaces and the like appear to the person going to heaven.

298. Seeing the celestial palaces and carriages resounding with multitudes of celestial nymphs and adorned with hundreds of marvels, there is rapture for him.

299. At that time, the man who is a generous giver attains to great comfort, as if avoiding a tumbledown shed and entering a palace,

300. [Thinking] 'Certainly I did deeds of merit well and I made a shelter from fear, so I shall enjoy in heaven the superb fruit of deeds of merit!'

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(285) sukkamam | sakamam. 
Cf. Vism 548.

(286) -dāthī siro- | -dāthisiro-.

(287) Yama (Kālandaṇa) is the ruler of the kingdom of the dead; he has a black staff (PED).

(289) Shelter: offered by the Dhamma (PED s.v. tāna).

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(294-302) Cf. MkP 10; MN III 171.

(295) Read sayane.

(297) Tadā vittha | Tadā-vittha.
301. Gladdened, unafraid, really rejoicing and lulled continually by his own deeds of merit,

302. A wise man is led to heaven, the dwelling of those intent on deeds of merit; for the doer of deeds of merit there is always a death free from delusion (302).

303. And therefore together with 'death while still conscious' the fruits which accrue to the liberal giver in this very life are said by Suchashe (303) to be five (303).

304. If meritorious action pleases even the one who has gone into the maw of remorseless Death, a person not performing [meritorious action] is indeed under an illusion;

305. Endless indeed are the benefits of giving which accrue in this very life itself; it is for the benefit of those who are ready to receive the Teaching that they are described here as being only fivefold (305):

[The Endless Fruits of Giving]

306. To be trusted even by his enemy, bringing fame to his kinfolk, indeed being the ornament of his family, and bringing joy to his dependents;

307. Being the protector of the helpless and increasing the joy of all, a generous giver is continually pleasant company for the good;

308. He is considered to be the best and cannot be destroyed by the corrupt (434); the gladdened world perceives him with joy to be the giver of what is desired;

309. In whatever direction a liberal donor goes, even when empty-handed, for him especially prepared necessities of life (309) are easy to obtain.

310. [A generous giver thinks] 'Wealth shared in common by ordinary men (310) brings every kind of enmity and fear; made special by me it gives comfort and freedom from enmity (310-22);

311. 'A great treasure was laid down, undecaying, following [me from birth to birth]; not to be plundered by others, giving endless comfort.

312. 'I acquired a friend (128) in misfortune, a friend inalienable and incorruptible (312), rich in virtue, agreeable and always beneficial.

313. 'That thief who steals the strength that is virtue, the rakkhasa of avarice, was killed; killed is the piśāca of jealousy; I obtained most excellent relief.

314. 'The fetters of greed were struck off, the enemy anger was destroyed and the thick net of delusion which envelopes welfare was rent asunder.

315. 'With my success, the wretchedness of those helpless ones was removed; an island (315) in the dreadful ocean of samsāra was acquired.

316. 'The principal sum was well invested in a great family bank of recipients; and so in the next world there will be endless riches for me.

317. 'With the most worthless pleasures is made an excellent acquiring of worth; a stairway to heaven (317), steady and easy to climb, is

(309) The four necessities of life for a bhikkhu are civara-robe, almsbowl, lodging and medicinal appliances for use in sickness (PED s.v. paccaya, civara).

(Wealth) made special: meritorious action.
(310-22) Quotation not traced.

(312) ?CPD appadussiya 'who cannot get inimical'.

318. 'Heroic beings were followed and the enemy Māra was vanquished; planted by me, the seed of every success needs no nourishing.

319. 'The Vase of Fortune(319), bestowing the thing desired, was produced; the roots of ruin were cheated by me and the blessings of virtue were accumulated(319).

320. 'Honoured by the good and become a support for the good, with a mere wish I can gain(320) that which is the realm of existence for the good.

321. 'The realms of misery are closed, the highest meritorious action has been purified and a straight, firm keel for the Ship of the Path has been laid(321).

322. 'To those who ask giving away things that [if kept] only bring every misfortune(322), I have reached the ocean of advantages; my life is fruitful!'

323. Thinking thus and keeping in mind his own blessing of liberality, that generous giver always lives very joyful and jubilant.

324. A liberal donor sees some poor person come begging [and then sees him] gleeful because of obtaining his request; what fruit is greater than that?

325. As for the poor person, obtaining his gift and pleased to attain his desire(325), his face is lustrous as a full-blown lotus and fairer

326. The giver, seeing [that fairer face] and obtaining extraordinary(326) comfort, enjoys [it]; this fruit of giving is enough even if there be no [fruit] in the next world(531).

327. In this life the fruit of giving is endless just in this way; who can perceive the fruit of it in the next world?

328. The best of the four sympathetic characteristics, the direct Path to heaven and the highest of the ten perfections, giving gives the keenest pleasures(328).

329. Giving is like the Vase of Fortune(319) in accomplishing the thing desired; how can one like me describe the fruit(329) of it in the next world?

330. The great fruitfulness of giving was made clear in the suttas by the One with great Compassion Himself, the Giver of flesh, eyes and so on(38).

331. If one does not give the gift thus of great virtue [as already described] when there is a meritorious gift(331) and a suppliant, one will be indeed constantly under an illusion.

332. The giving done by one expressly desiring the fruit thereof should

(325) v.l. hatthatthya- 'the thing to satisfy him'.

(326) Read 'sādhāranaṃ (Saddhā-).

(328) The four sympathetic characteristics: giving, kind speech, useful conduct and equanimity (PED s.v. saṅgha1).

The ten perfections: giving, good conduct, renunciation of worldliness, wisdom, effort, forbearance, truth, resolution, love and equanimity (PED s.v. pārami); cf. verse 620(5).

(329) -phalantassa | -phalan tassa.

(331) The fourteen meritorious gifts: the upper robe, almsbowl, bed and chair, medicinal appliances for use in sickness, food, drink, clothing, vehicle, garland, scent, ointment, couch, dwelling-place and lamps and accessories (PED s.v. deyya).
be shunned like a trade; that giving which is in every respect unimpaired is explained to be superior;

333. Whatever giving is touched by wrong views and so on (and done) for the sake of advantage in worldly pleasures is tarnished giving; [giving] not touched [by wrong views] is to the contrary;

334. Giving done by a Bodhisatta desiring to cross over worldly existence, done out of compassion for the suppliants, is superior.

335. [Since] the base [giver] gives gifts, desiring worldly pleasures, the middling [giver] gives gifts desiring personal comfort and the noblest [giver] gives gifts desiring the alleviation of suffering for all beings,

336. And since [givers] give gifts, therefore wise and good men tirelessly give gifts in accordance with the [aforesaid third] excellent way.

The sixth chapter about the advantages accruing from giving is complete (Saddh-s).

VIII. VERSES ABOUT THE ADVANTAGES ACCRUING FROM GOOD CONDUCT

337. All the advantages accruing from giving spoken of [earlier] also arise through good conduct; [in addition, the rewards arising from good conduct] are endless and even better.

338. 'A person abstaining from wrong conduct [gives] to countless beings freedom from enmity and fear and also comfort and freedom from distress;

339. 'Having given, afterwards he himself obtains freedom from enmity and fear and also comfort and freedom from distress!', said the Conqueror (338-9).

340. In accordance with the application of this sutta, it should be recognised that the advantages accruing from giving mentioned above arise through the attainment of good conduct also.

341. [Good conduct] is none other than the fourfold abstention: from transgression of the precepts, from not guarding the senses, from wrong livelihood and from worldly enjoyment.

342. Good conduct is fourfold: according to [the restraint of] the pātimokkha, according to restraint of the sense faculties, according to purity of livelihood and good conduct connected with the [four] necessities of life.

343. Good conduct should be guarded by those very fourfold responsibilities: faith, mindfulness, effort and wisdom, in order.

344. The Leader who, from the time of his vow knowing with discrimination benefit and non-benefit for others, announced the Vinaya and so on (344),

345. Omniscient indeed is the Exalted One, always engrossed in compassion, His words not empty, incomparable, a mine of wondrous immense virtues!

346. Whatever small or large was rejected by Him knowing it, that [rejection] should not be overlooked even at risk of life;

347. For the directions of the Master of the Path, however minor, should be kept by an intelligent man, who should see them to be as hard to throw away as great Mount Meru.

348. And, if one incurs suffering by transgressing the authority of the ruler of a small district, how much more from transgressing the authority of the Ruler of the Whole World?

349. Transgressing the direction of the Chief of Sages to the mere extent of cutting off the tip [of a blade] of kusa-grass, whatever [suffering]

(340) anayāsuttī | anayā sutti-
-ānisampāhi | -ānisampa hi.

(341) vīratīhi | vīratī hi.

(344) Vow to become a Buddha (BHSD s.v. praṇidhāna). Vinaya and so on: the Tipitaka (Saddh-s).
was incurred by means of the *era*-leaf(349) - that story will explain this [comparison].

350. Skilled in the means of disciplining the faults of all beings, that very Teacher understands - I know nothing at all!

351. Just as Komārabhacca(351) the doctor himself knows what is beneficial and non-beneficial for children and those youngsters do not know - we are like that in this regard.

352. If the Conqueror says 'Jump into the fire!' or 'Fall from a mountain-top!', it should be done, for He acts with full knowledge.

353. Therefore one should keep right away from whatever the Teacher said should not be transgressed, just as one desiring life keeps right away from a cliff.

354. In this way with faith agreeing reverently, the instruction of the Teacher should be carried out according to His very injunction;

355. With faith foremost thus the pātimokkha indeed guarded and embellished with honour to the Conqueror is the giver of endless fruit.

356. When sense objects come into range of the six doors [of the senses](356), a wise man should station there the doorkeeper of mindfulness;

357. When the guard of mindfulness is stationed, those great thieves the defilements living in the forest of the [six] sense-objects cannot destroy the house of the mind(357).

358. What is seen in what is observed is enough, and more than that should not be vainly imagined; the foolish, strong in imagining nonexistent [gains], come to grief like the monkeys(358);

359. Seeing the mere appearance of the ball of impurity(359), the ignorant interpret it as a lotus and so on, not knowing anything similar;

360. 'The breast is like a round golden casket, the face like a blossoming lotus, the eyes like dark lotuses, by the teeth are pearls surpassed;

361. 'A woman's body with faultless limbs increases attachment to sensual pleasure!' Thinking in this and other ways, they defile their own minds;

362. Then, on account of their delusion and wound in the fetters of attachment to it(362), they come to terrible distress and misery through their imaginings.

363. Ordinary men, deluded by the body's thin skin, are unable to see it in its true nature: the body with the appearance of a doll(363) made of impurities.

364. Others torment their sense faculties(364) in order to conserve their [mental] defilements but disciples of the Conqueror ward off

(349) Because a young monk broke off an *era*-leaf, though he performed meditations for twenty thousand years he was reborn in a causeless state (as king of the dragons), which he had to endure for a whole Buddha-interval (Dhp-a tr. Burlingame part 3, p.56-60).

Era-leaves plucked for sham clubs turned into weapons and the revellers were nearly all killed (Ja IV 79-81).

(351) Dr Komārabhacca is Jivaka the paediatrician (PED; PPN s.v. 1Jivaka-Komārabhacca).

(356) The six gates of the senses: cakkhu, sota, ghāna, jīvha, kāya and mana (PED s.v. dvāra and indriya); cf. Pp 24, Vism 464; cf. verse 261.


(358) Vainly imagined: that the false is true (BHSD s.v. ivikalpa). Monkeys: 'who are caught without knowing they are being tied up' (Saddha-s); cf. Sn 791. v.l. kapi, same meaning.

(359) Ball of impurity: the body (Saddha-s).

(362) To it: to the body (Saddha-s).

attachment to objects of the sense faculties.

365. Indeed a monk whose protection is his mindfulness, seeing
impermanence and so on(365) clearly in the sense faculties and the
objects in range of the senses, does not see anything worthy of
attachment.

366. Ill-drawn by the horses of the sense faculties(366), in the world folk
along with devas, asuras and rakṣasas are far removed from the
Path of Benefit.

367. Harnessing with mindfulness those vicious horses which are very
hard to control, monks drive them on with the spur of wisdom in
the pasture of mindfulness(367).

368. Regarding the body, feelings, mind and mind-objects(368), things
foul and so on(368) should be seen as they really are - those are
said to be the pastures of mindfulness.

369. Whatever be the object which disciples of the Conqueror desire to
know, seeing it clearly with mindfulness they then direct their
minds thereto.

370. And thus faults, the causes interrupted, do not plunge into the fire
of the mind of those engrossed in mindfulness, just as those free

(364) [As do ascetics who expose their bodies to] the five fires and so on
(Saddh-s).

(365) And so on: anatta and dukkha (Saddh-s).

(366) Cf. Dhp 94.

(367) Cf. Mil 343,368.
V.l. sati gocare, 'when the objects of the sense faculties arise' (Saddh-s).

(368) Body, feelings, mind and mind-objects: the four foundations of
mindfulness; see the satipaññhā suttas, DN 22, MN 10.
Foul and so on: foul, painful, impermanent and not self (Vism tr. Ṛṣyāmoli
1964, p.798).

371. Therefore, the disciples of the Perfectly Awakened One, attached
to non-attachment by the yoke of mindfulness, fulfill that good
conduct which consists in restraint of the senses.

372. Renouncing even kinsmen, whose hearts are bound [to him] with
affection, faithfully becoming a monk in the teachings of the
Conqueror, which are hard to obtain,

373. [But] transgressing the right livelihood practised by all good people,
if [such a monk] lives his life by wrong livelihood for the sake of his
belly,

374. What homely delicacies(374) has such a food-relishing person given
up? Here(374) what merit does he obtain but baldness(374)?

375. Living by gaining advantage, coaxing householders with pieces(375)
of trickery(375) and the like(375) should be known as wrong living.

376. Having promised right livelihood, whoever then lives his life by
wrong livelihood is outside the Dhamma of monks and the
Dhamma of householders.

377. 'In this world here and the next, the necessities of life are easily
obtained by one pure because of right livelihood!'(377) Has he not
heard [this before]?

378. Rejecting clean food like a boar in a place full of filth(378), his

(370) Saddh-s: nīrājana, 'lotus'.

(374) Food: food for the sense faculties as well as ordinary food (Saddh-s).
Here: living in the teachings of the Conqueror, as opposed to living in the
ordinary household (Saddh-s).
Baldness: a bhikkhu's head is shaven (PED s.v. mundiya).

(375) Pieces: twenty-one; cf. 392f.n.
Trickery is threefold (Saddh-s).
Trickery and so on: acquisition of the necessities of life, roundabout talk and
dependence on the four postures; see Vism 25-26.

(377) Quotation not traced.
379. Who will spoil his life for the sake of that food which by rising up to his gullet is like dogs' vomit?(379)

380. Casting his glance down, properly manifesting his gait and so on(380), unsubdued but acting in the manner of those subdued - is he not a play-actor?

381. But is it not better for the belly to be split open by a sharp butcher's knife than for the belly to be quite filled by gaining what was improperly obtained(381)?

382. Who would not censure the livelihood of that one manifesting imaginary good qualities(382), the king of the shameless or the chief of thieves?

383. How, pray, does he plunge into the pure fire of the Saṅgha? And how is it that he does not melt like a figure modelled in wax?

384. 'I have hands and feet, and prosperity is obtainable with effort - hence, why should I defile the āśī-garb, which is hard to get?

385. 'One can live anywhere by any means whatsoever!' - why does not this single thought arise in him?

386. [And] were the supreme Path to nībbāna obtainable only for one living off the necessities of life obtained from wrong living, but not otherwise,

387. Even so, how indeed would wrong livelihood, fit only for the vilest of all beings, consisting in that deception which is dalliance with others, be possible for one with any shame?

388. Thinking 'Hunger disappears for the one who eats even grass!', would a tiger, an eater of [freshly] killed meat, then devour grass?

389. When it is announced(389), 'This is the means of obtaining the kingdom!', do the proud, though emaciated with fasting, then devour scraps?

390. One can indeed live on almsfood without engaging in tillage, trade, archery or other such livelihoods(390);

391. This Jambudīpa-land is extensive and many are the unobstructed Paths; with alertness one can indeed live comfortably everywhere;

392. Thus, assuming the responsibility of energy, keeping Kassapa(392) and so on in mind and not committing any impropriety(392), one should protect the purity of one's livelihood.

393. Being watchful, one should use with due regard whatever robe, almsfood, medicine, bed and seat one obtains.

394. Lacking in due regard, enjoying the necessities of life given by

(388) Killed: by the tiger himself (Saddh-s).

(389) Read āpīte for āpeti (metathesis, m.c.).

(390) Cf. MN I 85.

(392) Kassapa: Mahākassapa (Saddh-s).
And so on: those content with few wants (Saddh-s).
There are twenty-one improper ways of obtaining the necessities of life in exchange for gifts of: bamboo, leaves, flowers, fruit, bathing facilities, clay, bath-powder, tooth-sticks, mouth-rinse, flattery, bean-soup-character, petting, going messages on foot, medical practice, doing a messenger's duty, going as messenger, exchanging almsfood for almsfood, giving a gift, determining lucky house-sites, astrology and prognosticating from marks on the body (Mil 369-70); cf. Vism 17.
others, fettered (394), one destroys one’s own safe place (394).

395. Therefore, abstaining from the craving for taste-sensation, one should enjoy the use of food knowing its purpose thoroughly, just like one wounded [should enjoy] ointment for the wound (395).

396. One should make use of the robe as a protection from wind and heat, keeping off flies and so on, just as one would make use of cloth for dressing a wound (396).

397. Avoiding attachment, one uses medicine for relief (397) sufficient only for warding off this or that illness (397).

398. Being non-attached, one should resort to the dwelling saying, ’This body, like a lump of meat subject to endless misfortune and hard to guard, should be protected!’ (398).

399. Like a one-legged tripod, a tripod lacking two legs, the body cannot (399) do without the necessities of life.

400. Wise men protect the body for the sake of right accomplishment, saying, ’Rightly used, it leads to great benefit!’

401. On account of the rippling water of the body, the boat of the mind resting therein cannot (401) stay still, like the tip of a creeper touched by the wind.

(394) Fettered: by the chains of greed (Saddh-s); cf. verse 314.

gādham khaṇat{i} attano: meaning obscure, cf. (mūlaṁ khaṇat{i} attano) Dhp 247.

(395) Cf. Vism 32.

(396) Cf. Vism 30-1.

(397) abhyaśajha- | abhyaśajha-
Cf. Vism 34-5.

(398) Cf. Vism 34.

(399) sakkoti | sakkoti.

(401) sakkoti | sakkoti.

402. For one whose mind is not composed, there is no insight into reality; one who has no insight into reality is never released (402).

403. Therefore, making use of the necessities of life with due care, one desiring concentration of mind should protect his body (403).

