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CONTENTS

A History of the Pali Grammatical Tradition of South and Southeast Asia by Vaskaḍuvē Subhūti (1876), Part I by Alastair Gornall and Amal Gunasena	1
Verses of a Dying Arahant: A New Translation and Revised Edition of the Telakaṭāhagāthā by Alastair Gornall and Aleix Ruiz-Falqués	55
A Note on the Disappearance of the Dhamma According to the Manorathapūraṇī by Chris Clark	101
Two Notes on Pāli Metre by Oskar von Hinüber	115
Corrections for the 2016 Edition of Vv-a by Petra Kieffer-Pülz	123
An Index to <i>JPTS</i> , Volumes IX–XXXIII	131
Contributors to this volume	141
PTS Research Grants	142

A History of the Pali Grammatical Tradition of South and Southeast Asia by Vaskaḍuvē Subhūti (1876), Part I

Alastair Gornall and Amal Gunasena

ABSTRACT

This article is a translation of a history of the Pali grammatical traditions of South and Southeast Asia written by the nineteenth-century Sri Lankan scholar-monk Vaskaḍuvē Subhūti (1876). In this first instalment, Subhūti comprehensively describes the works of the *Kaccāyana* grammatical tradition of Pali grammar. He provides important historical information about seventeen Pali grammatical works along with long excerpts from each grammar that illustrate their content and their relationship within the tradition as a whole.

PART ONE:

THE KACCĀYANA-VYĀKARAṆA: ITS COMMENTARIES AND MAJOR HANDBOOKS

INTRODUCTION

Vaskaḍuvē Subhūti (1835–1917) was one of the most prominent scholar-monks in nineteenth-century Sri Lanka and a founding figure in the academic study of Buddhism in Europe.¹ His two most celebrated works were an edition and translation of the *Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā*, a twelfth-century Pali lexicon, and the *Nāma-mālā*, a grammar of the Pali language. Subhūti prefaced his *Nāma-mālā* with a Sinhala introduction detailing the history of the Pali grammatical traditions of South and Southeast Asia.² In this introduction Subhūti meticulously describes over sixty Pali grammars, their authorship and historical context, and quotes

¹ For a detailed account of Subhūti's career and interactions with early European Orientalists, see Guruge 1984. See also Gornall 2015.

² The 1896 edition and its identical 2001 reprint include a rudimentary English translation of the first six pages of this introduction.

long passages from them to illustrate their content and interrelationship. In this regard Subhūti's introduction contains a lot of useful information on the intellectual history of Theravāda Buddhism in general and is much more than a mere handlist of Pali grammars.

Early Orientalists interested in Pali grammar were aware of Subhūti's work but were often unable to use it in detail since it was written in Sinhala. In what is still the most comprehensive study of the Pali grammatical tradition, R.O. Franke in his *Geschichte und Kritik der einheimischen Pāli-Grammatik und -Lexicographie* (1902) notes the existence of Subhūti's work and refers to the Rev. Richard Morris' view that it was "das beste der auf Ceylon erschienenen Bücher über Pāli-Grammatik".¹ Although he was unable to read Sinhala, Franke frequently refers to the work to confirm the names of the grammatical texts he discusses and further relies on Subhūti's work, among other sources, for his list of preliminary, unclassified "mostly unimportant" Pali grammatical works ("Liste der übrigen vorläufig unklassifizierbaren und meist unwichtigen Werke über Pāli-Grammatik"), the details of which, such as their affiliated grammatical tradition, he could not say anything or anything reliable ("über deren Schulzugehörigkeit etc. ich Nichts oder Nichts Verlässliches aussagen kann").² Many of these minor grammatical texts, mostly handbooks, have yet to be described in adequate detail and the third and final part of our translation of Subhūti's work, which we intend to publish soon, will describe these unexplored texts.

The first part of our translation presented here covers the first seventeen grammatical texts dealt with by Subhūti and forms an overview of the Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa, its commentaries and major handbooks. The second instalment will deal with the Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa, its commentaries and handbooks, and also the Sadda-nīti. The final and third part of

¹ Franke 1902: 1.

² Franke refers to Subhūti's work nine times to either confirm the name of a particular grammatical work, to note the existence of a grammar, or, occasionally, to give some information about a text (p. 22, n. 8; p. 23, n. 13; p. 24, n. 16; p. 29; p. 30, n. 42; p. 31, n. 2a; p. 39, n. 7; p. 45, n. 1; p. 47). In his final section (1902: 53–56) on "meist unwichtigen Werke" he refers to Subhūti's introduction a further fifteen times to note the possible existence of grammatical texts he had no other information about.

Subhūti's introduction will focus on other, minor Pali grammatical handbooks. Since Subhūti's work was composed in 1876, the subsequent studies of R.O. Franke and, more recently, O.H. Pind,¹ have superseded Subhūti's work in terms of the historical information they provide about some of these grammars. In the footnotes we have referred to both R.O. Franke's *Geschichte und Kritik* and Pind's "Pali Grammar and Grammmarians" as well as other contemporary studies when this is the case. Subhūti's own discussion of the historical contexts of these works was based on the colophons of the manuscripts he used, the citations of other grammars contained in these works, and also on the Sāsana-vaṃsa, a Burmese Pali history composed in 1861.²

There are other areas, however, where Subhūti's work remains relevant and important for the study of the Pali grammatical tradition. Firstly, as mentioned, he provides details about Pali grammars that neither Franke nor Pind had access to or knew much about, such as the Kaccāyana-vaṇṇanā, Nirutti-sāra-mañjūsā, Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā, and Bālāvatāra-ṭīkā discussed below. Secondly, unlike both Franke and Pind, Subhūti quotes long Pali passages from each of the texts he discusses and always quotes their incipit and colophon. While Subhūti left these passages untranslated, we have provided readable English translations of them so that readers can get a sense of the nature of Pali grammatical writing and how the tradition developed over time. Generally speaking, Subhūti chose commentarial passages from each work on Kaccāyana's first rule of sandhi (Kacc 12, *sarā sare lopam* "vowels before a vowel are to be elided"). Finally, we might add that Subhūti's work is in itself valuable as a historical document for understanding nineteenth-century Sri Lanka's intellectual culture and as one of the first modern essays written in Sinhala.³

While translating the quoted passages of the various Pali grammars we have sometimes found it necessary to consult an available edition of a

¹ See Pind 2012.

² On the Sāsana-vaṃsa and the historiographical problems of its use, see Lieberman 1976.

³ According to Wilhelm Geiger, for instance, in contrast to other prominent scholar-monks of the nineteenth century, "Subhūti's methodology is akin to modern European ways of research" (Bechert 1977, 52).

grammar in order to correct a particular reading. The preferred reading has been kept in the main text and variants deemed to be less preferable — whether they be from Subhūti’s text or from an extant edition — are added in square brackets following the word or expression they refer to. The Pali texts of the translated passages have been placed in the footnotes. The footnotes also contain comments by us (the translators). Subhūti furthermore added his own notes and these have been translated and placed as endnotes before the bibliography. The original page numbers of Subhūti’s introduction are indicated within the translation in square brackets (e.g. [p. 2]). Subhūti’s footnotes are indicated by lower case roman numerals and are found on p. 56.

TRANSLATION

Having paid homage to the Sugata, the greatest ornament of the three worlds, to the Dhamma, and to the taintless community, I have properly compiled this Nāma-mālā by relying upon what can be discovered in the essential thought of the ancient teachers.

Vyākaraṇa is the science of writing and speaking a language without fault and of understanding the intentions of texts by knowing all the divisions and syntactic relations of a language’s expressions. *Vyākaraṇa* is not exclusive to one language but is for all languages. Some languages that were used in former times, however, do not have complete grammars since the principal users of these languages were uncivilised and were of weak intellect. The existence of a very complete and pristine grammatical literature in Sanskrit and Pali, by contrast, is a testament to the sharp intellects of the users of these languages. Regardless of the relative age of the two languages, Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa* is the older of the two traditions and Pali grammatical literature reveals that it was composed using Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa* as a model.

One should not only aim to study Pali grammatical science to be able to preach the Dhamma to people in general, but one must learn it thoroughly to become proficient in understanding perfectly the subtle parts of the Buddha’s teaching that dispense his perfect knowledge.

The learned who know these two languages in detail realise that obtaining complete proficiency in the study of Pali *vyākaraṇa* is a cause of great difficulty for one who has not had much training in Sanskrit

vyākaraṇa. This is another indication that Pali grammatical science is modelled on Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa*. In addition, the teachers who wrote commentaries and sub-commentaries, such as the Līnattha-pakāsinī, on the Buddha’s teaching, [p. 2] and who wrote commentaries on Pali grammatical literature, display great capability in Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa*. There is no doubt that this education in *vyākaraṇa* was the main reason they were perfectly able to compose these commentaries. At the time of the great king Parākrāmabāhu I, the great Sāriputta *svāmi-pāda*, who lived in Poḷonnaruva, composed works such as the Sārattha-dīpanī, a Vinaya sub-commentary, which in size is equal to thirty thousand *granthas*; the Aṅguttara-nikāya sub-commentary, which in size is equal to twenty thousand *granthas*; the Vinaya-saṅgaha; the Abhidharmārtha-saṅgrahārtha-vyākhyāna; and the [Cāndra]-pañcikā-ṭīkā.¹ The following verses reveal the extent of Sāriputta’s knowledge of Sanskrit and other subjects:

In pleasant Pulatthinagara, the emperor of cities, Sāriputta dwelt in the Jetavana, a delightful monastery with pleasant mansions and manifold groves commissioned by the strong-armed king Parakkamabhujā.

An ascetic and virtuous guru, his fame had spread far and wide. He was skilled and a repository of purity born in a completely pure lineage. He was an expert in religion and philosophy, among other subjects, and the best of ascetics....

They regard him as an essential author, like Candra, the sharpest of intellects, in the *Cāndra* [grammatical] tradition, Pāṇini in the Pāṇinian [grammatical] tradition, as like the cleverest of intellects in all of philosophy, and as like Kālidāsa — a cause of bliss in the hearts of poets — in poetic skill. May this composition of Sāriputta’s grant success to the world.²

¹ Dragomir Dimitrov (2010) has recently published a facsimile edition of a manuscript of a *ṭīkā* on the Cāndra-pañcikā. Further work is needed to determine with certainty whether this work is identical with the commentary composed by Sāriputta. On Sāriputta’s Vinaya works, see Crosby (2006) and Kieffer-Pülz (2015).

² Abhidh-s-sn (Nm 2; C^e 257):
ramme pulatthinagare nagarādhirāje | raññā parakkamabhujena mahābhujena ||
kārapite vasati jetavane vihāre | yo rammahammīyavarūpavanābhīrāme ||
sabbatthapatthāyāsena visāradena | suddhāsāyena parisuddhakulodayena ||
takkāgamādikusālena yatissarena | sārīsutena yatinā gurunā guṇena ... (10
verses omitted, Nm) || yañ cande candabhūtaṃ nisitataramatiṃ pāṇinim

The venerable Śrī Rāhula *svānipāda* of Toṭagamuva — the lord of six languages who composed many essential works, such as the Moggallāna-pañcīkā-pradīpaya, the Buddhi-ppasādānī, and the Kāvya-sēkhara — not only studied Sanskrit but also many religions. The following verses reveal this:

I take great pleasure in attaining mastery of the many different *śāstras*,
doctrines, languages and the entire Tipiṭaka. Long live king
Parākramabāhu!¹

We can also know that venerable commentators like Buddhaghosa studied subjects outside the Pali canon from statements in the commentaries such as “capable of grasping and diving into the depths of his own doctrine and the doctrine of others, possessing a high degree of wisdom...”² [p. 3] As such, one who has studied one of the two languages will find studying the other one a worthwhile and easy task. Some think that there are not three languages in the world as mutually similar as Pali, Sanskrit, and Prakrit. And if one thinks about it carefully, it is because of their similarity that someone who is educated in one language can understand the other two languages when they are being spoken. After a while, one can also understand a certain amount of their literature, even though it is not completely intelligible at first. Even though the difference that exists between one language and another in the world is as great as the difference between a human and an animal, these three languages can be likened to three sons born of the same father who only differ slightly in colour. The extent of the similarity of these languages is also reflected in their grammars.

The science of Pali *vyākaraṇa* is therefore divided into seven subdivisions, namely, (1) *sandhi* (euphonic junction), (2) *nāma* (nominal

pāṇīniye | sabbasmiṃ takkasatthe paṭutaramatayo kattubhūtaṃ va tan te [tan taṃ, C^e] || maññante kālidāsaṃ kavijanahadayānandahetuṃ kavitte | sāyaṃ lokatthasiddhiṃ vitaratu racanā tassa sārīsutassa ||

¹ Mogg-pd (Nm 2; C^e 2):

satthantare ca vividhe samayantare ca | bhāsantare ca sakale piṭakattaye ca || ācerabhāvam upagamma bhajāma pītiṃ | dīghaṃ sa jīvatu parakkamabāhu rājā ||

² As E^e 430: sakasamaya-samayantara-gahaṇajjhogāhaṇa-samatthena paññā-veyyattiyasamannāgatena...

declension), (3) *samāsa* (compounding), (4) *taddhita* (nominal derivatives), (5) *ākhyāta* (verbal conjugation), (6) *kitaka* (verbal derivatives), and (7) *kāraka* (semantico-syntactic relations).

(1) *Sandhi* refers to the procedure of joining two words together in a euphonic junction. When it is understood, one is also able to separate the words in texts that have been joined together in *sandhi*. For instance, the two words *loka* and *aggo* form *lokaggo* when they are joined together according to the procedure given in the *sandhi* chapter. With this understanding one is able to separate the *sandhi* of the canonical expression *gunaggo* into its components *guṇa* + *aggo*.

(2) *Nāma* refers to the procedure of dividing a word into seven cases, the first, etc., and into singular and plural and declining it.

(3) *Samāsa* refers to the formation of one word with a single meaning from two words that have separate meanings. For instance, a word such as *nīlaṃ*, with its meaning of “blue”, and a word such as *uppalaṃ*, with its meaning of “water lily”, separately signify their meanings. When they are both made into one word (that is to say formed in a compound), the compound *nīluppalaṃ* (blue water lily) is formed denoting a single meaning.

(4) *Taddhita* refers to giving a suffix a particular meaning after a nominal stem and then combining that suffix with the nominal stem. For example, the suffix *Na* is given the sense of “being his son” after a word such as *Vasiṭṭha*. When the word *Vasiṭṭha* and the suffix *Na* are joined together, the word *Vāsiṭṭha* is formed [p. 4]. The nominal derivative *Vāsiṭṭha* means “the son of Vasiṭṭha”.

(5) *Ākhyāta* refers to the rules for forming verbs by adding suffixes to a verbal base. The word *pacati* (he cooks), for instance, is formed having added the suffixes *-a* and *-ti* to a verbal base such as *pac*, meaning “to cook”.

(6) *Kitaka* refers to the rules for producing a noun by adding a suffix to a verbal base and joining the two together. For instance, according to the rules, the noun *buddha* is formed when the suffix *-ta* is added after the verbal base *budh* and the two are joined together.

(7) *Kāraka* refers to the section that explains the grammatical meanings of subject and object, etc., the rules of employing cases in different categories of meanings, and the distinction between subject (active voice)

and object (passive voice) and the respective cases to be used in that context.

Just as the Sanskrit language has many grammars, such as Pāṇini, Cāndra, Kā-tantra, Mugdha-bodha, and the Sārasvata, the Pali language has three principal grammars, namely, the Kaccāyana, Moggallāna, and the Sadda-nīti. Of those, there are grammatical works written for the Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa, such as the Kaccāyana-[vutti], Rūpa-siddhi, Bālāvatāra, Mahā-nirutti, Cūḷa-nirutti, and Nirutti-piṭaka. For the Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa there are works such as the Moggallāna-vutti, Payoga-siddhi, Susadda-siddhi, and Pada-sādhana. For the Sadda-nīti-vyākaraṇa there is only the Cūḷa-saddanīti.

In addition to the threefold division of grammatical literature mentioned, all grammatical literature is principally of two types. These two types are as follows: (1) texts [consisting of *sūtras* (aphoristic rules)] that teach the procedure for the derivation of words and (2) texts [without *sūtras*] that teach a particular feature of grammar. Those texts that teach the procedure for the derivation of words include texts that have been already mentioned here, such as the *Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa* and its Sinhala glosses (*sannaya*), commentaries, and sub-commentaries, etc.

The texts that teach the procedure of deriving words are also of two types, namely, those that prioritise the *sūtras* and those that prioritise the grammatical examples. Those texts that prioritise the *sūtras* take a *sūtra* as their basis and provide examples that can be formed from that *sūtra*. Examples of such texts are the three grammars, the Kaccāyana[-vutti], Moggallāna-vutti and the Cūḷa-sadda-nīti. In both Pali and Sanskrit, the main grammatical works are those that prioritise the *sūtras*. The grammars that prioritise examples [p. 5] are texts that take a grammatical example as their basis and teach the *sūtras* that are necessary to form the words of the example. Grammars such as these are the Rūpa-siddhi, Bālāvatāra, and Pada-sādhana, for instance.

The texts that teach a particular aspect of grammar include, for instance, the Sambandha-cintā, the Sadda-sārattha-jālinī, Kaccāyanabheda, Saddattha-bheda-cintā, Kārikā, Kārikā-vutti, Vibhaty-attha, Vācakopadesa, Naya-lakkhaṇa-vibhāvinī, Nirutti-saṅgaha, Kaccāyanasāra, Vibhaty-attha-dīpanī, Saṃvaṇṇanā-naya-dīpanī, Vācca-vācaka, Sadda-vutti, Bāla-ppabodhana, Kaccāyana-dīpanī, Gūlhattha-dīpanī,

Mukha-matta-sāra, Sadda-bindu, Sadda-kalikā, Sadda-vinicchaya, and also their Sinhala glosses and their commentaries. Among the grammatical texts that have been mentioned here, some are difficult to find in Sri Lanka and a few are difficult to find in any country. As a result, some people do not know any information at all concerning some of these texts. Therefore, to introduce the aforementioned books for the benefit of novices I provide here some facts with respect to the date, general contents and authorship etc. of a large quantity of grammatical texts. Out of these, texts which teach the procedure for deriving words will be discussed first and, as Kaccāyana is the principal grammar of such texts, texts of this tradition will be dealt with first too.

I. KACCĀYANA¹

This text, which is also widely known in the country by the name Sandhi-kappa, is the oldest and one of the most useful grammars among all Pali grammatical texts (just as Pāṇini is to the Sanskrit grammatical tradition). There are Pali grammatical texts available, such as the Sadda-nīti, however, that are more useful than this. In the Pañcīkā-pradīpaya, the text is identified by the name Kaccāyana-vutti.

It is known from other works that the Kaccāyana has several commentaries and, at present, there are extant four commentaries, two sub-commentaries, a text on the syntax of *sūtra*-wording (*padayojana*), the separation (*vigraha*) of *sūtra*-wording, and two Sinhala glosses (*sannaya*). These commentaries are the Nyāsa, Sutta-niddesa, Kaccāyana-vaṇṇanā, Sandhi-kappa-ṭīkā, and the Nirutti-sāra-mañjūsā, etc. There is mention of the name *Kaccāyana* in the oldest texts and, according to other (more recent) texts, this work was composed at the time of the Buddha [p. 6]. There is also a very old Sanskrit work that bears this name too.¹ Many of the procedures for the derivation of words that are not mentioned in the Kaccāyana are mentioned in the Rūpa-siddhi and Sadda-nīti. The Kaccāyana also contains many more *sūtras* and word derivations than the Bālāvatāra. This grammar has already been printed in countries such as England, Germany, and France. Also, a few chapters of the work have been published in Sinhala script and in English translation by the Advocate James D'Alwis.

¹ See Franke 1902, 5–22; Pind 2012, 71–100.

It is mentioned in the texts that have been composed more recently that the author of the Kaccāyana was the venerable Mahā Kaccāyana Thera who lived at the time of the Buddha and who reached the highest position in the Saṅgha having attained the four supreme knowledges, but there is no mention of this in the Kaccāyana's two [oldest] commentaries. In addition, in the Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa critical views on certain *sūtras* of this grammar have been expressed. There are also some examples in the grammar that were composed more recently, such as *kv gato si tvaṃ devānaṃ-piyatissa* (“Where are you going, Devānaṃ-piyatissa?”).¹ Hence, some scholars are doubtful whether Mahā Kaccāyana Thera was the author of this grammar. In the Aṅguttara-nikāya commentary, however, it is stated that Mahā Kaccāyana Thera, as a result of a previous request, taught three works in the midst of the Saṅgha, namely, the Kaccāyana, the Mahā-nirutti-ppakaraṇa and the Netti-ppakaraṇa: “*Mahā-kaccāyana-tthero pubba-patthanā-vasena kaccāyana-ppakaraṇaṃ mahā-nirutti-ppakaraṇaṃ netti-ppakaraṇaṃ cā ti pakaraṇa-ttayam saṅgha-majjhe pakāsesi.*”²

Some teachers think that only the *sūtras* were composed by Mahā Kaccāyana Thera and that the other two parts — the gloss (*vṛtti*) and examples — were composed by Saṅghanandi and Brahmadata. In this regard, it is said:

The rules were composed by Kaccāyana, the gloss by Saṅghanandi,
the examples by Brahmadata, and the explanation by Vimalabuddhi.³

The Kaccāyana-bheda-ṭīkā, however, states that “the teachers, furthermore, say that Kaccāyana Thera composed this Kaccāyana-book, which consists of the rules, gloss, and examples” [p. 7].⁴ The Sutta-niddesa states that the first *sūtra* in the Kaccāyana, *attho akkharasaññāto*

¹ ad Kacc 227 *kissa ka ve ca*.

² This quotation appears to be from the Apadāna commentary (Ap-a E^o 491, Ap-a B^o 2.213) rather than the Aṅguttara-nikāya commentary.

³ Kacc-bh-ṭ (Nm 6):

Kaccānena kato yogo vutti ca Saṅghanandinā |
payogo Brahmadataena nyāso Vimalabuddhinā ||

⁴ Kacc-bh-ṭ (Nm 6): ācariyā pana lakkhaṇavuttiudāharaṇasamkhātaṃ imaṃ Kaccāyanagandhaṃ Kaccāyanattherena katan ti vadanti.

(“meaning is understood from sounds”), which is known as the “introductory statement” (*pūrvavākya*), was uttered by the illustrious mouth of Lord Buddha :

One monk who went forth when old, having taken a subject for meditation (*kammaṭṭhāna*) in the presence of the Buddha, began reciting the meditation subject *udabbaya* (arising and decaying) while he sat at the foot of a sāl tree on the shore of Anotatta. Upon seeing a heron walking in the water, he changed his meditation to *udakabaka* (water-heron). Perceiving this mistake, the Buddha summoned the monk who went forth when old and uttered this statement : “meaning is understood from sounds” (*attho akkharasaññāto*). Understanding the intention of the Buddha, Mahā Kaccāyana Thera placed this statement at the beginning of the book he composed. Some also say that this *sūtra* was composed by Kaccāyana [himself].¹

It is difficult to be certain, however, and scholars should continue to ponder it since there is a slightly different telling of this account in the Kaccāyana-vaṇṇanā and there is also no mention of it in any commentarial teaching. In any case, we can be certain that the Kaccāyana is the first and oldest of all the Pali grammatical texts and that it is a precious text composed by a first class scholar that is very useful for understanding Pali grammar.² The grammar has eight books or sections, namely *sandhi*, *nāma*, *kāraka*, *samāsa*, *taddhita*, *ākhyāta*, *kitaka*, and *uṇādi*.³ *Sandhi* has five chapters, *nāma* has five chapters, *kāraka* has one chapter, [p. 8] *samāsa* has one chapter, *taddhita* has one chapter, *ākhyāta* has four chapters, *kitaka* has five chapters, and *uṇādi* has one chapter. Thus, there are twenty-three chapters. There are seven hundred and ten

¹ Kacc-s-n (Nm 7; C^c 4):
 eko buḍḍhapabbajito [+ bhikkhu, C^c] bhagavato santike kammaṭṭhānaṃ gahetvā anotattatīre sālārukkhamūle nisinno udabbayakammaṭṭhānaṃ [udabbaya°, C^c] karoti. so udake carantaṃ bakaṃ disvā udakabakan ti kammaṭṭhānaṃ karoti. bhagavā taṃ vitathabhāvaṃ disvā buḍḍhapabbajitaṃ pakkosāpetvā attho akkharasaññāto ti vākyam āha. kaccāyanatherena pi bhagavato adhippāyaṃ jānitvā attho akkharasaññāto ti vākyam pubbe ṭhapetvā idaṃ pakaraṇaṃ katan ti kaccāyanena katasuttan ti pi vadanti.

² Pind (2012, 73) tentatively dates both the Kaccāyana and Kaccāyana-vutti to the eighth century.

³ The *uṇādi sūtras* are special rules created for words that cannot be derived from the rules given in the other chapters of the grammar.

sūtras. There are one thousand and seven hundred verses with metrical feet of seven syllables each. In terms of the number of recitations (*bhāṇavāra*)ⁱⁱ, there are fifty verses short of seven recitations. There are six thousand eight hundred metrical feet, and there are fifty-four thousand four hundred letters.

Just as there is a similarity between Kaccāyana *sūtras* and certain Pāṇinian *sūtras*, such as *apādāne pañcamī*,¹ *bhuvādayo dhātavaḥ*² and *kartari kṛt*,³ there is an even greater similarity between the *sūtras* of the Kā-tantra-vyākaraṇa and the Kaccāyana.

Kaccāyana	Kā-tantra
273. <i>yasmād apeti bhayam ādatte vā tad apādānaṃ</i>	2.4.8. <i>yato peti bhayam ādatte vā tad apādānaṃ</i>
278. <i>yassa dātu kāmo rocate dhārayate vā taṃ sampadānaṃ</i>	2.4.1. <i>yasmai ditsā rocate dhārayate vā tat sampradānaṃ</i>
281. <i>yena vā kayirate taṃ karaṇaṃ</i>	2.4.12. <i>yena kriyate tat karaṇaṃ</i>
282. <i>yaṃ karoti taṃ kammaṃ</i>	2.4.13. <i>yat kriyate tat karmaṃ</i>
283. <i>yo karoti so kattā</i>	2.4.14. <i>yaḥ karoti sa kartā</i>
284. <i>yo kāreti sa hetu</i>	2.4.15. <i>kārayati yaḥ sahetu</i>
286. <i>liṅgatthe paṭhamā</i>	2.4.17. <i>prathamāvibhaktir liṅgārthavacane</i>
291. <i>hetvatthe ca</i>	2.4.30. <i>hetvarthe ca</i>
290. <i>kattari ca</i>	2.4.33. <i>kartari ca</i>
344. <i>saro rasso napuṃsake</i>	2.4.52. <i>svaro hrasvā napuṃsake</i>
318. <i>nāmānaṃ samāso yuttattho</i>	2.5.1. <i>nāmānaṃ samāso yuktārthaḥ</i>
236. <i>dvipade tulyādhikaraṇe kamma-dhārayo so napuṃsakaliṅgo</i>	2.5.5. <i>pade tulyādhikaraṇe vijñeyāḥ</i> 2.5.15. <i>karmadhārayaḥ sa napuṃsakaliṅgaṃ syāt</i>
346. <i>vā ṇ' appacce</i>	2.6.1. <i>vāṇapatye</i>

¹ Aśṭādgtātū 2.3.28 / Kacc 297.

² Aśṭādgtātū 1.3.1 / Kacc 459.

³ Aśṭādgtātū 3.4.67 / Kacc 626.

[p. 9] The opening verses of the grammar are as follows:

Paying homage to the supreme chief Buddha — honoured by the three worlds — to the taintless Dhamma and to the highest community, I will compose here the SUSANDHI-KAPPA, which is based on the *suttas*, in order to understand well the essential meaning of the discourses of the teacher. The wise grasp the good through the reasoning taught by the Jina. They grasp it (i.e. his reasoning)¹ by understanding the meaning of his discourses. The undeluded grasp the meaning [of his discourses] within syllables and words. The one who desires the good should, thus, pay attention to the variety of words.²

2. NYĀSA³

Otherwise known as the Mukha-matta-dīpanī, this is an old commentary that was composed for the Kaccāyana by the venerable teacher Vimalabuddhi.⁴ In the Pañcīkā, this text is also referred to as the Kaccāyanavutti-vaṇṇanā. Apart from the Mahā-nirutti, Purāṇa-cūḷa-nirutti, and Purāṇa-kārikā, since the Nyāsa's name is mentioned in a great majority of Pali grammars, such as the Sadda-sārattha-jālinī and Kaccāyanabheda, the Nyāsa must be older than these grammars. It also must be younger than the Cūḷa-nirutti since its name is mentioned in the Nyāsa. Apart from this, nothing is said at the end of the Nyāsa or in any other grammar to help ascertain a precise date for the work. In other works, the grammar is called the Mukha-matta-dīpanī, though there is reason to believe that there is another book by this name composed by another

¹ Our translation here follows the interpretation of the Nyāsa (Mmd B^c p. 4): *tañ cāpī ti taṃ jineritanayam pi*.

² Kacc (Nm 9; E^c 1):

seṭṭhaṃ tilokamahitaṃ abhivandīya 'ggam | buddhañ ca dhammam amalaṃ gaṇam uttamañ ca || satthussa tassa vacanattavaraṃ subodduṃ | vakkhāmi suttahitam ettha SUSANDHIKAPPAM || seyyaṃ jineritanayena budhā labhanti | tañ cāpī tassa vacanattasubodhanena || atthañ ca akkharapadesu amohabhāvā | seyyatthiko padam ato vividhaṃ suṇeyya ||

³ See Franke 1902, 22–23; Pind 2012, 117–20. Franke (1902, 23) dates the work before 1182, when its first commentary, the Nyāsa-padīpa, was composed. Pind (2012, 118) speculates that it was composed between the tenth and eleventh centuries.

⁴ Pind (2012, 117, n. 247) notes that Aggavaṃsa (Sadd 210, 4) uses the name “Vajirabuddhi” in preference to “Vimalabuddhi”.

teacher.¹ The commentary is thirty recitations long and it is the longest commentary on the Kaccāyana. There is some doubt in the Sāsana-vaṃsa concerning whether the author of the work is from Sri Lanka or India. The commentarial method of the text is as described in the following verse:

[The method] for commenting on a *sūtra* is sixfold: (1) syntactic construction, (2) the word, (3) the meaning of the word, (4) the separation of words, (5) objections, and (6) their refutation.²

The Nyāsa not only comments on the *sūtras* but also explains in detail the procedures for deriving the words in all the examples given in the Kaccāyana alongside the *sūtras*. According to the method given in the verse, the *sūtra* “*sarā sare lopam*” (Kacc 12, “vowels before a vowel are to be elided”) is commented upon as follows: [p. 10]

sarā sare lopam: for what purpose does he (Kaccāyana) say this? [He says this] for the purpose of eliding the preceding vowel, when there is a conjunction [of vowels]. **sarā**: this is one word; **sare**: this is one; **lopam**: this is one; this *sūtra* has three words. The meaning [of the *sūtra*] is that “vowels undergo elision before a vowel”. And in this [*sūtra*], **sarā** is defined as the agent, **sare** is the cause, and **lopam** is the grammatical operation. “They shine” (**saranti**), therefore they are **sarā**. Elision (*tutti*) is **lopo**. He states this [*sūtra*] here because *sandhi* rules for vowels are to be given first, since it is vowels that are appointed first [in the syllabary]. And in this [*sūtra*], the mention of **sare** rather than *saresu* has the purpose of indicating that [the operation should occur] one [vowel] at a time. Yet, if this is the case, why does [the author] say **sarā** and not *saro*? [He says **sarā**] for the purpose of indicating that the elision of one, two, or four vowels also occurs [simultaneously]. For instance, in [the *sūtra*] *sakhāto gass’ e vā* (Kacc 113, “Optionally, *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, and *e* replace *ga* [voc. sg.] after the word *sakhā* ‘friend’”), *e* has been separated into *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, and *e* and is understood to be a *dvanda* compound, in keeping with the governing rule *nāmānaṃ samāso yuttattho* (Kacc 318, A compound of words has a unified sense) and *nāmānaṃ samuccayo dvando* (Kacc 331, “An aggregation of words is a *dvanda* compound”); and [as a *dvanda*] there

¹ This seems unlikely.

² Mmd (B^e 7); Kacc-s-n (Nm 9; C^e 3):
sambandho ca padañ c’eva padattho padaviggaho |
codanā parihāro ca chabbidhā suttavaṇṇanā ||

is no need to use the word *ca* since “one does not use [speech forms] whose object (*ttāna*) has already been denoted”. One should understand that in the case of *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, and *e*, there is the elision of the other vowels due to the following *e* sound.... All the *sūtras* in this chapter are operational (*kāraka*) *sūtras*.¹

Furthermore, there are criticisms in the Rūpa-siddhi-ṭīkā concerning some of the statements in the Nyāsa here that will be discussed later on. The opening verses of the Nyāsa are as follows:

Paying homage to the pure Buddha, the bringer of purity for the impure masses, to his well-spoken Dhamma, which destroys the delusions of utterly deluded people, to the Saṅgha, which is taintless and the highest object of offerings, and to Kaccāyana, whose intelligence was praised by the Sage, I who know the judgements and resolutions that are supported by the lineage will compose a mere introduction (*mukha-matta*) to the KACCĀYANA written by him by relying upon the teachings that have been handed down.²

¹ Mmd (Nm 10; B^e 22):

sarā sare lopam : kim attham idam uccate. anantaresu pubbasarassa lopattham. sarā ti ekaṃ padam, sare ti ekaṃ, lopaṃ ti ekaṃ, tipadam idam suttaṃ. sarā kho sare pare lopam pappontī ti attho. ettha ca sarā ti kāriṇo nidasseti. sare ti nimittaṃ. lopaṃ ti kāriyaṃ. sarantī ti sarā. luttī lopo. sarānaṃ paṭhamam niddiṭṭhattā paṭhamam tesam sandhividdhānaṃ vattabban ti ihedaṃ vuttaṃ. ettha ca saresū ti avatvā sare ti vacanaṃ ekekasmim yevā ti nāpanattham. yadi evaṃ saro ti avatvā kasmā sarā ti vuttaṃ ti. ekadviticatunnam pi lopo hotī ti nāpanattham. “tena sakhāto [sakhato, B^e] gass’ e vā” [Kacc 113] ti ettha a ca ā ca i ca ī ca e cā ti viggahaṃ katvā “nāmānaṃ samāso yuttattho” [Kacc 318] ti adhikicca “nāmānaṃ samuccayo dvando” [Kacc 331] ti dvandasamāsaṃ katvā “vuttaṭṭhānaṃ [vuttatṭhānaṃ, B^e] appayogo” ti casaddam appayogaṃ katvā a ā i ī e ti evaṃ ṭhite ekāre pare sesasarānaṃ lopo hotī ti daṭṭhabbaṃ ... imasmim kappe sabbān’ eva kārakasuttāni.

² Mmd (Nm 10; B^e 1):

buddham visuddham avisuddhajanassa suddhi- | sampāpakaṃ sakalaloka-
vimohakassa | mohassa dhamsakam api ’ssa suvuttadhammaṃ ||
natvāna saṃgham anaghotamadakkhiṇeyyaṃ [anaghattama°, B^e] | Kaccāyanañ
ca munivaṇṇitabuddhim assa | KACCĀYANASSA mukhamattam aham karissam ||
pāramparābhatavinicchayanicchayaññū [°ññū, B^e] | laddhopadesam avalamba
katassa tena ||

3. NIRUTTI-SĀRA-MAÑJŪSĀ¹

This is the second commentary on the Nyāsa as there is a commentary composed before it called the Nyāsa-ppadīpa. Even though it is the second commentary, it can be considered the principal commentary in terms of its usefulness and its size. Since it is a commentary (*tīkā*) on a commentary, it is a sub-commentary (*anuṭīkā*). It was composed by the venerable elder Dāṭhānāgarājaguru during the reign of Sirinanda-pavarādhipati, in the city of Ratanāpura² in the country of Tambadīpa in Burma. Its date appears to be later than the Vācakopadesa, Ekakkhara-kosa, its commentary, the Sadda-vutti, its commentary, [p. 11] the Sadda-sāra-jālinī, the Rūpa-siddhi, the Rūpa-siddhi-ṭīkā, the Sadda-nīti, the Sutta-niddesa, and the Maṇi-sāra-mañjūsā, etc., as it quotes examples from these works. There is no larger work than this among all the commentaries that were composed for Pali grammatical texts. In some other texts this work is called the Nirutti-mañjūsā, though there is also a commentary on the Purāṇa-cūḷa-nirutti called the Nirutti-mañjūsā or simply the Mañjūsā.

