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THE PĀLI APADĀNA COLLECTION

The Apadāna is a collection1 of stories (apadāna-s2) written in verse, most of which are ascribed to, and deal with the lives of, Buddhist elder monks (thera-s) and nuns (therī-s). These elders are acknowledged as direct disciples (sāvaka-s, lit. "hearers") of Gotama Buddha who had been members of his monastic community, the sangha, for more than ten years. It is a long and unwieldy collection consisting of around eight thousand verses3 distributed among 592 apadāna-s, the shortest of which contains fewer than ten verses, the longest over two hundred. It is arranged into four parts: Buddhāpadāna, Pacceka buddhāpadāna, Therāpadāna and Therī-apadāna. The first two of these each contain a single eponymous apadāna ascribed to Gotama Buddha himself. Although they have identical introductory verses, there is no other connection between the two poems in either style or content, and their connection to the other two parts of the collection is similarly tenuous. In the Therāpadāna, verse stories ascribed to 550 elder monks4 and conforming generally to a standard stylistic pattern are related. These stories are divided between 55 sections (vagga-s), each containing ten apadāna-s. In the Therī-apadāna, forty stories about elder nuns, which also generally conform to the standard apadāna pattern, are divided evenly into four sections, each containing ten apadāna-s.

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1 This article on the Apadāna is based on the seven manuscripts and three printed editions of the text used in preparing my D.Phil. thesis for Oxford University.
2 To reduce the number of foreign words in this paper, I have generally given the Pāli terms without Sanskrit equivalents. I have, however, used Sanskrit terms such as karma and nirvāṇa where they are better known.
3 The exact number of verses is as yet unestablished due to the corrupt nature of the text.
4 This figure, which appears to have been settled upon by the majority of modern editors despite inconsistent evidence, will be discussed further below.

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While the formal structure of the *Apadāna* text (Apadāna-pāli or *Apadāna-pātha*) is somewhat problematic, the individual verse stories have a unity of content. The basic theme which underlies all the stories in the collection, with the exception of the *Pacecekabuddhāpadāna*, is the efficacy of the law of *karma* (Pāli *kamma*), “effective (deliberate) action, (deliberate) action and its result”. The primary purpose of the *Apadāna* is to explore, within a particular Buddhist framework, the doctrine that good actions based on good intentions bring about good results and bad actions based on bad intentions bring about bad results. The *Critical Pāli Dictionary* describes the *Apadāna* as “tales in verse about the past *karma* of Buddhist saints”.  

In the *apadāna*-s of the elder monks and nuns, the actions performed and the results obtained are almost always good. The actions described are generally also connected to a secondary theme of aspiration to future *sāvaka*-hood and attainment of *arahant*-ship (*arahatta*, “perfection”); the resulting liberation from the cycle of *samsāra*, “continuing existence”, was the central concern of the Buddha’s teaching. The *Apadāna* can thus be placed within the genre of didactic or homiletic literature in which stories are used to illustrate and interpret doctrinal points, particularly for the edification of pious lay people. The collection is regarded as belonging to the scriptural literature of the Theravādin Pāli canon by Buddhists in countries such as Myanmar (formerly Burma), Sri Lanka and Thailand. Like its structure, however, the place of the *Apadāna* in the fixed canon of sacred texts handed down by the orthodox Theravāda tradition of the Mahāvihāravāsins, and in Buddhist literature as a whole, is problematic. These problems will be discussed below.

The term *apadāna*, like the corresponding Sanskrit term *avādaṉa*, has often been translated as “glorious, noble or heroic deed”. With this meaning, the term is derived from the Sanskrit verbal root *avādāi* “to purify, cleanse”, and thence from the adjectival form *avādāta*, “pure, excellent”. Most of the poems in the Pāli collection are indeed concerned with meritorious and pious former actions of the elder monks and nuns to whom they are attributed. It seems probable, however, that this meaning came to be imputed to the term as a result of the nature of such stories in the Pāli *Apadāna* and those in the major early Sanskrit *avādaṉa* collections, the original meaning being thereby superseded and obscured. Paul Mus, speaking about the Indian influence on local beliefs in the ancient South-East Asian kingdom of Champa, sounded a warning note which I think is relevant here, if for the word “belief” is substituted “collection”. He remarked: “The way in which a belief is described and explained once it is formed, and the origins which are attributed to it at that stage, are necessarily different from the way in which it was invented and from its real origins”.

The word *apadāna* occurs in the title of one of the discourses (sutta-s) in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the first collection of the *Sutta Piṭaka* section of the Pāli canon, which contains the long sermons attributed to Gotama Buddha. The Buddha is said to have preached the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* (*The Great Discourse on the Lineage*) to a group of monks as a “sermon on the subject of past states [of existence]”. It deals with the lives of seven buddhas, Gotama and the six buddhas who immediately preceded him, and is concerned only to describe the events of the final

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1 CPD 1 p. 267.
lifetime of each, during which enlightenment (bodhi, “awakening”) was attained and buddhahood achieved. Through the detailed story of the first in this set of seven buddhas, Vipassi, a pattern is established to which the lives of all buddhas, including Gotama, conform. The only differences lie in personal details such as the time and situation in which they were born and attained enlightenment, and the names of the people closely associated with them. In describing this particular set of lives, Gotama Buddha appears to have been attempting to establish an authority for himself as realiser and teacher of the doctrine, the dhamma, by reference, not to his own past lives, but to the lives of buddhas from the past. The stories in this sutta, in that they celebrate success in the search for enlightenment and the subsequent establishment of a system of instruction (sāsana), could certainly be called “stories of glorious deeds”, supporting the popular understanding of the term apadāna. They are, however, very different in purpose from those related in the Thera- and Theri-apadāna-s, in which events from the past lives of the elder monks and nuns are linked karmically to their own lives at the time of Gotama Buddha. It is this which makes the use of the term apadāna unusual in the Mahāpadāna Sutta rather than its connection with the Buddha, as has been suggested elsewhere.¹

There are indeed a number of texts besides the Mahāpadāna Sutta in which the word apadāna is associated with the Buddha and in which his past lives as a bodhisatta, “future buddha”, are described in order to explain the events of his final life and his attainment of buddhahood. The Buddhāpadāna itself contains the story of a deed performed in one of Gotama’s past lives which is linked to his triumphant final life. Norman points out that the use of the word apadāna in the Mahāpadāna Sutta resembles that of the word avadāna in the colophons of many of the chapters in the Mahāvastu.² This Sanskrit work is a collection of stories (based on a recension of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin Vinaya) which illustrates the virtues of Gotama Buddha, often by reference to his past lives. There are many Sanskrit avadāna-s which relate exploits performed by Gotama in previous births, a number of them contained in verse collections known as avadānamāla-s, “garlands of avadāna-s”. Two canonical Pāli texts apart from the Buddhāpadāna refer to themselves as apadāna-s of the Buddha (buddhāpadāna-s): the Pubbakammapihoti apadāna, which is also included in the Apadāna collection, and the Cariyāpiṭaka, which is the fifteenth book of the Khuddaka Nikāya collection and which is described in its colophon as buddhāpadāṇiyan.¹ In each of these texts, aspects of the final life and character of Gotama are explained through their connection with actions performed by him in former lives. It is this way of using “past lives”, exemplified particularly in the poetic extended autobiographies of elder monks and nuns which comprise the major part of the Apadāna collection, which should be recognised in any interpretation of the term apadāna.

The usage of the word apadāna in another sutta from the Dīgha Nikāya provides an earlier and more relevant derivation than that previously considered. The word occurs twice in the Aggaṇī Sutta (The Discourse on Knowledge of Beginnings),² in the course of which the Buddha tells a story about the origin of our world. In this context, apadāna is used with the meaning of “cutting (in an agricultural sense) or reaping”: “and where it [rice] was reaped, it did not grow again, and the cut place showed”.³ Here the term is derived from the Vedic Sanskrit

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¹ Cp 37.2. I.B. Horner translates this as “Heroic Stories of the Buddha” in Basket of Conduct p. 50,10–11.
² D III 80–98 (= D XXVII). Translation, THIH pp. 408–15; I have used Walshe’s translation of the title. A comparatively late date for this sutta is suggested in Norman pp. 41–42.
verbal root *avā ṭo, “to cut, break off, divide”, and is used in the sense *avakhaṃdane, “cutting off, reaping”. There are many examples in the Buddha’s teachings of his redefining terms from the society in which he lived, which was dominated by the brahminical religion and its ideology. There are, in particular, numerous examples of his use of agricultural terms, the meanings of which he altered and extended within the framework of his message. In the Kasibhāradvāja Sutta of the Suttanipāta, for example, the Buddha explains to the brahmin Kasibhāradvāja that he too ploughs and sows, with faith as his seed and wisdom as his yoke and plough. Again, in a passage from the Anguttara Nikāya, the fourth collection of the Sutta Pitaka, the Buddha says: “karma is the field, consciousness the seed, craving the moisture [making the seed grow]”.

As has been noted above, the basic theme of all but one of the apadāna-s in the Pāli collection is the working of karma. The image of reaping is particularly applicable to this doctrine and, as Norman points out in this connection, there is a complementary metaphorical usage of the words “sowing” and “reaping” in English. The interpretation of the term as “(one’s) reapings” enables us to understand the apadāna-s as stories to illustrate the reaping in a present life of the fruit (phala) or result of good or bad deeds performed in the past. The entry for the word apadāna in the Critical Pāli Dictionary provides a possible sequence for the development of an idiomatic sense of the word as “exploit, result, work” without, however, indicating the connection with the doctrinal theme of karma which is basic to the apadāna type of literature. In his work on Sanskrit avadāna-s, Strong often translates the word avadāna as “karmic history” or “karmic biography”. In an article on avadāna specialists, he quotes a verse from the tenth chapter of the Kalpadrumāvadānamālā which reveals the concern of the compilers of the Sanskrit avadāna collections with the theme of karma: “‘From dharmic action beings obtain bliss. From evil action they are allotted suffering. From mixed action they come to enjoy mixed fruits.’ Thus spake the avadānists”. In his recent book on the monk Upagupta, whom he regards as the “patron-saint” of the avadāna specialists, Strong defines avadāna (which he equates with apadāna) as: “a genre of Buddhist story usually showing the workings of karma through the deeds of ordinary individuals”.

This consideration of apadāna-s as karmic biographies, in which the present is explained through the description of events from past lives, is reflected in modern usage of the term to denote “history, life-story, biography (especially of a religious figure)” in Sri Lanka and Thailand. This is reflected in titles such as the Kālapavattikathā Therāpadāna, which is that of the recent biography of a renowned Thai monk. It is also consistent with the narrative format of the apadāna-s of the elder monks and nuns in the canonical collection, in which success in escaping from the cycle of samsāra, “continuing existence”, is linked with former behaviour. While the Buddhāpadāna also deals with a past action and its result, it does not completely conform to the standard narrative pattern (discussed below) which is followed, to a greater or lesser degree, in the Thera- and Therī-apadāna-s. Furthermore, the presentation of the karmic connection between the peculiar pious deed of the Bodhisatta which it describes and its fruit, the attainment of enlightenment, is so understated that it has not always been noticed.

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1. See CPD I p. 449.
4. EV I p. 133, note on the word apadāna in Th 47.
5. CPD I p. 267.

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1. Strong (1) p. 867.
2. Strong (2) p. 348 (Glossary).
3. This appears to be the case in D.L. Barua’s article on the Buddhāpadāna and in Bechert (3) pp. 101–2.
have already noted that the Mahāpādāna Sutta is concerned simply to describe the glorious final lives of the seven buddhas and does not attempt to explain them by connecting them with their past lives.

There is, however, a type of text, closely linked with the apadāna genre, which is particularly concerned to develop karmic links between previous births of Gotama Buddha and episodes in his final life. This is the jātaka literature, which includes the canonical Jātaka collection of the Khuddaka Nikāya and also a large number of “apocryphal” jātaka-s, fifty of which comprise the South-East Asian Paññāsa-jātaka collection. The non-canonical prose stories of the Jātakatthavāṇṇā, the commentary on the verses of the Jātaka collection, are primarily descriptions of the past career of the Bodhisatta and of his fulfillment of the ten perfections (pāramī-s, pāramitā-s) essential to his attainment of buddhahood.1 The stories of good deeds performed by him in more than 500 previous human and non-human births2 are presented as being related by the Buddha in order to explain incidents in his final life. They are introduced by a story of the present (paccuppavatthu) which sets out the circumstances in which the past story came to be told. These are connected with the final linking statement (samodhāna) which connects the Buddha and those people close to him in his final life with the events in the story of the past (atītavatthu). The jātaka stories thus underline a view of the universe characterised by karmic interconnection and progression. They also imply the validity of similar, extended karmic biographies of people other than the Buddha such as those found in the Thera- and Therī-apadāna-s. In his early study of Buddhist Sanskrit literature in Nepal, Mitra classed the jātaka as part of the avadāna genre: “In fact, the avadāna of the Nepalese is the class of which the Jātaka is an order. The former treats of the anterior lives of Sākya Buddha as well as of other persons, whereas the latter is confined to Sākya only.”

The apadāna stories of the elder monks and nuns are introduced by a story of the past which describes a meritorious action generally, although not necessarily, one performed in honour of a former buddha or pacceka-buddha. Those stories which conform to the ideal apadāna pattern show this pious action to have been instigated by faith and by the desire to attain a senior position in the monastic order of a future Buddha, and include a prophecy concerning the successful achievement of the goal. The aspirant is, by his or her action, established in a career directed at the attainment of the desired position and, in many apadāna-s, descriptions of intermediate births illustrate his or her progress towards the goal and link the past story to that of the present. The story of the present is concerned with the fulfillment of the aspiration and the consequent achievement of arahant-ship in the time of Gotama Buddha, as a member of his saṅgha.

The apadāna of the elder nun Paṭācārā (ThiAp 20) contains all the features of a completely developed apadāna and connects her, in both past and present lives, with six other women, five of whom also became nuns in Gotama’s saṅgha and attained arahant-ship. It contains two stories of past lives, the first set in the distant past during the time of Padumuttara Buddha. She reveals that she acquired faith in that buddha after hearing him preach, and was then inspired by his establishment of a certain nun as foremost among those who know the Vinaya by heart to make a mental resolve to attain a similar position in the future. This

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1 This is the number of perfections according to the Theravādin tradition. In the Mahāyāna tradition, six perfections are enumerated.

2 As with the Apadāna, the total number of stories properly included in the Jātaka collection is difficult to establish. The PTS edition by Fausball contains 547 jātaka-s although certain collections from Myanmar and Sri Lanka are said to contain 550.
resolve was followed by an act of alms-giving (dāna) in honour of Padumuttara Buddha, and by a verbal aspiration in his presence for the position she desired. The former buddha then prophesied that she would obtain her wish in the future, as a disciple (sāvikā) of Gotama Buddha. For the rest of that life she served him with devotion, as a result of which she was born in a later life as one of seven daughters of the King of Kāsī who served Kassapa Buddha continuously for twenty thousand years while living the household life. The story of the final birth of Paṭācārā is well-known from a variety of sources, including the commentaries on the Therigāthā and the Dhammapada. According to the tradition, she became mad with grief following the deaths of her husband, children, parents and brother but was consoled by Gotama Buddha and admitted to the community of nuns. As a nun, she quickly attained arahant-ship and was declared by the Buddha to have achieved the foremost position for which she had aspired so many aeons before.

The Paccekkabuddhāpadāna, despite its place in the collection, is not truly an apadāna and its inclusion is anomalous, reflecting the doctrinal motives of the compiler of the Apadāna rather than the nature of the poem itself. Although it is not formally an apadāna of the Buddha, the Paccekkabuddhāpadāna is said to have been related by Gotama Buddha “for the purpose of explaining the doctrine”. However, this attribution and the set of introductory verses which are almost identical to those in the Buddhāpadāna, cannot disguise the fact that the Paccekkabuddhāpadāna was deliberately composed around the verses of another canonical work in order to complete the creation of a formal structure for the Apadāna collection. As part of his answer to the elder monk Ānanda’s request for information about paccekkabuddhas, the Buddha quotes the whole of the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta. This poem is the third in the Suttanipāta collection although there is no indication in the sutta itself

that the verses are to be connected with paccekkabuddhas. While the Apadāna commentary states that the Buddha recited the Paccekkabuddhāpadāna because “the resolve and aspiration of the Buddhā is known, likewise [the resolve and aspiration] of the sāvaka-s, but [that] of the paccekkabuddhas is not known”, these verses do not deal with resolve[s or aspirations. Furthermore, there is no attempt in either the Khaggavisāṇa Sutta or the Paccekkabuddhāpadāna to develop causal connections between the past and present lives of even a single paccekkabuddha, or to karmically explain the achievement of pacceka-enlightenment (pacceka-bodhi) and thereby provide a model of effective behaviour.

Former studies of the Buddhāpadāna have concentrated on the unusual features it possesses, which distinguish it in the context of Theravādin canonical literature, rather than on its place within the Apadāna collection. It does appear from the beginning of this poem that it may have originated in a separate collection of apadāna-s of the Buddha, and Saddhatissa refers to a Laotian collection containing a text called the Buddhāpadāna which was transmitted as an independent work. However, despite its distinctive features, it is the features which link the Buddhāpadāna with the other poems in the Apadāna collection which are relevant in this discussion. After the introductory verses, which establish the circumstances in which the Buddhāpadāna was related and link this poem with the two others in the collection attributed to the Buddha, the apadāna itself begins with a statement by the Buddha

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1 The connection with paccekkabuddhas is made in the Culla Niddesa and in the closing verses of the Paccekkabuddhāpadāna. See also Norman p. 65.  
2 Ap-a 139,6–7: buddhānām patthanā ca abhinihato ca dissati tathā sāvakānām paccekkabuddhānām na dissati.  
3 In BAp v. 5 the Buddha instructs his audience to listen “to the apadāna-s of the Buddha/buddhas” (buddhāpadānāni) and the significance of the use of the plural here requires investigation.  
4 Saddhatissa (2) p. 328.
that he made a resolve for buddhahood under previous buddhas.\textsuperscript{1} The past story in this \textit{apadāna} is unusual in that it deals with an episode from a former life in which the Bodhisatta was close to the end of his path to buddhahood and it describes a mental rather than a physical offering performed as an act of homage. The Buddha describes how he mentally created a jewelled mansion, filled with countless numbers of buddhas, pacceka-buddhas and “disciples of the Conquerors” (\textit{jinasāvāka}) and located within a glorious buddha-field (\textit{buddha(k)khettā}), as a pious action. It is apparent that, just as the physical acts of piety described in the \textit{apadāna-s} of the elder monks and nuns reflect the capabilities of the beings performing the actions, the act of pious visualisation described in the \textit{Buddhāpadāna} reflects the advanced spiritual attainments and meditative skills of the Bodhisatta and is thus an appropriate offering from a being near the end of the path to enlightenment. Significantly, when the Buddha relates the result of this action, he uses the same formulaic verse as that found in the \textit{apadāna-s} of elder monks and nuns: 

“By reason of that well-done deed and the aspirations of [my] will, on leaving my human body I went to the Tāvatiṃsa heaven”.\textsuperscript{2} The \textit{Buddhāpadāna} thus contains many of the features associated with an ideal \textit{apadāna} although, interestingly, the story of the Bodhisatta’s first resolve for buddhahood, and the prophecy concerning his successful attainment of that resolve, are actually found in the \textit{apadāna} of the elder nun Yasodharā.\textsuperscript{3}

The \textit{apadāna} genre does not deal solely with noble or glorious deeds and their fruit and may also deal with the effects of bad or evil deeds when this is necessary for the provision of a complete karmic explanation of an individual’s biography. As the anonymous author of the commentary on the \textit{Apadāna}, the \textit{Visuddhajavanilāsini}, makes clear in his treatment of the \textit{Pubbakammapiiloti-apadāna} (discussed below): “the stories about bad karma and bad effects are part of the same story which tells of good karma and good effects”\textsuperscript{1}. The \textit{Upālītherāpadāna} (ThAp 6) is the first in the collection to contain both an aspiration and a prophecy, and the first to completely conform to the standard \textit{apadāna} pattern. It is one of the longer poems in the collection, incorporating two stories concerning past lives as well as containing two lengthy passages which are irrelevant in the context of the elder monk’s karmic biography. However, while the first story of the past concerns his performance of an act of homage towards Padumuttara Buddha, the second relates to an existence in which he committed an offence against a Buddha. According to his \textit{apadāna}, Upāli was inspired to perform an act of homage towards Padumuttara Buddha as a means of achieving birth at the time of Gotama Buddha and pre-eminence among the monks in his monastic community who know the \textit{Vinaya} by heart. Padumuttara Buddha prophesied that, after enjoying countless births in pleasurable states of existence, he would achieve his aspiration and realise his goal. The second story of the past is introduced by an assertion by the elder monk that he has achieved the goal upon which he was resolved, and has arrived at perfection in the \textit{Vinaya}.\textsuperscript{2} He then describes an occasion when, as an arrogant prince named Candana, he caused the elephant on which he was riding to harass a powerful buddha. Although he immediately regretted this act and was forgiven by the buddha, Upāli was born as a lowly barber in his final life as a result of the offence. That this inferior birth did not prevent him from attaining \textit{arahant}-ship and \textit{nirvāna} demonstrates that the attainment of perfection is possible even to those who fall short of perfection along the way, providing encouragement for those who are setting out on the path to \textit{arahant}-ship. It also reinforces the Buddhist view that it is the moral

\textsuperscript{1} BAp v. 4: \textit{aham pi pubbabuddhesu buddhattam abhipattayim}.
\textsuperscript{2} BAp v. 53: \textit{tena kammena sukatena cetanāpanidhihi cajjhivā manusāṁ deham tavatimsam agacch’ aham}.
\textsuperscript{3} Yasodharā therī apadāna vv. 49–59.

\textsuperscript{1} Walters (1) p. 88, paraphrasing Ap-a 114,21–23.
\textsuperscript{2} Upālītherā. v. 109: \textit{so me attho anuppatto vinaye pāramim gato}. 
quality of one’s acts, rather than one’s social position, which is ultimately significant.

Although the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna* is described as a *buddhāpadāna*, its connection with the Buddha is obscured by its placement within the *Therāpadāna* where it is designated as ThAp 390.\(^1\) It is possible that this poem was originally linked in some way with the *Buddhāpadāna*, and the two poems are considered together in the commentary on the *Apadāna*. The reason for the anomalous placement of this *apadāna* may reflect the problematic nature of its subject matter: the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna* is concerned solely with bad deeds and their karmic fruit. It describes unskilful actions performed by the Buddha in former existences which remained karmically effective after he had mastered the perfections, most bearing fruit after his attainment of enlightenment. The Buddha is said to have related this *apadāna* in order to provide karmic explanations for specific unpleasant events which affected him in his final life, references to which can be found embedded in the canonical literature. The *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna* begins with two introductory verses in which the setting of the poem is established, a feature which links this *apadāna* with both the *Buddhāpadāna* and the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna*. While this feature further distances the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna* from the other poems in the *Therāpadāna*, its setting, near Lake Anotatta (Skt *Anavatapta*), does link it with the Sanskrit text known as the *Anavatapta aggaḥ*,\(^2\) which is part of the *Bhaisajyavastu* section of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* and which contains a poem corresponding to the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna*. Bechert, who takes this as an indication that the Pāli *apadāna* is derived from a recension of the *Anavatapta aggaḥ*, points out that the poem which precedes the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna*, the *Sonakṣiṣvīsattherāpadāna* is also set at Lake Anotatta, and that its verses are almost identical to those attributed to the elder monk Koṭivinīsā in the Sanskrit text.\(^1\) In the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna*, former unskilful actions performed by the Buddha in twelve previous lives are concisely described, the causal connections between the deeds and their fruit being clearly and succinctly drawn. According to one verse: “[In another former birth] I was a doctor. I administered a purge [which was unnecessary] to the son of a wealthy merchant. As the fruit of that action, I have suffered from diarrhoea [in this life]”.\(^2\)

D.L. Barua points out the stylistic connections between the *apadāna* and *jātaka* genres thus: “The *Apadāna*, ascribed to the Therās and Therīs, connect the past existence of these Therās and Therīs with the present. Thus, they display at least the two main characteristics of the *Jātakas* or Birth-stories of the Buddha, namely, the narration of the past life by the Therī or Therā concerned and the identification of the present hero or heroine with the past”.\(^3\) Furthermore, as in the commentary on the *Jātaka* collection, some of the poems of the *Thera*- and *Therī-apadānas* reveal links between individuals and groups of elder monks and nuns in both their former and their final lives. Examples include the *apadāna*-s of the elder nuns Patacārā and Dhammadinnā and that of the elder monk Upāli, in which he is inspired by Padumuttara Buddha’s prophecy that an ascetic named Sunanda will, in a future life, be “a disciple of the Teacher [Gotama Buddha], named Puṇṇamantāniputta”.\(^4\) In the *apadāna* of the elder nun Yasodharā, links between the Bodhisatta and herself during countless former births (also established in many *jātaka* stories) are

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\(^1\) It is ThAp 387 in the PTS edition of the *Apadāna*.

\(^2\) This text is called the *Pañcaśataśṭhavirāvadāna* in Lamotte p. 692.
stressed, as is their connection in the birth in which he attained enlightenment and she arahant-ship. The close connection between the apadāna and jātaka literary types is also illustrated by the Cariyāpiṭaka. As we have noted above, and as I.B. Horner briefly discusses in the Preface to her translation of the text, the Cariyāpiṭaka refers to itself as an apadāna of the Buddha. It is, however, largely based upon the Jātaka collection, each of the thirty-five stories it contains describing an action performed in a former life by the Bodhisatta in pursuance of his aim to master the pāramitās.

The perfections, which are the subject of four verses in the Buddhāpadāna (vv. 73–76), are first named in the Buddhavamsa, the text which is placed between the Apadāna and the Cariyāpiṭaka in the Khuddaka Nikāya and which appears to belong also to the jātaka genre. The central concern of the Buddhavamsa is to present a cosmic history of Gotama Buddha from the standpoint of the mental aspirations (panidhāna-s) and resolutions (abhinihara-s) for buddhahood which he made and the acts of service (adhikāra-s) which he performed in relation to the twenty-four buddhas who preceded him. In response, each of those buddhas made a declaration or prophecy (vyākaraṇa) that he would succeed in his resolve after aeons of striving to fulfill the ten pāramitās and achieve the requisite moral purity for the attainment of buddhahood. Through its development of karmic connection and its extension of Gotama’s past history, the Buddhavamsa expands the premise of a buddha-lineage, first presented in the Mahāpadāna Sutta, and parallels the canonical Jātaka collection. It is the only Pāli canonical work to formalise the bodhisatta’s role and present a developed bodhisatta doctrine of commitment to the arduous path to enlightenment.

In the Buddhavamsa, Gotama is linked to previous buddhas by his aspirations and service, and by their prophecies. In the Thera- and Therī-apadāna-s, the elder monks and nuns are similarly linked to former buddhas and to Gotama, although their aspirations are for sāvaka-hood and arahant-ship rather than buddhahood. The idea that purposive thought can affect future existence is expounded in one of the sutta-s of the Majjhima Nikāya, the second collection of the Sutta Piṭaka, comprising the medium-length discourses attributed to, or approved by, the Buddha. In the Samkhārappattisutta (The Discourse on Rebirth through Aspiration), the Buddha describes the efficacy of aspiration or purposive thought (samkhāra) as a means by which a person endowed with certain qualities can obtain a specific rebirth or even freedom from rebirth. Although not all the apadāna-s in the Pāli collection are fully developed according to the standard pattern, most are histories of the undertaking to be a disciple of a future buddha. The colophon of the Visuddhajavanilāsini refers to itself as: Buddha-Pacekabuddha-Sāvakatherassa apadānātthakahā. The apadāna-s of the elder monks and nuns detail the services performed to fulfil their commitment, and report the achievement, in the time of Gotama Buddha, of the success prophesied for them by the buddha or other person before whom their aspiration was made. The commentary on the verses of the elder monk Vāngisa (Vāngisa-gāthā) includes the following statement: “elder monks who have apadāna-s (sāpadānā therā), like those included in the Apadāna, are those who have an apadāna, technically called a disciple-perfection (sāvaka-pāramitā), which is set in motion by a meritorious action performed for former buddhas, pacekabuddhas or disciples of a

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1 Basket of Conduct (Preface) p. v. See also the Preface to Cp-a pp. v–vi.

2 Ap-a 571,11–12.
The concept of a disciple-perfection, complementing the ten perfections of a buddha, is found in the Nidhikandasutta (The Treasure-Store Discourse) of the Khuddakaṇṭha, the first book of the Khuddaka Nikāya. This discourse, which is, however, the only one in the Khuddakaṇṭha not found elsewhere in the Pāli canon, contains the verse: “Discrimination, liberations, perfection of disciples too, and both kinds of enlightenment: all that is got by merit’s grace”.

The term sāvakapāramitā does not occur in the Aṭṭhakathā, although the concept is implicit in the poems of the collection, reinforcing its close connection to the jātaka genre and supporting B.M. Barua’s belief that: “the Apadāna may be regarded as a supplement to the Buddhavamsa in the sense that it adds the accounts of the Theras and Theras on the lines of the Great Legend (Mahāpadāna) of the Buddhās”.

It should also be noted that the term sāvakapāramitā is not used in the corresponding passage in the commentary on the Therīgāthā, where it is stated that elder nuns who have apadāna-s: “are those who have an apadāna, technically called a performance of service (katādhikārata)”.

The term adhiṭṭhāna, “service”, does occur in the Apadāna, notably in a section of twelve verses in the Yasodharā-theri-apadāna (vv. 72–83) in which she describes her service to innumerable buddhas, pacceka-buddhas and sāvakas. The demonstration in the apadāna literature of the importance of service as a prerequisite for progress on the sāvaka path led B.M. Barua to write: “The doctrine upheld in the Apadāna is what may be technically called the Adhikāravāda”, and to propose both that this implied a common date for the composition of the Apadāṇa, Buddhavamsa and Cariyāpiṭaka and that it represented a further connection between them in literary and philosophical terms.

Evidence supporting the consideration of these three texts as a group is available in the commentarial works of the great fifth century scholar Buddhaghosa, whose analysis of the Pāli canon established its authoritative form according to the tradition of the Ceylon Mahāvihāravāsins. In his commentaries, Buddhaghosa lists several ways of analysing the Buddha’s word (buddhavacana), the usual classification being its division into nine constituent parts or “limbs” (āngha-s). This classification, which does not include apadāna, appears to refer to types of text rather than to specific canonical books and divides the Buddha’s word thus: suttaṁ geyyaṁ veyyājaraṇaṁ gāthaṁ udānaṁ itivuttakaṁ jātakaṁ abhutadhammaṁ veḷḷaṁ. Certain books are mentioned, however, in Buddhaghosa’s explanation of the nine terms. The Apadāna is not one of the books referred to by name and, despite its links with the jātaka class, it was apparently included in the veyyākaraṇa class which was explained thus by Buddhaghosa: “The whole of the Abhidharma Piṭaka, suttas which contain no stanzas and any other (sayings from the)

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1 Th-a II 216,20–21 (= PTS ed. III 204,28–31): yesam hi purimesu sammāsambuddhesu pacceka-buddhesu buddhasava kesu ca puññakiriyavasena povatitam sāvakapāramitāsankhātam athi apadānaṁ tā sāpadānaṇa seyyathāpi apadāṇapāliyaṁ āgata therā.

2 The problematic canonical status of Khp is discussed in Norman pp. 31–32 and 57–58.

3 Khp 7,31–32 (= Khp VIII 15): paṭṭisambhidā vimokkha ca yā sāvakapārami paccekabodhi buddha-bhūmi sabbam etena labhati. I have used Bhikkhu Nāṇamoli’s translation of the title and of this verse in Minor Readings p. 9,36–39.

4 B.M. Barua p. 175.

5 This passage is found in the commentary on the Sumedha-therīgāthā, Th-a 225,16–18 (= PTS edition 297,11–15).

6 Adhiṭṭhāna is a common brahmīnical term in the meaning “entitlement”. In the brahmīnical religion, a specific adhiṭṭhāna is the prerequisite for the performance of any religious action. In Buddhism, adhiṭṭhāna used in the sense of “service” was made the only valid adhiṭṭhāna, in the sense of “prerequisite”, for spiritual progress.

1 B.M. Barua p. 176.

2 e.g. Sp 28,4–7. This way of classifying the Canon is described in detail in Lamotte pp. 141–45.
word of the Buddha not included in the other eight Áṅgas should be known as the Veyyākarana (Expositions).  

The vast size of the body of Buddhist teaching was responsible for problems, not only of arrangement and classification, but also of accurate transmission, even after the Pāli canon was first written down, some time during the first century B.C.E. Following the rehearsal of the Buddha’s teaching at the first communal recitation (saṅgīti) held, according to all Buddhist traditions, soon after the Buddha’s death, it appears that a system of specialist reciters, bhāṇaka-s, was established in order to preserve the texts agreed to be part of the buddhavacana. The bhāṇaka-s were responsible for memorising and transmitting particular parts of the canon, and the commentaries contain references to bhāṇaka-s of the first four nikāya-s. A single reference to Khuddaka-bhāṇaka-s occurs in the post-canonical text, the Milinda-pañha.  

Buddhaghosa describes the Apadāna as the thirteenth book of the Khuddaka Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka, but he also records the conflicting views of the Dīgha- and Majjhima-bhāṇaka-s with regard to this arrangement. The Majjhima-bhāṇaka-s are said to have held that the monks at the first communal recitation recited fourteen texts which they called the Khuddaka-gantha and included in the Suttanta Piṭaka. The texts — Jātaka, Mahā- and Cūla-niddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Suttanipāta, Dhammapada, Udāna, Itivuttaka, Vimānavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Cariyāpiṭaka, Apadāna and Buddhavamsa — are the same as those given by Buddhaghosa for the Khuddaka Nikāya with the single omission of the Khuddakapāṭha. The Dīgha-bhāṇaka-s omitted not only the Khuddakapāṭha but also the Cariyāpiṭaka, Apadāna and Buddhavamsa from their Khuddakagatha, which they included in the

The Pāli Apadāna Collection

Abhidhamma Piṭaka. This would support the inclusion of the Apadāna within the veyyākarana class of scripture. The ambiguity concerning the canonical position of the Apadāna collection reflects that of the apadāna genre, and the classification of the Dīgha-bhāṇaka-s further reinforces the close relationship which exists between the Apadāna and its neighbouring texts.

The Apadāna collection is also closely connected with other books of the Khuddaka Nikāya. B.M. Barua considered that the focus in the Apadāna on “acts of piety” links the text not only to its close canonical neighbours but also to the Vimānavatthu, the sixth of the Khuddaka texts. In his Foreword to the Sinhalese edition of the Apadāna, Ven. P. Paññānanda writes: “in terms of the analysis of the teaching and its meaning, the Apadānapaṭi comes within the category of the description of karma like the Jātaka, Buddhavamsa, Petavatthu and Vimānavatthu, etc.”  

B.M. Barua does not appear to have been aware that the apadāna genre was not exclusively concerned with pious actions, for he does not refer to the Petavatthu, the complementary text to the Vimānavatthu. The Vimānavatthu contains 83 stories in verse in which gods (deva-s) relate former good actions to explain their present enjoyment of life as inhabitants of heavenly mansions (vimāna-s). These stories can be compared with a number of apadāna-s, including the first five in the Therāpadāna collection. The Petavatthu contains 51 stories in verse in which a departed one (peta) explains the former wicked deed responsible for his or her existence in an unhappy state of rebirth. The use in these texts of the term vatthu (Skt vastu) to mean “a story, account”, corresponds to that in the technical terms denoting the past and present stories of the commentary on the Jātaka (the paccuppannavatthu

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1 Translation of Ps II 106,13–15 in Norman p. 15.
2 Mil 342,1. This text, although probably not traditionally regarded as canonical in Myanmar, is included in the Chaṭhasaṅgīti edition of the Tipiṭaka.
3 Sp 18,12–16.

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1 Sv 15,22–28.
2 Apadānapaṭi Part I p. xiii: dharmārtha viṣayāga visā jātaka buddhavamsa petavattukā vimānavatthu aḍiya men kammassakatājñānayehi vāṭena apadānapaṭiya.
and the *atitavatthu*). Fragments of a Turfan manuscript of the Sārvāstivādin *Kṣudrakāgama* indicate that it contained two texts identified as the *Vimānāvadāna* and *Pretāvadāna*. According to Bechert, these are of the same character and based on the same tradition as the Pāli *Vimāna*- and *Peta-vatthu*-s, reinforcing suggestions of a close correspondence between the *avadāna* (and, by implication, *apadāna*) literary types. Indications within the Pāli versions of these texts provide evidence of borrowing from and parallels with the *Jātaka* collection. This further demonstrates the interconnections between the various types of narrative literature concerned with the doctrine of *karma*, and underlines the preponderance of such texts in the *Khuddaka Nikāya*.