404. Men furnished with the [right] means, though for a very long time doing with fire what needs to be done, do not come to harm through fire.

405. Furnished with the [wrong] means, they suffer pain caused by harm from the fire; not doing themselves good, they come to severe suffering.

406. The necessities of life should be thought of as fires; the use of food and so on with attachment and without due care is like using fire in the wrong manner.

407. Neither come from the energy of one’s arms (407) nor come from the family of one’s kin but obtained only by the graciousness of others - is it proper to partake of [such] food (407) while being fettered (394) [with greed]?

408. A monk being fettered (408) and infatuated, eating food given by others, should be shunned as one who eats dogs’ vomit (408).

409. Accustomed to the craving for taste-sensation (395, 610) and not seeing the dangers, they defile their own minds regarding the necessities of life (409) however coarse;

(402) Released: from the suffering of saṁsāra (Saddh-s).

(403) sarīraparikkhaṇṇaṁ | sarīraparirakkhaṇṇaṁ.

(407) Cf. AN II 67.
Food: the four necessities of life (Saddh-s).

(408) Fettered: by moha (Saddh-s).
Cf. verse 379 f.n.

410. Always seeing the dangers and free from the craving for taste-sensation, they do not come to mind's corruption regarding the necessities of life(409) however fine.

411. Indeed, one reviewing the dangers and not attached even to such necessities of life as would give enjoyment to the ruler of the realm of the Thirty Deities(411), is [soon] to share nibbāna(411).

412. Repeatedly and accurately contemplating moderation, the advantage accruing from moderation and also what has to be given up, one should use the necessities of life as if they were fires.

413. Therefore, assuming the responsibility of wisdom and considering the danger, the wise guard that good conduct which arises from contemplation.

414. So indeed, good conduct purified by propriety is fourfold; it promotes one's desire like well-refined gold.

415. In this life here and the next, this jewel(415) of good conduct, [first] giving the greatest advantages, later causes one to reach nibbuti.

416. Before one's very eyes, the most high-born kings here in this world truly do honour to one practising good conduct, however low-born.

417. Even those proud brahmans who do not bow down before their teachers here in this world truly do honour to one practising good conduct.

418. Even those who are senior in station(418), wealth and overlordship here in this world truly do honour to one practising good conduct.

419. And even the elders of good families and those who are mothers, fathers and so on here in this world truly do honour to one practising good conduct.

420. Whom they do honour, those possessed of the three-Veda-knowledge(420), lords of all the earth(420) the khattiya, and the Four Kings(420) and also the glorious Thirty Deities(420),

421. That noble one, rich in all pleasures, the chief of the devas(411), being always mindful himself, does honour to one practising good conduct.

422. Sahampati Brahmana, who himself attained lordship over the jhana meditations, being always mindful himself does honour to one practising good conduct.

423. If good conduct bears fruit of such honour even here in this world, what copious fruit of honour will it not bear in the next?

424. Having spread through the whole great earth bounded by the ocean, the sound of those practising good conduct rises in a moment to the brahma-world.

425. Because its course is in no way impeded, going both against and with the wind(425), the scent which consists of good conduct is the greatest of all scents.

426. And any householder in his own home, exerting himself for his own benefit, unable to provide even coarse necessities of life -

427. Even he, practising good conduct, not performing any impropriety(392), is seen as one gaining exceedingly fine necessities of life.

428. Vihāras, charming to behold, as it were illuminate that [fact](428) - these vihāras adorned with flags and cetiyas whose tops touch the

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(411) The ruler of heaven, the realm of the thirty gods, is Sakka; cf. verses 420, 421, 478, 551.
Cf. verses 409-10.

(415) Cf. cintāmanī, the jewel which magically grants people's wishes.

(418) thānanta, 'official, professional' (SED p.247).

(420) Those possessed of the three-Veda-knowledge: brahmans (Saddh-s).
Lords of all the earth: cf. Ja VI 45.
Four Kings: Kuvera (Vessavana), Dhataraṭṭha, Virūpakkha and Virūhaka (PED s.v. lokapāla).
Thirty Deities: Cf. verses 411, 478; 'thirty-three selfless volunteers led by Magha performed charitable deeds and were born in the heavenly realm' (Narada 1968, p.259); twelve Adityas, eight Vasus, eleven Rudras and two Asvins (MW s.v. tridaśa).

(425) Cf. verse 243; Vism 10, 58; Dhp 54; AN I 226; Ja II 291; Mil 333.
heavens(428),

429. With the time(429) announced by excellent drums having the noise of thunder-clouds, vihāras full of fine necessities of life(309) easy for many thousands of bhikkhus to obtain.

430. Even in a quite empty region, cetiyas and so on are seen like high mountains, white as pearl necklaces, geese, snow or clouds.

[THE REWARDS IN THE NEXT LIFE:]

431. Whatever is the fine splendour of even an empty vihāra, no such splendour is in the abode even of a lord of all the regions.

432. If the mere flower of the lordly tree of good conduct is like this, what of its fruit in the next world, fruit bestowing the highest gain?

433. Indeed a flood of the fruit [of good conduct] will come [flowing to one in the next world] like [a flood of water] of all the great oceans(38) forcibly diverted over the earth.

434. Even the wicked cannot destroy that [householder](308); he is reckoned among the best; he is always content and when the object desired is obtained he never yields [to attachment](434).

435. The virtuous one is dear to fellow-students and loved; he is worthy even to eat with and live with those beyond doubt(435).

436. The perfect comfort there is for one whose good conduct is unspoiled is indeed difficult to be obtained even by the chiefs of brahmās, asuras and devas or the chief nāgas.

(428) Illuminate that: the fact that one practising good conduct gains excellent rewards (Saddh.-s).
Cf. Meghadūta part 2 verse 1.

(429) Time: the time of day.

(434) -lobhena -lābhe na.
Yields: to greed for the object (Saddh.-s).

(435) Read asamkītehi (Saddh.-s).
Those beyond doubt: the monks (Saddh.-s).
OR 'He is not doubted and is worthy even to eat with and live with.' (text).

437. Who will describe in full the fruit in this very life, immeasurable, as mentioned above, [fruit] produced by the accomplishment of good conduct?

438. If even here in this world the fruit arising from good conduct is thus endless as mentioned above, who here will know the whole extent of that fruit in the next world?

439. It was said by the Great Sage that one would be reborn immediately among the paranimmita gods(240f.n.) just by observing the uposatha for one day(439).

440. This is the increase in the fruit of good conduct which is limited by time; what shall we say further about the fruit which is not thus limited?

441. [Possessed of good conduct] one is worthy of another's trust, brings fame to one's kin, is the ornament of one's family and is the measure of right conduct;

442. Good conduct [brings] perfect comfort, very exalted(442) family, property [that makes one] prosperous and station in life fit for a senior person,

443. Bathing without water(443), scent going in all directions(443), accompanying shade(443), a sunshade(443) and protection when [good conduct] is protected,

444. And also the lineage of the Aryans, a training unparalleled, the Great Path to the Realms of Bliss and an unshakable foundation.

445. Thus, who could reach the end of reciting all the advantages accruing in this birth in this and other ways?

(439) Cf. AN IV 254.

(442) Cf. verse 541.

Scent: cf. Vism 58.
Shade: never leaving one, nor to be lost (CPD); cf. Dhp 2.
Sunshade: which allays the rain and sun of the suffering of samsāra (Saddh.-s); cf. Mil 415.
446. Having spoken of the celebrated [acts of] giving [of the pious] for the Saṅgha commencing with that of Velāma, yet, it is said that [keeping] the five precepts of good conduct is better still (446).

447. The difference then between that purity of good conduct which helps towards Path-knowledge and giving is greater than the difference between Mount Meru and a mustard seed (447).

448. Thus recognising the accomplishment of good conduct to have great reward, just as a one-eyed man protects his eye (448), one should protect that fourfold good conduct:

449. Restraint according to the pātimokkha, guarding the sense faculties, having [proper] consideration for the necessities of life (449) and a purity of life (449). Fulfilling that fourfold purity of good conduct, the intelligent and wise destroy the Māras (449) by means of iññā.

450. Considering thus the virtue of good conduct and purifying well his good conduct without pause, (450) even at risk of life, a clever man, unwearied and ever striving, attains nībbāna.

The verses about the advantages accruing from good conduct are complete (Saddh-s).

IX. VERSES ABOUT THE ADVANTAGES ACCRUING FROM MENTAL DEVELOPMENT

451. All those advantages accruing which are spoken of with reference to giving and good conduct are undoubtedly fulfilled even through meagre mental development (451).

452. Briefly, all meritorious action is indeed the converse of the defilements; mental development, because it uproots the defilements, is more powerful still.

453. How could the destruction of an enemy easily accomplished by a minor king be difficult for a universal sovereign?

454. It is even possible to achieve Buddhahood by application of the force of mental development; what success is there other than that indeed which cannot be effected by mental development?

455. Those speaking of the noble state (455) describe the getting rid of the defilements by their opposites, by repression and by destruction.

456. By the relevant opposite factor, giving, good conduct and so on overcome the defilements, jhāna-meditation represses them, and the Path destroys them completely.

457. Divided into its various stages, mental development itself is explained as jhāna-meditation, or the Path, or insight and tranquillity (457).

458. Freedom from the hindrances, collectedness of mind, established on a single subject of meditation (458) and adorned with the rest of the factors of jhāna-meditation, is counted as jhāna-meditation.

459. Sensuous desire, ill will, sloth and torpor, restlessness and scruples,

(446) Cf. verse 490; cf. AN IV 592.
Five rules of good conduct: see PED s.v. sīla.


(448) Cf. Vism 36.

(449) -anvantikkhanavā, -anvantikkhananā. Cf. verse 342.
The Māras: five (Saddh-s): Khandha-, Kilesa-, Abhisaṅkhāra-, Maccu- and Devaputta-māra (PPN s.v. catumāra); cf. verse 569.

(450) avikkhādiya | avikkhādiya.

(451) Mental development: bhāvanā, see Glossary.

(455) Those speaking of the noble state: the monks who speak of excellent nībbāna (Saddh-s).

(457) Tranquillity: samatha, synonymous with avikkhepa (undistractedness), samādhi-concentration and ekagga (collectedness of mind) (Nyanatiloха 1980, s.v. samatha).

(458) Cf. Vism 515.
and sceptical doubt: these are the five hindrances (459).

460. Collectedness of mind is establishment of the mind on a single subject of meditation (458); those [speaking of the noble state (455)] know it to be [synonymous with] tranquillity, samādhī-concentration and undistractedness.

461. Applied thought and sustained thinking, and also rapture, joy (461) and equanimity - these five are regarded as the rest of the factors of jhāna-meditation (461).

462. The collected state of mind which is regarded as jhāna-meditation is thus broken up in five ways: there is four-factor jhāna, three-factor jhāna, two-factor jhāna or one-factor alone (462);

463. That collectedness of mind which is considered to be the fifth jhāna-meditation is considered to be formless jhāna-meditation in accord with a specific subject of meditation.

464. As for formless jhāna-meditation, the four subjects of meditation are thought to be space, consciousness, absence of consciousness and mind directed towards that absence (464).

465. This, jhāna-meditation described in nine (465) ways, is called tranquillity; and the most excellent of speakers (465) speak of it as samāpatti.

466. Perception of things as they really are, in terms of their impermanence and so on (466), is called insight-meditation, wisdom

(459) Cf. Vism 146.

(461) Joy: sukha is thus translated (with Nyanatiloka 1980) throughout this chapter.
Cf. Vism 85-9, 111, etc.


(465) Nine ways: see Glossary s.v. samāpatti.
The most excellent of speakers: the Buddhas (Saddh-s).

467. The highest knowledge [bringing about] full understanding of the four truths (467) and which relates to nibbāna is shown to be Pathknowledge leading to nibbāna.

468. And tranquillity and insight also draw the mind-chariot of a yogi to the City of Nibbāna, just as a pair [of horses] at its pole [draw] a chariot [to a city] (468).

469. Through the combination of both (469) there is no success which cannot be effected, there is no one other than the Guide who knows its advantages!

470. People perform samādhi meditations for four reasons: for the sake of comfort in this birth or for the sake of ease of insight, or because of the desire for success in existence, or for the sake of supernormal knowledge (481).

471. One intent on the mental development [of samādhi] experiences even in this birth the most excellent joy (461), arising from mental detachment, through the absence of disturbances caused by the defilements.

472. And he becomes fair to behold, like Kassapa (392) on this earth, like Sāriputta possessed of wisdom, like Moggallāna (472-5) possessed of iddhi-powers,

473. Like Raṭṭhapāla non-attached, like Nanda controlled in senses and like Puṇṇa of Sunāparanta very famous for his forbearance.

(466) Impermanence and so on: impermanence, suffering and absence of self (Saddh-s).

(467) Four truths: dukkha, dukkhasamudaya, dukkhanirodha and dukkhanirodhagāminipatipada (PED s.v. sacca).

(468) Cf. AN II 156-7.

(469) Both: see Glossary s.v. bhāvanā.

(472-5) See AN I 23ff, 'Pre-eminent Ones'.
advantages arising from mantras increase for one who has thoroughly mastered the spells.

482. The iddhi-powers, knowledge of the thoughts of others, remembrance of one's previous births, the divine eye, and the [divine] ear: these are thought to be the five [powers of] supernormal knowledge.

483. Bearing in mind that for one who has developed his mind by concentration, these [five supernormal knowledges] act as specific ascetic practices for maintaining complete control of his mind, mental development should be indeed cultivated.

484. Sunetatta, cultivating the greatest loving-kindness for seven years, did not come back again to this world for seven evolutionary kappas.

485. In both evolutionary and devolutionary cycles he went through one life after the other in the brahma-world itself; he became chief of the devas thirty-six times as a result of that [very action].

486. 'He became sovereign of the world, of great fame, many hundreds of times!' Hearing that, what else need one say in extolling mental development?

487. Perceptions of transience and soullessness are richer in fruit than loving-kindness; knowing only a part, who could fully extoll the greatness of its fruit?

488. Since here in this world these [perceptions] arise indeed burning up the craving for existence, just as fire however small [arises] continuing [to burn up] its own abode

489. Then, because of not being attached to beings and conditioned states, they, giving the Path to nibbana, are said to be more outstanding than loving-kindness.

(474) Contentment is twelvefold (Saddh-s): cf. Pj I 145, 240. Robe and so on: the four paccayas - see verses 239, 605, 608.
Noble family: recluses content with the four necessities of life (PED s.v. ariyavamsa).

(475) -yoas bhāgi | yasobhāgi.

(477) eva manan tam | evam anantam.

(478) Here in this world: here in the Teaching (Saddh-s).

(479) Disturbed: by the appanāsamādhi (Saddh-s).

(481) The abhiññas (powers of supernormal knowledge) are five or six (Saddh-s); see PED s.v. abhiñña.

(487) -ananta- | -anatia-
Knowing only a part: not a Buddha (Saddh-s).
Perceptions: of transience, suffering and soullessness (Saddh-s).
490. Having spoken of the fruit beginning with Velāma’s giving(446) up to loving-kindness and so on, ‘The perception of transience just for a finger-snap’(490)

491. ‘Has still richer fruit than that!’ the Guide, become the Lamp of the three worlds(29), giving prosperity, thus gave light.

492. Therefore a wise man, desiring release from the terrible naraka of samsāra, should continually develop the perception of transience, which is very meritorious.

493. Focussing the mind on one or other of the kamma-subjects(493), breaking up the hindrances which are the enemies, achieving victory in the battle against sensual pleasure,

494. Putting aside the heavy load of the material [world] and also getting rid of attachment to the immaterial world, knowing that everything concerning the whole of existence is fickle(494), making noble effort,

495. Developing the factors(495) aiding awakening, having gained the force of mental development [all of you must go to nibbāna], which is deathless, free from the deprivities(231)(495), ageless, free from battle(495) and belongs to heroes.

496. Not obstructing the opportune moment, you must quickly resort to the City of Nibbāna, which is not easy to attain, wonderful and incomparable, eternal, free from disease and sorrow, and peaceful in the extreme.

(490) Cf. AN I 12, IV 396; Mil 102.

(493) kamma-subjects: 32, 38 or 40; instruments of meditation used to realise impermanence (PED).

(494) v.l. malam, impure.

(495) maranamaraṇam | maraṇam arāṇam.

bodhipakkhiyadhammas (accessories of enlightenment) are thirty-seven: four satipatthānas, four sammāpādānas, four iddhipādas, five indriyas, five bālas, seven bojhaṅgas and the eightfold Ariya-Path (Vism 678).

Battle: against the defilements (Saddh-ś).

X. VERSES ABOUT THE ADVANTAGES ACCRUING FROM THE TRANSFERENCE OF MERIT

497. Transference of the merit [of giving] is outstanding through gratitude and compassion when it is given for another’s benefit without looking for one’s own benefit.

498. In the world engrossed in rewards, this world of slavery to desire, who would not undertake some [service] for a person capable of a favour in return?

499. [But] for a man dead and become a peta by the fault of his own actions, or [for one] existing here in this world in misery, a helper is very difficult to find.

500. All those advantages accruing pointed out in relation to giving by the One Who cast aside conceit(500) should also be specifically recognised in relation to transference of merit.

501. If those petas existing on what is given by others(122f.n.), having accepted the giving, are gladly appreciative, it(501) is ready at hand for them.

502. Any almsgiving offered [on a peta’s behalf] is without doubt presented to him instantly [in the peta-world].

503. And in order to dispel any doubt that this is so, it is demonstrated by the one who comprehends through [the story of] Sāriputta’s giving to his mother’s peta(503).

504. In the absence of [a mother, the giving] is ready at hand for another kinsman; whether there is [a peta there] or not, a generous person is amply rewarded.


(501) It: the thing given as well as its fruit (Saddh-ś).

(503) Cf. Pv 13-14; Sāriputta made a gift to be credited to the peta of his mother.
505. In samsāra, which has neither beginning nor end (505), it should be clearly understood that it is impossible for the [petas] world to be empty of his relatives.

506. For any human being whatsoever (506) who seeks energetically, necessities of life whether superior or inferior are indeed easy to find;

507. But petas suffering with hunger and thirst over many years, although they search everywhere (507), cannot find [any] necessities of life.

508. As for those sunk (508) in the sea of misery by the fault of their own actions, it can be clearly discerned that there is a means for the removal of that misery; who is more lacking in compassion than he who could live without providing that [means]?

509. Therefore, grateful and mindful of benefits, good men inspired by compassion transfer merit, beginning with giving to the petas (509).

The verses about the advantages accruing from the transference of merit are finished (Saddh-s).