In the commentaries the word *buddha* is analysed as *bujjhitā saccānī ti buddho* (“Buddha: the one who realises truths”). This commentary states, however, that this analysis is an error:

In the expression *loke avagantā* (“they descend into the world”), one should understand the word *avagata* as having the [syntactic-]sense of pure agent.³ Likewise, in the expression *bujjhitā saccānaṃ* (“the realiser of truths”), one should understand the word *buddho* as having the [syntactic-]sense of pure agent too. It is in this [sense], then, that they write *bujjhitā saccānī* in the texts. This is inelegant, however, and a better reading would be *bujjhitā saccānaṃ* (“the realiser of truths”), since (1) there is the statement that *yu-ṇvū-tu-paccayantasmim chatṭhi bhavati kammani* (the sixth case occurs in the sense of the grammatical object in connection with [a word] with the suffix *yu, ṇvū* or *tu*), (2) the sixth case plural suffix occurs in the sense of the grammatical object in connection with the suffix *-tu* of the word *bujjhitā* according to the

¹ See Franke 1902, 23. Franke does not speculate on the date of the work. Pind (2012) makes no mention of it. By quoting the work’s colophon, Subhūti allows us to now date the work to 1647/48 CE.

² That is, modern day Taungoo.

³ That is, not the impelled agent of a causative construction, etc.

sūtra dutiyāpañcamānañ ca (Kacc 311, “Sometimes the sixth case occurs in the sense of the second and fifth cases”), and (3) there is a word suffixed with the sixth case in the sense of the grammatical object in the next example *bodhetā pajāya*¹ (“the one who awakens the people”).²

Furthermore, its commentary on the Nyāsa’s explanation of the *sūtra* “*sarā sare lopam*” is as follows:

Now, after this, he (the author of the NYĀSA) begins “**sarā sare lopam** : **for what purpose is this said?**” in order to provide a commentary on this operational rule prescribing an elision. For an operational rule (*vidhi-sutta*) is eightfold, namely, [the operation of] elision (*lopa*), substitution (*ādesa*), lengthening (*dīgha*), shortening (*rassa*), suffixation (*paccaya*), case-suffixation (*vibhatti*), augmentation (*āgama*), and prohibition (*paṭisedha*). Furthermore, it is said:

There are eight types of operation: elision (*lopa*), substitution (*ādesa*), lengthening (*dīgha*), shortening (*rassa*), suffixation (*paccaya*), case-ending suffixation (*vibhatti*), augmentation (*āgama*), and prohibition (*paṭisedha*).

When there is a conjunction [of vowels]: When there is no intervening sound between two vowels, which are the cause and agent [of the grammatical operation]. **Lopo**: the verbal base *lup* in the sense of non-perception [is joined with the suffix] *na*. He (the author of the NYĀSA) does not say that there should be an agreement between singular suffixes, such as *saro sare lopam*, or between plural suffixes, such as *sarā saresu lopam*, nor does he believe that there is a contradiction in case-endings between the cause and the agent [of the grammatical operation]. In this respect, with the [statement] beginning **saresu** he shows that such proscriptive criticisms (*codanā*) are without utility and [p. 12] refutes them. **Saresu**: Here, [the meaning is] “when the vowels, which are the cause [of the grammatical operation] ...”. It is in the locative case in the sense of cause, in keeping with the *sūtra kamma-karaṇanimittatthesu sattamī* (Kacc 312, The seventh case [occurs] in the sense of object, instrument, and cause). For instance, *nāgo dantesu haññate* (“the elephant is killed for the sake of its tusks”), etc. In order to give an example of the simultaneous elision also of many vowels

¹ Nidd II E^e § 458: buddho ti ken’ atthena buddho? bujjhitā saccānī ti buddho. bodhetā pajāyā ti buddho.

² Nir-s-mañj (Nm 11): yathā loke avagantā ti iminā vacanatthena avagato ti imassa vacanassa suddhakattu attho viññāyati. evaṃ “bujjhitā saccānan” [Nidd II E^e § 457] ti ca bujjhitā saccānan ti pāṭho va sundaro.

before a vowel, which is the cause [of the grammatical operation], he (the author of the NYĀSA) makes the statement beginning “**tena sakhāto...**”. In the RŪPA-SIDDHI, however, [its author] believes that vowels are elided one at a time when followed by each single vowel and that they are not elided simultaneously when followed by a single vowel. In this connection, therefore, [the author of the NYĀSA] states that, furthermore, [**sarā**] is plural [in this *sūtra*] in order to indicate the elision of many [vowels] when preceding a single vowel. The commentary on the RŪPA-SIDDHI also states that:

the use of the plural [in the word] **sarā** has the purpose of indicating the plurality of [vowels] so that there is also the elision of all [word-]final vowels, beginning with *a*, when followed by each single vowel. One should not accept the statement in the NYĀSA that “[Kaccāyana says *sarā*] for the purpose of indicating that the elision of one, two, or four vowels also occurs [simultaneously]”, since such a usage is not found in the discourses of the Conqueror (*jinavacana*). There is no point in simultaneous elision, even in the *sūtra sakhāto gass’ e vā* (Kacc 113), since the four vowels, *a*, etc., are elided in each separate word before the *e* sound.¹ For it is said: *sabhāvassāpi e ti nipātanato sijjhanato* (“The nature of the *e* [sound] is established as a ready-made form [?]”).

The SADDA-NĪTI, however, agrees with the opinion of the NYĀSA [and states that]

there is the simultaneous elision of two preceding vowels followed by a single vowel in [the sentence] *nānādisaṃ yanti, disā bhanti* (“They go to the various directions; they light up the directions”). There is also the simultaneous elision of three preceding vowels followed by a single vowel [in the sentence] *na maṃ puna upeyyāsi ajjheyysāsi* (Ja IV 241, “visit/approach me no more!”) ... In the [word] *yanti*, the arrangement of sounds [prior to *sandhi*] was *yā + a + anti*, with three vowels in succession. [In the word] *upeyyāsi*, the arrangement of sounds [prior to *sandhi*] was *upa + i + a + eyyāsi*, with four vowels in succession. There is also a verse on this topic:

Vowels, whether one, two or even three, are elided before a vowel. The wise should learn this statement concerning *sandhis*

¹ The point here is that the Rūpa-siddhi-ṭīkā considers the four vowels that comprise the compound *e* as separate words, as *padas*, and not as components of a single word. This would be the case if *e* here is to be understood as a *dvandva* compound as previously stated in the Nyāsa. In this case, their *sandhis* should occur separately and not simultaneously.

associated with verbal bases as it removes the doubts of students. One should learn the examples [p. 13] *n'asi rājabhaṭo* (Vin I 93), *yanti, eyya, heyya, venti, lanti, disā bhanti* (M I 328), also *santi* and *panti*, and the examples *ajjheyysi* and *upeyyasi* too (Sadd III E^e 612–13).”

In this [verse], *n'asi rājabhaṭo* (“Are you a government officer?”) is an example where there is the elision of a single vowel. After that, [the others] are examples where there is the elision of two or three vowels, and one should learn the derivation of their forms. This is the construction [of the verse]. **imasmim kappe**: in the second chapter. **kārakasuttāni**: the operational *sūtras*.¹

¹ Nir-s-mañj (Nm 11-12): idāni tadantare lopavidhisuttassa samvaṇṇanam karonto **sarā sare lopan ti kimattham idam uccate** ty ādim āha. vidhisuttam hi lopādesadīgharassapaccayavibhattiāgamapaṭisedhavasena aṭṭhavidham hoti. vuttañ ca:

lopādesañ ca dīghañ ca rassapaccayam eva ca |
vibhaty āgamo paṭisedho vidhi nāma aṭṭha siyuṃ || ti

tattha anantaresū ti byavadhānakkharavirahitesu dvīsu nimittakārībhūtesu saresu. **lopo** ti lupa-adassane ti dhātu ṇa. sarā sare lopan ti vā sarā saresu lopan ti vā samānekavacanantavasena vā samānabahuvacanantavasena vā avatvā sarā sare lopan ti nimittakārīnam asamānavibhattikabhāvaṃ anicchanto ettha ca **saresū** ty ādinā codanābhogaṃ dassetvā pariharati. **tattha saresū** ti nimittabhūtesu saresu. nimittatthe c’etaṃ kammakaraṇanimittatthesu sattamī ti ’minā bhummaṃ. yathā nāgo dantesu haññate ty ādi. etasmim nimittabhūte sare bahūnam pi sarānam ekasmim vāre lopodāharaṇam dassento **tena sakhāto** ty ādim āha. RŪPASIDDHIYAM pana ekekasmim sare pare ekekass’ eva sarassa lopabhāvaṃ icchati. na ekasmim sare bahūnam sarānam ekasmim vāre lopa-bhāvaṃ. tenāha tattha bahuvacanam pan’ ettha ekasmim sare pare bahūnam lopañāpanatthan ti. TAṬṬIKĀYAṆ ca “sarā ti bahuvacanaggahaṇam ekekasmim sare pare pi antasarānam akārādīnam sabbesam pi lopo hoti ti tesam bahu-bhāvañāpanattham. yaṃ pana nyāse vuttam ekasmim sare pare ekadvitīcatunnam pi lopo hoti ti ñāpanatthan ti taṃ na gahetabban ti tādissa payogassa jīnavacane adassanato ‘sakhāto gass’ e vā’ [Kacc 113] ti sutte pi ekāre pare akārādīnam catunnam pi ekekasmim pade lopusambhavana ekato lopassa nīratthakattā, tathā sabhāvassāpi e ti nipātanato sījhanato” ti vuttam. SADDANTĪYAM pana NYĀSAMATAM anujānanto “nānā disam yanti disā bhantiⁱⁱⁱ (*disā bhanti* om., Sadd III E^e 612) ayam ekasmim sare pare ekakkhane dvinnam pubbasarānam lopo. na maṃ puna upeyyasi [Ja IV 241] ajjheyysi^{iv} ti ayam ekasmim sare pare ekakkhane tiṇṇam pubbasarānam lopo. tattha yanti ti yā a anti ti vaṇṇatṭhitam (vaṇṇatṭhiti, E^e). ettha paṭipāṭiyā tayo sarā labbhanti. upeyyasi ti upa i a eyyasi ti vaṇṇatṭhiti. ettha paṭipāṭiyā cattāro sarā labbhanti. tatrāyam gāthā:

sarā yanti sare lopam eko dve pi tayo pi vā | dhātu-samsatṭha-sandhim hi sandhāya kathitam idam || tasmā viññūhi viññeyyam sotūnam kamkha-

Furthermore, as well as commenting on passages in the Nyāsa, this work also makes some important statements in places concerning the meaning of sections of the root text, that is, the Kaccāyana. There is also mention of some errors in the older commentary too. In this regard, the Nirutti-sāra-mañjūsā states the following concerning the gloss (*vr̥tti*) on the *sūtra* “*byañjano ca visañño*” (Kacc 41, “a conjunct consonant becomes a single consonant when a vowel is elided after a *niggahīta*”):

And in [the *sūtra*’s] gloss (*vr̥tti*) there are two different readings: (1) “The mention of *ca* (‘and’) serves [to indicate] that there is also the elision of those [consonants] that are homogeneous among (*tesaṃ*) a [conjunct] of three consonants” and (2) “The mention of *ca* (‘and’) serves [to indicate] that there is sometimes also the elision of a [conjunct] of three homogeneous consonants (*tiṇṇaṃ pi byañjanānaṃ sarūpānaṃ*)”. Out of those [two], the first reading is the older reading and the second reading is the more recent reading. [Scholars] nowadays follow this [latter] reading. This is a commentary on the first reading of the [two]: “There should be the elision of the first of the [consonants] that are homogeneous in a [conjunct] of three consonants, when there follows a single vowel in disrupting proximity (*byavadhāyaka*).” In this [commentary], **tesaṃ** has the sense of a locative of specification (*niddhāraṇa*). Furthermore, this is a commentary on the second reading: “**tiṇṇaṃ** is an adjective, **byañjanānaṃ** has the sense of a locative of specification, and this is to be construed with [the word] **sa-rūpānaṃ**. Sometimes the word [*ca*] has the purpose of [introducing] an alternative opinion (*vikappana*). [The author] shows, therefore, that there is the elision of a single homogeneous sound only in a [conjunct] of three consonants, consisting of a conjunct of two homogeneous sounds and one heterogeneous sound. There is not to be any elision in a conjunct of three heterogeneous sounds.”¹

dhamsakaṃ | n’asi rājabhaṭo (Vin I 93) yanti eyya heyya nidassanaṃ || vanti (vanti, Sadd III E^c 613) yanti (lanti, Sadd III E^c 613) disā bhanti [M I 328] viññeyyaṃ santi panti ca^v | ajjheyyāsi upeyyāsi iccādi ca nidassanaṃ ||” ti vuttaṃ.

tattha n’asi rājabhaṭo ti ayaṃ ekasaraḷopūdāharaṇaṃ. tato paraṃ dvinnaṃ tiṇṇaṃ sarānaṃ lopudāharaṇāni. tesam pana rūpasiddhi veditabbā ti sambandho. **imasmim kappe** ti imasmim dutiyaparicchede. **kāraḷasuttāni** ti vidhisuttāni.

¹ Nir-s-mañj (Nm 13):

imassa ca vuttiaṃ casaddaggahaṇena tiṇṇaṃ pi byañjanānaṃ antare ye sarūpā tesam pi lopo hoti ti ca casaddaggahaṇena tiṇṇaṃ pi byañjanānaṃ sarūpānaṃ

[The commentary] also states that with respect to the word *pañcaddasī* (“having fifteen”), which had recently come into use as an example for the *sūtra* “*paradve bhāvo thāne*” (Kacc 28, “After a vowel there is the reduplication of a consonant in the appropriate situation”), that the reduplication of the letter *d* in *dasa* (ten) should not occur after any number except *catu* (four) and *cha* (six).

The opening verses of the Nirutti-sāra-mañjūsā are as follows:

I pay homage to the Buddha, a source of pure compassion from whom the sacred texts are obtained; to the Dhamma, which destroys the darkness of delusion and bestows deathlessness; to the highest community, which is the epitome of perfect purity, a refuge for the three worlds, and the best object of offerings; [p. 14] and to Kaccāyana, whose intelligence was praised by the Sage, who opened the ancient path to analytical knowledge, and who was beautiful to behold, possessing a golden and even complexion. That commentary on the NYĀSA that was composed by the best teachers has not improved monks’ understanding and, thus, I will compose a commentary to increase [their] understanding.¹

The closing statement in the Nirutti-sāra-mañjūsā is as follows:

This book entitled the NIRUTTI-SĀRA-MANJŪSĀ was composed and completed by a *thera* who had previously received the name Saddhammasiri from his teachers and whose official title was Dāṭhānāga-rāja-guru. He composed it at the time of the coronation of the righteous king who was invested with kingship in accordance with Dhamma with the name Siri-nanda-dhamma-rāja-pavarādhpati, that is,

kvaci lopo hoti ti cā ti ’me dve pāṭhā bhinnā. tesu paṭhamapāṭho va purimapāṭho dutiyapāṭho pana navapāṭho taṃ idāni paṭhanti. tesu ayam paṭhamapāṭhassa vaṇṇanā tiṇṇam pi byañjanānam antare byavadhāyake ekasmiṃ sare sati ye sarūpā tesam pi ādyakkharassa lopo hoti. ettha ca **tesan** ti niddhāraṇe bhummaṃ. ayam pana dutiyapāṭhassa vaṇṇanā **tiṇṇan** ti tabbisenam **byañjanānan** ti tiddhāraṇe bhummaṃ idam **sarūpānan** ti iminā sambandhitabban ti. kvaci saddo vikappanatto. tena sarūpakkhara-dvaya-asarūpekakkhara-samudāya-bhūtesu tisu akkharesv eva sarūpekakkharalopo hoti na virūpakkhara-samudāya-bhūtesu tisu akkharesu lopo ti dasseti.

¹ Nir-s-mañj (Nm 13–14):

buddhaṃ visuddhakarūṇākarapāḷipattaṃ | mohandhakāravihataṃ amataṃ
dadañ ca || dhammaṃ sunimmalavaraṃ gaṇam uttamañ ca | natvā tiloka-
saraṇaṃ varadakkhiṇeyaṃ || kaccāyanañ ca muṇivaṇṇitabuddhimantaṃ | natvā
pabhinnapaṭṭisambhidatheramaggaṃ || kalyāṇadassanasuvaṇṇasamānavannaṃ |
saṃvaṇṇanā garuvarehi pakāsītā yā || NYĀSASSA sā na yatinaṃ mativaḍḍhanā ca |
āyācīto yativarehi hitāya tasmā | saṃvaṇṇanaṃ matipavaḍḍhanaṃ ārabhissaṃ ||

in the year 2192 (1647/8 CE) of the [Buddha's] teaching and in the year 1010 of the Burmese era.

This work was composed in the year 1010,
And completed when the year 1012 was reached.¹

4. NYĀSA-PPADĪPA²

This is the first commentary on the Nyāsa. It was composed by a certain minister during the reign of King Narapati of Arimaddana (i.e. slightly before the Buddhist year 1725).³ It is said in the Sāsana-vamsa that having discerned that (the author of the Nyāsa-ppadīpa) had fallen in love with a young princess who was born in the king's harem, the king declared that if he wrote a book that was comprehensive in its judgments and profound in meaning he would give the princess to him. On the completion of the Nyāsa commentary, the king gave him his daughter and also appointed him to the ministerial position of land revenue surveyor (*rajjuggāha*). Since the name of this minister was "Saṃkhyam",⁴ the Nyāsa commentary is also known by this name in Burma.

Even though the Nirutti-sāra-mañjūsā [p. 15] has little good to say about the commentary, it is concise, and so it is not a burden on the root text. The Nirutti-sāra-mañjūsā criticises this commentary in many places. The opening verses of the Nyāsa-ppadīpa are as follows:

Paying homage to the Buddha — who is the end of the journey for those in cyclic existence, a source of virtue, unobstructable, one who has fathomed what is knowable, and who is the protector of those who lack protection — to the Dhamma and the highest Saṅgha, resolute I

¹ Nir-s-mañj (Nm 14):

dāṭhānāgarājagurū ti laddhanāmalaṃchanena therena pure garūhi saddhamma-sirī ti gahitanāmadheyyena sirinandadhammarājapavarādhipatināminā yathā-dhammaṃ laddharājabhāvassa dhammarājassa rājasampatyānubhavanakāle sāsane dvānavutādhikaekavīsasatakāle sakkarāje pana dasādhikasahassakāle sampatte racitaṃ NIRUTTISĀRAMAÑJŪSANĀMIKAPAKARAṆAṃ samattaṃ.

dasādhike sahasamhi kataṃ pakaraṇaṃ idaṃ |
samppatte tādisse niṭṭhaṃ sahasse dvādasādhike ||

² See Franke 1902, 23. The work is not dealt with in Pind 2012.

³ 1180/81 CE.

⁴ This is Subhūti's rendering of the Burmese name "Saṃ-pyañ".

undertake the composition of the NYĀSA-PPADĪPA in the correct manner (*sādhū*).¹

5. SUTTA-NIDDESA²

This is a commentary on the Kaccāyana. It was composed by a venerable elder named Chapaṭa (or Chapada) who lived in Burma in around the Buddhist year 1725³ (that is about seven hundred years ago). How is this date determined? King Parākramabāhu I (with the assistance of the venerable Diṃbulāgala Mahākassapa Thera) unified the *nikāyas* and purified the *sāsana* in the Buddhist year 1709,⁴ that is in the eighteenth year of the king's reign. The venerable Chapaṭa Thera came to Lanka as a young *sāmaṇera* six years before the reforms along with his teacher the venerable Uttarājīva Thera. It is possible that he composed the Sutta-niddesa in Sri Lanka since he returned to his own country, wielding knowledge in both the sciences (*śāstras*) and Buddhist teachings (*āgamas*) after taking higher ordination in Sri Lanka and staying there for ten years. Although, if King Parākramabāhu I came to the throne in the Buddhist year 1587,^{5, vi} as it is recorded in the Saddhamma-saṅgaha, then the Sutta-niddesa must have been composed more than seven hundred years ago. The Kalyāṇi-ppakaraṇa states, however, that “King

¹ Nyās-pd (Nm 15; B^e 1):

samsāravantagamanantagunādhivāsam (°adhivāsam, Nm) | nīrundhiyūpagata-
ñeyyam (nīrundhay°, Nm) anāthanātham || buddhañ ca dhammam adhiñharam
(abhiñharam?) aggasamgham | nyāsappadipam abhinamya karomi sādhum ||

² Subhūti's discussion here about the date of the Sutta-niddesa is incorrect. His error is based on identifying Chapaṭa, author of the Sutta-niddesa, with a certain Chapaṭa who is mentioned in the Kalyāṇi inscription as bringing Lankan Buddhism to Burma during the reign of Parākramabāhu I. Franke (1902, 23) also makes the same error and, like Subhūti, dates the work to 1182. Aleix Ruiz-Falqués (2015) has provided the most recent and exhaustive discussion of the date of the Sutta-niddesa and dates Chapaṭa's trip to Sri Lanka, and thus also the approximate date of the authorship of his grammar, to the Buddhist year 1990, that is, 1445/46 CE. The first scholars to date Chapaṭa to the fifteenth-century were Buddhadatta (1957) and Godakumbura (1969).

³ 1180/81 CE.

⁴ 1164/65 CE.

⁵ 1042/43 CE.

Parākramabāhu came to reign in the Buddhist year 1709”.¹ There is also the following statement in the *Vinaya-sannaya* that was written at that time by Diṃbulāgala Medhaṅkara Mahā Thera :

The great king Parākramabāhu, having taken into his control the Buddhist religion that had been split since the 456th year of the Buddha’s *parinibbāna* and that had further remained for 1256 years, removed the putrid parts of the impure fraternities, namely, of the Jetavana and Abhayagiri, [p. 16] upheld the pure *theravāda* of the residents of the Mahāvihāra, and purified and united the pure Saṅgha.²

Since this statement agrees with the Kalyāṇi-ppakaraṇa and since this date is close to that calculated by James D’Alwis from the Mahā-vaṃsa, there should be greater confidence in the date given in the Kalyāṇi-ppakaraṇa than the date given in the Saddhamma-saṅgaha. It seems, therefore, that the composition of the Sutta-niddesa must not have occurred less than five hundred and ninety years ago.

Not only was the Sutta-niddesa composed by the venerable Chapaṭa Thera, but he also composed works on the *abhidhamma*, namely, the Saṅkhepa-vaṇṇanā, which is a commentary on the Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha, and the Nāma-cāra-dīpa, and on the *vinaya*, namely, the Vinaya-guḷhattha-dīpanī and the Sīmālaṅkāra-ṭīkā.

At the beginning and conclusion of the Sutta-niddesa, the elder remembers Sri Lanka with a statement of gratitude. Even in the benedictory verses, after praising the virtues of Lord Buddha, he mentions that the Buddha visited Sri Lanka three times and established the religion there. The Kalyāṇi-ppakaraṇa states that this elder, Chapaṭa, had memorised the *tipiṭaka* and that, when he was young, he came to Sri Lanka

¹ Subhūti actually writes here that “the Kalyāṇi-ppakaraṇa states, however, that King Parākramabāhu came to reign in the Buddhist year 1791”. We have treated this date as a printing or typographical error, since he asserted earlier that Parākramabāhu’s reforms took place in 1709 and since the Kalyāṇi inscription actually dates the accession of the king to the year 526 of the Burmese era, that is, to the Buddhist year 1709 (see Taw Sein Ko 1892, p. 50).

² *Vinayārtha-samuccaya* (Nm 15-16): budun pitinivī sārasiya supanas havuruddak tubū budu sasna parākramabāhu maharajānan ārageṇa denānakā bagirinakā yana asuddha denakayehi vipanna tān hāra mahā vihāra vāsīvū parisuddhavū theravādayama geṇa pavatnā pirisindu tān hā suddha saṃghayā samāga koṭa.

from Burma and, after learning the sciences (*śāstras*) and Buddhist teachings (*āgamas*), he obtained the recognition of “elder” (*thera*) and achieved the status of being “one who has memorised the *tipiṭaka*” (*tipiṭaka-dhara*). He then went to Burma with four other elders from that country and established and developed a new fraternity there. I believe it is possible that some of his works were composed in Sri Lanka. The opening verses of the Saṅkhepa-vaṇṇanā are as follows:

On the invitation of Mahāvijayabāhu who crouched [in supplication], who possesses knowledge of the traditional religion and sciences, who is renowned on this island like a full moon in an autumn sky, and who desires the prosperity of the religion, I will compose the SAṅKHEPA-PADA-VANṆANĀ.¹

Since “Vijayabāhu” is a Sri Lankan name, it is possible that the Saṅkhepa-vaṇṇanā was composed in this country. In some of his works, this monk also states that his work is *sīhaḷadesiya-paradesiyānaṃ atthāya* (“for the benefit of those living in Sīhaḷa country and those living in other countries”) [p. 17]. Since, in Sri Lanka, people from foreign countries are known as “*paradeśī*”, it is possible that these works were written in Sri Lanka. The Sutta-niddesa, however, does not contain such a statement and, therefore, there is reason to think that it was composed in Burma. For the most part, only the *sūtras* of the Kaccāyana are commented upon. In some places, however, there are very detailed statements about the gloss (*vṛtti*) and the examples. The Sutta-niddesa’s method for commenting on the *sūtras* is as follows:

[The method] for commenting on a *sūtra* is sixfold: (1) syntactic construction, (2) the word, (3) the meaning of the word, (4) the separation of words, (5) objections and (6) their refutation.²

In addition to commenting on each *sūtra* with this sixfold method, the

¹ Abhidh-s-sv (Nm 16)

āgatāgamasatthena cando va saradambare |
pākaṭen’ idha dīpamhi mahāvijayabāhunā ||
ukkuṭikaṃ nisīditvā sāsanaṭṭhābhikaṃkhinā |
yācito ’haṃ karissāmi SAṅKHEPAPADAVANṆANAM ||

² Kacc-s-n (Nm 17; C^e 3):

sambandho ca padañ c’eva padattho padaviggaho |
codanā parihāro ca chabbidhā suttavaṇṇanā ||

author also explains fully the examples for the *sūtras* that were not well explained in earlier commentaries such as the Nyāsa. The Sutta-niddesa also explains statements taken from other grammatical works such as the Bālāvatāra, the Rūpa-siddhi, the Nyāsa, the Nyāsa-ppadīpa, the Kārikā, the Akkhara-mañjūsā, and the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa. The opening verses of the Sutta-niddesa are as follows:¹

I bow down to the Lord of the World, who visited Sri Lanka three times and established the religion (*sāsana*), to the Dhamma and to the highest community. Upon the request of Dhammacāri, who seeks the preservation of the good Dhamma, I will write a commentary on Kaccāyana's *sūtras*, which incorporates an explanation [of the syntactic function of the words in every rule] (*niddesa*).²

The Sutta-niddesa's commentary on the *sūtra* “*sarā sare lopam*” is as follows:

sarā: this is one word; **sare**: this is one; **lopam**: this is one. According to the division of words on the basis of their case ending, one should understand that this *sūtra* has three words. **sarā** is defined as the agent, **sare** is defined as the cause, and **lopam** is defined as the grammatical operation. Out of the [different types of] *sūtra*, namely, (1) a rule defining a technical term (*saññā-[sutta]*), (2) a meta-rule (*paribhāsā-[sutta]*), (3) an operational rule (*vidhi-[sutta]*), (4) a rule prescribing a restriction (*niyama-[sutta]*), and (5) a rule of prohibition (*paṭisedha-[sutta]*), one should understand this to be an operational rule (*vidhi-sutta*).

There could be an objection in connection [with this *sūtra*], namely, that, if **sarā** (vowels) is plural, should not [Kaccāyana] say *saresu* (before vowels) [rather than **sare** (before a vowel)]? No, because each single vowel is the cause [of the grammatical operation]. If this is the case, then, should not [Kaccāyana] say *saro* (a vowel) since only a single vowel undergoes elision? No, because there is also

¹ The following translation has been adapted from Ruiz-Falqués (2015, 400). Ruiz-Falqués notes that the unique commentarial style of the Sutta-niddesa informs his translation of *niddesa* as “an explanation of the syntactic function of the words in every rule”.

² Kacc-s-n (Nm 17 ; C^e 1):

tikkhattuṃ pattalaṅko yo paṭiṭṭhāpesi (paṭiṭṭhāpesi, Nm) sāsanam |
vanditvā lokanātham taṃ dhammañ c'assa gaṇuttamam ||
saddhammaṭṭhitikāmena yācito dhammacārinā |
saniddesaṃ karissāmi kaccānasuttavaṇṇanam ||

the [simultaneous] elision of four vowels before a single vowel in the [sūtra] *sakhāto gass' e vā* (Kacc 113, Optionally, *a, ā, i, ī*, and *e* replace *ga* [voc. sg.] after the word *sakha* “friend”). Alternatively, [Kaccāyana] says **sarā** in order to indicate that, before each vowel, all eight vowels, whether homogeneous or not homogeneous, can undergo elision [p. 18]. It is said in the gloss (*vutti*), for instance, that “also all vowels obtain elision when a vowel follows (*pare*)”. How does one understand that the word *pare* (“follows”) in this [statement] is expressed by the general [formulation] *sarā sare*? It is understood as [the sense of *pare*] is expressed by the seventh case of [the word] *sare* denoting a cause. Alternatively, it is understood [in this *sūtra*] as [the word] *paro* was given as the agent of the previous *sūtra*.¹

The closing verses of the Sutta-niddesa are as follows:²

One thousand years, plus ten times ninety-nine years, after the extinction of the Buddha (= 1990 B.E.), he (Chapaṭa) arrived from the city of Pagan in the excellent Tambapaṇṇi (Sri Lanka) and, with the support of King Siri Parakkamabāhu, had the impure religion purified and, together with very knowledgeable monks who were experts in the Vinaya, had a monastic boundary fixed, free of failure, in accordance with the Vinaya in the excellent city called Jayavaḍḍhana and had trained the community of monks in the Vinaya and Abhidhamma. He, whose heart was purified by wisdom and who was compassionate towards the people, austere, and

¹ Kacc-s-n (Nm 17-18; C^c 9):

sarā ti ekaṃ padaṃ, **sare** ti ekaṃ padaṃ, **lopan** ti ekaṃ padaṃ. vibhāyanta-padaṃ vibhāgavasena tipadam idaṃ suttan (suttan *om.*, C^c) ti daṭṭhabbaṃ. **sarā** ti kāriniddeso (kāri^o, Nm), **sare** ti nimittaniddeso (nimittasattamīddeso, C^c), **lopan** ti kāriyaniddeso. saññā-paribhāsā-vidhi-niyama-paṭisedha-suttesu vidhi-suttan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ. ettha codanā (codanaṃ, Nm) siyā. **sarā** ti bahuvacanaṃ paṭicca saresū ti vattabbaṃ ti (ti *om.*, Nm). na vattabbaṃ. ekekass' (ekass', Nm) eva sarassa nimittabhūtattā. yadi evaṃ ekassa sarassa (ekasarassa, Nm) lopattā saro ti vattabban ti. na. “sakhāto gass' e vā” [Kacc 113] ti ettha ekasmiṃ sare catunnam pi lopattā. athavā ekekasmiṃ sare sarūpāpi asarūpāpi (athavā ekasmiṃ viya rūpāpi, Nm) sabbe aṭṭha sarā lopam pappontī ti nāpanattham **sarā** ti vuttam. tenāha (tena vuttam, Nm) vuttiyam sarā kho sabbe pi sare pare lopam pappontī ti. ettha ca sarā sare ti sāmāññavasena vuccamāne (muccamāno, Nm) pi sare ti katham nāyati ti. sare ti nimittasattamiyā (sattamiyā, C^c) vuttattā nāyati. athavā uparisutte paro ti kāriyo vuttattā nāyati.

² The following translation has been critically adapted from Ruiz-Falqués 2015, 395–96.

praised for his qualities of morality and energy, rich in faith, who has compassion for the people of pure mind, who was able to understand fully the *tipiṭaka* in all its parts, he, Chapata, a learned and beloved king of monks, composed in abridgement this explanation of the beneficial *sūtras* of Kaccāyana, for the benefit of the religion of the Sage.¹

6. KACCĀYANA-VANṆANĀ²

This is a third commentary composed for the Kaccāyana. The author of this work was Mahāvijitāvī Mahā Thera who resided on Abhayagiri-pabbata close to Vijayapura in the province of Tambadīpa in Burma. Its date of composition is later than the Sutta-niddesa, Rūpa-siddhi, Rūpa-siddhi-ṭīkā and Sadda-nīti. Examples are taken from these works and also from the Nirutti-ppakaraṇa, the Kaccāyana-nissaya-ppakaraṇa, the Kārikā [p. 19], and Nyāsa. Also, an important commentarial method not used in the other commentaries, such as the Nyāsa and Sutta-niddesa, is applied to all the *sūtras*, that is, the Kaccāyana-vanṇanā explains the arrangement of all the *sūtras* of the Kaccāyana by elucidating the rationale behind them, having posed the questions *idaṃ suttaṃ kiṃ pabhavaṃ kiṃ nidānaṃ kuto nikkhantaṃ* (“What is the origin of this *sūtra*? What is its cause? From what does it proceed?”). It explains, for instance, that the *sūtra tath’ odantā sarā aṭṭha* (Kacc 3, “among [the sounds] there are eight vowels ending in o”) derives from the *sūtra akkharā p’ ādayo*

¹ Kacc-s-n (Nm 19; C^e 275):

puṇṇe dase^{vii} navanavutī guṇe ca (cha, Nm) vasse^{viii} | vasse sahasaganane
jinanibbutāyaṃ^{ix} || iddhārimaddanapurā varatambapaṇṇiṃ (°paṇṇi, Nm) |
patvāna so siriparakkamabāhubhūpaṃ (°bhupaṃ, C^e) || nissāya sāsanaṃ
suvisodhayitvā | bhikkhūhi nātavinayehi susaññatehi || bandhāpayī (khandhā-
payī, Nm) puravare jayavaḍḍhanavhe (chaya°, Nm) | sīmaṃ vipattirahitaṃ
vinayānurūpaṃ || sikkhāpayī yatigāṇe vinayābhidhamme | paññāvadātahadayo
sadayo janānaṃ (chanānaṃ, Nm) || appicchatāviriyaṃ silagunappasattho |
saddhādhanā vimalabuddhijanānukappī (sakalasissagaṇānukam pī^x, Nm) ||
sabbattha yuttapiṭakattayapāradasī | so chappaṭavhayasuto yatirājakanto ||
kaccāyanassa hitasuttaniddesaṃ (yatisuttaniddesaṃ, Nm) etaṃ | saṃkhepatō
viracayī (viracayī, Nm) muni sāsanaṃ ||

² See Franke 1902, 23; Pind 2012, 121. Franke dates the work to around 1606, since that is when the author composed a commentary on his own Vācakopadesa. Pind dates the work to the “sixteenth century”.

ekacattālīsaṃ (Kacc 2, “there are forty-one sounds beginning with ‘a’”).