The texts which appear on the surface to be most closely related to the *Apadāna* are the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s, the eighth and ninth books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. These are collections of poems (*gāthā*-s, lit. “stanzas”) attributed to or connected with more than three hundred elder monks and nuns, many of which contain descriptions of the religious experiences and attainments of their subjects in their “present” lives. The form and intention of the individual gāthā-ś and the structure of the collections, however, reveal that the relationship between these books and the *Apadāna* differs from those we have so far considered. While many of the verses in the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-ś were apparently indiscriminately selected from a large, remembered body of verses associated with specific elder monks and nuns, most of the poems of the *Thera*- and *Therī-apadāna*-ś reveal a deliberate process of composition, in accordance with a specific doctrinal intention. The poems in the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-ś are arranged, like those of the *Jātaka*, according to the number of verses they contain, and a wide range of metres is represented in the collections. A numerical system of arrangement is not followed in the *Apadāna* and it is composed entirely in śloka metre, with the exception of the first three verses of the *Buddhāpadāna* and the *Pacceka-buddhāpadāna* which are in triṣṭubh metre. The commentaries on the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-ś make it clear that some of the elder monks and nuns, whose verses are included in the collections, lived after the time of the Buddha. The message developed through the pattern of the lives of the elder monks and nuns in the *Apadāna* is underlined by their all having achieved the goal of birth at the time of Gotama Buddha and, thereby, direct access to his teaching.

The *apadāna*-ś are histories of individual careers culminating in such achievements as those celebrated in the *gāthā* collections, and can be seen to provide explanations for those achievements in terms of past conduct. The monk Dhammapāla, who followed the tradition established by Buddhaghosa, based much of his exegesis of the poems in the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-ś on the *Apadāna* tradition. Where appropriate, the relevant *apadāna* is quoted in its entirety in the commentary, although the attribution is not always accurate, and the elder monks and nuns do not completely overlap in the two collections. The quoted *apadāna*-ś appear to have been taken from a different and much older version of the *Apadāna* collection than that currently available, although it is probable that these *apadāna*-ś were inserted by scribes after the time of Dhammapāla. Indeed, Woodward gives this as his reason for not including the quoted verses in his edition of the *Theragāthā* commentary, saying: “Looking through the versions [of *apadāna*-ś] given in our MSS. I find that they differ in almost every line from those of our P.T.S.

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1 Bechert (2).
3 The final two poems of the *Therīgāthā*, attributed to the elder nuns Isidāsi and Sumedhā, are notable exceptions, being literary compositions which display many features associated with *apadāna*-ś, such as the description of previous births.

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1 In his review of *Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā* Linanathavannā, L.S. Cousins suggested a possible date of the seventh century for Dhammapāla. Cousins (1) p. 163.
edition, and from each other”. Although the differences are often slight, the versions of the apadāna-s inserted in the commentaries on the gāthā collections occasionally preserve portions of the text which are no longer included in the Apadāna itself. For example, the commentary on the Mahāmoggallānatheraṅgāthā quotes two separate versions of the poem preserved in the Apadāna collection in its current form. As Bechert points out, however, it is these discrepancies which give the apadāna-s quoted in the commentaries their special value. Müller demonstrated that of the forty apadāna-s ascribed to elder nuns, 33 are quoted in the Therīgāthā-āṭṭhakathā, sometimes with different attributions. The form of the apadāna-s, in general, reveals a deliberate process of selection, structuring and restatement similar to that developed and elaborated in the prose commentarial works of the Pāli tradition. Warder considers the Apadāna to be “almost a commentary on the Theragāthā” and implies that it was regarded as such at the time of the writing down of the canon. Bechert regards the apadāna-s of the elder monks and nuns as being “the verse versions of the pre-birth stories told to the Th and Thi”, and believes that the apadāna-s were derived from old commentarial material connected with the Thera- and Therī-gāthā-s. The close links between the Apadāna and a wide group of Khuddaka Nikāya texts (including but not limited to the Thera- and Therī-gāthā-s) which we have already noted must, however, also be considered in any attempt to define the collection. Although the place of the Apadāna in the Pāli canon was not universally accepted before Buddhaghosa, and despite a recent description of the Buddhāpadāna as a Mahāyāna text, its canonical context should not be disregarded. Norman and D.L. Barua, in describing the Apadāna as an “appendix” to the Thera- and Therī-gāthā-s, more accurately reflect its developed and supplementary nature, and acknowledge its canonical attribution.

The construction of legendary biographies for elder monks and nuns reflected not only an expansion of karmic story literature, but also a growing interest in the personalities of the individuals associated with the Buddha; it represents monastic awareness of and response to this interest. Like the gāthā collections, the Thera- and Therī-apadāna-s were compiled from a number of sources. Snippets of biographical information and stories concerning a number of elder monks and nuns are found throughout the Theravādin canon. As Brough reminded us: “It has long been understood that the surviving early Buddhist literature is to a large extent secondary and often composite”. The canon did not provide the only material for the author (or authors) of the hagiographies which comprise the Thera- and Therī-apadāna-s, although it is not possible now to identify the extra-canonical sources. The Apadāna itself, through presenting a coherent set of biographical references for those elder monks and nuns regarded as perfected disciples, became a source for the homiletic and hagiographic literature of the post-canonical and commentarial traditions. In the Introduction to her translation of the Therīgāthā, Mrs Rhys Davids notes that the apadāna-s were the end product of a deliberate process of composition: “The canonical Apadāna, in its metrical tales of thirty-three of the theris, reveals their pre-natal legends already grown”. A similar process of selection and composition was used to produce a comprehensive, connected biography for the Buddha himself.

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3 Bechert (1) p. 3.
4 Introduction to the PTS edition of Thi-a, pp. ix-xi.
5 Path of Discrimination (Introduction) p. xxxviii.

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1 Discussed below.
3 Brough (Preface) p. xiv.
4 Psalms of the Sisters (Introduction) p. xviii.
Stories such as those which formed the starting point for the composition of developed hagiographies in the Theravādin tradition are also found in the canonical literature of other Buddhist schools, including the Madhyamāgama of the Chinese Sūtra Piṭaka and the Vinayavastu of the Mūlasārvastivādins. The majority of texts in the Sanskrit tradition classified the buddhavacana into twelve constituent parts, adding three new categories to the ninefold list. One of the new classes was the avadāna,¹ which the Abhidharmasamuccaya of the Yogācāra school² ascribes to the Vinaya Piṭaka together with the jātaka. As in the Pāli tradition, it appears that: “the canonical status of the avadānas as a genre was fraught with ambiguity”.³ However, the avadāna literature was developed and greatly expanded in the Sanskrit tradition over a considerable period of time, and a huge body of extra-canonical avadāna literature came into existence. Many of the Sanskrit avadāna-s were compiled in special verse collections, generally known as avadānamālā, “garlands of avadāna-s”, and they were based on a variety of sources including the early Sanskrit canonical tradition. No comparable expansion occurred with regard to the apadāna literature, its function having apparently been assumed by commentarial and extra-canonical literature, so that the Apadāna remains the only collection preserving this genre in the Pāli tradition.

The few scholars who have worked on individual apadāna-s from the canonical collection have suggested links between them and either non-Theravādin schools of the Śrāvakayāna which used Sanskrit for their literature, or early schools of the Mahāyāna. Nakamura says of the avadāna literature (in which he includes “Pāli Avadānas”): “The Avadāna texts stand, so to speak, with one foot in the Hinayāna literature, and the other in the Mahāyāna literature”.¹ As a collection, in the form in which it has come down to us, the Apadāna is emphatically Theravādin. It is composed in Pāli, and its constituent poems share many verses, metrical units (pada-s) and formulae with other texts of the Theravādin canon. This is, of course, partly a function of the oral nature of early Buddhist literature,² and of the “veneration of the religious cliché” which permitted the incorporation of “usable quarters” of existing verses in poetic composition.³ It also, however, reinforces the Theravādin context of the collection and of its parts. In the final redaction of the Apadāna, the individual poems have been deliberately placed within a formal structure which provides them with a specific doctrinal framework. The collection consists of sections containing apadāna-s about Gotama Buddha, pacceka-buddhas and disciples (sāvaka-s) who were members of the Buddha’s monastic community. This structure links the Apadāna with the threefold ideal grouping of sāvaka, pacceka-buddha and sammāsambuddha which characterises all the Śrāvakayāna schools including the Theravāda. As noted above, it is apparent that the Pacceka-buddhāpadāna was specifically composed in response to the demand that the structure of the Apadāna reflect this threefold ideal.

The first formal expression of this set is found in the Patissambhidamaggas,⁴ the book immediately preceding the Apadāna in the Khuddaka Nikāya. This is a comparatively late text which was apparently arranged deliberately to set out, in a systematic order, the way

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¹ The other two additions were the nidāna and the upadeśa. These are discussed in Lamotte, pp. 145–46.
² This treatise is attributed to Asaṅga for whom Paul Williams tentatively ascribes the dates 310–90 C.E. The concordance between the Tripiṭaka and the twelve generic constituents is tabulated in Lamotte, p. 147.
³ Strong (1) p. 163.
⁴ e.g. Pat III 1,32–37. Translation, Path of Discrimination p. 210,15–22, where they are listed together in respect of their development of the faculties (indriyāni).
to Enlightenment preached by the Buddha. It does appear, however, to have been universally accepted as part of the Theravādin canon before the *Apadāna* was so recognised. Experience of the four *patisambhidā*-s, “branches of analytical insight”, is included in the formulaic verses descriptive of the attainment of arahant-ship which occur at the end of the *apadāna*-s of elder monks and nuns and in some poems in the *Theravāda* and *Therī-gāthā*-s.

In Mahāyāna Buddhism, the ideal of the arahant was replaced by that of the bodhisattva, and aspiration to the type of enlightenment achieved by a sāvaka or a pacceka-buddha came to be considered as limited and inferior (kīna), and as an obstacle on the path to the perfect enlightenment of a sammāsambuddha. In the texts of the Pāli canon, the term bodhisatta is generally used to refer to Gotama Buddha, in connection with his long period of preparation for buddhahood. As we have seen, the *Buddhāpadāna*, is a text in which Gotama describes an episode from his career as a bodhisatta, thus closely linking it to the *jātaka* literature. Although it has been described by Bechert as “a full-fledged Mahāyāna text” within the Theravādin tradition, its goal is not “to recommend to all the bodhisatta path aiming at full enlightenment” although this is one of the characteristics of texts belonging to the Mahāyāna. The intention of the author of the *Buddhāpadāna* was to fulfill the requirements of the *apadāna* genre and to explain attainments in the present through the description of an action performed in the past. There is no reference in the poem to any bodhisatta other than Gotama, nor are bodhisatta-s as a group included among the perfected beings to whom he pays homage. D.L. Barua, who considered the Buddhāpadāna to be a “striking specimen of early Buddhist poetry”, provided an English translation of it in order to draw attention to its poetic merits. In the article accompanying his translation, he says of the *Apadāna*: “It also divulges the difference between the achievements of a Perfect Buddha, a Pacceka-buddha and a Perfect Disciple, all of whom are arahants”. Thus, while positing the view that the last three books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* are examples of what he calls “Mahāyāna in the Making”, he makes it clear that the basis of the *Buddhavamsa*, *Apadāna* and *Carīyāpitaka* is in the doctrines of the non-Mahāyāna tradition.

In his study of Pāli literature, Norman draws attention to the fact that examples of mainland Prakrit features uncommon in Pāli are found in the *Apadāna*, one such feature being particularly associated with the Buddhāpadāna. This underlines the eclectic nature of the Pāli collection, although it does not imply a non-Theravādin origin for this *apadāna* or for the collection as a whole. Despite noting the parallels between some of the Pāli *apadāna*-s and poems in the *Anavatapta-gāthā*, this is not an assumption made by Norman although, as we have seen above, it is the view subscribed to by Bechert, who uses it to explain the anomalous placement of the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna*. Walters also postulates a non-Theravādin origin for the *Pubbakammapiloti-apadāna*, believing it to be a work of either the Sarvāstivādin or Mahāsāṃghika tradition. It appears more likely, however, that versions of this *apadāna* existed before the division into sects took place, and other similarities between the Pāli *Apadāna* collection and the *Anavatapta-gāthā* may support this

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1 D.L. Barua p. 183. See also Ven. Saddhatissa's Introduction to his edition of the *Upāsakajanālankāra*, pp. 16–19.
2 Norman pp. 91–92.
3 Norman p. 92.
4 Bechert (1) pp. 11–13.
5 Walters (1) pp. 77–79.

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1 Discussed in Warder pp. 312–15.
2 On the question of the comparative dating of the *Patisambhidāmagga* and its rejection by the Mahāsāṃghikas, see Norman p. 88.
3 Bechert, (2) p. 102.
4 See the guidelines proposed for determining the classification of a sūtra in Skilling p. 143, note 1.
Bechert proposes a date of the first century B.C.E. for the first version of the *Apadāna* collection, and he suggests both that it underwent several enlargements after that time and that “at least three different versions of the *Apadāna* had existed”.¹ This would coincide with the traditional date given in the Sinhalese chronicles for the writing down of the Pāli canon and its commentaries which they place within the second reign of Vaṭṭagāmāṇi Abhaya (89–77 B.C.E. according to the chronology accepted by the University of Ceylon²). This activity apparently occurred in Ceylon at a time of sectarian monastic rivalry, “when the position of the Mahāvihāra as sole legitimate custodians of Buddhism was under threat”.³ While the nature of the *Apadāna* collection is such that alteration of the number and placement of its contents was possible even after it had been written down, the framework of the collection is only meaningful in terms of its canonical context. This must, therefore, have been established by the time its scriptural status was accepted and at the time it was written down as one of the canonical texts of the Mahāvihāra tradition. The fact that it does not appear to have possessed a commentary at that time may indicate that it achieved its final form only shortly before it was written down.

Bechert, however, does not believe that the *Buddhāpadāna* formed part of the first version of the *Apadāna*, and he dates its composition to either the first or second century C.E. at approximately the same time as the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, a Mahāyāna text in which the concept of the buddha-field is particularly elaborated. As Gombrich points out, however: “There has long been a general consensus that the earliest surviving Mahāyāna texts go back to the second or first century BC”.⁴ Those elements in the *Apadāna* which reflect developments within

¹ Bechert (1) pp. 11–14 and (3) p. 101.
³ Collins (1) p. 98. See also Adikaram pp. 78–79 and 93–94.
⁴ Gombrich (2) p. 29.
Theravādin thought, some of which were further developed and emphasised in Mahāyāna Buddhism, appear to date to approximately this period. By this time, the Buddha’s teachings had spread far beyond the original area in which he personally travelled and preached. Warder tentatively dates the Paṭisambhidāmagga and the Buddhavamsa to the early late second century B.C.E. and the Āpadāna to the early first century B.C.E. Both Walters and B.M. Barua consider the Āpadāna, together with the Buddhavamsa and the Cariyāpiṭaka, to be a product of the post-Āsokan era, and to date to some time during the second century B.C.E. This view is supported by references in the āpadāna-s of the elder monk Puṇṇamantāniputta and the elder nun Khemā to the Kathāvatthu, the fifth book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. This text is said to have been recited at the third communal recitation, the so-called Council of Pāṭaliputta, in order to refute heretical doctrines, although reference to the text is omitted from the account of this communal recitation in the Chinese recension of the Samantapāsādikā. This gathering, which is only mentioned in the Pāli chronicles and commentaries of the Theravādins, and which evidently only concerned them, is said to have taken place during the reign of the Emperor Āsoka (middle third of the third century B.C.E.). The philosophical and mythological content of the poems in the Āpadāna, and its highlighting of formal aspects of religious behaviour and ritual practice, also uphold the conclusion that it is a post-Āsokan text which was taken to Ceylon before the end of the first century B.C.E. and included in the canonical corpus.

Many legends were constructed by the Buddhist traditions around the person of Āsoka, who has been called “the greatest political and spiritual figure of ancient India”. It is certainly possible, however, that his patronage was responsible for establishing Buddhism over a far wider area than would have been conceivable before the founding of the Mauryan Empire by his grandfather, Candragupta, in around 324 B.C.E. Āsoka is traditionally connected with what Warder refers to as “the popularisation of Buddhism”, and with the enthusiastic promotion of religious activities such as pilgrimage and the veneration of relics through the construction of stūpa-s and shrines. By the time of Āsoka, not only were the Buddha and his chief disciples long dead, but so too were the monks and nuns who had been ordained and directly taught by them. The Buddha had left his doctrine and the corpus of monastic rules, rather than a person, in his place as the central authority for the religion which he had founded. He had charged his monks with the dissemination of his teachings, a responsibility which entailed the further duties of preservation and interpretation. He is said to have sent out the first sixty monks with the instruction: “Monks, preach the Dhamma, which is lovely at the beginning, in the middle and at the end ... and proclaim the pure religious life (brahmacariya)”. The doctrine, however, involved “abstract ethics and abstruse concepts”, and making it generally accessible was a fundamental and continual problem for the monastic community which was dependent on lay support for its survival in the long term, as well as on a day-to-day basis.

Hallisey notes that summaries and anthologies of the teachings were produced as one response to this problem, and this would appear to provide a plausible motive for the compilation of a number of the collections in the Khuddaka Nikāya including the Āpadāna. According to

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1 Path of Discrimination (Introduction) p. xxxix.
2 Walters (2) and B.M. Barua p. 176.
3 Puṇṇamantāniputtatherāp. v. 6 and Khemātherī-āpadāna v. 90.
4 Lamotte pp. 272–74.
5 Hallisey p. 39.
Warder, the movement to spread and popularise Buddhism in the centuries immediately following the death of the Buddha was paralleled by two lines of development in Buddhist literature. These were: the creation and use of new metres in poetry, and the elaboration of many existing narratives which were appended to the Khuddaka Nikāya “in order to satisfy the popular demand for stories”. While it is fundamentally true that the Theravādin tradition “is the product of texts composed by, and indeed largely for, monks and nuns”, homiletic texts such as the Apadāna were intended to be used by monks and nuns in their role as preachers and transmitters of the Buddhist doctrine. They were thus directed particularly towards lay audiences, although this is not to suggest that they could not have been used in teaching monks and nuns as well. B.M. Barua points out that “the Apadāna legends combine by a peculiar mythological device the pious life of a householder with the higher attainments of the recluse, the latter overshadowing the former”.

In the apadāna-s of the elder nuns Paṭākārā and Dhammadinnā, it is specifically stated that they were forced to remain in the household life “attached to attendance on [Kassapa] Buddha (buddhopatthānāniratā)” in a former life after their father refused to let them become nuns.

Storytelling gives an immediacy and concreteness to abstract ideas, in much the same way that the establishment of monuments to mark places connected with the life (historical and legendary) of the Buddha made Buddhism “something physically accessible to the entire population”. As Obeyesekere makes clear: “They [Buddhist stories] have been central to the dissemination of Buddhist values and doctrine”. The corrupt nature of the text of the Apadāna, already apparent in its (post-eleventh century) commentary, suggests that its poems may have been found to be less accessible than the prose narratives based on the Apadāna tradition which were included in the commentarial literature. Support for this suggestion may be found in the fact that a thirteenth century ānisamsa, “advantage”, text attributed to the thirteenth century Sinhalese monk Siddhattha Porānaka Thera, quotes a number of apadāna-s from the commentary on the Theragāthā rather than from the Apadāna itself.

It has been suggested that dramatic performances of texts like the Apadāna were presented at religious festivals, but it appears that, at a relatively early date, the Apadāna declined in popularity as a preaching text, although parts of it continued to be quoted and used as the basis of stories in prose anthologies. Its homiletic function was apparently taken over by prose narratives such as those in the Pūjāvaliya, a thirteenth century collection of stories in Sinhala some of which contain quotes from the Apadāna itself. Its author, Mayūrapādha Thera, states that the Pūjāvaliya was intended for public recitation, and Pieris and van Geyzel noted that it was still widely employed for that purpose when they translated stories from it into English in the 1960s. The Apadāna, however, appears to have stopped being recited and studied and, as a consequence, it was carelessly copied and transmitted. It is also possible that the apadāna-s were originally embedded in a prose framework (similar to that found in the Jātakatthavannanā) which has not been preserved. Much more work needs to be done on establishing the Apadāna text, however, before any firm conclusions can realistically be drawn regarding this question.

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1 Warder p. 228.
2 Gombrich (1) p. 87.
3 B.M. Barua p. 178.
4 Paṭākārātheri-ap. vv. 16-17 and Dhammadinnātheri-ap. vv. 18-19.
5 Warder p. 267.
6 Obeyesekere (Introduction) p. x.
Unfortunately, the versions of the *Apadāna* which are available to us now reveal that we possess a corrupt and late redaction of the text. The relationship between the extant *Apadāna* and its commentary reflects the generally problematic nature of the text. The *Visuddhahanavīlasīni* contains no commentary on the *Theri-apadāna*, although the author does refer to it at the beginning of his commentary, stating that: “the forty *apadāna*-s in the *Theri-apadāna* are grouped in four sections”.¹ It also appears to be based on a version of the text which is longer than that currently accepted as authoritative, containing commentaries on and references to 561 *apadāna*-s in the *Therāpadāna* section. All modern printed editions of the *Apadāna*, except that by Mary Lilley for the Pali Text Society, contain a total of 550 *apadāna*-s attributed to elder monks, although this figure is not supported by the majority of manuscripts I have consulted. The manuscripts, like Lilley’s edition, omit three poems (ThAp 332–34) and thus contain a total of 547 *apadāna*-s, paralleling Fausbøll’s edition of the *Jātaka* collection. These three omitted *apadāna*-s, which are actually referred to in the summary verse (uddāna) of the relevant chapter of Lilley’s edition, are all, however, found elsewhere in the collection, as are two of the eleven additional *apadāna*-s preserved in the commentary.² In his Foreword to the Sinhalese edition of the *Apadāna*, Ven. P. Paññānanda states that there are 55 sections in the *Therāpadāna* although the edition actually contains 56 sections, due to its inclusion of the nine unduplicated additional *apadāna*-s quoted in the commentary. Similarly, the Burmese and Ṉālanda editions include all eleven additional *apadāna*-s, and it appears that the editors of these three modern versions have attempted to reconstruct the text with the assistance of the commentary. Each of these additional *apadāna*-s is quoted in the commentary on the *Theraṅgāthā*, and it is possible that these poems were deliberately removed from the collection, some time after the composition of the *Visuddhahanavīlasīni*, by a redactor who wished to underline the correspondence between the *apadāna* stories of the elder monks and the *jātaka* stories of the Buddha. Although Bechert believes that the eleven additional *apadāna*-s were taken from the *Therāṅgāthā-āṭṭhakathā* by the commentator on the *Apadāna*, he also admits the possibility that the final version of the *Apadāna* was the result of an attempt to match more closely the number of stories in the *Jātaka* collection.¹

It is not only the corrupt nature of the text which has led to the general lack of scholarly interest in both the *Apadāna* collection and the *apadāna* as a literary genre. The following statement by B.M. Barua reflects the common attitude concerning the text: “the *Apadāna* marks a stage in the growth of the Buddhist creed where the ethical side practically disappeared yielding place to the popular. The result was that the emotional side of the faith devoured its previous rationality”.² The “popular” character of the text, deduced from the emphasis in the *Theraṅgāthā* on the performance by lay people of ritual actions which resulted in specific and desirable karmic rewards, was noted with disdain. This led to its being regarded as a late corruption, unrepresentative of early Buddhism and untrue to the original teachings of the Buddha, the attempted reconstruction of which has occupied the majority of those involved in the field of Pali studies. With growing scholarly interest in comparing texts of the various schools and in locating the origins of the Mahāyāna within texts of mainstream Buddhism, this attitude is beginning to change. The *Apadāna* contains descriptions of a wide range of ritual activities including alms-giving, veneration of a Buddha or his relics, the donation of monasteries to the community of monks (and nuns), and the presentation of objects connected with stūpa-s. The assurance that such actions are efficacious and will bear the appropriate fruit in the future is upheld in the *apadāna*-s

² B.M. Barua p. 179.

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¹ Ap-a 101,20: *therī-apadānesu cattāriṣam apadānāni vaggato caturo vaggā*.
² See Bechert (1) pp. 15–16. He believes that all the additional *apadāna*-s are duplicates, although this is not strictly true for nine of them.
of elder monks and nuns. This feature links the apadāna-s with the ānisamsa literature, which Norman classifies as part of the jātaka genre.¹ Strong defines it as “a genre of text comprising stories that extoll the advantages of meritorious deeds”,² and notes that these texts were composed specifically by monks for the laity. The Apadāna commentary includes a passage containing seven verses praising the advantages (ānisamsa) of Bodhisattas who have made an aspiration for buddhahood,³ reinforcing the relationship between the two types of text.

The problematic features of the Apadāna collection are a result of its composite nature, and reflect the changes and developments in Buddhism in the centuries between the death of the Buddha and the writing down of the Theravādin canon. While a number of individual apadāna-s would in themselves be suitable subjects for detailed study, the production of a reliable edition of the text and an accurate English translation of the complete collection and consideration of this fascinating text as a composite whole is a priority.

Oxford

Sally Mellick Cutler

Abbreviations

References to Pāli texts and to grammatical terms generally use the abbreviations of the Epilegomena to Volume I of the Critical Pāli Dictionary.

Where they do not, the abbreviations preferred are included in the following list of additional abbreviations and signs which have been used above. All Pāli texts with one exception are PTS editions. The Buddha

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¹ Norman p. 178.
² Strong (2) p. 347 (Glossary).

Jayanti (Sinhala script) editions of the commentaries on the Theragāthā and Therigāthā, in which the quoted apadāna-s are given in full, were preferred to the PTS edition.

**ap.** apadāna

**BAP** Buddhāpadāna

**B.C.E.** Before the Common Era

**C.E.** Common Era

**chap.** chapter

**CPD** Critical Pāli Dictionary (Ed. V. Trenckner, Dines Anderson and H. Smith, Copenhagen, 1924–)

**EVI** Elders’ Verses Volume I (translation, with notes, of the Theragāthā by K.R. Norman, London, 1969)

**GDII** Group of Discourses Volume II (translation, with notes, of the Suttanipāta by K.R. Norman, Oxford, 1992)


**MW** Monier-Williams’ Sanskrit-English Dictionary

**PBAp** Paccabuddhāpadāna


**PTC** Pāli Tipitaka Concordance

**PTS** Pali Text Society

**THIH** Thus Have I Heard (translation of the Dīgha Nikāya by Maurice Walshe, London, 1987)

**ThAp** Therāpadāna

**ThiAp** Therī-apadāna

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SOUTH ASIAN FLORA AS REFLECTED IN THE TWELFTH-CENTURY PĀLI LEXICON ABHIDHĀNAPPADĪPIKĀ

The Abh, the only ancient Pāli lexicon, was written by the Thera Moggallāna of the Vilgammula fraternity,¹ resident at the Jetavana mahāvihāra built by king Parākramabāhu I (1153–86) in Polonnaruwa (Sri Lanka).²

There is a difference of opinion as to whether the author of this lexicon was the same as the famous grammarian Moggallāna Thera who lived at the same time.³ A convincing argument in favour of the theory that they were two different authors is that the grammarian belonged to the Utterorulmāla,⁴ whereas the lexicographer belonged to the Sarogāmāmula. It is possible that the eminent Theras of the eight fraternities were living together at the great monastery Jetavana, where king Parākramabāhu I had built “eight costly pāsādas, three storeys high, for the Theras dwelling in the sacred district”.⁵

² The eight Buddhist fraternities (mūla = āyatana) which existed in medieval Sri Lanka were: Galaturumula (P. Selantaramūla), Kapāramula, Uturumula (P. Uturulamūla), Vādumula, Mahanepāmula, Dakānumula (P. Dakkhināmula), Senaramula (P. Senāpatimula) and Vilgammula. See M.B. Ariyapala, Society in mediaeval Ceylon, Colombo 1968 (reprint), pp. 233–34.
³ D.M. de Z. Wickremasinghe (Catalogue of the Sinhalese manuscripts in the British Museum, London 1900, p. xv) considered the two authors to be the same person whereas Buddhadatta (Theravādi Baudhhācaryayō, Colombo 1960, pp. 85–87) and Geiger (Pāli Literature and Language, Tr. B. Ghosh, New Delhi 1978 (reprint), pp. 55–56) take them to be two different authors.
⁴ The Tamil slab-inscription of the Velaikkāras, Epigraphia Zeylanica, II.6.254.
⁵ Cūlavamsa, 78.33. The galaxy of Buddhist Elders who were patronised by king Parākramabāhu I were all great scholars, proficient especially in Sanskrit. For instance, Moggallāna Thera, the grammarian (whether he was or was not the

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The purpose of the Ābh was to make readers adept in the Buddhist doctrine. The work, greatly inspired by the Am-k, is divided into three parts, Saggakanda, Bhukanḍa and Samaññakaṇḍa, and the author states that it explains the names of all objects in the celestial, terrestrial and Nāga regions. The Ābh has been widely used beyond the shores of Sri Lanka, especially in Burma (Myanmar) and Siam (Thailand).

The araṇṇavagga, section 5 of part 2, the subject of this study, runs from verse 536 to verse 604 in the printed edition. The first fifteen verses (536–50) give synonyms of forest, garden, trees of different categories, parts of trees, and the rest of the section synonyms of flora; the entire section appears to be a Pāli version of the vanauṣadhivarga of the Am-k. The basis on which the flora has been selected depends therefore on that of the Am-k. It appears that Amarasimha selected the names of flora for his dictionary from literary sources, especially the Brhatrayi (Caraka, Suśruta, Vâgbhata) and the nihaṇṭus known to him at the time, that is the period between the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya (7th century)

The Ābh has been thoroughly studied by the late Waskaduwe Subhuti Mahāthera, who edited the Ābh in 1862 (2nd ed. 1883, 3rd ed. 1938) and published an alphabetical list of its words (Abhidhānappadīpiṇī sūci), with commentary, “in conformity with the grammars, Kacchāyana, Rūpasiddhi, Moggallāyana and Saddaniti, and the commentaries on the sacred texts Sāratthādīpani Vinayā and Abhidhammavibhāvini Vinayā” in 1893.

In this study, the Subhūti edition of the Ābh and the Sūci (Sū) are used with the sanne (Sinhala translation) and the tiṅkā (Pāli commentary), both preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. The tiṅkā or the samvaṇṇana of the Ābh, written in Burma by Caturaṅgabālāmacca (14th century), was revised by Paññāsāmi, “comparing it repeatedly with the Am-k, various grammars and the Ratanakosa”. The Sūci has been helpful in emending the text of the

10 Caturaṅgabālāmacca (Minister in charge of the fourfold army, Minister of Defence according to modern parlance) is more a title than a name, in the opinion of Mabel Bode.
11 Colophon of MS Pali 491, Bibliothèque nationale: Abhidhānappadīpiṇī yam siharājina katā maccena Caturaṅgabalena suvidham ālakkhitā ti.

Amarakoṣagandhena nāṇābyākarane hi ca Ratanakosapabhūti hi samsāmādiya punappanaṃ

...
tikā. A better method of collation with several other manuscripts would have helped in correcting the corrupt readings which are left unchanged. But that would have retarded the publication of the material already collected. In this regard, I share the ideas expressed by Professor Stede in the Afterword to the PED, and particularly his motto, “Better now and imperfect than perfect and perhaps never!”

The sanne (Pali 490) consists of 132 palm-leaves, 460 x 60 mm, numbered ka to jhā, with 8 lines per folio and c. 100 akṣaras in each line. The araṇṇavagga runs from folio ghe v 5 to folio ni r 4. The tikā or samvaṇṇanā of Caturāngabala (Pali 491) has 127 palm-leaves, 540 x 60 mm, numbered ka to jau, with 10 lines per folio and c. 105 akṣaras in each line. The commentary on the araṇṇavagga runs from folio ci r 1 to folio cai r 9. Both manuscripts are neatly written. They were brought to Paris by Paul Grimblot, French Consul in Colombo from 1859 to 1865, who obtained Pāli and Sinhala palm-leaf manuscripts thanks to the monks of the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy.

It will be noticed that the tikā explains the formation of the words, giving the root with its meaning and the suffix, along with other philological data such as the gender, the insertion or the elision of phonemes and the syllabic quality (long or short), followed by the etymology. It also gives additional synonyms.

The etymology, often an indication of the nature of the tree or the plant, helps in their identification and use. Attention may be drawn to a few examples. Morphology: sitapannāsa (trunk and leaves are white); Medicinal properties: eraṇḍa (destroys humoral wind); Taste: ambāṭaka (leaves and fruits are acid); Habitat: kāsmari (Kashmir) .... Of course, a few etymologies such as Sakka’s tree (§ 20), though of anthropological interest, are of no use to botanists. On the other hand, most of the names and their etymologies prove to be quite meaningful, a fact which was further confirmed when Dr Thierry Deroin examined a few dried specimens of plants (e.g. tivutā, tiputā, § 88) to check the etymology given in the tikā. The study of plant names and their etymologies is thus interesting in itself, for it gives an insight into the traditional knowledge of this particular branch of Natural Science in ancient South Asian societies.

The following phonological features are frequently noticeable in the tikā: the use of p in place of b: ampā for ambā (§ 14), lāpu for lābu (§ 89), etc.; the inverse tendency is rarely found: maravaka for marubaka (§ 171); d for ē: sādukaṇḍa for sādukaṇṭa (§ 65), kaṇḍakārikā for kaṇṭakārikā; dh for th: gandhila for ganthila (§ 173). Instances of

14 Priyavrata Sharma has drawn attention to seven factors playing a role in naming plants in the Indian tradition: (1) rūḍhi (convention: gudāci, tunṭaka, etc.), (2) prabhāva (specific property: krimighna, hayamāra, etc.), (3) deṣyokti (habitat: māgadhi, vaidehi, etc.), (4) lāścana (characteristic signs: ājīphala, citraparnī, etc.), (5) upamā (assimilation: sālaparnī, meṣañērgī, etc.), (6) virya (active property: katkā, madhuka, etc.), (7) itarāhyva (appellation: sākrāhva, kākhāva, etc.). See Dv, Vol. I, p. 19. The etymologies given in the Abh tikā correspond to these principles.

15 Dr Thierry Deroin is a specialist in the Convovulaceae family of plants in Madagascar and Indochina, and the Head of the Asiatic Herbarium of the Muséum National d’Histoire Naturelle, Paris.
metathesis such as visarati for virasati (§ 21), Povālīto for Vopālīto (§ 39), lini for nili (§ 106) are also found.

The tikā quotes as its sources Amarasīha, at times referred to under his work Am-k, Dabbaguna, Dhammasena, Rabhasa, Rudda or Ruddha (Skt Rudra), Vopālīta, the Ratanakosa, the Vajjagandha and lexicons in general, kosāntara. As the Am-k has been the principal source, I have given references to that work in regard to Sanskrit synonyms. Supplementary information clarifying the synonyms is also cited from the chapter on the groups of drugs (dravyasamgrahaṇīyam adhyāya) of the Suśrutasamhitā. Since such information is culled from Dalhana’s commentaryNibandhasangraha, the references have been given to the page number of the edition (see abbreviations) and not to the sthāna, adhyāya and śloka number as usual.

For the great majority of the words, two synonyms are given in the Abh. A good number of plant names given in the lexicon occur in the Vessantara Jātaka Sanne as well, itself datable to the 12th century. In fact, the Sinhala commentarial literature on Pāli works sheds light on the identification of certain plants. This will be the subject of a separate study.

Each numbered paragraph below consists of three parts: (1) the synonyms given in the stanzas of the Abh, arranged in alphabetical order, with the gender, and the reference number of the stanza whose pādas are indicated by the letters a b c d; (2) the quotation of the tikā relating to those synonyms; and (3) the Sanskrit, Sinhala, English and Latin terms of the plant concerned. The Latin or botanical term is followed by its author and the family to which the plant belongs; the current botanical term is given in bold type and the synonyms within simple brackets with the = sign. When the same plant has been identified differently, the authorities are quoted within brackets. The authors of plant names and the families of plants are not always identical with those given by the authorities quoted, due to standardisation. The authors of plant names have been indicated according to the list recently revised by the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, in consultation with a large international Working Party, and adopted as a standard by the International Working Group on Taxonomic Databases for Plant Sciences (TDWG). The abbreviations in that list, applicable to this paper, are given in an Appendix in view of the dearth of such documentation especially in South Asian countries, and in deference to the wish of the editors of that list for promoting the acceptance of the new abbreviations.