XI. VERSES ABOUT THE ADVANTAGES ACCRUING FROM REJOICING (IN OTHERS' MERIT)

510. Expelling thoughts of jealousy, malevolence, avarice and doing harm, when one whose mind is pleased by virtue and is joyful gladly appreciates some [meritorious action] or other,

511. Then the one who gladly appreciates meritorious action has great

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(505) Read anamatagge (m.c.).
His: the giver's (Saddh-s).

(506) tasssa | tassa.

(507) v.l. pariyesanta, same meaning.

(508) Cf. Dhp 327.


512. Unselfishly spending fifty-four kotis (512) to build in the delightful Jetavana a vihāra lovely to behold (512-14),

513. With golden water-jar in hand (513), Sudatta the glorious gave that vihāra to the omniscient Buddha and the Saṅgha. Seeing [his] glory and

514. Uttering the cry of exultation 'Ah, what giving!' repeatedly, a young man, gladly appreciative though not giving even a small coin, gained good increase greater even than that of the vihāra-giver.

515. If mere graciousness of mind thus bears fruit without performing [actions] with body or speech or even giving anything from one's own hand,

516. A man should be lamented (262) who leads his life without performing the meritorious action which arises from rejoicing [in others' merit], which is dependent on the mind and is rich in fruit!

The verses about the advantages accruing from rejoicing in others' merit are finished (Saddh-s).

XII. VERSES ABOUT THE ADVANTAGES ACCRUING FROM INSTRUCTIVE TEACHING

517. Whoever faithfully teaches the Dhamma obtained by the One with Heroic Strength by repeatedly giving wife, child, eye and so on (38),

518. [Whoever teaches] without desiring fame, gain, honour and so on for himself but firmly fixed on welfare alone does the Teacher's service indeed.

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(511) Cf. verses 234, 549, 602.

(512) -paññasa kotiya | -paññāsakotiya.
(512-14) See PPN s.v. Anākāpiṇḍika.

(513) Golden jar pouring out water: the waterjar is symbolic of giving confirmed by pouring water in the right palm of a recipient (MW s.v. udakapūrva); cf. DN II 172.
519. Though there are many people having but little obtuseness(519), they do not attain nibbūti because of the lack of an instructor;

520. Therefore, having learned the True Dhamma correctly and as it really is, become a reverencer of the True Dhamma, teaching only what is understood,

521. Leading his life according to the example of the Teacher and becoming not bent on the pursuit of greed, a wise man should teach the Dhamma for the sake of others.

522. 'Dhamma-giving surpasses all other giving!(522)', said the Conqueror and also, 'Instruction is hard to obtain!', pointed out the Best Instructor(522).

523. Once given out, material wealth thereupon disappears quickly(523); once given out, the Dhamma increases on both sides(523).

524. 'Proper attention as well as instruction in the True Dhamma is always the cause of Path-knowledge!'(524); this is said by one who knows the Path.

525. Knowledge of the nature of the Dhammas, consciousness of the evil of saṃsāra and comprehension of the truths(15) all arise from instructive teaching.(525)

526. Because an instructor teaches the Dhamma, which is the cause of all success, here in this life the fruit for him comprises every success.

(519) Having few of the impurities of the defilements such as rāga, though having the five moral indriyas such as faith and so on (Saddh-s).

(522) Quoted from Dhp 354.
V.l. desetā, instructor.
Quotation not traced.

(523) Disappears: from the receiver (Saddh-s). On both sides: in this life and the next (Saddh-s).

(524) Quotation not traced.

(525) desanā bhavā | desanābhavā.

527. Whoever, though capable, does not teach the True Dhamma which is very difficult to obtain, even though it thus has great advantages life is fruitless for him.

The verses about the advantages accruing from instructive teaching are finished (Saddh-s).

XIII. VERSES ABOUT THE ADVANTAGES ACCRUING FROM LISTENING

528. Even if the delight of a beggar finding treasure is not the delight of one listening to the True Dhamma and following its meaning.

529. Just as flies do not cling(529) to a glowing lump of iron, neither do the flies of the defilements cling to a mind glowing with the fire of listening(529).

530. Listening to the True Dhamma taught by the Buddha, [the Dhamma] profound and true, sweet as amata, one of insight

531. Obtains the greatest joy, rare even for the chief of the devas(411); that very fruit is enough for him, be there no other in the next world(326).

532. Here in this life there is no comprehending the True Dhamma without listening to it; without comprehension there is no finding out the meaning.

533. And, without finding the meaning, one is indeed incapable of practice to benefit oneself or another.

534. Without study [of the Scriptures], the Dhamma can never continue; without listening [to the Dhamma], study [of the Scriptures can never continue] - therefore, listening [to the Dhamma] is noble.

535. Since the True Dhamma, although put together by the Teacher with effort lasting many hundreds of kappas, is not established without listening to it;

536. So, with due regard for the excellence of His effort, the True Dhamma should indeed be listened to even by one already in sight of nibbāna.

(529) v.l. analliyanti, 'they do not cling'; preferred (m.c.), cf. anabhīrami, Ja III 30.
Listening: to the Dhamma.
537. Other than the Well-farer, who can measure the fruit of that 
listening which brings about increase in wisdom and is the cause of 
continuance of the True Dhamma?

538. Even if able to go straight to the kingdom of the devas at that very 
moment, one should still listen to the Dhamma come from the 
Well-farer and not choose that [kingdom]!
The verses about the advantages accruing 
from listening are finished (Saddh-s).

XIV. VERSES ABOUT THE ADVANTAGES ACCRUING 
FROM PAYING HOMAGE

539. Leaving behind conceit and showing reverence, enquiring into 
virtue as well as service of similar [quality]

540. And equipped with faith, gratitude, wisdom and reverence and so 
on, whoever truly pays homage, by way of salutation and the like 
to those rich in virtue beginning with the Buddha(234) as well as 
benefactors,

541. Is then reborn in a rich family, very exalted(541), truly deserving 
the salutation of those who are fearless.

542. Wherever a being who does honour(542) is reborn, he obtains there 
a distinguished position worthy of honour.

543. Indeed by means of the fruit of graciousness to a being worthy of 
grace, a man becomes gracious, faultless in every limb.

544. By the fruit of the meritorious action performed, what is done even 
for an ingrate by one grateful and virtuous will be profitable,

545. But what(545) was done in a former life by an ingrate to a grateful 
person, though as big as a high mountain, is seen to be exceedingly 
small.

546. Therefore a wise man, not spoiling [with ingratitude] the deeds of 
his former benefactor, should do service according to his ability.

547. A wise man doing deeds of merit with wisdom foremost becomes 
one possessed of exceeding wisdom, even at the very moment of 
enjoying [that] fruit.

548. Becoming rich in virtue himself, he pays homage to the Buddha's 
disciples, they who are rich in virtue; only the Chief of Those Rich 
in Virtue will know the fruit for that(548) [wise man].

549. 'For one always behaving dutifully and respecting the elders, four 
things increase: life span, beauty, comfort and strength!(549).

550. 'Offering a single flower, I have not known rebirth in the realm of 
misery for eighty kōsis of kappas - this is the fruit of a single 
flower!(550).

551. 'And homage to those worthy of homage - this is the greatest 
maṅgalal!(551). The success of paying homage is thus indeed 
illustrated by verses such as this and also by others.

552. And even making one añjali to the Buddha, the Dhamma and the 
Saṅgha is sufficient to quench entirely the fire of the suffering of 
rebirth.

553. If, with this foul body, weak, subject to dissolution, and necessarily 
to be abandoned, one is able [to perform meritorious action] of 
great fruit,

554. [With this body] which is worthless, to perform meritorious action 
worthy and bringing noble comforts - who indeed, being aware, 
would lead his life without performing it?

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(541) Read utidodite; cf. verse 442.
utidodite: 'with prosperity increasing daily' (Saddh-s).

(542) pūjaksanto | pūjako santo.

(545) What assistance (Saddh-s).

(548) v.l. pūjavyantassa hi phalam, 'the fruit for the man paying homage to the 
Buddha's disciples ...'

(549) Quoted from Dhp 109; cf. AN II 63; cf. verses 234,511,602.

(550) Quoted from Th 96, Nett 138.

(551) Quoted from Pj I 3.
The verses about the advantages accruing from paying homage are finished (Saddh-s).

**XV. VERSES ABOUT THE ADVANTAGES ACCRUING FROM HUMBLE SERVICE**

555. Finding helpers (128) in misfortune, the accomplishment of what is desired, and having the blessing of a retinue are thought to be the fruit of humble service.

556. And who will describe the fruit got by the humble service of deeds of giving and so on (556) to the sick and the virtuous?

557. 'Whosoever nurses the sick, nurses me!' (557) — thus he who does humble service is highly praised by Him of Great Mercy.

558. And by nursing the sick, how does one nurse the Best of Men, who knows all, sees all and is dependent only on Himself? What wonder of wonders is this?

559. That Sage sees that something done for the benefit of others is indeed benefit for oneself, therefore no matter for wonder is it that man is indeed His benefactor.

560. So one should have regard as much as one can to the nursing of the sick, which is of great virtue and praised (560) by the Completely Awakened One.

561. And other than the Leader, who is able to describe or even imagine the virtue of humble service to those Buddhas and so on (234) who are rich in virtue?

562. Even with body subject to dissolution, how could one not maddened (205), rational and intelligent, not perform this highest meritorious action (562), which is so easy to do?

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556. Giving and so on: showing honour and respect and so on (Saddh-s).


560. -vannito | -vannite.

562. The highest meritorious action: humble service (Saddh-s).

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563. A man who delights in praise (563) becomes full of delight (563), is always worthy of praise by the good and has a bright face.

564. Clearly explaining to those performing a deed of merit the virtue of it and causing good cheer, since he increases regard (564).

565. Then that praiser of the deed of merit obtains abundant meritorious action [for himself] just like the one who props up a tumbledown house (565).

566. For folk not believing in meritorious action but seeking comfort elsewhere, blinded by ignorance, cleaving to unprofitable action.

567. Overcome by sloth and associating with the ignorant — the one making them show respect for deeds of merit would indeed do the Teacher’s service (518).

568. And whatever are said to be the virtues of rejoicing in others’ merit and also of instructive teaching should all, where fitting, be applied to the gladdening.

The verses about the advantages accruing from gladdening are finished (Saddh-s).

**XVII. VERSES ABOUT THE ADVANTAGES ACCRUING FROM TAKING REFUGE**

569. Who would not take refuge in the Perfect One Who has freed himself from the depravities (251), is victorious in battle with the four Máras (569) and whose disposition is developed along with

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563. Praise: of meritorious action (Saddh-s).

Delight: wherever he is reborn (Saddh-s).

564. Regard: in his mind for that meritorious action (Saddh-s).

565. Repairs to buildings are very helpful towards the state of being without diversification (nippapañca); monks did repairs themselves; cf. Mil 263-4; Vin IV 32, 34, 48, 118.
570. Who will not take refuge in the True Dhamma, well preached by Him, which breaks up the fear of samsāra and was produced by the virtue of His compassion?

571. Who indeed will not take refuge in the Saṅgha, which has drunk the taste of amata, which is the vessel of the medicine of the True Dhamma, producing meritorious action?

572. [Gone to] the jewel triad free from the torment of the eleven fires, extremely cool like Lake Anotatta because of the virtue of compassion.

573. Gone for refuge, suffering cannot scorch him any more than a firebrand immersed in the great Lake Anotatta.

574. For the fearful seek refuge in river, mountain and forest glade; but what state of refuge is there in those places, where death lurks?

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(569) viṭāram: read viṭa-rām, 'overcoming' (PED).

Four Māras: Abhisākhāra-, Kileṣa-, Devaputta- and Maccu-māra (Saddh-s); cf. verse 449.

(570) Well preached: good in the beginning, in the middle and at the end (Saddh-s).

(571) -ramsam | -ram.

amatarasa: cf. Vism 665; the taste of amata is threefold (Saddh-s).

saddhammosadha: cf. Mil 110,335; the medicine of the True Dhamma is threefold (Saddh-s):

v.l. puṇṇākaram, 'a mine of meritorious action'.

(572) Text: delete full stop at end of line.

Eleven fires: rāga, dosa, moha, jāra, vyādhi, marana, soka, parideva, dukkha, domanassa and upāyāsa (Saddh-s).

Cool because 'the light of the sun and of the moon never falls directly on the water ... (which) is always cool' (annavatāpta) (PPN s.v. Anotatta).

(573) anotattām abhāsare | anotattamahāsare.

(574) Cf. Dhp 188.

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575. For anyone who takes refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha, there is no encounter with death.

576. Alas, the authority of the King of Ignorance is powerful! Blinded by it, a person repeatedly takes refuge in the faulty.

577. And any man taking refuge in those in the grip of anger, lacking the power of compassion, comes pitifully again and again to the midst of the sea of existence, the sea filled with the crocodiles of death.

578. But for one who has taken refuge in Him Who is the Best of Men, incomparable, unequalled, the Hero Who Crushes the Army of Death, there is indeed no fear from all the battles in the world.

579. Therefore, kings who take refuge in the lordly mountain of the Perfect One approach the escape (from samsāra) which is free from the fear of death and so forth and free from the deprivations (without fight).

The verses about the advantages accruing from taking refuge are finished (Saddh-s).

XVIII. VERSES ABOUT THE ADVANTAGES ACCRUING FROM MINDFULNESS

580. 'At whatever time', O Mahānāma, 'the Ariyan disciple keeps in mind the Perfect One, the True Dhamma and the Saṅgha too,

581. 'At that time his mind is indeed not possessed with passion and so
582. Whatever righteous action such as giving one truly keeps in mind, the fruit of keeping it in mind (582) is fame appropriate to each righteous action.

583. And whatever joy there is for a good man keeping in mind only one virtue of the Buddha, there is not [that joy] for one who has obtained dominion even over the three states of existence (29).

584. For one keeping Him in mind, the great fires of passion, anger and delusion are quite extinguished in a moment, like fires by a great flood.

585. Who else (585) will measure the meritorious action of one remembering Him Whose own keeping of the special subjects in mind for the sake of other beings was continuous for a very long time?

586. At the moment of keeping in mind the jewels (213) there is not even the least fear of humans and nonhumans, nāgas, disease or fire.

587. Therefore one desirous of the cessation of samsāra should continually be mindful, full of reverence for the Buddha, [the Dhamma and the Saṅgha, the jewel (213) triad] worthy to keep in mind.

The verses about the advantages accruing from mindfulness are finished (Saddh-s).

XIX. VERSES ABOUT THE ADVANTAGES ACCRUING FROM HEEFDULNESS

588. The Guide, putting together all meritorious action and distinguishing the fruit of it, specifically gave praise in the

(580-1) Cf. AN V 328ff.

(582) cānussati phalam | cānussatiphalam.

(585) Who else: other than the Buddha (Saddh-s).

589. Not shared with others, [meritorious action] is the treasure not to be taken away by thieves (589); with it one obtains all, [that is,] individual awakening and Buddha-hood.

590. [The Buddha-land] is resplendent with the lustre of the sun of the knowledge of the Omniscient One, taking up the coolness provided by the full moon of compassion.

591. [It is] made bright by the great planets of the ten pure powers of the Buddha, crowded at all points of the compass with the healing-stars of the righteous actions (591).

592. [It is] everywhere enclosed by the high mountains of the Buddha’s Dhammas, [mountains with] ridges of the gold and jewels of pure unique knowledge (592).

593. [It is] embellished perpetually by the lions of perfect self-confidence (593) living comfortably and confidently (593) in the

(588) -kaññam hi | -kaññamhi.

nidhikaññam: nidhikañña sutta (Saddh-s with Ms.); cf. Khp 8:3.

(589) Cf. Pj I 224.

(591) Planets: Buddha, Brahmā (the planet Jupiter (MW)) and so on (Saddh-s).

Ten powers: perfect comprehension in the ten fields of knowledge (PED); see MN I 69.

Healing-stars: cf. ‘morning-star, Venus (PED s.v. osadhi); It 27; Pj 12 etc.

Righteous actions: ten, see PED s.v. sīla.

(592) Dhammas: six, cf. Mil 276, 285; see also Mil tr. Horner 1964, p.110 f.n.; eighteen (Saddh-s): see list PED s.v. Buddhadamma

v.1 siddhi; ‘meaning:

Knowledge: eight kinds, nāṇa-dassana, manomaya-kāya, iddhi, dibhā-sota,

ceco-pariyāna, pubbe-nivāsatussatiṇī, cutupapatti-nāṇa and āsavāpañcahaya-nāṇa (PED s.v. vijjjā).
594. With rising flags of Merus (594) of steadfastness, stirred not by the wind of worldly concern, with the riches of the realm of the application of mindfulness, and fanned by the breeze of effort (594),

595. [It is] sprinkled all over with the rain showers of the instruction of the True Dhammas, strewn with the blossoms of the factors of awakening, and has the straight highway of the Path (595).

596. [It is] surrounded by the ocean of virtues (596), with the faultless surface of good conduct, splendid. That Buddha-land indeed obtained by noble heroes (596) in the world

597. Is eminent above all other lands. If [even it] is obtained with meritorious action, would there be anything indeed not possible to obtain in the world with meritorious action?

598. Indeed all meritorious action without exception thrives in human existence; like mountain-rivers, lightning and the moon’s watery reflection and so on, that [human existence] is inconstant.

599. Therefore, having obtained this noble opportunity which promotes every benefit (599) you must all make effort, just like those whose clothes and heads are afire (599).

600. Relying on those good companions (600) who are mines of virtue worthy of respect and putting heedlessness well aside, heedfulness alone should be practised.

601. 'Heedlessness is the cause of all faults!' (601), it is declared; likewise it is considered that heedfulness is the cause of all virtues (601).

602. Rooted in the imagination of the perverse idea that 'there is beauty, comfort, permanence and self' (602), heedlessness leads to misery.

603. Accordingly one sees the body, which is impure, disgusting, evil-smelling, full of worms and most loathsome, to be lovable.

604. Like fire brought in the hands by transferring [it] from one hand to the other, the [body] can only be supported, with great difficulty, by using the four postures (604) in succession.

605. The body is subject to dissolution, dependent on others and dependent on the necessities of life. Seeing a little chance of relief (605), one falls into delusion (605) from the notion (605) that there is comfort.

606. Thought immediately following thought, continuing without interruption, rises up and falls back like the flame of a lamp;

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v.l. viśaṁśa, 'without fear'.
Assembly: fourfold, bhikkhus, nuns, laymen and laywomen (PED s.v. pariśā); cf. verse 277

(594) -meru dhaj- | -merudhaj-.
Application of mindfulness: fourfold, cf. DN II 290 sq.
Effort: fourfold, cf. DN III 225.

Factors of awakening: seven, cf. DN II 303; cf. 495 f.n.; see PED s.v. bojjaṁga.
Path: the Noble Eightfold Path, cf. Vyu 996 etc.

Heroes: Buddhas (Saddh- s).