The opening verses of the *Kaccāyana-vaṇṇanā* are as follows:

I pay homage to the Conqueror, who brought about the purification of impure people, to the Dhamma that destroys delusion, to the taintless Saṅgha, which was established as the highest with the [Buddha’s declaration that] “this is the highest...”, to the Mahā Thera who was the author of the NYĀSA, to the teacher Buddhappiya who composed the RŪPA-SIDDHI, to the three highest scholars (*agga-panḍita*) who composed the SADDA-NĪTI, to the author of the *nissaya*, and to the author of the [KACCĀYANA-SUTTA]-NIDDESA. It is by relying on their well-considered judgements that I will compose the KACCĀYANA-VANṆANĀ for the benefit of monks and novices.¹

The *Kaccāyana-vaṇṇanā*’s commentary on the *sūtra* “*sarā sare lopam*” is as follows:

sarā sare lopam (Kacc 12): What is the origin of this *sūtra*? What is its cause? From what does it proceed? The *sūtra* originates in connection with the *sūtras* *pubbam adhoḥhitam assaram sarena viyojaye* (Kacc 10, “One should separate a preceding, final consonant from its [inherent] vowel”) and *naye param yuttam* (Kacc 11, “One should join it with what follows”). These [*sūtras*] are its cause and it is from these [*sūtras*] that it (i.e. Kacc 12) proceeds. With respect to [the example] *yass’ indriyāni* (“He whose sense-organs ...”), for instance, [Kaccāyana] uttered the *sūtra* **sarā sare lopam** to show that, prior to *sandhi*, i.e. *yassa + indriyāni*, having separated the consonant from the vowel in accordance with *pubbam adhoḥhitam assaram sarena viyojaye* (Kacc 10), one should elide the preceding vowel when another vowel follows before joining [that consonant] with the following sound.

Why does [Kaccāyana] utter this [*sūtra*]? [He utters this *sūtra*] in order to indicate that there is to be the elision of preceding vowels before another vowel. **sarā**: this is one word; **sare**: this is one; **lopam**: this is one. This [*sūtra*] has three words. **sarā** is defined as the

¹ Kacc-vaṇṇ (Nm 19; B^c 1):
avisuddhassa janassa (chanassa, Nm) suddhisampāpakam jīnam | mohassa
dhammakam (dhamkam, Nm) dhammam natvā samgham niraṅgaṇam ||
thapitam (thapitam, B^c) etad aggamhi eso aggo ti ādinā | natvā tañ ca mahā-
theram NYĀSĀDIKĀRAKAM pi ca || buddhappiyācariyañ ca RŪPASIDDHI-
VIDHĀYAKAM | SADDANĪTIKĀRAKAÑ (nissayakārakañ, Nm) ca tatiyam agga-
panḍitam || NISSAYAKĀRAKAÑ cāpi NIDDESĀKĀRAKAM pi ca | vanditvā tesam
ālamba nicchayam suvinicchitam | yatipotānam atthāya kassam KACCĀNA-
VANṆANAM ||

agent, **sare** is defined as the cause, and **lopaṃ** is defined as the grammatical operation. Out of the [different types of] *sūtra*, namely, (1) a rule defining a technical term (*saññā-[sutta]*), (2) a meta-rule (*paribhāsā-[sutta]*), (3) an operational rule (*vidhi-[sutta]*), (4) a rule prescribing a restriction (*niyama-[sutta]*), and (5) a rule of prohibition (*paṭisedha-[sutta]*), one should understand this to be an operational rule (*vidhi-sutta*).

There are eight types of operation: elision (*lopa*), substitution (*ādesa*), lengthening (*dīgha*), shortening (*rassa*), suffixation (*paccaya*), case-ending suffixation (*vibhatti*), augmentation (*āgama*), and prohibition (*paṭisedha*).

Among the aforementioned types of operation, [this *sūtra*] should be understood as an operation of elision.

The wise man illumines the four types of operation: (1) an operation applicable to a preceding element (*pubbavidhi*), (2) an operation applicable to a following element (*para-vidhi*), (3) an operation applicable to an earlier element [in a word-form] (*antaraṅgavidhi*), and (4) an operation applicable to a later element [in a word-form] (*bāhirāṅgavidhi*) [p. 20].¹

Among the aforementioned types of operation, [this *sūtra*] should be understood as an operation applicable to a preceding element (*pubbavidhi*). The meaning [of the *sūtra*] is that “vowels undergo elision before a vowel”. “They shine” (**saranti**), therefore they are **sarā**. The eight vowels can be the agents [of the grammatical operation] and, likewise, they can be the cause [of the grammatical operation]. Before a vowel, there is **lopa**, that is, elision (*luppana*). It is said that, on account of the *sandhi* between words, nothing is perceived between the words at the time of speaking.

Why is there the mention of **sare** rather than *saresu*? It has the purpose of indicating that the elision of many vowels can occur when followed by a single vowel in each instance. The SADDĀ-NĪTĪ states that,

in this connection, in [the sentence] *n’asi rājabhaṭo* (“Are you a government officer?”) there is the elision of a single vowel when followed by a single vowel. The division [of words prior to *sandhi*] was *na + asi*. In [the word] *yanti* (“they go”), there was the simultaneous elision of two vowels. The division [of sounds prior to *sandhi*] was *yā + a*

¹ For a more detailed account of *antaraṅga-* and *bāhirāṅga-vidhis*, see Abhyankar & Shukla 1986, 28–29.

+ *anti*. There were three vowels, namely, the *ā*-sound component of the verbal base *yā*, the *a*-suffix that comes after the *ā* of the verbal base, and the *a*-sound that occurs at the beginning of the suffix *-anti*. Before the *a* sound at the beginning of the suffix *-anti* there was the simultaneous elision of the two preceding sounds. In [the word] *upeyya*, there was the simultaneous elision of three vowels. The division [of sounds prior to *sandhi*] was *upa + i + a + eyya*. The word *upa* is a prefix, *i* is a verbal base, the sound *a* is a suffix, and *eyya* is a [verbal] ending. In [this example], there are four vowels. Therefore, [with respect to this example] there was the simultaneous elision of the *a* sound in *upa*, the *i* sound of the verbal base, and the *a* sound of the suffix.

In the NYĀSA, furthermore, a simultaneous elision of four [vowels] is mentioned before a single vowel in the case of *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, and *e* in the *sūtra sakhāto gass' e vā* (Kacc 113, Optionally, *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, and *e* replace *ga* [voc. sg.] after the word *sakhā* “friend”). One should consider the aforementioned examples in the SADDA-NTI specifically under the rules for vowel elision [in the derivation of verbs], beginning *lopañ c' ettam akāro* (Sadd 1023; Kacc 512, “The suffix *-a* is elided or it becomes *-e*”).

The RŪPA-SIDDHI states, however, that “furthermore, in this [*sūtra*], the plural [of *sarā*] has the purpose of indicating the elision of many [vowels] before each single vowel.” And in connection [with the example] *sakhāto gass' e vā* (Kacc 113), the [RŪPA-SIDDHI] states that “in the case of *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, and *e* there is the sequential (*kamena*) elision of the four vowels” [Rūp C^e 37].

The commentary on the RŪPA-SIDDHI also states that

[Kaccāyana] says *sarā* and not *saro sare* as the use of the plural [in the word] *sarā* has the purpose of indicating the plurality of [vowels] so that there is also the elision of all [word-]final [vowels], beginning with *a*, when followed by each single vowel.

And it is also said that there are eight simple [vowels] that can be the cause [of the grammatical operation] but there are many sounds (*sara*) — numbering sixty-four — that can be subject to the cause [of the operation]. Thus, the plural *sarā* is mentioned. [The SADDA-BINDU (v. 3)] states [for instance] that there are sixty-four vowels: “Sixty-four (*vācī*) sounds/vowels (*sara*) can be elided before [other] sounds, and fifty-two (*rama*) sounds can be elided following [other] sounds.”

The reasoning that is given in the NYĀSA should also be rejected since such a usage is not found in the discourses of

¹ Kacc-vaṇṇ (Nm 19–20; B^e 23–24):

sarā sare lopaṇ ti (+ ādim āha, B^e) idaṃ suttaṃ kiṃ pabhavaṃ kiṃ nidānaṃ kuto nikkhantaṃ ti. pubbaṃ adho ṭhitam assaraṃ sarena viyojaye naye paraṃ yuttaṃ (yutte, B^e) ti suttanvayappabhavaṃ tannidānaṃ tato nikkhantaṃ ti (+ kin nikkhantaṃ ti, B^e). yass’ indriyāni ty ādisu yassa indriyāni ti chede kate pubba – pe – ye ti ’minā sarato byañjanaṃ viyojetvā sarasmiṃ pare pubba-sarassa lopaṃ katvā parakkharaṃ netabban ti dassento **sarā sare lopaṇ** ti vuttan ti. kim attham idaṃ uccate. sarasmiṃ pare pubbasarānaṃ lopo hotīti ñāpanatthaṃ. sarā ti ekaṃ padaṃ (padaṃ *om.*, B^e). sare ti ekaṃ. lopaṇ ti ekaṃ. tipadam idaṃ. **sarā** ti kāriniddeso. **sare** ti nimittaniddeso (nimittasattami°, B^e). **lopaṇ** ti kāriyaniddeso. saññāparibhāsā vidhiniyamapatishedha-suttasu vidhisuttan ti veditabbaṃ.

lopādesañ ca dīghañ ca rassapaccayam (rassam paccayam, B^e) eva ca | vibhaty āgamo paṭisedho vidhi nāma aṭṭha siyūṃ || ti.

vuttesu vidhibhedesu lopavidhī ti veditabbaṃ.

pubbavidhiparavidhi antaraṅgabāhirāpi (antaraṅgam bāhirāpi, B^e) ca |

vidhibhedo catubbidho dīpeyya matimā naro || ti.

vuttasu vidhīsu (vidhibhedesu, B^e) pubbavidhī ti veditabbaṃ. sarā kho sare pare lopaṃ pappontī ti attho. sarantī ti **sarā**. kāribhūtā (°bhūtā, Nm) aṭṭha sarā tathā nimittabhūtā sarā. tasmīṃ sare, luppanaṃ (lupanaṃ, Nm) **lopo**. pada-cchede vijjamānassa padasandhivasena kathanakāle anupaladdhī ti vuttaṃ hoti. saresū ti avatvā kasmā **sare** ti (sare ti kasmā, B^e) vuttan ti. ekekasmīṃ sare pare bahūnaṃ sarānaṃ (sarānaṃ *om.*, B^e) lopañāpanatthaṃ. ettha ca “n’asi rājabhaṭo ti ettha ekasmīṃ sare pare ekassa sarassa lopo. na + asī ti chedo. yanti iti ettha dvinnaṃ sarānaṃ ekakkhaṇe lopo. yā + a + antī ti chedo. yādhātuyā avayavo ākāro (ākāro *om.*, Nm) ca bhūvādito (antippaccayassa ādito, Nm) ā tīminā (a iti iminā, Nm) pavatto appaccayo ca, antipaccayassa ādibhūto akāro cā ti (vā ti, Nm) tayo sarā. tasmā antipaccayassa ādibhūte akāre (ādibhūta-akārasmiṃ, B^e) pare dvinnaṃ pubbabhūtānaṃ (+ akāraakārānaṃ, B^e) iminā ekakkhaṇe lopo. upeyyā ti ettha tiṇṇaṃ sarānaṃ ekakkhaṇe lopo. upa + i + a + eyyā ti chedo. upasaddo upasaggo i dhātu akāro paccayo eyya vibhatti cā ti ettha cattāro sarā. tasmā ekārasmiṃ pare tiṇṇaṃ pubbabhūtānaṃ pakārāvayavabhūta-akāra-dhātubhūta-ikāra-paccayabhūta-akārānaṃ (pakārāvayavabhūta-akāraṃ dhātubhūta-ikāraṃ paccayabhūta-akāraṃ, Nm) iminā ekakkhaṇe lopo” ti (ti *om.*, Nm) SADDANĪTIYAM vutto. NYĀSE pana “sakhāto gass’ e vā” [Kacc 113] ti sutte a ā i ī e ti ṭhite ekārasmiṃ pare ekakkhaṇe catunnaṃ lopo vutto. SADDANĪTIYAM vutta-udāharaṇāni (uddhaḷa-udāharaṇāni, B^e) vicāretabbāni. tesam udāharaṇānaṃ (udāharaṇānaṃ, Nm) “lopañ c’ ettam akāro” [Sadd 1023; Kacc 512;], saralopo ty ādilakkhaṇavisesena vuttattā (lakkhaṇavisiyattā^{xi}, Nm). RŪPASIDDHIYAM pana “bahuvacanam pan’ ettha ekekasmīṃ sare (sare *om.*, B^e 37) pare bahūnaṃ (bahunnaṃ, Nm)

The closing verses of the Kaccāyana-vaṇṇanā are as follows:

In the city named Vijaya, which is like a banner raised up from Lanka, there is Abhayagiri mountain, which is renowned in all quarters and is surrounded by cave-dwellings, such as the Nandamūla, ritual boundaries, rivers, mountains, ponds and fields. The grandson of the monk, Pañcasetibha, chief of Haṃsāvātipura, who was well known by the name Suruccanā, dwelt here in this pleasant place that is like [the mountain] Devasabhā. For the benefit of the religion that elder composed this KACCĀYANA-VANṆANĀ under the name Vijitāvī prefixed [with the honorific] “Mahā” (“Great”).¹

7. RŪPA-SIDDHI²

This is the most useful and comprehensive of the works belonging to the Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa that teach the procedure for the derivation of words (*padasiddhikrama*). It was composed in Cōḷa country by venerable Buddhappiya, a student of the venerable Ānanda Thera who resided on the island of Lanka. They say that Buddhappiya was from Sri Lanka,

lopañāpanatthan” ti [Rūp C^e 37] vuttaṃ. “sakhāto gass’ e vā’ [Kacc 113] ti ettha ca a ā i ī e ti [hite catunnaṃ sarānaṃ kameṇa lopo” ti (+ ca, Nm) [Rūp C^e 37] vuttaṃ. TATTĪKĀYAṆ ca “saro sare ti avatvā sarā ti bahuvacanaggahaṇaṃ ekekasmim (ekasmim, B^e) sare pare pi (pi om., Nm) antasarānaṃ (anantarānaṃ, B^e) akārādīnaṃ sabbesam pi lopo hoti (hotīti, B^e) tesam bahubhāvāñāpanatthan” ti vuttaṃ. idam vuttaṃ hoti. nemittavantā (nemittantā, Nm) sarā bahavo honti catusaṭṭhimattā. nimittā (nimittantā, Nm) appakā aṭṭh’ eveti tasmā sarā ti bahuvacanaṃ vuttan ti. vuttañ ca. “sareh’ eva sarā pubbā luttā vācī parā ramā” (pareramā, Nm) [SADDA-BINDU v. 3] ti catusaṭṭhi ti vuttaṃ hoti. NYĀSE vuttanayaṇ ca tādisassa payogassa jinavacane adassanato (adissanato, B^e) ti kāraṇaṃ vatvā paṭikkhittaṃ.

¹ Kacc-vaṇṇ (Nm 21; B^e 429)

vijayābhiddhānapuramhi (Paṃyābhikhyātapuramhi, B^e) ussittaddhajasannibhe (ñassittaddhajasannibho, B^e) | laṅkato nandamūlādilenasīmādikehi ca (simā°, B^e) ||

nadīpabbatavāpīhi khettehi (cittehi, B^e) parivārīto | nago abhayagiri ti sabbadisāsu pākāto || haṃsāvātipurindassa pañcasetibhasāmino (pañcasetibha°, B^e) | nattā (nattho, B^e) yo suruccanā (surujanā, B^e) ti nāmena pi (nāmenāsi, B^e) supākāto || akāsi yo etthāvasaṃ rammaṃ devasabhopamaṃ | vasati ettha yo thero sāsanassa hitāvaho || mahāsaddena sahitavijitāvī iti (sahitavijitāvīti, B^e) nāminā | racitā tena therena eṣā KACCĀNAVANṆANĀ ||

² Franke 1902, 25–29. This work is not discussed in Pind 2012.

despite the fact he was the head of a number of monasteries in Coḷa country. It is not possible to give a precise date to the work, although we can say that it is earlier than the Sutta-niddesa, the Kaccāyana-vaṇṇanā, the Kaccāyana-bheda, and Payoga-siddhi; later than the Cūḷa-nirutti-ṭīkā and Nyāsa; and that at the time a pure Buddhism was still in existence in Coḷa country. The Rūpa-siddhi is to the Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa what the Mahā-siddhānta-kaumudī is to the Pāṇini-vyākaraṇa (that is, the Aṣṭādhyāyī) and the Payoga-siddhi is to the Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa. It is possible that this work was composed later than the Moggallāna-vutti and Saddanīti as it is not mentioned by either.¹ This work contains all the sūtras of the Kaccāyana, though it contains a great many procedures for word derivation not mentioned in either the Kaccāyana or Bālāvatāra.

In this work, new conditions have been added to complete certain statements in the Kaccāyana but such additions have been criticized by the author of the Payoga-siddhi. It is said in both the Kaccāyana and Bālāvatāra, for instance, that normally when there has been the elision of any preceding vowel, it is possible for a non-homogeneous (*asavarṇa*) substitute to replace the following vowel [p. 22]. In the Rūpa-siddhi, it is said that there is a non-homogeneous substitute only when the sound “a” is elided: *avaṇṇe eva lutte idha vuttavidhi hotīti daṭṭhabbaṃ* (“One should understand that the operation mentioned here only occurs when there has been the elision of the sound ‘a’”). The Payoga-siddhi, however, rejects the interpretation that it is only when the sound “a” is elided: *avaṇṇe lutte e o honti gāhanisedhanatthaṃ*... (“For the purpose of prohibiting the understanding that there are [substitutes] *e* and *o* [only] when there has been the elision of the sound ‘a’ ...”). Many statements included in the Rūpa-siddhi have also been articulated by the Mahā-siddhānta-kaumudī. The chapter on *ākhyāta* or verbal conjugation in the work is highly useful. The Nāma-varanāgilla, a work on nominal declension that is used nowadays, has also been compiled from the Rūpa-siddhi. The Rūpa-siddhi also uses mnemonic verses as examples taken

¹ While the Rūpa-siddhi is not mentioned in the Moggallāna-vutti, it is a source for the Moggallāna-pañcīkā and its date is therefore earlier than that of the Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa (c. twelfth century). In this regard, see Gornall 2014, 520–21. Franke (1902–1903, 121) makes the same error as Subhūti and dates the Rūpa-siddhi after the Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa.

from the Cūḷa-nirutti-ṭīkā. As with the Kaccāyana, there are eight chapters in the work. The size of the work is more than seventeen recitations (*bhāṇavāra*) long. The Russian scholar named Minayeff who translated and published the Pāṭimokkha has now translated this work into his language (Russian) and is trying to get it published too.

There are a commentary and two Sinhala glosses (*sannaya*) for this work.¹ It appears that the commentary (no. 8) was composed later than the Sadda-nīti and yet earlier than the Nirutti-mañjūsā. The commentary has also quoted statements from the Nyāsa, Sandhi-nirutti-ppakaraṇa, and the Mahā-sandhi-ppakaraṇa and has raised objections to some of the statements in the Nyāsa. The commentary states, for instance, that one should not accept the statement in the *Nyāsa* that the plural of *sarā* in “*sarā sare lopam*” (Kacc 12) has the purpose of eliding several vowels simultaneously: *yaṃ pana nyāse vuttaṃ ekasmiṃ sare dviticitunnam pi lopo hotīti nāpanatthan ti taṃ na gahetabbaṃ tādisassa payogassa jinavacane adassanato ...* (“One should not accept the statement in the *Nyāsa* that ‘[Kaccāyana says *sarā*] for the purpose of indicating that the elision of two, three, or four vowels also occurs [simultaneously]’, since such a usage is not found in the discourses of the Conqueror”). It is not said in what country or by whom the commentary was composed and there are no benedictory verses at the beginning.^{xii}

The Sinhala gloss (*sannaya*) named Sandeha-vighātānī (no. 9) is the largest of the two Sinhala glosses but the copy that survives in the country at present only goes up to the *kāraka* chapter. Although the work is incomplete, the section that is available is more useful than the other *sannaya* and is larger than it too. The Sandeha-vighātānī explains the meaning of words and also in many places it provides an analysis of the words and the ideas behind them. In some places, it quotes from Pāṇini and the Saddattha-cintā [p. 23]. It is not possible to know at what time or by whom it was composed, though it can be ascertained that it was written after the other complete *sannaya*.

The complete *sannaya* (no. 10) was composed no more recently than four hundred years ago since it is quoted in the Pañcīkā-pradīpaya.

¹ See Franke 1902, 29. Franke only mentions the existence of a manuscript of the Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā. No further information is given about this work and no mention is made of its Sinhala commentaries.

Although it is referred to as the “complete *sannaya*”, as it continues until the final section, it does not explain the meaning of all the words in the Rūpa-siddhi in order and omits explanations of some of the words in the middle of sections. The size of the complete work is forty recitations. The opening statement in the older *sannaya* is as follows:

For the purpose of giving the five (items of information about the composition)¹ such as its name, etc., at the beginning of the work, paying homage to the triple gem first, the venerable teacher Buddhappiya commences with two verses, the beginning of which is *visuddhasaddharma* etc.²

The opening statement of the Sandeha-vighātānī is as follows:

In order to produce a work called the PADA-RŪPA-SIDDHI so that the dim-witted who have accumulated much merit may understand grammar, he first pays homage to the teachers for the purpose of removing the various perils, such as retribution, anger and death, which stand as impediments for the successful completion of the work as desired and for the purpose of accruing benefits such as the insight of wisdom. Praise is given at the beginning since, by means of such praise, the special virtues of teachers are established and, by the practice of such special virtues, one’s worthiness of praise is established, and, by one’s worthiness of praise, the (practice) of praise spreads, and, due to wide-spread praise, one’s duties will be fulfilled as desired. Therefore, paying homage first, [Buddhappiya] utters the verse *visuddhadhamma* etc.³

¹ The Mogg-pt (B^c 2, 9-12) describes the five components of an introduction as (1) paying homage to the triple gem (*ratanaṭṭayappaṇāma*), (2) mentioning the author of the work (*ganthakattu*), (3) the supports for the work (*ganthaniṣṣaya*), (4) the benefits for undertaking the work (*ganthārambhaphala*), and (5) the name of the work (*abhidheya*).

² Rūp-psn (Nm 23; C^e 1):

prakaraṇārambhayehi ratnatraya praṇāma pūrvakavū saṃjñādi pañcakaya dakvanu piṇisa buddhapriyācāryyapādayanvisin visuddhasaddharma yanādi gāthādvaya prārabdhavī.

³ Sandeha-vighātānī (Nm 23; C^e 1):

anupacita puṇyasamhāra āti mandabuddhīṅgē śabdalaṅkaṣaṇāva bodhaya piṇisa PADARŪPASIDDHI nam prakaraṇayak kaṭāṭi va prārambhayehi yathādhipreta prakaraṇayāgē parisamāptiyāta vibandhaka vū upapīcācāpāghātādi na-ikāntarāyangē nivāraṇaya da prajñāvagē pāṭavaya da yana evamādi prayōjana saṃsiddhiya piṇisa śāstrī praṇāmaya dakvanuvō stuti pūrvāṅgama (pūrvāṅgama,

The opening verses of the Rūpa-siddhi are as follows:

Bowing down to the Conqueror — the sole sun in the three Buddha realms, who possesses a thousand rays of pure Dhamma and has risen over the Yugandhara mountain of perfect enlightenment — to the true Dhamma and the Saṅgha, and paying homage to the teacher, Kaccāyana, I will create in the proper manner, by relying on the commentary on KACCĀYANA, a clear and well-composed PADA-RŪPA-SIDDHI for the purpose of educating beginners.¹

Its closing verses are as follows:²

This correct RŪPA-SIDDHI was composed by a monk named Buddhappiya, also known as Dīpaṅkara — a student of the excellent teacher Ānanda *thera*, who was like a standard for Tambapaṇṇi (Laṅkā) — he (Dīpaṅkara) was renowned like a lamp in the Damiḷa country, and being the chief incumbent of two monasteries including Bālādicca, caused the religion to shine forth [p. 24].³

Nm) praṇāmayēn śāstrhugē viśiṣṭa guṇayogaya da viśiṣṭaguṇayogayēn praṇāmārha (praṇāmārabhya, Nm) bhāvaya da praṇāmārha (praṇāmārabhya, Nm) bhāvayēn praṇāmāyāgē kṣetragata bhāvaya (prabhāvaya, Nm) da kṣetragata praṇāmayēn yathādhipreta kāryyāgē niṣṭhāva da siddha vana heyin stuti pūrvaṅgama (pūrvāgama, Nm) koṭa “visuddhasaddhamma pe” yanādi (yana, Nm) gāthāva kihū.

¹ Rūp (Nm 23; C^e 1):

visuddhasaddhammasahassadīhitim | subuddhasambodhiyugandharoditam ||
tibuddhahettekadvākaram jinaṃ | saddhammasaṅghaṃ sirasā hi vandiya
(abhivandiya, C^e) || kaccāyanañ cācariyaṃ namitvā | nissāya KACCĀYANA-
vaṇṇanādīṃ || bālappabodhattham ujum karissaṃ | vyattaṃ sukaṇḍaṃ
(sukhaṇḍaṃ, Nm) PADARŪPASIDDHIM ||

² This translation is adapted from Liyanaratne (1983, p. 115).

³ Rūp (Nm 23; Rūp-ps C^e 444):

vikhyātānandatheravhayavaragurūnaṃ tambapaṇṇidhajānaṃ (°bbajānaṃ,
Nm) | sisso dīpaṅkarākhyo damilavasumatī (°ākhyaddamiḷa°, Rūp-ps C^e)
dīpaladdhappakāso || bālādiccādivāsadvitayam adhivasam (idha vasam, Rūp-ps
C^e) sāsaṇaṃ jotayī yo | so ’yaṃ buddhappiyavho yati imam ujukaṃ
RŪPASIDDHIM (rūpasiddhiyaṃ, Nm) akāsi ||

11. BĀLĀVATĀRA¹

This is the smallest work for the Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa that teaches the procedure for the derivation of words (*padasiddhikrama*). It is not as useful as the Kaccāyana and Rūpa-siddhi for the study of Pali grammar, since it was composed in an abridged form for ease of learning. Its *kāraka* section, however, is more useful and extensive than the *kāraka* chapters in all the other works. The work takes grammatical examples as its basis (rather than the *sūtras*) and, this being so, many of the *sūtras* of the Kaccāyana are not given as there is the inclusion of only those *sūtras* needed to form the examples. Included in the work, however, are many important and useful examples not given in the Kaccāyana. The Bālāvatāra has also quoted from the Saddattha-cintā of Ratnaśrījñāna verses such as *addabbabhūtaṃ kattādi* etc.²

The chapter on *uṇādi* suffixes given in the Kaccāyana is missing in this work. One's understanding of Pali grammar will be very limited if one only fully studies the Bālāvatāra and not the Kaccāyana, etc. This work has been used to study Pali grammar in Sri Lanka for a long time, though in Burma and Thailand it is the Kaccāyana that is used. This work has three *sannayas*, namely, the Liyana-sannaya, the Balana-sannaya, and the Gaḍalādeṇi-sannaya, a commentary on difficult words (*gūtapadaya*), and two other commentaries, though, of those, the commentary^{xiii} that was composed in Burma is difficult to find. The **Liyana-sannaya (no. 12)** is a translation into Sinhala by a venerable Thera, who was a student of the venerable Mahā Thera Saṅgharāja Saraṇaṅkara, of the grammatical procedures given in the Bālāvatāra for deriving words and examples. Although there are a few mistakes in it, it is a very useful work for beginners. It begins as follows:

Paying homage three times to the Buddha, whose eyes are like open lotus flowers, I will compose the BĀLĀVATĀRA to aid the understanding of beginners.

¹ See Franke 1902, 24–25. Franke ascribes the work to a certain Dhammakitti Saṅgharāja and places this author in the reigns of Bhuvanekabāhu V and Vīrabāhu III (1372–1410). For more on this author, see Liyanaratne 1983, 52.

² On this work see, Dimitrov 2016, 565–98.

This is the opening of the work. This commentary was composed so that the good people who wish to learn the other *śāstras* and who are possessed of faithful intellect and who are devoted to and desire the growth and prosperity of the Buddha's teaching may understand without effort the grammatical procedures for the derivation of the words, in (examples) such as *lokaggo buddho*, in the book called the BĀLĀVATĀRA [p. 25]. The composition of this commentary was undertaken in accordance with grammatical science, having examined the grammatical procedures for the derivation of words in the SANDHI-KAPPA [i.e. Kaccāyana] and RŪPA-SIDDHI etc., by a monk named Dhammajoti, a resident of the Okaṇḍapola monastery and pupil of the lord of ascetics, known as Vāliṅga Piṇḍapātika Saraṇaṅkara, who had risen to the position of *saṅgharāja* and who had thoroughly understood metrics, lexicography, grammar, Dhamma, and Vinaya, who possessed such virtues as moral behaviour, and who was renowned in his own country and abroad.¹

The **Balana-sannaya (no. 13)** is a *sannaya* that explains the meaning of words in the Bālāvatāra. The **Gaḍalādeṇi-sannaya (no. 14)** is a precious *sannaya* composed by a venerable elder who lived in the Gaḍalādeṇi monastery, which explains the meaning of words (*padārtha*) and, in some places, the sense of the underlying ideas (*bhāvārtha*). It includes important facts from Sanskrit texts such as Pāṇini. It is also the most useful and important work among those texts that help us understand the Bālāvatāra. In the Burmese manuscripts it is said that the name of the author of the Bālāvatāra is Dhammakitti. Since the Kaccāyana-sāra-ṭīkā, the Saddattha-bheda-cintā and the Sutta-niddesa (of the venerable

¹ Liyana-sannaya (Nm 24–25):

buddhaṃ tidhābhivanditvā buddhambujavilocanaṃ |
 BĀLĀVATĀRAM bhāsissaṃ bālānaṃ buddhivuddhiyā ||
 yana mē grantha pramukha BĀLĀVATĀRAMVŪ prakaraṇayāgē lokaggo buddho
 yanādi padasiddhi kramaya buddhaśāsanābhivṛddhi varddhanayehi tatpara
 saddhābuddhisampannāśeṣaśāstrābhilāsī kalyāṇajanayanta nirāyāsayēn dāna-
 gannā piṇisa svadeśa deśāntara prasiddha silācāra guṇagaṇāṅgasamgata
 chandas nighaṇḍu vyākaraṇa dharmmavinayādyarthayan manākoṭa dattāvū
 vāliṅga piṇḍapātika saraṇaṅkarāvhapratita saṅgharāja sthānāntarayāta prāpta
 yatīśvarayanvahansēgē śiṣyavū okaṇḍapola ārāmaṇvāsī dhammajotinam
 bhikṣukenekunvisin SANDHIKAPPA RŪPASIDDHYĀDIYEHI padasiddhikramaya
 vimaśā balā śabdaśāstrānukula koṭa mema vyākhyāṇaya kirīmaṭa prārambha
 kaḷō.

Chapaṭa Thera) mention the work by name and quote verses and examples from it, the Bālāvatāra appears to be older than these works and must be more than six hundred years old.^{xiv} We cannot be certain if it is more or less than a hundred years older than the Sutta-niddesa. I suspect that this work is older than the Rūpa-siddhi, though there are no facts to prove it. It is said in the final verses that there are seven chapters in the Bālāvatāra, namely, (1) *sandhi*, which is a combination of *sandhi* and *saññā* (technical terms), (2) *nāma* (nominal declension), (3) *samāsa* (compounding), (4) *taddhita* (nominal derivatives), (5) *ākhyāta* (verbal conjugation), (6) *kitaka* (verbal derivatives), and (7) *kāraka* (semantico-syntactic relations), and that the work is more than four recitations (*bhāṇavāra*) long:

There are seven chapters in the BĀLĀVATĀRA, namely, (1) *sandhi*, (2) *nāma*, (3) *samāsa*, (4) *taddhita*, (5) *ākhyāta*, (6) *kitaka*, and (7) *kāraka*. The complete work is in excess of four recitations long. May the BĀLĀVATĀRA increase the understanding of the people [p. 26].¹

15. BĀLĀVATĀRA-ṬĪKĀ²

The Bālāvatāra-ṭīkā was written in Sri Lanka but we do not know who wrote it. It is also not a very old work. It has quoted certain statements from the Nyāsa-ṭīkā, the Sadda-nīti, the Sutta-niddesa, the Kaccāyanabheda-ṭīkā, the Vinaya-vinicchaya-ṭīkā, and also from a grammatical work known as the Bījākhyā. The work's prose is not so elegant in some places. The author, though, has commented on both the words and the meanings and he has taken a lot of trouble to give extensive explanations of some of the sections of the work that he has understood clearly and to provide an analysis of the words in each *sūtra*. The size of the work is equivalent to the Bālāvatāra-sannaya, that is, not less than twenty-four recitations.

¹ Bālāv (Nm 25; I^e 295):

sandhi nāmaṃ samāso ca taddhitākhyātikam tathā |
kitakam kārakam kaṇḍā (ty addhā, I^e) satta bālāvatār' ime ||
sātīrekehi catuḥ bhāṇavārehi niṭṭhito |
BĀLĀVATĀRO janatābuddhivuḍḍhiṃ karotu hi ||

² Franke (1902, 24) mentions the existence of a *ṭīkā* but provides no further details.

The commentary on the *sūtra* “*nyattatā bhāve tu*” (Kacc 362, “And the [suffixes] *-ṇya*, *-tta*, and *-tā* occur in the sense of ‘condition’”) is as follows:

nyattatā: this is one [word], **bhāve**: this is one, **tu**: this is one. According to the division of words on the basis of their case ending, this *sūtra* should be considered to have three words. Out of the [different types of] *sūtra*, namely, (1) a rule defining a technical term (*saññā-[sutta]*), (2) a meta-rule (*paribhāsā-[sutta]*), etc., one should understand this to be an operational rule (*vidhi-sutta*). **bhāve tu**: in the sense of “condition” (*bhāva*). **nyattatā**: the meaning is “there is the suffix *-ṇya*, the suffix *-tta* and the suffix *-tā*”. In [the *sūtra*] the word *tu* has a conjunctive sense. **bhāva** is that due to which cognition (*buddhi*) and language (*sadda*) arise (*bhavanti*). **Due to which**: due to that which is the cause of the use of a word (*sadda-ppavatti-nimitta*). To explain, it is said:

A suffix in the sense of “condition” (*bhāva*) expresses whatever causes cognition (*buddhi*) and language (*sadda*) to arise.

In the RŪPA-SIDDHI, however, it is said that “*-ṇya*, *-tta*, and *-tā* designate a characteristic (*guṇa*) whose condition (*bhāva*) causes the use of a word with respect to a particular thing (*dabba*).” In this [statement], **a characteristic whose** means “a qualifier (*visesana*) whose” and **with respect to a particular thing** means “with respect to a qualified thing (*visesya*)”. It is said that “there are twelve suffixes used in the sense of a condition (*bhāva*) of a particular (*dabba*)” and, thus, with the exception of the five suffixes appointed by the *sūtras*,¹ the remaining suffixes, namely, *ttanaṃ*, *tthaṃ*, *tvam*, *tatvaṃ*, *ṇika*, *ṇiya*, and *ṇīla*, are to be understood from the mention of *tu* (and/but). In this connection, the BĪJĀKHYĀ states:

The *sūtra* teaches that there are five suffixes that are used with respect to nominal derivatives in the sense of “condition” (*bhāva*). The experts in nominal derivatives (*taddhita*) teach the remaining *sūtras* by means of the word *tu*.

In the KACCĀYANA, however, only the suffix *-ttana* is understood by means of implication. The NYĀSA-TĪKĀ, though, states that there are eleven suffixes, yet elsewhere it states that there are eight suffixes. The RŪPA-SIDDHI states that:

by splitting the rule into two, (thereby isolating) *nyattatā*, the suffixes *-ṇya*, etc., can also occur in the sense of the

¹ Namely, *ṇya-tta-tā* (Kacc 362), *ṇa* (Kacc 363) and *kaṇ* (Kacc 364).

object of an action (*kamma*) and in the sense of the nominal base (*sakattha*). With respect to the object of an action, the object of the action of heroes (*vīra*) is heroism (*virīya*). Likewise, there is “wife” (*bhāriya*), “dancing” (*nātya*), and “medicine” (*bhesajja*), etc. ... With respect to the sense of the nominal base (*sakattha*), *kāruṇṇa* (compassion) simply means *karuṇā* (compassion). Likewise, there is *pattakalla* (the right time) [p. 27] and *pāguṇṇa* (competent).