Although the alphabetical arrangement disturbs the particular principles of grouping of plants in the Nighantūs, it will make reference easier.

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17 Subhūti gives some botanical names, without revealing his sources. These botanical names have been revised in the present list.

18 For instance, in the SaN, the drugs are grouped according to great trees (mahā vṛkṣa), small plants (ksūpa), spreading plants (ulapa), creepers (lātā), fragrant drugs starting with sandalwood (candanāti), and food, etc. (annāti). The Śrī Vāsudevanighantū (palm-leaf MS) follows a division into bhadravṛkṣavarga, ksūdra, lātā and vargamātrākā. The Vanavāsa nighantū gives respectively the plant names ending in -vāna, those having two varieties big and small, those ending in -rāja, those ending in -āsā, names of trees, names of herbs and creepers, etc. See my article, “A Sinhala glossary of medicinal plants and drugs”, to appear in the Priyavrat Sharma Felicitations Volume (Jaipur).

It is rather difficult to see the order followed in the araññavagga of the Abh. Its model, the vanauṣadhiyarga, Book II, Ch. IV of the Am-k, has been classified by A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, in his edition of the latter work (Paris 1839), as follows: Section II: Trees and different species (Abh stanzas 551–581), Section III: Medicinal plants or plants with particular qualities (Abh 581c–588), Section IV: Useful plants (I) (Abh 589–592b), Section V: Drugs and pot-herbs, herbaceous plants, palms (Abh 592c–604).
In the matter of transcription, I have taken the liberty of rectifying orthographical errors with regard to the use of the cerebral ɲ and long and short vowels in the ʈikā, which has a penchant for short vowels (i, u). I also tried to avoid the excessive use of the half nasal sign (ɲ before g, ŋ, d and ɲ before b) of the Sinhala script, as well as the niggahita, by replacing them with the corresponding nasals, in conformity with Sanskrit orthography. The nouns in the accusative singular combined with a following noun are sometimes written in the ʈikā with the niggahita as well as the nasal -m (e.g. dvayam maṃbilakhuraphale, cū r 8); only one or the other, depending on euphonic combinations, has been retained in the transcription. Punctuation also has been adjusted rather freely. Corrupt readings, when left intact, are indicated with the exclamation mark (free from any value judgement). Emendations are given within angular brackets, and additions within square brackets. Wherever possible, I have given common synonyms in Sinhala when those given in the sannaya are obsolete. In such cases, the synonyms of the sannaya are indicated with an asterisk, supplementary synonyms given in the sannaya are indicated with a + sign.

The ʈikā introduces the synonyms by giving their number for each head-word, e.g. dvayam bahupāde. In the list below, I give the stem form of the head-word, (e.g. bahupāda). The head-word given in the ʈikā in this manner is not necessarily the first word of the stanza of the Abh. Sometimes it is a supplementary synonym, in relation to the words given in the stanza, as in the case of bahupāda, for which the words in the stanza are: nigrodha and vāta. I give such supplementary synonyms at the beginning of part 2 of the list (quotation of the ʈikā). When the headword of the ʈikā is the second or the last word of the stanza, I do not give it in the transcription. I give within simple brackets the English translation of the etymological data useful in the identification of plants.

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The Sinhala words gasa and vāla appended to some synonyms mean tree and creeper respectively.

This paper is mainly the result of an attempt to gain a wider knowledge of the medicinal plants, forming the bulk of the materia medica of the medical literature of Sri Lanka, which is my subject of study. It is hoped that the data collected, philological as well as botanical, will also be of use to the students of Ayurveda, botanists, ethnobotanists, pharmacologists, phytotherapists, ecologists and last but not least lexicographers.

The study of Ayurvedic medicinal plants is rewarding in many respects. It is of utilitarian value, for since the 16th century when the Western nations coveted South and South East Asia mainly for its spices, economic crops have become the object of a flourishing commerce and industry, bringing in its trail a rich botanical literature, and studies on the flora of the region are still in progress. An attempt is made here to identify the plant names with the help of the works of specialists in the field. This study also gives the personal satisfaction of understanding better the vegetal world around us, for most of the trees and plants

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19 The late Professor Jean Filliozat worked towards a “historical ecology”, centered on the study of regional ecosystems, to understand the material conditions of the life of peoples. That study, he explained, required the combined efforts of naturalists, historians and philologists, in other words, a meeting of natural and human sciences, leading to the global understanding of a “biocultural complex” rather than separate aspects if it. For his lucid exposition, see Travaux et perspectives de l’Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient et son 75e anniversaire, Paris 1976, pp. 10–12.

presented here provide either part of our food or medicines, or they adorn our parks, gardens and streets. Those are the utilitarian and aesthetic aspects of flora. There is another aspect, cultural, which is rather overlooked.

Modern societies have recently become preoccupied with problems of environment, mainly deforestation, as a reaction to the ill effects of industrialisation. But in ancient South Asian cultures, the tree had an important place, not devoid of philosophical import. Trees were considered to be the abodes of deities (devas) and genii (yakṣas), and as such were regarded as objects of worship. The earliest representations of tree-spirits are found in some seals of the Indus Valley civilisation and later, abundantly in Buddhist art, starting with the sculptures of Bhārhatu. The Pāli, Sanskrit and Sinhala literature is full of references to tree-deities and tree-spirits, a well-known example being the Devatā of the sacred fig tree (Aśvattha) under which the Bodhisatta Gotama attained Enlightenment (referred to in the story of Sujātā). The medieval Sinhala manual of architecture, the Mayamataya, gives instructions to the builder of a house as to how to cut the tree which was to be used as the auspicious pillar (maṇul kapa) at the commencement of building: go to the foot of the tree, scrape off the grass around it, draw the figure of the eight lucky objects (aṭamaṅgala) on the ground, place filled vases (pukalas) at the four cardinal points, offer flowers and sprinkle holy water mixed with sandalwood [paste] and milk. Then, go to the foot of that tree the following day and pray: “May the Deity living in this tree leave it for the sake of my house”. Saying that, cut off a branch of the tree and drag it on the ground to the foot of another tree, clear it in the same

way as was done for the first, strew flowers, betel and sandalwood [water] and request the Deity to take possession of that tree, leaving his abode for building the house. This shows the unsophisticated, respectful attitude of the simple folk towards trees, which constitute one of the prominent manifestations of Nature.

A similarity between man and trees was seen by ancient Indian sages. As shown by Priyavrat Sharma, the Brahmānyaka Upaniṣad (3.9.1–6) compares the hairs (loma), skin (tvak), blood (rakta), flesh (mānsa), nerves (snāyu), bones (asthi) and marrow (maṭṭā) in man to leaves and hairs (parna), epiderm (bahirupāṭikā), latex ( nirvāsa), mesoderm (sakara), endoderm (kānṭā), heartwood (ābhyantrarākṣaṇa) and pith (maṭṭā) respectively of trees.

The similarity between man and flora is recurrent in poetic imagery as well. For instance, in the description of Spring in his Kumārasambhava, Kālidāsa creates the happy image of trees (spouses) being clasped by creepers (young wives), with their bent branches (arms); the creepers (young wives) were pretty with their full-grown clusters of flowers (breasts) and tender leaves (quivering lips).

This anthropomorphising of Nature (Prakṛti), represented by flora, reflects the Hindu concept of the inter-relation between the macrocosm (Brahman) and the microcosm (Ātman), which is the essential teaching of the Non-dual (Advaita) philosophy of the

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21 The decline in the aesthetic quality of life in the wake of industrialisation is effectively expressed in the beautiful poem, “Cargoes”, of John Masefield, Poet Laureate.


25  paryāptapuspastabakas taṇāḥbhīyāḥ
   spuṭrat pravālo ‘śṭa manoharāḥbhīyāḥ|
   laṭāvadhūḥyās taravo ‘pyavāpur
   vinamraśākāḥbhujabandhanāṇi|| (III,39)
Upanisads. The latter is the basis of the āyurvedic theory that both man and Nature are of one single primary substance inherent in the five elements of water (āpo), fire (tejo), air (vāyo), earth (pāthavī) and firmament (ākāśa). As pointed out by Jean Filliozat, “As early as the Indo-Iranian period, general notions became firmly established regarding the cosmic rôle of the elements of nature such as water, fire and air. At the same time, there came into being the idea of an inter-relationship between those elements and the constituent principles of the body and that idea paved the way for the subsequent making of a parallel physiology and a cosmology”.

I received the help of several scholars in the preparation of this paper. Professor Emeritus Dr J.E. Vidal (Department of Phanerogamy, Muséum National d’Histoire Naturelle, Paris) guided me in the search for botanical names and advised me on the method of presentation of the paper. Dr Thierry Deroin (Department of Phanerogamy, Muséum National d’Histoire Naturelle, Paris) helped me in the identification of authors of plant names and the families of plants. He also went through the botanical nomenclature in a final check-up at proof stage. Dr Brij M. Wadhwa (Herbarium, The Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew) not only received me very warmly and helped me with the consultation of books at the Kew Gardens Library but also took pains to update the list of botanical names. Ms Jacqueline Mallet (Librarian, Department of Phanerogamy, Muséum National d’Histoire Naturelle, Paris) provided me with all the facilities to use the Library. Mr Nicholas Martland (Assistant Librarian, The Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew) helped me to make the best use of my short visit to Kew. To all of them I owe a deep debt of gratitude. I must also thank the Pali Text Society for granting me a Fellowship which has enabled me to pursue this research.

26 See Carakasamhitā, Śārīrasthāna, I.16 foll.
27 La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne, Paris 1975 (2nd ed.), p. 66.

The critical observations of specialists are most welcome so that improvements may be made in an eventual revised publication of this paper, probably with illustrations.

A

1. akka (m.), vikirāna (m.) (581a)
.gaṇarūpa. akko suriyo, tappariyāyanāmakattā akko (syn. of sun).
.vikaroti <vikirati> ti vikirāna<> (spreading), yu, si <assi>-.
.akkavho p<>asuko<> app[h]oto<> mandāro akkapano pi. pume akkavho.
.“appōṭana vanamall aparājite” ti Ruddo. mandāro devaduma<> hi
.pāribhaddake<> pi. tasmān akko yo setapupphako tasmiṇ alakko (q.v.)
.(akka with white flowers is called alakka).
.165), āśphota, mandāra, arkaparṇa (Am-k II.4.80,81); S. varā; E. Apple
.of Sodom, Mudar; Calotrops procera (Aiton) R.Br., Asclepiadaceae.

2. akkha (m.f.nt.), vibhīṭaka (m.f.nt.) (m.f.*) (569c)
.karīsapalha. rogam atasi bhakhati ty akkho (eats up maladies). kho,
sassa ko. rogam vibhūtam karoti ti vibhītako (destroys diseases),
vibhītako pi, bhuvavāso <bhūtāvāso> kaliddumo pi. kali sāsayati bhūto
dumo kaliddumo.
.Skt aksa, vibhītaka. Syn. karśaphala, bhūtāvāsa, kalidruma (Am-k
.II.4.58); S. bulu; E. Bedda nuts, Belleric myrobalan; Terminalia
.bellirica (Gaertn.) Roxb., Combretaceae.

3. aggijālā (f.), dhātaki (f.) (589d)
.dhādhāki <dhātaki>. ayam tamp<>apupphi majjopas<y>uttā pupphā
.sugandhī dhātakice and kkhīyātā <khyātā> (copper-coloured fragrant
.flowers are used to make spirits). aggijālasamānaupphatāya
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4. aggimantha (m.), kaṇḍikā (f.) (574b)

kaṇḍikārākā. āgi anena mandhaye <manthayate> [ti] aggimandho <aggimantho> (fire is struck with this), no, tām katthhei ghamsiyamāno āgi uṭṭhahi <uṭṭhahati> (friction of wood of this tree gives fire). g<k>āṇa gatiyām, ṇyu. jāyā py atra. vijaye so. jāyā duggā. jayanti gaṇānakīrike ti jāyā nānātā.


5. ajjaka*, ajjuka (m.), sitapanṇāsa (m.) (579c)

kaṇḍena patr<e>na ca sete panṭāse (stalk and leaves are white). aja gamane, uko. sito sukko panṇāso sitapanṇāsā.

Skt arjaka, parṇāsa (Am-k II.4.79,80); S. heḷa aḍhu, E. Shrubby basil, White parnass; Orthosiphon pallidus Benth., Labiatae.

6. ajjuna (m.), kakudha (m.) (562d)

nadīsajja. aja pūjāya, uno. ka ka lolye. vidataru <vīratan> indudumo pi.

Skt arjuna, kakubha. Syn. nadisajja, virataru, indradru (Am-k II.4.45); S. kuṃbuk; E. Arjuna myrobalan; Terminalia arjuna (Roxb. ex DC.) Wight et Arn., Combretaceae.

7. apāmaggā (m.), sekharika (m.) (583a)

kharāmājāri. kasissim (!) iti kkhātāyaṃ. apamijjanti vatt[h]ādikam ane[nā ti] apāmaggā. dīgho upasaggassa. sikkham āsā <sikkham assā


Skt apāmārga, śaikharika. Syn. kharamaṇāji (Am-k II.4.88,89); S. sābb*, gas karal hāba, vāl karal hāba; E. Rough chaff tree; Achyranthes aspera L., Amaranthaceae.

8. appothā (f.), vanamallikā (f.) (575b)

janamallikā. phuṭa vikāsane, ā bhuso p[h]uṭati ty ambāto <appothā>, rassādi.

Skt āpōṭā, mallikā (Am-k Mahēśvara’s cy. to II.4.70); S. vailidda, vailidda.29 Syn. janamallikā; E.; Walidda antidysenterica (L.) Pichon, Apocynaceae.

9. abbhāyā (f.), haritaki (f.), haritaki (nt.*) (569b)

sivā. na vijjate rogabhāyām (no fear of disease [with it]), rogabyathā (!) <rogāṭṭhāne payujjamāṇāyam-Sū> copayujjamāṇāyam assam ity abhāyā. rogabhāyām rahaty apaneti [ti] haritaki (removes the fear of disease). ko, satte ko, nadādi. haritaki pi. ab<υ> yatā putanā <putanā> amatā hemavati cetaki sip<υ>ā pi.

Skt id. Syn. avyathā, pūtanā, amptā, haimavati, cetaki, śivā (Am-k II.4.59); S. araḷ; E. Black myrobalan, Chebulic myrobalan, Negro’s olive tree; Terminalia chebula Retz., Combretaceae.

10. amatā (m.f.nt.), āmalakā (m.f.nt.) (569d)

phussaphala (!). natthi matam etissam hetubhūtabhām [ti] amatā (no cause for death with this). mala dhārane, ṇyu, nadādi. āmalakī vyāṭṭhā <vyāṭṭhā> pi. vayo tiṭṭhati ti ri (!) bhavati etāyā ti vyāṭṭhā (gives long life).

29 validda = wild ilda; válidda = idda creeper.
Skt amṛtā, āmalakī. Syn. tiśyaphalā, vayasthā (Am-k II.4.57,58); S. anbudulu gasa*; neelli; E. Emblic myrobalan, Indian gooseberry; *Phyllanthus emblica* L. (= Emblica officinalis Gaertn.), Euphorbiaceae.

11. amīlāta (m.), mahāsahā (f.) (578d)
pupphaviṭa pa. puppham āsūm<asu> na milā[ta]m assa bhavati ti amīlāta (flowers do not wither). mahantaṃ v<p>i kālama bhavati <sahatī-Sū> ti mahāsaya <mahāsahā> (lasts long).
Skt amīlāta, mahāsahā (Am-k II.4.73); S. kōmārikā; E. Barbadoes aloe, Indian aloe, Yellow-flowered aloe; *Aloe vera* (L.) Burm.f., (= A. vera var. littoralis J.König), Liliaceae.

12. amba (m.), cūta (m.) (557c)
amā gatiyam, bo, amba sadde vā, a. cuti āsēvanē, a, cu cavane vā, to, dīghādi. rasālo pi. rasaṃ lāti ti rasālo (having taste). dīgho eso ambo.
Skt āmra, cūta. Syn. rasāla (Am-k II.4.33); S. anība; E. Mango; *Mangifera indica* L., Anacardiaceae.

13. ambātaka (m.), pītanaka (m.) (554a)
yassa pattaphalāni ambilāni (leaves and fruits are acid) pūgaphalappamāna ca phalam (fruits are of the size of areca nuts). sallakī rukkhasanṭhōn ca so rukkho (having the appearance of the sallakī tree, see § 20). amba sadde amo, satthe ko. pī tappamānaṃakaṃtisu <tapanaṅkantisu-Sū>. tano pita <pitiṃ> vā tanoti pīdhāno <pitanako>. satthe ko.
Skt āmrātaka, pītanaka (Am-k II.4.27); S. āmbarālla; E. Hog plum; *Spondias dulcis* Sol. ex Parkinson (RHFC), *Spondias pinnata* (L.f.) Kurz (GIOMP, GVDB) (= Spondias mangifera Willd. sensu Trimen, Evia amara Comm., Terebinthaceae, ENUM), Anacardiaceae.

14. ambattā (f.), pāṭhā (f.) (582c)
vanak<ittikā. amp<b>a sadde, ṭho, avo rakkhaṇe vā, niggahīṭagamo. pā rakkhaṇe. to <ṭho>, setā pāpaceli <setapavēl-Sū> pi. setarasena rasena (!) yuddatī ti (having a white latex), a.
Skt ambattā, pāṭhā. Syn. vanatikīṭikā, pāpacēli (Am-k II.8.84,85); S. diyaṃitta; E. False pareira brava, Ice-vine, Portuguese wild olive, Velvetleaf; *Cissampelos pareira* L., *Stephania japonica* (Thunb.) Miers (IFPC), (= Stephania hernandifolia sensu Hook.f. et Thomson, Stephania rotunda sensu Hook.f. et Thomson p.p. non Lour.), Menispermaceae.

15. ariṭṭha (m.), pheṇ(n)īla (m.) (555d)
putī. hatajantupamohasaṃkhāṭāp<ś>iphalatāya ariṭṭho (seeds counter the least desire of beings, i.e. aphrodisiacs), nipātāṇa hantissas thō <ṭho>, tā <ṭam> rogād<r>ivantehi icchitabhātā <rogārīvantajanehi icchitabhaphalatā-Sū> vā ariṭṭho (fruits are desired by those fighting against diseases). isu icchāyaṃ, phana gatiyam, [i]lo asse.
Skt ariṣṭa, phenula (Am-k II.4.31); S. gas penela; E. Soapberry, Soapnut tree; *Sapindus emarginatus* Vahl, (= Sapindus trifoliatus sensu Hiern p.p.), Sapindaceae.

16. alakka (m.) (581b)
setapupphatāya alam bhūto akko alakko. ala bhūṣane, lattām (decorative due to white flowers). patā[pal]so pi. (See akka above, § 1).
Skt alarka. Syn. pratāpasa (Am-k II.4.81); S. hela varā; E. Gigantic swallow wort; *Calotropis gigantea* (L.) R.Br., Asclepiadaceae.

17. asoka (m.), vaṇjula (m.) (573a)
natthi soko yena (whence there is no sorrow, i.e. pleasing). java <vaj> gamane (shines), ulo.
Skt asoka, vañjula (Am-k II.4.64); S. hōpuḷu; E. Asoka tree; Saraca asoca (Roxb.) W.J. de Wilde, (= Saraca indica auct. non L.), Caesalpiniaeceae.

18. assattha (m.), bodhi (m.f.) (551a)
Buddhassa bhagavato sabañaṭṭaṇaṇāpaṭilābhāthaṭṭhānabhūte dumarāje (great tree under which the Buddha attained Omniscience), aññatra tūpacārā. aṣaṃ sabañaṭṭaṇaṇaṃ tīṭṭhāti etthā ty assattho (the seat of Omniscience), jassatho, dvittām. Māravijayasabbañaṭṭaṇāpaṭilābhādhikhehi bhagavantam asāsati ti vā assattho (comfort to the Blessed One in conquering Māra and obtaining Omniscience), ā pubbo. sāsa anusiddṭṭhihiyām, tosane vattati, tato gusso. sabañaṭṭaṇaṇaṃ bujhati etthā ti bodhi (place of attainment of Omniscience), budha avagamane (to comprehend), i, bodhi, dvīsu. caladalo pippalo kuṇjarāsano pi.
Skt aśvattha, bodhi. Syn. caladala, pippala, kuṇjarāśana (Am-k II.4.20,21); S. āṣatū, bō; E. Bo tree, Sacred fig tree; Ficus religiosa L., Moraceae.

I

19. īṅguḍī (f.), tāpasatara (m.) (565a)
ābhāḥ <āyam-Sū> ca kaṇḍ<ṭ> akibāhullena (full of thorns). Majjhimadeseslājye (habitat: the Middle country, modern Madhya Pradesh), i gamanattho, ido, issu, nadādi. tāpasopuṇjāmāṇaṇāphalatāya tāpasatara (fruits are used by ascetics).

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30 Confirms the suggestion that vañjula is a syn. of aśoka. See GVDB, p. 356 with regard to the syn. vañjula.

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Skt id. (Am-k II.4.46), (īṅguḍa m.-Suṣr, p. 165); S. vāl aṅgūṇa; E. Egyptian balsam, Thorn tree; Balanites aegyptiaca (L.) Delile, Balanitaceae.31

20. indasāla (m.), sallaki (f.), khāraka (m.) (568a)
sālānaṃ rukkhaṇam indo rājā indasālo (the greatest among trees). dāsādisu sīrivaśṭhi=a-kādi saddo=a viya adhivacanaṃ[attā]ṃ idam. Indassa Sakkassa sālo ti pi indasālo (Sakka’s tree). sallatto, ṇvu, nadādi, sallaki. khu=a-ra chedana vināśanesu, ṇvu.
Skt ś(s)allaki (Am-k II.4.124); S. iñḍusal; E. Indian frankincense, Indian olibanum tree, Salai tree; Boswellia serrata Roxb. ex Colebr., Burseraceae.

21. indavāruṇi (f.), viśālā (f.) (597c)
Skt indavāruṇi, viśālā (Am-k II.4.156); S. tiyāṅbarā; E. Bitter apple, Colocynth; Citrullus colocynthis (L.) Schrad., (= Colocynthis vulgaris Schrad.), Cucurbitaceae.

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31 Two species of S. aṅgūna are treated here: a creeper, vāl-, and a tree (ruk-, § 153). Two species kiri (= milk) aṅgūna and titta (= bitter) aṅgūna, both creepers according to the DVS, are identified in the RHFC as Wattakaka volubilis (L.f.) Stafp, with syn. Dreega volubilis (L.f.) Benth. ex Hook.f. (Asclepiadaceae).
32 The syn. gorakṣa and karkāri are omitted in the Am-k, which gives however the term gavākṣ. For karkāri, S. kākiri, see under elāluka, § 27.
22. uddāla (m.), vātaghātaka (m.), rájarukkhā (m.), katamāli (f.), indivara (m.), vyādighātaka (m.), + caturāngula*, āroca*, suvaṇṇaka* (552 bcd) vātam uddālayati ti uddālo (annihilates humoral wind). singgādinaṃ saññāvasena [pupphehi ti-Sū]. rukkhānaṃ rājo rájarukkho (the greatest of trees) vādhāragahane <vātarogahanane-Sū> rājabhūto rukkho vā rájarukkho (like a king in killing diseases caused by humoral wind). katā mālā assa pūbbehi <pupphehi> [ti] katamālo (flowers are used to make garlands) singgārappakāso. indati param issariyaṃ karoti vātāpanaṇe ti indivarō (excels in killing humoral wind), īvarō. Indyā Sakkaṃ bharīyāya īṣjītattā vā indivarō (desired by Sakka’s wife). caturāngulō ārevato suvaṇṇaṃ pī.

Skt vyādighāta, rājavikṣa, kṛtamāla. Syn. caturāngula, ārevata, suvaṇṇaka (Am-k II.4.23,24); S. āsala; E. Golden shower, Pudding pipe tree, Purging cassia; Cassia fistula L., (= Cathartocarpus fistula (L.) Pers., Cassia rhombifolia Roxb.), Caesalpiniaceae.

23. ummattā (m.), mātula (m.) (577d) dhutta<ś>ra. duggam pājjaṃcchati (l!) <uggam majjati-Sū> yena [so] ummattō, mada ummāde, to. māreti ti māṭulo (mortal, i.e. toxic), uḷo, rassā to. “ummattā kitavo dhutto dhuttaro <dhattūro> kaṇakavahayo māṭulo maddāno <madano>” ty Arāmarakos<ś>.

Skt ummattā, mātula. Syn. kitava, dhūrta, dhattūra, kaṇakāhvaya, madana (Am-k II.4.77,78); S. attana; E. Datura, Thorn apple; Datura metel L. (Dv, GVDB), Solanaceae, Heritiera litoralis Aiton, Sterculiaceae, (ENUM).

24. eraṇḍa (m.), āmaṇḍa (m.) (566c) eranḍi hiṃṣāyaṃ. vātam <vanam-Sū> eraṇḍati ti eraṇḍako (destroys humoral wind). māṇḍa bhūsane, īsam pasannatetāyaṃ <ṭāya> vā āmaṇḍo (gives a limpid oil). āmaṇḍ vātam dāyati ti ty āmaṇḍo (fights humoral wind or acute rheumatism), dā avakhaṇḍane, dassa ē. cittako caṇcu pi. aggisāññe pi cittako. “pume eraṇḍake caṇcu — pakkhituṇḍe ti yam mato”.

Skt eraṇḍa, māṇḍa. Syn. citraka, caṇcu (Am-k II.4.51); S. eraṇḍu or eṇḍaru; E. Castor bean, Castor oil plant, Palma Christi; Ricinus communis L., Euphorbiaceae.

25. erāvata (m.), nāraṇga (m.) (560c) tappaphala <tamba>. Erāvati nadi, paṭhamakāle tassā tire jāto [ti] erāvato (original habitat: banks of the river Erāvati). nāraṃ vuccati nīraṃ, taṃ gacchati ti nāraṅgo (attracted to water).

Skt airāvata, nāgaṇga (Am-k II.4.38); S. nāram; E. Mandarin orange, Tangerine; Citrus reticulata Blanco, Rutaceae.

26. elā (f.), bahulā (f.) (591d) alo <elā>. phalātikkyāyam (fruits in plenty), ila gamane, a, esse. bahavo atthe lāti ti bahulā (gives several benefits), bahuroge lunāti ti vā bahulā (destroys many diseases). chandavāla <canda> pī.

Skt id. Syn. candravāla (Am-k II.4.125); S. ensā; E. Lesser cardamom; Elettaria ensal (Gaertn.) Abeyw. (IFPC), Elettaria cardamomum (L.) Maton (ENUM, RHFC), Zingiberaceae.

27. elāluka (nt.), kakkarī (f.) (nt.*) (597a) sampusa <tipusa>. iram vārim lo<a>ti tābbhūdayato ti elālukaṃ (full of water). “irā vārisurābhumi — bhem[a]tisau payujjate” ti hi nāṇati[h]asamgha. thiyaṃ u, satthe ko, kuka ādāne, aro, nadādi, ussattam. kaṃ vātam kamaṇḍa ca karoti ti kakkarī (provokes humoral wind), aparattapa lopo. kakkali pī.
Skt urvāru, karkāru. Syn. karkaṭi (Am-k II.4.155); S. kākiri; E. Apple cucumber, Melon, Queen Anne’s melon; **Cucumis melo L. var. utilissimus** (Duthie) Duthie et Fuller, Cucurbitaceae.

K

28. kaṭukā (f.), kaṭukaroohiṇī (f.) (582d)
kaṭa vassāvaranagatisu, u, kaṭu, nā. kaṭukarasā hutvā ro<u>hati ti kaṭukaroohiṇi (has a pungent taste by nature). ruha janane, vu, nadādi. kaṭukaroohiṇī ti samuditenā nāmām idam kaṭukaroohiṇi ti pi.
Skt kaṭu, kaṭurohiṇī (Am-k II.4.85); S. kulurāṇa*, kaṭukaroohiṇī; E. Hellebore, Kurroa; **Picrorhiza kurroa Royle ex Benth.**, Scrophulariaceae.

29. kaṇikāra (m.), dumuppala (m.) (570b)
pitapuppha. agandhapupphatāya attānam kaṭṭham <kaṇiṭham-Sū> karoti ti kaṇiṭkāro (degrades itself due to odourless flowers), tha lopo. padumampamānapphuddatāya dumophhalo <dumuppalo>, (tree bearing flowers of the size of lotuses), <“mudusukhumapupphavantatāya mudupphalo” ti Syāmaṭikā-Sū (having soft and delicate flowers, according to the Siamese commentary)>.
Skt kaṇiṭkāra, drumotpala. Syn. pitadru (Am-kII.4.60); S. kinhiriya; E. Golden silk cotton, Torchwood, Yellow silk cotton; **Cochlospermum religiosum** (L.) Alston, Cochlospermaeaceae, **Pterospermum acerifolium** (L.) Willd., Sterculiaceae (GIMP).

30. kadamba (m.), piyaka (m.), nīpa (m.) (561a)
kām vātam dameti ti kadambo (tames humoral wind), bo. v<p>ineti ti piyako, ṅvu, iyādeso. niyati mudam[nti] nipo, bo.
Skt kadamba, piyaka, nīpa (Am-k II.4.42); S. koḷam; E. Cadamba; **Anthocephalus chinensis** (L.) A. Rich. ex Walp., Haldina

cordifolia (Roxb.) Ridsdale (= Adina cordifolia (Roxb.) Hook.f. ex Brandis, Anthocephalus indicus A. Rich.), Rubiaceae.

31. kapikacchū (m.), duphassa (m.) (582a)
makkāṭi. kapinām vānarāṇam kacch[h]um janeti ti kacch[h]u (causes itch in monkeys), kapikacchu[m] pi. dukkhasa<m>phassatāya duphasso (painful to the touch). attā guttā jato ajjhanaḍāḥ <ajahā, avyāndā Am-k>. kāndarā <kāndura> pāp<v>usayaṇi sukāsibbaṇi <sukasibbi> pi. ayam phassena kandum jayayati ti kānda<u>jā>, y<s>ā lokehi parihiyarate <parihiyare>, tato aya[m] attāna guttā rakkhitā (causes itch when touched and thus self-protected). pāvusāya mudhuyam eti (!) jāyate (becomes tender with the rains), ne, inī. sukāsahita sibbi assā sukāsibbi (having pods with awn33), rassanto.
Skt kapikacchu. Syn. ṣṭamguptā, kāndūra, prāvṛṣṣāyaṇi, markaṭi, űkāśimbi (Am-k II.4.86,87); S. kasaṅhibiliyā; E. Cowage plant, Horse-eye bean; **Mucuna pruriens** (L.) DC., (= M. prurita Hook.) Papilionaceae.

32. kapilā (f.), śīṃsapā (f.) (571b)
picchiḷā. kapi calane, ilo. sāsa anusiththimi <anusiththiyam>. bhisa <sisa> icchāyam vā, apo, niggathāgamo ca, sīsapā<u>ru pi.
Skt kapilā, śīṃsapā. Syn. picchilā, aguru (Am-k II.4.62,63); S. varāḥasu gasa*, āṭṭēriya; E. Sissoo; **Murraya paniculata** (L.) Jack (RHFC), Rutaceae, **Dalbergia sisso Roxb.**, Papilionaceae (Dv, GIMP, GVDB) (= Murraya exotica L., Rutaceae).

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33 This is the meaning of Skt ūkāśimbi, the name currently accepted (Am-k, RaN, Dv) and specified in the Dv as “śūkayukta śimbi". The name may also be ūkāśimbi, "parrot-like pods", the lower end of the pod being curled like the beak of a parrot, as shown to me by Dr Thierry Deroin in a dried specimen.
33. kappâsi (f.), badârâ (f.) (589b)
yassâ phalam kâppâsam karotî lokânam upakâranti kâppâsi (fruits give
cotton to the benefit of the world), karotismâ pâso, nadâdi.
v<b>ada theriye, aro, samuddantâ pi. “samuddantâ tu kâppâsi sittâ
<sikkâ> durâlabhâsu ca — kâppâsi vanasambhavâ ce bhâru<a>dvâjî” ti
vuccati.
Skt kârpâsi, badârâ. Syn. samudrântâ, bhâradvâjî (Am-k II.4.116); S.
apu; E. Cotton plant; Gossypium hirsutum L., G. herbaceum L.
Malvaceae (Dv, GIMP, IFPC).

34. kâraka (m.), dâlîma (m.) (570d)
ratanâpuppha.34 karotismâ, ñvu. dala vidârane, mo, ikârâgam, dâlimpo
<dâlimo> pi.
Skt kâraka, dâdimâ (Am-k II.4.64); S. dâlum; E. Pomegranate; Punica
granatum L., Puniceae.

35. kâramadda (m.), susena (m.) (578a)
khanâpâkâphala <kânhapâkâphala>. kâram hattham maddati kândakena
kâraman<d>do (stalk is used for scratching the hand), kâramaddo
pi. suðthu sinoti ti suseno, si bandhane, yu.
Skt kâramadaka, susêna. Syn. krênpâpâkâphala (Am-k II.4.67); S. (maha)
kârâmba; E. Carandas tree, Carissa bush; Carissa congesta Wight,
(= C. carandas L. var. congesta (Wight) Bedd.), Apocynaceae.

36. kârvîra (m.), assamârakâ (m.) (577b)
kucchitañ ravanti assa yena [so] kârvîro (makes horses neigh
unpleasantly), ire</<. asse märeti [y] assamârikâ <assamârakô>
(kills horses). pañïhâso pi.

34 raktakusuma is one of the syn. given in the Tibetan text of the
Bheṣajanâmaparyâya (MMITM, p. 162).
South Asian flora as reflected in the ... Abhidhānappadīpiyā

Skt kīṃśuка, palāśa. Syn. vātapotha (Am-k I.I.4.29); S. kāla, gas kāla; E. Bengal kino tree, Dhak tree; Butea monosperma (Lam.) Taub., Papilionaceae.

45. kicaka (m.) (600c)
kīṭādiḥbi kata rundhataḥ (!) nadantī te kicakā nāma siyum (whistling through the holes [in the trunk] made by worms etc.). caki āmasane, ṇuva. pubbā parabayaṇjanāṇam vipariyāyō. kicakā.
Skt kicaka (Am-k II.4.161); S. uṇa; E. Common bamboo; Bambusa arundinacea Willd., B. vulgaris Schrad. ex J.C.Wendl., (S. uṇa, Bambusa thouarsii Kunth; S. kaṭuṇa, B. arundinacea Willd. (ENUM) ) Gramineae.

46. kutāja (m.), girimallikā (f.) (573d)
Skt id. Syn. śakra (Am-k II.4.66); S. keliṇḍa; E. Kurchi, Ivory tree, Palay tree; Holarrhena pubescens (Buch.-Ham.) Wall. ex G.Don, (= H. antidysenterica (Roxb. ex Fleming) Wall. ex A.DC.), Apocynaceae.

47. kunda (nt.), māghya (nt.) (578b)
Skt id. (Am-k II.4.73); S. koṇḍa; E. Common jasmine, White perfume; Jasminum multiflorum (Burm.f.) Andr., Oleaceae.

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35 The sanne explains: “shaken by the wind entered inside through holes made by ‘tumbulu’ worms, etc.”
48. kumbhanda (m.), vallibha (m.) (597b)
kumbha[p]pamāṇaphalatāya kumbhando (fruits are of the size of
c מו<do-Sū>. kumbho viya t<do-Sū>eiti ti vā kumbhando,
bind[v]āgamo, kusa chedane vā, anđo, sassa bho, bind[v]āgamo. kam
vātām umbheti <ubheti vaḍḍheti-Sū>, ti vā kumbhando (increases
humoral wind), anđo. valla samvarane, ibho, mahāphalatāya sabbāsām
vallījātinām bhāti dibb<pp>ati ti vā vallihobe (surpasses all creepers
on account of the great size of its fruits). kakkāru pi.
Skt kūśmāṇḍaka. Syn. karkāru (Am-k II.4.155); S. komāṇḍu pusul; E.
Pumpkin, Summer squash, White gourd plant; Citrullus lanatus
(Thunb.) Matsum. et Nakai, Cucurbite pepo L. (GVDB), (=
Colocynthis citrullus (L.) Kuntze), Cucurbiteae.