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(599) laddhāsabba- | laddhā sabba-.
Cf. AN II 93 etc.

(600) Good companions, 'mentors': kalyāṇamitta, cf. Pp 24, 37, 41.

(601) Quotations not traced.

(602) Cf. Vism 683; cf. verses 234, 511, 549.

(604) Four postures: walking, standing, sitting and lying down; see BHSD s.v. āśīryāpavaha.

(605) v.l. patikārakaraṇa, 'making of relief':
mayhate | mayhate.
saṁaṇa, 'notion': one of the five khandhas; see PED s.v. khandha.
607. So a heedless person accepts the thought that the stream of consciousness is permanent, not seeing the impermanence therein on account of its brief appearance.

608. In this five-khandha complex [body], which is weak, dependent on the necessities of life and worthless, [kiriya] is brought about by the coming together of the body, the sense faculties and consciousness, just as fire arises from sun-gems, fuel, or the sun.

609. 'There is a self', one thinks, not understanding kiriya(609). Thinking thus, one is caught in Māra’s snare called craving;

610. Caught, one is the plaything [of Māra], just like the fish who swallowed the fish-hook because of its craving for food(610).

611. But, by being heedful, one enters into the true nature of things; entering into the true nature of things, one sees nothing estimable(611).

612. Then, seeing the three states of existence(29) to be worthless, subject to dissolution and full of suffering, one is utterly disgusted with them like one who has dwelt(612) long in nāraka.

613. Then one shuns beings and the saṅkhāra and finds no pleasure in them; non-attached and attentive, one is soon released(613).

614. The doctrine of the Protector, Who has an eye for worth, has vimutti for its worth; for one living heedfully that vimutti(614) is not difficult to obtain.

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(609) kiriya: deeds such as the origin of alokana and vilokana (Saddh-s).

(610) Cf. Mahā-ummagga Ja VI 416.

(611) Not estimable: because of trṣṇā, ditthi and māna (Saddh-s).

(612) -vattho | -vutto.

(613) Released from the defilements through his knowledge of insight (Saddh-s).

(614) vimutto | vimutti.

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615. Therefore a respectful(615) person earnestly desiring the highest station reached by the greatest heroes(596) should live heedfully.

The verses about the advantages accruing from heedfulness are finished (Saddh-s).

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616. For Buddhasoma was thus composed this gift-offering of the True Dhamma, profound, of faultless and abundant meaning. For those fearful of texts,

617. For the foolish who do not know the ways(617) of Dhamma discourse, let [this gift] which does not deviate from accordance with the suttas and is brief, be easy to understand!

618. 'May the True Dhamma continue for a long time, and may those who know the Dhamma by heart continue on here(618)! May the Saṅgha be harmonious! May the whole world be happy(618,619)!

619. 'By the meritorious action produced by my effort to compose the gift-offering of the True Dhamma, may all folk be able to leave the three worlds(29) behind!'

620. Having gained existence as a human being in a Buddhist-period(14f.n.)(620) and become a monk in the order - O Bhikkhu, it is not proper to be heedless!

621. As a kiki-hen her egg, as a yak-cow her tail, as [a mother] her dear child, or as [a person] his only eye - guard good conduct, be ye

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(615) Respect: for that Dhamma, nibbāna (Saddh-s).
The highest station: nibbāna (Saddh-s).

(617) -kathāna vānaḥhi | kathānayānabhi.

(618) Here: in this teaching (Saddh-s).

(618,619) In the Ms. these two lines follow 620,621.

(620) Buddhapādena | Buddhuppādena.
respectful always, behave properly(621)!

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Thus is completed the gift of a commentary on 'The Gift-offering of the True Dhamma’

made by the Venerable Ānanda Thera (Ms.).

May there be success! (Saddh-s.)

622. (1)‘Benefiting from this meritorious action, may friends seen(1), friends unseen(1) and all worthy men whatsoever attain the state of bliss(1-8)!

623. (2)‘Benefiting from this meritorious action, may kings and kings of kings,(2) and the good both mortal and immortal gain the state of bliss!

624. (3)‘Benefiting from this meritorious action, may all beings and creatures both beneficial and non-beneficial to me awaken to the state of bliss!’

This is the transference of merit,

the rejoicing [in others’ merit]!*

625. (4)‘[I myself] going repeatedly through samsāra from life to life until the attainment of nībbāna, gaining rebirth in accordance with the Three Root-Conditions(4) by means of the knowledge of the

remembrance of former births,

626. (5)‘[I myself] fulfilling all the perfections(328) at each arising of a Buddha, like Maṅgala become the Completely Awakened One without superior in the world,

627. (6)‘And bringing benefit for beings going repeatedly through samsāra and taking them in the Ship(6) of the Dhamma, may I help them across the flood of existence!

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Verses 7 and 8 are not in the Ms. text, but occur at the end of Saddh-s;

instead the Ms. has:

'May there be good fortune! May I become a Self-Dependent One!'

628. (7)Thus with various names and with glory, insight directed towards leading to uprising(7) was purified by the Great Isi:

629. (8)Former application, great learning, the language of the country and tradition, questioning, study, likewise support of teachers and abundance of friends(600) are the grounds for analytical knowledge(8).

May there be success! (Saddh-s).

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(621) Verse quoted from Vism 36.
Respectful: towards the six: Buddha, Dhamma, Saṅgha, sikkhā, appamāda and pātissanthāra (PED s.v. gārava).

(1) v.l. dalha, firm.
Cf. Sn 143.
(1-8) In the text. verses 622-29 are numbered 1-8.

(2) Rajārajā: Rajā rājā.

(*) This: verses 1, 2 and 3.
pattidānānumodāyī (sinh.) not in Ms. text; occurs at end of sanne.

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(4) Three Root-Conditions: alobha, adosa and amoha (PED s.v. kusalamūla).


(7) Cf. Vism 661.
Uprising. from jhāna-meditation (PED s.v. vutthāna).

(8) Quoted from Vism 442.
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 occurs in either CPD or PED, but with inappropriate meaning. Commonly occurring Pāli words including technical terms are included only if they appear in the translation or in footnotes.

*akatāgas 294: cf. sa. agaskrta, 'evil-doing'.
*auggaṃ puññaṃ visodhitā 321: the highest meritorious action has been purified (Pāli idiom).
Aṅgārapabbata 195: 'mountain of white hot coal', a niraya; AN I 141, Mil 303.
ajavata 90f.n.: vow to live after the fashion of goats (practice of certain ascetics).
aṇjali 552: lifting up the hands in reverence.
*aṇāṇāya 69,84,381: improbity.
adosa 625(4)f.n.: absence of ill will.
anaccharan(Ms.) 559: cf. (an-)ascheran PED.
an-achādīta 106: not decked.
anatta 365f.n.: no self.
anavatapta 572f.n.: not heated.
anāgāmi 236f.n.: the Path of one who does not return (in rebirth).
anubhossāmi 300: I shall experience.
Anuruddha 475: first cousin of Gotama Buddha; a disciple.
Anotatta 572-3: one of the seven great lakes of Himavā.
anottappaṃ 357f.n.: lack of moral dread.
apacitī 213f.n.: honour, reverence.
apāya 43: transient state of loss and woe after death.
appanāsamādhī 479f.n.: attainment concentration existing during jhāna-meditation.
apamāda 621f.n.: heedfulness.
abhāvanumodana 213f.n.: rejoicing [in others' merit].
*aḥāva 266,268,519: absence; late Pāli, only in Commentary style (PED).
abhisaṅkhāra 449f.n.,569f.n.: accumulation (of kamma, merit or demerit).
*a-macca 2: immortal.
amata 1 etc.: deathlessness, nibbāna.
amoha 625(4)f.n.: absence of delusion.
*aya 177: good luck, happiness.
Arahatta-magga 236f.n.: the Path of an Arahat.
Arahat 1,71f.n.,234f.n.: one who has attained nibbāna.
Arindama 276: a Bodhisatta who gave to Sikh Buddha suitable gifts to the height of an elephant.

Ariya-Path 495f.n.: the Noble Eightfold Path.
arūpa 583f.n.: without form, immaterial.
arūpa-jhāna 463,464: late Pāli (PED sv. jhāna).
arūpaloka 29f.n.: the formless world.
alobha 625(4)f.n.: absence of greed.
*avākkhaṇḍiya 450: without pause.
avijjā 1f.n.: ignorance.
Avicī 37,180,194: 'No-interval', one of the eight great hells.
Aśvins 420f.n.: twin divinities, the physicians of heaven, who appear in the sky in a golden carriage.
asāka 35: not passing on.
asampattā 56: not become.
Asipattana 194: 'word-leaf-wood', a secondary niraya; Sn 673.
Asura 366,436: opponent of the gods.
asavata 90f.n.: vow to live after the fashion of horses (practice of certain ascetics).
āhirikaṃ 357f.n.: shamelessness.
āsāro ... kattabbo 207: one should exert oneself for.
Āditya 420f.n.: class of deities.
ālokāna 609f.n.: (clear) sight.
*āvajjīta 433: diverted over; '?turned to, adverted to, considered, reflected' (CPD Saddh 433 cited).
*āvāta 33: pit (?CPD bhav-āvate, 'existence hindered, rejected, shut off').
*āsajja 575: having encountered.
*āsāta 102: face-condition; cf. Geiger 1943, p.76.
āsava 1: mind-intoxicant.
āsavaṃ khaṇāna 420f.n.: knowledge of extinction of mind intoxicants.
*aṭjā 84: desires (Saddh-s).
iddhi 32 etc.: psychic power (ten); one of the abhiññas.
iddhi-pāda 495f.n.: basis of psychic power.
Inda 41: (Indra), identified with Sakka, the chief of the gods.
Indriya 261f.n.,495f.n.,519f.n.: sense faculty.
Isi 200,628(7); (rī), inspired holy man.
*ucita 35: fitness.
*uruddhā- 137: vomiting out.
*uddisitvāna 502: cf. uddissa, for.
uddhaccam 357f.n.: (mental) restlessness.
*upakattā 499: cf. sa. upakartr, 'helper'.
*upakappati 501,504: '?is beneficial to, serves, accrues' (PED, Saddh 501,504 cited).
*upalājīta 301: lulled; '?caressed' (CPD, Saddh 301 cited).
*upasama 587: cessation (?'calm' CPD Saddh 587 cited).
*(u)pasādhīya 320: '?to be subdued' (CPD, Saddh 320 cited); see pasādhīya.
upāyāsa 572f.n.: discomposure.
uposatha 439: weekly fast-day (before the 1st, 8th, 15th and 23rd nights of the lunar month) on which the Buddhist Saṅgha assembles to recite the pāṭimokkha.
Ekapuggala Sutta 44: group of suttas on the uniqueness of the Tathāgata, quoted in Kathāvatthu and Milindapañha.
*era 349: kind of grass; one of the four 'great treasures' (BHSD s.v. elapatra).
*kanna 588: section; cf. kanda PED.
kappa 256 etc.: time cycle, world period.
kappataru 319f.n.: tree in Indra's paradise.
kamma 56 etc.: action, good or bad, in relation to actor or act.
*kammunā 485: 'rare instrumental form' (PED s.v. kamma); cf. Samantak 685.
Kassapa 392,472: Elder; see also Mahā-Kassapa.
kāma 1f.n. etc.: sensual pleasure.
kāla 232f.n.: time.
*Kālahaththi 195: 'black elephant' torture, a niraya; not traced; cf. Kālasutta hell, Ja V 266; cf. Mus 1939, p.231.
Kālidāsa 192f.n.: India's greatest poet, probably late fourth-early fifth century A.D.
kāya 5f.n.,261f.n.: body.
kik 621: blue jay.
kiriya 609: non-causative action ending in itself; action as bringing effect.
kīlesa 211f.n. etc.: defilement: greed, hate, delusion, conceit, speculative views, sceptical doubt, mental torpor, restlessness, shamelessness and lack of moral dread (Nyanatiloka p.105).
kukkuravata 90f.n.: vow to live after the fashion of dogs (practice of certain ascetics).
*kunīcita 102: cf. sa. kruć-, shrunk.
Kuvera 420f.n.: ruler of the northern quarter, Uttarakuru; lord of the yakha demi-gods.
kūjati 145f.n.: makes any inarticulate sound.
koṭi 512,550: very high number, 100,000.
Koṭiṣimbha 194: cf. sa. kūṭasālmali, cotton plant of fable; silk-cotton (kapok) tree, a secondary niraya; Ja V 275.
Komārabhacca 351: (Jivaka), celebrated physician, lay follower of Gotama Buddha.
khattiya 420: class of Aryan descent including all kings and chieftains.
khandha 449f.,605f.n.,608: elements of sensory existence.
*khandhapānačaka 608: mind-body complex.
Khārodikānadi 194: river of lye, a secondary niraya; MN III 185.
khitta 116: dismissed.
khobetukāna 67: desiring to disturb.

*Saddhammopāyana Translation

*gaṭamaraṇa 495: free from death.
gati 232f.n.: course of existence (two, the sugatis).
gandha 214f.n.: scent.
gaha 214f.n.: house.
*gaha- 591: planet.
*gahana 12,532: comprehension.
*gādhā 394: safe place, ford; 'hode' PED, Saddh 394 cited.
Gūthā 194: 'dung', a secondary niraya; MN III 185, Ja VI 8.
govata, govratā 90f.n.: vow to live after the fashion of cattle (practice of certain ascetics).
gaha 214f.n.: bowl.
gāhā 5f.n.,261f.n.: nose.
acakha 5f.n.,261f.n.: eye.
cāga 213f.n.: liberality.
Cātumahārājīka 240f.n.: the Four Kings and their retinue, inhabiting the lowest of the six deva-worlds.
*cintāpara 166: lost in thought.
cintāmaṇi 319f.n.,415f.n.: thought-jewel.
civara 474: mendicant's upper robe.
cutūpiṇḍīnāma 420f.n.: knowledge of disappearance and reappearance in transmigration.
cetiya 428,430: shrine.
cetopariṇāma 420f.n.,592f.n.: penetrating knowledge of the mind (of another).
Jambudipa 23,392: (India), one of the four great continents grouped around Mount Sineru.
*jara 288: fever.
*jalāsaya 246: reservoir (Saddh-s).
jīvha 5f.n.,261f.n.: tongue.
Jivaka 351f.n.: see Komārabhacca.
Jetavana 512: a park in the town Sāvatthi where Gotama Buddha spent the greater part of his monastic life.
nāha 235 etc.: special religious experience in meditation, reached in a certain order of mental states; it comprises the four rūpa-jhānas plus the four arūpa-jhānas achieved through samādhi-concentration.
Tāvatiṃsa 240f.n.: the second of the six deva-worlds, the realm of the Thirty Gods.
Tipīṭaka 344f.n.: the Three Baskets or main divisions of the Pāli Canon (Vinaya-, Suttanta-, Abhidhamma-pitaka).
*tirogata 130: disappeared.
Tusita 240f.n.: 'full of joy', the fourth of the six deva-worlds.
tṛṣṇā (tāṇhā) 611f.n.: craving.
thīna 357f.n.: sloth.
dāṇa 110f.n.: open assault.
*dāṇḍiyanto 187: 'being punished' (cf. sa. dāṇḍa-).
dāna 110f.n.: bribery; 213f.n.: giving.
diṭṭhi 1f.n., 357f.n., 611f.n.: (false) view.
diṭṭha’ ujuka-kamma 213f.n.: straightening [one’s right] views.
dibbācakkhu 592f.n.: superhuman eye.
dibbasota 592f.n.: superhuman ear.
dukkha 15f.n., 365f.n., 467f.n., 572f.n.: suffering.
dukkhanirodha 467f.n.: extinction of suffering.
dukkhanirodhagāminipāṭipadā 467f.n.: means leading to extinction of suffering.
*dukkhamo 201: difficult to endure (Saddha-ś).
dukkhasamudaya 467f.n.: rise of suffering.
deva 240 etc.: god.
devaṭā 213f.n.: deity.
devaputta 449f.n., 569f.n.: demigod.
desanā 213f.n.: instructive teaching.
domanassa 572f.n.: sad-mindedness.
dosa 211f.n.: hatred.
Dharaṭṭha 420f.n.: ruler of the eastern quarter; lord of the gandhabba
demigods.
Dhamma 2 etc.: cf. Dharma COD.
*na akkāyena pattabbaṃ 191,237: indescribable, cannot be attained by
telling (idiomatic).
Nanda 473: half-brother of Gotama Buddha; a disciple.
Nandana 248: chief park in Tāvatīṃsa.
naraka 5f.n., 32, 126, 370, 492, 612: niraya-
nāga 436, 586: serpent demon.
Nāvāsutta 627(6)f.n.: (Dhamma Sutta), Sn 316-23.
Nibbāna 1 etc.: cf. nirvāna COD.
Nibbūti 415, 519: ceasing, extinction, nibbāna.
Nimmānaraṭṭa 240f.n.: 'delighting in own creation', the fifth of the six
deva-worlds; DN I 218 etc.
iviala 7 etc.: no 'happiness/good luck'; hell.
niruddha 15f.n.: extinction (opposite of samudaya).
*pakkhandaṭṭhi 602: falls into.
paccaya 232 etc.: necessities of daily life, especially those (four) of a
bhikkhu (see verse 309f.n.); technical term: one of twenty-four factors
forming the causal chain of causality (paticca-samuppāda).
Pacceka-buddha 324f.n.: self-awakened Buddha, who cannot preach the
way of deliverance to others.
pañña 1f.n.: wisdom.
*pāññāsa 239: fifty (of time); ?PED 'does not occur' s.v. pañca.
*pāṭibhāvitya 24: to observe.
pāṭiṭsantiḥāra 621f.n.: 'friendly welcome'.
*pattā 56: become.
patti-anuppadāna 213f.n.: transference of merit.
payoga 232f.n.: (success of) means; 60, 61, 63: practice (as opposed to
theory).
Paranirmitavasavattī 240f.n., 439: 'created by others', the sixth
(highest) of the six deva-worlds.
*parikappitā 362, 602: imagined; 'inclined etc.' PED, Saddha 362, 602
cited.
*parikūjanta 145: crying aloud; cf. kuṭi; PED 'meaning?' Saddha 145
cited.
*pariggayha 501: having accepted.
parideva 572f.n.: lamentation.
paripāta 571: drunk (?PED 'very dear' Saddha 571 cited).
parihāra 227: answer.
*pāsādhi 414: promoting.
*pāsādhiya 320: to be gained.
pāṭimokkha 342, 355, 449: disciplinary code, collection of precepts in the
Vinaya recited for confession.
*pāpaka 467: leading to.
*pidakha 321: closed; cf. paridhāta.
pisāca 313: demon.
Puṇṇa 473: Elder born in the Sunāparanta country; see s.v. 1.Puṇṇa
PPN.
Puṇṇa 4(2) 475: Elder ordained in Kapilavatthu; see s.v. 6.Puṇṇa PPN.
pubbenivāsaussatiṇaṃ 592f.n.: knowledge of remembrance of former
births.
peta 9 etc.: ghost.
petaloka 97f.n.: peta-world.
*pēsā 479: easy (?PED 'never occurs by itself').
bala 495f.n.: power.
*bāliya 359: ignorant.
Buddha 214, 575, 620: one awakened.
Bṛhaspati 591f.n.: a deity.
bojjhaṅgas 495f.n., 595f.n.: factors of enlightenment.
bodhipakkhiyadhamma 495f.n.: requisites of enlightenment.
Bohisatta 334: a being seeking to become a Buddha.
brahma 255 etc.: a brahma-god, inhabitant of the brahma-world.
brahma 71 etc.: cf. brahman COD.
brahmavata, brahmavara 90f.n.: brahman's vow.
Brahmā 41 etc.: chief of the gods.
bhava 1f.n.: existence.
*bhāvato 416-9, 540-1: truly.
bhāvanā 213f.n., 451f.n.: mental development: samathabhāvāna
(development of tranquillity i.e. samādhi) and vipassanabhāvāna
(development of insight i.e. pañña).
bhikkhu 593f.n., 620: mendicant.
bheda 110f.n.: sowing dissension.
magga 15f.n., 236f.n.: the Noble Eightfold Path.
Magha 420f.n.: name of Sakka in previous birth.
maṅgala 551: auspicious ceremony.
Maṅgala 626(5): third of the twenty-four Buddhas.
maccu 449f.n., 569f.n.: Death.
mada 211f.n.: infatuation.
Maddi 218: wife of Vessantara who gave her, and their two children, to be slaves.
mano 356f.n.: mind.
manomayiddhi 592f.n.: psychic power of spiritual creation.
Mantani 475: mother of Puṇḍara(2).
mantra 481: cf. mantra COD.
marana 572f.n.: death.
Mahā-ummagga 610f.n.: 'great tunnel'.
Mahā-Kassapa 392f.n., 472f.n.: Elder; see PPN s.v. 1 Mahā-Kassapa; he expended all his energies in good deeds.
Mahānāma 580: a Sakyan of Kapilavatthu; AN V 328ff.
Mahābrahmā: see Brahmā.
*Mahāyanta 195: 'great machine', a niraya; not traced; cf. Pañca-g 37, MkP 14 71,88.
*mātuto 172: cf. mātita PED.
mātsarya 211f.n.: avarice.
māna 211f.n., 357f.n., 611f.n.: conceit.
Māra 318 etc.: Death, the Evil One, the Tempter.
mālā 214f.n.: garland.
Meru 347, 447, 594: see Sineru.
mokkha 228, 264-5: liberation.
Moggallāna 472: the second of the Chief Disciples of Gotama Buddha.
mohā 211 etc.: delusion.
yak 621: cf. yak COD.
*yatratthā 251: cf. sa. yatratthā, where staying.
Yama 287: ruler of the kingdom of the dead.
*Yavana 160: originally Ionian, Greek; later Mohammedan or European, any foreigner or barbarian.
*yasobhāgin 475: rich in glory.
Yāmā 240f.n.: Yama's Underworld, third of the six deva-worlds; Vin I 12.
yogi 468: disciple applied to mental concentration.
yojana 122 etc.: measure of length.
*yojjā 508: to be applied.
rakkhasa 313, 366: demon.
Raṭṭhapāla 473: Elder, see MN II 54ff.
rāgā 519f.n., 572f.n., 581f.n.: passion, lust.
Rudras 420f.n.: fierce beings, sons of the demon Rudra.
rūpa 29f.n., 583f.n.: form, fine-materiality.
Roruva 195: 'loud howling', a niraya; Ja III 299, VI 237.
lobha 357f.n.: greed.
Lohakumbhi 195: 'iron cauldron', a niraya; Ja III 22, V 269.
*vañcita 304: cf. vañcana, 'illusion'.