The suffix *-Nya* occurs in the sense of the nominal base among others (*ādi*) and *-tā* occurs [only] in the sense of the nominal base.¹

The cause of the use of words, whether it be a name (*nāma*), universal (*jāti*), particular (*dabba*), action (*kriyā*), or quality (*guṇa*), is that condition (*bhāva*) due to which there is speech (*sadda*) and cognition (*ñāṇa*).

The syntactic construction [of the verse is as follows]: “That condition (*bhāva*) on account of which speech (*sadda*) and cognition (*ñāṇa*) arise is the cause of the use of words, whether it be a (1) name (*nāma*), (2) universal (*jāti*), (3) particular (*dabba*), (4) action (*kriyā*) or (5) quality (*guṇa*).” The import (of the verse is as follows): “that cause (*nimitta*) by which both speech and understanding arise is called a ‘condition’ (*bhāva*), and also that is fivefold, viz. name (*nāma*), universal (*jāti*), particular (*dabba*), action (*kriyā*) or quality (*guṇa*).” I will explain the details of the five-fold division, that is, name, etc., later under the topic of *kāraka*.

(1) The condition of the moon (*canda*), that is, moonness (*candatta*), [is a name (*nāma*)] and, in this connection, it is due to the name that the word “moon” refers to a particular moon. Cognition [arises] in accordance with the nature of the cause (i.e. the name). The import is that “the word ‘moon’ does not refer to a particular moon due to a universal (*jāti*), quality (*guṇa*) or action (*kriyā*) and that cognition arises only in accordance with the nature of the proper name (*saññā*), [which is the cause of the use of the word ‘moon’], and not in accordance with the nature of a universal, etc.” The cause for the use of words is called “a cause for the application of words” (*sadda-ppavatti-nimitta*). When a word refers to a particular it is called a “signifier of a particular”

¹ This sentence (*sakatthādīsū nyo sakatthe tā ca sakatthādīsū pi nyappaccayo sakatthe tāppaccayo ca hontī ti*), as recorded in Subhūti’s transcription, appears to restate the same information twice with the simple addition of the word suffix (*paccaya*) in the second half of the sentence. This being so, we take this to be a scribal error and we have simply given the sense of the statement in our translation without duplication.

(*dabbavācakatta*). When cognition occurs with respect to a particular it is called “arising in the sphere of a particular” (*dabbavisaye uppādo*). One should also understand it in this way later [in this work].

(2) Likewise, human-ness (*manussatta*) is due to the universal “human” (*manussajāti*), and it is in connection with that that the word “human” (*manussa*) designates a particular type of human. Cognition of the universal arises in accordance with the nature of the universal, which is a cause for the use of the [word denoting] the universal “human” (*manussa*), and it does not arise due to name, etc.

(3) By means of the *sūtra* “*yad*” etc. (Kacc 393, *yadanupapannā nipātānā sijjhanti* (“Those words that cannot be derived are to be established as given”), there is a shortening of the sound *ī* of the word *dabbī* (“he who has a particular”) [in the expression *dabbitta* “the condition of possessing a particular”]. The “condition of possessing a particular” (*dabbitta*) is due to the relationship between a particular and [another] particular, and it is in connection with that that there is the word *dabbī* (“he who possesses a particular”), since *dabbī* means “he who has a particular” (*dabbo assa atthi*). Cognition arises only with the relationship between a particular and [another] particular as its cause, in accordance with the nature of the relationship between a particular and the possessor of the particular that is a cause. It does not arise due to the name of a particular, such as a particular with the name “Devadatta”.

(4) Cook/chef-ness (*pācakatta*) is due to the relationship [between a particular] and the act of cooking (*pacana*), and it is in connection with that that there is the word “cook” (*pācaka*) since *pācaka* means “he who cooks” (*pacati*). Cognition arises with the relationship with the act of cooking as its cause, in accordance with the nature of the relationship with the act of cooking that is a cause. It does not arise due to a name, etc., [used] with respect to a particular [person], such as Devadatta, who is connected to the act of cooking (*pacana*).

(5) Blueness (*nīlatta*) is due to blue quality (*nīla-guṇa*), and it is in connection with that that there is the word “blue” (*nīla*). The cognition of blue arises in accordance with the nature of the quality blue which has become a cause, and it does not arise due to a name, etc., [used] in connection with a particular, such as a pot which has the colour blue.¹

¹ Bālāv-ṭ (Nm 26-27):

ṇyattatā ti ekaṃ, **bhāve** ti ekaṃ, **tu** ti ekaṃ. vibhatyantapadavibhāgavasena tipadam idaṃ suttam. saññā paribhāsā — pe — suttesu vidhisuttan ti daṭṭhabbam. **bhāve tu** ti bhāvatthe. **ṇyattatā** ti nyappaccayattappaccaya-tāppaccayā honṭi ti attho. idha tusaddo samuccayattho. bhavanti buddhisaddā etasmā ti **bhāvo**. **etasmā** ti saddappavattinimittato. tathāhi vuttam

The opening verses of the *Bālāvatāra-tīkā* are as follows:

Paying homage to the enlightened sun (i.e. the Buddha), who has risen

yena yena nimittena buddhisaddo ca vattate |
taṃ taṃ nimittakaṃ bhāvapaccayena udīritan ti ||

RŪPASIDDHI-ĀDISU pana yassa guṇassa hi bhāvo dabbe saddasanniveso tadabhidhāne nyattatā ti vuttaṃ. tattha **yassa guṇassā** ti yassa visesanassa, **dabbe** ti visesye. dabbabhāve dvādasapaccayā ti vuttatā suttehi vihita-pañcapaccaye ṭhapetvā sesā — ttanaṃ, tthaṃ, tvam, tatvam, nika, ṇiya, ṇīla, ime suttapaccayā tuggahaṇena saṃgahetabbā. tenāha BUJĀKHYAM:

desitā pañca suttana paccayā bhāvataddhite |
suttasesā tu-saddena desitā taddhitaññunā ti ||

KACCĀYANE pana upalakkhaṇavasena ttanapaccayo va gahito. nyāsaṭikāyam pana ekādasapaccayā ti vuttaṃ aññattha aṭṭhapaccayā ti. RŪPASIDDHIYAM “nyattatā ti yogavibhāgena kammani sakatthe ca nyādayo. kammani vīraṇaṃ kammaṃ viriyaṃ bhāriyaṃ nātyaṃ bhesajjaṃ” icc ādi. “sakatthe karuṇā eva kāruṇṇaṃ pattakallaṃ pāguṇṇaṃ” icc ādi. sakatthādisu nyo sakatthe tā ca sakatthādisu pi nyappaccayo sakatthe tāppaccayo ca hontī ti.

honty asmā saddaṇṇāni ti bhāvo so saddavuttiyā |
nimittabhūtaṃ nāmañ ca jāti dabbam kriyā guṇo ||

asmā saddaṇṇāni hontī ti bhāvo so saddavuttiyā nimittabhūtaṃ nāmañ ca jāti dabbam kriyāguṇo ti yojanā. yena kāraṇena saddaṇṇaṇubho hontī so bhāvo nāma, so pi nāma jātidabbakriyāguṇavasena pañcako ti adhippāyatto. nāmādinam pañcakānam lakkhaṇam upari kārakāvattthāyam pakāsissam. yathā candassa bhāvo candattaṃ iha nāmasā candasaddo candadabbe vattate. nimittassarūpānugatañ ca ṇṇaṃ. ayaṃ candasaddo jātito vā guṇato vā kriyato vā candadabbe na pavattati. ṇṇaṃ jātyādisarūpānusārena appavattitvā saññā-sarūpen’ eva pavattati adhippāyo. saddappavattinimittaṃ nāma sadda-payogassa kāraṇam. saddo dabbe pavatti nāma dabbavācakkattam, ṇṇaṃ dabbe pavatti nāma dabbavisaye uppādo ti. upari pi evaṃ datṭhabbam. evaṃ manussattan ti manussajātivāsā idha manussasaddo manussalakkhaṇadabbe. nāmādinā appavattitvā manussajātipavattinimittabhūtajātisarūpa-anugatañṇaṃ jātiyā pavattati. yadādisuttana (Kacc 393) dabbisaddassa ikārassa rasso. dabbittan ti dabbadabbasambandhā iha dabbisaddo dabbo assa atthī ti dabbī ti vuttatā. dabbena yuttadevadattādidabbanāmādinā appavattitvā dabbadabbassa sambandho yeva, nimittaṃ katvā pavattitañṇaṃ nimittabhūtaṃ dabbidabbasambandhasarūpam anuvattati. pācakattan ti pacanakriyāsambandhā iha pācakasaddo pacatī ti pācako ti vuttatā. pākakriyāya yuttadevadattādidabbe nāmādinā appavattitvā (+ pacanakriyāya yuttadevadattādidabbe nāmādinā appavattitvā, Nm) pacanakriyāya sambandhanimittaṃ katvā pavattitañṇaṃ nimittabhūtapacanakriyāsambandhasarūpānusārena pavattati. nīlattan ti nīlaguṇavasā iha nīlasaddo. nīlaguṇayuttapaṭādidabbe nāmādinā appavattitvā nīla-ñṇaṃ (nīlaguṇam, Nm) nimittabhūtanīlādiguṇasarūpam anuvattati.

in the sky of the world, to the Dhamma, a light that has struck through the darkness of delusion and spread, and to the virtuous Saṅgha, which is a source of merit etc., I will compose this commentary on the words of the BĀLĀVATĀRA [p. 28].¹

16. CŪĀ-NIRUTTI²

There are two works that have this name. One of these is a very old work composed by venerable Yamaka Mahā Thera. The Cūḷa-nirutti must be even older than the Nyāsa, which is one of the oldest works among the extant Pali grammatical texts, since the Nyāsa mentions it by name. There is also a commentary on the Cūḷa-nirutti called the “Mañjūsā”, which appears to be older than the Rūpa-siddhi, since the latter quotes examples from this work, such as the following verse:

Addressing (*āmantaṇa*) means getting the attention of an existent thing by means of a word. But there is not [the use of the vocative] when [someone] is being ordered. [For instance,] *rājā bhava* (“Become king!”).³

The older Cūḷa-nirutti states that there are only forty sounds (*akṣara*) in the Pali language and omits retroflex “ḷ”: “*akkharāni samacattālīsa ti vidham*”. Some verses from the work are as follows:

The grammarians teach that the manifest [sound] called the *niggahīta* is thought to be the connector between consonants and vowels. The sounds and the number [of sounds] are included by means of the word *api*. He (Kaccāyana) therefore uttered (*pakāseti*) the excellent word *api* in the middle [of the *sūtra*] (?).⁴ The articulation [of sounds] is

¹ Bālāv-ṭ (Nm 27):

lokambare uditabuddhasahassaramsi |
mohandhakārahatapatthaṭadhammam ābham ||
puññākārādiguṇasamgham aham namitvā |
BĀLĀVATĀRAPADAVANNAN’ imam karissam ||

² See Franke 1902, 29; Pind 2012, 107–10. Franke only mentions that the work is discussed by Subhūti. Pind (2012, 107) dates the work to the “second half of the ninth century”.

³ Rūp (Nm 28, C^e 506, 5–6):

saddenābhimukhikāro vijjamānassa vatthuno |
āmantaṇam vidhātābbe n’atthi rājā bhaveti tan ti (bhava iti, Nm) ||

⁴ Ole Pind (2012, p. 107) has contended that Cūḷ-nir is a commentary on the Kacc. In support, this passage quoted by Subhūti from the Cūḷ-nir seems to be

four-fold, viz. (1) full contact (*phuṭṭhatta*), (2) slight contact (*īsaphuṭṭhatta*), (3) closed (*saṃvuta*), and (4) open (*vivaṭa*). The class consonants (*vagga*) have full contact [of the instruments] of articulation, i.e. tip of the tongue, middle of the tongue, etc., and *ya*, *ra*, *la*, and *va* have a slight contact [of the instrument of articulation]. All long [vowels] have an open [instrument of articulation] and short [vowels] have a closed [instrument of articulation]. The first of the class consonants are considered to be without breath (*anādavanta*) and very hot (*atyunha*) (?).¹ The second of the class consonants are considered to be with breath (*nādavanta*) and hot (*uṇhavanta*) (?). The third and fifth of the class consonants are with breath and very hot, and the fourth of the class consonants is also with breath and hot (?).²

17. ABHINAVA-CŪĻA-NIRUTTI³

The *Abhinava-cūḷa-nirutti*, that is, the “New” *Cūḷa-nirutti*, is a small work composed sometime after the *Nyāsa* by the venerable Sirisaddhammālaṅkāra Thera. It teaches new procedures for the derivation of words (not mentioned in the *Kaccāyana*) that are based on the

commenting, in part, on Kacc 2 *akkharā p’ ādayo ekacattālisaṃ*. The reference to the word *api* (*apikāra*) only makes some sort of sense in relation to the word *pi* in Kacc 2.

¹ As far as we are aware, the technical terms *nādavanta/anādavanta* (lit. with/without voice) and *unha/atyunha* (lit. hot/very hot, Sk. *uṣṇā*) are unique to the *Cūḷa-nirutti*. It is unclear to us in what sense these technical terms are being used.

² *Cūḷ-nir* (Nm 28):

byañjanānaṃ sarānaṃ tu sādharānaṃ idaṃ matāṃ |
 niggaḥitaṃ nāma jātaṃ niruttaññūhi desitaṃ ||
 akkharāni ca saṃkhyā api-kārena gaṇhitā |
 tasmā majjhe pakāseti api-kāraṃ anuttaraṃ ||
 phuṭṭhattaṃ īsaphuṭṭhattaṃ saṃvutaṃ pi tath’ eva ca |
 vivaṭaṃ cāpi vaṇṇānaṃ karaṇaṃ taṃ catubbidhaṃ ||
 phuṭṭhakarāṇā siyūṃ vaggā yaraḷavā tu īsakā |
 dīghā ca vivaṭā sabbe rassa saṃvutakā ime ||
 anādavanta atyuṇho vaggānaṃ paṭhamo mato |
 uṇhavanta ca nādo vaggānaṃ dutiyo mato ||
 nādavanta atyuṇho ca tatiyo pi ca pañcamaṃ |
 uṇho ca nādavanta ca tesam eva catutthakaṃ ||

³ Franke (1902, 29) mentions the existence of this work and also names its author as Sirisaddhammālaṅkāra Thera. See also Pind 2012, 107.

interpretation of “ca” and “vā” in the *Kaccāyana sūtras*. A few of the *sūtras* are explained in this work as follows:

sarā sare lopam (Kacc 12, Vowels before a vowel are to be elided): The mention of the singular [**sare**] has the purpose [p. 29] of excluding the mention of all [vowels] (?). In order to include consonants (*byañjana*), there is **sarā sare lopam** and **byañjanāni byañjane lopam** (?). For instance, *mohanassa* (“of delusion”) + *khassa* (“of a cavern”?) + *mālā* (“garland”) = *mekhalā* (“a girdle”); *bhavesu* (“among lives”) + *vantagamano* (“he who has renounced journeying”) = *bhagavā* (“the Blessed One”).

kvacāsavaṇṇam lutte (Kacc 14, When [the preceding vowel] has been elided, [the following vowel] sometimes turns into a non-homogeneous vowel): Why is **lutte** mentioned? The mention of **lutte** indicates that, when the preceding vowel has been elided, the following vowel turns into a non-homogeneous vowel. For instance: *muni* (sage) + *ālayo* (“abode”) = *munelayo* (“home of sages”), *īsi* (rishi) + *ālayo* (“abode”) = *iselayo* (“home of the rishis”), *rathi* (“charioteer”) + *āsabho* (“bull/chief”) = *rathesabho* (“lord of charioteers”).

simhi gacchantādīnam antasaddo am (Kacc 186, When the [nom. sg. suffix] *-si* follows, the *-anta* sound of *gacchanta* etc. becomes *-am*): By splitting the rule into two (i.e. by separating *simhi*), five different readings should be understood: When the [nom. pl. suffix] *-yo* follows, the *-anta* sound of *gacchanta* etc. becomes *-am*.... When the [abl. sg. suffix] *-smā* follows, the *-anta* sound of *gacchanta*, etc., becomes *-am*. [For example:] “the travelling (*gacchanta* or *gaccham*) wise men meet” (nom. pl.), *gaccham* or *gacchantena* (inst. sg.), *gaccham* or *gacchantānam* (dat. pl.), “from the travelling (*gaccham* or *gacchantasmā*) person” (abl. sg.). By the mention of *ādi* (“etc.”), the *-anta* sound can also turn into *-anti*. Thus, *gaccham* or *gacchanti*.

sesesu ntu va (Kacc 187, When the remaining case endings follow, the sound *-anta* should be treated like *-ntu*): By splitting the rule into two (i.e. separating *sesesu*), words ending in *-anta*, except *gacchanta*, can also be treated like [words ending] in the suffix *-ntu* when the first case suffix follows. For instance: *arahā* (“worthy/Arahant”).

kattari ca (Kacc 288, The third case also occurs in the sense of the grammatical agent): The mention of *ca* (“and”) serves to indicate that the first case also occurs in the semantico-syntactic sense (*kāraka*) of the grammatical agent.

tad assātthi ti vī ca (Kacc 366, The suffix *-vī* occurs in the sense of “this is his”): The mention of *ca* (“and”) serves to indicate that the

suffixes *-so*, *-viya*, and *-iva* also occur in the sense of “this is his”. For example: “The family/clan (*kula*) is his, thus he is *kulaso* (‘possessor of the clan’); “The territory (*padesa*) is his, thus he is *padesaviyo* (‘possessor of the territory’); “The wheel (*cakka*) is his, thus he is *cakkivo* (‘possessor of the wheel’)”.

sabbato uṃ iṃsu (Kacc 506, After all [verbal bases], there is [the substitute] *-iṃsu* for the [3rd. pl.] suffix *-uṃ*): The mention of **sabbato** serves to indicate that there are also the substitutes *-aṃsu* and *-esuṃ* for the suffix *-uṃ*. For example: *agamaṃsu* (“they went”), *adaṃsu* (“they gave”), and *pāturaheṣuṃ* (“they appeared”).

bhujādīnaṃ anto no dvi ca (Kacc 580, *na* occurs at the end of the verbal base *bhuj* etc. and [the suffix *-ta*] is doubled): The mention of *ca* (and) serves to indicate that *na* occurs at the end of verbal bases other than *bhuj* etc. For instance: *ramati tāyā ti ratti* (**ratti** “enjoyment”: One enjoys by means of this), *yujjati tāyā ti yutti* (**yutti** “connection”: One is connected by means of this), *vipajjati tāyā ti vipatti* (**vipatti** “misfortune”: One is hindered by means of this).¹

The opening verses of the Abhinava-cūḷa-nirutti are as follows:

¹ Abhinav-cūḷ-nir (Nm 28-29):

sarā sare lopam [Kacc 12] ekavacanaggahaṇena sabbāggahaṇapayojanam kātabbam, byañjanasampiṇḍhanattham sarā sare lopam, byañjanāni byañjane lopam mohanassa + khassa + mālā, mekhalā — bhavesu vattagamano, bhagavā. **kvacāsavaṇṇam lutte** [Kacc 14] lutteggahaṇam kasmā? tena lutteggahaṇena sare pare lutte pubbo saro asavaṇṇam pappoti muni + ālayo = munelayo, isi + ālayo = iselayo, rathi + āsabho = rathesabho. **simhi gacchantādīnaṃ antasaddo aṃ** [Kacc 186] yogavibhāgena pañcavidho pāṭho ñātabbo, yomhi gacchantādīnaṃ antasaddo aṃ, nāmhi gacchantādīnaṃ antasaddo aṃ, namī ... smāhi gacchantādīnaṃ antasaddo aṃ gacchaṃ, gacchanto samāgatā paṇḍitā, gacchaṃ gacchantena, gacchaṃ, *gacchantānaṃ* gacchaṃ, gacchantasmā puggalasmā ādiggaṇena antasaddo antittam āpajjati gacchaṃ gacchanti. **sesesu ntu va** [Kacc 187] yogavibhāgavasena paṭhamā-vibhattipare pi agacchantasaddo ntupaccayo va daṭṭhabbo arahā. **kattari ca** [Kacc 288] casaddaggahaṇena kattari kārake paṭhamā vibhatti hoti puriso kammaṃ karoti. **tadassāthī ti vī ca** [Kacc 366] casaddaggahaṇena so-viya-iva-paccayā honti tad assāthītye atthe kulaṃ assa atthī ti kulaso, padeso assa atthīti padesaviyo, cakkam assa atthī ti cakkivo. **sabbato uṃ iṃsu** [Kacc 506] sabbatoggahaṇena uṃvibhattissa aṃsu esuṃ ādeso honti agamaṃsu, adaṃsu, pāturaheṣuṃ. **bhujādīnaṃ anto no dvi ca** [Kacc 580] casaddaggahaṇena abhujādīnaṃ dhātūnaṃ anto no hoti ramati tāyā ti ratti, yujjati tāyā ti yutti vipajjati tāyā ti vipatti.

Having first paid homage to the three objects [of veneration] and to Kaccāyana, I will speak about language (*nirutti*). Pay attention to my words. The old work called the CŪLA-NIRUTTI composed by the ancients has been examined (*lakkhita*) by the learned Sirisaddhammā-laṅkāra Thera, who desires merit and cherishes good conduct. Through this merit, may I become a Buddha in the world. By this meritorious act, until I become a Buddha, may I have wisdom like Mahosadha, have wealth like Jotiseṭṭhi, and be charitable like Vessantara in life after life.¹

¹ Abhinav-cūl-nir (Nm 29):

vatthuttayaṃ namassitvā kaccāyanaṃ ca pubbake |
niruttim ahaṃ vakkhāmi vacanaṃ me nibodhatha ||
puññakāmena therena sutena piyasīlinā |
Sirisaddhammālaṅkāra itī nāmena yena hi ||
porāṇehi kataṃ gandhaṃ CŪLANIRUTTISAÑÑITAM |
lakkhitaṃ tena puññena sohaṃ buddho bhava loke ||
iminā puññakamma yāva buddho bhavāṃ' ahaṃ |
Mahosadho va ñāṇena Jotiseṭṭhi va bhoginā |
Vessantaro va dānena hotu mayhaṃ bhavābhava ||

- ⁱ That is to say, “Kātyāyana”. This work is also called the “Vārttikapāṭha”.
- ⁱⁱ *aṭṭhakkharā ekapadaṃ ekā gāthā catuppadaṃ |
gāthā eko mato gantho gantho battiṃsatakkharo ||
battiṃsakkharaganthānaṃ paññāsadvīsatam pana |
bhānavāro mato eko aṭṭhakkharasahassako ||*
“Eight syllables (*akkhara*) make a metrical foot (*pada*), four metrical feet make a verse (*gāthā*), one verse is thought to be a composition (*gantha*) and one composition consists of thirty-two syllables. Two hundred and fifty compositions of thirty-two syllables are thought to be one recitation and one recitation consists of eight thousand syllables.”
- ⁱⁱⁱ The example “*disā bhanti*” is not present in some manuscripts of the Saddanīti and the two examples “*vimissāsaṃ eyya paṇḍito*” and “*sace uppādo heyya*” are included.
- ^{iv} The example *ajjheyāsi* is not found in the Sadda-nīti.
- ^v In some manuscripts there is the reading “*viññāyanti vadanti ca*”.
- ^{vi} *sambuddhāparinibbānāvāsse sahasatikame |
sattāsītipāñcasate rājāhu parakkamabhūjo ||*
Saddhammasaṅgaha.
- ^{vii} In some manuscripts there is the reading “*puṇṇe gaṇe*”.
- ^{viii} In some manuscripts there is the reading “*ca vasse*”.
- ^{ix} In some manuscripts there is the reading “*nibbutā ’maṃ*”.
- ^x In some manuscripts there is the reading “*vikalabuddhijanānukampī*”.
- ^{xi} In many manuscripts there is the reading “*lakkhaṇavisesena yuttattā*”.
- ^{xii} They also state that Buddhappiya was the author of a smaller commentary on the *Rūpa-siddhi*.
- ^{xiii} A Burmese manuscript states that “the Bālāvatāra-ṭīkā was composed by Uttama Thera in Arimaddana city” (*bālāvatāra-ṭīkā arimaddananagare uttamatherena katā*).
- ^{xiv} It is also older than the Saddattha-bheda-cintā and the Kaccāyana-bheda-ṭīkā since the Bālāvatāra is mentioned in them as follows: “*Bālāvatāra-sambandhacintādisu napuṃsakam*”.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abhidh-s-sn C ^e	Abhidharmārtha-saṅgraha-sannaya Siri Pannamoli Tissa, ed., <i>Abhidharmartha Sangrahaya with a Paraphrase</i> . Third edition. Ambalangoda: Wijaya Printing Press, 2469.
Abhidh-s-sv	Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha-saṅkhepa-ṭīkā (Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā)
Abhinav-cūḷ-nir	Abhinava-cūḷa-nirutti
Ap-a E ^e	Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā E. Godakumbara, ed., <i>Apadāna Commentary (Visuddhanavilāsini)</i> . Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1954.
As E ^e	Atthasālinī Edward Müller, ed. <i>The Atthasālinī: Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dhammasaṅgani</i> . London: Henry Frowde, Pali Text Society, 1897.
Bālāv I ^e	Bālāvatāra Svāmi Dvārikādāsaśāstrī, ed., <i>Pāḷivyākaraṇa (Bālāvatāra) [Hindī Anuvādasahita]</i> . Varanasi: Bauddha Bharati, 2007.
Bālāv-ṭ	Bālāvatāra-ṭīkā
Cūḷ-nir	Cūḷa-nirutti
Kacc E ^e	Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa Ole Holten Pind, ed. <i>Kaccāyana</i> . Bristol: The Pali Text Society, 2013.
Kacc-bh-ṭ	Kaccāyana-bheda-ṭīkā
Kacc-s-n C ^e	Kaccāyana-sutta-niddesa M. Medhankara, ed. <i>The Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa</i> . Colombo: Vidyabhusana Press, 1915.
Kacc-vaṇṇ B ^e	Kaccāyana-vaṇṇanā <i>Kaccāyana-vaṇṇanā</i> . Yankon: Zambu Meik Hswei, 1916.
Mmd B ^e	Mukha-matta-dīpanī <i>Nyāsapāth</i> , Yangon: Suddhammavati Press, 1933.

52	<i>Alastair Gornall and Amal Gunasena</i>
Mogg-pd C ^e	Moggallāna-pañcīkā-pradīpaya Śrī Dharmārāma, ed., <i>Maudgalyāyana Pañcīkā Pradīpaya</i> . Colombo: H.C. Cottle, Acting Govt., 1896.
Mogg-pt C ^e	Moggallāna-pañcīkā-ṭīkā Aggadharmābhivamsa Thera, ed. 1955. <i>Moggallāna- pañcīkā-ṭīkā</i> . Yan kon: Zambu Meik Hswei Press.
Nidd I E ^e	Mahāniddeśa L. De La Vallée Poussin and E.J. Thomas, eds., vol. I, London: The Pali Text Society, 1916; vol. II, London: The Pali Text Society, 1917.
Nm	Nāmamālā Vaskaḍuvē Subhūti. <i>Nāmamālā, or A Work on Pali Grammar</i> . Colombo, 1896. Reprint, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2001.
Nir-s-mañj	Nirutti-sāra-mañjūsā
Nyās-pd	Nyāsa-ppadīpa
Rūp B ^e	Rūpa-siddhi Burmese Chatṭha Saṅgāyana edition, CSCD. Igatpuri, India: Vipassana Research Institute, 1999.
C ^e	Baddegama Dhammaratana, ed. <i>Maharupasiddhi by Ven. Chola Buddhapriya Maha Thera with Sandehavighatani, a Sinhalese Paraphrase by an Ancient Great Scholar</i> . Weligama: Sathmina Press, 1936.
Rūp-psn C ^e	Rūpa-siddhi-purāṇa-sannaya Baddegama Dhammaratana, ed. <i>Maha Rupa Siddhi Sanna or Paraphrase of Maha Rupa Siddhi by an Ancient Pandit</i> . Peliyagoda: Satyasamuccaya Press, 1926.
Sadd E ^e	Saddanīti III Helmer Smith, ed. <i>Saddanīti: La Grammaire palie d'Aggavamsa, III Suttamālā (Pariccheda XX-XXVIII)</i> . Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1930.
Saddabindu E ^e	F. Lottermoser, "Minor Pāli Grammar Texts: The <i>Sadda- bindu</i> and Its 'New' Subcommentary." <i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i> XI (1987): 79–109.
Sandeha-vighātānī C ^e	Baddegama Dhammaratana, ed. <i>Maharupasiddhi by Ven. Chola Buddhapriya Maha Thera with Sandehavighatani, a Paraphrase by an Ancient Great Scholar</i> . Weligama: Sathmina Press, 1936.

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Verses of a Dying Arahant: A New Translation and Revised Edition of the Telakaṭāhagāthā

Alastair Gornall and Aleix Ruiz-Falqués

In his 1884 report on the activities of the Pali Text Society, T.W. Rhys Davids lauded the society's publication of Edmund Gooneratne's edition of an anonymously authored poem entitled the Telakaṭāhagāthā or "The Cauldron of Oil Verses". He praised the poem as "so delicate a specimen of mosaic-work Sanskritised Pali" and dated it on stylistic grounds to what he called "the Renaissance period" of Sri Lankan history, that is, around the early second millennium CE when Sanskrit literary models increasingly influenced Sri Lankan literature.¹ The Telakaṭāhagāthā may well date to this period since its author was clearly inspired by Sanskrit aesthetics and literary theory. The poem uses the *vasantatilakā* metre, for instance, and employs a variety of figures of speech prescribed in treatises on Sanskrit poetics. G.P. Malalasekera in *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon* also supports an early second-millennium date for the poem, though he argues that, as it is not "overladen with Sanskritisms", it was composed before the twelfth century before Pali "became contaminated by Sanskrit influence and lost its pristine purity of diction and simplicity".² The poem must have been written before the Dharmapradīpikāva of Gurulugōmī, who is usually dated to the twelfth century, since five of its verses (vv. 78–82) are quoted there.³

The history of the poem's composition becomes far more complex when an eighth-century inscription from Thailand is taken into account.

¹ T.W. Rhys Davids, "Report of the Pali Text Society for 1884", *Journal of the Pali Text Society* (1884): xi.

² G.P. Malalasekera, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon* (Colombo: M.D. Gunasena, 1928), 163.

³ Dharmakīrti Śrī Dharmārāma, ed. *Dharmapradīpikāva* (Colombo: Vidyā-lakṣmī Press, 1951), 105–13. On the date of Gurulugōmī, see Mahinda Deegalle, *Popularizing Buddhism: Preaching as Performance in Sri Lanka* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006), 69. See also Charles Hallisey, "In Defense of Rather Fragile and Local Achievement: Reflections on the work of Gurulugōmī", in *Religion and Practical Reason*, ed. Frank E. Reynolds and David Tracy (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994): 121–60.

Mendis Rohanadeera has noted that the benedictory verses to the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha at the beginning of the eighth-century Noen Sa Bua inscription of Prachinburi are almost identical to the three opening verses of the poem.¹ A certain Buddhasiri installed this inscription in 761 CE. If the Telakaṭāhagāthā influenced the composition of this inscription, then the poem's date would make it the earliest independent work of Sanskrit Pali *kāvya*. It is more likely though that both texts borrowed these verses from a common source. Rather than shedding light then on the provenance of the Telakaṭāhagāthā the Noen Sa Bua inscription only deepens the mystery.

That the Sri Lankan monks who popularised the poem were equally uncertain about its origins is reflected in the elaborate frame story that developed around the work. The story in its most detailed and mature form comes down to us from a thirteenth-century collection of tales, the *Rasavāhinī* (Ras 249,10–250,2), though an earlier reference to a similar story without mention of the composition of the poem is found in the *Mahāvamsa* (Mhv 22,13–20).² In both accounts the dramatic events leading to the death of our author occurred in the reign of King Tissa (306–207 BCE) of Kalyāṇī (Kelaniya). His queen was conducting an affair with his banished brother Uttiya and was communicating with him via a secret messenger disguised as a Buddhist monk. The king found one of these messages, though he mistook the disguised youth as another monk from Kalyāṇī who visited the palace every day for alms. Enraged, the king ordered that the elder from Kalyāṇī should be boiled alive in a cauldron of oil. When the elder was thrown into the boiling cauldron by the palace guards, however, he hovered above it “like a royal *hamsa*” and recited a hundred-verse poem. Upon uttering the last

¹ See Mendis Rohanadeera, “Telakaṭāhagāthā in a Thailand Inscription of 761 A.D.: New Evidence of Cultural Relations Between Sri Lanka and the Dvāravatī Kingdom in Thailand”, *Vidyodaya Journal of Social Sciences* 1.1 (Jan 1987): 59–73; “The Noen Sa Bua Inscription of Dong Si Maha Bo, Prachinburi”, *Journal of the Siam Society* 76 (1988): 89–99; “New Evidence of Cultural Relations between Sri Lanka and the Dvāravatī Kingdom in Thailand”, *Vidyodaya Journal of Social Sciences* 2.1–2 (1988): 47–63.

² See Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), §404.

verse, he gained enlightenment and passed away.¹ In the *Sālalihiṇi-sandeśaya* of Śrī Rāhula (v. 71), a later, fifteenth-century poem, there is mention of a temple that was built in Kalyāṇī to mark the spot where the saint was executed and which is described as a site of veneration for Buddhist pilgrims.² It is due to this frame story that the work has become known as the *Telakaṭāhagāthā*, the “Cauldron of Oil Verses”.³

This dramatic story and the spuriously ancient date of the events it relates can be viewed perhaps as a way of naturalising this strange work within Sri Lankan literary culture. One might imagine that this early specimen of medieval, “mosaic-work Sanskritised Pali” was composed outside of the *Mahāvihāra* and that, upon its reception into orthodox literary circles, its existence and authorship had to be explained in a way that placed this popular work at the heart of tradition. The actual date of the poem, however, remains as uncertain as the identity of the author who composed it.

An overview of the poem’s historical context would not be complete without some mention of eighteenth-century Sri Lanka and the Buddhist literary culture of the reformer monk Vālivīṭa Saraṇaṃkara, as it is from this period and its aftermath that most of the extant manuscripts of the poem originate. The work’s eighteenth-century context also relates to the issue of the poem’s transmission and historical purpose.

If we base our understanding of the poem only on the Pali text, the work can be viewed as a simple hundred-verse overview, a *śataka*, of some of the basic philosophical principles of Buddhism.⁴ It combines

¹ The story as found in the *Rasavāhinī* is translated by Edmund Gooneratne in the preface to the 1884 *JPTS* edition of the *Telakaṭāhagāthā*.

² K.W. De A. Wijesinghe, trans., *Selalihini Sandesa* (1949; reprint, Colombo: Godage International Publishers, 2006), 31.

³ An alternative interpretation of the meaning of the title has been offered by M.G. Dhadphale who argues that “*telakaṭāhā*” refers to a casket in which dead bodies were embalmed in ancient India. See M.G. Dhadphale, “Significance of the Title *Telakaṭāhagāthā*,” in *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference. 28th Session. Karnataka University, Dharwar, November 1976*. (Pune, 1976), 353–57.