49. kumbhi (f.), kumbudikā (f.) (564b)
kambala <kapphala-Sū>. kucchitena phalena umbhati pūrati ti kumbhi
(full of insipid fruits). kucchitena modati ti kumbudikā, ṛnv.
Skt id. (Am-k II.4.40); S. kasaṭa, kahaṭa; E. Patana oak; Careyaa
arborea Roxb., Lecythideae.

50. kulaka (m.), kākatinduka (m.) (560d)
makkaṭatinduka. kula saṃkhyaṇe, ṛnv. kāketindu <kākendu>,
kān<kk>apilūko pi.
Skt id. Syn. kākendu, kākapilūka, (Am-k II.4.39), kupilū Dv II, p. 83; S.
kavudu tiṃbiri; E. Nux-vomica, Poison nut; Strychnos nux-vomica
L., Strychnaceae.

51. kusa (m.), barihisa (m.), dabha (602a)
kusa chedane, a, vara[ha] bāmāniye <pādhānyo-Sū>. paribhāsana
hi[m]sādānesu ca, isse <iso>. du paritāpe. abb[h]o du<aa>bb[h]o kuso
pavitra pi.
Skt kuṣa, darbha. Syn. pavitra (Am-k II.4.166); S. kusa taṇa; E. Darbha
glass, Kusa grass; Desmostachya bipinnata Stapf, Gramineae.

52. ketaki (f.) (604c)
kita nīvāse rogā<pp>anayane ca, ṛnv, nadādi tā <nadādi to> i, ketaki,
ayam nāri.
Skt id. (Am-k II.4.170); S. vātakeyyā; E. Screw pine; Pandanus
odorattissimus L.f., P. zeylanicus Solms (IPFC) (= P. fascicularis
Lam., P. tectorius auct. non Sol. ex Parkinson), Pandanaceae.

53. kolavalli (f.), ibhapipalli (f.) (583d)
hathhippillahi <ippo-pipalli>. kōlākāra tām nāmikā vā valli kolavalli
(creeper similar to the Jujube or bearing that name), rasso.
ibhānām hathinām pipphali <ippo-pipalli> ibhapipphali <ippo-pipalli>, kapivalli
vasiro pi. vasiro nānaththo, vasiro apāmagg, sāmuddalavaṇām,
hathhippillahi <ippo-pipalli> ce ti pumeyyaṃ.
Skt kolavalli. Syn. kapivalli, vāsira (= apāmārga-Suśr, p. 165) (Am-k
II.4.97), gajapipalli, ibha<as>; S. āt vagapul; E. Big pepper; Scindapsus
officinalis (Roxb.) Schott, Araceae (GIMP), Piper chaba
Hunter, Piperaceae.

54. koli (f.), badari (f.) (558d)
sakhanda <sakaṇṭa> ambilaphalarukha (thorny tree with acid
fruits). sakaṇṭ<tt>aku<aa>tā kucchitaṃ lāti ti koli, nadādi. bada theriye,
aro, nadādi. kuvala kakandhu pi.
Skt id. Syn. kuvala, karkandhū (Am-k II.4.36); S. ābara; E. Chinese
date, Jujube; Zizyphus mauritiana Lam., (= Z. jujuba Lam.),
Rhamnaceae.

55. kovilāra (m.), yugapatta (m.) (552a)
"sukammadīcchara <sukappadocchara> cammo <campo> kovilāro tu
kuṇjano <kaṇcano> — pubbo <puppho> sito paro ratto yugapatto<aa>
ubbo pi ce <te>" ti Ratanakosō<ce> (flowers are white, twin leaves
are red). kaṅcanālaka py atra. yuqaṁ yamakaṃ pattam assā ti pāda
maddale (twin-leaved).
Skt kovidāra, yugapatraka. Syn. camarika (Am-k II.4.22); S. kobōlīla; E. Mountain ebony, Oxhoof tree; Bauhinia acuminata L. (RHFC), B. purpurea L. (IFPC), B. variegata L. (Dv, GIMP), Caesalpiniaeae.

56. khajjū (f.), sindi (f.) (603b)
khajju<k> khajjane byādhane <byathane> ca, uro, nadādi. sida mocane snehane ca, i, sandha savane <sanda passavane-Sū> vā, i. upassi <upantassi-Sū> ca, sindi.
Skt khajjū (Am-k II.4.170); S. hiṇdi*, iṇdi; E. Date palm; Phoenix sylvestris (L.) Roxb. (Dv, GIMP, GVDB), P. dactylifera L. (GVDB), Palmae.

57. khadira (m.), dantadhāvana (m.) (567b)
khadi [dhitī-Sū] hiṃsāyaṁ theriyē ca, khadanti antāyenā (!) <dantānenā-Sū> ti khadiro (hurt with the ends), iro. dantā dhāvanti yenā ti (used to clean teeth), nirogattā dantadhāvana (renders teeth healthy), yu, dhāva gatisuddhiyām. gāyattī bālataṇayo pi. “gāyattī khadī itthi — chandasi pi chaṭṭhakkhare” ti Rabhasa. bālo sukhumo pattasaṅñito tanayo yassa [so] bālataṇayo (shoots are like tender leaves).
Skt id. Syn. gāyatri, bālataṇaya (Am-k II.4.49); S. kihiri; E. Catechu tree, Cutch tree, Jerusalem thorn; Acacia catechu (L.f.) Willd. (Dv, GIMP, GVDB), A. chundra (Roxb. ex Rottler) Willd. (IFPC), Mimosaceae.

58. khirikā (f.), rājāyatana (nt.) (m.*) (564a)
ciravantāya cirikā <khiravantatāya khirikā-Sū> (having latex). devarājassā nivāsanaṅṭhānattā rājāyatanaṁ (abode of the king of gods). piyāle<o> pi.

59. gaddabhanḍa (m.), kapitāna (m.) (562b)
ambilakkuraphala (fruits are acid), setarukkha (white tree); gadrabhanḍa[p]pamāṇaphalattā gaddabhanḍo (fruits are the size of donkeys’ testicles), ra lopo. kapi calane, tato digho, āgamassa. kandak<)<ālo milakkho pi.
Skt gardabhāṇḍa, kapitana. Syn. kandarāla (Am-k II.4.43); S. telasaṭu*, gamsūriya; E. Bendy tree, Indian tulip tree, Portia tree, Umbrella tree; Theophras populnea Sol. ex Corrēa, Malvaeeae.

60. gālava (m.), lodda (m.) (556c)
loddamutta. lasa gamanattho, avo. rattakaphapitasote <rattakaphapitto-Sū> lūnātī ti loddo (destroys diseases arising from blood, phlegm and bile), do. tiriṭṭho sāvapo pi, sāvavo aparādhe ca. loddo pāpe ca byākato ty ājeyyo.
Skt gālava, lodhra. Syn. tīrīṭa, sābara (Am-k II.4.33); S. lot; E. Lodh; Sympllocos racemosa Roxb., Sympllocaceae.

61. girikānṇī (f.), aparajītā (f.) (584b)
app[h]ōta. kaṇṇasaṅṭhanappupphatāya kaṇṇī. girimhi jātā kaṇṇī girikānṇā<]> (flowers are similar to ears, habitat: hills). rogādijittattā [na parājītā-Sū] aparajītā (overcomes diseases etc.).
Skt girikānṇī, aparajītā. Syn. āsphoṭā (Am-k II.4.104); S. kāṭaroḷu; E. Blue clitoria; Clitoria ternatea L., Papilionaceae.

62. guggulu (m.), kosika (m.) (557b)
kumbha. rogaharane gurunō pi vajjassa guru gaggulō <guruno pi veyjassa guru guggulu-Sū (teacher par excellence of the physician in

63. gundā (f.), bhaddamutta (nt.) (599c)
guh sadde, do. muca mocane, to, rogaharanattā bhaddaṇa ca tam muttaṃ ceti bhaddamuttām (good for dispelling diseases).
Skt gunḍrā, bhadramustaka (Am-k II.4.160); S. vammutu*, kalāṇḍuru; E. Big nut grass, Rush nut; Cyperus rotundus L., Cyperaceae.

64. guḷaphala (m.), pilu (m.) (554c)
lambuni (!). go<a>lo viya sātena phalam [et]assā [ti] guḷaphalo (fruits are sweet like sugar). b<><ilam iti thambhe, u.
Skt guḍaphala, pilu (Am-k II.4.28); S. palu; E. Rack tree, Toothbrush tree; Manilkara hexandra (Roxb.) Dubard, Sapotaceae (IFPC), Salvadora persica L., Salvadoraceae (Dv), (= Mimusops indica L., Sapotaceae).

65. goṇḍakāṇṭaka (m.), simghāṭa (m.) (583c)
tikaṇḍ<><aka. gavam kāṇḍ<><akō gokaṇḍ<><ako, pai<><haviyaṃ vā laggo<><kaṇḍ<><ako gokaṇḍ<><ako. simgha ghāyane, āto. palamkaśā sādukaṇḍ<><o pi. yuttarasāyam paḷāse ca palamkāśā ti sya (!) sādukaṇḍ<><o vikaṅkate pi.
Skt goṇḍakāṇṭa, vanaśrīgāṭa. Syn. palamkaśā, svādukaṇṭaka (Am-k II.4.99), (trikāṇṭaka = gokṣuraka-Sūr, p. 169); S. gokaṇṭa*, nereṃci; E.

Small caltrops, Turkey blossom; Tribulus terrestris L., Zygophyllaceae.37

66. golisa (m.), jhāta (m.) (563d)
guṇṭhā <ghaṇṭā> pāṭali. gavo lihan ti goliso (relished by cattle). saṭi samyāte <jhata samghate>, alo, jhātalo. pāṭalipupphākāro<e> dighaphalo<e> rukkhe (fruits are long like the flowers of the pāṭali). mokkho pi.
Skt golidiha, jhāṭala. Syn. ghanṭā, pāṭali (m.), mokṣa (Am-k II.4.39); S. val palol; E. Muccaady tree, Weaver's beam tree; Schrebera swietenioideæ Roxb., Oleaceae.

67. golomi (f.) (599b)
... dubbā sitā sukkā ce golomi nāma (white dubbā q.v.). golomajattā (!) golomī. sataviriya gaṇḍāli sakulakhaṇo pi. (See saddala, § 168).
Skt id. Syn. śatavīryā, gaṇḍāli, sakulāksā (Am-k II.4.159); S. sudu hītaṇa; E. White conch grass; Cynodon dactylon (L.) Pers., Gramineae.

68. golomi (f.), vacā (f.) (584a)
chagandhā. yā uggagandhā ti py uccate (strong smelling). gunṇāṃ lomasammanṇanatṭhāne <lomasampātanaṭṭhāne-Sū> jātā golomi (literally, growing in the place where hair/fur is weighed/falling/gathering). vaca va<i>yattiyam vācāyam, karaṇe, a. satapibbikā pi. vacā sukkalohitamulabhēda duvidhā. tatra sukkā hemavati ty uccate Amarakose (two species of vacā, white and red, the white is called hemavati).

36 The emendations in this quotation are from Maheśvara's cy. to the Am-k.

37 See note to § 81.
Skt id. Syn. śaḍgranthā, ugragandhā, śataparvikā (Am-k II.4.102), (haimavatī-Suṣr, p. 168);38 S. vadakasā, vadakaha; E. Myrtle flag, Sweet flag; Acorus calamus L., Araceae.

GH

69. ghāsa (m.), yavasā (m.) (602c)
gavādinam adaniye tiṇe (grass eaten by cattle, etc). ghasa adane, Ṇe. yu missane, asso <aso>.
Skt id. (Am-k II.4.5.167); S...; E. Meadow grass; Poa sinaica Steud., Gramineae.

C

70. campeyya (m.), campaka (m.) (568d)
hemapupphaka. pāṭhamakāle Campānagara jāto <jātattā> campeyyo (original habitat: city of Campā), neyyo <eyyo>. kappaccaye camako.
Skt cāmpeya, campaka. Syn. hemapūpaka (Am-k II.4.63); S. sapu; E. Golden champa; Michelia champaca L., Magnoliaceae.

71. ciṅcā (f.), tintaṅ (f.) (562a)
ambilakā. cica, co. cica ādāna<e> saṃvaraṇe vā. tanu viṭṭhare. am⇌b>ilaraṅṇam <ambilarasam-Sū> tanoti ti tintaṅ (having excessive acid taste), dvittaṃ rittam <rittam-Sū> nattaṅ ca, nadādi.
Skt ciṅcā, tintaṅ. Syn. amlikā (Am-k II.4.43); S. siniṅbala, siyaṅbala; E. Tamarind; Tamarindus indica L., (= T. officinalis Hook.), Caesalpiniaceae.

38 GVDB (p. 388) says that śataparvikā may be identified with śveta dūrva or vacā. The Abh tikā supports the identification with vacā.

72. citaka (m.), aggisaññita (m.) (580d)
citi<a> hiṃśāyam, gandhe ca, ṇu. aggisaññito ti. aggipariyāyanāmako (syn. of fire). pācī<pi>pāṭha pi, pumeyām.
Skt citaka, vahnisañjaka. Syn. pāṭhi (Am-k II.4.80); S. rat niṭul, rat neṭul; E. Leadwort (red); Plumbago indica L., Plumbaginaceae.39

J

73. jāpā (f.), jivasūmana (nt.) (580a)
japati yāya [sā] jāpā. ju javane vā, po, ussattam.
Skt jāpā (Am-k II.4.76); S. vada; E. Chinarose, Chinese hibiscus, Shoe flower; Hibiscus rosa-sinensis L., Malvaceae.

74. jiṅjuka (m.) (f.), guṇjā (f.) (585c)
jaṅja yuddhe, a, bind[v]āgamo. nāmantarāṇi cassa. “dumesā rattīkā rattadalā cūlamaṇi ca sā — kākapāṇatulā bijam kanṭalā ca sikhāṇḍinī”.
Skt guṇjā. Syn. kākaciṅcī, krṣṇalā (Am-k II.4.98); S. hunida*, oliṇda (vāl); E. Bead vine, Crabs’ eyes, Indian liquorice, Jequirity beans, Rosary pea, Wild liquorice; Abrus precatorius L., Papilionaceae.

75. jivanti (f.), jivani (f.) (594c)
ayaṃ rattāngāmārasākati. jivatito anto, nadādi. itarato, yu, nadādi. jivā jiva[n]ipyā madhū mi (!).
Skt id. Syn. jivā, jivaniyā, madhusravā (Am-k II.4.142); S. divi pasuru, divi pahuru; E. Milky yam; Ipomoea pes-tigridis L., Convolvulaceae, Leptadenia reticulata (Retz.) Wight et Arn. Asclepiadaceae (Dv, GIMP, GVDB).40

39 S. hēla niṭul, E. Leadwort (white), Plumbago zeylanica L.; S. rat niṭul, E. Leadwort (red), P. rosea L. (ENUM).
40 DVS, with illustration and description, identifies divipahuru with Ipomoea pes-tigridis [L. Convolvulaceae], the S. name meaning “the claws of tigers” and the Latin name meaning “the paw of tigers”. 
named appamārīsa), ṇeyyo. appamattatāya appo ca so mārisākati tat[h]ā māriso cety appamārīso (mārīsa of smaller size).

Skt taṇḍuliya, alpamārīsa (Am-k II.4.136); S. sulu kūra*, kaṭu tampalā (RHFC); E. Careless weed, Prickly red amaranth; Amaranthus spinosus L., Amaranthaceae.

80. tambaka (m.) (598b)
tamu kāmkhaṇaṃ, ṇu, bandho <banto-Sū> ca. (kalambake-Sū) see above, § 38.

Skt.; S. tampalā; E. Joseph’s coat; Amaranthus dubius Mart. (RHFC), A. tricolor L. (IFPC), Nothosaerva brachiata (L.) Wight, Amaranthaceae (RHFC).

81. tāpiṇja (m.), tamāla (m.) (573c)
samuddasamipadesaje sāmadale tamālanāme tarumhi (tree named Tamāla, with black leaves, growing in coastal regions). tāpiṣe jāyati ti tāpiṇjo (grows near the Tāpti river). āṇṇatthe s<j>o, bind[va]jāgamo. “tāpi tu h<s>aritantare” ti hi nānattasamgahe. tamu kāmkhaṇaṃ, a<Ś>lo.

Skt tāpiccha (tāpiṇja), tamāla (Am-k II.4.68); S. kasaṭa*, kasa*, +tamalu*, (kollan, SaN V.23); E. Gamboge tree; Garcinia morella (Gaertn.) Desr. (Dv, GIMP, GVDB), G. xanthochymus Hook.f. (GIMP), (= G. tinctoria (DC.) W.Wight), Guttiereae.42

82. tāla (m.), vibhedikā (f.) (603a)
tala pāṭṭiḥayam, curādi, a. vātādayo vibbandhati <vibhindati-Sū> ti vibhedako <ōikā> (checks humoral wind etc.). vātagho byuhana namihā kuṭhanāsano “vātagho brūhaṇo kāmi kimihā kuṭhanāsano” — rattapittaharo sādu tālo sattagunō mato” ti hi Dabbagune (kills humoral

41 See note to § 45. S. katu una, E. Thorny bamboo.

42 S. gokatu = kana goraka, Garcinia morella Desr., Guttiereae in ENUM, with remark: "Only species growing in Ceylon from which gamboge is obtained".
wind, fattening, aphrodisiac, kills worms, destroys skin diseases, removes internal haemorrhage, sweet), tinārājā pi.
Skt tāla. Syn. tṛnarāja (Am-k II.4.168); S. tal; E. Palmyra palm; Borassus flabellifer L., Palmae.

83. tāli (f.) (604c)
saṇṭhānato tālasadisatya tāli (resembles a tāla tree, see § 82), lattam, upaṃāne, i. talā āghāte vā, curādi, a, nadādi, tāli.
Skt id. (Am-k II.4.170); S. tala; E. Corypha, Talipot palm; Corypha umbraculifera L., Palmae. 43

84. tināsūla (nt.), mallikā (nt.) (574d)
tināni sūlanti yasmin tī tināsūlam (causes diseases in grass), sūla rujāyaṃ, yatra tam jāyati tatra tināni rogīni <rogī> bhavanti ty atho (where it grows, the grass there becomes diseased). tināsūlam mallā<e>tāya manḍalaṃ ka takphale. malyate dhārīyate sabbehi ti mallikā, malla dhārāne, is <> satthe ko. bhūpadi satabhīru ca.
Skt tṛnasūnya, mallikā. Syn. bhūpadi, sitabhīru (Am-k II.4.69,70); S. idda; E. Arabian jasmine; Jasminum sambac (L.) Aiton, Oleaceae (Dv, GIMP, GVDB), Wrightia antidysenterica (L.) R.Br. (IFPC), (= W. zeylanica R.Br.) Apocynaceae.

85. tinīsa (m.), atimuttaka (m.) (555b)
gūthadduma. rathaṭ tanoti yena [so] tinīso (used to make chariots), iso. abhipamuccati <ati muccati-Sūi> dāhāpattam anene ty a[t]muttko (removes especially burning sensation and bile). ccavi (!) pi.
Skt tinīṣa, atimuktaka (Am-k II.4.26); S. kōmbu; E.; Ougeinia ooejinensis (Roxb.) Hochr., (= O. dalbergioides Benth.), Papilionaceae.

86. tinduka (m.), kālakhandha (m.), timbarūsaka (m.), timbarū (m.) (560a)
tanu vīthāre, uko, danto ca. tidi hiṃsāyaṃ vā, u, saṇṇāyaṃ ko. kālo khandho makoṇḍo < ka kanṭo? > yassā ti < yassā so > kālakhandha (having a black trunk). tima<e> addabhāve, īso, satthe ko. ratto ca. uppaccaye tiṭṭhīru.
Skt tinduka, kālaskandha (Am-k II.4.38); S. timbiri; E. False mangosteen; Diospyros malabarica (Desr.) Kostel., (= D. embryopteris Pers., D. peregrina auct. non W.R.Guerke), Ebenaceae.

87. tilaka (m.), khuraka (m.) (561d)
sirimati. yassa phalāni maricappamāṇāni ambilāni (fruits are of the size of black pepper, acid). tila gamane, ṅv. khura chedane, ṅv.
Skt tilaka, kṣuraka. Syn. śirimān (Am-k II.4.40); S. madaṭa; E.;..., Wendlandia exerta (Roxb.) DC., Rubiaceae.

88. tivūtā (f.), tipūṭā (f.) (590a)
sukkativutā. tisso j<e>utā tacaṛājīyo yassā [sā] tivūtā (having a triple streak round the bark). tisso phūṭā <pūṭa> tacaṛājījo (!) yassā [sā] tipūṭā (having three pockets [in the fruit]). sarabā, tibhanḍi, devati pi.
Skt trivṛtā, tripūṭā. Syn. saralā, tibhanḍi (Am-k II.4.108); S. sudu trastavāḷu; E. Indian jalap, (White) turpeth tree; Opeculina turpethum (L.) Silva Manso, (= Ipomoea turpethum (L.) R.Br.), Convolvulaceae.

89. tumbī (f.), alābu (f.), lābu (lābusā*) (f.) (596d)
lāp<b>u. tumba adane, tumbati hiṃsati m<p>ittam iti tump<b>i (attacks bile), nadādi. na puppho <pubbo> lamba avasāṃsane, u, ma lopo. nassatam alāpu pāniniyānaṃ ā pubbo, lamb<e>b>a avasāṃsane, alābu. kānantikānāṃ candanāṃ ceva. ambhākantu rassam katvā alāp<b>u. abhedopacāraṇa tinn pi phale pi 'thhilingāni. sāsaddo ithhilingattajotako.
Skt tumbi, alābu (Am-k II.4.156); S. diya labu; E. Bottle gourd; Lagenaria siceraria (Molina) Standl., (= L. vulgaris Ser.), Cucurbitaceae.

90. tejana (m.), sara (m.) (601c),
tija nisāmañe <nīsāne-Sū>, yu. saranty anene ti saro (used for crushing [enemies]), pume, saññāyaṃ, a, sara hiṃsāyaṃ vā. gundo py atra.
Skt tejana, śara. Syn. gundra (Am-k II.4.162); S. bihi (hi*) baṭa; E...; Saccharum munja Roxb., Gramineae.44

D

91. dantsaṭṭha (m.), jambhīra (m.) (553a)
yassa phalam [am]bilaṁ hoti, ambilattā dantassa saṭho, saṭha ketavahiṃsāyaṃ kilesesu, a. (fruits, due to their acidity, hurt the teeth). jamu adane, iro, bhanto ca, jambha gattavināme vā. jambho jambhalo <jambhulo-Sū> jambharo <jambhiro-Sū> pi.
Skt dantasattha, jambhira. Syn. jambira, jambha, jambhala (Am-k II.4.24); S. desi, dehi (=jaṁbira, jaṁba, jambala, + doḍam* = orange); E. The true lime; Citrus aurantifolia (Christm. et Panz.) Swingle, C. limon (L.) Burm.f. (RHFC), Rutaceae.45

92. dābbi (f.), dāruḥaḷiddā (f.) (586c)
dara vidāraṇe, bo, rassa bo, dābbi. dighādi, nadādi. haḷiddavaṇḍaṇaḍarūṭāya dāruḥaḷiddā (wood is yellowish in colour). haḷiddā pi.
Skt dārvi, dārurahidrā. Syn. haridru (Am-k II.4.101,102); S. vanuvēli, venivēl; E. Barberry; Coscinium fenestratum (Gaertn.) Colebr.

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44 S. baṭa, Ochlandra striulid Thwaites (IFPC, ENUM) Gramineae.
45 RHFC gives the following identifications: S. jambāla, E. Pomelo or Pummelo, Shaddock, Citrus grandis (L.) Osbeck; S. peni doṇan <pañī doṇan>, pumci jambōla, E. Orange, Citrus sinensis (L.) Osbeck.

South Asian flora as reflected in the ... Abhidhānappadipikā 83

Menispermaceae (ENUM), Berberis aristata DC., Berberidaceae (Dv, GIMP, GVDB).

93. devatāda (m.), jimūta (m.) (578c)
Skt id. (Am-k II.4.69); S. devadali; E. Bristly luffa; Luffa echinata Roxb., Cucurbitaceae.

94. devadaru (m.), bhaddadaru (m.) (568c)
devānāṃ dāru devānāṃ tarubhūtattā [bhaddān ca tam dāru ceti-Sū] bhaddadaru (having good wood, being the tree of gods), sakkapādapo, pāribhaddako pītadaru (yellow wood) dāru pūtikāṭṭham pi.
Skt devadāru, bhadradāru. Syn. pāribhadra, pītadāru, dāru, pūtikāṣthha (Am-k II.4.53,54); S. dēvadāru; E. Cedar, Deodar; Cedrus deodara (Roxb.) D.Don, Pinaceae, Erythroxylum monogynum Roxb., Erythroxyleaceae, Polyalthia longifolia (Sonn.) Thwaites, Annonaceae (IFPC).

95. nattamāla (m.), karaṇja (m.) (567a)
rattā māla yassa <nattā rattiya[m] māla yassa-Sū, flowering at night>. kaṇa jayati ti karaṇjo (wins humoral wind), no, cillavillo karaṇjo pi.

96. naļa (m.), dhamana (m.) (601a)
ni naye, alo, lattam, dhama saddaggi y<s>anyogesu, yu, [dhamano], poṭagalo py atra.
Skt id. Syn. poṭagala (Am-k II.4.162); S. kulal baṭa; E. Great reed; Arundo donax L. (Dv). (= Phragmites maxima auct. non (Forssk.) Chiov.), Gramineae.

97. nāga (m.), nāgamālikā (f.) (572d)
na gacchāti ti nāgo (does not move, i.e. firmly rooted), dīghādi. nāgānam mālā sā46 sañjātā yatra nāgamālikā (flowers of Nāgas).
Skt nāga; S. nā; E. Ironwood tree, Rose chestnut; Mesua ferrea L., Guttiferae.

98. nāgabalā (f.), jhasā (f.) (588c)
gorakhhāntḍula. vuttaḥ ca tan[tan]tara<e> “gāṅgeruki nāgabalā jhasāṅge <jhasā go>rakhhāntḍula<śa>” ti. nāgassa balam iva bala[m] etassā rogaharaṇattā ti nāgaphalā <“balā> (having the power of an elephant in removing diseases). jhasimşasṭha, a.
Skt nāgabalā, jhasā. Syn. gāṅgeruki (Am-k II.4.117); S. kāliya; E. Broom weed, Indian mallow, Sida; Grewia orientalis L., (RHFC), Microcos paniculata L. Tiliaceae, Sida spinosa L., Malvaceae (GIMP), (= Grewia columnaris Sm., G. microcos L., Tiliaceae).47

99. nāgalatā (f.), tāṃbūli (f.) (589c)
pānālikā <paṇḍalatā>. nāgaloke jātā latā nāgalatā (creeper whose original habitat was the world of the Nāgas). tamp<b>avāṇṇam lāti ti tāṃbūli (copper-coloured creeper), assu, nadādi. tāṃbūlassā vā ayaṃ tāṃbūli. tāṃbūlavali nāgavalli pi. kambulaṁ nāma phalapattacunṇṇādi yogasamūhānaṁ nāmaṁ (name of a composition of the fruits, leaves, powder etc. called ‘kambula’). tadattā valli nāgalokassā valli.

46 sā has to be transposed to precede nāgamālikā.
47 ENUM identifies bābila (also bāvila) and not k. āliya, with Sida acuta Burm., Malvaceae.

100. nālikera (m.) (604b)
naḷi viya jāyati ti nālikero. aṁṇatthe iro, konto ca. nālikero lāṅgali pi. “lāṅgali nālikere ca sīrapānimhi lāṅguli” pi Rabhaso.
Skt nālikera, nārikela. Syn. lāṅgali (Am-k II.4.168); S. pol; E. Coconut; Cocos nucifera L., Palmae.

101. nīggunḍi (f.), sinduvāra (m.) (574c)
natthi gunḍam gabbha[bandha]nam etāya <etassā-Sū> ti nīggunḍi. si bandhane, a, sindhunām <sindum> gabbhabandhanām vāreti ti sindhuvāro <sinduvāro> (prevents obstruction of foetus, i.e. facilitates delivery). indrāṇi pi atra. indranakarane thināṃ (!). sindhuvārentārā visu (!).
Skt nīrgunḍi, sinduvāra. Syn. indrāṇikā (Am-k II.4.68); S. nika; E. Chinese chaste-tree; Vitex negundo L. (Dv, GIMP, GVDB, RHFC), V. trifolia L., Verbenaceae (IFPC).

102. nigrodha (m.), vaṭa (m.) (551b)
bahupāda. adhobḥāgam rundhati ti nigroḍho (lower part kept back [by aerial roots]), usso, gāgamo ca. vaṭa vedhane, vaṭati ti, a.
Skt nyagrodha, vaṭa. Syn. bahupāda (Am-k II.4.32); S. nuga, maha nuga; E. Banyan, Bengal fig, Pagoda tree; Ficus benghalensis L., (= F. altissima var. forgusonii King), Moraceae.

103. nichula (m.), mucalinda (m.), nīpa (m.) (563ab)
cula nimmajane, a. mucala saṃghāte indo. nipo kadambo pi.
Skt (nicula), nīpa. Syn. kadamba (Am-k II.4.42); S. midella*, goḍa midella (RHFC); E. Indian oak; *Barringtonia racemosa (L.) Spreng., Lecythidaceae.48

104. nididdhikā (f.), byagghī (f.) (585a)
kakā<ṃ> akārikā (!). niddhati kaṃ<ṃ> akapute <kaṇṭakamaḥ phutthe-Sū> ti niddaddhikā, nīvu, bhayakaranaṃvasena byagghasadisaṭāya byagghī (fearful as a tiger), bhṛati khuddā pi.
Skt nīdigdhiḥ, vyāghri. Syn. kaṇṭakārikā, bhṛati, kṣudrā (Am-k II.4.93,94); S. katuvaḷ batu; E. Wild eggplant, Woody nightshade, Yellow-berried nightshade; *Solanum surattense Burm.f., (= Solanum xanthocarpum var. jacquini (Willd.) Thwaites), Solanaceae.49

105. nimba (m.), ariṣṭha (m.), pucimanda (m.) (570c)
hīṅguni[y]āsa. ni naye, bo, b<ṃ> onto ca. kinnarasattā arībhāve tiṭṭhati ti ariṣṭho. “pucī<ṃ> m kuṭham man<d> datī ti pucimando” iti Dhammaseno (acts as a check on skin diseases). mālako pi, malate rogaṃ mālako, nīvu.
Skt nimba, ariṣṭa, picumanda. Syn. hīṅgunirāsa, mālaka (Am-k II.4.62); S. kosaṃba, kohoṁba; E. Bead tree, Indian lilac, Margosa, Neem tree, Persian lilac, Pride of India; *Azadirachta indica A.Juss., Meliaceae.

106. nilī (f.), nilinī (f.) (585b)
nīlavanī nīlavanāṭāya līni <nilī> (blue-coloured), nāḍādi, ini, nilinī. kāḷa uttā pi. kāḷiśkaṇṭhanippunāyam. nīli yojaṇavallisu. ṃaṇḍe rasaṇjane tutṭā. sukhumelāyam niliyāṃ.

49 CMP makes the following identifications: *Solanum jacquini (katuvāḷ batu), Solanum trilobatum (vai tībbaṭu), Solanum xanthocarpum (ēla batu), Solanum indicum (tībbaṭu), Solanum ferox (mala batu).

107. nuhi (f.), mahānāma (m.) (587a)
samantaduddhā. nūgh<ṃ>a uggā<i> raṇe, nadādi. mahanta[m] nāmam assā ti <yassa so> mahānāmo. sīhun[di] vajiradumo guḷā pi.
Skt snuḥ. Syn. samantadudhā, sīhunḍa (sehunḍa-Suśr, p. 166), vajra, guḍā (Am-k II.4.105,106); S. uk; E. Sugar cane; *Saccharum officinarum L., Graminaceae.

P

108. pakiriya (m.), pūtika (m.) (566a)
kaṃ<ṃ> akaraṇja. kaṃ<ṃ> akini karaṇjaṃgumbe. yaṃ loke kalino <kalīro-Sū> ti vuccati (popularly known as kāla). kara <kira> hīṁsāyaṃ, karatoriyā (!) <kiraṇe vā, iyo-Sū>. pu pavane, iko, tonto ca. pūṭikaraṇjo kalikārako pi kalino <kalīro>.
Skt prakiriya, pūṭika. Syn. pūṭikaraṇja, kalimaraka (Am-k II.4.48), kaṇṭa karaṇja; S. kaṭu karaṇḍa; E. Bonduc nut, Redwood; *Cæsalpinia crista L., Caesalpiniaceae.

109. paṭőla (m.), tittaka (m.) (595c)
paṭa gamane, olo, paṭum rasam lāṭi ti vā paṭolo (having a pungent taste), usso. tittarasatiya tittako (having a bitter taste). sattho ko. kulakam<ṃ> paṭa-u<ṃ> pi.
Skt paṭola, tittaka. Syn. kulaka, paṭu (Am-k II.4.155); S. dummālla; E. Serpent cucumber, Wild snake gourd; *Trichosanthes dioica Roxb., Cucurbitaceae.
110. paṭṭi (f.), lākhāpasādana (m.) (564d)
lohitaldoda. pu<a>ti ity ākhyā yassa. paṭṭi madditi (!) pi pātho. asimān pakkhitte lākhā tto (!) <rattā-Sū> bhavati ti lākhāssādano (gives red lac-dye). kamukō pi.
Skt paṭṭi, lākhāphasādana. Syn. kramuka (Am-k II.4.41), lohitaldhra; S. rat lot; E. Red lodd tree; *Symlocos paniculata* (Thunb.) Miq. (= *Symlocos crataegoides* Buch.-Ham. ex D.Don), Symlocaceae.

111. panasa (m.), kāntakiphala (m.) (569a)
pāna b<->yavahāre thutimhi ca, aso, khanḍ<->akayuttam phalam assā [ti khanḍ<->]akiphalo (having thorny fruits).
Skt id. (Am-k II.4.61); S. kos; E. Jak/Jack; *Artocarpus heterophyllus Lam.*, (= A. integrifolius auct. non L.f.), Moraceae.

112. papunnaṭa (m.), elagaja*, elagala (m.) (594a)
pakārenā daddum punātī ti papunnaṭo (used for cleansing ringworm), pu pavane, kiyādi, ato, niggahitagamo. phalagaṃ <elagama> daddum lunāti te<-> lāngalo <elagalo>. daddughō cakkamaddako urānākkhyo pi. daddum hanti ti daddughō (destroys ringworm). hanassa gho. cakkākarataya cakkam ([leaves are] circular in shape).
Skt prapunnaḍa, edagaja. Syn. dadrughna, cakramardaka, urānākhyo (Am-k II.4.147); S. tuvara*, āt tōra; E. Fetid cassia, Ringworm plant; *Cassia alata* L., Caesalpiniaceae.

113. palāṇḍu (m.), sukanḍaka (m.) (595b)
rattamūla, harita. palaṇḍi gandhane (smelling),50 u. sundaro kando yassa [so] sukanḍako (having a beautiful stalk).
Skt id. (Am-k II.4.147); S. sā lūnu, +nil lūnu*, ratu lūnu; E. Red onion, Small onion; *Allium cepa* L., *A. ascalonicum* L., Liliaceae (IFPC).

114. pāṭāli (f.), kanhavanṭa (f.) (559c)
toyādhīpāvini <toyaḥdvāsini = ambu°>, yassā mūlaṃ mahāpāṇcamūle pavīṭham (roots are included in the mahāpāṇcamūla).51 ava <paṭa> gamane, alo, nadādi. pāṭāli pāṭail[y]a pi. kanhapupphavanṭaṃ yassā sā kanhavanṭa (stalk of the flower is black-coloured). kasmirīya pi alipariyā <alipirīya>, tampupphalai <upphi> py atra.
Skt pāṭāli, kṛṣṇavṛnta. Syn. pataḷa (Am-k II.4.54,55); S. paḷol; E. Messenger of spring, Trumpet flower; *Stereospermum chelonoides* (L.f.) DC., (= Stereospermum suaveolens (Roxb.) DC.), Bignoniaceae.