Vasu 420f.n.: class of god.
vastra 214f.n.: garment.
*vikappiya 358: to be vainly imagined; ?to be designed' (PED).
vīcikkhā 357f.n.: sceptical doubt.
Vinaya 344, 449: see Tipiṭaka.
vippasaṇa 592f.n.: insight.
*vibhāvin 382: causing to appear (?PED 'intelligent').
vimutti 1f.n., 614: deliverance.
vimuttiṇānadassana 1f.n.: insight of the knowledge of deliverance.
Virūpakkha 420f.n.: ruler of the western quarter, lord of the nāga demons.
Virūḍhaka 420f.n.: ruler of the southern quarter, lord of the kumbhāṇḍa demons.
vilepana 214f.n.: ointment.
viḷokana 609f.n.: reflection.
*vividhāna 107: increasing.
*vivasa 291: powerless.
Vissakamma 247f.n.: chief architect, designer and decorator among the devas.
*vissambha 172: cessation.
vihāra 428 etc.: forest abode, later monastery.
veyyāvacca 213f.n.: humble service.
Velāma 446, 490: Bodhisatta famous for almsgiving; AN IV 393f.
Vessavana 420f.n.: see Kuvera.
*vyākula- 103: dishevelled (?PED 'perplexed' Saddh '403' cited).
vyādhi 572f.n.: sickness.
saṃsāra 13 etc.: transmigration.
sakadāgāmi 236f.n.: one who will not be reborn on earth more than once.
Sakka 411f.n.: chief of the gods.
*sāṅkīṃṭha 591: crowded with.
saṅkhāra 613: kamma-formation of merit or demerit, etc.
Saṅgha 2 etc.: the Order.
Saṅghāta 195: 'crushing' /*crowded', a niraya; Ja V 256, 270.
saṅnā 605f.n.: perception.
saṅkāraṇa 621f.n.: speaking about the nouns with special meanings.
*sāṅnītā 61, 64, 72: cf. sa. saṃnītva, state of being conscious of.
satiṣṭhāna 368f.n., 495f.n.: application of mindfulness.
sanne 624(3)f.n.: (sinh.) explanation.
*samanuvijñātha 599: apply.
sambhāri 1f.n., 460, 470: concentrated, self-collected, intent state of mind and meditation; the last link in the Noble Eightfold Path; through it the four rūpajīhānas are achieved.
samāpatti 465: (nine) attainments, a name for the four rūpajīhānas plus the four arūpajīhānas plus nirodha attainment.
*saṁuttha 144: cf. utthāta Samantak 666; see atthata (PED); cf. sa. saṃsastrī, 'covered over'.
samudaya 15f.n.: arising, origin.
*samuddi 144f.n.: ?samuddi-tāpa- from sa. samud-dī, 'burst asunder', plus -tāpa- 'heat'.
*samuddi 144f.n.: ?samudda-tāpa- from sa. mrd. 'crush', plus -tāpa-, 'torment'.
*samuddita 144 f.n.: ?samuddita-āpa- from sa. mrd. 'squeeze, crush', plus -āpa- 'water'.
*samupaṭṭhāti 283: occurs, arises (?PED 'serves' Saddh 283 cited).
sampatti 232f.n.: attainment.
sammāppadhāna 495f.n.: right exertion.
sarira 232f.n.: body.
*sāliha 168: playfully (?PED 'water' Saddh 168 cited).
savaṇa 213f.n.: listening [to the Dhamma].
*savisesā 500: in detail.
Sasapaṇḍita 276f.n.: the Wise Hare.
*saha(Ms.) 397,406: sineha.
Sahampati 422: a Mahābrahma.
*sādhitaṭṭhata 21: to be demonstrated.
*sāman 110: conciliatory words.
*sāmīdha 442: cf. sa. sāmīdha, 'fortune' .
Sāriputta 472,503: the Chief Disciple of Gotama Buddha; Rūpasāri was his mother.
*sāsapi 257: ṣāṣapa.
*sikkhā 621f.n.: training.
siddhi 592f.n.: accomplishment.
Sineru 262: mountain forming the centre of the world.
simbalī 186: silk-cotton (kapok) tree in hell.
Sivī 38f.n.: King Sivi gave his eyes to a blind brahman.
sīla 1f.n. etc.: good conduct.
Sīha 274: in discussion with Gotama Buddha, he realised that a giver has his reward in this world itself (PPN).
*sugamata 617: easier to be understood.
sutta 44,581,616: text chapter, quotation.
Sudatta 513-4: Anāthapindika, a banker of Sāvatthi famous for his unparalleled generosity to the Buddha.
Sunāparanta 473: see Pūṇa.
Sunetra 484: a teacher; AN IV 103f.
seyyā 214f.n.: bed.
soka 572f.n.: grief.
Soṇa 475: Elder of the Kolivisa clan, who strove energetically.
sota 5f.n., 261f.n.: ear.
sotāpatti 236f.n.: entering upon the stream, conversion.
*hari 358: monkey.

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**PĀLI TEXTS**

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| AN | Áṅguttara-Nikāya |
| AN | Atthasaṅgī |
| Anāg | Anāgata-vamsa |
| Abhīdh | Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha |
| It | Itivuttaka |
| Ud | Udāna |
| Upāsa | Upāsakajānālaṅkāra |
| Kv | Kathā-vatthu |
| Kh | Khuddaka-pāṭha, repr. in Pj I |
| Ja | The Jātaka tog. with Ct. (Fausbólnl)I-VI, 1877-96 |
| Tel | Telakaṭāha-gāthā |
| Th | Thera-gāthā |
| Thī | Therī-gāthā |
| DN | Dīgha-Nikāya |
| Dhp | Dhammapada (Fausbólnl, 2edd.), Copenhagen 1855 & London 1900 [verses] |
| Dhs | Dhammasaṅgani |
| Nett | Netti-pakaranā |
| Pañca-g | Pañcagati-dīpani |
| Paṭise | Paṭisambhidā-magga |
| Paṭise-a | Ct. on Paṭis (Saddhama-pakāsini) Bangkok 1922 |
| Pj I | Paramattha-jotikā I |
| P | (Khuddaka-pāṭha-ṭhakathā) |
| Peṭ | Puggala-paṭṭātī |
| Peṭakopadesa | Paṭekopadesa |
| Pva | Peta-vatthu |
| Pva-a | Peta-vatthu-aṭṭhakathā |
| MN | Majjhima-Nikāya |
TWO NOTES ON Visuddhimagga IX.

I. The etymology of puggala.

Buddhaghosa’s etymological explanation of puggala is well-known: it has been remarked on in the PED s.v. puggala. The text reads:

Pun ti vuccati nirayo, tasmiṃ galanti ti puggalā; gagchanti ti attho.2

“There is a hell called pun; they are called puggala (‘individuals’) because they slip into it, meaning that they go to it.”

This is the kind of etymology found in many religious traditions; it is not to be understood as a linguistic comment but rather as a didactic remark. While such homiletic observations are not always as fussy about phonetics as linguists have to be, one may wonder why Buddhaghosa should have chosen an analysis of the word puggala which should yield puṅgala.

Buddhaghosa is referring to the brahminical etymology found in Manu:

Punnāmno narakād yasmāt trāyate pitaram sutaḥ
tasmāt putra iti proktah svayam eva svayaṃbhuvā.3

“The self-existent one himself called a son putra, because he saves (trāyate) his father from a hell called put.”

This in turn goes back to Yāska:

Putraḥ putra trāyate nipoṭanād vā puṃ narakaṃ tatas
trāyata iti vā.5

“The word is putra either because he saves much (puṭu) from offering rice to the dead or because put is a hell and he saves from that.”

In both these passages I have translated the name of the hell as put although the Sanskrit reads pun (of which puṃ is, before n, a mere graphic variant). The sandhi makes it ambiguous
whether the name is pun or put. However, the former would yield puntra, whereas the latter yields putra. According to Pāṇini a consonant other than h can always be doubled before or after r, so putra and putra are truly equivalent.6

If Buddhaghosa was calling the hell put, his etymology would work for Sanskrit just as well as for Pali: by regular sandhi it would yield pudgala, the Sanskrit form of puggala. His etymology of puggala, whether or not he invented it, is clearly a humorous and satirical reference to the brahmical etymology of putra. It makes little sense to posit that he knew the Sanskrit “etymology” without knowing its phonetics. So I propose that we must emend the text to read “Put ti vuccati ... ”.

II. An imperfect form in Pali.

A few paragraphs further on in the text,7 Buddhaghosa uses the form abhāsatha, “he said”. It comes at the end of an anuśṭubh line, so it is fairly well guaranteed by the metre. It is of course parallel to Sanskrit abhāsata, and the aspiration of the t recalls both the āmanepada aorist 3 sg. forms in -tha and the aspiration of the parasmaipada imperative 2 pl. which gives us forms like hota for the imperative as well as for the indicative. Several similar forms have been recorded by Geiger8: ajāyatha, samapajjatha, etc. These and other forms listed by Geiger as “of imperfect origin” make one wonder whether the description of Pali as lacking the imperfect (Sanskrit: lañ) is due to anything but the dead hand of tradition. Be that as it may, I mention abhāsatha here because the form, found close to the etymology discussed above, suggests to me that Buddhaghosa was thinking in Sanskrit. This in turn may serve to corroborate the tradition that he was born an Indian brahmin.

NOTES

1 I use the edition by H.C. Warren and D. Kosambi in the Harvard Oriental Series (Cambridge, Mass., 1950) and follow their punctuation.
2 IX,54, p. 257.
3 Manusmṛti IX,138.
4 In both Sanskrit passages I have translated “a hell”, because brahmans believe in many hells; but the translation “hell, which is called put” is also possible.
6 Putra can be formed for putra by VIII,4,7: anaci ca. This rule in fact permits any consonant but h to be doubled when it is not followed by a vowel, i.e., when it stands first in a consonant cluster or is final. I am grateful to Dr. J.W. Benson for this reference.
7 IX,67, p. 259.
AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE OLDEST DATED MANUSCRIPT
OF THE MILINDAPANHA

Since writing the article for the previous issue of this journal
continuous research on Pāli manuscripts in North Thailand led to the
discovery of further parts of this invaluable manuscript. These re-
searches were greatly facilitated by project started by the initiati-
ve of Dr.H.Hundius, Chiang Mai, financed for the better part by the
German Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt), and run by the Centre for
the Promotion of Arts and Culture Project, Chiang Mai University,
under the directorate of Dr. M.L. Rujaya Abhakorn. The aim of this pro-
ject is to preserve palm leaf manuscripts in Vat (monastery) libra-
ries of North Thailand and to microfilm a selection of the more im-
portant manuscripts in North Thai (Thai Yuan) and also in Pāli. It is
hoped that a catalogue of the microfilmed Pāli manuscripts will be
produced in due course to facilitate the access to this material.

In August 1987 renewed searches in the library of Vat Lai Hin,
which also resulted in a complete rearrangement of the manuscripts,
brought to light two most probably complete phūk (fasciculi) and some
stray leaves. Lack of time prevented a more exact description
of the newly discovered parts than the following:

phūk 8: na-bah, ta-tah

phūk 9: folios thu, du-dam, three folios without pagination belon-
ging to this phūk most probably.

phūk 14: ra-bah, la-lah

Thus, only phūks 3, 12, and 13 are entirely lost, and there does not
seem to be much chance to recover them, as all manuscripts in the
library of Vat Lai Hin have been checked by now.

As far as the bibliography of the Milindapañha is concerned, a few
titles may added now to those given in note 1, JPST 11. 1987, p. 118
foll.:

Milindapañha Pāli. Ed. (N) by Dwarikadas Shastri. Baudhā Bhāratī
Series, 13. Benares 1979

Milindapañha. Die Fragen des Königs Milinda. Aus dem Pāli übersetzt
von Nyanatiloka, herausgegeben und teilweise neu übersetzt von

This new and revised edition of the translation of 1919/1924 also
contains an important introduction by H.Becheurt.

T.Pobożniak: Dilemma no. 56 in the Questions of King Milinda, in:
Proceedings of the Fifth World Sanskrit Conference, Varanasi, In-
dia, October 21-26, 1981. Delhi 1986. 613-615

T.Pobożniak: Genesis of the Milindapañha, in: Sanskrit and World Cul-

The opinion put forward here that the Milindapañha had been con-
REMARKS ON A LIST OF BOOKS SENT TO CEYLON FROM SIAM
IN THE 18TH CENTURY

The letter sent to the royal court at Kandy (Sirivaññapura) on behalf of the king of Siam, and published in the present issue, includes some information of considerable interest for the study of the history of Pāli texts. For a shipment, which comprised no less than 97 books (sattanavatipakaranāni) containing texts no longer extant on the island, and therefore asked for in a second document accompanying this letter (samanasodasa, § 2 at the end), is said to have been dispatched together with the letter. That the Siamese side readily complied to the request from Ceylon can be gathered from § 15 of the letter: "In the auspicious letter (subhakkha) sent by you (i.e. the aggamahasenapati of Kandy: § 1 at the end) it is said that books on dhamma, vinaya, etc. are not available in Ceylon. Having heard this, and that no other books on dhamma and vinaya than those mentioned in the letter on religious matters (samanalekha, cf. § 13 and elsewhere) have been asked for to re-establish these texts there (i.e. in Ceylon), I reported this to the best of lawful and pious kings with all due respect and having risen my folded hands over my head. (§ 16) The best of lawful and pious kings joyfully gave 97 texts, namely ... to establish them in Ceylon."

For easy reference the list is repeated here with a number given to each individual text:

1. Sumagkalavilāsinicatvaṭṭhakathāsuttapiṭaka
2. Paṭhamasamantapāsaddikādīpaṅcavinayatvaṭṭhakathāpiṭaka
3. Moggalānapakaraṇa
4. Aṭṭhakathavinaṇayasaṭṭikā
5. Vinativinodani
6. Aṇuṣaṇīdhī
7. Bālapabodhisaṭṭikā
8. Bālavatārasaṭṭikā
9. Saddasārasaṭṭikā
10. Saddabindupakaraṇa
11. Kacciyānaṭṭhāpakaraṇa
12. Sampinḍamahāṇidāna
13. Vimānavatthupakaraṇa
14. Petavatthupakaraṇa
15. Cakkavedādipanipakaraṇa
16. Sotabbaśālinipakaraṇa
17. Solasaśākīmahāṇidāna
18. Lokadīpaka
19. Lokavināsa
20. Jambupatisutta
21. Theragāṭhāpakaraṇa
22. Therigāṭhāpakaraṇa
23. Anūṭikāsahgaha
no relation to any known text can be established with confidence, as e.g. in the case of Dhutangi, no. 41, or because the title is ambiguous referring to a group rather than to any individual text such as Tikasangi.