⁴ See, for instance, Toshihiro Kojima (小島敏広), “*Telakaṭāhagāthā* ni mirareru sisō” *Telakaṭāhagāthā* にみられる思想 [The thought of the *Telakaṭāhagāthā*],

well-crafted sonorous verses with stark, disenchanting depictions of the body and material world.¹ By praising the king of Sri Lanka in its opening verses the poem boasts its courtly connections, which may go some way to explain the influence of Sanskrit literary theory on its form. We can infer then that at the time of its composition the poem had value as a form of religious entertainment for monastic elites and court literati. In the eighteenth century, by contrast, the poem appears to have taken on new meaning due to its use in a different context. As part of Vāliṅga Saraṇaṃkara's monastic reforms, there was a great increase in the production of Sinhala commentaries to Pali works that were considered authoritative by the reformed Sangha.² Each of the extant manuscripts of the *Telakaṭāhagāthā* contain such a vernacular commentary and it is likely that these almost identical commentaries all originate from this reform period. Significantly, none of the commentaries name the poem as the *Telakaṭāhagāthā*. Without exception, the poem is named as the *Dhammagāthā* or "Verses of Dhamma". This is also the name used in the earliest references to the poem in the *Rasavāhinī* and the *Saddharmālaṅkāraya*.³

The commentaries also reveal a lot about the purpose and use of the work at the time of their composition. The eighteenth-century commentators on the poem, for instance, understood the work's verses to be grouped into themes. The commentaries split the verses into the following ten groups: (vv. 1–5) "benefits of the three jewels" (*ratanaṭṭayānisamsā*), (vv. 6–28) "reflection on death" (*maraṇānussati*), (vv. 29–43) "the characteristic of impermanence" (*aniccalakkhaṇa*), (vv. 44–55)

Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū, [Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies], Tokyo, 41.1 (1992), 482(59)–480(61).

¹ For a more extensive literary critique of the *Telakaṭāhagāthā*, see Asha Das, *A Literary Appraisal of Pali Poetical Works* (Calcutta: Punthi-Pustak, 1994), 284–314.

² For an important account of these reforms, see Anne M. Blackburn, *Buddhist Learning and Textual Practice in Eighteenth-Century Lankan Monastic Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

³ Mendis Rohanadeera, "New Evidence of Cultural Relations between Sri Lanka and the Dvāravātī Kingdom in Thailand", *Vidyodaya Journal of Social Sciences* 2.1–2 (1988): 58.

“the characteristic of suffering” (*dukkhalakkhaṇa*), (vv. 56–63) “the characteristic of insubstantiality” (*anattalakkhaṇa*), (vv. 64–77) “the characteristic of impurity” (*asubhalakkhaṇa*), (vv. 78–83) “the dangers of wrong conduct” (*duccaritādinavā*), (vv. 84–88) “the four protections” (*caturārakkhā*), and (vv. 89–92) “dependent co-arising” (*paṭicca-samuppāda*). The final verses (vv. 93–98/100) are not denoted by a particular theme in the commentaries. The use of these topics and the practice of reflection (*anussati*) explicitly mentioned in the first theme lend the poem a meditative function. By utilising themes, the practitioner is guided through a variety of contemplations that culminate in a reflection on dependent co-arising, the realisation of which liberates the practitioner from cyclic existence. A careful examination of the Pali text of the poem, however, reveals that these themes are very loose and that it seems unlikely that the poem was composed with such rigid divisions in mind. Despite this, we have included the headings in our edition in order to recognise the eighteenth-century function of the poem and also to provide some continuity with the *JPTS* 1884 edition.

Most of the manuscripts of the poem contain only the text of the Telakaṭāhagāthā and its Sinhala commentary or *sannaya*. One manuscript, however, namely, Or. 6599/35, includes the work in a collection of a variety of other texts important to eighteenth-century religious practice. The place of the Telakaṭāhagāthā in this collection also provides more information about the use of Pali *kāvya* in eighteenth-century Sri Lanka. Or. 6599/35 describes itself as a *baṇadahaṃ potak* or “preaching book” and is described by K.D. Somadasa in his catalogue as a “manual of readings and recitations for monks”.¹ The order of works included in this manuscript and their titles as given in Somadasa’s catalogue are as follows:

1. Dhammacakkappavattana-suttaṃ
2. Dhammasaṅgaṇi-mātikā
3. Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna-suttaṃ
4. Āṇavum(pirit)padārtha

¹ K.D. Somadasa, *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library* (London: Pali Text Society/British Library, vol. 1, 1987), 55.

5. Dharmagāthā-sannaya

6. Paṭiccasamuppādam
7. Paṭiccasamuppāda-sannaya
8. Navagaṇagāthā-sannaya
9. Navagaṇa-gāthā
10. Satarakamaṭahan-padārtha
11. Dhātuvandanā-gāthā
12. Mettānisamsa-gāthā
13. Aṭavisisugatavandanā-gāthā
14. Aṭavisibodhivandanā-gāthā
15. Aṭavisi-pirita
16. Jinapañjaraya-gāthā
17. Jayamaṅgala-gāthā (dvitīya)
18. Aṭuvā-prārthanā-gāthā
19. Aṭuvā-prārthanā-gāthā-padārtha
20. Prārthanā-gāthā
21. Buddhavandanā-gāthā
22. Narasīha-gāthā
23. Soḷasa(mahā)sthānavandanā-gāthā
24. Bodhivandanā-gāthā
25. Dhātuvandanā-gāthā
26. Teruvan-vaṅḍina-gāthā
27. Aṭavisibudungē da mātru-pitrū hā bodhīngē da nam
28. Soḷasa-pūjā-gāthā
29. Maitrī-bhāvanā
30. Catupārisuddhi-sīlaya
31. Sekhiyā (Pāli)
32. Subha-sūtra-artha-vyākhyāva

The first thing to note about this collection is that most of the works are poems and importantly many of them can be classified as *paritta* texts, that is, texts that are chanted by monks in order to “assure protection from human and supernatural harm”.¹ Nearly all the texts in the manuscript are accompanied by a Sinhala commentary and, as Anne

¹ Anne M. Blackburn, “Magic in the Monastery: Textual Practice and Monastic Identity in Sri Lanka,” *History of Religions* 38.4 (May, 1999): 354.

Blackburn has argued, the presence of this explicatory material testifies to the importance of *paritta* works as educational tools outside of the ritual arena. The *Telakaṭāhagāthā*'s place within this collection indicates that in the eighteenth century the poem was being used as a *paritta* text. This function continues to this day as Masahiro Kitsudo reports that the poem is still recited daily by some Buddhists in Sri Lanka.¹ The historical relationship between medieval Pali *kāvya* and the genre of *paritta* has not been sufficiently explored but it is likely that some courtly poetry in Pali was absorbed into Buddhist ritual practice by later generations of monks.

This is not the first English translation of the *Telakaṭāhagāthā*. We are aware of four previous English translations, namely, C. Sameresingha (1889), B.C. Law (1938), S.K.R. Rao (1957), and Aṃgarāj Caudharī (2009).² Sameresingha entitled his translation “The Dying Rahat’s Sermon” and it is in tribute to his pioneering work that we have named our translation “Verses of a Dying Arahant”. Nothing is known about Sameresingha other than that he published his work in an American periodical *The Buddhist Ray* between 1889 and 1890 soon after the publication of the 1884 PTS edition. It is clear that his translation is based on the PTS edition since it contains the same incorrect order of verses from verse fifty-five to sixty. His translation would have remained unrecognised had it not been for Russell Webb who discovered a copy of the work at the London Buddhist Vihāra and republished it in the *Pali Buddhist Review*. We have since discovered another copy of Sameresingha’s translation at the library of the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge (IC

¹ Masahiro Kitsudo, *Pāli Texts Printed in Sri Lanka in Sinhalese Characters with Supplementary Information on Related Texts* (Bristol: Pali Text Society, 2015), 75.

² C. Sameresingha, tr., “The Dying Rahat’s Sermon”, *The Buddhist Ray*, Santa Cruz (CA) 1889–1890; repr. in *Pali Buddhist Review* 2.3 (1977): 127–40; B.C. Law, tr., “Telakaṭāhagāthā: Verses on Oil Pot”, *Indian Culture* 5 (1938–39): 25–39; S.K. Ramachandra Rao, ed. & trans., *Gāthā-śataka* (Bangalore: Kalpatharu Research Academy, 2002). This is a revised version of S.K.R. Rao, ed. & tr., “Song in the Cauldron of Oil”, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* XLVII (1957); Aṃgarāj Caudharī, ed. & trans., *Telakaṭāhagāthā (Hindī Tathā Aṃgrejī Anuvāda)* (Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 2009).

919.6). Sameresingha's translation is very free and he may have been translating the Pali through a Sinhala commentary since he only summarises the Pali and includes a good deal of interpretative detail not found in the original text.

B.C. Law's 1938 translation by contrast adheres closely to the Pali text but is full of numerous errors and inaccuracies. Roughly twenty years later, S.K. Ramachandra Rao published another translation in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (1957) and he has recently revised and republished it in 2002 under the title "Gāthā-śataka". Rao's work is an improvement on B.C. Law's earlier attempt though still contains frequent major errors. The most recent translation by Aṃgarāj Caudharī in 2009 is certainly an advance on Rao's work and is the best English rendering of the poem we have, though the translation is far from free of mistakes. To give just one example, in verse nine Caudharī translates the sentence "contemplate the immeasurable suffering, impermanence and insubstantiality in this body" as "practise the four infinite Brahmavihāras. Develop by thought and meditation the knowledge of impermanence, suffering and no soulness". The main error here is that he has taken the adjective (or possibly an adverb) "immeasurable" (*appameyyam*), firstly, as the direct object of the verb "contemplate" (*bhāvayatha*) and, even more unlikely, as referring to the four *brahmavihāras*.

Another problem with Caudharī's translation and one that pertains to the need for a new edition of the Telakaṭāhagāthā is that he has produced his own edition of the full hundred-verse poem using the *JPTS* 1884 edition and also the Chatṭhasaṅgāyana edition. One major problem with this is that, generally speaking, he sides with the Chatṭhasaṅgāyana edition where the two texts differ, and in doing so he has introduced a number of dubious, nonsensical, and unmetrical readings into his text, some of which have led to errors in his translation. In the final line of verse forty-nine, for instance, he accepts the Chatṭhasaṅgāyana reading *acintanīyam* "incomprehensible" rather than *vicintanīyam* "to be reflected upon", which is attested in all other editions and manuscripts. He then translates the final line as if suffering (*dukkha*), the subject in the sentence, is something that cannot be thought about (*acintanīyam*),

whereas the meaning is actually that suffering is something that *should be thought about* (*vicintanīya*).¹

The aim then of including a revised text of the *Telakaṭāhagāthā* alongside our translation is to provide a reliable edition of the full hundred-verse poem. The text is fairly stable among the consulted manuscripts and editions and we have therefore been able to confirm most of the readings of the 1884 edition. In order to improve upon the 1884 edition we have changed a small number of readings, edited the final two verses of the poem, rectified the incorrect order of verses between fifty-five and sixty in the edition, and have corrected the erroneous placement of thematic headings that the 1884 edition took from the Sinhala commentaries (*sannaya*). There are a number of Sri Lankan editions that we were unable to consult² but we hope that the detailed apparatus given will enable a more comprehensive critical edition in the future.

With respect to editorial principles, the critical apparatus is negative. Only substantive variants have been recorded, that is, variants that alter the sense, metre or syntax of the text. This includes variants that are incorrect in that they are nonsense or defy the standard metre or

¹ Aṃgarāj Caudharī, ed. & trans., *Telakaṭāhagāthā*, 50. He translates the line in question as follows: “Therefore, isn’t the suffering that one gets in various existences, impossible to think?”

² The editions we are aware of but were unable to consult are as follows:

Hikkaḍuvē Siri Sumaṅgala, *Telakaṭāha Gāthā (sannasahita)* (Kotahena: Sura-thura Press, 1872 [repr. 1883 & 1884]); M.U. Piyatissa, *Telakaṭāhagāthā* (Colombo: Granthāloka Press, 1900); N. Saraṇāṅkara, *Telakaṭāhagāthā-kāvya-bhāvasanna sahita* (Balapitiya: H.M. Gunasekhera, 1915); P.V.R Pathirāja, *Telakaṭāhagāthākāvya* (Kurunāgala: Vijita Press, 1930); Moraṭuvē Pamaratana, *Telakaṭāhagāthākāvya* (Pānadura: Silpālānkāra Press, 1933); P.K.W. Sirivardhana, *Dharmārthavāhinī, Telakaṭāhagāthā Bhavaya* (Colombo: Vidyāsāgara Press, 1935); B.S. Piyasena, *Telakaṭāha Gāthā* (Colombo: Anula Press, 1962 [Repr. B.E. 2534]); Baḷangoḍa Ānanda Maitreya, *Tela-Kaṭāha-Gāthā* (Nugegoda: Modern Book Press, 1994); Attuḍāvē Rāhula, “*Telakaṭāha Gāthā*,” in *Attuḍāvē Śrī Rāhula Prabandha* (Colombo: S. Godage, 2008 [1st ed. 1998]), 55-71; Dunukēvattē Guṇaratana Himi, *Telakaṭāhagāthā* (Colombo: Śrī Lāṅkā Bauddha hā Pāli Viśva-vidyālaya, 2007). For more information see Masahiro Kitsudo, *Pāli Texts Printed in Sri Lanka*, 75ff.

syntactic usage. Non-substantive variants largely include minor orthographic changes common to Sinhalese manuscripts, such as the interchange of *anusvāras* and homorganic nasals, the retroflexion of dental nasals, and the palatalisation or retroflexion of the Pali dental sibilant. Where a reading is noted in the apparatus its own orthographic peculiarities are preserved.¹

ABBREVIATIONS

Manuscripts

A	Or. 6599/35
<i>a</i>	Or. 6599/35 <i>sannaya</i>
B	Or. 6601/9
<i>b</i>	Or. 6601/9 <i>sannaya</i>
C	Or. 6601/10
<i>c</i>	Or. 6601/10 <i>sannaya</i>
D	Or. 6601/30
<i>d</i>	Or. 6601/30 <i>sannaya</i>
E	PVH.235
<i>e</i>	PVH.235 <i>sannaya</i>

Editions

Cau	Aṃḡarāj Caudharī (2009)
Ch	Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana Tipiṭaka Version 4.0
Ek	U.P. Ekanāyaka (1926)
Go	Edmund R. Gooneratne (1884)
Ra	S.K.R. Rao (2002)

Other material

Dāṭh	Dāṭhāvamsa, ed. T.W. Rhys Davids and R. Morris (<i>JPTS</i> , 1884)
Dp	Dharmapradīpikāva, ed. Dharmakīrti Śrī Dharmārāma (Colombo: Vidyālamkāra Press, 1951)

¹ The editorial principles given here are based, in part, on those used in Harunaga Isaacson, “Ratnākaraśānti’s *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana*: Critical Edition (Studies in Ratnākaraśānti’s Tantric Works III)”, *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies* 5 (2002): 151–76.

em. A speculative emendation by the editors
 Mil Milinda-pañha, ed. V. Trenckner (London: Williams & Norgate, 1880).

DESCRIPTION OF SOURCES

Description of Manuscripts

Four of the five manuscripts used for this edition come from the Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts held in the British Library, London. The description of these manuscripts given below is quoted from K.D. Somadasa's catalogue.¹ We obtained an electronic copy of the fifth manuscript (PVH.235) from the Palm Leaf Study and Research Library at the University of Kelaniya. The manuscript came without a detailed description and we have attempted to provide one here.

A. Or. 6599/35

Palm-leaf; foll. i, 267 (sva, ka–thi); 5.1 × 28.5 cm; oblong semi-skilled hand with a touch of flourish; good orthography; wooden covers with obliterated *liyavāla*; small square *sakiya*; good early eighteenth-century copy.

B. Or. 6601/9

Palm-leaf; foll. 31 (ka–kham); also in astro. numerals 1–31; 5.7 × 32.1 cm; 7–8 lines 28.6 cm; well-formed, round medium hand; good orthography and punctuation; kitul-wood plain cover with bevelled edges; good nineteenth-century copy.

C. Or. 6601/10

Palm-leaf; foll. 51 (nu–bṛ); 6.2 × 27.6 cm; 6 lines 22 cm; demarcations made with *uk-kaṭuva* for the length of lines, the margins and centres or for punching the cord-holes are noticeable on the first leaf; oval, fast-written, semi-skilled, medium hand with unduly lengthened diagonal upward stroke of letter *ra* as a flourish; fair orthography; plain wooden covers with bevelled edges; early nineteenth-century copy.

Note: The scribal hand changes from verse ninety-three until the end of the poem (verse ninety-eight).

¹ K.D. Somadasa, *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library* (London: Pali Text Society/British Library, vol. 1, 1987).

D. Or. 6601/30

Palm-leaf; foll. 14 (ga–gau); 5.4 × 46.7 cm; 6 lines 43.8 cm; medium large, spaced, somewhat round, leisurely written hand with small vowel symbols and other eighteenth-century characteristics; the thin, long *kuṇḍalis* look more modern; good orthography and correct text; late eighteenth-century copy. Incomplete.

Note: The manuscript begins at verse sixty-two.

E. PVH. 235

Palm-leaf; foll. 54 (gṛ–ḍā); Dimensions unknown; skilled medium hand with elaborate flourishes; possibly early nineteenth century; held in the Pothgul Maliga Maha Viharaya, Hanguranketha, Sri Lanka; digitised by the Palm Leaf Study and Research Library, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Kelaniya.

Description of Editions

Aṃgarāj Caudharī, ed. and trans. *Telakaṭāhagāthā (Hindī Tathā Aṃgrejī Anuvāda)*. Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 2009.

This edition contains the full one hundred verses of the poem and uses the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition to complete the final two verses missing from the 1884 JPTS edition. The author makes no mention of the sources for his edition, though an analysis of his text reveals that he has attempted to produce a critical edition using the 1884 JPTS and the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition.

Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition

There is an edition of the Telakaṭāhagāthā contained in the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana Tipiṭaka Version 4.0 filed under the “Sihala-gantha” collection. As mentioned, the poem in this edition consists of one hundred verses. It seems to have been transcribed from a single manuscript and is full of unusual variants and many errors.

U.P. Ekanāyaka, ed. *Nidāna kathā vastuva sahita Telakaṭāhagāthā pōta: Kalyāṇiya visin dēśitayī*. Colombo: Śrī Bhāratī Press, 1926.

We obtained a copy of this edition from the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (acc. no. 4 A 19208). This edition contains one hundred verses with a couple of variant readings in the final two verses that differ from the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition. The work appears to have been edited from a

single manuscript. Ekanāyaka has also included his own Sinhala commentary or *sannaya*, which seems to be based on older commentaries, since it resembles greatly the *sannayas* contained in the manuscripts we consulted.

Edmund R. Gooneratne, ed. “Tela-kaṭāha-gāthā.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* (1884): 49-68.

This edition contains only ninety-eight verses, the same as those found in the five Sri Lankan manuscripts consulted. E.R. Gooneratne, the “Ataputtu Mudaliar” of Galle, does not explicitly mention the source of his edition, though it seems likely it was edited from a single manuscript. T.W. Rhys Davids mentions in his preface to the 1884 edition of the journal that Gooneratne’s work was “corrected” by both himself and Richard Pischel.¹

S.K. Ramachandra Rao, ed. and trans. *Gāthā-śataka*. Bangalore: Kalpatharu Research Academy, 2002 [repr. of the 1957 ed.].

This edition contains one hundred verses. In his introduction Rao states that he has edited the poem, though he makes no mention of the sources used for his edition. There appear to be a number of errors in the edition introduced by the publisher. Unfortunately we were unable to consult his original translation in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (vol. XLVII, 1957).

¹ T.W. Rhys Davids, “Report of the Pāli Text Society for 1884”, *Journal of the Pali Text Society* (1884): xi.

DHAMMA-GĀTHĀ
VERSES OF DHAMMA

I. RATANATTAYĀNISAMSĀ

I. BENEFITS OF THE THREE JEWELS

1. 1. laṅkissaro jayatu vāraṇarājagāmī
2. bhogindabhogarucirāyatapīṇabāhu
3. sādḥūpacāranirato guṇasannivāso
4. dhamme ṭhito vigatakodhamadāvalepo

Victorious may the Lankan monarch be. His royal gait is like a war elephant's and his arms are pleasing, long and bulging like the coils of the chief of snakes, Bhoginda. Devoted to right conduct, he is a store of virtue, steadfast in Dhamma, without anger, arrogance or pride.

1.1 jayatu] jayatu jayatu C (*unmetrical*) • **1.2 °bhoga°]** °bho° C (*unmetrical*) • °rucirā°] °rūcirā° A (*unmetrical*) • **1.3 sādḥu°]** sādhu° Ch (*unmetrical*) • **1.4 vigata°]** vīgata° Ch (*unmetrical*)

2. 1. yo sabbalokamahito karuṇādhivāso
2. mokkhākaro ravikulambarapuṇṇacando
3. ñeyyodadhīṃ suvipulaṃ sakalaṃ vibuddho
4. lokuttamaṃ namatha taṃ sirasā munindaṃ

He is honoured in all worlds, an abode of compassion, a source of liberation, and a full moon in the solar dynasty's sky. He has realised the vast, entire ocean of what must be known. Bow down to him, the chief of sages, greatest in the worlds.

2.1 karuṇā°] taruṇā° C • **2.4 namatha taṃ]** namata taṃ A E

3. 1. sopānamālam amalaṃ tidasālayassa
2. saṃsārasāgarasamuttaraṇāya setuṃ
3. sabbāgatībhayavivajjitakhemamaggaṃ
4. dhammaṃ namassatha sadā muninā paṇītaṃ

It is a stainless flight of steps to the heavens, a bridge that crosses the sea of cyclic existence, and a way to peace without fear of any rebirth. Always bow to the Dhamma professed by the sage.

3.1 tidasālayassa] tidayasārayassa C (*unmetrical*) • **3.2 setuṃ]** hetuṃ C c • **3.3 sabbāgati°]** sabbāgati° B (*unmetrical*) • **3.4 namassatha]** namassata A • **sadā]** om. C (*unmetrical*)

4. 1. deyyaṃ tad appam api yattha pasannacittā
2. datvā narā phalam uḷārataraṃ labhante
3. taṃ sabbadā dasabalena pi suppasatthaṃ
4. saṅghaṃ namassatha sadāmitapuññakhettaṃ

People with pure intentions who give even a small gift to the Sangha receive an even greater reward. Always bow to the Sangha, an immeasurable field of merit, that is continually praised even by the Buddha, possessor of ten powers.

4.3 suppasatthaṃ] suppasatthā C, om. c

5. 1. tejobalena mahatā ratanattayassa
2. lokattayaṃ samadhigacchati yena mokkhaṃ
3. rakkhā na c' atthi ca samā ratanattayassa
4. tasmā sadā bhajatha taṃ ratanattayaṃ bho

The three worlds obtain liberation through the great, glorious power of the three jewels. There is no protection that equals them. So then, friend, always worship the three jewels.

5.3 na c' atthi] ca n'atthi E • **ratanattayassa]** ratanattayassa A • **5.4 bhajatha taṃ]** bhajata thaṃ A • **ratanattayaṃ]** rattanattayam A C E (*unmetrical*)

II. MARAÑANUSSATI

II. REFLECTION ON DEATH

6. 1. laṅkissaro parahitekarato nirāso
2. rattim pi jāgararato karuṇādhivāso
3. lokaṃ vibodhayati lokahitāya kāmaṃ
4. dhammaṃ samācaratha jāgarikānuyuttā

The king of Lanka is solely devoted to the welfare of others without self-interest. He is intent on wakefulness even at night and is an abode

of compassion. He assuredly awakens the world for its own welfare. Committed to wakefulness, practise the Dhamma!

6.1 °ekarato] °ekaraso A B C E a b c e • **6.3 lokam]** loko C • **6.4 jāgarikānuyuttā]** jāgarikātiyuttā A B a b, jāgarikātiyuktā C E c e, jāgariyānuyuttā Cau Ch

7. 1. sattopakāraniratā kusale sahāyā
2. bho dullabhā bhuvī narā vigatappamādā
3. laṅkādhīpaṃ guṇadhanaṃ kusale sahāyaṃ
4. āgamma sañcaratha dhammam alaṃ pamādaṃ

Friend, hard to find on this earth are people who are devoted to helping living beings, who are companions in good and who lack heedlessness. Treat the ruler of Lanka, who regards virtue as wealth, as a companion in good and practise the Dhamma. Enough with heedlessness!

7.1 °niratā] °nirato C c E • **7.2 bho]** bho bho A (*unmetrical*) • **narā]** nārā B (*unmetrical*), tarā C • **vigata°]** vihata° Cau Ch • **°ppamādā]** °ppamāda Ra (*unmetrical*) • **7.3 sahāyaṃ]** sahāyā B E b e

8. 1. dhammo tilokasaraṇo paramo rasānaṃ
2. dhammo mahaggharatano ratanesu loke
3. dhammo have tibhavadukkhavināsaḥetu
4. dhammaṃ samācaratha jāgarikānuyuttā

The Dhamma, a refuge for the three worlds, is the best of tastes. The Dhamma is the most valuable jewel in existence. The Dhamma certainly causes the destruction of suffering in the three realms. Committed to wakefulness, practise the Dhamma!

8. verse om. C • 8.3 have] bhava Ch • **8.4 jāgarikānuyuttā]** jāgarikātiyuttā A B a b, jāgarikātiyuktā C E c e, jāgariyānuyuttā Cau Ch

9. 1. niddaṃ vinodayatha bhāvayath' appameyyaṃ
2. dukkhaṃ aniccaṃ api ceha anattataṃ ca
3. dehe ratiṃ jahatha jajjarabhājanābhe
4. dhammaṃ samācaratha jāgarikānuyuttā

Drive away sleep. Contemplate the immeasurable suffering, impermanence and insubstantiality in this body. Give up taking pleasure in a body that resembles an old, fragile pot. Committed to wakefulness, practise the Dhamma!

9.2 dukkhaṃ] akkhaṃ B • **api]** pi A Cau Ch (*unmetrical*) • **ceha]** cevaha C (*unmetrical*) • **9.3 jahatha]** jahatha ja Ch (*unmetrical*) • **°ābhe]** °ābheda A (*unmetrical*), °ābhī C (*unmetrical*), °ābho Cau Ch • **9.4 jāgarikānuyuttā]** jāgarikātiyuttā A B a b, jāgarikātiyuktā C E c e, jāgariyānuyuttā Cau Ch

10. 1. okāsam ajja mama n'atthi suve karissaṃ
2. dhammaṃ itīh'alasatā kusalappayoḡe
3. nālaṃ tiyaddhasu tathā bhuvanattaye ca
4. kāmaṃ na c' atthi manujo maraṇā pamutto

One who is too lazy to do good deeds in this life thinks, "I do not have the opportunity today, tomorrow I will act in accordance with Dhamma." In this way a human being will surely never escape death in the three times and in the three realms.

10.1 atthi] atti A • **10.2 itīh']** itt' Ra (*unmetrical*) • **alasatā]** alahatā C • **10.3 tiyaddhasu]** tiyaddhusu Go • **10.3-4 bhuvanattaye ca kāmaṃ]** bhuvanattaye sukāmaṃ A B C a b c, bhuvanattayesu kāmaṃ E e • **10.4 atthi]** atti A

11. 1. khitto yathā nabhasi kenacid eva leḡḡu
2. bhūmiṃ samāpatati bhāratayā khaṇena
3. jātattam eva khalu kāraṇam ekam eva
4. lokaṃ sadā nanu dhuvaṃ maraṇāya gantuṃ

Is birth not the sole reason people continually and assuredly undergo death, just as when someone throws a clod of earth in the sky it falls to the ground instantly on account of its weight?

11.1 kenacid] kenamid B • **11.2 samāpatati]** samāpatatī B (*unmetrical*), samāpatti Ch (*unmetrical*) • **bhāratayā]** bhārayathā B, bhāratiyā E e • **11.3 eva]** atra Cau Ch • **11.4 gantuṃ]** gantu C

12. 1. kāmaṃ narassa patato girimuddhanāto
2. majjhe na kiñci bhayanissaraṇāya hetu
3. kāmaṃ vājanti maraṇaṃ tibhavesu sattā
4. bhoge ratiṃ pajahathāpi ca jīvite ca

Living beings in the three worlds assuredly go to their deaths, just as someone who falls from the top of a mountain inevitably has no way of escaping fear in the middle of the air. Give up taking pleasure in your life and its luxuries.

12.4 ratiṃ] rati Ra (*unmetrical*) • **pajahathāpi]** pajahatāpi A B, pajāhatam a, pi jahathāpi C c • **jivite]** jīvite A (*unmetrical*)

13. 1. kāmam patanti mahiyā khalu vassadhārā
2. vijjullatāvitatameghamukhā pamuttā
3. evam narā maraṇabhīmapapātamajjhe
4. kāmam patanti na hi koci bhavesu nicco

People assuredly fall into the dreadful precipice of death, just as rain must fall on the ground when released from thunderclouds covered with forked lightning. Nobody in the three worlds is permanent.

13.3 °bhīma°] °bhīmam A (*unmetrical*)

14. 1. velātaṭe paṭutarorutarāṅgamālā
2. nāsam vajanti satatam salilālayassa
3. nāsam tathā samupayanti narāmarāṇam
4. pāṇāni dāruṇatare maraṇodadhimhi

The lives of humans and gods undergo destruction in the very cruel ocean of death, just as rows of very strong and large ocean waves continually go to destruction on the seashore.

14.3 samupayanti] samudayanti C

15. 1. ruddho pi so rathavarassagajādhipehi
2. yodhehi cāpi sabalehi ca sāyudhehi
3. lokam vivañciya sadā maraṇūsabho so
4. kāmam nihanti bhuvanattayasālisaṇḍam

Even if he is confronted by the best chariots, horses and chief elephants, and also by powerful warriors equipped with weapons, always out-smarting people, the bull that is death tramples the three worlds like a rice crop.

15.1 ruddho] saddho Ra • **°assagajā°]** °assa gajā° Go • **15.2 sāyudhehi]** sāsudhehi A • **15.4 bhuvanattaya°]** bhuvantaya° C (*unmetrical*) • **°sāli°]** °sālila° C (*unmetrical*) • **°saṇḍam]** °saddham B b, °daṇḍam Cau Ch

16. 1. bho mārutena mahatā vihato padīpo
2. khippam vināsamukham eti mahappabho pi
3. loke tathā maraṇacaṇḍasamīraṇena
4. khippam vinassati narāyumahāpadīpo

Friend, the great light of human life is quickly extinguished in the world by death's cruel breath, just as a lamp, no matter how bright, soon faces extinguishment when struck by a strong gust.

16.1 mārutena] mārutena maharutena A (*unmetrical*) • **16.3 maraṇa°]** maraṇama° E (*unmetrical*)

17. 1. rāmajjunappabhutibhūpatipuṅgavā ca
2. sūrā pure raṇamukhe vijitārisaṅghā
3. te pīha caṇḍamarāṇoghanimuggadehā
4. nāsaṃ gatā jagati ke maraṇā pamuttā

In the past, eminent royalty, such as Rama and Arjuna, and other heroes defeated hordes of enemies in the heat of battle. But even they perished in this world, their bodies subsumed in the flood of cruel death. Who on earth can escape it?

17.1 °ppabhuti°] °ppabhūti° Ch (*unmetrical*) • **°bhūpati°]** °bhū° A (*unmetrical*) • **17.2 sūrā]** sura C (*unmetrical*) • **sūrā pure]** surāpure Go (*unmetrical*)

18. 1. lakkhī ca sāgarapaṭā sadharā dharā ca
2. sampattiyo ca vividhā api rūpasobhā
3. sabbā ca tā api ca mittasutā ca dārā
4. ke vāpi kaṃ anugatā maraṇaṃ vajantaṃ

Fortune, the earth covered with oceans and mountains, and possessions of various beautiful forms, all of these, including one's friends, sons and wives too; whom would they follow into impending death?

18.1 sadharā dharā] sadharādharā Cau Go • **18.2 vividhā api]** vividhāpi A (*unmetrical*) • **18.3 tā]** kā C • **dārā]** dhārā C • **18.4 vāpi]** cāpi Cau Ch • **vajantaṃ]** vajanta A, vajanti C

19. 1. brahmā surāsuragaṇā ca mahānubhāvā
2. gandhabbakinnaramahoragarakkhasā ca
3. te cāpare ca maraṇaggisikhāya sabbe
4. ante patanti salabhā iva khīṇapuññā

Powerful beings, such as Brahmas, groups of Suras and Asuras, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, great serpents, demons, and others; all in the end, when their merit is exhausted, fly like moths into the flame of death.

19.1 brahmā surāsuragaṇā] *em.* brahmāsura suragaṇā A B C E a b c e Ek, brahmāsurasuragaṇā Cau Ch, brahmā surā suragaṇā Go, brahmāsuraṇā Ra (*unmetrical*)

19.1 surāsura^o ≈ Mil 284, 1–4: *vessantarassa rañño ... surāsura-garuḷa-gandhabba-yakkha-rakkhasa-mahoraga-kinnara-inda-bhavanesu kittisaddo abbhuggato* • Dāṭh v.39: *surāsura-brahma-gaṇehi sajjite ...*

20. 1. ye sārīputtapamukhā munisāvakā ca
2. suddhā sadāsavanudā paramiddhipattā
3. te cāpi maccuvaḷabhāmukhasanimuggā
4. dīpā-m-ivānilahatā khayatām upetā

The disciples of the sage with Sārīputta at the fore are pure, have forever destroyed the defilements and have obtained the highest spiritual powers. Yet enveloped by the mouth of the volcanic fire of death even they are destroyed, like lamps struck by a gust of wind.

20.1 ye] B yo E • **°sāvakā]** °sāvaka Ra (*unmetrical*) • **20.4 dīpā-m-ivānilahatā]** dīpāni lahatā A (*unmetrical*), dīpāni vānilahatā B C E Cau Ch Ek (*a b c*, dīpā iva: *pradīpayan men*; e, dīpā iva: *pradīpayak men*; ek, dīpāni iva: *pradīpayan men*), dīpāsi vānilahatā Ra • **khayatām]** khayataṃ Cau Ch

21. 1. buddhā pi buddhakamalāmalacārunettā
2. battiṃsalakkhaṇavirājitarūpasobhā
3. sabbāsavakkhayakarāpi ca lokanāthā
4. sammadditā maraṇamattamahāgajena

Even Buddhas, with pure, enchanting eyes like lotuses in bloom, their beautiful bodies resplendent with the thirty-two marks, who are destroyers of all defilements and are protectors of the world, are trampled by the furious, great elephant of death.

21.1 °cāru°] °cārū° A (*unmetrical*) • **21.3 °āsava°]** °āsaca° A Ch, °āpava° C • **°akkhaya°]** °akkhiya° C • **21.4 sammadditā]** sampādītā Ra

22. 1. rogāturesu karuṇā na jarāturesu
2. khiḍḍāparesu sukumāarakumārakesu
3. lokaṃ sadā hanati maccu mahāgajindo
4. dāvānalo vanam ivāvīrato asesam

No mercy for the ill and the old and no mercy for those in tender youth engrossed in play. The great, chief elephant of death continually kills everyone, as a jungle fire unabated burns a forest to the ground.

22.4 dāvānalo] dāvānalo Cau Ch (*unmetrical*) • **ivāvīrato]** ivāvīrato A (*unmetrical*), ivānavaratam Cau (*unmetrical*), ivāvaratam Ek

23. 1. āpuṇṇatā na salilena jalālayassa
2. kaṭṭhassa cāpi bahutā na hutāsanassa
3. bhutvāna so tibhuvanam pi tathā asesam
4. bho niddayo na khalu pītim upeti maccu

The ocean can never be too full of water, nor can a fire have too much wood. Likewise, friend, unmerciful death never becomes satisfied, even having consumed the three realms leaving nothing left.

23.1 jalālayassa] jalāsayassa Ra • **23.2 bahutā]** pahutā Ra • **23.3 bhutvāna]** bhutvā pi A B E a b e, bhutvā C c (*unmetrical*) • **tibhuvanam]** tibhūvanam A B C Ek (*unmetrical*)

24. 1. bho mohamohitatayā vivaso adhañño
2. loko pataty api hi maccumukhe subhīme
3. bhoge ratim samupayāti vihīnapañño
4. dolātarāṅgacapale supinopameyye

Friend, it is due to delusion that people, deprived of their power and wealth, fall into the dreadful jaws of death. The man of little wisdom indulges in pleasures that are as unsteady as swinging waves and resemble dreams.