115. picchilā (f.), simbali (f.) (m.f.*) (565c)
pichchā yogā picchilā. ilo, sapa <sabi-Sū> maṇḍale, alī, assi. “picchilā pūraṇi mocā c<->irāyu simp<b>ali dvisu” ty Amarakoso<e>.
Skt picchilā, śālmali. Syn. pūraṇi, mocā, sthirāyu (Am-k II.4.46); S. ifbul; E. Silk-cotton tree; *Ceiba pentandra* (L.) Gaertn., Bombacaceae. See § 149. (= Eriodendron orientale Steud., Sterculiaceae).

116. pippali (f.), māgadhī (f.) (583b)
kaṇā. pittam[ṃ] phalati kuppati <kuppati> yāya pippalai <pippali>, nadādi (provokes bile). Magadho<e> bhavā māgadhī, magadhānam ayam vā māgadhī. tatra paṭhamam uppannattā bāhulyena vā (originated or found plentifully in Magadhā). tatra jāyamāntā tam samaṇnāyam <ya> b<->yapaddissate. vedehi kaṇā kolā pi vedehānam ayam vedehi. kaṇāntattā vuttaṃ ca kaṇāpippahyajā (1) ceti (black-coloured).
Skt id. Syn. vaidehi, kaṇā, kolā (Am-k II.4.96,97); S. vagapul*, tippili; E. Long pepper; *Piper longum* L., Piperaceae.

117. piyaka (m.), asana (m.), pītasāla (m.) (563bc)
kadamba. asa bhakkanē, yu. pītapubbo sālo rukkho pītasālo (yellow sāla tree). jambukapuppho jivako.

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50 PED suggests the etymology “pala (white) + andu (anda ?, egg).”
51 *bilva, agrimanātha, tiṇtuka/tuṇtuka (= syonaka), kāśmari, pāṭālā. See SuSr, Sūrstrāhāna 38. 68, Sārhagāraṃśāhīta II.2.116.
Skt priyaka, asana. Syn. bandhūkakupaspa, jivaka (Am-k II.4.44); S. piyā gas*, gammālu (AAS); E. Ambynna kino tree, Bastard teak, Gum kino tree; *Pterocarpus marsupium Roxb.*, Papilionaceae.

118. piyāla (m.), sannakaddu (m.) (556d)
dhanupaṭa (bowstring). v<p>i pāne, alo, isse<a>, iyādese<o>. sannakā täpasā, tesam dudumo, sannakaddu, cāpapaṭo. "lavano <lalano> täy<p>apassapiyo <täpasā dolavoṭa täpasappiyo-Sū>" ti hi kosantare.
Skt priyāla, sannakadru. Syn. dhanuh(s)pata (Am-k II.4.35); S. piyal; E. Buchanan’s mango; *Buchanania lanzan* Spreng., Anacardiaceae.

119. pilakkha (m.), pippali (f.) (559b)
a[s]att[h]akulasambhūte rukkhpasānādisu saṅjātarukkhe (tree belonging to the Ficus religiosa family and growing on trees, stones etc.). m<p>ilam param nissa[y]bhūtam kasati ti
m<p>ilakkho, kasa vilekhaṇe (scratching when touched). sassa khattādi [nipātanā-Sū]. akkhādanīyaphalattāya <phalatāya> virūpaṁ phalam assāti ti pipphali (inedible and ugly fruits), ṭ, nadādi. vissā pi ca.
Skt plakṣa (Am-k II.4.32), pippala;52 S. pulila, kaputu bō, kavudu bō; E. Patana bō, Yellow-barked fig; *Ficus arnottiana* (Miq.) Miq., *Ficus lacor* Buch.-Ham. (GIMP, GVDB), Moraceae.

120. punḍarika (m.), setamba (m.) (558a)
punḍa manḍane, manḍa khaṇḍane ty eke, ṇyu, arāgamā ca. setavanāmo ambo setamba (white mango).
Skt punḍarika; S. əṭaṁba; E. White mango; *Mangifera zeylanica Hook.*, (RHFC, IFPC), *M. indica* L., Anacardiaceae (ENUM).53

121. punannavā (f.), sophaghāti (f.) (596a)
vuddho pi puna navo bhavati yāya yogato yāti <yogakatāyati-Sū> punannavvo (even an old person becomes young by its use);
sot[h]ām hanti ti sothaghātām <sothaghāti> (destroys swelling).
t<h>anassā ghāṭ<o>, [i-Sū].
Skt punarnava, sothagni (Am-k II.4.149); S. sulu buruda*, sāraṇa; E. Hogweed; *Boerhavia diffusa* L., Nyctaginaceae (Dv, GIMP, IFPC), *Trianthema decandra* L., Sesuviaeae (ENUM).

122. punnāga (m.), kesara (m.) (556b)
tuṅga. pumanāmena gorukkho, punnāgo. "punnāgo puriso tuṅge<o> kesaro devavallabho" ti hi Amarasīho. digho, pumassa lingādisu samāsesu ti ākāra lopo ca. atisayapupphalesaravatataya 
<atisayapupphakesaravatāya-Sū, (flowers full of pollen)>54 kesaro. kisa tanukarane ti vā, aro. pupperkesayuttataya vā kesaro, ro (having hairy flowers).
Skt id. Syn. tuṅga, puruṣa, devavallabha (Am-k II.4.25); S. dōnba; E. Alexandrian laurel; *Calopodium inophyllum* L., Clusiaceae.

123. pūga (m.), kamuka (m.), + ghoṇṭā*, guvāka*, khapura* (564c, 602d)
guvākarukkha. yassa phalena taṁbūlanāmaṁ jāyati (the fruits of which tree give rise to the name tāmbūla, betle). pūja pūjāyām,

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52 plakṣa jaṭi parakṣ ca — pippalo ṣvāthka patrakah. SaN 18.45.
53 Identification in the AAS. The common meaning of punḍarika given in Skt and P. sources is white lotus. However, according to the *Buddhavamsa* and other Buddhist texts, the Bodhisatta Sikkh attained Buddhahood under a punḍarika,

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which would have been a white mango tree than a white lotus. The *Madhuratathvālāsīni* (PTS ed., p. 247) also gives the meaning white mango tree. M. indica L., Terebinthaceae (ENUM).

54 kesara is explained in the PED as filament of flowers, hairy structures of plants esp. of the lotus; Monier-William’s *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* explains it as the filament of a lotus or of any vegetable, a fibre (as of a Mango fruit). The S. term, kesaru or kesuru, equivalent of renu, means pollen. For example, the *Vesaturudā sanne* (p. 51) explains the P. term “kiṇjakkaharenunā yuttam” as “kusum kesureṇ gāvasi gat”, full of pollen of flowers. “Pollen” seems to be the meaning in the present context.
pham vatam ganthati <ganhuti-S> ti phaggavo [gaha upadaane, a-S] (removes humoral wind). lassa vo, phaggavo. pisamkhata <visamkaa>.

Skt ...; S. haAngulu*56 ... E ...
Skt id. Syn. kṛṣṇaphalā, pūtiphali (Am-k II.4.95,96); S. bōdi āta gas; E. Bawchée seed plant, Purple flea-bane; Cullen corylifolium (L.) Medik., Fabaceae (RHFC), Psoralea corylifolia L., Papilionaceae (GIMP, GVDB), Vernonia anthelmintica (L.) Willd., Compositae (IFPC).

BH

129. bhallī (f.), bhallātaka (m.f.nt.) (561b)
vidarukkha (!). yassa nīf[y]yāsa pelādāyio lippanti <limpanti-Sū> bhalā bhalā (!) paribhasana himsādānesu, nadādi, aṅñatra ko, ṭ<k>anto ca. bhallātaka tīsv ayaṃ. arukaro aggamukho<!> pi.
Skt bhallātaki. Syn. virāṛka, arūkara, agnimukhi (Am-k II.4.42); S. badulu; E. Marking nut; Semecarpus gardneri Thwaites, Anacardiaceae (ENUM, IFPC), Semecarpus anacardium L.f. (Dv), Semecarpus oblongifola Thwaites, Anacardiaceae (ENUM).

130. bhiṅgarāja (m.), mākkava (m.) (595d)
kesa raic<!>ane. bhiṅgo veccati bhamaro, tabbaṃṇam katvā tesam raṅjiti ti bha<!>āṅgarō (used as hair dye, having the colour of bees). muca mocane, avo. ussā. mākkavo.
Skt bhiṅgarāja, mākrava (Am-k II.4.151); S. kikirīndiya; E. Trailing eclipta; Eclipta prostrata (L.) L., (= E. alba (L.) Hassk., E. erecta L.), Compositae.

131. bhujapatta (m.), ābhujī (f.) (565b)
sundaratace rukkhē. yassa tace mantakkarāṇi likkanti <likhanti> (the beautiful bark of this tree is used for writing charms on). bhujō pāṇi, tam sadisa[patt]]tāya bhujapatto (leaves are similar to the hand), mantalekhakehi ābhujita tacavantātāyā ābhujī (the bark is bent by the writers of charms). bhujō campi <cammi> muduttaco pi.

Skt (bhūjapatra-SaN I.33). Syn. bhūrja, carmi, mṛdutvaca (Am-k II.4.46 omits bhūrjapatra); S. ruk buruda; E. Himalayan birch; Betula utilis D.Don, Betulaceae.
132. bhūtiṇaka (nt.), bhūtiṇa (nt.) (602b)
ganḍhad<!>eti iti khyāte teṇe. vutta ni “bhūtiṇakam <bhūtiṇam-Sū> ganḍhakeṭaṇ ca sugandham gomayaṃ v<p>iyam “ iti. atha[vā] rāmakṛṣṇa hāto ko assa bheda (a variety of fragrant grass called rāmakoṣṭha), rāmakṛṣṇa hāto bahupattam kāṇḍam kṛṣṇa sugandham. ganḍhakeṭaṅ tu ikkacca <ikkaṭa> samānapattam khyā<jhā> tasabbhāvam bhūmilaggaṃ ato-y-eva bhūtiṇa[m] uccate. bhūmiyam laggam tiṇam bhūtiṇam (grass adhering to the earth) nattaṇ ca, satthe ko.
Skt bhūṣṭra (Am-k II.4.167); S. gandhakeṭa taṇa; E. Geranium grass; Cymbopogon schoenanthus (L.) Spreng., Gramineae.

M

133. maṇḍūkapaṇṭi (f.), vikāsā (f.) (582b)
maṇḍūkapaṇṭi. majja suddhiyam (cleans), tho. kāsa dittiyaṃ (whets appetite), karane, a, rasso. samaṅgā yoja[n]valli pi. samaṅgati ti samaṅgā (spreading), a. yojanaṃ valli yassā yojanaṃ valli (a league long creeper).
Skt maṇḍūṣṭhā, vikāsā. Syn. maṇḍūkapaṇṭi, samaṅgā, yojanaṃ valli (Am-k II.4.90,91); S. vāl madaṭa; E. Indian madder; Rubia cordifolia L., Rubiaceae.

134. madhuka (nt.), yaṭṭhimadhukā (f.), madhulaṭṭhikā (f.) (587cd)
madhurasatāya madhukaṃ (having a sweet taste). upamāne ko. daṇḍākārattā yaṭṭhiṇa sā madhurasattā madhukā ceti yaṭṭhimadhukā (having the form of a rod, and a sweet taste), madhura[s]abhāve tiṭṭhāti ti madhulaṭṭhikā (remains sweet). rassa lo, sakatthe ko ca.
madhuyāṭṭhikā ti pi pāṭho. vuttaṇa ca “madhukāṃ klītakaṃ yaṭṭhi — madhukā madhuyāṭṭhikā” ti.

Skt madhuka, yāṣṭimadhuka, madhuyaṭṭikā. Syn. klītaka (Am-k II.4.109); S. vāl mī; E. Liquorice; Glycyrrhiza glabra L., Papilionaceae.

135. madhuraka (m.), jivaka (m.) (594d) ayaṃ atīhavaggapaviṇṭḥo (a component of the group of eight drugs).57 anen eva nāmena vānijjānaṃ pasiddho. madhuraka[r]ṣatāya madhuraka (having a sweet taste). jivāpeti ti jivako, ṇu. “jivako sīṅgiko sek<o>o dīghāyu kucchisikṣo <kacchasīsako-Sū> — rassag<k>o madhuro sādu pānako ciraṇī <cirajivati-Sū>” pi ti tantantarām.

Skt id. Syn. śrṅga, kūrcaśīrṣa (Am-k II.4.142); S. jivaka; E. Adder’s mouth; Malaxis muscifera (Lindl.) Kuntze, (= Microstilys muscifera (Lindl.) Ridl.), Orchidaceae.

136. mahākanda (m.), lasuna (nt.) (595a) yassā mūlaṃ setavaṇṇaṃ palanḍhukanda mahantakandāya mahākando (white roots, big stalk). ambilen ekena rasena ūnātāya lasunāṃ (lacks only acid taste). lattam, rassattaṇ ca, ṇattaṇ ca, lasa kantiyam vā, yu, āsūṃ <assu>, ṇattam. mahosadham ariṭṭham rasādane pi.

Skt mahākanda, lasuna. Syn. mahausadha, ariṣṭa, rasonaka (Am-k II.4.148); S. hēla* (sudu) lūnu; E. Garlic; Allium sativum L., Liliaceae.

137. mahosadha (nt.), ativīṣa (f.) (586a) mahāviriyaṃ osadha mahosadham (very powerful drug). “lasunō 'tivisāyaṇ ca sunṭhiya (!) mahosadham” iti Ruddo. ativā visati bhesajjapalyogesa ty ativīṣa (commonly used in medicinal compositions). visā pi arunā singi pi.

Skt mahausadha, ativīṣa. Syn. arunā, śrṇgi (Am-k II.4.99,100); S. ivada*, ativīḍayam; E. White aconite; Aconitum heterophyllum Wall. ex Royle, Ranunculaceae.58

138. mātulunga (m.), bijāpūra (m.) (577c) matto lujjati yena mātulūngo (destroys intoxication), luja vināse. paripunṇabijātāya bijāpūro (full of seeds). rucako pi, ruca dittiyam (whets appetite), ṇu.

Skt id. Syn. rucaka (Am-k II.4.78); S. lapnāraṃ; E. Adam’s apple tree, Citron, Lemon tree; Citrus medica L., Rutaceae.

139. mālūra (m.), beluva (m.), billa (m.) (556a) siriphala. mala dhārane, iro <ūro>, I (!) p<b>ila bhedane, ṇuvo, bhēluvo. la[p]paccaye<o>, billo saṃdīloy setuho pi. “munippabhedē mālūro saṃdīlo pāḍapatantare ato billo ca saṃluso”59 ti Rabhaso.

Skt mālūra, bilva. Syn. siriphala, saṃdīlya, šailūṣa (Am-k II.4.32); S. beli; E. Bengal quince; Aegle marmelos (L.) Corrēa, Rutaceae.

140. mudikā (f.), madhurasā (f.) (587b) dakkāhā. dumugunayogā (!) mudikā. madhurasā<s>ā</s> sādu, tena vuttaṃ Vajjagandhe <Vejjagandhe-Sū> “sādūlavāṇatīṭṭhilakaṭha<u>-kasāyaka</u>” iti <i>, tām yogā madhurasā.60 gottāi dakkāhā pi.

Skt mṛdvikā, madhurasā. Syn. drākṣa, gostani (Am-k II.4.107); S. mūdi vāl; E. Grape vine; Vitis vinifera L., Vitaceae.


58 Three meanings of mahausadha are given here: (1) ativīṣa (syn. visā, viṣā, prativīṣa, ativīṣa, upaviṣa, arunā, śrṅgi), (2) suṇṭhi (ginger, Zingiber officinale Roscoe), (3) laṣuna (garlic, Allium sativum L.). See § 136.

59 A pāda with eight mātrās is missing in the quotation.

60 The gloss on madhurasā as the combination of sweet, salty, bitter, acid, pungent and astringtonent tastes is noteworthy.
141. mūndā (f.), madhurasā (f.) (581d)
madhuseni. yā patte hi ca sadisī tat thaco <taco> tantadhanugunopayutto (bark, similar to leaves, is used to make bowstrings). “mubbā vikārātā eva dhanunjīva sādhu <śādu> pubba” ty uccate. pubba bandhane, a. madhurasattā madhuraso (sweet). devī moratā pi. mura pavedhane, aṭo, moratā.
Skt mūrvā, madhurasā. Syn. madhusreṇī, devī, moratā (Am-k II.4.83,84); S. mora*, niyaṇḍa; E. Bowstring hemp; Sansevieria zeylanica (L.) Willd., Haemodoraceae.

142. mūlaka (m.nt.), cucchī (f.) (598a)
ṇyu. mhi mūlako, caca paribhāṣaṇa tajjanesu, assu.
Skt mūlaka (Am-k II.4.157), cucchī; S. múla palā; E. Radish; Raphanus sativus L., Cruciferae.

143. yaṇṇāṅga (m.), udumbara (m.) (551d)
yāṇṇakammānam ango ekaṅgatā yaṇṇāṅgo. dubbi hī<im>śāyaṁ, aro, niggahitāgamo, et<k>assā p<b>assā lopo ca. jantā<u>phalo pomadudhho <hema>pi.
Skt id. Syn. jantuphala, hemadugdhaka (Am-k II.4.22); S. diūbul*, +dumarukkha*, aṭṭikkā; E. Cluster fig; Ficus racemosa L., (= F. glomerata Roxb.), Moraceae.

144. yūthikā (f.), māgadhī (f.), +vassa<i>ki f.* (576c)
campeyya. yudha hiṃṣāyaṁ, i, satthe ko, dighādi. Mā<a>gadhe bhavā māgadhī (habitat: Magadha). ganikā ambatṭhā pi.
Skt id. Syn. ganikā, ambaṣṭhā (Am-k II.4.71); S. sinidda; E. Jasmine of poetry, White-flowered jasmine; Jasminum auriculatum Vahl, Oleaceae.

145. rattaphalā (f.), bimbikā (f.) (591b)
rattam pakkaṃ phalam assā oṭṭhavaṇṇā samāna[vaṇṇa] phalatāya bimbikā (ripe fruits are of red colour, similar to the colour of lips),61 assā eva hi phalen oṭṭho upamīyate tuṇḍikeri pīḷupanaṇi pi.
Skt raktaphalā, bimbikā, (bimbi -Suśr, p. 165). Syn. tuṇḍikeri, piluparnī (Am-k II.4.139); S. kem vāla; E. Scarlet-fruited gourd; Coccinia grandis (L.) Voigt, (= Cephalandra indica Naudin, Coccinia indica Wight et Am.), Cucurbitaceae.

146. rambhā (f.), kadali (f.), moça (m.) (589a)
rammanti yassa <ramanti yassam sā-Sū> rambho<u> (delightful [to the taste]), bho. kada māraṇe, alo, nadādi. muca mocean, no.
Skt id. (Am-k II.4.113); S. kesel; E. Adam’s fig, Banana, Plantain; Musa acuminata Colla (IFPC), M. balbisiana Colla, M. paradisica L. (GIMP, GVDB), Musaceae.

147. rasāla (m.), ucchu (m.) (599d)
rasaṃ lāθi ti rasālo (having taste), digho. issa <isu> icchāyaṁ, u, usa dāhe vā, u. sassa cho, pubbatra. issu, assarūpadvittāṃ <asa>, ucchu, pume.
Skt rasāla, ikṣu (Am-k II.4.163); S. uk; E. Sugar cane; Saccharum officinarum L., Gramineae. See nūhi (§ 107).

148. reṇuka (m.), kapilā (f.) (590d)
gandhadabba (fragrant drug). ayam reṇuke va pāṇichādinām khyātā. assā ca sāchinditā vātakiphalā. reṇa<u> gatisaddesu, nvy. kapilā vutta

61 In fact, women’s lips are compared to the bimba fruits in Skt and S. classical literature, cf. tanvi śyāmā śikhari daśānā pakkabimbādharoṣṭhī (Meghadūta, II, 22); dimut saṁdauvalu laṅka laṇḍa adara — surat bābaḷi bimbupalayayi kara adara (Gīrāsandēṣaya, verse 53).
dvijā hi<a>reṇu koṭi (!) bhasmāgandhini mi (!) “hareṇu so kalāse pi reṇukā yaṁ tiyāṁ bhave” ti Ruddo.
Skt reṇukā, kapilā. Syn. hareṇū, dvijā, bhasmāgandhini (Am-k II.4.120), (hareṇukā, reṇukā-Sūr, p. 166); S. hareṇu, *rāhāniya*; E. Fragrant pepper; Piper wallichii (Miq.) Hand.-Mazz. (= P. aurantiacum Wall. ex DC.), Piperaceae.

149. rocana (m.), kūṭasimbali (f.) (565d)
icchilākāra<e> kaṇḍ<e> akasahite rukkke (thorny tree, similar to the picchilā (q.v.) tree). ruca dittiyām (whets appetite), hetukattari, yu. kuṭa koṭīye (crooked), kattari no, koṭo. asimbali samāno simbali sadisākāradassanato koṭa<i>simbali (similar in appearance to the simbali tree), pume, kasimbalo pi.
Skt rocana, kūṭaśālmai. (Am-k II.4.47); S. koḷa inḥbul*, koṭa inḥbul;62 E. Kapok tree; Bombax ceiba L., (= B. malabaricum DC., Salmalia malabarica (DC.) Schott et Endl.), Bombacaceae.

150. rohi (m.) (f.*), rohitaka (m.) (566b)
dālimapuphpākāra p[l]ihaṇaśa rukkha, ruha janane, nī (tree inimical to the spleen, and with flowers similar to those of the pomegranate). lohitapuphātāya l<r>ohitako (flowers are red).
Skt rohi, rohitaka. Syn. dālimapupśaka, plīhaśatru (Am-k II.4.49); S. val erabadu; E. White cedar; Tecoma undulata Seem., (= Tecoma undulata (Roxb.) G.Don), Bignoniaceae.

L

151. labuja (nt.), likuca (m.) (570a)

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uhurukkha. labunāmake pabbate jāyati ti labujo (called labuja because it grows in the mountain named Labu). khuddakāṭṭa linam apākaṭṭam. kucasamkāṭṭam phalam etassā [ii] likuco (fruits are shaped as the female breast), nipātanā.
Skt lakuca, likuca. Syn. ḍāhu (Am-k II.4.60); ḍāhāṅbu*, +del*, E. Breadfruit; Artocarpus lakoocha Wall. ex Roxb., (= A. nobilis Thwaites), Moraceae.

152. lāṅgali (f.), sāradi (f.) (588d)
aggisikhā. nāṅgalasadisamūlatāya lāṅgali (roots resemble a plough), [na]ssa lo, digho ca. nīngalati ti pi pātho. saradakāle sajjātatta <saṇjātatta> sāradi (grows in springtime).
Skt lāṅgali, sāradi (Am-k II.4.111). Syn. agniṣikhā (SaN IV.29); S. liyanaṅgalā; E. Malabar Glory Lily; Gloriosa superba L., Liliaceae.

153. likocaka (m.), aṅkola (m.) (557a)
ahanu. likuco nāma uhurukkho, taggunattā likocako, samāṇyam <saṇāyama>, ko. aṅgālakkhaṇe, olo, aṅkolo.
Skt (aṅkola), aṅkoṭa, nikočaka (Am-k II.4.29); S. ruk aṅguna; E. Sage-leaved alangium; Alangium salvifolium (L.f.) Wangerin subsp. salvifolium, (= A. lamarckii Thwaites), Alangiaceae.

V

154. vaṇjula (m.), vetasa (m.) (553d)
vidula. yo abbhasa[majye pupphati (blossoms in the rainy season). vaḥa gama[ne], [u]lo. dhi<vi> pajane, aso, bhonto <tonto> ca, vipubbo, atha <sta> sātaccagamane vā, aso, vāniy<o> pi.
Skt id. Syn. vidura, vāṇira (Am-k II.4.29,30); S. homu vaṇgu; E. Rattan, Rotang; Calamus rotang L., Palmae.

62 According to the popular beliefs of the Sinhalas, those who commit adultery are made to climb the koṭa inḥbul tree in hell. See my article, “The birth story of the deer”, in The Bodleian Library Record, Vol. XIX, No. 4, April 1993, p. 306.
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155. vakula (m.), kesara (m.) (572b) bhahula (!). vaka ādāne, ulo. kesarayuttapupp[h]atāya kesaro (having fibrous or hairy flowers).
Skt bakula, kesara (Am-k II.4.64); S. mahuḷu mal*, mahuṇa mal, mūṇa mal; E. Indian medlar tree, Nagkasser; *Mimusops elengi L.*, Sapotaceae.

156. vaṭṭhula (nt.), vaṭṭhuleyyaka (m.) (597d) anūpasāka (herb growing in watery land). vasati yasmiṁ khāragane (alkaline). vaṭṭhula ratthu, vasa hīṁsāyaṁ vā, vasati kaphati vāṭapitte <kaphavātapitte-Sū> ti vaṭṭhula (attacks phlegm, humoral wind and bile). vaṭṭhuleyyako ti samuditanāmaṁ, laya sāye<m>ye, layāpeti sabbadose ti leyyako (pacifies all dosas, morbidic entities63), ṅvu, asse, vaṭṭhula ca so leyyako cāti vaṭṭhuleyyako. muhaṅga.
Skt...; S. mahā kūra...; E...; *Amaranthus polygonoides* L., Amaranthaceae.

157. varaṇa (m.), kareri (m.), +varuṇa, setu, tittaka, kumāraka m.* (553b) vara icchāyaṁ, yu. kala samkhyaṇe, īro, nadādi, rassanto. varuṇo tittasāko pi (bitter plant).

158. vāṭiṅgaṇa (m.), bhanṭāki, bhanṭāki* (f.) (588a) vāṭahara[n]theena ganiyate tī vāṭiṅgaṇe (removes humoral wind).
bhaṇḍa paris<bh>āsane, ṅvu, nadādi. tākārakaraṇe ca bhaṇḍatī pi.

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63 *dośa* = morbidic entity is the tr. of G.J. Meulenheld (*The Mādhavanidāna and its chief commentary*, Chapters 1–10, Introduction, Translation and Notes, Leiden 1974).

64 F. N. Hepper (Herbarium, Kew Gardens) remarks in RHFC (Vol. VI, p. 374): “Trimen and Lewis surprisingly called this Wambatu (S) which normally applies to S. macrocarpon.” The author’s name is not given.

65 Cf. syn. given in the SaN (II.20,21,22) for the three species: (1) heḷa baṭu: bhṛati, hinguli, simhi, vāṭrā, rāśtrā, śira; (2) vambaṭu: mahāvāṭrākiṇī, sthūla, bhṛatī, mahāḥkata, bhaṇḍāki, prthuvāṛtāki, bhṛati; (3) tībaṭu: kṣuḍāvāṛtākiṇī, simhi, bhaṇṭāki, bahuputrika, nīḍaghī, rāśtrā, kṣuḍāvāṛtāki. See also note on nīḍiddhikā, § 104.
“madhumhi khitte cesāvo pubbatì ti madhavi — latā jotimati viṇṇā sākhāvali miyaṅgusù”. latā kattarikāyañ ca. sāmuṭha madhavi sucāti latā anekattā.
Skt vāsantī, atimukta. Syn. madhavi, latā (Am-k II.4.72); S. yohombu*, gātāpicca; E...; Hiptage benghalensis (L.) Kurz, Malpighiaceae.

162. vitunna (nt.), sunisannaka (nt.) (596b) anūpaje sāke (herb growing in watery land). tuda b<ov>yathane, bhāvato, vigatam tunnam etassam<a> khādane [ti] vitunnaṃ. sada visaranagatyavasānesu, to, annādeso, satthe ko.
Skt vitunna, suniṣaṇṇaka (Am-k II.4.149); S. kiṁbulvāṇṇa; E...; Marsilea minuta L., Marsileaceae.

163. viḷaṅga (nt.), citraṇḍulā (f.) (586d) anḍaraṅgalāṅgatī athā. daṇḍakadhātu. a. lattam vilṅgaṃ. citrāṇi tanḍulāṇi yassā [sā] [citra]tanḍulā. kip<nt>isatthu pi.
Skt viḍaṅga, citraṇḍulā, tanḍula. Syn. (krimiṣatra) kṛmighna (Am-k II.4.106); S. vaḷaṅgasāl; E. Embelia; Embelia ribes Burm.f., Myrsinaceae.

164. satamūli (f.), satāvari (f.) (585d) aheru. ayam aheru icce va khyāṭā kaṇḍ<nt>akavati ca bhavati. satam mūlāni yassa [so] satamūli (having a hundred roots). satarogē āvaratī ti satāvari (prevent a hundred diseases), vara āvaranīcchāṣu. athāvā satāti ca āvariti ca dve nāmāni. tassā <tasmā> “satamūli bahusutābhīrūr indati ca rivati (!)“ ti hi vuttaṃ.
Skt satamūli, satāvari. Syn. aheru, bahusutā, abhīrū, indīvari (Am-k II.4.100,101); S. sāṭāvāri*, hāṭāvāriya; E. Asparagus; Asparagus falcatus L. (ENUM, IFPC), A. racemosus Willd., Liliaceae (Dv, GIMP).

165. sattapani (m.), chattapani (m.) + visālattaca*, sāradī*, visamacchada* (555a) visālattaca. yo sarade puphati patipubbam (blossoms in autumn). sattapanṭhāni assā [ti] sattapani (having seven leaves), pume. chattama iva paṭṇam assā [ti] chattapanī<o> (leaves resemble a parasol). visamacchado pi, sattapanṭhā assamacchado.
Skt saptaparnī. Syn. visālattak, visamacchada (Am-k II.4.23); S. ruk attana; E. Devil’s tree, Dita, White wood; Alstonia scholaris (L.) R.Br., (= Echites scholaris L.), Apocynaceae.

166. sattalā (f.), navamallikā (f.) (576d) devāi. sundaram dalam etissā [ti] sattalo<a> (having beautiful young leaves), dass to, sattadalāni yassā vā sattalā (having seven young leaves). navā nūtānā mallikā navamallikā (new jasmine), navamallikā <ṭhámālikā> pi.
Skt saptalā, navamālikā (Am-k II.4.72); S. satpetai dāsaman; E. Multipetalled (literally, seven-petalled) jasmine; Jasminum arborescens Roxb., Oleaceae.

167. sattupalā (f.), samī (f.) (566d) sivārukka. sattayuttaphalatāya satta<u>phalā. gaṇḍam sameti ti samī (heals tumours), i, naḍādi.
Skt saktpalā, śamī. Syn. śivā (Am-k II.4.52); S. sāma gas; E. Musquit bean, Screw bean; Prosopis cineraria (L.) Druce, (= P. spicigera L.), Mimosaceae.

168. sammad (m.), dubba (f.) (599a) sundaraṃ dalam pāttem <pattim> etassā maṅgalapāt<ṭh>e ti saddalo, sammad maṅgalasaddaṃ lanti bhūsanti pat<ṭh>anti brāhmaṇa y<n>enāti vā saddalo (used in Brahmanic ceremonies [to the accompaniment of] auspicious sounds). dubbi<a> hiṃsāyaṃ, a. avamaṅgalam dubbatī ti dubbā. dunnimittādayo vārenti yāyati <etāyāti-
Sū> vā dubbā (wards off evil omens etc.), nerutto. satappabbikā bhaggavi anantā ruhā pi.
Skt dūrvā. Syn. šapatarvikā, bhārgavi, anantā, ruhā (Am-k II.4.158), sādvala; S. hitana; E. Conch grass, Durga grass; *Cynodon dactylon* (L.) Pers., Gramineae. See golomi above (§ 67).

169. samiraña (m.), phaniijaka (m.) (579d)
appamatta pannása. ira kampane, yu. phaniim jayati ti phaniijjako (overcomes serpents, i.e. effective against snake poison), yassa ko.
Skt id. Syn. parṇāsa, marubaka (Am-k II.4.79), (phaniijhaka, Syn. maruvaka-Suśr, p. 165); S. maruvā*, muruvā; E. Annual marjoram, Sweet marjoram; *Marsdenia tenacissima* (Roxb.) Moon, Asclepiadaceae.

170. sarala (m.), pūtiḳattha (nt.) (571a)
pitiduma. sarati kālantaraṃ, saralo, alo. pūti-y-eva kathiṃ pūtiḳattham, pūtimuttam yathā (the wood has a putrid odour).
Skt sarala, pūtiḳaṣṭha. Syn. pitadru (Am-k II.4.60); S. sarala; E. Chir pine, Long-leaved Indian pine; *Pinus roxburghii* Sarg., Pinaceae.

171. salla (m.), madana (m.) (567d)
piṇḍitaka. sala gamane, lo, [sallo]. mada ummāde, yu. “piṇḍitaka maravako sasano karahātaka” ty Amarakoso<e>.
Skt śalya, madana. Syn. piṇḍitaka, marubaka, śvasana, karahātaka (Am-k II.4.52,53); S. kukurumuvan; E. Emetic nut; *Catunaregam spinosa* (Thunb.) Tirveng., *Randia dumbetorum* (Retz.) Poir., Rubiaceae (GIMP, GVDB).

172. saha (m.), sahakāra (m.) (557cd)
“sugandha vā atisayagandhayutto samāno soho sakkāro” ti vo<u>cate (fragrant or strong-smelling), saha sattiyam, sugandham kattum sahati ti saho (capable of making a good odour), a, sahānaṃ saho, taṃ karoti ti sahakāro. hā vā mudā tāya saha vattati ti saho. sahām samuddam <samudam> karoti ti sahakāro.
Skt sahakāra (Am-k II.4.33); S. mi anba; E. [Sweet] mango; *Mangifera indica* L., Anacardiaceae.

173. sādukaṇṭha (m.), vikaṇkata (m.) (559d)
gandh<tha>-ila. sādhaṃ phalatāya sādhu <sādhaṃ phalatāya sādu> so (fruits are sweet), kaṃṭakaṣatātāya <kaṃṭakasadisa>-Sū, thorn-like) canṭo (thorny) ceti sādukaṇṭha<ṭ>o, sakaṇṭatāya attanam virūpaṃ karoti ti vikaṇkato (rendered ugly because of thorns). dvittam, niggahitāgamo ca.
Skt svādukaṇṭaka, vikaṇkata. Syn. granthila (Am-k II.4.37); S. katu khihir*, ugurassa; E. Governor’s plum, Lawyer vine; *Flacourtia indica* (Bur.m.f.) Merr., (= Flacourtia ramontchi var. sapiaria Roxb.) Flacourtiae.
175. sāmā (f.), piyaṅgu (f.), kaṅgu (f.) (571c)
balani <phalini>. sā tanukaraṇe, mo. piyabhāvaṁ gacchatī ti piyaṅgu (pleasant), u. kammaniyaabhāvaṁ gacchatī ti kaṅgu (charming), nipātanā. pahilavhayā <mahilāvhayā> latā gunḍā baligandha (!) bali (!) kārombo pi.
Skt śyāmā, priyaṅgu. Syn. mahilāvhayā, latā, gundrā, gandhaphali, phali, kārambahā (Am-k I.4.55, 56); S. poṅgu*, puvaṅgu; E. Perfumed cherry; Aglaia elaeagnoides (Juss.) Benth. var. beddomei (Gamble) K.K.N. Nair, (= A. roxburghiana (Wight et Arn.) Miq.), Meliaceae.

176. sāla (m.), assakaṅna (m.), sajja (m.) (562c)
sala gamane, no. sāravantatāya vā sālo (having latex). assakannasadasapannatāya assakaṅno (leaves resemble the ears of horses). sañja sañj-g>e (sticky), a, sajja adane vā, a.
Skt sāla, avakarnaka, sarjaka (Am-k II.4.44) sarja (Suśr p. 165); S. sal;66 E. Sal tree; Shorea robusta C.F. Gaertn., Dipterocarpaceae.

177. sālapañni (f.), thirā (f.) (584d)
sālapañnisaddisa <<sadisa> vi[s]aṭatāya sālapañni (leaves are broad like those of the sal tree). sālam sobhanayuttam paṇṇam assā ti sālapañni (leaves beautify the branches), thu gati theriyesu, iro, tiro. Skt sālaparṇi, sthirā (Am-k I.4.115); S. asvāṇṇa; E. Tick trefoil; Alysicarpus vaginalis (L.) DC. (ENUM, IFPC), Desmodium gangeticum (L.) DC. (Dv, GIMP, GVDB), Papilionaceae.

178. singī (f.), usabha (m.) (590c)
kakku<a>ṭasingā<i>. singasadisapupphatāya singī (flowers resemble horns). kulirasingī cakkasingī pi.

66 As pointed out in the AAS, this is distinct from the tree commonly found in the Buddhist temples of Sri Lanka, S. sal, E. cannon ball tree, botanical name Couroupita surinamensis Mart. ex Berg, Lecythidaceae.