Further, the method of calculating the number of manuscripts dispatched to Ceylon is anything but lucid. Although the total is stated explicitly to be 97, it is not easy to see, how this figure has been reached at. A simple count of titles amounts to 75 only, to which 10 may be added, as two copies each (dvipakaraṇa) have been sent of the items no. 13, 14, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 42, 74, and further four items, nos. 4, 7, 8, 9 have been qualified as satikā, what amounts to a total of 89 only. Consequently 8 titles seem to be missing, which, however, may be suspected as hidden in the very beginning of the list: "2. the first (part) of the Samontapāsādikā etc., the commentary on the five-fold Vinayapāṭika". A fivefold division of Sp is found elsewhere in manuscripts also: Pāṭajikacanḍa, Pācītyadikāṇḍa, Mahāvagga, Cullavagga, Parivara.

While this title can be explained easily, the exact meaning of the first one remains doubtful. However, a similar title is found in both lists of texts found in the prologue and epilogue respectively to the Traibhumikā of King Ruan. In fact, an attahathācaturāgama is mentioned, which should mean a commentary on the four nikāyas, as these are called āgamas in the introductory verses e.g. to Sv or Ps. However, exactly as in our list, where Sv, no. 44 and Mp, no. 27 are found again named separately, all four commentaries on the nikāyas are mentioned by their individual names in the Traibhumikā. In our list Sv occurs even twice as no. 1 and no. 44. And as a title such as "Sumangalavilāsinin "and (?)" the four commentaries on the Suttapiṭaka" hardly makes much sense, some mistake may be suspected here. Further, the four commentaries together with the five parts of Sp amount to 9 items, bringing the total up to 99 instead of 97 items. Even if nos. 28 and 29 are united and supposed to name only Mp, there is still one title too much. Therefore it does not seem to be possible at present to solve this puzzle.

As no order can be recognized in the sequence of titles evidently listed at random, it may not be totally useless to rearrange the list subjectwise following the principles and using as far as this seems suitable numbering and abbreviations of H. Smith: Epilegomena to Volume I (of the Critical Pāli Dictionary). Copenhagen 1948.

I. Vinaya texts:
Kkh, no. 42: 1.1,1: This text, too, seems to be named twice in the list: Mātiṭa-āṭhakathā, no. 36, cf. K. R. Normen: Pāli Literature. A History of Indian Literature VII 2, Wiesbaden 1983, p. 126 on the title. A single phūk of a rather old manuscript bearing this title and copied in CS, 933, year of the goat, corresponding to AD 1571, is kept in Vat Phra Singh in Chiang Mai today. However, the content of this manuscript has not been checked yet.

Mahāvagga, no. 34
Cullavagga, no. 33: Vin 1.2
Parivara, no. 35
Sp, no. 2 and no. 4 (satikā): 1.2.1
Vjab, no. 31: 1.2,11
Sp-ṭ, no. 4: 1.2.12
II. Sutta texts:
Sīlaṇhāraka, no. 45
Mahāvagga, no. 46: DN 2.1
Paññakāṭā (?), no. 47
Sv, no. 1 and 44: 2.1,1
MN, no. 26: 2.2
Ps, no. 27: 2.2,1
AN, no. 28: 2.4
Mp, no. 29: 2.4,1
It may be worth while to note that neither SN nor Spk have been asked for by the Sinhalese monks. Consequently these texts, which have not been sent to Ceylon, seem to have survived in the island. And indeed a continuous Sinhala tradition of SN and Spk is mirrored by the manuscript tradition, which shows very clearly marked differences between those manuscripts copied in Ceylon and others stemming from South East Asia: O.v.Hinüber:
Ud-a, no. 64: 2.5,3,1
It-t, no. 63: 2.5,4,12
Sn-t, no. 59: 2.5,5,12
Vv, no. 13: 2.5,6
Pv, no. 14: 2.5,7
Pv-t, no. 58: 2.5,7,12
Th, no. 21: 2.5,8
Th-a, no. 56: 2.5,8,1
Thā, no. 22: 2.5,9
Nidda II, no. 65: 2.5.11,1
Paṭiss-a, no. 62: 2.5.12,1
Paṭiss-t, no. 62: 2.5.12,13(?): The titles as given in the list might mean only the Tikā, the identity of which is not clear. cf. Epilegomena.
By, no. 66: 2.5,14
Bv-t, no. 67: 2.5,14,12
Cp-t, no. 60: 2.5,15,12
The Tikā mentioned here, seem to be known otherwise from the Göjakat-samunī only, where they are listed between nos. 217 and 228. No manuscript has been traced so far, not even in the National Library, Bangkok: R.Nagasaki, Buddhist Studies (Bukkyō Kenkyū). Hamamatsu. 5. 1975. 79-57, esp. p. 75.

III. Abhidhamma texts:
a. Canonical texts:
Vibh, no. 40: 3.2
Vibh-a, no. 30: 3.2,1
Paññakāṭā, no. 43: 3.3,1 - 3.7,1
Yam, no. 74: 3.6
b. Non-canonical texts:
Pm-vn, no. 40: 3.8,2: This text has been edited twice since the Epilegomena appeared: 1. A.P.Buddhabatta, JPTS 10.1985. 155-226; 2. Rangoon 1962 together with Abhidhav-av, Nāmar-p, Sacc.
Pm-vn-t, no. 53: 3.8,2,1 or 2: -pt or -nt?
Sacc, no. 49: 3.8,6
Sacc-t, no. 51: 3.8,6,1 or 2: -pt or -nt?
IV. Paracanonical texts:
Nett, no. 32: 2.7.2
Nett-t, no. 61: 2.7.2,11 or 12: -pt or -nt?
Vism-mht, no. 42: 2.8,1.1
V. Historical and future texts:
Anāg, no. 68: 4.4,1
Anāg-a, no. 69: 4.4,1,1
Anāg-t, no. 70: 4.4,1,2: Again it is impossible to tell, exactly which text is meant here: On the different versions of this future text: Norman, as above on 1.1,1, p. 160-162. Still another version of this text seems to be contained in a manuscript copied most probably in the 16th century and preserved at Wat Phra Singh, Chiang Mai, now. Only phūk 2: gā, qua and phūk 3: ā, ca are extant. This manuscript has been copied by Nābhādra and brought to Chiang Mai from Chiang Saen. The title Mahānāgatavāha occurs on the cover leaf of phūk 3.
VI. Grammatical texts:
Kacc, no. 11: 5.1: As this text is called Kaccāyanaṭṭhapakaraṇa, it seems to comprehend the uṇādīkappā: Epilegomena, p. 95*: 5.1.
Rūp, no. 6: 5.1,4
Bālāv, no. 8: 5.1,5
Bālāv-t, no. 8: 5.1,51
Mogg, no. 3: 5.3
Saddabindu, no. 10: 5.4,5: F.Lottemoser: Minor Pāḷi Grammar: Texts: The Saddabindu and Its "New" Subcommentary. JPTS 11. 1987. 79-108. - A manuscript of this text is found in the Wat Phra Singh, Chiang Mai, which also con-
contains Saddavutti and Sāratthajālinī.
Saddassāratthajālinī, no. 57: 5.4.6: In spite of the fact that this
text is usually known as Sadda-Śarathajālinī, the
proposed identification seems to be very likely.
Bēlaṭpadhōni, no. 7: 5.4.19: The usual title is Bāḷāpaṭpadhōni.
Bāḷeṣṭpadhōnt, no. 7: 5.4.19.1
Saddassāra, no. 9: Title and position in the list might point to a
grammatical text and its titakā, though both are untrace-
able till now in the Epiglena or elsewhere.

VII. Miscellaneous titles:
Titles such as Titakāga, no. 38, or Anuṭīkṣaṅga, no. 23 and
39 allow for a wide range of possible identifications. However, as
nos. 38 and 39 are preceded by vinaya texts, they may well belong to
that category, too. On similar reasons Paramatthadīpanī, no. 54, may
be classified as abhidhamma rather than as the well known commentary
on the Khuddakanikāya, particularly, as a Paramatthadīpiniṣaṅkhēpa,
no. 50, occurs as well. Neither text is listed in the Epiglena, as,
Paramatthadīpanī, 3.8.1.5 has been written during the last century.

The Madhurasavāhinī, no. 72, is quoted in the Gandhāravāsa, and
a text of this title has been microfilmed by H.Hundius in Lamphun in
1972/74 (roll 12/1742), cf. also Norman, as above on 1.1.1, p. 155 on
the possible relation of this text to Ras; the Pitakat-samui lists
a Madhurāra(t)īsavāhinīnissaya. However, no titakā is ever mentioned.

The contents of the Dhutanga, no. 41, cannot be ascertained, but
as above on 1.1.1, p. 114 on Vīmattimagga and Dhutagga-
nirdeśa(?); cf. also Dhutagavatru in Finot's list (below VIII),
p. 183, no. 162.

VIII. South East Asian Pāli texts:
A summary of the still rather unsatisfactory knowledge about Pāli
literature in South East Asia with the exception of Burma has been
given by H.Saddhatissa in a series of three articles: Pāli Literature
1974, 211-225 also covering Laos; Pāli Studies in Cambodia, in: Bud-
Literature in Cambodia. JPIS 9. 1981. 178-197. In spite of these useful
contributions, older articles may be still consulted with profit:
L.Finot: Recherches sur la littérature laotienne. BEFEO 17. 1917. 1-
221 supplemented by: P.-B.Lafont: Inventaire des manuscrits des
pegesodes of Laos. BEFEO 52. 1964/65. 429-545, further: G.Coedès: Note
sur les ouvrages pali's composés en pays Thaï. BEFEO 15. 1915. 39-46,
cf. also the recent book by Suaphan na Bangchong: Vivaññakār Nān
kheyan bhāṣā pāli nai prabhād daiyā: cāruk, tām nān, bhāṣāvātār, sā-
san, prahūka (Development of Writing in Pāli in Thailand: Inscrip-
tions, Historical Writing, Chronicals, Royal Messages, Proclamations)
Bangkok 2529 <1986>.

In the Epiglena, only comparatively few texts have been listed:
Mahagadipani, no. 25: 2.9.10: The usual title is Mahagālathadīpani,
text has been edited in two volumes in Bangkok 2517

Lokadīpaka, no. 18: 2.9.17: Most probably identical with Lokappadip-
aka, cf. Lafont, no. 408. The text has been ed-
tited in Bangkok 2529<1986>; on this and further unre-
published editions as well as old manuscripts: O.v.
Hinüber: The Pāli Manuscripts Kept at the Siam So-
9-74, no. 16, p. 27.

The Lokavināsā, no. 19, is extant in Thailand according to an oral com-
nunication by H.Hundius.

Cakkavājādipani, no. 16: Saddhatissa (1974), p. 217: The text has
been composed in CS 882 corresponding to AD 1520 as
stated in the colophon. Therefore the oldest
known manuscript dated CS 900 corresponding to AD
1538 is exceptionally near to the original. The four
phases which are surviving, have been microfilmed:
Catalogue of palm-leaf texts on microfilm at the
Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University.
OJL117-120. The text has been edited in Bangkok 2523
<1980> with a Thai translation.

Sotabbanāli, no. 16: Listed by Finot, no. 895, p. 208; cf. Saddha-
tissa (1974), p. 219. The text has been edited in
Ceylon as early as 1911, what had escaped the at-
tention of the authors of the Epiglena, where no
edition is listed.

Saḷassakīmahānīdāna, no. 17: An alternative title of this text is So-
tatt(h)akīmahānīdāna, cf. Epiglena, p. 87* b. The
section, which contains the story of the past Buddhas,
has been edited with an extremely introduced by W.Sailer, Bangkok 2526<1983> as a cremeation book for Somdec Brahm Bhūgācaraya, Wat Suthai,
Bangkok. Similar in content is the Jīnavimānīdāna,
edited in Bangkok 2530<1987> in two volumes. Both
texts are accompanied by a Thai translation.

Sampīṇḍomaḥānīdāna, no. 13: Alternative titles are Sampīṇḍomaḥā-
p. 180 foll. An edition, which has been announced
here and by I.B.Horner<tsl.:> The Minor Anthologies of the Pāli Canon. Part III: Chronicles of the Bud-
has (Bv) and Basket of Conduct (Cp). London 1975,
p. XI does not seem to have been appeared. - It re-
mains a matter of conjecture, whether this text is
mentioned under the title Mahānīdāna in both lists
of the Triphānakāth, cf. note 4.

Jambupatisutta, no. 20: The contents of this text is given by Finot,
p. 66-69, cf. Finot's list no. 209, p. 185 and Saddha-

BuddhasihiJanānīdāna, no. 75: This text composed by Bodhiraṇi at
the beginning of the 15th century, tells the legend of a
famous Thai Buddha image: Finot's list no. 621, 622,
p. 199; Saddhatissa (1974), p. 213; K.L.Hazra:
The Buddhist Annals and Chronicles of South-East

The reasons for sending these last two texts are given in paragraph no. 39 and 40 of the letter. Further, the following texts are mentioned in this letter: Itipissabhavādibuddhacaritamāṇa, which refers to the Dhammapada, SN 1 219, 224-221, 13. The quotation from the Mahāgalasuttaṇīvaṇṇāṇa, § 21: sace ... nāgghati corresponds to Mahāgalasuttaṇīvaṇṇāṇa, Bangkok 1972, II 28, 19-38, 2 except for the verse. None of the quotations from the Dhammaṇīsahās, in paragraph 22, Manusavīnīya, § 34 nor Pācitālayāsūramaṇa, § 35 could be traced so far. In spite of the fact that the last quotation clearly refers to Vin IV 202 f, it is not traceable at the respective passages in Sp, Vaj, Sp-t, Vam.

Finally, it would be interesting to know, what might have happened to the books and the letter after they had left Siam. In this respect at least some information can be gathered from the Colavāna. In the chapters 99 and 100 the events during the reign of Kittisiri-rāja (1747-1781) are related, and the verses Mh 100, 180, 150 f, refer to our letter. Thus there is no room for doubt that both, letter and books arrived safely at Kandy. Further it may be concluded from how books sent earlier from Siam (Mh 100, 72, 80, 86) have been handled that those sent in 1756, too, have been given to the Pupphārāma (Malavitavihāra). This is corroborated by the fact, that the letter of 1756 is still kept at that monastery as stated in the introduction to the edition.

By lucky coincidence the books seem to have left at least one very clear trace in the manuscript tradition. For it is stated in the colophon to the Pāli manuscript PA (Sinh.) 21 kept at the Royal Library in Copenhagen that this Th-a was copied in 1768 from a Siamese original, which may well be no. 56 of the list given in the letter of the year 1756. Of course more copies must have been made from these books, but no colophon has preserved this information, which, consequently, is lost to us.

Freiburg
O.v.Minüber

Notes

1 The Pāli text is not clear: Read pakarāna na in two words and take pakarāna as masc. (??). Confusion of gender does occur in SE Asian Pāli, though usually the nt. is preferred: G. Terral: Samudragotshājākata. Conte Pāli tiré du Paññāsajākata. BEPO 36. 1936. 249-351, esp. p. 319 foll.

2 The titles are given here in the usual Thai way, i.e. atthakathā-vinaya for vinayatthakathā.


4 Three Worlds According to King Rust. A Thai Buddhist Cosmology.
A PÅLI LETTER SENT BY THE AGGAMAHÅSENÅPATI OF SIAM TO THE ROYAL COURT AT KANDY IN 1756

During the reign of Viraparakkamanarindasåha (1707-1739) the Buddhist order in Ceylon had become extinct, when the last monk, Hulangamuve Jña-
dåsa died in 1729. At the instigation of the sämapera Vălivittye Saranåka-
ra, the future sañhăråja , the next king, Sirivijayaråjåsåha (1739-1747) tried
to reestablish the upasampadå by inviting monks from abroad. As he learned
from the Dutch that the Buddhist order was flourishing in South East Asia,
he sent different missions there, among them one to Siam in 1745 asking
for help in religious matters.

However, these attempts were not crowned by success, and the respect-
ive activities had to be renewed by his successor Kittisiriåjåsåha (1747-1781)
in 1750. He was more successful than his predecessor, for the king of
Siam, Borommakot (Paramakośi) (1733-1758) now readily complied and sent
in 1752 a group of monks, namely the theras Upålå, Ariyamuṇi, Mahåñåma,
who were renowned for their learning, and some junior bhikkhus. Thus an
exchange of missions and letters was inaugurated.

In 1756 the king of Siam sent a second group of monks to Ceylon under
the leadership of the theras Visuddhåcåra and Varaññamuṇi, who are
named in § 46 of the letter published here. This letter is dated BE 2299,
year of the rat, Friday, 7th day of the dark half of the month åsuja (åsvi-
nal), which corresponds to 15th October 1756. As it is of considerable inter-
est for the cultural history and for the history of Påli texts as well, it has
been republished here from a Thai publication, which is almost inaccessible
outside the kingdom. In 1916 (BE 2459), when Prince Damrong Rachanuphap
(21.6.1862 - 11.12.1943) wrote his "The Establishment of the Syåma Nikåya in
Ceylon" (rûâñ pråbhåśthån brahma sañgh sayàmavaññ nai lañkådåvip), which has
been reprinted in Bangkok 1960, he included a transcript of the letter with a
facing Thai translation on p. 211-295. Unfortunately, Prince Damrong does
not give any information on the whereabouts of the letter. A search in the
National Library, Bangkok, did not yield any result. Nor is there any clear
evidence in the left papers of Prince Damrong or in the documents relating to
King Rama V's voyage to Europe in 1897, where it is mentioned, however, that
the King, while visiting the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, saw "two of the
golden books on dhamma sent by king Borommakot", and that he had them
copied, but no reference is made to the letter. Consequently the present
edition is based exclusively on Prince Damrong's text. For efforts to get access to the original, which has been kept at least up to 1935 in the Malvatta Vihāra, in Kandy, when S. Paranavitana received a set of photos containing this very letter, have failed so far. Still, there is hope to get hold of the original in future. Even now the importance of the document certainly justifies its publication.

The language of the letter is South East Asian Pāli not always easy to understand, as syntax and vocabulary have been influenced by Thai, e.g.: yipuna § 65 foll. "Japanese", phāranga, § 69 "European", vilanta, § 44 foll. "Dutch"; rae, § 88 = ree 1 -mineral". An amusing misunderstanding is mirrored by the name of the Dutch skipper kapitaliotelante, § 79 "lieutenant captain" as the commanding officer of the ship.

The paragraphs are the same as in Prince Damrong's edition. A translation, which poses considerable problems, and a study of the language remain a future task.

Bangkok

Supaphan na Bangchang

NOTES

1 I am obliged to K. R. Norman, Cambridge, for checking the English of the summary of the letter, and to O. v. Hinüber, Freiburg, for adding some bibliographical references to the introduction.