24.1 °mohitatayā] °mohitayā C (*unmetrical*) • **24.2 pataty api]** patanti pi A, patant' api B C a c e, patat api E (*unmetrical*) • **subhīme]** subhīmeme C (*unmetrical*), subhīmo E • **24.3 vihīna°]** nihīna° Cau Ch • **24.4 supinopameyye]** supinopameyye A (*unmetrical*), supinopameñje Ra

25. 1. eko pi maccur abhiantum alaṃ tilokaṃ
2. kiṃ niddayā api jarāmarañānuyāyī
3. ko vā kareyya vibhavesu ca jīvitāsam
4. jāto naro supinasaṅgamasannibhesu

Even alone death is powerful enough to destroy the three worlds. Why should we sleep if we are destined for old age and death? What kind of

person, moreover, having been born, would make power — a figment of dreams — his life's ambition?

25.2 kiṃ niddayā] niddayā kiṃ A a (*unmetrical*) • **niddayā]** niddāya Cau (*unmetrical*) • °yāyi] °yādī A, °yāyi B C • **25.3 vibhavesu]** tibhavesu Cau • vibhasuvesu Ch (*unmetrical*) • **25.4 °sannibhesu]** santi A a (*unmetrical*)

26. 1. niccāturam jagad idam sabhayam sasokam
2. disvā ca kodhamadamohajarābhībūtam
3. ubbegamattam api yassa na vijjatī ce
4. so dāruṇo na maraṇo vata tam dhiratthu

Upon seeing that this world is permanently sick, full of fear, full of grief, and overcome with anger, madness, delusion and old age, if he can remain utterly unmoved it is he that is truly cruel, not death. Curse him!

26.1 jagad] jagat A • **sabhayam]** sahāyam A (*unmetrical*) • **26.3 vijjatī]** vijjati A B (*unmetrical*) • **ce]** ca A • **26.4 maraṇo]** maraṇam Cau Ch

27. 1. bho bho na passatha jarāsidharam hi maccum
2. āhaññamānam akhilam satatam tilokam
3. kiṃ niddayā nayatha vītabhayā tiyāmam
4. dhammam sadāsavanudam carath' appamattā

Friend, dear friend, do you not see that death continually slaughters all of the three worlds, his sword of old age in hand? How can you spend the three watches of the night asleep without fear? Being heedful always practise the Dhamma that destroys defilements.

27.1 °sidharam] °siddham A (*unmetrical*) • **27.2 āhaññamānam]** āhaññamam tam E • **27.3 niddayā]** niddāya Cau (*unmetrical*)

28. 1. bhāvetha bho maraṇamāravivajjanāya
2. loke sadā maraṇasaññam imam yatattā
3. evam hi bhāvanaratassa narassa tassa
4. taṇhā pahīyati sarīragatā asesā

Friend, you should always make an effort to cultivate an awareness of death in the world, so that its murderous power is removed. For, thus, the entire incarnate craving of a man devoted to meditation is quenched.

28.2 yatattā] yathattā A a • **28.3 evaṃ]** eva C (*unmetrical*) • **28.4 sarīra°]** sasarīra° A (*unmetrical*) • **asesā]** asesam A B C E a b c e

III. ANICCALAKKHAṆAM

III. THE CHARACTERISTIC OF IMPERMANENCE

29. 1. rūpaṃ jarā piyataraṃ malinīkaroti
 2. sabbam balaṃ haratī attani ghorarogo
 3. nānūpabhogaparirakkhitam attabhāvaṃ
 4. bho maccu saṃharatī kiṃ phalam attabhāve

Old age stains the most charming beauty, a horrible disease saps all of one's strength, and death takes away one's existence that is sustained by many enjoyments. Friend, what then is the good in one's existence?

29.1 rūpaṃ jarā] rūpajarā A (*unmetrical*) • **malinī°]** malini° C (*unmetrical*) • **°karoti]** °karoti A • **29.4 attabhāve]** attabhāve B (*unmetrical*)

30. 1. kammānilāpahatarogatarāṅgabhaṅge
 2. saṃsārasāgaramukhe vitate vipannā
 3. mā mā pamādam akarotha karotha mokkham
 4. dukkhodayaṃ nanu pamādamayaṃ narānaṃ

You are lost in the gaping mouth of the ocean of cyclic existence, its breaking waves of disease buffeted by the winds of action. Do not ever be heedless. Obtain liberation! Is the arising of suffering not produced by the heedlessness of men?

30.1 °taraṅga°] °garamga° C • **30.2 vipannā]** vipan C (*unmetrical*) • **30.3 pamādam]** mapādam B • **30.3 akarotha]** akarittha Cau Ch Ek Ra • **30.4 dukkhodayaṃ]** dukkhodayo Ch • **nanu]** nanupa C (*unmetrical*)

31. 1. bhogā ca mittasutaporisabandhavā ca
 2. nārī ca jīvitasamā api khattavatthu
 3. sabbāni tāni paralokam ito vajantaṃ
 4. nānubbajanti kusalākusalaṃ va loke

Enjoyments, friends, sons, servants, relatives, wives — even if as dear as one's own life — land and property too, none of these follow one going from this life to the next. Only our good and bad deeds in the world do.

31.2 °vatthu] °vatthum E • **31.4 loke]** ke C (*unmetrical*)

32. 1. bho vijjucañcalatare bhavasāgaramhi
 2. khittā purākatamahāpavanena tena
 3. kāmaṃ vibhijjati khaṇena sarīranāvā
 4. hatthe karoṭṭha paramaṃ guṇahatthasāraṃ

Friend, this boat of a body thrown into the sea of existence that quivers more than lightning is inevitably wrecked in an instant by a hurricane of past deeds. Hold fast to virtue, the best portable wealth!

v. 32] *no substantive variants.*

33. 1. niccaṃ vibhijjati 'ha āmakabhājanam va
 2. saṃrakkhito pi bahudhā iha attabhāvo
 3. dhammaṃ samācaratha saggagatiṭṭham
 4. dhammaṃ suciṇṇam iha-m-eva phalaṃ dadāti

Our existence in this world inevitably breaks like an unbaked clay pot, even if we try to preserve it in many ways. Practise the Dhamma that ensures a way to heaven. It is the Dhamma that yields the choicest fruit in this very world.

v. 33] *om.* repeats v. 32 Ra

33.1 vibhijjati 'ha] vibhijjatiha C (*unmetrical*) • **33.2 attabhāvo]** attabhāve B • **33.3 saggagati°]** saggapati° Ch • **°ppatiṭṭham]** °ppatṭham C (*unmetrical*) • **33.4 dhammaṃ]** dhammo Cau Ch • **dadāti]** dadāti B

34. 1. rantvā sadā piyatare divi devarajje
 2. tamhā cavanti vibudhā api khīṇapuññā
 3. sabbaṃ sukhaṃ divi bhuvīha viyoganiṭṭham
 4. ko paññavā bhavasukhesu ratiṃ kareyya

Having continually enjoyed in heaven the charms of the divine kingdom, the gods too fall from there, their merit used up. All happiness in heaven and on earth is destined to end. Who being wise would indulge in the happiness of existence?

34.2 tamhā] namhā Ch • **vibudhā]** vibudhā C, bahudhā Ra • **khīṇa°]** *om.* C (*unmetrical*) • **34.3 divi]** diviha C (*unmetrical*) • **bhuvīha]** bhuviha A B (*unmetrical*), *om.* C (*unmetrical*) • **viyoganiṭṭham]** yoganiṭṭham A (*unmetrical*) • **34.4 paññavā]** puññavā B

35. 1. buddho sasāvakaḡaṇo jagadekanātho
 2. tārāvalīparivuto pi ca puṇṇacando
 3. indo pi devamakuṭaṅkitapādakaṅjo
 4. ko pheṇapiṇḍa-na-samo tibhavesu jāto

The Buddha, the sole lord of the world, with his group of disciples; the full moon too strung with a garland of stars; even Indra whose lotus-feet are adorned by the crowns of prostrating gods; what born in the three worlds is not like a mass of foam?

35.2 tārāvalī°] tārāvali° B (*unmetrical*) • **puṇṇacando]** puṇṇo cando C (*unmetrical*) • **35.3 °aṅkita°]** °aṅkitha° A • **35.4 pheṇa°]** phe° A (*unmetrical*), peṇa° B, te° C (*unmetrical*) • **tibhavesu]** tibhavesū B (*unmetrical*)

36. 1. līlāvatamsam api yobbanarūpasobhaṃ
 2. attūpamaṃ piyajana ca sampayogaṃ
 3. disvā ca vijjucapalaṃ kurute pamādaṃ
 4. bho mohamohitajano bhavarāgaratto

Friend, even after seeing that the beauty of a youthful body is but a frivolous ornament and that relationships with loved ones that are as dear as oneself are as unstable as lightning, the deluded masses remain heedless, stained by the passion of existence.

36.1 °sobhaṃ] °sobhā B • **36.2 attūpamaṃ]** attupamaṃ B b (*unmetrical*) • **36.3 ca]** pi Cau Ch • **vijju°]** vijjul° E (*unmetrical*)

37. 1. putto pitā bhavati mātupatīha putto
 2. nārī kadāci jananī ca pitā ca putto
 3. evaṃ sadā viparivattati jīvaloko
 4. citte sadāticapale khalu jātiraṅge

At any one time a son can be a father, a husband can be a son, a woman can be mother, and a father can be son. Thus, as ever, life rolls on in the colourful and ever-changing theatre of birth.

37.1 °patīha] °patīha A (*unmetrical*) • **37.2 nārī]** nārī C (*unmetrical*)

38. 1. rantvā pure vividhaphullalatākulehi
 2. devāpi nandanavane surasundarīhi
 3. te v' ekadā vitatakaṅṭakasaṅkaṭesu
 4. bho koṭisimbalivanesu phusanti dukkhaṃ

Even the gods, friend, who together with beautiful deities previously enjoyed pleasure groves filled with manifold blossoming vines, at certain times experience suffering in the million Simbali groves of hell, thick with long thorns.

38.1 °phulla°] °pulla° A • **38.2 °sundarīhi]** °sundarehi B • **38.3 ekadā]** ekadāci E (*unmetrical*) • **°saṅkaṭesu]** saṅkavesu A • **38.4 koṭisimbali°]** koṭisimbali° A (*unmetrical*), kosili° C (*unmetrical*) • **phusanti dukkhaṃ]** dukkhaṃ phusanti A *b c e* (*unmetrical*), dukhaṃ phusanti B C *a*, dukkhaṃ phusanti E (*unmetrical*)

39. 1. bhutvā sudhannam api kañcanabhājanesu
2. sagge pure suravarā paramiddhipattā
3. te cāpi pajjalitalohaguḷaṃ gilanti
4. kāmaṃ kadāci narakālayavāsabhūtā

Even the best gods who previously in heaven enjoyed ambrosia in gold vessels and obtained perfect opulence, inevitably become denizens of the hell realm, swallowing balls of flaming iron.

39.1 bhutvā] bhu A (*unmetrical*) • **sudhannam]** sunnam C (*unmetrical*)

40. 1. bhutvā narissaravarā ca mahiṃ asesam
2. devādhīpā ca divi dibbasukhaṃ surammaṃ
3. vāsam kadāci khurasañcitabhūtalesu
4. te vā mahārathagaṇānugatā diviḥa

The best of kings, who ruled the entire earth, and the chiefs of the gods, who enjoyed the delightful divine happiness of heaven, even they, followed by armies of great warriors in heaven and on earth, sometimes will dwell in planes of existence carpeted with razor blades.

40.1 °varā] °vara C (*unmetrical*) • **40.3 vāsam]** *om.* A (*unmetrical*) • **40.4 te]** ke A B C E Go, *om.* *a b c e* • **diviḥa]** diviḥā C

41. 1. devaṅganālalītabhinnataraṅgamāle
2. gaṅge mahissarajaṭāmakuṭānuyāte
3. rantvā pure suravarā pamadāsahāyā
4. te cāpi ghorataravetaraṇiṃ patanti

Having previously enjoyed the divine Ganges, which resembles Shiva's crown of matted hair due to its garland of breaking waves produced by

the water games of goddesses, even the best of gods, along with their courtesans, fall into the horrible, impassable Vetarani river.

41.1 devaṅgaṇā°] devagaṇa° C c (*unmetrical*) • **°taraṅga°]** °raṅga° C (*unmetrical*) • **41.2 gaṅge]** gage A (*unmetrical*), raṅge Cau Ch • **41.3 sura°]** surā° E (*unmetrical*) • **°sahāyā]** °sahāya C

42. 1. phullāni pallavalatāphalasaṅkulāni
2. rammāni candanavanāni manoramāni
3. dibbaccharālitapuṇṇadarīmukhāni
4. kelāsamerusikharāni ca yanti nāsaṃ

The mountaintops of Kailasa and Meru also undergo destruction, along with their blossoming and delightful sandalwood forests, abounding with sprouts, tendrils, and fruits, and their enchanting cave thresholds filled with playful divine Apsaras.

42.1 pallava°] phallava° C • **42.2 candana°]** nandana° A B C E a b c e Cau Ch Ek Ra

43. 1. doḷānalānilataraṅgasamā hi bhogā
2. vijjuppabhāticapalāni ca jīvitāni
3. māyāmarīcijalāsomasamaṃ sarīraṃ
4. ko jīvite ca vibhave ca kareyya rāgaṃ

Enjoyments are like fleeting waves of fire and wind, life is as unsteady as lightning, and the body is like an illusory mirage or the reflection of the moon in water. Who would seek pleasure in life and in power?

43.1 °nalānila°] °nilānala° Cau Ch • **°samā]** °samañ E • **hi]** hī A a (*unmetrical*) • **bhogā]** sobhā A • **43.2 °capalāni]** °calāni Ra (*unmetrical*) • **43.3 māyā°]** mayā° A B (*unmetrical*) • **°marīci°]** °marīci° A (*unmetrical*) • **43.4 jīvite]** jīvitena E (*unmetrical*)

IV. DUKKHALAKKHAṆAṀ

IV. THE CHARACTERISTIC OF SUFFERING

44. 1. kiṃ dukkham atthi na bhavesu ca dāruṇesu
2. satto pi tassa vividhassa na bhājano ko
3. jāto yathā maraṇarogajarābhībhūto
4. ko sajjano bhavaratīṃ pihayeyy' abālo

What suffering cannot be found in cruel existence? What living being does not also partake in this manifold suffering? When the born are conquered by death, disease and old age, what good, wise person would long for the pleasures of existence?

44.2 bhājano] bhājane B *b* • **44.4 pihayeyy’]** pibhaveyy’ B, pihey’ C *b* (*unmetrical*), pihayey’ *c* • **abālo]** ābālo A (*unmetrical*)

45. 1. ko cāpi pajjalitalohagulaṃ gahetuṃ
2. sakko kathañcid api pāṇitalena bhīmaṃ
3. dukkhodayaṃ asucinissavaṇaṃ anattaṃ
4. ko kāmayetha khalu deham imaṃ abālo

Who is able, in any way whatsoever, to hold a fearsomely flaming iron ball on the palm of the hand? Who that is not a fool would also long for a body that inevitably gives rise to suffering, flows with impurities, and is insubstantial?

45.1 ko] ke Ch • **cāpi]** vāpi B *b* Cau Ch Go Ra • **gahetuṃ]** gilanti Cau Ch • **45.2 sakko]** sakkā Ch • **kathañcid]** kathaññid A B C E *a b c e* • **pāṇi°]** pāṇi° A (*unmetrical*) • **°talena]** °telena C (*unmetrical*) • **45.3 dukkhodayaṃ]** dukkhoyaṃ A (*unmetrical*), dukkhādayaṃ B • **anattaṃ]** anattaṃ Ch • **45.4 kāmayetha]** kāmaye °tha Go

46. 1. loke na maccusamam atthi bhayaṃ narānaṃ
2. na vyādhidukkhamaṃ atthi ca kiñci dukkhaṃ
3. evaṃ virūpakaraṇaṃ na jarāsamānaṃ
4. mohena bho ratim upeti tathāpi dehe

In this world there is nothing more dreadful to people than death, no suffering like disease, and similarly nothing as deforming as old age. Thus, friend, it is through delusion that one takes pleasure in the body.

46.1 na] ka C • **46.2 vyādhi°]** vyādi° B

47. 1. nissārato nalanalīkadalīsamānaṃ
2. attānaṃ eva parihaññati attaheto
3. samposito pi kusaḥāya ivākataññū
4. kāyo na yassa anugacchati kālakerā

As if he was trying to find the core in a hollow water reed, bamboo, or plantain stem, he tortures himself in search of the self. For, however

well fed, the body, like an ungrateful friend, does not follow one after death.

47.1 °nalī°] °nalī° C (*unmetrical*), °nalim° E, °kalī° Cau Ch • °samānaṃ] samo 'yam A B E a b e • **47.2** parihaññati] pharihaññati C • **attaheto]** attahetu Cau Ch • **47.3** samposito] samposisto C (*unmetrical*) • **47.4** kāyo] kāyā C • **na yassa]** n'assa A B C (*unmetrical*) • **anugacchati]** sa anugacchati A • **kālakerā]** kālakeriyā A B C E a b c e (*unmetrical*)

48. 1. taṃ pheṇapiṇḍasadisamaṃ visasūlakappaṃ
2. toyānalānilamahīuragādhivāsaṃ
3. jīṇṇālayaṃ va paridubbalaṃ attabhāvaṃ
4. disvā naraṃ kathamaṃ upeti ratiṃ sapaññaṃ

Our existence is like a mass of foam, a poisoned chalice, an abode of poisonous snakes — namely, water, wind, fire, and earth — and it is utterly fragile like a dilapidated house. Perceiving this, how can a wise man indulge in sensual pleasures?

48.1: pheṇa°] pena° A a • °piṇḍa°] om. A (*unmetrical*) • **48.2** °nalānila°] °nilānala° Cau Ch • **48.4** nara] narā A B C E • **upeti]** upeṭti A • **sapañña]** sapañña C

49. 1. āyukkhayaṃ samupayāti khaṇe khaṇe pi
2. anveti maccu hananāya jarāsipāṇi
3. kālaṃ tathā na parivattati taṃ ātītaṃ
4. dukkhaṃ idaṃ nanu bhavesu vicintanīyaṃ

Even in each moment our life span diminishes. Death pursues us with murderous intent wielding the sword of old age. The time that has past indeed does not return. Is not the suffering of existence something to reflect upon?

49.2 anveti] anvepi B • °sipāṇi] °sipāṇi E Cau Ch Go • **49.3** parivattati] parivattati A (*unmetrical*) • **ātītaṃ]** ātītaṃ B (*unmetrical*) • **49.4** vicintanīyaṃ] acintanīyaṃ Cau Ch

50. 1. appāyukassa maraṇaṃ sulabhaṃ bhavesu
2. dīghāyukassa ca jarā vyasaṇaṃ c' anekaṃ
3. evaṃ bhava ubhayato pi ca dukkhaṃ eva
4. dhammaṃ samācaratha dukkhavināsanāya

In the world death frequently occurs when young; but, even for those who live a long time, old age and manifold misfortunes await. Thus, either way there is only suffering in existence. Practise the Dhamma in order to destroy it!

50.3 ubhayato] ubhato A (*unmetrical*) • **pi]** phi C

51. 1. dukkhagginā sumahatā paripīlitesu
2. lokattayassa vasato bhavacārakesu
3. sabbattanā sucaritassa pamādakālo
4. bho bho na hoti paramaṃ kusalaṃ cinātha

Friend, dear friend, there is no time for heedlessness for those in the three worlds who conduct themselves well yet languish in the prisons of birth, tormented by the raging fire of suffering. Wholeheartedly you should obtain the highest good!

51.1 sumahatā] mahātā A (*unmetrical*) • **51.2 lokattayassa]** lokassa yassa A • **°cārakesu]** °vārakesu Cau Ch • **51.3 sabbattanā]** sabbattatā B Cau Ch • **51.4 cinātha]** vinātha A C a c

52. 1. appaṃ sukhaṃ jalalavaṃ viya bho tiṇagge
2. dukkhaṃ tu sāgarajalaṃ viya sabbaloke
3. saṅkappanā tad api hoti sabhāvato hi
4. sabbam tilokam api kevaladukkham eva

In the whole world, friend, the little happiness that exists is like a dew drop on a blade of grass while there is as much suffering as water in the ocean. Even that happiness though is a figment of our imaginations, for in essence the entirety of existence consists only of total suffering.

52.1 °lavam] °lavo Go • **52.4 api]** pi A (*unmetrical*)

53. 1. kāyo na yassa anugacchati kāyaheto
2. bālo anekavidham ācaratīha dukkhaṃ
3. kāyo sadā kalimalākālilaṃ hi loke
4. kāye rato avirataṃ vyasanaṃ pareti

Even though the body does not follow one after death, for the sake of the body the fool encounters a lot of suffering in his life. For in this world the body is always full of horrible filth and he faces unending misery by taking pleasure in it.

53.1 kāyaheto] kāyahetu Cau Ch • **53.2 ācaratiha]** ācaratiha A (*unmetrical*) • **53.3 kalimalākaliṃ]** kalimalaṃ A (*unmetrical*) • **53.4 kāye]** kāyo E • **avirataṃ]** acirataṃ B b, anavarataṃ Cau Ch (*unmetrical*) • **pareti]** pareta E

54. 1. mīḥālayaṃ kalimalākaram āmagandhaṃ
2. sūlāsisaḷḷavisapannagarogabhūtaṃ
3. dehaṃ vipassatha jarāmaraṇādhivāsaṃ
4. tucchaṃ sadā vigatasāraṃ imaṃ vinindaṃ

Always regard this body as a house of urine, full of horrible filth and putrid stench, like a spear, a sword, an arrow, poison, a snake, a disease, an abode of old age and death, useless, essenceless and contemptible.

54.1 °ālayaṃ] °ākaraṃ Cau Ch • **54.3 dehaṃ]** om. A (*unmetrical*) • **54.4 vigatasāraṃ]** vigasāṃ A (*unmetrical*) • **vinindaṃ]** vinindyaṃ Cau Ch

55. 1. dukkhaṃ aniccaṃ asubhaṃ vata attabhāvaṃ
2. mā saṅkilesaya na vijjati jātu nicco
3. ambho na vijjati hi appam apīha sāraṃ
4. sāraṃ samācaratha dhammaṃ alaṃ pamādaṃ

Do not torment your self, which suffers, is impermanent and is impure. For, friend, nothing at all permanent can be found, not even the slightest essence. Practise the essential Dhamma. Enough with heedlessness!

v.55] v. 60 Go

55.1 dukkhaṃ] dukkha A (*unmetrical*) • **mā]** ma Go (*unmetrical*) • **saṅkilesaya]** saṅkilissatha A B C E a b c e • **55.3 hi]** hī A (*unmetrical*) • **apiha]** apiha A (*unmetrical*) • **55.4 samācaratha]** samacaratha A (*unmetrical*) • **alaṃ pamādaṃ]** lapamādaṃ A (*unmetrical*)

V. ANATTALAKKHAṆAṀ

V. THE CHARACTERISTIC OF INSUBSTANTIALITY

56. 1. māyāmarīcikadalīnalaphenapuñja-
2. gaṅgātaraṅgajalabubbulasannibhesu
3. khandhesu pañcasu chaḷāyatanesu tesu
4. attā na vijjati hi ko na vadeyy' abālo

Who that is not a fool would deny that we cannot find ourselves in the five aggregates and six sense bases? They are like an illusion, a mirage,

a hollow plantain reed, like fire, a mass of foam, the breaking waves of a river and like bubbles.

v.56] v. 55 Go

56.1 °marīci°] °mamarīci° A (*unmetrical*) • °phena°] °phe° A (*unmetrical*) • °puñja] °puñjam B • **56.2** °bubbula°] °bbubbula° A (*unmetrical*) • **56.3** khandhesu] kandesu B • pañcasu] pañcasa A • tesu] om. C • **56.4** attā] atta A (*unmetrical*) • vadeyy' abālo] vadeyya bālo Ch Go Ra, vadeyyābālo A (*unmetrical*)

57. 1. vañjhāsuto sasavisāṇamaye rathe tu
2. dhāveyya ce cirataram sadhuram gahetvā
3. dīpaccimālam iva taṃ khaṇabhaṅgabhūtaṃ
4. attā ti dubbalataram tu vadeyya deham

If it were possible that the son of a barren woman could travel for a long time on a chariot made of hares' horns, seizing reins that are like traces of fire in the sky, then one might also identify oneself with this weak body that breaks in an instant.

v. 57] v. 56 Go

57.1 vañjhāsuto] vañjāto A (*unmetrical*) • **57.2** ce] te A • sadhuram] sudharañ C • **57.3** dīpa°] dipa° B (*unmetrical*) • °bhaṅga°] °gaṅga° A • **57.4** attā] atto C • ti] ni A

58. 1. bālo yathā salilabubbulabhājanena
2. ākaṇṭhato vata piveyya marīcitoyam
3. attā ti sārarahitaṃ kadalīsamānaṃ
4. mohā bhaṇeyya khalu deham imaṃ anattaṃ

Just as a fool might try to gorge himself on the water of a mirage with a cup made of bubbles, out of delusion one might identify oneself with this insubstantial body that is as hollow as a plantain stem.

v. 58] v. 57 Go

58.2 vata] vati A • piveyya] pibeyya Cau Ch • marīci°] mārici Ra (*unmetrical*) • **58.3** attā ti] attāni B Cau Ch • sārarahitaṃ] sārāhitaṃ A (*unmetrical*) • kadali°] kadali° A (*unmetrical*)

59. 1. yo 'dumbarassa kusumena marīcitoyam
 2. vāsam yad' icchati sa khedam upeti bālo
 3. attānam eva parihaññati attaheto
 4. attā na vijjati kadācid apīha dehe

A fool becomes exhausted if he desires the perfume of mirage water infused with the flower of a fig tree. He tortures himself for the sake of the self. But one can never find oneself in this body.

v. 59] v. 58 Go

59.1 marici°] marici° A (*unmetrical*) • **59.3 attaheto]** attahetu Cau Ch • **59.4 attā]** atta A (*unmetrical*) • **apīha]** aha A (*unmetrical*) • **dehe]** deho A

60. 1. poso yathā hi kadalīsu vinibbhujanto
 2. sāraṃ tad appam api nopalabheyya kāmam
 3. khandhesu pañcasu chaḷāyatanesu tesu
 4. suññesu kiñcid api nopalabheyya sāraṃ

Just as a man who splits plantain trunks inevitably obtains not even a little heartwood, one cannot find any essence at all in the emptiness of the five aggregates and six sense bases.

v. 60] v. 59 Go

60.1 kadalīsu] kadalīsu C (*unmetrical*) • **60.2 appam]** ampam A • **api]** pi A Ch (*unmetrical*) • **60.3 khandhesu]** khande A (*unmetrical*) • **chaḷ°]** chāl° A (*unmetrical*)

61. 1. suttaṃ vinā na paṭabhāvam ih' atthi kiñci
 2. dehaṃ vinā na khalu koci-m-ih' atthi satto
 3. dehaṃ sabhāvarahitaṃ khaṇabhaṅgayuttaṃ
 4. ko attahetu aparo bhuvī vijjatīha

There would be no cloth at all in this world without thread. There certainly would be no living being without a body. The body has no essential existence of its own and is bound to disintegrate in each moment. What other cause of one's self is there in the world?

61.1 suttaṃ] sutta A (*unmetrical*) • **paṭa°]** bhapaṭa° A (*unmetrical*), paṭha° C • **61.2 vinā]** vinam A • **satto]** satte A, sattho B • **61.3 dehaṃ]** deho Cau Ch • **°rahitaṃ]** °rahito Cau Ch • **°yuttaṃ]** °yutto Cau Ch • **61.4 attahetu]** attahetur A B C E • **vijjatīha]** vijjatiha A (*unmetrical*)

62. 1. disvā marīcisalilaṃ hi sudūrato bho
 2. bālo migo samupadhāvati toyasaññī
 3. evaṃ sabhāvarahite viparītasiddhe
 4. dehe pareti parikappanayā hi rāgaṃ

Friend, having seen a mirage from afar, a foolish deer runs thinking that there is water. In the same way then it is due to fantasy that one takes pleasure in a body that lacks essential existence and is wrongly apprehended.

62.1 marīci°] marici° A (*unmetrical*) • **62.2 °saññī]** °saññī B D • **62.3 °rahite]** °rahitena E e (*unmetrical*) • **hi]** ti E

63. 1. dehe sabhāvarahite parikappasiddhe
 2. attā na vijjati hi vijju-m-iv' antalikkhe
 3. bhāvetha bhāvanaratā vigatappamādā
 4. sabbāsavappahananāya anattasaññāṃ

One cannot find oneself in a body that lacks essential existence and is a creation of fantasy, just as a flash of lightning cannot be found in clear sky. Devoted to meditation and devoid of heedlessness, one should cultivate an awareness of insubstantiality in order to destroy all defilements.

63.2 vijju-m-iv°] vijjur iv° D E • **63.4 °ppahananāya]** °ppahananaya A (*unmetrical*), °ppahānāya D Ra (*unmetrical*) • **°saññāṃ]** °saññāṃ D

VI. ASUBHALAKKHAṆAṀ

VI. THE CHARACTERISTIC OF IMPURITY

64. 1. lālākarīsarudhirassuvasānulittaṃ
 2. dehaṃ imaṃ kalimalākālilaṃ asāraṃ
 3. sattā sadā pariharanti jigucchanīyaṃ
 4. nānāsucīhi paripuṇṇaghaṭaṃ yath' eva

As if carrying a pot full to the brim with much dirt, living beings always carry around this body, infused with spit, excrement, blood, tears and fat, full of dirt and filth, essenceless, and disgusting.

64.1 lālā°] lalā° A (*unmetrical*), lālām° C • **°assu°]** °assa° D • **64.3 jigucchanīyaṃ]** jigucchanīyaṃ B (*unmetrical*), digucchanīyaṃ D • **64.4 °sucihi]** °sucihi A (*unmetrical*) • **yath' eva]** yateva C

65. 1. ṅhātvā jalam hi sakalam catusāgarassa
 2. meruppamāṇam api gandham anuttaram ca
 3. pappoti n'eva manujo hi suciṃ kadāci
 4. kiṃ bho vipassatha guṇam kimu attabhāve

A human being can never become clean, even if one bathes in all the water of the four oceans, or in as much of the best perfume as can be contained in mount Meru. Friend, can you discern anything positive in your existence?

65.1 ṅhātvā] nahātvā A B D a b c d (*unmetrical*), nahātvā C E e (*unmetrical*), nahātvā Cau Ch (*unmetrical*) • **sakalam]** yakalam A • **°sāgarassa]** °sāragassa B • **65.2 anuttaraṇ]** anuttara A (*unmetrical*) • **ca]** om. A (*unmetrical*) • **65.3 manujo]** manuje A • **suciṃ]** suci A a (*unmetrical*), sucī D E • **65.4 vipassatha]** vipassata A, vipasatha D (*unmetrical*) • **kimu]** kim A (*unmetrical*)

66. 1. deham tad eva vividhāsucisannidhānam
 2. deham tad eva vadhabandhanarogabhūtam
 3. deham tad eva navadhāparibhinnagaṇḍam
 4. deham vinā bhayakaram na susānam atthi

This body is a heap of manifold dirt.

This body is a terminal disease that ties us to execution.

This body is an abscess split open with nine orifices.

Apart from the body, there is no reason to fear a charnel ground.

66.1 deham] deho Cau Ch • **tad]** so Cau Ch • **°sannidhānam]** °sannidhāno Cau Ch, °sannidhāna B (*unmetrical*) • **66.2 deham]** deho Cau Ch • **tad]** so Cau Ch • **vadha°]** vada° B • **°bhūtam]** °bhūto Cau Ch • **66.3 deham]** deho Cau Ch • **tad]** so Cau Ch • **°gaṇḍam]** °gandham B, °gaṇḍo Cau Ch • **66.4 deham]** deha C (*unmetrical*) • **bhayakaram]** bhayam karam A (*unmetrical*) • **atthi]** ati C (*unmetrical*)

67. 1. antogataṃ yadī va muttakarīsabhāgaṃ
 2. dehā bahiṃ aticareyya vinikkhamitvā
 3. mātā pitā vikaruṇā ca vīnaṭṭhapemā
 4. kāmaṃ bhavyeyu kimu bandhusutā ca dārā

If our innards, full of urine and excrement, would pass out of our body, their contents expelled, our mothers and fathers would inevitably

despise us, their affection lost. How much more so our relatives, sons and wives?

67.1 yadi] ya A (*unmetrical*) • **va]** ca Go • **°bhāgaṃ]** °bhāgo Cau Ch • **67.2 bahiṃ]** mahiṃ C • **67.3 vinaṭṭha°]** viniṭṭha° D *d* • **67.4 bhaveyyu]** bhaveyya A D Go • **bandhu°]** bandha° D

68. 1. dehaṃ yathā navamukhaṃ kimisaṅghagehaṃ
2. maṃsaṭṭhisedarudhirākālilaṃ vigandhaṃ
3. posenti ye vividhapāpam ihācaritvā
4. te mohitā maraṇadhammam aho vat' evaṃ

Just as they feed the body with its nine doors — a stinking house for a mass of maggots, full of flesh, bones, sweat and blood — they unknowingly feed their mortality by committing various evil acts in this world. This is indeed how it is!

68.1 °gehaṃ] °dehaṃ D *d* • **68.2 °seda°]** °desada° C (*unmetrical*) • **°rudhira°]** °rudhiraṃ C E *c e* • **°kalilaṃ]** °kalīlaṃ A *a* (*unmetrical*) • **vigandhaṃ]** vigaṃndhaṃ A • **68.3 posenti]** poseti C • **68.4 te]** *om.* E (*unmetrical*) • **mohitā]** mohotitā E (*unmetrical*) • **aho]** ato A

69. 1. gaṇḍūpame vividharoganivāsabhūte
2. kāye sadā rudhiramuttakarīsapuṇṇe
3. yo ettha nandati naro sasigālabhakkhe
4. kāmaṃ hi socati parattha sa bālabuddhi

The body is like an abscess and an abode of various diseases. It is filled with blood, urine and excrement, and is a fitting meal for dogs and jackals. The person of weak intellect who always takes delight in it in this life inevitably grieves in the next.

69.1 °ūpame] °ūpamo E *e* • **°bhūte]** °bhūto A • **69.2 kāye]** kāyo D • **°puṇṇe]** °puṇṇo B *b* • **69.3 yo]** ye Ra • **ettha]** yettha C • **sa°]** *om.* A *a* (*unmetrical*) • **°sigāla°]** °sigala° C (*unmetrical*) • **69.4 bāla°]** bā° A (*unmetrical*) • **°buddhi]** °buddhī Go

70. 1. bho pheṇaṇiṇḍasadiṣo viya sārāhīno
2. mīḷhālayo viya sadā paṭikūlagandho
3. āsīvisālayanibho sabhayo sadukkho
4. deho sadā savati loṇaghaṭo va bhinnno

Friend, the body is essenceless like a mass of foam, its stench is repellent like a urinal, it is full of fear and suffering like a den of poisonous snakes, and it is constantly leaking like a cracked pot of salt.

70.4 °ghaṭo] °ghaṭe C Ra

71. 1. jātaṃ yathā na kamalaṃ bhuvī nindanīyaṃ
2. pañkesu bho asucitoyasamākulesu
3. jātaṃ tathā parahitaṃ pi ca dehabhūtaṃ
4. taṇ nindanīyaṃ iha jātu na hoti loke

Beings born in this world for the sake of others are never to be abused because of their bodies, just as a lotus flower in the earth is not to be blamed for blossoming in muddy, filthy water.