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179. sirīsa (m.), bhanḍila (m.) (571d)
sarati himsati rogaṁ sirīso (destroys diseases), iso, assi. bhanḍa paribhāsane, ilo. kapitana pi, ambātiike bhaddabhanḍe ca, kapitano.
Skt sirīṣa, bhanḍila. Syn. kapitana (= āmātaka-Sūrī, p. 168, see pitanaka § 13) (Am-k I.4.63); S. mahari*, māra, sūriya māra; E. Egyptian acacia, Kokko, Lebeck, Siris tree, Woman’s tongue tree; Albizia lebbeck (L.) Willd., Mimosaceae.

180. sihupucchi (f.), paṁhipaṇṇi (f.) (584c)
kalabhiṣi <kalasi>. sihupucchākārāṃ kusumamaṇjaṛitāya sihupucchi (clusters of flowers resembling the tail of lions). paṁhī <paṁhi-Sū> ti appatta <appatanu-Sū> vuccate. paṁhipaṇṇaṃ yassā paṁhipaṇṇi (less leaves).
Skt sihupucchi, prṣnipaṇṇi. Syn. kalaṣi (Am-k I.4.92,93); S. pusvänna; E. Pointed-leaved uraria; Uraria lagopodioides (L.) Desv. (GIMP), U. picta (Jacq.) Desv. (IFPC), Papilionaceae.

181. sumanā (f.), jātisumanā (f.), mālatī (f.), jāṭi (f.), vassīki (f.)68 (576ab)
sundaram mano yassa sugandhattā jātisumanā ti samuditanāma[m] (pleasant and fragrant), mala dhāraṇe, to, nadādi, jana janani.

67 cakraṣṭṛṅgi is omitted in the Am-k, Dv, and GVDB. vamhāpala in S. is generally Skt vāḍā, E. Malabar nut, Adhatoda vasica Nees.
68 The grouping of vassīki in the syn. here is apparently an error of the Subhuti ed. The same takes vassīki with yāthikā, māgdhi (= S. sinidattā). See § 144. That avoids the confusion between vāsanī and vassīki; cf. yāthikā ganikā maṭṣṭhā māgdhi bālapuspikā — modani bahugandhā ca bhṛṅgānandā gajāhvyā. RaN, p. 233.
vassakālasāṇjātapupphatāya vassa<i>kī (blossoms in the rainy season). it&k>o, nadādi.

Skt sumanā, mālati, jāti, vāsantī (= blossoms in springtime, cf. vassikī above) (Am-k II.4.72); S. dāsaman<*, saman picca; E. Spanish jasmine; Jasminum humile L. (IFPC) Oleaceae, Aganosma dichotoma (Roth) K.Schum. (GIMP), Apocynaceae, J. officinalo L. var. grandiflorum (L.) Kobuski, Oleaceae (GIMP, GVDB).

182. sepanĉi (f.), kāsmari (f.) (558c)
sirmantānī paṇñāni yassā [sā] sepanĉi (having bright leaves), nadādi, sirisaddassa se [ādeso]. Kāsmaridese jātattā kāsmari (original habitat: Kashmir). kāsa dittiyām vā (or, whets appetite), maro, nadādi. madhupanĉi bhadapanta pī.

Skt śripaṇḍi, kāsmari. Syn. madhuparṇikā, bhadrapaṇḍi (Am-k II.4.35,36); S. āt demaṭa; E. Candahar tree, Comb tree, Kashmir tree, Malay beachwood, Snapdragon tree, Tall beachberry, White teak; Gmelina arborea Roxb., (= G. rheedii Hook.), Verbenaceae.

183. sephālikā (f.), nilikā (f.) (575a)
kanhapupphasepaṇiśi, siphāṭa <sephā jaṭi-Sū> yass atthi sephālikā (having a complex stamen), iko. lamajjho. nilapubbatāya <"puppahatāya> nilikā (flowers are blue). "svuhaṇa niggunḍi pi, sindhuvāro pi niggundha, nilasephāliyāmise" <"kā pi ce> ti Ruddho.

Skt śepālikā, nilikā. Syn. suvahā, nirgunḍī (Am-k II.4.70), sindhuvāra; S. kālu mal sēpālikā; E. Coral jasmine, Night jasmine, Sorrowful nyctanthes, Tree of sadness, Tree of sorrow; Nyctanthes arbor-tristis L., Nyctanthesaceae.

184. sereyyaka (m.), dāsi (f.), kimkhirāta (m.), kurandaka (m.) (579ab)
jiṇḍi <jhīṇṭi>. sira<i>n m vattati yena [so] sereyyaka, neyyako <neyyo, satthe ko> maintains splendour. dāsanāmakattā dāsi. kira vikkiraṇe, āto, dvittam, kuru&k&o, satthe ko.

Skt saireyaka, dāsi, kuraṇṭaka. Syn. jhīṇṭi (Am-k II.4.74,75); S. kaṭu karaṇdu; E. Yellow nail-dye plant; Barleria prionitis L., Acanthaceae. 185. seleyya (nt.), asmapuppha (nt.) (591c)
thā <tan> ca pāsaṇabhavam sugandharasadabham selajam iti kkhāṭaṃ (fragrant drug produced in stone). sīlāyaṃ pāsāne bhavam seleyyaṃ (produced in stone). neyyo. asmato asmassa vā puppham asmapuppham (stone flowers). kālāṇusāriyam pi.

Skt sāleyya, asmapupspa. Syn. kālāṇusārya (Am-k II.4.122,123); S. gal sevel<*, gal mala; E. Canary moss, Common blue curled lichen, Rockmoss, Stone flowers, Yellow lichen; Parmelia perlata Ach., Parmeliaceae.

186. selu (m.), bahuvāraka (m.), +uddāla* (558b)
yassa phalāni picchillāni <picchilāi> (having slippery fruits), si bandhane, lu. sala gamanatthe vā, u. asse. picchillattā bahūni vārā<i>ni yasmiṃ bahuvārako (plenty of water due to slipperiness), saññāyaṃ ko. sīto uddālo kapalo pi.

Skt sēlu, bahuvāraka. Syn. śita, uddāla (Am-k II.4.34); S. lōlu; E. Assyrian plum, Large sebesten plum; Cordia dichotoma G. Forst., (= C. myxa L., C. monoica Roxb.), Boraginaceae.

187. sonaka (m.), dīghavaṇṭa (m.) (572a)
munḍaka<manḍika>paṇṇa. suna gatiyām, ṅu. dīgham phalavaṇḍ<i>am yassa (fruits having a long stalk). nāṭo kutaṭo (l) pi.

Skt s<s>yonāka, dirghavṛnta. Syn. kutānnta, manḍukaparna (Am-k II.4.56,57); S. toṭila; E. Indian trumpet flower; Oroxyllum indicum (L.) Bent. ex Kurz, Bignoniaceae.

188. sobhaṇjana (m.), siggu (m.), + bhujānga* (554d)
tikki<i>a>gandha. sobham janeti ti sobhaṇjana (creates beauty). sobhavisajamak ekena <sobhāti aṇjanam etena-Sū> hetubhūtenā ti vā <vā ti> sobhaṇjana vuttaṇ ca. "sirisapupphariten <sirisapupphassa
rasena-Sū> bhāvitam sahassavāraṃ maricam sitavhayam <sitāhvayam>
— etena sam[m]anti visā hi sambhavā kataṇjana[m] snehnāpadanatthikā
<snehanapādanatthuto-Sū (!)>” ti (antidote).69
Skt sobhāṇjana, (śobhāṇjana-Suśr, p. 165), śigru. Syn. tikṣṇagandha
(Am-k II.4.31); S. murumgā; E. Drumstick tree, Horse-radish tree;
Moringa oleifera Lamm., Moringaceae.

189. somavakka (m.), kadara (m.) (567c)
itasāra. khadira. khadirādikan tu pitaśāre khadire. setavāṇṭatāya somo
(white-coloured). kappa<Ś Gaut>rasadiso vakkvo vakkalam etassā [ti]
somavāṇ<Śk>o (the bark, similar to that of kappura, camphor, is white).
“samo kuvero pitu devatāyaṃ — vasuppabheda vasudhākāre
cā — dibbosadhasāmalatā (I) samīraṃ — kappūranireasu ca vānare cā” ti
nānattamasgahā. isām khuddakāṃ dalam etassa kadaro (leaves are
small). lassa ro.
Skt somavalka, kadara. Syn. sitakhdara, (śveta°) (Am-k II.4.50); S. hela
kihari; E. Gum arabic tree; Acacia suma Buch.-Hamm., Mimosaceae.

190. hintāla (m.) (604a)
hintālayo sattanissaṇāya tināni ca. tāni mūlena jālapānasāmaṇṇatto
pādapā ceti tinapādapā vuccanti. tīna adane. pamaṇato tālato hīno hintālo
(smaller than the tāla tree). padaviparyās<Śk>r o rasso ca.
Skt hintāla (Am-k II.4.169); S. kitul; E. Jaggery palm, Toddy palm;
Caryota urens L., Palmea.

69 Cf. śrīvatsapupsavarase saptāḥam maricam sitam/ bhāvitam sarpaḍastānām
pananasyājāne hitam|| Asṭāṅgahṛdaya, Uttarasthāna, 36.72
śrīvatsapupsavarase bhāvitam maricam sitam/ saptāḥam sarpaḍastānām
nasapānājāne hitam|| Cakradatta, Viṣṇucīkṣa, 8.
(“Seeds of the horse-radish soaked in the juice of the Egyptian acacia flowers for
seven days is good for those stung by serpents, to be used as a beverage, an
errhine or an ointment.”) NB: sitam maricam = śigrubijam = horse-radish seeds.
habitats, uses, native names, etc. by G.H.K. Thwaites, assisted in the identification of the species and synonym by J.D. Hooker, London 1858–1864.


IFPC = A provisional index to the local names of the flowering plants of Ceylon by R.N de Fonseka & S. Vinasithamby, Peradeniya 1971.


RaN = Rājanīghntu, ed. Śrī Āśubodhabhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya & Nityabodha Vidyaśānta Bhāṭṭācārya, Calcutta 1933.


Śū = Abhidhānappadipikā sāci by Waskaduwe Subhuti, Colombo 1893.
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(According to the order of the Sanskrit/Sinhala alphabet)

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APPENDIX

Abbreviations of the names of authors
of plant names

(fl. [= floruit] precedes year in which a publication
of the author is known)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
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<td>Ach.</td>
<td>Acharius, Erik</td>
<td>1757–1819</td>
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<td>A.DC.</td>
<td>Candolle, Alphonse Louis Pierre Pyramus de</td>
<td>1806–93</td>
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<td>Abeyw.</td>
<td>Abeywickrama, Bartholomeusz Aristides</td>
<td>1920–</td>
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<td>Alston, Arthur Hugh Garfit</td>
<td>1902–58</td>
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<td>Andréanszky, Gábor (Gabriel)</td>
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<td>(Aleksandr Andreevic, Aleksandrovic)</td>
<td>(1803–90)</td>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>Name</td>
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<td>Mart.</td>
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<td>1869–1961</td>
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<td>Matsum.</td>
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<td>G.Don</td>
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<td>G.Forst.</td>
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<td>Hand.-Mazz.</td>
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<td>Hook.f.</td>
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<td>Osbeck</td>
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<td>Jack</td>
<td>1795–1822</td>
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<td>Jacq.</td>
<td>1727–1817</td>
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</table>
Jinadasa Liyanaratne

Panz. Panzer, Georg Wolfgang Franz (1755–1829)
Parkinson Parkinson, Sydney C. (1745–71)
Pers. Persoon, Christiaan Hendrik (1761–1836)
Pichon Pichon, Marcel (1921–54)
Pierre Pierre, Jean Baptiste Louis (1833–1905)
Poir. Poiret, Jean Louis Marie (1755–1834)
Ramam. Ramamurthy, Kandasamy (1933–)
R.Br. Brown, Robert (1773–1858)
Retz. Retzius, Anders Jahan (1742–1821)
Ridl. Ridley, Henry Nicholas (1855–1956)
Ridsdale Ridsdale, Colin Ernest (1944–)
Rosco. Roscoe, William (1753–1831)
Roth Roth, Albrecht Wilhelm (1757–1834)
Rottler Rottler, Johan Peter (1749–1836)
Roxburgh Roxburgh, William (1751–1815)
Royle Royle, John Forbes (1798–1858)
Sarg. Sargent, Charles Sprague (1841–1927)
Schott Schott, Heinrich Wilhelm (1794–1865)
Schrader, Heinrich Adolph (1767–1836)
Seem. Seemann, Berthold Carl (1825–71)
Ser. Seringe, Nicolas Charles (1776–1858)
Silva Manso Silva Manso, António Luiz Patricio da (1788–1818)
Sm. Smith, James Edward (1759–1828)
Sol. Solander, Daniel Carl (1733–82)
Solms Solms-Laubach, Hermann Maximilian Carl Ludwig Friedrich zu (1842–1915)
Sonn. Sonnerat, Pierre (1748–1814)
Spreng. Sprengel, Curt (Kurt, Curtius) Polycarp Joachim (1766–1833)
Stapf Stapf, Otto (1857–1933)
Steud. Steudel, Ernst Gottlieb von (1783–1856)
Standl. Standley, Paul Carpenter (1884–1963)

Stocks Stocks, John Ellerton (1822–54)
Swingle Swingle, Walter Tennyson (1871–1952)
Taub. Taubert, Paul Hermann Wilhelm (1862–97)
Thomson Thomson, Thomas (1817–78)
Thunb. Thunberg, Carl Peter (1743–1828)
Thwaites Thwaites, George Henry Kendrick (1812–82)
Trimen Trimen, Henry (1843–96)
Trin. Trinius, Carl Bernhard von (1778–1844)
Vahl Vahl, Martin (Henrichsen) (1749–1804)
Voigt Voigt, Joachim (Johann) Otto (1798–1843)
Wall. Wallich, Nathaniel (1786–1854)
Walp. Walpers, Wilhelm Gerhard (1816–53)
Wangerin Wangerin, Walther (Leonhard) (1884–1938)
Wight Wight, Robert (1796–1872)
W.Wight Wight, William Franklin (1874–1954)
Wild. Willdenow, Carl Ludwig von (1765–1812)
W.de Wilde de Wilde, Willem Jan Jacobus Oswald (1936–)

(Source: Authors of Plant Names. ed. R.K. Brummitt & C.E. Powell, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew 1992)
KĀMALOKA: A RARE PĀLI LOAN WORD IN OLD JAVANESE?

In a note to “Śiva-Buddhism in Java and Bali”, J. Ensink (1978: p. 178 note 8) observed that: “There is little evidence of Pāli, Pāli literature and Theravāda Buddhism in the whole of the Indo-Javanese and Indo-Balinese culture”. Indeed, this scholar adduces only four items: 1) Old Javanese wiku as a very early loan and a development from Pāli bhikkhu, 2) Old Javanese palaṅka, “throne, seat for a priest” and Balinese pēlaṅkan, the term for the seat of the brahmin priest, from Pāli pallāṅka, 3) Balinese patarana, the square cushion of a Balinese Buddhist priest from Pāli pattharana, and 4) the seeming preference of the spelling Purusāda over Puruṣāda in the Old Javanese Sutasoma, a poem which may have been inspired by the Mahāsutasoma Jātaka.

The text passage which may possibly furnish a fifth borrowing from Pāli is to be found in a late fourteenth or early fifteenth century Old Javanese Buddhist didactic poem, entitled Kuṇjarakarnapaharaka jātakathana and written by mpu Ḍusun. This text has been edited and translated by Teeuw and Robson (1981). The context of the passage in question is as follows: Pūrṇawijaya, the king of the gods named widyādharas (ratu niṅ dewa widyādharākhya, 13.4b), together with his wife Kusumagandhawati and attendants who were “not different from the host of Manmatha” (= Kāma), has departed (32.5a) from his residence in the heaven of Indra (kendran), to pay their respects to the Buddha Waipura. Arriving at His abode (32.6a), the wihaṇa named Bodhicitta, Pūrṇawijaya, accompanied by the hosts of gods, performs the worship (amūjā). Music follows (33.1), to which dance (33.2) and songs (kidun)

1 Gonda (1973: pp. 158, 274) says that Old Javanese wiku derives from Middle Indic bhikkhu. Pāli is, of course, also Middle Indic.

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which are hymns of praise in the divine worship (prastuti dewapujâ) are added (33.4). After describing how the sashes (sasampur) of the dancers slipped down, as if to display their slim waists, Kuñjarakarna 33.6 states:

\[
\begin{align*}
san atēlasan anṛtānīnditānwa tuwuhnya \\
inirin i wuri len tañ cārakākweh ri wuntu \\
pilīh amēnān atandi rūm saken kāmaloka \\
hayu ni kai tuwin anșal yan teken rūmnya dewī
\end{align*}
\]

Teeuw and Robson (1981: 147) translate:

Those who had finished dancing were in the prime of youth;
They were let to the back, together with the many attendants behind.
Probably they would win a contest with the beauties of Kāma’s realm —
Their beauty might even be successful against the charms of a goddess!

Before offering a slightly different translation, we may note a few details. The rendering of amēnān atandi rūm and tuwin anșal by conditionals is perhaps unfortunate, since neither amēnān nor anșal includes an irrealis (the suffix a). True, one could read amēnāna, but this would force one to read tañdi rūm, which, as the verbal phrase ‘to compare/measure in/with respect to beauty’, is not likely.

Secondly, and much more important, the translation “Kāma’s realm” for kāmaloka, where kāma is taken, as it here is, as the proper name of the god of love, is questionable. The reasons are: 1) the term kāmaloka is not otherwise attested in Old Javanese,\(^1\) 2) the compound kāmaloka is completely absent from all standard Sanskrit dictionaries,\(^2\) and 3) Kāma,

\[\text{kāmaloka: A rare Pāli loan word in Old Javanese?}\]

being generally a secondary or attendant rather than a presiding or central divinity in Hinduism or Buddhism,\(^1\) does not have a world (scil. heaven, loka) of his own, unlike, for example, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā or Indra. Words for each of these worlds (viṣṇuloka, śivaloka, brahmaloka, indraloka) are attested in Sanskrit as well as in Old Javanese.\(^2\)

Therefore, instead of the “the world of [the god] Kāma”,\(^3\) kāmaloka must mean the world of desire”, that is, the world(s) in which desire is operative. In Buddhist Sanskrit cosmographic terminology this is called the kāmadhātu, the sphere of existence below the worlds of form (rūpadhātu) and the worlds of non-form (arūpadhātu). Hence, when the poem notes that the dancers are superior in beauty to those of the worlds of desire, this makes much sense insofar as, having left the heaven of Indra and having arrived at the wihāra Bodhicitta, the residence of the Buddha, the performers are as such no longer part of the sensual sphere and therefore must be superior to its inhabitants.

---

1. That is, there is no entry under kāmaloka in Zoetmulder’s Old Javanese dictionary (1982) at all.
2. That is, from Böhtlingk and Roth (St. Petersburg), Schmidt, Monier-Williams, Apte, Mylius, Edgerton (Buddhist Hybrid), Conze (Prajñāpāramitā literature), and Sircar (epigraphic). Das (1985: p. 691) supplies both kāmadhātu and kāmaloka for Tibetan ’dod kham’ but does not supply text-references. Given that this dictionary reference is the only one furnished by Chandra (1976: p. 1261) in his Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary and in the light of the absent of kāmaloka in all the above dictionaries, one may be inclined to consider this as a ‘ghost translation’, the more because kāmaloka is also absent from the Mahāvyutpatti, as well as from the index on the Abhidharmakośa (la Vallée Poussin) and its bhāṣya (Hirakawa).
3. See, however, Stut and Stava no. 405, the Smarastava, (Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971: p. 253), a hymn used in Śaivite circles, where Kāmadeva is said to prevail over Īśvara, Brahmā, Mahādeva and Viṣṇu (verse 6) and to be worshipped by the triple world (trailokayasevitas, verse 7d).

---

1. Note do hypothetical synonyms such as *kāmabhūvana, *kāmabhūmi or *kāmapada appear to be attested in either language.
2. Kāma and Ratih, moreover, are the patrons of poets and the dalang, the performer of the wayang plays, on Bali (Gonda 1975: p. 46. see C. Hooykaas, “The Function of the dalang”, in Akten des 24. intern. Orientalisten-Kongresses, München, 1957). However, the context of the Kuñjarakarna does not appear to permit an understanding of ‘the world of Kāma’, that is, as the wayang.
As for the dancers being superior in beauty to a “goddess” (dewi),
this would amount to the same thing, since, in Buddhist cosmology, the
worlds of the gods (devaloka)\(^1\) are superordinate to the worlds of
demons, men, animals, ghosts and hell-beings, but still within the realm
of desire. Nevertheless, we ought to consider if dewi could be a proper
name, for “in her Sundanese (West Javanese) form as Devi Śrī she is a
divine princess, able to descend from heaven and closely related to the
vidyādharis, a class of kindly fairies who in part of the Archipelago are
believed to preside over love and in Java to revive the deceased. They are
in all probability a body of indigenous deities who have assumed an
Indian name, taking over the role played, in India, by the apsaras”
(Gonda 1975: p. 30).\(^2\) The Kuṇjarakarṇa identifies the dancers as
Apsaras and divine women (apsara mwaṅ surastrī, 33.2a). In itself this
is not a problem for identifying dewi, since the poem does not seem
rigorously to distinguish between apsaras and widyādharis. Moreover,
since Pūrnawijaya, king of the widyādharas and lord of the apsaras
(26.4a, 31.7c, 37.2a, etc.) has returned from a spell in the aweci (sic) hell
where he had been boiled in the hell-cauldron while his body lay in bed at
home as if dead (25.2a, 29.1), only to engage in love with his wife
(31.7), the identification of dewi as Devi would appear to be a reasonable
possibility.

With the above considerations in mind, we may now retranslate the
verse from the Kuṇjarakarṇa.

They who had finished dancing were flawless, youthful in age.
They were escorted to the back together with the many female
attendants who were behind [them].

---

\(^1\) These worlds, of which there are generally six, are also known as the kāmāvacarāḥ.
\(^2\) Gonda refers here to K.A.H. Hidding, Nji Pohatji Sangiang Sri, Leiden, 1929,
which is not available to me.
mention of Sinhalese as foreigners resident on Java in inscriptions of
king Airlaṅga in the eleventh century,¹ we may opine that this may have
been many centuries before the composition of the Kuñjarakarnadharma-
kathana. Indeed, it is conceivable that this could have been as early as the
seventh century, since I Ching observes that āgama texts on Buddha’s
nirvāṇa were translated in Java and since, according to Gonda (1975: p. 7),
these texts belonged to the “Hinayāna”. Further, we may refer to
the work of Lokesh Chandra (1986) who makes a reasonable case for
the existence of Abhayagirivāsins hailing from Ceylon on Java. Accordingly,
one may conjecture that kāmaloka as a Pāli loan word in Old Javanese
might ultimately have been borrowed from one or other text brought to
Java by these monks sometime prior to 792/3, the date of the Ratu Baka
inscription.

Lastly, an observation: even if one should prefer to hold, when all is
said and done, that kāmaloka in the Old Javanese Kuñjarakarnadharma-
kathana was minted in Java itself, it is, from an anthropological
perspective, not insignificant that *kāmaloka is seemingly absent in the
enormous literature available in Sanskrit. Given the multifaceted compass
of this literature, its lack is all the more piquant. One can only wonder
why the term is not available, for, after all, given that the god Kāma also
has the name Anaṅga, ‘he without a body’, one is inclined to suspect that
some adroit Sanskrit poet would have found occasion to make a word-
play on these two terms. That, somewhere, sometime, no one did make
such a palpably obvious pun must mean something, if only that this
would seem to presuppose the omnipresence — sensate and religious —
of the realm of desire.

Vienna
Max Nihom

have erected the monastery called Abhayagiri”. See also Chandra 1986, who
discusses this inscription with reference to its bearing on the Barabudur.
¹ cf. Ensink, loc. cit.

kāmaloka: A rare Pāli loan word in Old Javanese?

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VIMUTTIMAGGA AND ABHAYAGIRI: THE FORM-AGGREGATE ACCORDING TO THE SAṂSKṛTASAṂSKṛTA-VINISṢAYA

A. Introduction

The Vimuttimagga is a comprehensive manual of the Theravādin school; lost in the original Pāli (or, less probably, Sanskrit), it is preserved in a complete Chinese translation, made by a bhiksú of Funan in the early 6th century. This version has been translated into English in full under the title The Path of Freedom.

While both Chinese and Pāli sources agree that the name of the author is Upatissa (Skt Upatiṣya), there is some confusion about the Sanskrit form of the translator’s name. In 1883 Bunyiu Nanjio gave the name Samghapāla, with the alternative Saṃghavarman. In 1915 Sylvain Lévi rejected the form Saṃghapāla as erroneous, and suggested

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1 cf. Bechert 1992, pp. 95–96, and Skilling 1993A, p. 167. See, however, Louis Renou and Jean Filliozat (edd.), L’Inde classique II (Hanoi, 1953) § 2147: “à en juger par les noms ou termes transcrits, la version chinoise du Chemin de la Libération ne semble pas être faite sur un original de langue pâli; on n’y trouve aucun nom singhalais … tout indique, pour cet original, une origine indienne et non singhalaise”. Sylvain Lévi (1915, p. 26) notes, with reference to the Mahāmāyūrī, that *Saṃghabhāra “parait être un sanscritiste et un indieniste médiocre”.

2 T 1648 (Vol. XXXII), KBC 968, Chieh t'o tao lun.

3 See Bibliography: the English translation is hereafter referred to as Path.

4 The name, prefixed by “arhat”, is transcribed at the head of the Chinese version; in the Visuddhimagga Commentary the author is described as therā (Paramatthamaṇḍulisā, cited at Path xxxvi, ekacce ti upatissathāṃ sandhāyāha, tena hi vimuttimagge tathā vuttam).


Samghavarman or Samghabhara. In 1923 J. Przyluski, after referring to both Nanjio and Lévi, described Samghapāla as “doubtful”, and suggested Samghabhara or Samghabhata. In 1927 Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, after referring to the above-mentioned sources, rejected both Samghapāla and Samghavarman, and accepted Samghabhara. The Hōbōgirin gives “Samghabhara (?)”, as well as “Samghavara (?)”, and “Samghavarman (?)”. Lancaster and Bareu give Samghabhara without discussion. The Path reverts to Samghapāla; since the translators do not discuss the name, and since the bibliography does not refer to any of the other works mentioned above, it is likely that they took the name from Nanjio’s Catalogue, which they refer to on pp. xxvii and xxxvi. This is unfortunate, since the form Samghapāla, rejected by all authorities since Nanjio, has thereby been perpetuated. For the time being, I accept the form *Samghabhara; I hope that the question will be re-examined by those competent in the field, in the light of resources now available.

There is also confusion about the date of translation. Bagchi, Przyluski, and Hōbōgirin agree that *Samghabhara’s dates are 460–524. Nanjio (§ 1293) gives the date of translation of the Vimuttimagga as 505, but since at Appendix II § 102 he himself says that *Samghabhara began his

career as a translator in 506 — a date confirmed by Lévi, Przyluski, and Hōbōgirin — this must be an error. Both Bagchi and Lancaster give the date of translation as the 14th year of the T’ien Chien era of the Liang Dynasty, which Bagchi equates with 519, Lancaster with 515. L’Inde classique states that the translation was made between 506 and 524, “probablement en 515”; Hōbōgirin does not give a date. According to Dr. Josef Kolmaš, 515 is the correct date.

In addition to the Chinese translation, the Vimuttimagga is known from extensive quotations given by Daśabalaśrimitra in his Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya, a compendium of the tenets of several Buddhist schools, also lost in the original, but extant in Tibetan translation. In this paper, I will give an extract from Chapter 13 of the Sav, a citation of the Vimuttimagga which corresponds to the opening of the 10th fascicle, 11th chapter, first section, of the Path (pp. 237–38), in the following format:

a) romanised Tibetan text;
b) English translation of the Tibetan;
c) English translation of the Chinese from the Path.

The object of study is a passage giving a list of the 26 types of derived form (upādāya-rūpa) that, along with the four basic elements

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1 Lévi, loc. cit.
5 ibid, p. 281a, under Sögyabara.
6 KBC § 968; Bareu 1955, p. 242.

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1 I am grateful to Dr. Kolmaš for checking the date for me during a visit to the Oriental Institute, Prague. It is likely that Nanjio’s 505 is simply a misprint for 515. (cf. also e.g. KBC 1086, where the 15th year of T’ien Chien = 516.)
2 ‘Dus byas daṅ ’dus ma byas rnam par hes pa = Sav. I have been able to consult only two editions: D and Q (see Bibliography); variants are given in parentheses without discussion. For an analysis of this work and a discussion of its authorship and date, see Skilling 1987.
3 From the passages selected for this study, it can be seen that the translation of the Path is often unreliable. I am grateful to Dr. Prapod Assavavirulhakarn (Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok) for consulting the Chinese text; his clarifications are followed by the initials [PA].
(mahābhūta), constitute the aggregate of form, rūpa-khanda. The list is of considerable interest and importance because it throws light on the problem of the school affiliation of the Vimuttimagga. Because “school” in this context refers to divisions or traditions within the broader fold of the Theravāda, the tradition of the Pāli Atṭhakathās, Ţikās, and Abhidhamma manuals will be specified as that of the Mahāvihāravāsins throughout.1

I have also given the opening of the chapter leading up to the above-mentioned list, in order to place the passage in context, and — since Daśabalaśrimitra’s citations of the Vimuttimagga have not been studied to date — to demonstrate how closely they agree with the Chinese version. I will also translate a number of other passages from the same chapter of the Sav in the discussion that follows.

B. Text and Translation

B.0a) (D 185a3; Q 98b6) pandita chen po gnas brtan dge sloṅ (D om. gnas brtan dge sloṅ) stobs bcu dpal bṣes gien gyis bsdu pa ‘dus byas daṅ ‘dus ma byas rnam par ṇes pa las (Q la) gnas brtan pa’i sde pa’i tshul lugs phun po skye mched kham rnam par ṇes pa žes bya ba le’u bcu gsum pa’o/2

1 For the two main divisions of the Theravāda, see Bareau 1955, chapters XXIX and XXX. A third branch, the Jetavaniyas or Sāgalikas (Bareau, chapter XXXI) seems to have played a less significant role. For the Abhayagiri, see Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Vol. 1, fasc. 1, [Colombo] 1961, pp. 21–25 (“Abhayagiri”); 25–28 (“Abhayagirivāsins”), 67, 77–78 (“Abhidharma Literature”), and Walpola Rahula, History of Buddhism in Ceylon, Colombo, [1956] 1966, pp. 83–85, 92–99, etc.

2 This is the colophon of the chapter of the Sav from which the citations are drawn.

B.0b) “An analysis of the aggregates, bases, and elements according to the system of the Sthavira school” (*Sthavira-nikāya-naya-skandha-āyatana-dhātu-viniścaya), Chapter 13 of the Analysis of the Conditioned and the Unconditioned, compiled by the great authority (mahāpañḍita), the senior monk (sthavira-bhikṣu), Daśabalaśrimitra.1

B.1a) (D 179a1; Q 90b3) ‘phags pa gnas brtan pa’i sde pa’i luṅ las ‘di ltar rnam par bṣag ste/ de la las daṅ po pa’i rnal ’byor pas rga śi las grol bar ‘dod pa dan/ ’khor ba’i rgyu yam dag par gcod pa don du gñer ba (Q bas) dan/ ma rig pa’i mun pa rnam par sel ba’i don du gñer ba dan/ ‘phags pa’i sēs rab thob pa don du gñer ba rnam kyis gnas tsa la mkhas par bkṣed par bya/ol ‘di lta ste/ phun po la mkhas pa daṅ/ skye mched la mkhas pa daṅ/ kham la mkhas pa daṅ/ rten cin ‘brel bar ‘byun ba la mkhas pa daṅ/ ‘phags pa’i bden pa la mkhas pa ol’/2

B.1b) The Āgama of the Árya-Sthavira school (nikāya) sets forth the following:

Herein, the novice meditator (ādikammika-yogin) who wishes to be liberated from age and death (jāra-marāṇa), who strives to cut off the cause of cyclic existence (samsāra or bhava-hetu), who strives to dispel the darkness of ignorance (avijñā-andhakāra), and who strives to realise

1 For the title, which, in accordance with Tibetan (and Indian) tradition, is given at the end of the chapter, I have given Sanskrit equivalents for the Tibetan. Although the bulk of the Sav, dealing with Vaibhāṣika and Mahāyāna tenets, would have been composed in Sanskrit, we do not know the language of the Vimuttimagga and other Sthavira citations given by Daśabalaśrimitra. In order to facilitate comparison with the Mahāvihāravāsin Theravādin tradition, which is preserved in Pāli, I have given Pāli equivalents in the translation of the citations, based on the Sanskrit equivalents of the Tibetan as given for example in the Mahāvīryupatti (Mvy). In most cases these equivalents are virtually certain; those which require some explanation are discussed in the notes. The Pāli terms given in the citations of the Path have been taken from the footnotes to that work as appropriate.
the wisdom of the noble (ariya-pañña), should develop proficiency (kosalla) with regard to five states (thāna): proficiency with regard to the aggregates (khandha-kosalla), proficiency with regard to the bases (āyatana-kosalla), proficiency with regard to the elements (dhamma-kosalla), proficiency with regard to conditioned arising (paṭicca-samuppāda-kosalla), and proficiency with regard to the truths of the noble (ariya-sacca-kosalla).

B.1c) (Path 237,1) Herein, if the yogin aspires after release from decay and death, and wishes to remove the cause of arising and passing away, wishes to dispel the darkness of ignorance, to cut the rope of craving and to acquire holy wisdom, he should develop the methods, namely, the aggregate-method (khandha-kosalla, PA), sense-organ-method (āyatana-kosalla), element-method (dhamma-kosalla), conditioned-arising-method (paṭicca-samuppāda-kosalla), and truth-method (sacca-kosalla).

B.2a) (D 179a3; Q 90b) de la phun po lha ni 'di lta ste/ gzugs kyi phun po dan/ tshor ba'i phun po dan/ 'du šes kyi phun po dan/ 'du byed kyi phun po dan/ rnam par šes pa'i phun po'o/

B.2b) Herein, there are five aggregates (khandha): the aggregate of form (rūpa), the aggregate of feeling (vedanā), the aggregate of notion (saññā), the aggregate of formations (sankhāra), and the aggregate of consciousness (viññāna).

B.2c) (Path 237,8) What is the aggregate-method? The five aggregates are the aggregate of form, the aggregate of feeling, the aggregate of perception, the aggregate of formation, and the aggregate of consciousness.

B.3a) (D 179a4; Q 90b6) de la gzugs kyi phun po ni grīs te (Q om. te) 'di ltar/ 'byun ba chen po dan/ 'byun ba chen po las byun ba'i gzugs so/

B.3b) Herein, the aggregate of form is twofold: the basic elements (mahābhūta) and form derived from the basic elements (mahābhūtanam upādāya rūpaṃ).

B.3c) (Path 237,10) What is the aggregate of form? The four primaries and the material qualities derived from the primaries.

B.4a) (D 179a4; Q 90b7) de la 'byun ba chen po la bzh ni 'di ltar/ sa dan/ chu dan/ me dan/ ruñ no/

B.4b) Herein, there are four basic elements: earth (pāthaṃ), water (āpo), fire (tejo), and air (vayo).

B.4c) (Path 237,14) What are the four primaries? Earth-element, water-element, fire-element, air-element.1

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1 The translators of the Path supply the term upāya; the characters employed are also used for kausalya = kosalla, equivalent here to the Tibetan mkhas pa [PA]. While forms with kusala (MN III 62, dham-kusala, āyatana, paṭicca-samuppāda, thānāthāna, kuśala) are found in the Divyāvadāna, the use of upāya is not, I therefore take the nominal form kosalla (for which confer PTS 230b), equivalent to the Tibetan mkhas pa (in the passage cited clearly a noun = Skt kauśalya), to be the correct form.

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1 Here the Sav omits the definitions of the four basic elements given in the Path pp. 237,15–238,10.
B.5a) (D 179a5; Q 90b7) 'byuṅ ba chen po las byuṅ ba'i gzugs ni ŋi śu ŋer drug ste/ 'di ltar ...  

B.5b) There are 26 [types of] form derived from the basic elements¹ ... [See Table 1.]

B.5c) (Path 238,12) What are the derived material qualities? ... [See Table 1.]