SUMMARY OF THE LETTER

1. This letter was sent from the Aggasenāpati of Siam to the Aggasenāpati of Lāṇkā.

2. The King of Lāṇkā sent royal envoys to Siam with a model of Lord Buddha’s Tooth Relic, a Buddha image, a royal letter and gifts for the King and the Crown Prince of Siam, a letter and offerings for the saṅgharāja, and a letter and presents for the Aggasenāpati of Siam. The envoys came with the company of (Siamese) bhikkhus who returned (from Lāṇkā) to Siam.

3. The envoys reached the mouth of the Chaophaya River in 1756.

4. When the Siamese ministers knew of the Lāṇkan envoys’ arrival, they told the King of it.

5. The King ordered a fleet of barges to meet the envoys and lead them from the mouth of the Chaophaya River. Along the River, the Siamese people joyously paid homage to the model of the Tooth Relic and the Buddha image.

6. The Aggasenāpati brought the model of the Tooth Relic and the Buddha image to Wat Parama-Buddhārāma near the Grand Palace and put the royal letters and gifts in a maṇḍapa.

7. The envoys had an audience with the King and presented him with the royal letter and gifts.

8. The King ordered the Siamese Aggasenāpati to write a letter in reply to the Lāṇkan Aggasenāpati.

9. - 10. The letter from Lāṇkā reported that Paramadhammikaratā (the King of Siam) had sent a Buddha image, a superb golden book, a royal letter, and presents, together with a company of bhikkhus to Lāṇkā in 1752. Sirivadhanapurāṇapati (the King of Lāṇkā) celebrated the occasion by ordering a festival to be held. He also ordered a procession to convey the Buddha image and the superb golden book around the city. The Buddha image was kept near the maṇḍapa of the Tooth Relic. The Siamese bhikkhus stayed at Wat Pupphārāma. They set up uposatha boundaries in twenty places. Six hundred sāmaṇeras were ordained as bhikkhus, and three thousand young men were ordained as sāmaṇeras. These activities would help Buddhism in Lāṇkā to last for 5,000 years. The King of Lāṇkā had the Siamese bhikkhus well taken care of. He performed meritorious deeds as a dedication to the King of Siam. Later, he had a model of the Tooth Relic and a Buddha image made for the King of Siam.

11. When the King of Siam heard and took note of the words of the letter, he was very joyful. He had the model of the Tooth Relic and the Buddha image kept at Wat Parama-Buddhārāma, asked the saṅgharāja and the saṅgha to chant Buddhist texts, welcomed the envoys’ giving aims to the bhikkhus in that ceremony, paid homage to the model of the Tooth Relic and the Buddha image, celebrated a three-day festival, and dedicated the merit to the King of Lāṇkā.

12. When the King of Siam knew that the King of Lāṇkā would like to give offerings to the Buddhāpāda, he ordered the officials to lead the envoys there to do so.

13.-14. The royal presents to the Siamese saṅgharāja and to the crown prince were presented to them in the proper way.

15.-16. As the King of Siam was informed that there was a lack of Dhamma texts in Lāṇkā, he sent 97 books to Lāṇkā (A list of the texts is given in the letter).

17.-18. There were other suggestions in the letter in the royal letter from Lāṇkā: the decoration of a maṇḍapa in the centre of the city and an arrangement for Dhamma preaching by a bhikkhu for three days each year.

19.-22. In fact the King of Siam arranged for Dhamma preaching by a bhikkhu in the Royal Palace every uposatha day, four times a month. During the Buddhist Lent, the King of Siam invited bhikkhus to preach daily for three months, because he knew that the gift of the Dhamma gives better results than any other gift. This was clearly mentioned in Mahālasutta-vāsanā. The Buddha himself advised those who strive for happiness to listen respectfully to the Dhamma.

It was suggested that the Aggasenāpati of Lāṇkā inform the King of Lāṇkā of these activities.

23.-24. It was also suggested that the King of Lāṇkā invite bhikkhus to preach the Dhamma in the Royal Palace every uposatha day, and every day during the Buddhist Lent, as the King of Siam had been doing. Then the King of Lāṇkā would receive merit in the future.

25. However, ordination and religious practice in Lāṇkā were apparently not following the traditional rules.

26.-27. With reference to the Lāṇkan King’s asking for Siamese bhikkhus to be sent to teach young men in Lāṇkā, the necessary arrangement had been made.

28.-29. The Siamese bhikkhus, headed by the Thera Upāli, were now
teaching the Dhamma in Lankâ to relieve the people there from dukkha. For it is believed that those who constantly perform meritorious deeds will finally gain bliss.

30. The three officials in the company of the Siamese envoys - Luang Visuddhimaintri, Khun Vâdi Vicitra, and Muen Bibidhsaneha - related that the Lankan people, with their headdress on, entered a vihâra, which was the place for the saṅgha assembly presided over by a Buddha image, to observe the uposatha precepts and listen to the Dhamma. The four Siamese theras, headed by the Thera Upâlî, advised them to remove their headdress before entering the vihãra; but the Lañkan ministers did not follow the instruction.

31. However, those Lankan officials who had brought the royal letter (to Siam) three years earlier, when they were advised by the Siamese, did follow the rule. In Lañkâ, after frequent warnings by the Siamese bhikkhus, some of the Lankan ministers began to comply, but some did not, and some of those who first complied later followed the latter’s example.

32. The Lañkans explained that the wearing of headdress indicated their high social status.

33. The intention of the Siamese bhikkhus was to have everybody’s headdress temporarily removed during the stay inside the ārâma. For merit would be the reward for those who do so.

34. It was stated in the Manussa-Vinayaavanâna that those who used umbrellas or wore turbans or shoes; rode on horses, elephants, or vehicles inside the boundary of an ārâma would go to hell.

35. It was said in the Pâcittiya-Vinayaavanâna that bhikkhus should not preach to a person who, except when he was sick, used an umbrella, put on shoes, or wore a headdress. Those who wore shoes and stayed close to a saṅgha assembly were considered disrespectful to the Buddha-asana.

36. The Aggesenâpati of Lañkâ should make this fact known to the King of Lañkâ.

37. In Siam, a Siamese minister led the Lañkan envoys to Wat Parama-Buddhârâma, where the model of the Tooth Relic and the Buddha image (from Lañkâ) were kept.

38. The envoys saw a decorated golden Buddha image with a crown. They should not say that such a Buddha image looked like a devarûpa (in Brahmanism).

39. For such a crowned Buddha image has been described in the Mahâ-jambupatimattu.

40. The Mahâjambupatimattu was sent as evidence for this. So the King of Lañkâ might have a Buddha image made with a crown in the Siamese style. - The Lañkan envoys also saw the Sihinga-Buddha image in Wat Parama-Buddhârâma but they did not know its history.

41. The Siamese official told the envoys about the history of the Sihinga-Buddha image.

42. The envoys said that the Sihinganidàna did not exist in Lañkâ.

43. The Siamese Aggesenâpati had the Sihinganidàna copied for the King of Lañkâ.

44. When approaching Lañkâ, the ship was wrecked. Four bhikkhus, two sâamaeras, and two Dutch men were drowned.

45. The remaining fifty-six people survived. They brought the royal letter and offerings to Wat Mangalamahâvihâra at Arunâgâma and presented the letter to the Aggesenâpati, who then brought it to the Palace and reported it to the King.

46. The King of Lañkâ welcomed the Siamese bhikkhus and their company, and presented gifts to them.

47. The King of Lañkâ sent ministers, other officials, the saṅgharâja, bhikkhus and sâamaeras, altogether 836 of them, to welcome the Siamese bhikkhus and their company and brought them to Sirivadhanapura (Kandy).

48.-49. When the Siamese bhikkhus arrived, the King granted an audience and ordered his officials to arrange for their residence at Wat Pupphârâma.

50. The King granted an audience to the Siamese dignitaries both on arrival and on departure, and gave various presents to them and their retinue.

51. When the Siamese bhikkhus and their company left for Siam, the Lañkan King himself, the saṅgharâja, and the Lañkan bhikkhus went to see them off. They arrived in Siam without having any difficulties.

52. The King of Lañkâ truly enjoyed doing these meritorious deeds.

53.-54. The King of Siam was pleased and arranged for a residence for them, together with money, utensils, and food.

55.-56. The King gave them money to buy things they wanted.

57. The King ordered his officials to take good care of them, from their arrival until their departure.

58. He gave money and clothings to those who came with the bhikkhus from Lañkâ.

59.-62. And when the envoys had an audience with him, he graciously
gave many more things. (There are lists of the things given to the envoys.)

63.–64. When the envoys went to pay homage to the Buddhapāda, the
King gave money to them and their servants.

65. The envoys were granted an audience with the King in the Throne Hall.
66.–74. Lists of things graciously given by the King on that occasion.
75.–76. The envoys were comfortable, lacking nothing, for for the King
was kind to them and their retinue.

77. The letter asked for the Laṅkān King's joyous approval of the Siamese
King's meritorious deeds.

78. When returning to Siam, the Laṅkān King graciously arranged for the
embarkation of the Siamese bhikkhus, including the Thera Ariyamuni.

79. The captain took good care of the bhikkhus; he had great respect for
the Thera Ariyamuni.

80. The King of Siam graciously gave many things to the captain.

81. The Siamese bhikkhus who preached the Dhamma in Lankā then were
the Thera Visuddācariya, the Thera Varaṇāsamuni and others.

82. The weather in Lankā was mostly rainy and cold, but if the Siamese
bhikkhus could bear it, they might stay there; but if they could not, a
request should be submitted to the Laṅkān King that the bhikkhus be sent
back to Siam. This would be meritorious for the King.

83. The King of Siam decided to give royal presents for friendship and
goodwill to the King of Lankā.

84. So he had an official ask the Thera Ariyamuni and the Laṅkān en-
voys about what the King of Lankā liked.

85. The Thera Ariyamuni and the envoys told the Siamese official of
those things that the King of Lankā liked.

86. The official then relayed the information to the Siamese King.

87. The King ordered such things.

88. The list of the 55 items of the royal presents for friendship and
goodwill.

89. The list of the 21 items of the royal presents given to the Lankan
Crown Prince.

90. The Siamese Crown Prince sent a Japanese sword with a niellowork-
decorated sheath as a present to the Laṅkān King.

91. The list of gifts presented to the Laṅkān saṅgharāja.

92. The Siamese Aggaseṇāpati, too, sent gifts to the Laṅkān Aggaseṇā-
pati.

93. This letter was sent from Ayudhyā on Friday, the 15th October 1756.
3. Dūtānūdutesu Rājanaśikham saṃpatte su ekūnaśata-
svaṃcācharadvisatādhikāni dvasvavacchāraśahāsāni atikantani
ahesu imase sa musikasvavcchā-saṃvāra-āśajhamā-saṃpākha-
peśpadivasa.

4. (Ted hē) Samuddapākāranagārā vuthhena senāpatinā
nagaraparamparōpitāpaccakkaṃsadesapaṃputti tutva ēkadasa-
rudhissaņaparamāṇaṃthepasapavittanārāyanaśabdhamadharama-ho-
jarasa śādaramahā gāvaren'tuttāmāsagirottamena' aśajali ketva
ora āthāṃ eroṣesas.

5. Ēkadasaruddhissasparamāṇaṃthepeśpadivasaṃputta
binārājacchedhamadharamahārājā Lakādīp' āgatesanapaṃputti tutva
suṣurāṇāsvacchānaṃ rattaṃkalitasahamadhesa-rattaparikramamahāda-
manapasmatsitaṃ nānārājāvicitrāvannām sejāpeśva maṃbuddha-
rupeśa cē siridantadhātuvālaṃjanaś ca pavaśbhikkhusahāhaś ca
rājasaṇadesaśa ca maṅgalarājapannākāre ca yeva Rājanāśikham
paścupagamanaṃ kātan uvaśhakosānusenaṃ senāpatinā ānepetva
nānā-
vādha khaḍganīya-bhojanīyena gelaṇā tā bhikkhusahā-dūtānūdute
posuti ca yogabhandhanyamanaperivaraṇāvāya siridantadhāt-
valajaśa maṃbuddharūpeśa ca bhikkhusahāha ca paścuparam-
kaṃmeṇa paścupagamananaṃ kātan ca yeva Sattamocanērāmme oule-
nagarāmāmahānārājāupacalikamakāre ānepetva hetthsamahāpadesa-
maḥaraṃśa duṭānūduteśa rājapannākasāripācetvaparanāyanaṃ Sattamocan-
ērām pāsam saṃpattakaṃ yathāvussita' avasē bhikkhusahā-
vasaṃpetva muṅkaṃsvaṃcchā-sāvanamasa-aśoviya saṃvākha-
peśpadivasaṃputta mitithilaya paṭṭasa rataṃkanaṃkayaṃnānaṃ kalu-
ātāra jāvicitrāvapanākhaṃvaygo gosu yuttasuvassu udesakhandā
ca sejāpeśva ek'ekasakhāvāya siridantadhātuvālaṃjanaṃ maṃ-
buddharūpeśa rājaṃdesaṃ mahādēkkhinasahāhaś ca dv'ekājāyena
saṃmāsadesaṃ subhakkhaṃ ca gāhpetva catūhī rājasāhaṛup-
ādisatarupanāvaha rājanāpanākaraṃ gāhpetva peccha ca purato
pādāmaśikāvācī · mākasaṃpatparaśivānēya dhaṣa-paṭēk'-
āṭhi bhāṇḍapūjehi ca emēhi nānābhāṇḍapūjaniyēhi parivārēpēva.
Samaṇābāhenāna pi sābhe jana pi siridantadhātumānubuddharūpe\nu
pītisomanasaṃājātē mahānādiyē ubhoṣa tiṣeṣe paṭaṃśalē'ādhi
nāṇāpuṇhehi emēhi sākṣaṃsaṃbhāha ca kamaṃ yeva Mahā-
janītthā nānāmahāpadesaṃ rājasadesanamantisahānānī pūjeseṃ.

6. Nānāviciṣṭasambhāramanakaṃsadesapati kārētva
svaṇnarājaṭaśaṃjñadītachatta dhaṣa-paṭēk'ādhi susajjīta-
gananagremaṃ yeva rāj'antepurā ānepetva siridantadhātuvāla-
janaś ca maṃbuddharūpeśa ca rājasadesaṃ gāhpetva chatta-
haṣa-paṭēk'ādīvabhandhēdharēnāmaḥjanēhi bheri-saṃhā-paṇḍe-
vēdhi ca parivērtetva rēj'antepurasamite Paraṃbuddhērāme
siridantadhātuvālagēya matmaubuddharūpeśa māṃnetetva rējā-
paṇetvē rājasadesaparniṃyē maṇje pērējasaṇadesaśa ca maṅgala-
rājapannākāre ca saṃmāsadesaṃ ca subhakkhaśa ca ṣaṭpētēva
anurāpaśaṃ dūtāmace vassēpesi.

7. Ted sannètresa sēvāmaṇēa-suriysaśa-sanukhaṭha-pava-
uttamaśuukkapakhe terasaṃmitihīyaṃ sananāpi sāvattāmā āraṃ-
šaṃdesaṃ nikkheṣantassu anacceṣṣadivattassā ēkāa tēra-
gehehi parivuttasandaṃ viya paścītasaparaṇāṃjana niṣeṃna-
ākadasaruddhissaraparamāṇaṃthepeśpadivasaṃputta
buddhērējā-
dhamadhuratuttamamahārājasaṃ sāntākaṃ Sirivaddhanapurēdhi-
mahārājuttamena pēsaitdūtāmace netva tam mahētā gāvēna
śriyō suṣeṇaṃ pēsati tēsēvē saḷaśaṃkaraṃ rājasaṇadesaṃ
dassēpas.

8. Tam svavannapate pākṣasunderaraṇavacchānaṃ sutva
Paramadhamikamahārājā Sirivaddhanapurēdhipatimahārājuttan-
uḷērapītisomanāsso huttva Sirivaddhanapurēdhipatimahārējut-
maṇā Lakādīp'epapanātassa kicchānukikaṃ paṭiśocem uva-
sāhānēna māt anēpesi.