71.1 yathā] yāthā A (*unmetrical*) • **na]** ka A • **kamalaṃ]** kamalā B • **nindanīyaṃ]** nandanīyaṃ B D • **71.2 °toya°]** °koya° C • **71.3 tathā]** yathā C E • **°hitam]** °hatam E • **°bhūtaṃ]** °bhūto A B C E *a b c d e*, °heto D, °bhūtā Ek Ra • **71.4 taṇ]** na B (*unmetrical*) • **hoti]** hotu D • **loke]** loko D

72. 1. dvattiṃsabhāgaparipūrataro viśeso
2. kāyo yathā hi naranāriḡaṇassa loke
3. kāyesu kiṃ phalaṃ ih'atthi ca paṇḍitānaṃ
4. kāmaṃ tad eva naṇu hoti paropakāraṃ

For masses of men and women in the world a body is special when it is complete with thirty-two parts. Yet what is the benefit of such a body for the wise? Is a body surely not meant for the service of others?

72.1 °paripūrataro] °paripūraṇaro A • **72.3 kāyesu]** kāyena C • **phalam]** palam A

73. 1. posena paṇḍitarena tathāpi dehaṃ
2. sabbattanā cirataram paripālanīyaṃ
3. dhammaṃ careyya suciraṃ khalu jīvamāno
4. dhammo have maṇivaro iva kāmado bho

A wise man then should wholeheartedly take care of his body for as long as he can and, living a long time, he should practise the Dhamma. Friend, without fail the Dhamma fulfils our desires like a wish-fulfilling jewel.

73.1 posena] poso na Cau Ch • **dehaṃ]** dehe E, deho Cau Ch • **73.2 sabbattanā]** sabbatthanā B • **paripālanīyaṃ]** paripālanīya C, paripālanīyo Cau

Ch • **73.3 dhammaṃ]** dhamma B (*unmetrical*) • **73.4 dhammo]** dhamme Cau
Ch • **kāmodo bho]** kāmadeho A B C

74. 1. khīre yathā suparibhāvita-v-osadhamhi
2. snehena osadhabalaṃ paribhāsate va
3. dhammaṃ tathā iha samācaritaṃ hi loke
4. chāyā va yāti paralokam ito vajantaṃ

The Dhamma follows us into our next life like a shadow when it has been practised in this one, just as medicine works pleasantly when prepared in milk, which is an adjuvant.

74.1 °v-osadhamhi] °mosadhamhi A B C D E Cau Ch, °vosadham hi Ra • **74.2 osadha°]** auśadha° A • **paribhāsate]** baribhāsate C, paribhāyate E • **va]** ca A • **74.3 dhammaṃ]** dhammo Cau Ch • **samācaritaṃ]** samācarito Cau Ch • **74.4 yāti]** sāti E

75. 1. kāyassa bho viracitassa yathānukūlaṃ
2. chāyā vibhāti rucirāmaladappaṇe tu
3. katvā tath'eva paramaṃ kusalaṃ parattha
4. sambhūsitā iva bhavanti phalena tena

Having performed the highest good in this life, they are as if well decorated with its results in the next, just as the image of an adorned body reflects favourably in a beautifully spotless mirror.

75.3 paramaṃ] parama C (*unmetrical*) • **75.4 sambhūsitā]** sambhūsita C (*unmetrical*)

76. 1. dehe tathā vividhadukkhanivāsabhūte
2. mohā pamādasagā sukhasaññamūlā
3. tikkhe yathā khuramukhe madhu lehamāno
4. bālhaṃ ca dukkham adhigacchati hīnapañño

Overcome with heedlessness and infatuated with thoughts of pleasure with respect to a body that is an abode of manifold sufferings, the deluded experience extreme pain like idiots who lick honey off the edge of a razor blade.

76.1 tathā] yathā E • **°nivāsa°]** °nivānivāsa° C (*unmetrical*) • **76.2 °vasagā sukha°]** °vasagā vikkhe sukha° A (*unmetrical*) • **76.3 tikkhe]** vikkhe B C D E a

b c d e (*a b c d e*, vikkhe: *tīkṣaṇavū*) • **yathā**] tathā A • **76.4 ca dukkham]** sadukkham A B C D E • **adhigacchati]** anugacchati Cau Ch

77. 1. saṅkapparāgavihate nirat' attabhāve
 2. dukkhaṃ sadā samadhigacchati appapañño
 3. mūlhassa-m-eva sukhasaññaṃ ih' atthi loke
 4. kiṃ pakkam eva nanu hoti vicāramāne

Oppressed by anxiety and desire, and taking pleasure in his own existence, the fool always encounters suffering. The idea of happiness in the world is only for the deluded. When considering things properly, what in the world is not subject to decay?

77.1 °vihate] °vihato A B C D E *a b c d e* (*a b c d e*, vihato: ... *maḍhanā-laddāvū* attabhāve), °vigate Cau Ch, • **77.2 samadhigacchati]** samadigacchati A • **°pañño]** °sañño C c • **77.3 m-eva]** c' eva Cau Ch • **77.4 pakkam]** pakkham A, sakkam C • **vicāramāne]** vicāramāno D

VII. DUCCARITĀDĪNAVĀ

VII. THE DANGERS OF WRONG CONDUCT

78. 1. sabbopabhogadhanadhaññavisesalābhī
 2. rūpena bho sa makaraddhajasannibho pi
 3. yo yobbane pi maraṇaṃ labhate akāmaṃ
 4. kāmaṃ parattha parapāṇaharo naro hi

Friend, the man who intentionally kills another living being in one life inevitably receives an untimely death in the next, even though he may be young or possess many enjoyments, wealth, luxuries and gifts, or even resemble the shark-bannered Cupid in looks.

78.1 °lābhī] °lābhi B D • **78.2 sa]** si B • **pi]** piṃ A • **78.3 yobbane]** yombbane A • **labhate]** labhāte E (*unmetrical*) • **78.4 parattha parapāṇaharo]** sadā tu parapāṇaharo B Dp • **°pāṇa°]** °pānā° A (*unmetrical*) • **hi]** hī A

79. 1. yo yācako bhavati bhinnakapālahattho
 2. muṇḍo dhigakkharasatehi ca tājJayanto
 3. bhikkhaṃ sadāribhavane sa kucelavāso
 4. dehe parattha paravittaharo naro hi

The man who steals the belongings of another will in his next life become a beggar, holding a broken skull, his head shaved and his

clothes tattered, and will be abused with hundreds of expletives while begging constantly at hostile houses.

79.1 yo] so E Ch • **yācako]** cāyako A • **79.2 muṇḍo]** muddho B • °**satehi]** °yatehi A • **79.3 bhikkhaṃ]** bhikkhaṃ D • **79.4 dehe]** dehī Dp • **parattha]** paratta A, paratthi Cau Ch • **paravitta°]** paracitta° E Ch • **hi]** so a b c d e Ek Ra, hī A, yo Ch

80. 1. itthī na muñcati sadā puna itthibhāvā
 2. nārī sadā bhavati so puriso parattha
 3. yo ācareyya paradāram alaṅghaniyaṃ
 4. ghoraṃ ca vindati sadā vyasaṇaṃ c' anekaṃ

He who has sex with another's wife — one who is not to be violated — is always reborn in the next life as a wife and experiences terror and manifold misfortunes. The woman too will never escape womanhood.

80.1 °bhāvā] °bhāvaṃ A B E a b e Go Ra • **80.2 nārī]** nārī A C (*unmetrical*)

81. 1. dīno vigandhavadano ca jaḷo apañño
 2. mūgo sadā bhavati appiyadassano ca
 3. pappoti dukkhaṃ atulaṃ ca manussabhūto
 4. vācaṃ musā bhaṇati yo hi apaññaṣatto

An unwise being who tells lies when a human is always reborn as a wretched animal that has stinking breath, is dull, stupid, very ugly, and experiences unparalleled suffering.

81.4 yo hi] so ca D • **apañña°]** apuñña° A

82. 1. ummattakā vigatalajjaguṇā bhavanti
 2. dīnā sadā vyasanasokaparāyaṇā ca
 3. jātā bhavesu vividhesu virūpadehā
 4. pītvā halāhalaviṣaṃ va suraṃ vipaṇṇā

Fools who drink wine, which is like Halāhala venom, become deranged, lose the virtue of shame, are wretched, always endure misfortune and grief, and are born in manifold existences with deformed bodies.

82.3 jātā] jāto A B, dātā D • **82.4 pītvā]** pītvā A B E Cau Ch Dp Ra • **suram]** su A (*unmetrical*)

83. 1. pāpāni yena iha ācaritāni yāni
 2. yo vassakoṭīnahutāni anappakāni
 3. laddhāna ghoram atulaṃ narakesu dukkhaṃ
 4. pappoti c' ettha vividhavyasanaṃ c' anekaṃ

The one who has committed evil deeds and has obtained terrible, unparalleled suffering in the hells for many myriads of æons still receives in this life many kinds of misfortune.

83.1 yāni] yāni A • **83.2 yo]** so E e • **°hutāni]** °hutāni A (*unmetrical*) • **anappa-**
kāni] anappakāni A, atappakāni B • **83.3 laddhāna]** ladhānu C (*unmetrical*) •
narakesu] nagaresu D • **83.4 ettha]** etta C • **°vyasanaṃ]** °bbyasanañ C

VIII. CATURĀRAKKHĀ

VIII. THE FOUR PROTECTIONS

84. 1. lokattayesu sakalesu samaṃ na kiñci
 2. lokassa santikaraṇaṃ ratanattayena
 3. tattejasā sumahatā jitasabbapāpo
 4. so 'haṃ sadādhigatasabbasukho bhaveyyaṃ

For creating peace in the world, there is nothing in existence equal to the three jewels. May all my evil ways be conquered by their great effulgence and may I always obtain complete happiness.

84.1 lokattayesu] lokottaye A (*unmetrical*) • **84.3 sumahatā]** sumahātā A
(*unmetrical*) • **84.4 °ādhigata°]** °ādigatā° B

85. 1. lokattayesu sakalesu ca sabbasattā
 2. mittā ca majjharipubandhujanā ca sabbe
 3. te sabbadā vigatarogabhayā visokā
 4. sabbam sukhaṃ adhigatā muditā bhavantu

May all beings in the world — whether friends, acquaintances, enemies or relatives — always be without illness, fear, and grief. May they easily obtain complete happiness and be joyful!

85.1 sakalesu] sakale C (*unmetrical*) • **sabbasattā]** sabbattasattā C (*unmetrical*)
• **85.4 adhigatā]** adhigata C (*unmetrical*)

86. 1. kāyo karīsabharito viya bhinnakumbho
 2. kāyo sadā kalimalāvyaśādhivāso
 3. kāyo vihaññati ca sabbasukhan ti loke
 4. kāyo sadā maraṇarogajarādhivāso

The body is like a cracked pot that is full of excrement. The body is a constant abode of filth, dirt and misfortune. The body becomes exhausted in a world considered completely pleasurable. The body is a constant abode of death, disease, and old age.

86.2 kāyo] kāye E • **kalimalā°]** kalimala° Cau Ch Ek Ra • **86.3 kāyo]** kāye Ch • **ti]** nti C • **loke]** loko D Ch •

87. 1. so yobbano ti thaviro ti ca bālako ti
 2. satte na pekkhati vihaññati-r-eva maccu
 3. so 'haṃ thito pi sayito pi ca pakkamanto
 4. gacchāmi maccuvadanaṃ niyataṃ tathā hi

Death strikes without considering whether living beings are young, adults, or babies. For whether I am standing, lying, or walking, I am continually moving into the jaws of death.

87.1 yobbano] yobbane A B C D E a b c d e Go Ra • **ti]** pi A B C D E a b c d e Go • **thaviro]** thavire Ra • **bālako]** bālake Ra • **87.3 pakkamanto]** pakkhamanto A • **87.4 gacchāmi]** gacchami A (*unmetrical*), gaccāmi D • **°vadaṇaṃ]** °vadhaṇaṃ A • **hi]** hī A, pi D d

88. 1. evaṃ yathā vihitadosam idaṃ sarīraṃ
 2. niccaṃ va taggataṃ hadaye karoṭṭha
 3. mettaṃ parittaṃ asubhaṃ maraṇassa niccaṃ
 4. bhāvētha bhāvanarātā satataṃ yatattā

Just as you have taken to heart the fact that this body is full of faults, having reflected upon it, devoted to meditation, you should also reflect with constant effort on loving kindness, the protections, impurity and the certainty of death.

88.1 evaṃ] eva A (*unmetrical*) • **88.2 hadaye]** hadayaṃ B • **88.3 maraṇassa niccaṃ]** maraṇassatiṅ ca Cau Ch Ek Ra • **88.4 °ratā]** °rathā C

IX. PAṬICCASAMUPPĀDO

IX. DEPENDENT CO-ARISING

89. 1. dānādipuññakiriyāni sukhudrayāni
 2. katvā ca tam phalam asesam ih' appameyyaṃ
 3. deyyaṃ sadā parahitāya sukhāya c'eva
 4. kim bho tad eva nanu hatthagataṃ hi sāraṃ

Performing meritorious acts that bring happiness, such as giving, has limitless and immeasurable benefits in this life. Always give only for the benefit and happiness of others. Friend, isn't the act of giving the only wealth you really carry with you?

89.1 °ādī°] °ādī° A (*unmetrical*) • °puñña°] °puñña° E • °kiriyāni] °kiriyāni A (*unmetrical*), °kriyāni C (*unmetrical*) • **sukhudrayāni]** sukhudrāni A (*unmetrical*), sukhūdrayāni Ra • **89.3 deyyaṃ]** om. A (*unmetrical*), deyya C (*unmetrical*) • **c'eva]** meva B • **89.4 hattha°]** hatta° A • **hi]** va D

90. 1. hetuṃ vinā na bhavatī hi ca kiñci loke
 2. saddo va pāṇitalaghaṭṭanahetujāto
 3. evaṃ ca hetuphalabhāvavibhāgabhinno
 4. loko udeti ca vinassati tiṭṭhatī ca

There is nothing in this world that comes to be without a cause, just as sound is produced by the clapping of hands. Thus the world, diverse due to the different relations between cause and effect, arises, persists, and is destroyed.

90.1 bhavatī hi] bhavahī C (*unmetrical*) em. bhavatīha? • **90.2 saddo]** sadde B • **pāṇi°]** pāṇi° A (*unmetrical*) • °tala°] °talaṃ° A (*unmetrical*) • **90.4 vinassati]** vinassatī A (*unmetrical*)

91. 1. kammaṃsā kāraṇaṃ ayaṃ hi yathā avijjā
 2. bho kammanā samadhigacchati jātibhedam
 3. jātiṃ paṭicca ca jarāmarañādidukkham
 4. sattā sadā paṭilabhanti anādikāle

Just as ignorance is the cause of action and, friend, just as it is through action that the ignorant attain different births, it is on account of birth that, from time immemorial, beings are subject to suffering beginning with old age and death.

91.1 kārāṇam ayaṃ] kārāṇa-mayaṃ Ra • **kārāṇam]** kārāṇām Cau Ch
(*unmetrical*) • **91.2 samadhigacchati]** samadigacchati A • **jātibhedam]** bheda-
jātiṃ C • **91.3 jātiṃ]** *om. C (unmetrical)* • **ca]** *om. C (unmetrical)* • **91.4 paṭi-**
labhanti] paṭilabanti A

92. 1. kammaṃ yathā na bhavatīha ca mohanāsā
2. kammakkhayā pi ca na hoti bhavesu jāti
3. jātikkhayā iha jarāmarañādidukkhaṃ
4. sabbakkhayaṃ bhavati dīpa ivānilena

In this respect, just as no action comes to be after the destruction of delusion, and just as there is no birth in the worlds after the end of action, after the end of birth the suffering beginning with old age and death comes to an end here completely, like a flame completely extinguished by a gust of wind.

92.1 bhavatīha] bhavatī hi B C D E Go, bhavatī hī A (*unmetrical*) • **92.2 jāti]**
jātā D • **92.3 jāti°]** jati C (*unmetrical*) • **92.4 °akkhayaṃ]** °akkhayo Cau Ch •
dīpa ivā°] dīpevā° Cau Ch • **ivānilena]** ivānilena C D E (*unmetrical*)

X. [CONCLUDING VERSES]

93. 1. yo passatīha satataṃ munidhammakāyaṃ
2. buddhaṃ sa passatī naro iti so avoca
3. buddhaṃ ca dhammam amalaṃ ca tilokanāthaṃ
4. sampassitum vicinathāpi ca dhammataṃ bho

The Buddha has said, “The man who constantly sees, right here, the Dhamma body of the sage, sees the Buddha.” Friend, one should also strive to behold the Buddha, lord of the three worlds, the taintless Dhamma, and the nature of things.

93.1 yo] ye A • **muni°]** mu° A (*unmetrical*) • **93.2 buddhaṃ sa]** buddhassa A •
passati] passatī A (*unmetrical*) • **avoca]** āvoca C (*unmetrical*) • **93.3 °nāthaṃ]**
°nātaṃ A • **93.4 dhammataṃ]** dhammatā A B C D E a b c d e Ek Go Ra (e,
dhammatā: *satpuruṣayangē svabhāvayek*; Ek, dhammatā: [*satpuruṣa*]-
dharmasvabhāvak [*da*] *vē*)

94. 1. sallaṃ va bho sunisitaṃ hadaye nimuggaṃ
2. dosattayaṃ vividhapāpamalena littam
3. nānāvidhavyasanabhājanam appasannaṃ
4. paññāmayena balisena nirākarotha

Friend, you should remove with a surgical hook of wisdom the very sharp arrow of the three faults that has been plunged into your heart, an arrow stained with much evil filth, an impure source of various misfortunes.

94.1 sunisitam] suniyitam A, sunidhitam D • **94.2 dosa°]** dohisa° D (*unmetrical*) • **94.3 °sannaṃ]** °nnaṃ A (*unmetrical*) • **94.4 paññā°]** aññā° A

95. 1. nākampayanti sakalā pi ca lokadhammā
2. cittaṃ sadā ’pagatapāpakilesasallaṃ
3. rūpādayo ca vividhā visayā samaggā
4. phutṭhaṃ va merusikharaṃ mahatānilena

The entirety of worldly states and all the manifold objects of the senses, beginning with forms, can never shake a mind that has removed the arrow of evil defilement, just as a strong gale can only but caress the peak of Mount Meru.

95.1 °dhammā] °dhamme A B C D E a b c d e (a b c d e, sakalā ... dhamme, ... *siyaḷu-aṣṭalokadharmmayo da*) • **95.2 sadā]** om. C (*unmetrical*) • **95.4 phutṭhaṃ]** phatṭhaṃ A a, phutṭha C (*unmetrical*)

96. 1. saṃsāradukkham agaṇeyya yathā munindo
2. gambhīrapāramitasāgaram uttaritvā
3. ñeyyaṃ abodhi nipuṇaṃ hatamohajālo
4. tasmā sadā parahitaṃ paramaṃ ciṇātha

The lord of sages crossed the deep ocean of the perfections, broke the net of ignorance and realised absolute knowledge, without concern for the suffering of cyclic existence. Thus always seek the highest for the sake of others.

96.1 °dukkham] °dukkha A • **agaṇeyya]** ganeyya A (*unmetrical*) • **°indo]** °inde D • **96.3 ñeyyaṃ]** neyyaṃ A B D E, neyya C (*unmetrical*) • **abodhi]** abodha B • **hata°]** om. C (*unmetrical*) • **°jālo]** °jāle C • **96.4 ciṇātha]** vinatha B (*unmetrical*), vināthaṃ C

97. 1. ohāya so ’dhigatamokkhasukhaṃ paresaṃ
2. atthāya sañcari bhavesu mahabbhayesu
3. evaṃ sadā parahitaṃ purato karitvā
4. dhammaṃ mayānucaritaṃ jagatattham eva

Having given up the pleasures of liberation that he had attained, he traversed dreadful existences for the benefit of others. Thus placing the welfare of others first, I always practise the Dhamma for the benefit of the world.

97.1 paresaṃ] pareyyaṃ A • **97.4 dhammaṃ]** dhammo Cau Ch • °ānucaritaṃ] °ānucarito Cau Ch • **eva]** meva A (*unmetrical*)

98. 1. laddhāna dullabhataraṃ ca manussayoniṃ
2. sabbaṃ papañcarahitaṃ khaṇasampadaṃ ca
3. ñatvāna āsavanudekahitaṃ ca dhammaṃ
4. ko paññavā anavaraṃ na bhajeyya dhammaṃ

Having obtained a rare birth in a human womb and all the opportune attainments free from impediments, and having realised the Dhamma that is solely conducive to the destruction of defilements, what wise man would not honour the extraordinary Dhamma?

98.1 °yoniṃ] °yoni Cau • **98.3 °eka°]** °ekha° A • **98.4 anavaraṃ]** manavaraṃ A

99. 1. laddhāna buddhasamayaṃ atidullabhaṃ ca
2. saddhammaggaṃ asamaṃ sivadaṃ tath'eva
3. kalyāṇamittapavare matisampadaṃ ca
4. ko buddhimā anavaraṃ na bhajeyya dhammaṃ

Having lived in the rare age of a Buddha and having found the path of the true Dhamma, which is unequalled and gives happiness, and also having gained very good friends and the blessing of wisdom, what intelligent person would not honour the extraordinary Dhamma?

v. 99] *om.* A B C D E a b c d e Go

99.3 °pavare] °pavaraṃ Ra • **99.4 anavaraṃ]** avirataṃ Ek

100. 1. evaṃ pi dullabhatare vibhave suladdhā
2. maccheradosaviratā ubhayatthakāmā
3. saddhādidhammasahitā satatappamattā
4. bho bho karotha amatādhigamāya puññaṃ

Thus you too have obtained the rarest attainments. You have abandoned selfish ways and have ambitions for this life and the next. Having qualities such as faith and being permanently mindful, friend, O friend, do what is meritorious in order to reach the deathless!

v. 100] *om.* A B C D E a b c d e Go

100.1 dullabhatare] dullabhataraṃ Cau Ch

A NOTE ON THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE DHAMMA ACCORDING TO THE MANORATHAPŪRAṆĪ

Chris Clark

Amongst the voluminous commentaries (*aṭṭhakathās*) on the Pāli canon is a series of predictions concerning the end of Buddhism. Some of these passages are terse and merely state that the teaching (*sāsana*) will last five thousand years (e.g. As 27,30–32 ≈ Sp 30,6–8 = Sv 25,15–17),¹ while others are extended descriptions of the manner in which it will gradually disappear (e.g. Ps IV 115,10–17,17 ≈ Sv 898,18–900,10 ≈ Vibh-a 431,27–33,22). Many Theravāda Buddhists up to the present time have taken these predictions very seriously and their concerns have motivated and shaped a great deal of religious activity. For example, a number of recent studies have shed light on the ways in which such predictions have influenced Burmese Buddhism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (e.g. Carbine 2011; Braun 2013; Turner 2014; Clark 2015). An accurate understanding of them is therefore important, not only for Pāli scholarship in particular, but Buddhist studies in general.

One of the most frequently cited and discussed passages containing such a prediction belongs to the Manorathapūraṇī (Mp I 87–92), Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the Aṅguttara-nikāya. This passage provides a particularly detailed description of the way in which the good doctrine (*saddhamma*) will disappear and, because of its importance, it has been summarised by a number of scholars, including Lamotte (French original: 1958: 216; English translation: 1988: 197), Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara (1973: 98–99, n. 40), Chappell (1980: 131),

¹ “Because of Elder Mahākassapa, this teaching of [the Buddha] with the ten powers has been made capable of continuing for a period of five thousand years” (*idaṃ Mahākassapattherena dasabalassa sāsanaṃ pañcavassasahassaparimāṇaṃ kālaṃ pavattanasamatthaṃ katan ti*, Sp 30,6–8 = Sv 25,15–17 ≈ As 27,30–32). In this article, Pāli texts are cited using the abbreviations and system given in the Epilegomena of *CPD*. All translations of Pāli are my own.

Nattier (1991: 56–58), Strong (2004: 222–25), Lopez (2008: 211–12) and Anālayo (2010: 80, n. 61). These summaries state that the religion will disappear during five successive one-thousand-year stages, namely, the disappearance of realisation (*adhigama*) during the first millennium, the disappearance of practice (*paṭipatti*) during the second millennium, the disappearance of scripture (*pariyatti*) during the third millennium, the disappearance of monastic signs (*līṅga*) during the fourth millennium and the disappearance of the Buddha’s relics (*dhātu*) during the fifth millennium. A close examination of this passage reveals that these summaries are inaccurate and this article is primarily intended to correct a number of misunderstandings.

Firstly, unlike several other prediction passages found in the commentaries (e.g. As 27,30–32 ≈ Sp 30,6–8 = Sv 25,15–17), Mp I 87–92 does not specify that the good doctrine will disappear after five thousand years;¹ nor does it divide the period of disappearance into five one-thousand-year stages. In fact, its only quantification of time is found towards the beginning of the description of the disappearance of realisation, which states, “For only a thousand years after the complete quenching of a Buddha are beings able to produce the analytical insights” (*buddhānaṃ hi parinibbānato vassasahassam eva paṭisambhidā nibbattetuṃ sakkonti*, Mp I 87,8–10).² The text goes on to describe how, following these one thousand years, the analytical insights can no longer be produced. The disappearance of realisation was therefore not predicted to take place in the millennium immediately following the death of the Buddha, but rather to begin only after that millennium elapsed.

Secondly, while Mp I 87–92 does indeed describe the disappearance of five aspects of the good doctrine, it does not specify the exact temporal order in which these aspects will disappear. It does not, for instance, state that realisation will disappear first, followed by practice,

¹ In pointing this out, I do not want to suggest that Mp I 87–92 is incompatible with the five-thousand-year chronology.

² Here and throughout much of Mp I 87–92, the word “Buddha” appears in a plural form, indicating that this is a process which occurs following the death of all Buddhas, not just Gotama Buddha. My translation “a Buddha” is intended to reflect this generality.

scripture, monastic signs and, lastly, relics, as claimed by the aforementioned summaries. This simply happens to be the order in which the five aspects are described in the Manorathapūraṇī. In fact, the text states, “It is the disappearance of scripture that is the cause of this fivefold disappearance. For when scripture disappears, practice disappears. [But] when scripture remains, [practice] remains” (*imassa pañca-vidhassa antaradhānassa pariyaṭṭi-antaradhānam eva mūlaṃ. pariyaṭṭiyā hi antarahitāya paṭipatti antaradhāyati. pariyaṭṭiyā ṭhitāya tiṭṭhati*, Mp I 91,22–92,2). Therefore, the disappearance of scripture must begin before the disappearance of practice, and, indeed, all other aspects. The summaries are, however, at least correct to state that the disappearance of realisation is predicted to begin before the disappearance of practice. This may be inferred from the following statement in the description of the disappearance of practice:

Being unable to produce the meditative absorptions, insight, the path or fruit (i.e. components of realisation), they observe merely the virtuous conduct that consists of the four kinds of purity (i.e. a component of practice).¹ As time goes on they give up, [thinking,] “Having fulfilled virtuous conduct, we observe [it] and practise exertion. [But] we are able to realise neither the path nor fruit. Realisation (*paṭivedha*) of the noble doctrine no longer exists.”

jhānavipassanāmaggaḥalāni nibbattetuṃ asakkontā catupārisuddhi-sīlamattaṃ rakkhanti. gacchante gacchante kāle sīlaṃ paripuṇṇaṃ katvā rakkhāma padhānañ ca anuyuñjāma na maggaṃ vā phalaṃ vā sacchikātuṃ sakkoma. n’ atthi dāni ariyadhammapaṭivedho ti. Mp I 87,17–22

A more accurate summary of Mp I 87–92 is thus required. This passage describes the disappearance of five aspects of the good doctrine, namely, realisation, practice, scripture, monastic signs and relics. It predicts the following: (1) scripture will be the first aspect to begin to disappear, (2) realisation will begin to disappear a millennium after the death of the Buddha and (3) practice will begin to disappear after realisation has partially or fully disappeared. The passage does not specify a time-frame for the complete disappearance of any aspect and is ambiguous as to whether the five aspects will disappear one after the other,

¹ For the virtuous conduct that consists of the four kinds of purity, see e.g. Vism 15–46.

or whether some aspects will disappear concurrently.¹ Therefore, the timing and sequence of the predictions contained in Mp I 87–92 are far less specific and clear-cut than previous scholarship has suggested.

The inaccuracies reproduced in the aforementioned summaries appear to have stemmed from an article about the 2,500-year anniversary of the death of the Buddha written by Cœdès (French original: 1956a; English translation: 1956b). This article presents the five disappearances of Mp I 87–92 as sequential stages (Cœdès 1956b: 98–100) and states, “If one is to assume that the five disappearances are equally spaced out in time, one arrives at a duration of 5,000 years” (Cœdès 1956b: 101). In order to demonstrate a basis for making this assumption, Cœdès (1956b: 101) claimed that five disappearances spaced one thousand years apart are described in a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century Pāli text called the *Sāra(ttha)saṅgaha* (Sasaki 1992: 28–32)² and a fifteenth-century Sinhala text called the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* (Gunawardhana 2001: 211–17),³ and he implied that they are also described in a passage belonging to the *Anāgatavaṃsa* genre of texts (Minayeff 1886: 34–36). An inspection of each of these sources revealed that, as with Mp I 87–92, all describe the five disappearances yet none actually

¹ Mp IV 137,8–10 = Sp 1291,23–25, for instance, predicts that scripture will last for exactly the same length of time as realisation (*paṭivedha*), namely, five thousand years. Monastic signs, however, are predicted to last a long time after the disappearance of scripture (Mp IV 137,11–12 = Sp 1291,25–26). See below for further details on this passage.

² See Neri 2014 for information on this text and a list of the sources of its many quotations.

³ See Godakumbura 1955: 94–97 for an overview of this text. Unfortunately I do not know the Sinhala language and, to the best of my knowledge, a complete English translation of the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* has not yet been published. The relevant passage was translated by Hardy (1850: 427–30), who used the word “epoch” to describe each disappearance. However, the Sinhala passage (Gunawardhana 2001: 211–17) was very kindly examined for me by Bertram G. Liyanage, a Buddhist studies instructor at the University of Colombo, who informed me that there are no terms in the Sinhala text which correspond to “first epoch”, “second epoch”, etc. Therefore, these appear to be interpretive additions by Hardy.

specify that these disappearances occur during five successive one-thousand-year stages.¹

This assumption by Cœdès ultimately seems to rest upon the text of a royal inscription of Thailand dating to 1357, which he translated and studied (Cœdès 1919; 1924: 77–90) and discussed in his article about the 2,500-year anniversary of the death of the Buddha (Cœdès 1956b: 101, 103–104, n. 21).² This inscription predicts the following: (1) the Tipiṭaka will largely disappear by the end of the second millennium, (2) there will still be some monks who observe four precepts by the end of the third millennium, (3) no monk will wear a robe by the end of the fourth millennium, and (4) the relics will travel to the site of the Buddha's awakening and be consumed by fire at the end of the fifth millennium. These predictions could be interpreted as roughly corresponding to the (1) disappearance of scripture, (2) disappearance of practice, (3) disappearance of monastic signs and (4) disappearance of relics, respectively. Although only four disappearances are listed here and their order is somewhat different from that of Mp I 87–92, there are sufficient similarities to posit a connection to Mp I 87–92; however, the inferences Cœdès drew from the inscription are unsuitable for Mp I 87–92 because they conflict with a number of its details.³

The inaccuracies reproduced in the aforementioned summaries may also have been encouraged by conflation with an important prediction

¹ The Saddharmaratnākara and Anāgatavaṃsa add that at the beginning of the disappearance of relics, the Buddha's teaching will be five thousand years old. If Cœdès's interpretation is correct, we might instead expect these texts to specify that this much time will have elapsed by the *end* of the disappearance of relics.

² This inscription is also the subject of Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara 1973: 79–111.

³ Namely, the disappearance of realisation cannot take place during the first millennium because Mp I 87,6–16 predicts that this disappearance will begin only after the first millennium has elapsed. Equally, it cannot be the case that the disappearance of practice will occur during the second millennium and the disappearance of scripture during the third millennium, because Mp I 91,22–92,2 states that the disappearance of scripture is the cause of the disappearance of practice and, in fact, the fivefold disappearance, and must therefore be the first disappearance to commence.

passage from the Samantapāsādikā (Sp 1291), the commentary on the Vinaya-piṭaka. This passage, which both Lamotte (French original: 1958: 215–16; English translation: 1988: 196–97) and Nattier (1991: 58) cited, does describe five one-thousand-year stages within the disappearance of the good doctrine, stating:

And this [statement] *a thousand years* (Vin II 256,12) was said in relation to [*arahats*] whose taints are destroyed and who have attained the various analytical insights.¹ But beyond that, [there will be] a thousand years in relation to [*arahats*] whose taints are destroyed and who have dry insight, a thousand years in relation to non-returners, a thousand years in relation to once-returners, [and] a thousand years in relation to stream-enterers. The good doctrine as realisation will thus remain for five thousand years. The doctrine as scripture also [will remain] for those same [five thousand years]. For neither is there realisation when there is no scripture, nor absence of realisation when there is scripture. But even when scripture has disappeared, [monastic] sign[s] will last a long time.

vassasahassan ti c' etaṃ paṭisambhidappabhedapattakhīṇāsavavasen' eva vuttaṃ. tato pana uttarim pi sukkhavipassakakhīṇāsavavasena vassasahassam anāgāṃivasena vassasahassam sakadāgāṃivasena vassasahassam sotāpannavasena vassasahassan ti. evaṃ pañca vassasahassāni paṭivedhasaddhammo ṭhassati. pariyattidhammo pi tāni yeva. na hi pariyattiyā asati paṭivedho atthi. nāpi pariyattiyā sati paṭivedho na hoti. līṅgaṃ pana pariyattiyā antarahitāya pi ciraṃ pavattissatī tī, Sp 1291,18–26² ≈ Mp IV 137,3–12

¹ This prediction is consistent with Mp I 87,8–10, which states that for only a thousand years after a Buddha's death will beings be able to produce the analytical insights. The remainder of the description of the disappearance of realisation at Mp I 87 does not specify any further time periods and it is therefore difficult to determine how consistent it is with Sp 1291,18–26. Mp-ṭ B^e III 243, Sārasaṅgaha (Sasaki 1992) 36–37, Sp-ṭ B^e III 439–440 quote a number of commentarial predictions regarding the disappearance of realisation and acknowledge that there are some inconsistencies.

² This is part of a larger passage (Sp 1291) which attempts to reconcile the five-hundred-year chronology put forward by the Buddha at Vin II 256 and the five-thousand-year chronology put forward in the commentaries. Sp 1291,13–18 argues that had the Buddha not laid down the eight principles of respect (*garudhamma*; see Bodhi 2012: 1802–803, n. 1733) for nuns (Vin II 255–56), the good doctrine would have lasted only five hundred years; however, because he did so, the good doctrine will instead last for a thousand years. As the

To the best of my knowledge, a complete English translation of Mp I 87–92 has not yet been published.¹ Given the importance of this passage and the frequency with which inaccurate summaries of it have been reproduced, it seems valuable to provide one here.

Annotated translation of Mp I 87–92²

[87] In regard to what was said at the end of all the *suttas* [in the chapter], namely, *and they cause this good doctrine to disappear* (A I 19,13–14), there are five disappearances: the disappearance of realisation, disappearance of practice, disappearance of scripture, disappearance of [monastic] signs [and] disappearance of relics.

Therein, “realisation” [means] the four paths, four fruits, four analytical insights, three knowledges [and] six supernormal knowledges. When [realisation] deteriorates, it deteriorates beginning with the analytical insight[s]. For only a thousand years after the complete quenching of a Buddha are beings able to produce the analytical insights; then [they are able to produce] the six supernormal knowledges.³ Then, being unable [to produce] even those, they produce the three knowledges. As time goes on, being unable to produce even those, they have dry insight.⁴ In just this way, they are non-returners, once-returners, [then] stream-enterers. While they survive, realisation has not disappeared. But with the last stream-enterer’s death, realisation has disappeared. This is the disappearance of realisation.

translated quote above (Sp 1291,18–26) demonstrates, it is then argued that the “thousand years” mentioned in the root text actually refers to each of five stages, which add up to five thousand years.