B.6a) (D 179a7; Q 91a3) de'i phyir 'byuṅ ba chen po bzi daṅ ŋe bar bslan ba'i gzugs ŋi śu ŋer drug ste/ gzugs (Q rdzas) sum cur 'gyur rol//

B.6b) Therefore, there are four basic elements and 26 [types of] derived form (upādāya-rūpa), making 30 [types of] form (rūpa).²

B.6c) (Path 240,31) ... these 26 material qualities and the four primaries make up 30 kinds of matter [rūpa, PA].³

C. Discussion

The earliest suttas, both Pāli and Sanskrit, speak of two types of form, generally in definitions of either the form aggregate (rūpa-kkhanda) or of the “form” in “name-and-form” (nāma-rūpa). For example:

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¹ This introductory sentence is not given in the Path, which gives instead a question. In Table 1 I have omitted the dan (ca, “and”) that follows each item in the Tibetan.
² D gzugs = rūpa, Q rdzas = dhabba (Skt dravya). The Chinese here definitely = rūpa [PA].
³ This sentence follows the definitions of the 26 types of derived form that are given in the Path (pp. 238,20–240,31) but omitted in the Sav.

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While the four basic elements are listed and defined in the suttas, for example in the Mahāhattherapadopama-sutta (MN 28, Vol. I 185,14 foll.), no definition of “derived form” is given in the early texts. This gave the various schools a free hand to compile their own lists of the constituents of derived form.

The earliest list of the Mahāvihāravāsin Theravādins is found in their Abhidhamma in the Dhammasaṅgāni (§ 596)¹ which gives 23 types of derived form in response to the question katamān tam rūpaṃ upādā. This type of form became known as upādī- or upādāya-rūpa. The 23 types of derived form of the Dhammasaṅgāni (indicated with an asterisk in Table 1) follow the same order as the corresponding items of the Vimuttimagga list.

From the time of Buddhaghosa on, the Mahāvihāravāsins added the “heart-base”, hadaya-vatthu, between no. 12, jīvitindriya, and no. 13, kāyaviññatti, to make a total of 24 varieties of derived form. This list is found, for example, in the Visuddhimagga (375 § 36; Mm 11,10).² The

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¹ References to this work are by section number, as given in the PTS edition (ed. Edward Müller, [1885] London, 1978) and in the Devanagari script edition (ed. P.V. Bapat and R.D. Vadekar, Poona, 1940).
² References to this work are to Henry Clarke Warren (ed.) and Dharmamandira Kosambi (rev.), Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosācariya (Harvard Oriental Series 41), [1950] Delhi, 1989, by page and paragraph number, and to the Thai
Sav and the Path, however, state explicitly that there are 26 types of derived form (see above, §§ B.5ab and B.6abc).

The list of the Sav in fact gives 27 items; as may be seen from Table 1, 1 have not counted reg pa (= phassa), which is not given in the Path or in the following analysis and classification of the 26 types as cited in the Sav. As a cetasika, phassa does not belong here; if phoṭṭhabba (Tibetan reg bya) is intended, it also does not fit, because according to the Vimuttimagga as cited by Daśabalaśrimita himself (D 184b1; Q 97b8) the “tangible base” (phoṭṭhābhāyatana) consists of the earth, fire, air, and water elements, and hardness (kākkaḷatā), softness (mudutā), heat (unjhatta), and coolness (sīṭatā), which are within the range of the body (kāya-gocara):

reg bya'i skye mched ni sa'i kham dān/ me'i kham dān/ rlun gi kham dān/ chu'i kham dān/ sra ba dān/ 'jam pa dān/ dro ba dān/ bsil ba ste/ gn lus kyi spyod yul lo/

This definition is confirmed by the Path (254,19):

Touch-object is hardness, softness, coolness, and warmth of the elements of earth, water, fire, and air. This is the field of the body. 2

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1 The order of the four elements here in the Path agrees with that of both the Sav and the Path at B.4 above. This seems to be the standard order as found at e.g. DN III 228,1 and MN I 185,12.

2 “Touch-object is the earth-element, water-°, fire-°, air-°, hardness, softness, coolness, and warmth [which are within] the range of the body (kāya-gocara)” [PA].

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The Mahāvīravāsins, however, hold that the phoṭṭhabbāyatana consists of only three great elements, excluding water, āpo-dhātu, and that cold, sīta, is not āpo-dhātu but tejo-dhātu, in the “condition of feeble heat” (mande hi unabhāve sītabuddhi). The position of the Vimuttimagga is closer to that of the Vaibhāsikas, who include all four elements as well as cold (sīta) in the sraḍāvāyatana. Confirmed by both the Tibetan of the Sav and by the Chinese of the Path, the definition of phoṭṭhabbāyatana is another important point on which the tradition of the Vimuttimagga disagrees with the Mahāvīrā school.

When this error is corrected, the Sav and the Path agree completely on the 26 items enumerated and their order. This list of 26 items may safely be termed the Vimuttimagga list of derived form.

A comparison of the Dhammasaṅgani list with that of the Vimuttimagga shows that the two lists are identical in order and in items enumerated, with the important difference that the latter adds three items: rūpassa jāti (21), vattu-rūpa (25), and middha (26).

Of these three, vattu-rūpa may be identified with the hadaya-vattu of the Mahāvīravāsins from the time of Buddhaghosa on. Unfortunately, since Daśabalaśrimita’s presentation of the Vimuttimagga is abridged, he omits the definitions of the 26 varieties of derived form that follow the list in the full Chinese translation, and thus does not define vattu-rūpa. In the Path (240,29) the definition of the equivalent term is translated as “the growth which is dependent on the primaries and the element of...”

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3 The basic list in the Path gives 25 items only, omitting the important no. 21, “birth of matter”, which is, however, given in the Chinese (see note 5 to Table 1).
consciousness [viññāna-dhātu, PA] is called the sense-organ of the material element,"¹ which is not very illuminating.

That hadaya-vatthu and vatthu-rūpa are equivalent is, however, made clear in the Aṭṭhakathā and later literature, for example in the definition of the "base-decad", vatthu-dasaka, given in the Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā (Vibh-a 22,7–10):

Tattha vatthurūpam, tassa nissayāni cattāri mahābhūtāni, tannisstī vanna-gandha-rasa-ojā jīvītaṁ ti, idam vatthudasakaṁ nāma.

Herein, the base-decad consists of vatthu-rūpa, the four basic elements on which it depends, colour, odour, taste, and nutriment that depend on it, and life.

The Sav does not give the definition of the "base-decad", but refers it to that of the "eye-decad":

(D 179b6; Q 91b4) de la mig bcu źes pa ni/ rab tu dañ ba' i mig gi dhos por gyur pa' i 'byun ba chen po bzi dan/ kha dog dan/ dri dan/ ro dan/ gzi brgyid dan/ srog gi dban po dañ/ mig gi rab tu dañ ba' o/ chos bcu po 'di rnams gnas rnam pa tha dad med pa' i goñ bu yin pas/mig bcu źes brjod do/ ... (D 180a4; Q 92a4) de bzin du rna ba bcu ldan dan/ sna bcu ldan dan/ lce bcu ldan dan/ lus bcu ldan dan/ bud med kyi dban po bcu ldan dan/ srokes pa' i dban po bcu ldan dan/ dhos po bcu ldan dan/ srog gi dban po bcu ldan rnams rgyas par źes par bya' o/

¹ “Life-faculty decad”, srog gi dban po bcu ldan, must be an error of scribe or translator. In the Pāli Abhidhamma, the life-faculty is an eneade (jīvitiṇḍriya-navakā); for it to be a decad, one would have to count the life-faculty twice. Furthermore, the eneade is referred to later on in the Sav: (D 180b4; Q 92b7) tshaṅs pa rnams kyi skye ba' i dus su gzugs sum cu dgu ni 'di lta ste/ dhos po bcu ldan dan/ mig bcu ldan dan/ rna ba bcu ldan dan/ srog gi dban po dgu ldan no/ 'du šes med pa' i sens can rnams kyi skye ba' i dus su gzugs dgu 'byun bar 'gyur te 'di lta srog gi dban po dgu' o/ “For Brahmas at the moment of birth there are 39 [constituents of] form: the base-decad, the eye-decad, the ear-decad, and the life-faculty-eneade (jīvitiṇḍriya-navakā). For beings without perception (asaṇṭi-satta) at the moment of birth 9 [constituents of] form arise, that is, the life-faculty-eneade.” Path p. 244,6 has “Brahmā arouses 49 material qualities at the moment of birth. They are the basis-decad, the eye-decad, the ear-decad, the body-decad, and the life-principle-eneade” for the first part. The figure 39 of the Sav is correct, since the Abhidhammattha-sangaha (Mm 38,8; Nārada 312,1) states that since the nose-, tongue-, body-, and sex-decados are not found in the world of form, that is the Brahmaloka, at the moment of birth there are four kalāpas, the eye-, ear-, and base-decados, plus the life-eneade: rūpaloke pana ghāna-jivhā-kāya-bhāva-dasakāni ... na labbanti, tasmā tesam paṭisandhi-kāle cakkhu-sota-vatthu-vasena tiṇi dasakāni jīvita-navakaṅceti cattāro kamma-samūṭhāna-kalāpā ... labbanti.
primaries, form, odour, flavour, contact, life-principle and the sentient eye. This decad is produced together and does not separate. This is called “group” and this is called the eye-decad ... (242,16). Thus should the eye-decad be known. In the same way one should know the ear-decad, the nose-decad, the tongue-decad, the body-decad, femininity-decad, masculinity-decad, life-principle-enead at length.

It is possible that the term vatthu-ūpa is older than the term hadaya-vatthu. The latter only appears from the time of Buddhaghosa onwards, while vatthu-ūpa is employed in the earlier Vimuttimagga as well as in later works of the Mahāvihāravāsins.

The importance of vatthu-ūpa or hadaya-vatthu in Theravādin philosophy is demonstrated by the fact that it makes up one of the two essential decades that must arise at the moment of birth:

(D 180a6; Q 92a6) mñas gvi skye ba'i skad cig la gzugs sum cu 'byun bar 'gyur ro/ dnos po bcu ldan dan/ lus bcu ldan dan/ gaṅ gi tshe bud med na (D ni) bud med kyi dbaṅ po bcu ldan dan/ yän na skyes par (D skye bar) 'gyur na de'i tshe skyes pa'i dbaṅ po bcu ldan dan/ ma niṅ nrams kyi ni gzugs ŋi śu 'byun bar 'gyur te/ 'di lla ste/ dnos po bcu ldan dan/ lus bcu ldan no/

Thirty [categories of] form arise at the moment of birth in a womb (gabha): the base-decad (vatthu-dasaka), the body-decad (kāya-dasaka), plus, for a female, the femininity-faculty-decad (ittindriya-dasaka), or, for a male, the masculinity-faculty-decad (purisindriya-dasaka). For asexuals (napuṅsaka),

20 [categories of] form arise [at the moment of birth]: the base-decad and the body-decad.

(Path 243,16) How, through birth? It should be known by way of a male or female entering a womb. In the first moment thirty material qualities are produced. They are the basis-decad, body-decad, femininity-decad, masculinity-decad. In the case of a person who is neither a male nor a female, twenty material qualities are produced. They are the basis-decad and the body-decad.

The same theory is given in the Vibhaṅga-atthakathā (Vibh-a p. 22) and the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha (Mm 37,15; Nārada 311,10, gabbha-seyyaka-sattānam pana kāya-bhāva-vatthu-dasaka-saṅkhātāni tīni dasakāni pātubhavanti, tatthā pi bhāva-dasakaṁ kadāci na labbhati).

Vatthu-ūpa, along with its opposite avatthu-ūpa, is used in another sense in the Pāli Abhidhamma, as one of the classifications of form. The Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha (Mm 34,20; Nārada 296,19) defines the term in this sense as follows:

Pasāda-hadaya-saṅkhātāṁ chabbidham pi vatthu-ūpaṁ-nāma, itaram avatthu-ūpaṁ-nāma.

Form as “base” [for consciousness] is six-fold, consisting of what is called pasāda [the five sense bases] and the heart-base. The rest are “form as non-base”.

This classification derives from the list of synonyms given for the five sense bases in the Dhammasaṅgani (§§ 597 foll.): loka, dvāra ... khetta, vatthu, etc. The Visuddhimagga (382 § 78; Mm 21,15) notes that the five sense bases are both “base” and “door” (pasāda-rūpaṁ vatthuṅ c’eva
there are no hindrances in you”,  

middha-rūpa, physical torpor, is rejected as simply non-existent. As for the others, roga-rūpa is included in the categories of decay and impermanence; jāti-rūpa, “birth of form” belongs to the categories of growth and continuity; sambhava-rūpa is included under the water-element; and bala-rūpa is included under the air-element. Therefore it is definitely understood that not one of these exists independently. Thus these 24 types of derived form and the previously mentioned fourfold elemental form make 28 types of form, no more and no less.

From this passage several important conclusions may be drawn. Firstly, the jāti-rūpa or rūpassa jāti² of the Vimuttimagga list was not accepted by the Mahāvihāravāsins as a separate or distinct entity, although, since it was mentioned in an unnamed Aṭṭhakathā it was acceptable as a concept for the growth and continuity of form. (A similar interpretation is given in the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha, Mm 34,10, Nārada 286,7, jāti-rūpa eva pan’ ettha upacaya-santati-nāmena pavuccati ti.) Secondly, middha-rūpa, “physical torpor” — described significantly not as from the Aṭṭhakathā but as according to “the opinion of some” — was rejected outright.

From this we see that the Vimuttimagga disagrees with the Mahāvihāravāsin tradition on one of the most fundamental categories of the Abhidhamma, the definition of form, by including two extra items: the conventionally acceptable rūpassa jāti and the totally unacceptable middha-rūpa. The Vimuttimagga thereby gives a total of 26 varieties of form.

1 Citation from Sutta-nipāta v. 541cd.
2 I take these two terms to be equivalent. For the gzugs kyi skye ba of the Sav I have given rūpassa jāti on the analogy of the rūpassa upacaya, etc., of the Pāli.

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1 As noted above, the sole canonical source, the Dhammasaṅgani, lists only 23.
derived form. The Visuddhimagga, however, states emphatically that only 24 varieties are found in the Pāli, and that, added to the four great elements, these make a total of 28 constituents of the form aggregate, no more and no less, against the Vimuttimagga total of 30.

Although the Visuddhimagga attributes the “heresy” of middharāpa to the opinion of an unspecified “some” (ekaccānam matena), the Tikā tells us that this refers to the Abhayagirivāsins: ekaccānān ti abhayagiriviṃsān. Thus the inclusion of middha-rūpa in both the Chinese version and the Tibetan extracts of the Vimuttimagga is convincing evidence that the Vimuttimagga contains classifications that were categorically rejected by the Mahāvihāra but accepted by the Abhayagiri school.

Following the list of the 30 constituents of the form-aggregate, the Vimuttimagga classifies them according to the various categories of the Abhidhamma. The classifications of the three “extra” (from the standpoint of the Dhammasangāni) items of the Vimuttimagga list that can be extracted from Daśabalaśrimitra’s abridged citation are given in Table 2.

The classification of vatthu-rūpa agrees with that given for hadaya-vatthu in the Visuddhimagga and other Mahāvihāravāsin texts. Thus the Vimuttimagga and the Mahāvihāravāsins agree on these points. Since the latter reject both middha and rūpasa jāti, they do not include them in their scheme of classification.

The classification into upādiṇṇa, etc., reads as follows:

1) de la las las skyes pas zin pa'i gzugs la dgu ste 'di ltar/ dbañ po'i gzugs brygyad dañ/ dnos po'i no bo'o/

2) las las ma skyes pa'i don gyis ma zin pa'i gzugs la (Q om. la) dgu ni 'di ltar/ sgra dañ/ lus kyi rnam par (Q om. rnam par) rig byed dañ/ ṇag gi rnam par rig byed (Q rnam rig only) dañ/ gzugs kyi yan ba niñ dañ/ gzugs kyi 'jam pa riñ dañ/ las su ruñ ba dañ/ rga ba dañ/ mi rtag pa dañ/ gñid do/

3) gñi ga yin pa'i don gyis rnam par phye ba'i gzugs la bcu gñis ni 'di ltar/ lha ma gzugs bcu gñis so/

Furthermore, all form (sabhām rūpam) is of three types: upādiṇṇa-rūpa, anupādiṇṇa-rūpa,1 and *vibhatta-rūpa.2

1) Herein, upādiṇṇa-rūpa, which arises from kamma (kamma-ja), is of 9 [types]: the 8 [types of] form which are faculties.

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1 Zin pa-ma zin pa are the regular Tibetan equivalents of the technical terms upāṭtā–anupāṭṭā of the Viabhāṣikas. As noted by Karunadasa (1967, pp. 103 foll.), upāṭṭā–anupāṭṭā as employed in the Abhidharmakosa have a different meaning from the upādiṇṇa–anupādiṇṇa of the Theravādin Abhidhamma. However, since the classifications and definitions as kammaja, etc., agree with those of the Pāli, and since zin pa, “grasped, appropriated”, etc., means the same as upādiṇṇa, there can be no doubt that these are the correct equivalents in this context.

2 Rnam par phye ba is the usual Tibetan equivalent of vibhajya; Hirakawa et al. (p. 157) also give vibhaktar, vipaça, and vijukta; Yamaguchi (p. 129) gives vikalpitu, vibhaga; Mvy 6838 vicita. The PTSD (p. 629) has “divided, distributed, parted, partitioned, having divisions …” for vibhajta; since it does not seem to be a technical term in Pāli, this is a tentative equivalent.
(indriya-rūpa: eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, femininity, masculinity, life) plus vaṭṭhu-rūpa.

2) In the sense of not arising from kamma (akamma-jā-āṭṭhena), anupādinna-rūpa is of 9 [types]: sound (sadda), bodily expression (kāya-vaṭṭhānati), vocal expression (vaṭṭha-vaṭṭhānati), lightness of form (rūpassa lahutā), plasticity of form (rūpassa mudutā), wieldiness (kammaññatā), decay (jara), impermanence, (aniccatā), and torpor (muddha).

3) In the sense of being both (ubhayaṭṭhena), *vibhatta-rūpa is of 12 types, that is, the remaining 12 [types of] form.

The Chinese version as given in the Path (244.28), while revealing some difficulties in translation, agrees with the Sāv:

All material qualities can be divided into three kinds. They are non-material qualities and arrested material qualities.¹

1) Here nine material qualities are feeling [upādinna, PA]. They are the eight faculties and the material basis, because they are produced owing to kamma-result.

2) Nine material qualities are² the sense-object of sound, body-intimation, speech-intimation, buoyancy of matter, impressibility of matter, workability of matter, decay of matter, impermanency

of matter and torpidity. These are not produced through kamma-result.

3) The other twelve material qualities are breakable ones because they have two kinds of significance (?).¹

The classification into upādinna-anupādinna is given only as a duka-mātikā in the Dhammasaṅgani (§§ 585, 653–54); however, as the group from rūpāyatana to kabhajākāra āhāra is given under both categories, this implies the third *vibhatta category of the Vimuttimagga. The itemisation of the Vimuttimagga and the Dhammasaṅgani is otherwise identical, except, of course, that the former adds vaṭṭhu-rūpa, rūpasa jāti, and muddha.

The passage on sabhāva-rūpa, etc., reads as follows:

1) de la yoṅs su rdzogs pa’i don gyis raṅ bžin gyi gzugs la dbye ba bcu dgu (D dgu bcu [!!]) ste/ ‘di ltar/ gaṅ rags pa’i gzugs su gsun ba’i bcu gniḥ po de dahn/ bud med kyi dbaṅ po dahn/ skyes pa’i dbaṅ po dahn/ srog gi dbaṅ po dahn/ chu’i kham dahn/ kham gyi zas dahn/ dnos po’i ńo po daṅ/ gniḥ (Q ńid) do//

¹ The Path garbles the text. “They are upādinna, anupadinnna, and ‘perishable’” [PA]. The last, “perishable” presumably translates a form in BHAṬJ against the BHAṬ of the Tibetan.
² “Nine material qualities are anupādinna:” ... [PA]. The Path omits anupādinna.

¹ The uncertainty is expressed by the translators of the Path. The Chinese agrees with the Tibetan: “in the sense of being both” (ubhayaṭṭhena) [PA]. That is, the items of the last category are both upādinna and anupādinna.
² The text states “five (ha)”, but lists only four, as do the Path and the Visuddhimagga; thus “five” must be an error.
2) raṅ bzin gyi gzugs rnam par 'gyur ba’i don gyis rnam par 'gyur ba’i gzugs la bdun ni ‘di ltar/ lus kyi rnam par rig byed daṅ/ ṇag gi rnam par rig byed daṅ/ gzugs kyi yan ba ṇid daṅ/ gzugs kyi ‘jam pa ṇid daṅ/ las su run ba ṇid daṅ/ gzugs kyi ‘phel ba daṅ/ gzugs kyi rgyud do//

3) 'dus byas kyi don gyis (Q adds na) mtshan ṇid kyi gzugs la gsum ni ‘di ltar/ gzugs kyi skye ba daṅ/ gzugs kyi rga ba daṅ/ gzugs kyi mi rtag pa’o//

4) tshogs pa yoṅs su chad pa’i don gyis yoṅs su chad pa’i gzugs gcig ni ‘di ltar/ nam mkha’i kham so// 'dir raṅ bzin gyi gzugs gaṅ yin pa de (D de’i) yoṅs su chad pa yin gyi lhag ma ni yoṅs su ma chad pa’o//

Furthermore, all form (sabbam rūpaṃ) is of four\(^1\) types: intrinsic form (sabhāva-rūpa), transforming form (vikāra-rūpa), characterising form (lakṣaṇa-rīpa), and delimiting form (pariccheda-rūpa).

1) Herein, in the sense of being absolute (parinippannaṭṭhena),\(^2\) there are 19 categories (bheda) of intrinsic form: the 12 that have been taught as coarse form (olārika-rūpa), the femininity-faculty, the masculinity-faculty, the life-faculty, the water-element (āpo-dhātu), nutriment (kabālīkāra-āhāra), vatthu-rūpa, and torpor (middha).

2) In the sense of transforming intrinsic form (sabhāva-rūpa-vipariṇamananatthaṭṭhena),\(^1\) transforming form is of 7 [types]: bodily expression, vocal expression, lightness of form, plasticity of form, wieldiness, growth of form, and continuity of form.

3) In the sense of being conditioned (sankhaṭṭhena), characterising form is of three [types]: birth of form, decay of form, and impermanence of form.

4) In the sense of delimiting an aggregation (kalāpa-paricchedanaṭṭhena),\(^2\) there is one delimiting form: the space-element (ākāsa-dhātu). Herein, essential form is delimited (paricchinnā); the remainder (sesa) are not delimited (aparicchinnā).

(Path 245,8) Again, all material qualities are of four kinds, by way of intrinsic nature of matter [sabhāva-rūpa, PA], material form, material characteristics [lakṣaṇa-rūpa, PA], and delimitation of matter [pariccheda-rūpa, PA].\(^3\)

1) Here 19 material qualities are intrinsic [sabhāva, PA]. They are the 12 gross material qualities, femininity, masculinity, life-

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1 See preceding note.
2 Yoṅs su rdzogs pa = parinīppana, paripūra, etc., Hirakawa et al. p. 262. While nippana is the preferred term in the Pāli Abhidhamma, parinippanna is also used, for example in the Atthasālīni: cf. Karunadasa 1967, p. 42.

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1 This is tentative: rnam par 'gyur ba = viparināma, vikāra, Hirakawa et al. pp. 155–56; vikrti, Yamaguchi p. 128.
2 Tshogs (pa) = kalāpa, saṃghāta, samudāya, saṃuha, sāmagri, etc., Hirakawa et al. p. 225: the reference is to the Abhidhammic atom, rūpa-kalāpa, for which see Karunadasa 1967, Ch. VIII, and especially p. 152, “Every rūpa-kalāpa is delimited (paricchindate) by the environing ākāsa, space”.
3 The first term, sabhāva-rūpa, is clear. The second might be equivalent to vikāra- or vipariṇamana-rūpa. The third should be “characterising form” (lakṣaṇa-rūpa) rather than the “material characteristics” of the Path, and the fourth “delimiting form” (pariccheda-rūpa) rather than “delimitation of matter” [PA].
principle, element of water, solid food, material basis, and material quality of eye, because they limit (?)..

2) Seven material qualities are material form. They are body-intimation, speech-intimation, buoyancy of matter, impressibility of matter, workability of matter, integration of matter, continuity of matter, and intrinsic nature of matter, because they change.

3) Three material qualities are material characteristics [lakkhana-rūpa, PA]. They are birth of matter, decay of matter, and impermanency of matter, because they are conditioned.

4) One material quality is delimitation of matter [pariccheda-rūpa, PA]. It is space-element, because it defines the groups.

Here, through intrinsic nature one discriminates, not through the others.

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1 “Material quality of eye” in fact represents middha, as in the Tibetan. One of the Chinese terms for middha is the character for “eye”: see Akira Hirakawa et al., Index to the Abhidharmakosābhasya (Peking Edition), Part One, Sanskrit–Tibetan–Chinese, Tokyo, 1973, p. 295 [PA].

2 The uncertainty is expressed by the translators of the Path. The character rendered as “limit (?)” also means “define”, “ultimate” (atayanta, accanta); see William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, [London, 1937] Delhi, 1987, 361a [PA]. The definition is probably equal to the Tibetan, “in the sense of being absolute”.

3 The Chinese lists only the seven items of the Tibetan. “Intrinsic nature of matter” (= sabhāva-rūpa) belongs to the concluding statement, which agrees roughly with the Tibetan [PA].

4 “Because it defines the groups” = “in the sense of delimiting an aggregation” of the Tibetan; the Pāli here would also be kalāpa-paricchedanāthena [PA].

5 The Chinese of this sentence again corresponds exactly to the Tibetan: “Herein, essential form is delimited (paricchinnena); the remainder (sesa) are not delimited (aparicchinnena)” [PA].

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Vimuttimagga and Abhayagiri

A similar fourfold classification is given in the Visuddhimagga (382 § 77; Mm 21,12):

*Nipphanna-rūpaṃ pañc’ etha rūpa-rūpaṃ nāma ākāsa-dhātu
pariccheda-rūpaṃ nāma kāyaviṇñatti ādi kammaññatā-
partiyanam viñña-rūpaṃ nāma jāti-jara-bhāgem lakkhana-
rūpaṃ nāma ti evam rūparūpādi-catukka-vasena catubbidham.

Absolute form [18 items: 4 elements, 13 starting with the eye, plus nutriment] is “form as form”; the space-element is “delimiting form”; from bodily expression to wieldiness are “transforming form”; birth, decay, and destruction are “characterising form”. Thus, form is fourfold through the four groups starting with “form as form”.

The rūpa-rūpa of Buddhaghosa is equivalent to the sabhāva-rūpa of the Vimuttimagga and consists of the same items, except that the latter adds middha. Buddhaghosa equates rūpa-rūpa with nipphanna-rūpa, which he defines as sabhāvena pariggahetabbo, “to be comprehended in its intrinsic nature”. At a later date, Anuruddha, in his Abhidhammaṭṭhasaṅgaha (Mm 34,5; Nārada 285,22), gives sabhāva-rūpa as the preferred name for this category, thus agreeing with the Vimuttimagga.1

D. A note on the heart-basis in the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi

To return to the theory of the heart basis, we may note that it was also known to other North Indian sources, for example the Abhidharmakośavyākhyā of Yaśomitra and the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi of Hsüan-tsang.2 In


2 For a discussion of Yaśomitra’s reference, see Skilling 1993B.
the latter, the theory of the heart-basis, without being named as such, is attributed to the Sthaviras:

Les Sthaviras disent qu’il y a dans la poitrine un rūpa, un rūpadravya, analogue à l’œil, etc., qui sert d’indriya au manovijñāna.¹

The Sthaviras say that there is within the bosom of every sentient being a rūpa, a rūpadravya, something substantial, analogous to the eye, etc., which serves as the indriya of manovijñāna.²

If the use of the Sanskrit technical term indriya here is correct, it does not agree with either the Vimuttimagga or the Mahāvihāra tradition. For the former we have the following passage:

(D 181a1; Q 93a5) gẑan yan gzugs la rnam pa gẑis ni ’di ltar/ dban po’i gzugs dan/ dban po min pa’i gzugs so// de la bdag po’i don gŷis (Q gŷi) dban po’i gzugs la brgyad ni ’di ltar/ mig dan/ ma ba dan/ sna dan/ lce dan/ lus dan/ bud med kyi dbaṅ po dan/ skyes pa’i dbaṅ po dan/ srog gi dbaṅ po’o// dbaṅ po dan mi ldan pa’i don gŷis dbaṅ po min pa’i gzugs la ni śu śer gẑis te ’di ltar// gzugs lhaṃ ma rnam so//

Furthermore, there are two types of form: form as faculty (indriya-rūpa) and form as non-faculty (anindriya-rūpa).

Herein, in the sense of exercising sovereignty (adhipatiyāthena), there are 8 [types of] form as faculty: the eye, ear, nose, tongue, and body, the femininity-faculty, masculinity-faculty, and life-faculty. In the sense of not possessing faculties¹ there are 22 [types of ] form that are non-faculty, that is, the remaining [types of] form.

(Path 244,21) And again, there are two kinds. They are faculty and non-faculty.² Here 8 material qualities are faculty. They are the five internals (possibly, five sentient organs),³ the faculty of femininity, of masculinity, and life; they are so because of dependence. The other 22 are non-faculty, because they are non-dependent.

For the Mahāvihāra, this distinction goes back to the Dhammasaṅgani (§§ 661–62):


Katamāṃ tam rūpaṃ na indriyaṃ ? Rūpyatanam ... pe ... kabaḷinkāro āhāro, idam tam rūpaṃ na indriyaṃ.

¹ Dban po dan mi ldan pa’i don gŷis: it is possible that dban po = indriya (in both D and Q) is a mistake for bdag po = adhipati, as in the definition of indriya-rūpa.

² As noted by the translators of the Path (p. 244, note 1), the Chinese in fact has “Lit. Life-faculty and non-life-faculty” [jīvitindriya, aṭṭhāvatāra, PA] throughout. It is clear that the term equals the indriya of the Tibetan.

³ This is the translators’ parenthesis. As seen from the Tibetan, the reference is to the five “internal” faculties: the eye, ear, nose, tongue, and body.
As mentioned above, however, the Dhammasaṅgani does not include hadaya-vatthu in its list of form. That it is not indriya-rūpa is made clear by the Visuddhimagga (381 § 73; Mm 20,14):

Pasādarūpam [= cakkhādi pañcavidham rūpam] eva ithindriyādittayena saddhim adhipatiyaṭṭhena indriyam, sesan tato viparītattā anindriyam.

Just the form of the [5] sense-organs together with the three starting with the femininity-faculty are faculty, in the sense of exercising sovereignty; the remaining [22 faculties] are non-faculty for the opposite reason [that is, because they do not exercise sovereignty].

I may note here that the adhipatiyaṭṭhena of the Visuddhimagga is directly equivalent to the bdag poʿi don gyis of the Sav. Again, we find the same classification in the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha (Mm 35,2; Nārada 296,23):

Pasāda-bhāva-jīvita-saṅkhātam aṭṭhavidham pi indriyarūpam, itaram anindriyarūpam.

Form as faculty is eightfold: that known as the [5] sense-organs, the [2] sex-faculties, and the life-faculty. The rest are form as non-faculty.

Thus it is clear that for both the Vimuttimagga and the Mahāvihāra vatthu-rūpa or hadaya-vatthu was anindriya-rūpa. An interesting explanation for this is put forward by Y. Karunadasa, who writes that unlike the sense-organs, the hadaya-vatthu “is not an indriya. Because of this reason, although mano and mano-viññāna have hadaya-vatthu as their basis, they are not controlled by it in the sense that the relative strength or weakness of the latter does not influence the former. Since mental culture is a central theme in Buddhism, the scholiasts seem to have taken the view that it is not proper to conceive mano and mano-viññāna as controlled by the hadaya-vatthu, although the latter is recognised as the physical basis of the former.”

E. Conclusions

There is on-going debate about the school affiliation of the Vimuttimagga. While it is accepted that the text belongs to the broader Theravādin tradition, there is disagreement as to whether or not it can be associated with the Abhayagirivāsins. My own conclusion — based primarily on the sections of the Vimuttimagga discussed in this article — is that it may indeed be associated with that school. My evidence and arguments are as follows:

1) The Vimuttimagga clearly belongs to the Theravādin tradition, and therefore should belong to either the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri, or the Jetavanīya school.

2) The Vimuttimagga cannot have been transmitted by the post-Buddhaghosa Mahāvihāra, since it disagrees with the texts of that school on a number of points, such as the important definition of one of the four elements and the inclusion of rūpasa jāti and middha as an elemental form. The passages translated above or given in Table 2 on the classification of rūpasa jāti and middha-rūpa show that they are fully

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1 Karunadasa 1967, p. 65.
3 For other points on which the Vimuttimagga disagrees with the Mahāvihāra, see P.V. Bapat, Vimuktimārga Dhutagunā-nirdeśa, Bombay, 1964, pp. xviii–xix.
integrated into the system of the *Vimuttimagga*. Furthermore, while the Mahāvihāra rejected *middha-rūpa* categorically, in the *Vimuttimagga* it is classified as a *sabhāva-rūpa*, the most substantial type of derived form, thus placing it ontologically on a par with the four elements, the five sense-bases, and the five sense-objects.

3) None of this information is new, since it has long been available in the Chinese *Vimuttimagga* itself and in English translation in the *Path*. However, the fact that the material on *middha-rūpa* is confirmed perfectly by a North Indian text in Tibetan translation has not been previously noted. The inclusion and description of *middha-rūpa* as a type of derived form in the *Vimuttimagga* is thus solidly based on two versions separated by thousands of kilometres and about six centuries.

4) These are not, as suggested by some scholars, minor points. According to the Theravādin Abhidhamma tradition, there are four ultimates (*paramattha*): mind (*citta*), mental states (*cetasika*), form (*rūpa*), and nibbāna. When the *Vimuttimagga* disagrees with the Mahāvihāra tradition on the definitions of both constituents of one of these ultimates, form — of the four basic elements and of derived form — this is a major point of contention. The fact that Buddhaghosa takes pains to discuss *rūpassa jāti* and *middha-rūpa* in his *Visuddhimagga*, and that he is so emphatic about the numbers of types of derived form, itself shows that this was a controversial point.

5) Buddhaghosa attributes the theory of *middha-rūpa* to an anonymous “some”; the *Ṭikā* specifies that this refers to the adherents of the Abhayagiri tradition, which eliminates the Jetavanīyas. This statement may, of course, be wrong, since no commentator is infallible. However, since the author of the *Ṭikā* was a learned Theravādin monk writing in Ceylon, where we know that the different schools lived in close proximity, I see no basis for reasonable doubt, and assume that he is correct in attributing the theory of *middha-rūpa* to the Abhayagiri.

6) It is sometimes suggested that the *Vimuttimagga* cannot belong to the Abhayagiri because it shows no sign of Mahāyāna influence. This is beside the point: as an Abhidhammic meditation manual, there is no reason that it should. Monks of the Abhayagiri tradition who practised the Mahāyāna would have been defined as Abhayagiriśaśin by their Vinaya lineage; whether or not they composed their own “Mahāyānist” texts cannot be said, but they would certainly not have tampered with the ancient literature of the school. At any rate, Bechtel (1992) has shown that “Mahāyānist” ideas are present in such Mahāvihāra texts as the *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Cariyāpaṭṭhaka*, and *Buddhāpadāna*: the absence or presence of such ideas tells us nothing about school-affiliation within the greater Theravādin lineage.

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1 See for example Nāṇamoli, Introduction p. xxviii: “That [the *Vimuttimagga*] contains some minor points accepted by the Abhayagiri Monastery does not necessarily imply that it had any special connexion with that centre ... the disputed points are not schismatical”. Nāṇamoli’s statement is cited and approved at *Path* xxxvii; see also *Path* xxxvii—xxxiii.

2 *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Mm 1,6, Nārada 6,10.