9. Atha tayē pesitasubhakkhaṃ nāna asahāṃ pēkātēm
vāva Paramadhamikamahārājēna maṅgalarājapannākārehī sadhēm
navaratnamambhāmadhētthasuvannajaśīlābuddharūpeśa ca suvaṇṇa-
potthakadhammaśa ca bhikkhusahāhaś ca rājasadasaṃ ca mān-
netetvē pesitasahānēvā dvīsahasaśadvisatāchātuvaśattasaśa
cavachara-
10. So Sirivaddhanapurūdhipatina cakkaraṇasatapāti-
labhena cakkavattirānā viyā pitisamanassa mahatussavena
svanappubhaṭharaṇaḥ ca svanappothakaḥ ca mge רשћuṭnkalipara
kārētvā tam buddharūpaṃ Dhaṇḍahatūśvarasimāpe vaddhetvā
rajamandirānne suṣeṣajitamandape dhammappothakaṃ ṣhapetvā
Puppāhāraṃvāhāre bhikkhussāṃgham vassēpetvā kulpute ovadetvā
sāṃghasamāṃ ketāṃ viśaṭṭhyā thānese buddhasāmā bandhēpetvā
bhikkhuhaṃvāre chaṣetasanamakulpute upasampadē sevaṃ-
bhāve tissahasse kulpute pabbāje tvāv Paramadhammikaśājateena
Siriṇākāpe yaeva pañcavassasahasassasannase pariṇamakātabba-
bhāvaṃ ca bhikkhuṃ Sirīlāṅkāḍīṣepaṃpatkāle Sirīlaṅkā-
dhipatimahārūjuttamena Puppāhāraṃvāhāre bhikkhuussaṃgham vassē-
petvā tasseva samanāṭepe tvā karaṇeva-
svaṃsahimmāsamāṃse sābādhaṃ bhikkhuussaṃgham anvutikātvā pūja-
sekkāreṇa sīridaṃṭahātu-soḷacakiyatthāpanuṣṭāyaṃ anāṅkakalani
ketvāv Paramadhammikaḷjāhiraṃjasa rājekusaleva dinnabhāvaḥ ca
Sirivaddhanapurūdhipati mahārūjuttamata manimaya budharaṇaṃ
kārētvā suṣaṃbhajāte cunnacandatathāne sīridaṃṭahātupalhānaṃ
kārētvā tam suṇnaṃprasātananāraṃsaṃkhecito maṇdepe ṣhapetvā
dūtanudūtena niyāmenām tasseva dinnabhāvaṃ ca.
11. Tassim rājaseṇe pākṣāṭyevaṃsaṃ suvaṭa Pavara-
paramadhammikaḷjāhiraṃjasa ujaṭapīṭasamanaśo huvata eṃpra-
saṃpe pavara Paramadhahāreṇe sīridaṃṭahātupalhānaṃ ca
manjhabharaṇaḥ ca ṣhapetvā pūjaṇēkkāreṇa kudandamanaṅkānac-
yuttamahāvaṇaaratamakumbarāraṭvaṃvāhakācti' etike nāma-
bhumi sarajive suvaṃbhājanē bhuhjāṇapujāṇi ṣhapetvā
dakkhaṇe-vannāyaṃvamānasamaraṇā mānaṃmahāraṃjasa ce
Ganvaśi-carṇiṅghāvāi
ārajangaṇaḥ ca nīmantetvā iti pi-so Bhavādhibuddhaṃ sē-
ṣajhāpetvā tesaṃ sasūpabhyājanaṃ-nāpunājāṭhaṃbhājanīyaṃ
parivārttvā dūtanude netvā pūrṇikāṭṭhāvā atthāya bhikkhu-
saṃghānaṃ vattetavattāṃ kārētvā tesaṃ eva ticiyaṛidānaṃ
datvā ādāsūyuttajajalatadhamhūṣṭhaḍpīne dakhīnaṃ kārētvā mahā-
saṅkhadakhīn'adippaṃcangutupi sīridaṃṭahātupalhānaṃ-man-
buddharūpamā sīridaṃṭahātupalhānaṃ dattvā sīridaṃṭahātupalhānaṃ
tidivārattintī nāmaḥattussavena ca nānapupphayāhi ca dantadha-
buddharūpamā pūjētvā tidivasaṃ suvaṃprasātamaṇādsottekap-
ruttamā daṇamā dattvā āgamaḥsaṃpāti-anusenapatihi saha
mahussavaddassena atthām Lakkhīḍāputtaṃcocc evāṃpetvā yathā tehi
usalikhiṃ bhīṃ bhīṃ tesaṃ nāmaḥsasampahānaṃbhājanīyaṃ dattvā
Sirivaddhanapurūdhipatino Lakkhīḍe kāmā bhīṃ dantadha-
buddharūpamā pūjasākāraṃkūṭotthasaṣa ca tad añām mayē puṃ
eropītadabbayuttakāmaṃ nānakusalaṃ ca anumodsavātusamā-
kūsaṃ adāsi.
12. Athassa Sirivaddhanapurūdhipati mahārūjuttamassā
saddhāsammannaṃ Sirī-Ayodhayaṃvāpurecittathāne Saccasandha-
pabbete patiṭṭhitase sīridaṃṭahātupalhānaṃ pūjēsakkērabhanḍāṇi
pūjētvā dinnabhāvaḥ ca tessaṃ skādaseṇhāvesenaparamatth-
aramadhammikaḷjāhiraṃ Lakkhīḍāputtaṃcocc evāṃpetvā dhatvā
tidivā ṣhapetvā buddhaṃvadahaṃ jasaṃ pūjētukāsita Lakkhīḍāputta-
macehī saha rājēmare Lakkhīḍāputtaṃcocc evāṃpetvā yathā-
mohicchanaṃ kūsaṃ adāsi.
13. Atha Sirinatamahādhatvārāmānaya-kassā Sahārajī-
uttamassā pūjēm tēya ticiyaṛidānaṃ pūsasamāṃ sīridaṃṭahā-
panāsaṃhāsaṃ pūjētvā pūjētvā skādaṃ mahāhānaṃ
Teyyalaṃkānā ṣathitāvase Sahārajījasa vanditum
dūtanude evāṃpetvā sabbpannakāraṃ dāpesi.
14. Athassa Paramaroṣādhīraṃjasa mahāgāraṇāmpaṃkāre
Lakkhīḍe pūsasamāṃ pūjētvā te nāmaḥ nāmaḥsasampahānaṃ
datvā Paramaroṣādhīraṃjasa "Sirivaddhanapurūdhipati mahārūjuttamo
Lakkhīḍe Saddhāsammannaṃ thāvaram kattukām. ldāni
Lakkhīḍe ativiyaśirocutam puṃsakānam buddhāsamā
Sirīlakāṭhīpatisā maṃnorathunupi asoh" ti ativīya
samanassaṃ vuocamāno. Sirāsā'heṃ sampātichāmi.

16. Tado paramadhamaṁvāraṁ "Sumahalaliśī Min-Catu-Āṭṭhakathā-Suttapitakaṁ ca Paṭhamasamanapāpādikādinya-Paṅca-Vinaya-āṭṭhakathāpītakaṁ ca Muggaliṁapakaranena ca Āṭṭhakathā-Vinaya-setikā ca Vimutivinodanī ca Rūpasiddhi ca Bala-bodhī-setikā ca Balavatāra-setikā ca Sāddhāra-setikā ca Ādhinadupakaranāṇaṁ ca Kacciyānātthapakaranāṇaṁ ca Sampinda-mahānīdanapakaranāṇaṁ ca dvi-Vimūnasatthupakaranāṇaṁ ca dvi-Petavatthupakaranāṇaṁ ca Cakkavāḷidipanīpakaranāṇaṁ ca Sotabbaṁalinīpakaranāṇaṁ ca Soḷasaṁmahānīdanāṇaṁ ca Lokadipakāṇaṁ ca Lokavināśaṁ ca Jambupatisuttaṁ ca Theragāthā-Therigāthāpākaranāṇaṁ ca Anūṭikā-Sanghagāmapakaranāṇaṁ ca Mahāvamsapakaranāṇaṁ ca Mahādipapakaranāṇaṁ ca Nāṭakatikāyavipakaranāṇaṁ ca Pañcasūdanaṁ-Āṭṭhakathā-Nāṭakatikāyavipakaranāṇaṁ ca Adguttaranikāya-Mano-raphurāṇidvipakaranāṇaṁ ca Sammohavinodanī-Āṭṭhakathā-Vibhāṅga-dvipakaranāṇaṁ ca Vajrajātudokuṭikapakaranāṇaṁ ca Nettipakaranāṇa ca Cūlavaggaṁ ca Mahāvaggaṁ ca Parivāraṁ ca Āṭṭhakathā-Māṅkikapakaranāṇaṁ ca Vinayaśinchayaṁ ca Ṭīkā-Sanghagānaṁ ca Anūṭikā-Sanghagānaṁ ca Vibhāṅgapakaranāṇaṁ ca Dhutasanghaṁ ca Kaṭṭhavātaraṁdippakaranāṇaṁ ca Pañcasūdanaṁ-Āṭṭhakathā-Paramatthadipanī ca Sumahalaliśī Min-Āṭṭhakathā-Dīghanikāya ca Silakhandhavaggaṁ ca Mahāvaggaṁ ca Pāṭikāṭikā ca Paramatthavinichayaṁ ca Saccasankhepaṁ ca Paramatthadipanīsaṅkhhepaṁ ca Ṭīkā-Saccasankhepaṁ ca Paramatthamakkusṭhaṁ-Ṭīkā-Vīsoluddhimaggaṁ ca Ṭīkā-Paramatthavinichayaṁ ca Paramatthadipanī ca Ṭīkā-Khuddakasatkhā ca Āṭṭhakathā-Theragāthā ca Sārathājālinī ca Ṭīkā-Petavattthuṁ ca Ṭīkā-Suttanipatītaṁ ca Ṭīkā-Carivyāpitakāṁ ca Ṭīkā-Nettipakaranāṇaṁ ca Ṭīkā-Āṭṭhakathā-Paṭisambhidāniggaṁ ca Ṭīkā-Itivuttakasī ca Āṭṭhakathā-Udanaṁ ca Āṭṭhakathā-Čula-

17. Api ca subhakkhare aṁmo atho bhavissæti.


19. Ekādasaṁaratthassaramanathamaṁvāraṇā pūreṇanam Devamahānagare rājakulapakāṁ bhikkhun dhammāṁ desāpeyya rājamaṇḍire ekamāssee catuvaṁ uposatho catujjhapakhe cātuṣuddhaṁ-paṇharasi-āṭṭhamiyamhi.


"Yo dhammacari kāyaṁ vacāya udu cetasā idheva naṁ pasannantsi pecca sagghe pimote" ti.

22. Api ca dhammaṁ vinnāmaṁ buddhaṁ pukkittan "Ye janā sukhaṁ icchanti, te dhamaṁ sakkaṁ suṇantu; desanāpiyosaṁ satthikā dhammesanā" ti. Aggamahāsondh-
31. Trīsakkaraṇamāvacchāre rājasandassam niyamānamahāmacca ca idāni pevaṇamahāmacca ca dvema dūta yaṇamip yaṇamip padase buddharūpasamānaṃ niyamānam buddhāpadevadājakasamānaṃ paṇāmitu ca rājaspurisahi ayuttāṃ disvā vācyāmanā kaṇikkun-hethilā ca sānyāsamātexappasam kariitvā n'upassākamitum anuvāpas samānaṇukaraye vrūpas samānaṇukaraye tādi te omācyeyamāna. Cattāro therā Upālīdayo lekkađīpe vasamāna ovadeyamāna samāpaṇam karāmaṃ samānaṇukaritvā yańkicca puggaladadiye anukariyamāna adisvā lejjananukaritvā.

32. Sakala-Sirvaddhanapurivarījītavāsī brāhmaṇo hi saṁyītāṃ vā tām unhiṭaṁvaḥmukkhaṁ sarassasāṃ unhiṭaṁvaḥmukkhaṁ sarassasāṃ karuṇakarpurupāna unacūkaṇupāya va kaṇukamaṇicca pl hinaṇājītupuggalassarikhaṇā ki kethiyum. Apī ca brāhmaṇā samāpaṭīmānoha ca āddaya Buddhasaṇamānaṃ tehi thērēhi Upālīsamaṇe seva kaṇukamikāre omācyeyamāna hōntu. Te brāhmaṇā bhikkuṣaṅghaṃ buddhasamākhaṇa ca paṇāmitum ārāmaṇa povasanto bhikkhuhī vācyāmanā Buddhassānaṇuṣchavikena. Sace pi te dīṭhāmānaṃ atimānuṣchavikena eva na pagghanyum, te puggalā Kavindena pasamāṭabbbēti ativīya kusalam labbheyum.

35. Api ca Paćittiya-avignavanā 'Na chattapāṭhāsa agilamasa dhammo desetabbo, na pādukārujuhassa agilamasa dhammo desetabbo, na vettithisa agilamasa dhamsa dhammo desetabbo, na ogunithisa agilamasa dhamsa dhammo desetabbo; yo pādukārujuhanto hattasappam bhikkhūnaṃ pavisitvā pañca-śesa-asthe-nilāni samadipitvā dhammaṃ atva pindapātaṃ panāmento, so Buddhāsāme ageravo: yo koći evaṃ aṣṭeriyamaṃ Buddhāsāme ageravo katva ratamattayamakato hoti, tassam saranāgamanā tiṅṭhiti, so upajjak'ūpechedhakamassakhātaṃ pāpākammena virahito 'ti veditabhā.  
38. Tayo dūta ce sa-unkisaṃ buddhaimbaṃ nikkusuvanne-ṃmayan tassa paṭirupakaṃ disvā nevaratanamadantimaṃ manamitha-vejuriy'ādikkaṃ 'mah' aṣṭagham sumberaṃda pene saññatimaṃ nājanātāparajatasamahakkottitaṃ disvā aṭṭhānaṃ buddhāyaṇaṃ ca hadayena sappasayāyena "Taṃ buddhaimbaṃ nevaratanamadantimaṃ eva rūpana eva lañhāyaṃ na hot'eva; tassam aṣṭaṃ buddhāyaṇaṃ everaūpa paṭimadanto devapattasadiso ahosi"ti mābāvāya.  
41. Rājakupīsa taṃ uharīvāvī duttānuḍūṭanaṃ taṃ pākatam kathesī.  
42. Duttānuḍūṭamacca "īmaṃ Sirivaddhanagare nātthi Sāhīghanīdānās 'ti sāvāva.  
43. Rājakupīsa Buddhahīṅgarīṇīdānām līkhaṇaṃvītva pesamāṃhase. Aggamahāsenapati īmaṃ Buddhahīṅgarīṇīdānaṃ nihaṇītvā Sirivaddhanarājaṃ ārocetvā Sirivaddhanapurīsāmaṃ idam gopeṭvī bravi.  
45. Sabbe bhikkhusaṅghe saṃānera rājapūrīsa vilantananusā ca pothagikato orohantā phelakāya va nissay'udake vuyhamāna va tīrtham sanpāpuneva. Dvādasabhikkusaghā ca navasamānera ca dve rājapūrīsa ca dibhāsavacakkupūrīsa ca caulvejja ca navapasekāra ca ekāramikato ca satterasādhikavilanatannāsa ca chādhikapāṭihīnasamānasubhakkhara-gurahusuvannarajase lañkārī-ḥūsasvattathahaghasa ca sīrīdantadhatupiṭhābhāvārahā-vējadānaṃ ca gehetvā Arunāgamā Mahāgamahāviharāṃ va upanissāya, jayabhāsitaṃ nāma parissapam pannasaththa, Aggamahāsenādhisāno pesayāya. Aggamahāsenapati taṃ panni ghanato āntepuṃ Sirivaddhanarājaṃ taṃ ārocesi.  
46. Sirivaddhanarājaṃ pīsavādī rājajātittva vaddhanto, atthiya passamo, Vāma-egakampaphaddhitāramasahasanaṃ eva Aggamahāsenapati ca caṭuṣ sdkhagghe paññīsasatabala.

47. Leñkā Tambiénahamāṇē tā saha porisparivār'ātthasatehi sabbesam āsamārājpurisānē Dākhiṇaśaṅgharāja-pañcārāja-kulūpasaka-sojasa'nuśaṅgha-Pālihāsavāca nāmaadassanēsahīkārāra-senāpatiĀdikārāmakārdikārājeraṇādikārāmahaththana nāmākā-anunāṣāpattiyānaḥ chattuśādikātthasatānam saṅghā subhakkārā-puṣparīyapesanābhāvo Vālukagānādīṁ Sirvaddhanapurāpaksam samāpūṇaḥ agghāvataṃ sāmyapānam pañāmo.

48. Leñkā Tambiénahamāṇē sūthuṣaśājāto āgāntvā, paṭi-saṃthēram karonto saḍāvarena senhāretanayuggaṃ datvā, ekamekānaṁ bhikkhūnaḥ ca gāṇupāvārēya anto Sirvaddhanapurāsa Pupphārēme, sabbe rē jāpuraśa kutiyāvērā-nāmā kālikerave vasesāmo, samanerdhāna ca bhikkhūnaḥ ca nānappakāraṃ cīvara-parikkārē datvā, sadhē āgārāg kārēpento bhoojanam rundheyya manavidhāma kappiyakāhāṇaṁ samanarahbhikkhūnaḥ ca upaṭṭhah-atthāya.

49. So taṃ tambula-pūgā-phalēhērēne-minaḥ ca harmēpetvā upacchidati nāvikālaṃ rē jāpurisānānaḥ ca.

50. So ēpātmaṃ āgāntvā catupacayaya-bhesājaṃ deyya-dēnaṃ jīvitaṃparikkārē ca bhikkhūnaḥ datvā, te rē jāpurisā rē jāmanḍiraṃ ārohanto sabbalāhērehi menditaṃ parāmesubhakkārē datvā ekavēraṃ āruheyya āpucchapanāmūtum pun'ekavēraṃ ca.

So tiṃmarājpurisānānaṃ ekamekāna ca vataṃsakatidalasamībhāngulādhikārāsakasrejataparēkkhitamāsamārājaraṇajītaṇi ca paṅcādikāhāvicāra-cattāriśādikāhāvicāra-dvēsa-angulāraṇajītaṇi ca ekamekānaṃ koseyyapatta-rajaṭacumābikānaṃ pesanīvatthamadesāvīdhām penñēkārāna ca tesaṃ nitabhāsā-porises-vejja-pesaperisānānaṃ cēva āñjāyī.


52. Evaṃ so Leñkuttasindho pesanāhādyo pītīpāmojo idam eva kusalaṃ kareyya.

53. So narindo Dhammakāshārāja somanassapatta tesa kusalenā tassa raṅgo anumodī nāmappakārena bhīyaco matāyya.

54. Idūtī Varadāṃmiko Saminduttamo dūṭānudūtāmaman rē jāpapāṭhatānaṃ atiyiyas kāruṇīna, tamē rē jāmānadhānam āniṭte rē jāsaraṇandiraṃ pacchā gacchamane tam niketiṃ rē jāpurise thēn'antar' anuucchāvīke pājojetvā'nurakkito pesakārapurise vassēpento pesakaṭākṣena, bhāṅgāriśākrapurisa rē jātanaṃ gāhāpetvā, visātpālam samē samē dūṭānudūtāmamaṃ dēpētva, paṅcāpalam samē samē dibhāsaṅkārēna ca, paṅcāpalam dibhāsaṅkāvaka Vilantasse; laṅghurāpiṇānaṃ guru dve paśā labhisi sā laddhān chapāpante; dēpēdāddhīnaṃ ca palam datī rē jādēt'upadūtābhāsāvaka-pesakā-porisesānaṃ ca bhīsībhōhanam kētasūchīna-markumauvēvēvātī na ca.

55. Sace pi te dūṭā-nitabhāsā-pesakā-porisesa pesaṅgāṃ yakīcīcīcī pipēsē honti;

56. so tesaṃ upaṭṭhānyikaṃ rē jāmantrimaṃbhāmeccan rē jātaṃ gāhāpeti vikāyamun'ūcchāvīkēsīmaṇaṃ.
78. Api ca Lahandamahārāja sabbe saṅgha-Ariyamunino nimantetevā tamha jālanāgarāhā nuptoem orohitvā āgaṭhante.
81. Api ca sānusāṅghē-Visuddhacarlo-Pavaraṇānuṃ ca te therā bhikkhū sasana saṃjotā kanotta Sirivaddhanurāpa vasenaā,
82. Te samip ahontāvasaṭṭipakānu giṃhāni ca hemantāna ca dvē utūni tensā mahantarā vasaṇa-utu atīviya sītaṭayatau. Devamahānarāsādisamo saṅgho sace su-khayuttā lokevāsino kulaputte ovād'atthāya pasannacitto te samip vasiṭukāmo vasatau. Saṅgho utuviparanimattā abhiḥkho huttā phasukam alabhīta nīcaveṣāma asaṃkpto; Sirivaddhanurāpa Aggamahāsanādhapati ca tam attham Sirivaddhanaramaśīro ārocopēsi Devanagaram saṅgham pūna nivattapan'atthāya. Licoṭam Sirivaddhanaramaśīro kusalam hotu.
83. Api ca Sirivaddhanpuruttassā Lah antidassā yathājīvaseśānurūpēna va rajassanassathaye abhiṇuddhiyā va saṅgharaṇapanaṃkāre datukāmo hoti.
84. So rājā Sāmindaḥātipeti mahārājaṇahardhamanettho mäṇḍapadesupūlito sabberēṭṭarāṇābhitapēṭṭhito patidānakovido rējaporissā Ariyamuni-dūṭānudūṭēmaṇcū pucohēpeti.
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