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1 The authors of the *Ṭikās* certainly had access to Vaibhāṣika texts — which are paraphrased in Pāli in some of their works (for example, Vaibhāṣika explanations of the number and order of the 22 faculties [indriya] given in the *Visuddhimagga-ṭikā*, *Vibhanga-anuṭikā*, and *Abhidhammatthasangaha-vibhāvinī*) — and I see no reason to doubt that they had direct access to to Abhayagiri works. Reference to philosophical opponents as “some” or “others” would rarely if ever suggest that a writer did not know the name or school of his opponents: rather it was a matter of protocol, widely followed in Sanskrit Buddhist texts of all periods. In both the Pāli and Sanskrit tradition, it was left to the commentators to name the opponents if they so chose.
I therefore conclude that the *Vimuttimagga*, which asserts the existence of a type of intrinsic form, *sabbhāva-rūpa*, called *middha*, was a manual transmitted by the Abhayagiri school within the greater Theravādin tradition.\(^1\) I use the word “transmitted” advisedly; there is no evidence to date that Upatissa was a native of Ceylon or that he composed his only surviving work at the Abhayagiri Vihāra. The *Vimuttimagga* may have been composed elsewhere in Ceylon, in India, or perhaps even South-east Asia.

Who transmitted the *Vimuttimagga* in India? This is an open question. I can only note that Daśabalaśrīmitra attributes his citations to the Sthaviras — whether those of Ceylon or of India cannot be said.\(^2\) According to *L’Inde classique* (§ 2147), the *Vimuttimagga* was translated from a manuscript brought to China in about 502 by another monk of Funan. Unfortunately, no source is given. If the information can be shown to be reliable, this would be important evidence for the presence of non-Mahāvihāra Theravāda in South-east Asia at an early date.

**Abbreviations and Bibliography**

References to Pāli texts are to the editions of the Pali Text Society, with standard abbreviations, unless otherwise noted.

**KBC** Lewis L. Lancaster in collaboration with Sung-bae Park, *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Berkeley, 1979

**Mm** Thai script edition(s) of Mahāmakuṭārajavidyālaya, Bangkok


**[PA]** Comments on the Chinese text by Dr. Prapod Assavavirulhakarn (see note 1 on p. 4)


**Q** Peking (Qianlong) edition of the Tibetan *Tanjur* (“Otani reprint”)


**T** Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka


**Hirakawa, Akira** et. al., 1978: *Index to the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya (Peking Edition)*, Part Three, Tibetan-Sanskrit, Tokyo


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\(^1\) For references to other works considered by some to be affiliated with the Abhayagiri see Norman 1983 and 1991 and Skilling 1993A.

\(^2\) For the question of the Sthāvira presence in India, see Skilling 1987 and 1993B.
The form-aggregate according to the Vimuttimagga

Table 1: The 26 types of derived form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samskṛtāsamskṛta-viniścaya</th>
<th>The Path of Freedom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(D 179a5; Q 90b8)</td>
<td>(238,12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1. mig</td>
<td>The sense organs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cakkhu</td>
<td>1. eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*2. rna ba</td>
<td>2. ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*3. sna</td>
<td>3. nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghāna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*4. kee</td>
<td>4. tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jivhā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*5. lus</td>
<td>5. body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>body</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*6. gzugs</td>
<td>6. matter as sense-object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rūpa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[visible] form</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*7. sgra</td>
<td>7. sound as sense-object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 An asterisk indicates that an item is given in the Dhammasaṅgani list (§ 596).
8. odour as sense-object
9. taste as sense-object

(reg pa)
(phassa)
(contact)

10. femininity
11. masculinity
12. life-principle
13. body-intimation
14. speech-intimation
15. element of space

16. buoyancy of matter
17. impressibility of matter
18. adaptability of matter
19. integration of matter
20. continuity of matter
21. arising of matter

2 D span for yan.
3 Also at Q 91b1, 94a2. ‘Phel ba, increase, development, growth, etc., is given as the equivalent of Sanskrit upacaya at Mvy 7437, and in Yamaguchi, p. 145. Other equivalents include viruddhi, vivardhana, vrddhi, caya, etc. The Visuddhimagga (380 § 67, Mm III 18,10) gives vadddhi as a synonym of upacaya “according to the Aṭṭhakathā”. Both Nāṇamoli (p. 489) and Karunadasa (1967, pp. 78, etc.) translate upacaya as “growth”.
4 Also at Q 91b1, 94a2.
5 “Arising of matter” is omitted here in the English translation (Path, 238,17) but found in the Chinese of the Taishō edition (445c2). It is given at Path 240,25, where it is defined as “the arising of material objects is the coming to birth of matter”, as well as at 241,26 (“birth of matter”), 242,5,28 (“birth”), 245,17 (“birth of matter”).
*22. gzugs kyi rga ba
rupassa jara[tā]
decay of form

22. decay of matter

*23. gzugs kyi mi riag pa
rupassa anicca[tā]
impermanency of form

23. impermanency of matter

*24. kham kyi zas
kabālinkāra-āhāra
nutritment

24. solid food

25. dños po'i no bo
vatthurūpa
form as base

25. the basis of the material element

26. gñid
middha
torpor

26. the material quality of torpor
(middha-rūpa)

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6 Same at Q 93b1, 94a3 but gzugs kyi rāhns pa at 91b2.
7 Also at Q 91b1, 93b8.
8 Also at Q 91a6, 93a8, 93b8. Dños po = vastu, padārtha, bhāva (Yamaguchi, pp. 41–44); Mvy 793, 949, etc.; Hirakawa et al. p. 50. No bo = rūpa (Yamaguchi, p. 41), also bhāva (Hirakawa et al., p. 49). Note that while both Sav and the Path place vatthurūpa here as § 25, the Visuddhimagga places the equivalent hadayavatthu between §§ 12 and 13.
9 Also at Q 91a8 (correct nîd to gñid), 93b2, 93b8 (correct nîd to gñid).

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Table 2: Classification of vatthu-rūpa, middha, and rūpassa jāti

B. Āttha\[2\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Vatthu-rūpa</th>
<th>1) las kyi s kun tu bltā ba</th>
<th>Q 91a5, D 179b1</th>
<th>kammasamutthāna</th>
<th>arisen from kamma</th>
<th>idem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2) phira mo, Q 93a3, D 180b7</td>
<td>subhuma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>idem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) phih roj, Q 93a4, D 180b7</td>
<td>bahūdāha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>idem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Rūpassa jāti

dus don las dar jīs sa na s don sas kyi
mart kyi s kun tu bltā ba
utā-kammasamutthāna
 arisen from time, kamma, mind, and nutrient

[1] The vatthu-dāsaka is also described as las kyi nas kyi s bltā ba (Q 91b3, D 179b1).
PĀLI LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDIES XII

TEN PĀLI ETYMOLOGIES

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

1. (a)pi: emphatic particle
2. abhijāna “knowledge”
3. assa = yassa
4. kañcana “golden”
5. kañcanadepiccha “golden two-winged one”
6. khuddā “bee”, khudda(ka) “honey”
7. je: vocative particle
8. dhoreyya “foremost”
9. bārāsa “twelve”
10. sadhāyamānārūpa “abusive”

We find at D III 203,22 the sentence api ssu nam mārīsa amanussā rittam pi pattam sīse nikkujjeyum, which is translated by Rhys Davids

1 See K.R. Norman, “Pāli Lexicographical Studies XI”, in JPTS XVIII, 1993, pp. 149–64.

as: “They would bend down his head like an empty bowl”.\(^1\) Walshe gives the identical translation,\(^2\) which can hardly be coincidence. It seems likely that both translators have mistaken \emph{pi} for \emph{va}. Rhys Davids was possibly translating “by intuition”, thinking that he knew what the text meant, and translating accordingly, even though the Pāli cannot possibly mean what he says.

Both Pāli \emph{pi} and Skt \emph{api} can have an emphatic meaning. It is commonly used in this sense after numerals, where it gets the sense of “exactly”. That is the sense at 203,23 “exactly seven pieces”. At 203,20 \emph{pi} emphasises \emph{attāhi} “full indeed” and at 203,22 it emphasises \emph{rittam} “empty indeed”. The translations quoted above also mistake the cases of \emph{pattam} and \emph{sise}, and take the wrong noun as the object of \emph{nikkujjeyum}. The meaning is “they would turn an empty pot upside down on his head”. The cty makes this clear by explaining that when the pot was put on his head it slipped down as far as his neck — we would probably say “down on to his shoulders”. They would then hit the pot, with his head still inside it.

I believe that the same emphatic use of \emph{pi} occurs at 203,19: \emph{api ssu nam mārisa amanussā anāvayham pi nam kareyyam avivayham} “they would make him unmarriageable indeed” with regard to both \emph{āvāha} and \emph{vivāha}. My only doubt here is the form of the sentence with \emph{nam} coming twice without \emph{ca} or \emph{va}: “they would make him not suitable for \emph{āvāha}, (they would make him) him not suitable for \emph{vivāha}”.

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1 T.W. and C.A.F. Rhys Davids (tr.), \emph{Dialogues of the Buddha}, Part III, 1921, p. 195.
2 Maurice Walshe (tr.), \emph{Thus have I heard}, London 1987, p. 477.

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\(2\). \emph{abhiñāna} “knowledge”

At Mil 78,13, as one of the sixteen (actually seventeen\(^1\)) ways in which \emph{sati}\(^2\) arises, we find the statement \emph{abhiñānato pi mahārāja sati uppajjati}, and in response to the question \emph{kathā abhiñānato sati uppajjati} (Mil 78,23) there is the answer: \emph{yathā mahārāja āyasmā ca Ānando Khujjuttarā ca upāsikā ye vā pan’ aṅñe pi keci jātissarā jātim saranti, evam abhiñānato sati uppajjati}.

Rhys Davids translates\(^3\) \emph{abhiñānato} as “by personal experience”, and Miss Horner “from personal experience”, and PED lists \emph{abhiñāna} as “recognition, remembrance, recollection”, and gives an etymology from \emph{abhiñāṇa}, although this might have been expected to develop \emph{> abhiñāṇa} in Pāli, since \emph{abhiñā} develops \emph{> abhiñā}. It is possibly for this reason that CPD does not list \emph{abhiñāna} as a noun, but maintains that \emph{abhiñānato} is the masculine genitive of the present participle of the verb \emph{abhiñāṇati}. This is, of course, formally possible, and the phrase in Mil would then mean “\emph{sati} arises to/for one knowing, i.e. one having knowledge”.

It is not clear how far the interpretation of this section of Mil is to be connected with the discussion which occurs in the section which immediately precedes it: \emph{sabbā sati abhiñānantā uppajjati udāhu kaṭumikā vā sati ti. abhiñānantā pi mahārāja sati uppajjati, kaṭumikā pi sati ti. evam hi kho bhante Nāgasena sabbam satim abhiñānanti, n’ atthi kaṭumikā sati ti (77,32–78,4)}. Rhys Davids translates \emph{abhiñānantā}

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\(^{1}\) See T.W. Rhys Davids, \emph{The Questions of King Milinda}, I, Oxford 1890, p. 123 note 17.
\(^{2}\) Miss Horner (\emph{Milinda’s Questions}, I, London 1963, p. 106 note 4) translates \emph{sati} as “mindfulness”, which is its usual meaning in Buddhist contexts. Rhys Davids is more likely to be correct in giving the word the common meaning of Skt \emph{smṛti} “memory”.
\(^{3}\) Rhys Davids, \emph{op. cit.}, p. 122.
Uppajjati as "arises subjectively", while Miss Horner translates it as "arises knowing objectively". Trencher stated (Mil p. 422) that Mil 78,1 was corrupt, without making it clear whether he thought that the corruption extended over more than one line. Miss Horner follows Mil-ți in reading sabbā sati abhijānantā uppajjati in Mil 78,3, which certainly fits in with the earlier passage and is easier to understand, although it is not at all clear how the corruption, if it is one, came about.

If we are correct in taking Mil 78,13-14 as meaning "sati arises from knowledge, sati arises from kaṭumikā", then we have to explain why at Mil 78,1-2 we seem to have a different statement: "sati arises knowing, sati arises kaṭumikā". It is to overcome this difficulty that kaṭumikā is normally taken as an adjective "connected with kaṭumikā, caused by kaṭumikā" in the first passage, and as a feminine noun in the second. There are many words in Pāli which are both nouns and adjectives, but the fact remains that we should normally expect an adjective from the noun kaṭumikā to have some indication that it is an adjective, e.g. a suffix with or without strengthening of the first syllable. Even if we ignore this problem we still have the difference between "sati arises knowing" and "sati arises from knowledge".

It is, of course, possible to take abhijānantā sati uppajjati as a direct parallel to abhijānato sati uppajjati, since abhijānantā can be the ablative of abhijānato, which may be either a genuine compound of abhijāna and anta, or an example of abhijāna with -anta added pleonastically. If this is correct, then we have the problem of kaṭumikā [uppajjati] sati. Once again, this problem is not insuperable, since we may take kaṭumikā as a "truncated" ablative of the noun kaṭumikā, where -ā = -āya. If we make these assumptions, then the statements in the two sections are completely parallel.

It is not clear why CPD does not list abhijāna as a noun. To take abhijānato as a present participle when it is followed by kaṭumikāya, which is presumably an ablative, and fifteen other quasi-ablative forms in -ato, seems very perverse. CPD does list abhijānana, i.e. an action noun formed from the present stem of the verb abhijānāti with the -ana suffix, and there seems to be no reason for rejecting the formation of an a-stem noun from the same root. I assume, therefore that PED is correct in taking abhijāna as a noun, but incorrect in implying that it is to be derived from abhijāna.

3. assa = yassa

We find in Dhp 179 the following:

yassa jitaṁ nāvaññati
jitaṁ assa no yāti koci loka,
 tam buddham anantagocaraṁ
apadām kena padena nessatha.

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1 Rhys Davids translates the adjective "stirred up by suggestion from outside" and "artificial", and the noun "outward aid". Miss Horner takes kaṭumikā in both sections as a noun, and translates the first passage as "mindfulness is an artificial aid". CPD (s.v. kaṭumikā) says that it is impossible to translate kaṭumikā in the first passage as if it were a noun. It is clearly not impossible to do so — Miss Horner has done it. Whether it is correct to do so is another matter. As will be seen below, I too take it as a noun, but I differ from Miss Horner in the way in which I interpret it. I think that the meaning is something like "external aid", as opposed to internal knowledge.

2 See W. Geiger, Pāli Grammar, § 81.

It is difficult to analyse assa in pāda b, or to translate it, as anything other than a relative pronoun — which is what all translations available to me do. In the explanation the cty does the same: noyāti ti na uyyāti yassa jītaṃ kilesajātaṃ rāgādisu ekakilesa pi loke pacchato-vatti nāma na hoti nānubandhati ti (Dhp-a III 197,17–19). If we assume that the cty and the translators are correct in understanding the sense of a relative pronoun here, then it is possible to take assa as a genuine relative pronoun form. We could assume that it is an eastern form, without initial y-1, which was not recognised as such when the Pāli, or some earlier, recension was made.

It is interesting to note that the parallel version at Udāna-v XXIX.52 in Bernhard’s edition2 reads the first two lines as:

\[
yasya jītaṃ nopaṭiyate
jītaṃ anveti na kam cid eva loke.
\]

Unfortunately Nakatani’s edition3 is defective here. If we could be certain that the Udāna-v redactor received something approximating to the Pāli version, then the differences between the Pāli version and the Udāna-v would seem to show an attempt to solve the problem of assa by omitting it, so that pādas a and b are both part of the clause introduced by yasya. That is, in effect, an admission that assa is to be taken as a relative pronoun.

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4. kañcana “golden”

CPD states that kañcana as an adjective is found only in compounds. This is to ignore Alsdorf’s suggestion1 that at Ja VI 269,5* we should read kañcane rather than kañcana-maye. The latter reading is unmetrical, and to overcome this problem CPD suggests reading kañcana-maye m.c. This overlooks the fact that as emended in this way the pāda is an even (posterior) Vaitāliya pāda where an odd (prior) one is required.

Alsdorf suggested reading nagare nimmite kañcane, giving the scansion \[
\text{- - - - - - - - , and he believed that this stood for \text{- - | - - - - | - - - - ,} with}
\text{two short syllables contracted to a single long syllable (and presumably a long syllable resolved into two short syllables), giving the cadence}
\text{- - - - instead of the usual - - - - .} I cannot parallel this anywhere else
\text{in a Vaitāliya verse in Pāli. An emendation which might be thought to be}
\text{more acceptable, because it comprises changes which are frequently found, is: nagare nimmite kañcane, giving the scansion \text{- - | - - | - - - - .}}
\]

If the suggestion is correct that Pāli kañcana, like Skt kañcana, can be both noun and adjective, then kañcana-maye would be a gloss upon kañcana, i.e. “golden” means “made of gold”, with -maya extracted from the gloss suvaññamayā (Ja VI 270,12’). The gloss had then replaced kañcana in the text.

5. kañcanadepiccha “golden two-winged one”

This word occurs in the verse yam na kañcanadepiccha andhena tāmasā gataṁ / tādise sañcājam pāṇaṁ kam attham abhijotaye, Ja V 339,19*–20*, and is glossed: yam nā ti ettha nakāro upamāne, kañcanadepiccha ti kañcanadepiccha (v.l. -dopiccha), ayam eva pātho kañcana-
ubhayapakkha ti attho. tamasă ti tamasi gatan ti katam, ayam eva vā pātho, purimassa nakārassa iminā sambando, na katam ti katam viyā ti attho, 341,19. The pāda is quoted at Sadd 889,10, where the compound has the form kañcanadvepiñcha. It is noteworthy that three spellings of the middle element of the compound are found, i.e. -de-, -dve-, -do-. The form -de- was doubtless preferred to -dve- m.c., to give the cadence -de-.

It is not unknown for translators and lexicographers to be uncertain about the meaning of a word and to be obliged to give possible alternatives. It is, therefore, not altogether surprising that the editors of the CPD, finding it difficult to be certain about the meaning of kañcanadepiñcha, should give two possible meanings for the word.1 What is surprising is the way in which they present their explanations. The two editors not only give two separate signed explanations, but they are mutually contradictory, even to the extent of giving different abbreviations for the Jātakamālā. One explanation states that the Skt parallel in the Jāt-m shows that the first pāda must contain a verb, the other refutes this by claiming that the Jāt-m has been reformulated. One explanation depends upon a belief that the original form of the verse had kañcana-d-ev’ icche (although no translation is given for this), while the other explanation requires the original form of the middle element of the compound to be -do-, from a vṛddhi form *dovijja with the same meaning as dvija < dvija. One of the few agreements in the two explanations is the fact that both assume that -p- has arisen from -v-.

In view of the doubt about the meaning of this word, it will perhaps not be inappropriate to give yet another suggestion, arising from the fact that neither of the attempts made in CPD suggests a reason for the cty explaining piccha as pakkha. We may deduce that, since there are no

1 Although both MW and PED quote the lexical meaning “wing” for Skt piccha.
3 Note tamasā at Jāt-m 134,8.
sacrificing your life. I can see no profit in it at all. If there is any profit, it is completely hidden from me, as though covered in darkness”.


Although *khuddā*, *khudda* and *khuddaka* are not included in PED, the first two are listed in Childers, who quotes Abh 494 821 (nt.) “honey” and 645 (fem.) “bee”, and *khudda* is quoted in PTC and by Geiger¹ (*khudda* “honey” Ja VI 582,30* = Skt *kṣaudra*). MW quotes Skt lex. *kṣaudra* “honey, species of honey” from *kṣudrā* “a kind of bee”.

I cannot quote any occurrence of *khuddā* in Pāli literature, but *khudda* occurs three times in the same phrase in the Aggaṇīṇa-sutta of the Digha-nikāya. It is not clear why the PTS edition prints the phrase in three different ways: *sēyyathā pi nāma khudda-madhu anelakaṁ, evam assādā ahosi, D III 85,16; khuddam madhum anēlakaṁ, 87,6; khuddamadhu-anēlakaṁ, 87,23*. It is glossed: *khuddam madhun ti khuddamakkhiṁī katuṁ madhum*, Sv 866,8.

The same phrase occurs in the Vinaya: *sēyyathā pi khuddamadhum anilakaṁ evam assādam, Vin III 7,9*. This is glossed: *khuddam madhun ti khuddamakkhiṁī katamadhum*, Sp 182,17. It also occurs in the Aṅguttara-nikāya: *sēyyathā pi nāma khuddam madhum anilakaṁ, A III 369,9 (khuddam madhun ti khuddamakkhiṁī katam dandaṃkadamadhum, Mp III 385,25)*. At Mp III 314,9 *khuddamadhu* occurs with *anelakaṁ* in the gloss on aggarasa at A III 237,14. There is a reference to the same simile in the Majjhima-nikāya: *sēyyathā pi puriso catummahāpate khuddam madhum anelakaṃ pīleyya, M II 5,8 (khuddam madhun ti khuddamakkhiṁī katuḍandaṃkadamadhum, Ps III 237,19).

It would appear that the correct form of the compound is *khuddamadhu*, i.e. it is the type of honey called “*khudda*”, as opposed to any other sort of madhu: madhu nāma makkhiṁadhu ti, madhukariṁī nāma madhumakkhiṁī, khuddakamakkhiṁī bharamamakkhiṁī ca katam madhu, Sp 715,14.

The word also occurs, in the simplex form or in compounds, in the Jātaka and Apadāna: *phalaṇī khuddakappāni bhūja* “fruits like honey” Ja IV 434,8* V 324,2* (*khuddakappāni ti etāni nānārukkhalalāni khuddamadhupaṭṭhāgāni madhurāni, 324,11”) VI 85,27* 93,10* 532,30* 542,26* 569,18*; dajjā ammā brāhmaṇassa phalaṁ khuddena missitaṁ, Ja VI 555,15* (*khuddena missitaṁ ti taṁ ca khuddaka-madhunā missitaṁ, 555,29*); imaṁ muḷālavaṭakaṁ sālukaṁ piṇjarodakam bhūja khuddehi samyuttaṁ saha puttehi khattiya, Ja VI 563,8* (idam sabham khuddamadhunā samyuttam puttehi sahādham bhūja, 563,27*); madhunī ca khuddam anuttaraṁ bhesajjam paṭṭhaṇantā, Ap 7,21; madhum yathā khuddam iva ssavantaṁ, Ap 13,30.

It is not clear whether *khuddaka-madhu* has the same meaning as *khudda-madhu*, or whether here *khuddaka* has the sense of “connected with honey, i.e. a bee”. In *madhukariṁī nāma madhumakkhiṁī, khuddakamakkhiṁī bharamamakkhiṁī ca katam madhu* (Sp 715,14), *khuddaka* can either be taken as parallel with *madhu*, or with *bhamara*. In favour of the former it should be noted that Skt *kṣaudra* means “honey”, i.e. it has the same meaning as *kṣaudra* and the suffix -ka is *svārthe*, so it is probable that the same is true of Pāli *khuddaka*.

7. *je* vocative particle

This particle seems to be used when addressing women of an inferior class, and its use has recently been examined by OvH. He states that it is used when speaking to slave girls, except for one occasion when it is used to a daughter-in-law, which is perhaps indicative of the status of a

¹ Geiger, § 15.4
daughter-in-law. We should, however, note that it is also used when speaking to the courtesan Ambapālī.

The following are all the occurrences of this particle in Pāli known to me:

kissa je (to Ambapālī) Vin I 232,2 = kiñ je D II 96,14
dehi je (to Ambapālī) Vin I 232,5 = D II 96,19
handa je Vin I 269,13; 271,35; IV 162,4
gaccha je Vin I 291,3,14,26; 292,15
sace je (contrasted with yagghe 'yye Vin III 15,35; M II 62,13) Vin III 15,36; M II 62,15 (je ti alapane nipāto, evam hi tasmim dēs dāśi m anālapanti, tasmā: hambho dāsi ..., Sp 209,4 = Ps III 297,1); Vv-a 187,22,26
ye je sve Vin III 161,31 (ye je etha je ti dāsim ālapati, Sp 580,24)
he je (to a daughter-in-law [ghara-sanhā]) Vin IV 21,3 foll.; M I 125,18,28; 126,1 (he je Kāli ti are Kāli, Ps II 99,7)
kim je M I 125,18,28; 126,1; Vv-a 207,10
bhoti je Dhp-a IV 105,6
je Ap 420,2 (E devotee probably wrong reading?; B devotee S devotee te)

OvH says that je is in contrast to standard Middle Indic ayye, but it is not clear what this means. In Pāli texts it is in contrast to Pāli ayye, but this statement seems to exclude such eastern dialects as AMg, where ayye would appear in the form ajje. As we shall see, the early usage of je was probably in an eastern dialect.

OvH suggests1 that “most probably je is an abbreviated form of *ajje” (= ayye, i.e. the vocative feminine from < āryā), but later in the same article he expresses his view as certainty: “re is derived from are, in the same way as je is from *ajje”. It is, however, not easy to see how something


derived from ārya could be used in this pejorative sense,1 in contexts where it is contrasted with ayye (e.g. Vin II 15,35; M I 125,18,19,28; 126,1; II 62,13) nor is it obvious why *je should lose its first j.2 Its use as a feminine particle is probably, as L.A. Schwarzschild suggests, because -e was taken as the vocative of an -ā stem, cf. hanjhē.3

I think that OvH is on surer ground with the suggestion that there is a connection with the particle je found in Pkt infinitives ending in -um je. This had already been suggested by L.A. Schwarzschild in her discussion of Pkt je, and she had given more references4 than the single one given by OvH, and referred to earlier discussions of the particle in this usage. I have suggested elsewhere that the Pāli equivalent of this je is ye, also found with infinitives in Pāli.5 It is possible that this particle can be seen in the emphatic particle yeva < ye + eva.6 It also occurs in the Asokan inscriptions.7

1 If re is to be derived from are, then its pejorative sense would arise from the fact that it is identical in form, and perhaps in derivation, with the vocative of ari “enemy”.
2 If the particle is an abbreviation, then we might see ye as a shortened form of aye, which occurs in Skt as well as ayyi, but this suggestion is unlikely to be correct unless there is evidence for *ajje, *aji in an eastern dialect.
4 For further examples of its usage see Thomas Oberlies, Āvāsāyaka-Studien 2, Glossar ausgewählter Wörter zu E. Leumanns “Die Āvāsāyaka-Erzählungen”, Stuttgart 1993, p. 78, s.v. je.
5 See K.R. Norman, Elders’ Verses II, PTS London, 1971, ad Thī 418. It is interesting to note that Thī-a 268,9 glosses kātyu ye as kātya ayye, showing that the commentator was not acquainted with the particle ye. There is no comparable ayye in the explanation of mariyu ye at Thī-a 269,20 (ad Thī 426). The context excludes such an explanation of ye in hetu ye (Bv II.10; bhavitum, Bv-a 69,29) and ganeṭu ye (Bv IV.28; ganeṭum sankhātu, Bv-a 152,18).
6 Note also nirodh ave ye vimmuccāni, It 46,1; 62,10 (ye ti nipātamattam, It-a II 42,21).
It is very likely that j- in je is the same j- as in jantāghara, i.e. initial y- > j-, which we find consistently in the relative pronoun in some dialects of MIA. If this is so, then both words would be borrowings from the same eastern dialect, or related dialects, used at an early stage of the Buddhist tradition, and the rareness of the sound change at such an early date probably caused problems for the translators.

The Pāli hyper-form Yamataggi < Jamadagni shows that the redactor was aware of a dialect where initial y- became j-, which led to his replacing the historically correct j- by y-, presumably because the name Jamadagni, doubtless in the form *Jamadaggi, was not known to him.¹

I therefore find it difficult to agree with OvH in his interpretation of je as being evidence for a development from the colloquial to the standard language, and as representing the oral phase in the development of Pāli. It seems to me that je in Pāli (with the other words I have mentioned above with initial j- < y-) represents a relic from an earlier eastern dialect in which the texts in which it occurred, or the tradition behind them, at one time existed and from which they had been translated. Whether they were colloquial words (if this is used in the sense of belonging to familiar speech, as opposed to formal or elevated language) or not seems to me to be unprovable, since I know of no evidence which would help us to come to a decision. The examples of je with an infinitive occur in Jain literature, and therefore represent a literary usage which can be classified as formal.

The existence of such words in Pāli arises from the fact that for some reason the Pāli redactor did not recognise them as words to be translated, and consequently left them in their eastern form. That the need to translate was sometimes recognised is shown by the occurrence of the hyperform Yamataggi. The fact that je and the other words OvH mentions (mahallaka, āvuso) do not occur in BHS texts shows that the redactors


8. dhoreyya “foremost”

At Dhp 208 we find dhorayha-(sila) (glossed dhuravahana-silātāya, Dhp-a III 272,10) used as an epithet of the Buddha. PED suggests an etymology < *dhorayha = Skt *dhaurvahya, as an abstract noun from dhurvaha “carrying a yoke”. The idea of carrying a yoke was strong in the cey tradition: dhorayha-silin at Ja II 97,16* is glossed dhuravahanaka-ācārenā sampanna (97,19*–20*).

We should note the following passages: dhuravahanatthena dhorayho, Spk I 80,20 (ad dhorayho, S I 28,21); viriyam me dhura-dhorayham, S I 173,1* (glossed: dhura-dhorayhan ti dhurāyam dhorayham, dhuram vahati ti attho, Spk I 255,5); purisa-dhorayhena, D III 113,18 (glossed: purisa-dhorayhenā ti yā asama-dhurehi Buddhhehi vahitābba dhurā, tam dhuram vahana-samathenā Mahā-purisena, Sv 896,22); dhorayho balasampanno kalyānaajvanikkamo, A I 162,14* = III 214,4* (glossed: dhorayho ti dhuravaho, Mp II 258,22 [nāssa vannam parikkhare ti assa gonassa saravavannam na parikkhanti, dhuravahanakam mou pana parikkhanti, Mp II 258,25]); there is no gloss on dhorayho at Ap 460,26. We should not, however, expect *dhaurvahya to become dhorayha in Pāli. As Brough says,¹ no one has explained why *dhaurvahya did not produce *dheobhayha in Pāli, although, as he says, the Pāli form might be due to a blending of *dhūrva-hya- or *dheaurvahya- with dheureyya-.

Helmer Smith (Sadd, Index, p. 1470) suggests an etymology < *dhaurhuyha, i.e. taking the weak grade of vah, and making a vrddhi form from *dhur-uh, cf. anaḍ-uh and anaḍ-vāh. We should then have to assume dissimilation of vowels, with the expected *dhoruhya becoming

¹ Brough, op. cit., p. 236 (ad GDhp 177).
dhorahya. Even if this is correct, it would seem to be a gloss which has entered the text.

As Brough states,¹ the forms with vaha, etc., are not intended as an etymology, but as an explanation, and the presence of dhoreka in GDhp shows clearly that in that tradition the correct reading was taken to be the equivalent of Skt dhaureya, the Pāli equivalent of which, i.e. dhoreyya, does occur at Mil 288,28 in the compound kamma-dhoreyya. The correct reading was also known in other traditions. Udāna-v 25.25 has dhaureyam javasampannam; AMg (Utt 14.35) has dhoreya-sīla; PĐhp 71 has dhoreyasilavratamantam.²

Brough points out that in some cases it can be shown that the Pāli text was already corrupt by the time the cty was made. On Dhp 390 (= GDhp 15) he states (p. 180) that many of the errors — perhaps all — were already fossilised in the present form at the time when the Pāli cty was composed, but as he points out (p. 237), the presence of the explanation of Dhp 208 does not prove that this reading was in the text available to the cty, since the spelling we have perhaps represents an attempt by the scribal tradition to explain the sense, which has led to eccentricities of spelling. It must, however, be noted that the eccentric spelling has replaced the correct spelling everywhere in the Pāli canonical texts. For such a replacement, cf. the discussion of the replacement of bārasa by dvādasa below.

Brough went on to say that although it was clear that the original reading must have been dhoreyya-sīla, an editor of the Pāli text would doubtless prefer to retain the corruption in the text. In saying this Brough was doubtless of the opinion that the correct reading was nowhere attested in the manuscripts of the texts (D, S, A, Dhp, Ja, Ap) in which it occurs.

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² See ibid. p. 59 (ad Dhp 208).
⁶ Upāsak 292,19.
It is therefore a matter of some interest that bārasa does occur in the canon, in the compound bārasa-vassika at Ap 498,1. Ap-a makes no comment on the form, saying (as commonly) sesam suviññeyam eva, which perhaps implies that at the time of the composition of Ap-a bārasa was a common form, and did not require any comment.

10. sadhāyamānarūpa “abusive”

This word occurs in Udāna V.9 (Ud 61,6,7) with reference to a number of young men who are acting in an unpleasant way. Since the verse which comes at the end of the prose refers to bhāsā, the unpleasantness must be concerned with the nature of their language or with shouting. Woodward translates “were using abusive speech”,¹ and Ireland translates “were shouting abuse”,² and something like that is clearly what is meant,³ but establishing the correct form of the text is not easy. The explanation of the word is made difficult by the variety of readings which occur, and by the fact that the cty gives not only two explanations of the meaning, but also a pāthāntara. There are always problems when the cty gives and explains a variant reading, because it means that the tradition had already become confused in pre-cty times — and if the tradition did not know the original reading our chances of finding it are remote.

The readings found are as follows:

saddh- is the reading of Ud (E⁵ and N⁵); it is also the reading of the pāthāntara in Ud-a (B⁶ and E⁵) and it is a v.l. in Ud-a (E⁵); pathh- is a v.l. quoted from Ud-a in a footnote in Ud (E⁵), but is not quoted as a v.l. in Ud-a (E⁵); path- is a v.l. in Ud-a (E⁵); padh- is a v.l. in Ud (E⁵); sadh- is

² John D. Ireland, The Udāna: inspired utterances of the Buddha, Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, 1990, p. 84.
³ Peter Masefield (The Udāna, PTS Oxford 1994, p. 107) translates “in a ridiculing fashion”, and notes (p. 117 note 127) that this translation is “wholly provisional”.

the reading of Ud (B⁶ and N⁵) and of Ud-a (B⁶); saddh- is the reading of C⁵ (Buddha Jayanti ed.) and is a v.l. in Ud (E⁵); vadh- is the reading of C⁵ (1926 as quoted in N⁵) and of Ud-a (E⁵ and C⁵).

It is probable that the readings with p- arise from the similarity in appearance between pa and sa in the Brāhmi script, and can therefore be disregarded. It is likely that we are dealing with vadh- on the one hand and saddh-, saddh- or sadh- on the other.

If we were to accept vadh- as the original reading, we should have to assume that this is vadh- in the sense of “harm, injure”. The inclusion of the word bhāsā in the verse would require us to believe that vadh- was being used in a slightly transferred sense of “harm by abusing” which I cannot quote from elsewhere.

The Pāli grammarian Aggavamsa quotes a verb saddh- with the meaning “abuse”¹. This is said to be the equivalent of Sanskrit śṛdh-² with the same meaning, but the present indicative of this is sardhati, which should give a Pāli form saddhati. As noted above there is some evidence for the reading saddh-, but one would need to examine the readings very carefully to try to decide whether they are genuine forms, i.e. are based upon a genuine manuscript tradition, or not.

Ud-a (E⁵) 318,17–25 reads: te vadhāyamāna-rūpā ti uppandana-jātikam vacanam sandhāya vuttam. aṅnesaṃ uppandentā vadhanti, tad-athavacana-sīlā ti attho. tass' āyam vacan'-atto: vadhanam vadho tam ācikkhati ti: vadhayamāna ti vattabbe, dīgham katvā vadhayamāna ti vuttam. athavā viheṇe vadhe viya atānāṃ ācaranti ti, vadhayamāna. tato evam sabhāvatāya vadhāyamāna-rūpā ti vuttam. saddāyamāna-rūpā ti pi pātho. uccā-saddha-mahāsaddam karontā ti attho. This seems to be explaining the alternative readings vadh-, which is confirmed by the inclusion of vihetha in the alternative explanation, and saddh-. If these

¹ saddhu saddakucchiyam: sadhhati, Sadd 395,1.
² Sadd 395 note b.
two words are synonyms, then we might explain sadd- as being from the present stem of the root sadh- = Skt śrdh-, i.e. saddh- < śardh- which was replaced by sadd- (and then explained as being connected with sadda) because saddh- looked as though it was connected with saddhā. We could assume that sadd(h)- was the original reading, and vadh- was a gloss which was later incorporated into the text, when the exact meaning of sadd(h)- was forgotten, but the idea of “harming” was deduced.

In place of the phrase vihehe vadhe viya in Ud-a (Ee), Bσ, Cσ and Sσ read visesato sasedhe viya. This means that the alternation in Ud-a (Bσ) is between sadh- and sadd-, and the word sasedhe occurs in the explanation of sadh-. It is probable that -sedha is connected with Skt *śrdha, with the same development of r > e as we see in geha < grha. The meaning would therefore be something like “boldness”, with sa- < sva-.

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