¹ Cœdès (1956b: 99–100) and Strong (2004: 224) translated the description of the disappearance of relics (Mp I 91). Additionally, an abridged and modified version of Mp I 87–91 is found in the *Anāgatavaṃsa* genre of texts (Minayeff 1886: 34–36), which was translated by Warren (1922: 482–85) and Horner (1964: 47–50).

² This translation is of the Pali Text Society edition, the page numbers of which are given in square brackets.

³ In other words, after a thousand years have passed beings are still able to produce the six supernormal knowledges yet are no longer able to produce the analytical insights.

⁴ That is, without the “moisture” of the meditative absorptions (*jhānas*).

The disappearance of practice is as follows. Being unable to produce the meditative absorptions, insight, the path or fruit, they observe merely the virtuous conduct that consists of the four kinds of purity. As time goes on they give up, [thinking,] “Having fulfilled virtuous conduct, we observe [it] and practise exertion. [But] we are able to realise neither the path nor fruit. Realisation of the noble doctrine no longer exists.” With much sloth they neither exhort nor remind each other [and] are without remorse. From then onwards, they neglect the lesser and minor training rules. As time goes on, they commit offences entailing expiation and serious offences; then grave offense[s]. Only the offences entailing expulsion remain. While a hundred or a thousand monks protecting the four offences entailing expulsion survive, practice has not disappeared. But with the last [88] monk’s breaking of virtuous conduct or [his] death, [it] has disappeared. This is the disappearance of practice.

“Scripture” [means] the word[s] of a Buddha consisting of the three baskets, the canon together with the commentaries. So long as these remain, scripture is complete.¹ As time goes on, the kings of the Kali age become unrighteous. When they are unrighteous, royal ministers, etc., become unrighteous; then those living in the kingdom’s country districts. Because of their unrighteousness, the sky god does not rain properly. Then crops do not succeed. When they do not succeed, donors of requisites are not able to give requisites to the Order of monks. Lacking requisites, the monks are not able to accept students. As time goes on, scripture deteriorates. They are not able to preserve it by a command of its meaning;² they preserve it only by a command of [the text of] the canon. Then, as time goes on, they are not able to preserve even the entire canon. Firstly, the Abhidhamma-piṭaka deteriorates. When [the Abhidhamma-piṭaka] deteriorates, it deteriorates beginning with its final part. For firstly, the great work [i.e. Paṭṭhāna] deteriorates.

¹ Here, my translation is of the variant reading, *pariyatti paripuṇṇā*, instead of the problematic base text reading, *pariyatti-paripuṇṇam*.

² An alternative explanation is provided by Mp-ṭ B^e I 119, which glosses *atthavasena* with *aṭṭhakathāvasena*, “by a command of the commentaries”, implying that the commentaries are predicted to disappear before the canonical texts begin to disappear.

When that has deteriorated, the Yamaka, Kathāvatthu, Puggalapaññatti, Dhātukathā, Vibhaṅga, Dhammasaṅgaha [i.e. Dhammasaṅgaṇī] [deteriorates].¹ When the Abhidhamma-piṭaka has thus deteriorated, the Sutta-piṭaka deteriorates beginning with its final part. For firstly, the Aṅguttara-nikāya deteriorates. Within it, firstly the Ekādasā-nipāta [i.e. Ekādasaka-nipāta] [deteriorates], etc.; then the Eka-nipāta. When the Aṅguttara[-nikāya] has thus deteriorated, the Saṃyutta-nikāya deteriorates beginning with its final part. For firstly, the Mahā-vagga deteriorates; then the Saḷāyatana-vagga, Khandhaka-vagga [i.e. Khandhāvagga], Nidāna-vagga, [and] Sagātha-vagga. When the Saṃyutta-nikāya has thus deteriorated, the Majjhima-nikāya deteriorates beginning with its final part. For firstly, the Upari-paṇṇāsaka [i.e. Upari-paṇṇāsa] deteriorates; then the Majjhima-paṇṇāsaka [i.e. Majjhima-paṇṇāsa], then the Mūla-paṇṇāsaka [i.e. Mūla-paṇṇāsa]. When the Majjhima-nikāya has thus deteriorated, the Dīgha-nikāya deteriorates beginning with its final part. [89] For firstly, the Pāṭiya-vagga [i.e. Pāṭika-vagga] deteriorates; then the Mahā-vagga, then the Silakkhandha-vagga. When the Dīgha-nikāya has deteriorated, the Suttanta-piṭaka [i.e. Sutta-piṭaka] has deteriorated. And they preserve only the Jātaka together with the Vinaya-piṭaka.² Only the conscientious preserve the Vinaya-piṭaka. But those desiring gain preserve only the Jātaka, [thinking,] “Even when a *sutta* is recited, there are none who recognise [it].” As time goes on, they are not able to preserve even the Jātaka. Then, of those [Jātakas] the Vessantara-jātaka firstly deteriorates; then, in reverse order, the Puṇṇaka-jātaka³ [and] Mahānārada-kassapa-jātaka. In the end, the Apaṇṇaka-jātaka deteriorates. When the Jātaka has thus deteriorated,

¹ As mentioned by von Hinüber (1996: 66), Dhammasaṅgaha is an alternative title of the Dhammasaṅgaṇī.

² As noted by von Hinüber (1996: 43) and Strong (2004: 223), this passage does not mention the Khuddaka-nikāya. Interestingly, the Jātaka is not listed as belonging to the Sutta-piṭaka, but instead appears to be regarded as a stand-alone text.

³ This appears to be an alternative title of the Vidhura-paṇḍita-jātaka (Ja VI 255–329), which concerns a *yakkha* named Puṇṇaka. While this is indeed the penultimate *jātaka* in the Chatṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka edition (as the Vidhura-jātaka), it is the third last *jātaka* in the Pali Text Society edition.

they preserve only the Vinaya-piṭaka. As time goes on, even that deteriorates beginning with its final part. For firstly, the Parivāra deteriorates; then the Khandhaka, Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga [and] Mahāvibhaṅga. In due course, they preserve only the Uposathakaṇḍa.¹ Even at that time, scripture has not disappeared. And as long as even a verse consisting of four *padas* circulates amongst people, scripture has not disappeared. When a faithful [and] trusting king has a purse with a thousand [coins] placed into a golden box on an elephant's back [and] sends round a drum in the city [with the proclamation, "Anyone] knowing a verse consisting of four *padas* spoken by a Buddha ought to take these thousand [coins]", [but] does not find a taker; [and when he] sends it round up to a third time [thinking,] "When it was sent round one time, there were those who heard and those who did not", [but still] does not find a taker; [and when] the king's men bring the purse with the thousand [coins] back to the king's court — then scripture has disappeared. This is the disappearance of scripture. [90]

As time goes on, holding the robe, holding the bowl, contraction and extension [of limbs], looking forward and looking around is not graceful. Like Jain nuns,² monks wander carrying a bottle-gourd bowl which they place on their forearm [for use] as [an alms] bowl.³ Even then, [monastic] sign[s] have not completely disappeared. But as time goes on, they remove it from their forearm [and] wander holding it either with their hand or with string. And not making their robe the proper colour, they wander having made it the colour of camel bones. As time goes on, there is no dyeing [of robes at all]. They dwell having cut the raw hem edges and sewn the hem and made a spot [required to legitimise the robe].⁴ But [then], having sewn the hem they do not make

¹ According to *CPD* s.v. *uposatha-kaṇḍa-mattam*, *uposatha-kkhandhaka*, the text here, refers to the Uposathakkhandaka (Vin I 101–36). Alternatively, it might refer to the Pātimokkha.

² B^e I 69 instead reads *nigaṇṭha-samaṇā*, "Jain monks". I do not follow the punctuation at this point in the Pali Text Society edition; a full stop ought to be placed after *hoti* instead of after *viya*.

³ My translation assumes that *alābhū-* is an error for *alābu-*, the latter being the reading of B^e I 69. I wish to thank Royce Wiles for advice on this sentence.

⁴ See Sp 863.

the spot [required to legitimise the robe]. Then, like wandering ascetics, they wander without having made either [the sewn hem or spot required to legitimise the robe and] having [simply] cut the raw hem edges. As time goes on, [thinking] “What use is this to us?”, having taken a small fragment¹ of ochre robe they tie it round their neck or attach it to their hair, or, supporting a wife, they wander having ploughed, sowed [and] made a livelihood. Then people giving a donation give it to these [pseudo-monks] for the sake of the Order.

Concerning this, the Blessed One said, “Ānanda, in a future time there will be destroyers of the clan² with ochre robe round their necks [and who are] of bad conduct, of bad character. People will give a gift to those of bad conduct for sake of the Order. Ānanda, even then I say a donation to the Order is incalculable, immeasurable.” (M III 256)

Then as time goes on, while performing deeds of various kinds [they think,] “This is a burden. What use is this to us?” [and], having cut off the fragment of ochre robe,³ they throw it away into the wilderness. At this time, [monastic] sign[s] have truly disappeared. [91] Wandering about having dressed in the white clothing of the Ionians is a tradition that reportedly arose beginning from the time of Kassapa [Buddha] with the ten powers.⁴ This is the disappearance of [monastic] signs.

¹ *-kaṇṭham* is an editorial emendation of the received text, which reads *-khaṇḍam* (see Mp I 90, n. 14), perhaps made to agree with the quotation at Mp I 90,19. My translation is of the received text, since the emendation makes little sense.

² For this meaning of the term *gotrabhū*, see von Hinüber 1978/1994; Norman 1987: 37–39.

³ Again, *-kaṇṭham* is an editorial emendation of the received text, which reads *-khaṇḍam* (see Mp I 90, n. 26). Again, my translation is of the received text.

⁴ In another prediction passage, the Papan̄casūdanī states, “[Monastic] sign[s] last a long time. But the lineage of ascetics with white clothing, beginning from the time of Kassapa Buddha, was not able to preserve his teaching” (*līṅgaṃ addhānaṃ gacchati. setavatthasamaṇavaṃso pana Kassapabuddha-kālato pana paṭṭhāya sāsanaṃ dhāretuṃ nāsakki*, Ps IV 116,22–24 ≈ Sv 899,18–20 ≈ Vibh-a 432, 33–34). Kassapa, of course, was the Buddha who immediately preceded Gotama Buddha. While seemingly incomplete, this statement from the Manorathapūranī appears to be referring to this alleged history.

Then the relics, not receiving worship and honour here and there, by the force of a Buddha's supernatural power,¹ go to place[s] where they receive worship and honour. As time goes on, there is no worship and honour at any of [these] places. All the relics come together at the site of the great awakening, take on a Buddha's form [and] display the glory of a Buddha's body sitting cross-legged at the site of awakening. The thirty-two marks of a great man [and] the eighty minor marks, with a fathom [wide] radiance, are all perfect. Then they perform [and] display a miracle as on the day of the miracle of pairs. There is not a [single] human being who goes there to that place. But all the deities in the [system] of ten thousand worlds come together [and] lament, [saying,] "Today [a Buddha] with the ten powers is completely quenched. Beginning from now there will be darkness". Then, having risen up from the body of relics, a flame sends that body to a state without designation. Then, as on the day on which [the Buddha] was completely quenched, the group of gods worship a Buddha with divine perfumes, garlands² and musical instruments, etc., circumambulate three times, pay homage [and] say "Blessed One, in the future we will get to see [another] Buddha who will come into existence"; [then the gods] go [back] to their own place[s]. This is the disappearance of relics.³ [92]

It is the disappearance of scripture that is the cause of this fivefold disappearance. For when scripture disappears, practice disappears. [But] when scripture remains, [practice] remains.

¹ For this meaning, see Edgerton 1953 s.v. *adhiṣṭhāna*³.

² My translation assumes that *-māla-* is an error for *-mālā-*, the latter being the reading of B^c I 71.

³ For a related description of the disappearance of relics, see Ps IV 116–17 ≈ Sv 899–900 ≈ Vibh-a 433, which specify that relics from Sri Lanka travel to the site of the great awakening.

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Two Notes on Pāli Metre

Oskar v. Hinüber

1. *VEDHAS* IN THE THERAVĀDA TĪPĪTAKA.

When Heinz Bechert (1932–2005) discovered and described *vedhas* in the *iti pi so* formula in 1988,¹ he could name only four predecessors who have dealt with this particular type of rhythmic prose, in his detailed survey of relevant research, which need not be repeated here in any detail. After texts with this structure were discovered by Hermann Jacobi (1850–1937) in 1885 in Jaina literature, Ernst Leumann (1859–1931) traced *vedhas* also in Theravāda texts, where they are rare, in the Kuṇāljātaka. His findings were, however, only published posthumously in 1934. These *vedhas* were carefully studied by W.B. Bollée. Finally, Adelheid Mette investigated *vedhas* in Buddhist Sanskrit literature.² Consequently, the text presented by H. Bechert was only the second example of *vedhas* in Pāli literature.

There is, however, a third text of this kind found also in a magic spell that is in the same genre of literature as the *iti pi so* formula that is used originally to dispel the fear of monks living alone in the forest. Only later it developed into some kind of Buddhist creed, Bechert's "Bekennnisformel". The second spell is the well-known text protecting monks against snake bites, which was later incorporated into the Mahāmāyūrī of the Pañcarakṣā collection.³ In the Theravāda Tīpīṭaka the

¹ "Alte Vedhas' im Pāli-Kanon. Die metrische Struktur der buddhistischen Bekennnisformel". *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*. I. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Jahrgang 1988, Nr. 4. Göttingen 1988.

² Kuṇāljātaka (Sacred Books of the Buddhists 36, London 1970), pp. 167–72; and A. Mette, "Vedhas im Lalitavistara und Divyāvādāna: Beschreibungen des schönen Körpers in Sanskrit und Prakrit". *WZKS* 17 (1973), pp. 21–42.

³ This text is studied in O.v. Hinüber, "Magic Protection in the Palola Śāhi Kingdom – History and Context of Rakṣā Texts and Dhāraṇīs in 7th Century

relevant verses occur three times embedded in various prose introductions, which are irrelevant here:

<i>Virūpakkhehi me mettaṃ</i>	<i>mettaṃ Erāpathehi me</i>
<i>Chabyāputtehi me mettaṃ</i>	<i>{mettaṃ}¹ Kaṇhāgotamakehi ca</i>
<i>apādakehi me mettaṃ</i>	<i>mettaṃ dvīpādakehi me</i>
<i>catuppadehi me mettaṃ</i>	<i>mettaṃ bahuppadehi me</i>
<i>mā maṃ apādako hiṃsi</i>	<i>mā maṃ hiṃsi dvīpādako</i>
<i>mā maṃ catuppado hiṃsi</i>	<i>mā maṃ hiṃsi bahuppado</i>
<i>sabbe sattā sabbe pāṇā</i>	<i>sabbe bhūtā ca kevalā</i>
<i>sabbe bhadrāni passantu</i>	<i>mā kiñci pāpam āgamā</i>

appamāno buddho appamāno dhammo appamāno saṅgho.
pamāṇavantāni sariṃsapāni ahi vicchikā satapadī uṇṇanābhi sarabū mūsikā.
katā me rakkhā kataṃ me parittaṃ paṭikkamantu bhūtāni.
so haṃ namo bhagavato namo sattannaṃ sammāsambuddhānaṃ.

Vin II 110,7*-20* (Khuddakavatthukkhandhaka) = AN II 72,30*-73,10*
 (Catukkanipāta) = Ja II 145,19*-48,7' (203. Khandhavattajātaka).

The *ślokas* are followed by four lines of metrical prose in form of *vedhas*. Although printed in the Vinaya and in the Aṅguttaranikāya as verses in some oriental editions C^e (AN 1915) and B^e 1956 (Vin, AN), the editors of the PTS texts, C^e (Vin 1933) and S^e (Vin, AN 22523 = 1980) did not recognize the metrical structure and printed them as prose instead, and partly as prose, partly as verses in the Jātaka, although they are commented upon.² This shows that the Buddhist authors at the time of the Jātaka commentary were still aware of the metrical and canonical character of these *vedhas*.

The rather loosely structured *vedhas* are described in detail by W.B. Bollée with some additional remarks in H. Bechert's article.³ This

Gilgit", *Proceedings of the Second International Pāli Studies Week* (Sorbonne, Paris, 20–23 June 2016) ed. by C. Cicuzza, *Materials for the Study of the Tripiṭaka*, Vol. 14, Lumbini (forthcoming).

¹ *mettaṃ*, which is also found at Ja II 145,20*, is unmetrical and should be omitted as in AN II 73,31* and in the Sanskrit version: *virūpākṣeṣu me mairī kṛṣṇagotamakeṣu ca*, Ārya-Mahāmāyūrī Vidyā-Rājñī ed. by S. Takubo. Tokyo 1972, p. 5,10* (°-gotamaksēsū is an obvious misprint).

² Similarly, the *vedhas* in the Kuṇāljātaka are provided with a commentary.

³ It is astonishing that H. Smith mentions the rhythmic prose of the Kuṇāljātaka only in passing and very briefly without any reference to *vedhas* in the *conspectus terminorum (metricorum)* §8.9.4 (p. 1172) in the appendix to his Saddanīti edition.

rhythmic prose consists in strings of various length with groups of four morae (*gaṇa*). The end of a string may be marked by a single, often long syllable. The sequence begins with an amphibrach, which is normally allowed only in odd *gaṇas*. It occurs here regularly in the first and fifth *gaṇas*, but here perhaps irregularly also in the eighth *gaṇa* of the second sequence. However, if the word *satapadī* is removed, the structure becomes regular here, too, because the amphibrach moves to the seventh *gaṇa*. It is not totally impossible that *satapadī* is indeed an intruder from the formula *ahi vicchikā satapadī*, AN V 289,10 etc. (2+3+4)¹ and was inserted after the knowledge of the metrical form was lost to the tradition. For, neither the commentary of the Jātaka (Ja II 147,14' foll.) nor that of the Aṅguttaranikāya (Mp III 104,3 foll.) comments on *vicchikā* and *satapadī*, but only on *uṇṇanābhi* and *sarabū*. Lastly, *paritta* < *pari-tra* should be read *pari-ta*.

Forgotten at an early date, the metrical structure is usually hidden beneath an inadequate orthography. Here, for example, *appamāṇo* replaces the metrically correct *apamāṇo*, *sariṃsapāni* must be changed to *sarisapāni* and *satapadī* to *satapadī*, if kept in the text. The vowels *-e* and *-o* are sometimes short *-ě* and *-ō* at the end of a word.² All this is very common in *veḍhas*. Moreover, *mūsikā* should be read *mūsikā*, which is not necessarily only a metrical variant, because the form *mūsikā* is actually recognized as such, if only in recent lexicographic literature in the Śabdakalpadruma quoting the Śabdārtharatnāvalī (ca. 1650). Moreover, the ending *-ikā* occurs in other names of animals such as *sūcīkā* “mosquito” or *kaulīkā* “a certain bird.”³

The metrically restored text reads:

apamāṇo buddho apamāṇo dhammo apamāṇo saṅgho
 ~ ~ - | - - | - ~ ~ - | - - | - - | ~ ~ - | - - | -
pamāṇavantāni sarisapāni ahi vicchikā [satapadī] uṇṇanābhi sarabū mūsikā
 ~ - ~ | - - | ~ ~ ~ ~ | - ~ ~ ~ ~ | - [~ ~ ~ ~] - | ~ - ~ | ~ ~ - | - - | -

¹ *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* s.v. *ahi* already observed the rhythmical structure of *ahi vicchikā satapadī*, without further comment, however.

² The same can be observed in BHS, cf. *BHSD* §§ 3.64 and 3.74.

³ Jacob Wackernagel & Albert Debrunner: *Altindische Grammatik*. Band II,2, *Die Nominalsuffixe* (Göttingen 1954), p. 428 § 259aa.

katā mē rakkhā kataṃ mē paritaṃ paṭikkamantū bhūtāni
 ∪ - ∪ | - - | ∪ - ∪ | ∪ ∪ - | ∪ - ∪ | - - | - - | -
sō haṃ namō bhagavato namō sattannaṃ sammāsambuddhānaṃ
 ∪ - ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ | - ∪ | - - | - - | - - | - - | - -

2. THE NIGAMANA OF THE SUMAṄGALAVILĀSINĪ

The Nigamana of the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, which is omitted in the PTS edition, has been edited without paying the necessary attention to metrics.¹ Therefore, it is necessary to have another look at the text in order to restore the metre as far as this is possible. Only in verses 1 and 2 do some doubts remain how to read.

The verses are *āryās* as in the Nigamanas of the commentaries to all four Nikāyas. Moreover, as the Nigamanas to the other three Nikāyas often run parallel to the one to the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, they sometimes offer some help in finding the metrically correct text. The wording everywhere needs some adjustment, because as usual the *āryā* metre was not understood by the scribes who consequently often distorted the text which they transmitted.²

In the following, a comma is used to indicate the cæsura after the third, or after the first mora of the fourth, *gaṇa*; syllables to be left out are enclosed in braces { }.

In the Siamese edition of BE 2453 = 1910 the verses are printed as prose (Sv S^c III 335,15–36,3).

¹ O. v. Hinüber, “The Nigamanas of the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī and the Kaṅkhā-vitarāṇī”, *JPTS* XXI (1995), pp. 129–33 = *Kleine Schriften* (Wiesbaden 2009), pp. 62–66, cf. O.v. Hinüber, “Building the Theravāda Commentaries: Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla as authors, compilers, redactors, editors and critics”, *JLABS* 36/37 (2013/2014 [2015]), pp. 353–87, particularly pp. 355 foll. with notes 7 and 9. The metrical lengthening suggested in *gūna*, note 7, is unnecessary once °-*nivāsinā* is read instead of °-*vāsinā* in verse 1.

² The *āryā* metre is described by L. Alsdorf, *Die Āryā-Strophen des Pāli-Kanons metrisch hergestellt und textgeschichtlich untersucht*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz: Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1967, Nr. 4 (Wiesbaden 1968), p. 251 (9).

ettāvātā ca
 āyācīto **Sumaṅgalapariveṇanivāsīnā** thiraguṇena
 - - | ~ - ~ | - ~ ~, | ~ ~ - | ~ ~ - | ~ - ~ | ~ ~ - | ~
 †**Dāḥhānāgasamghattherena** <t>theravaṃsanvayena† | 1 |
 - - | - ~ | - ~ = | - - | - - - ~ | - - - | ~ | - ~ |

As printed in the C^e (1925) and B^e (1956) the *āryā* obviously does not scan. First, the beginning of the second line is disturbed, because the second *gaṇa* is too short. Moreover, the position of the amphibrach in the odd fifth *gaṇa* is wrong, the seventh instead of the sixth *gaṇa* is | ~ |, and finally, one syllable is missing at the end. This last fault can be corrected by following the text of S^e with °-*anvayenāhaṃ*, which is preserved only in this branch of the tradition. However, the line is still too long.

The first two verses in the Nigamanas to the four Nikāyas differ considerably from each other, because they explain the titles of the individual commentaries and give the names of the initiators. Thus they offer no help in the reconstruction of the metre.

Three different ways to a solution to this problem may be possible. The first two try to preserve the wording of the first half of the line :

Dāḥhānāg<en>a samgha{t}therena theriyavaṃsena | 1 |
 - - | - - | ~ - ~, | - - | ~ - ~ | - - | - ~

The compound at the beginning is split, and the second half is reconstructed building on a reading preserved in the sub-commentary in all manuscripts and prints in *theriyānvayā ti attho*, Sv-pt III 372.3.¹ This may be a very faint echo of a reading *theriyavaṃsena* in the verse. The price, however, is too high, because now an amphibrach is placed in the odd third and fifth *gaṇas* again. In addition reading *theriyavaṃsena* instead of *theravaṃsanvayenāhaṃ* is a very strong intervention.

In the second attempt, the metre is restored by suppressing the first *gaṇa*, splitting the first compound and thus shortening the line :

¹ E^e lists a variant *therisa* in manuscripts A, G^m, M, which, however, certainly is an erroneous reading of *theriya* in Sinhalese script. — On the school names Theriya and Theravāda, cf. O. v. Hinüber, “Translating the Theravāda Commentaries: Why, How, For Whom?”, in: A. Collett (ed.): *Translating Buddhism* (forthcoming).

{*Dāṭhā*}*Nāgena saṃgha*{*t*}*therena theravaṃsanvayenāhaṃ* | 1 |
 - - | ~ - ~ | - - | ~, - ~ | - - | ~ - - | ~

This, however, presupposes that the name of the Thera, who asked Buddhaghosa to write the commentary, *Dāṭhanāga*, was abbreviated here for metrical reasons resulting in *Nāga*.¹ This is perhaps unlikely, because both the introduction and the *Nigamana* to the *Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā* confirm the full form of the name *Dāṭhānāga* with the same metrical lengthening in the introductory verses *ajjhesito dāṭhānāgatharena ... visuddhimaggo yo vutto*, verses 5–7, but as *Dāṭhanāga* in the *Nigamana āyācito* (i.e. Buddhaghoso) *siddhagāmapariveṇanivāsīnā / therena Dāṭhanāgena*, *Vism-mhṭ B^e II 535,9** foll. = *N^e 1972 III 1691,9** foll. = *S^e 2470 [1927] III 658,19** foll. Therefore, the name *Dāṭhānāga* should and could be preserved in the third variant. Here *saṃgha* is dropped in accordance with the *Visuddhimaggamahāṭīkā*, which has only *thera*:

Dāṭhānāgatharena theravaṃsanvayenāhaṃ | 1 |
 - - | - - | - - | ~, - ~ | - - | ~ | ~ - - | ~

The third restoration is the most likely solution, because the intervention is minimal and the verse scans perfectly.

Dīghāgamavarassa dasabalagaṇagaṇaparidīpanassa aṭṭhakathaṃ
 - - | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | - - ~ ~ | - ~ ~ ~ | -

The second *gaṇa* does not scan. Therefore, at the beginning either the syllables *vara* should be left out:

Dīghāgamassa dasabalagaṇagaṇaparidīpanassa aṭṭhakathaṃ
 - - | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | - ~ ~ ~ | -

Or, alternatively, and perhaps more likely, is, however, suppressing *dīgha*:

{*Dīgh*}*Āgamavarassa dasabalagaṇagaṇaparidīpanassa aṭṭhakathaṃ*
 - ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | - ~ ~ ~ | -
yaṃ ārabhiṃ Sumaṅgalavilāsinīṃ nāma nāmena | 2 |
 - - | ~ - ~ | - ~ ~, | ~ ~ ~ | - - | ~ | - - | ~

¹ Alfons Hilka, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der indischen Namengebung: Die altindischen Personennamen*, *Indische Forschungen* 3. Heft. (Breslau 1910), p. 61.

sā hi mahā-aṭṭhakathāya sāram ādāya niṭṭhitā esā
 - ~ ~ | - - | ~, ~ - | ~ - ~ | - - | ~ - ~ | - - | -

All editions of Sv put *esā* erroneously at the beginning of the next line. The segmentation of the lines is correct in Nigamanas to Ps, Spk and Mp.

ekāsītipamāṇāya pāliyā bhāṇavārehi | 3 |
 -- | -- ~ | - - | ~, ~ - | - - | ~ - | - - | ~
ekūnasatṭhimatto Visuddhimaggo pi bhāṇavārehi
 -- | ~ - ~ | - -, | ~ - ~ | - - | ~ - ~ | - - | ~
atthappakāsanatthāya āgamānaṃ kato yasmā | 4 |
 - - | ~ - ~ | - - | ~, ~ - | - - | ~ - | - - | -
tasmā tena sahā 'yaṃ aṭṭhakathā bhāṇavāragāṇanāya
 - - | - ~ ~ | - -, | - ~ ~ | - - | - ~ ~ | ~ ~ - | -
suparimitaparicchinnam cattālīsasataṃ hoti | 5 |
 ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ - | - -, | - - | - - | ~ - | - - | -

All editions have *cattālīsasataṃ* instead of the metrically correct *cattālīsamsataṃ*.

{*sabbaṃ*} *cattālīsādhikasataparimāṇam bhāṇavārato evaṃ*
 { - - } | - - | - - | ~ ~ ~ ~ | - - | - | ~ - ~ | - - | -

The line as edited in C^e, B^e and S^e is too long by one *gāṇa*. The parallel verses in the Nigamanas to Ps, Spk, and Mp suggest that *sabbaṃ* at the beginning should be suppressed.

samayaṃ pakāsayantiṃ Mahāvihāre nivāsinaṃ | 6 |
 ~ ~ - | ~ ~ ~ | - -, | ~ ~ ~ | - - | ~ - | - - | -
mūlaṭṭhakathāsāraṃ ādāya mayā imaṃ karontena
 - - | ~ ~ ~ | - -, | - - | ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ | - - | -

In contrast to S^e *mūlaṭṭhakathāsāraṃ*, both C^e and B^e, read *mūlaka-*, which does not scan. The correct reading *mūlaṭṭhakathāsāraṃ* is confirmed by the parallel verses in the Nigamanas to Ps, Spk, Mp and by Sv-pt III 372,24.

yaṃ puñṇam upacitaṃ tena hotu sabbo sukhī loko | 7 | ti
 - - | ~ ~ ~ ~ | - - | ~, ~ - | - - | ~ - | - - | -

ADDENDUM TO: I. VEDHAS IN THE THERAVĀDA TIPITAKA:

It was only after the article went to the press that the opportunity presented itself to read the version of the Mahāvastu as preserved in the oldest extant

manuscript (*Sa*) and to discuss problematic paragraphs with Dr K. Marciniak at Soka University in Hachioji in October 2017. When doing so, it was possible to trace a so far overlooked parallel or even the source of an *āryā*-verse in the Hastinījātaka of the Mahāvastu in the *veḍhas* of the Kuṇāljātaka.

The ancient palm leaf manuscript *Sa* was not known at the time of E. Senart's edition. It is easily accessible now in facsimile in A. Yuyama, *The Mahāvastu-Avadāna in Old Palm-Leaf and Paper Manuscripts*, I. *Palm-Leaf Manuscripts* (Tokyo: Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum 15, 2001). The relevant verse, Mvu III 133,14* foll., is found in manuscript *Sa* folio 311a2 on p. 156 in the facsimile edition.

Senart's text: *kinnara-kuñjara-vānara-varāha-śārdūla-vyāghra-gaṇacīrṇe*
 - ~ ~ | - ~ ~ | - ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ | - - | ~ - ~ | ~ ~ - | -

Text ms. *Sa*: *kinnara-kuñjara-vānara-varāha-śārdūla-vyāghra-gaṇacīrṇa*

Senart's text: *ruru-mahiṣa-sarabha-carite vṛṣabha-camari-śambarākīrṇe*
 ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ - | ~ | - - | -

Text ms. *Sa*: *ruru-mahiṣa-sarabha-carita pṛṣata-camari-rurṇakākīrṇe*

The reading *rurṇaka*, which was heavily emended by E. Senart to *śambara*, was found in his manuscripts and is confirmed now also by manuscript *Sa*. After the reading *pṛṣata* is recovered from manuscript *Sa*, it becomes obvious that this *āryā* is ultimately based on a restructured *veḍha* and similar to the perhaps original text preserved in the Kuṇāljātaka: ... *gaja-gavaja-mahisa-ruru-camara-pasada-[khagga]-gokaṇṇa-sīha-vyaggha-dīpi* ..., Ja V 416,19** foll. = Bollée 8,17 foll. (see note 2 on page 115 above). Once this discovery was made the puzzling reading *rurṇaka* in all manuscripts can be explained as hiding the original word *gokarṇṇa*, which emerges from the comparison of the two texts. This word does scan in the *veḍha*, but does not in the *āryā*:

... *carita pṛṣata-camari-gokarṇṇakākīrṇe*
 ... | ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ~ | ~ - - | ~ - - | -

Here, the fifth *gaṇa* ~ - - in unmetrical. This could perhaps be mended by reading **gukarṇṇa* and thus changing ~ - - into the metrical sequence ~ ~ - . Lastly, the necessity to delete *-khagga-* in the Kuṇāljātaka, as correctly seen by W. B. Bollée, is brilliantly confirmed by the Mahāvastu parallel.

Corrections for the 2016 Edition of Vv-a

Petra Kieffer-Pülz

Words from the verses quoted which are then explained are only put into italics up to p. 50. All quotations from the verses introduced by *ten' āha* or *tena vuttaṃ* should also be put in italics. The quotations from the first verses with which most *vimānas* start, are put into italics only in a few cases (26,5; 31,22).

Page numbers should be moved to the right margin, p. v, line 8; p. vi, line 11; p. vii, lines 9, 12, 14, 22, 29.

Page vi, lines 1 and 29; p. vii, line 24; omit “Mātika Piṭṭhaṅka”.

Page xiii, line 2, read “Dhammapāla’s” for “Dhammapala’s”.

Page xiii, line 3, read “Vimānavatthu” for “Vimanavatthu”.

Page xiii, line 9, read “Oldenberg” for “Oldenherg”.

Page xiii, line 11, read “76” for “70”.

Page xiii, line 15 and 17, read “1. 4” for “1.4”.

Page xiii, line 23, read “frequently” for “frequent”.

Page xiii, line 28, read “S₁” for “S₂”.

Page xiii, note 1, line 1, read “S₁” for “S_r”; line 2 (left column), read “5. 6.” for “5. G.”; line 6 (left column), read, “5. 8.” for “5. 6.”; line 6 (right column), read “10” for “10 V”.

Page xiii, note 2, read “xivf.” for “xii”.

Page xiv, line 4, read “Dhammapāla’s” for “Dhammapala’s”.

Page xiv, line 10, read “loke” for “loko”.

Page xiv, line 12, read “aninditā” for “anindita”.

Page xiv, line 14, read “Vimānavatthu-” for “Vimanavatthu-”.

Page xiv, line 16, read “S₁” for “S₂”.

Page xv, line 16, read “of” for “ot”.

Page xvi, line 3, read “Dhammapāla’s” for “Dhammapala’s”.

Page xvi, lines 4, 9, read “Vimānavatthu” for “Vimanavatthu”.

Page xvi, line 19, read “be” for “he”.

Page xvi, note 1, line 7, read “S₁” for “S_r”; line 14, read “S₁” for “S_r”.

Page xvii, line 7, read “*paṭhanti*” for “*pathanti*”

Page xvii, line 9, read “Vimānavatthu” for “Vimanavatthu”

Pages xvii, lines 19, 34; xviii, line 4, read “Dhammapāla’s” for “Dhammapala’s”.

Page xviii, line 10, read “be” for “he”

- Page xviii, note 1, line 1, read “Dhammapāla” for “Dhammapala”; “book” for “hook”.
- Page xviii, note 2, lines 1, 2, 6, read “Dhammapāla” for “Dhammapala”; line 2, read “ob” for “oh”; line 7, read “Pv-a” for “Pn-a”.
- Page xix, line 16, read “Dhp-a” for “Dhp. A”.
- Page xix, line 28, read “book” for “hook”.
- Page xix, line 37, read “Rajjumālā” for “Rajjumāla”.
- Page xx, line 17, read “no” for “110”.
- Page xx, line 20, add the following paragraph: “I owe sincere thanks to the India Office Library for the loan of a manuscript. I wish to thank Mr. Subhūti and Professor James Gray, and with gratitude I shall always cherish the memory of the lamented Dr. Rost, who, with his never-ceasing kindness, was the mediator between those gentlemen and myself.”
- Page 5, last line, read “357” for “356”.
- Page 8, line 3, “t’ etādiso” B^c reads “te’tādiso”
- Page 8, last line, read “357” for “356”.
- Page 12, note 19, line 11, delete hyphen in “punctu-ation”.
- Page 13, note 18, line 8, delete hyphen in “vari-ant”
- Page 17, note 13, line 5, delete hyphen in “aga-in”
- Page 17, last line, read “357” for “356”.
- Page 26, note 6, line 7, delete hyphen in “especi-ally”
- Page 34, last line, read “357” for “356”.
- Page 38, note 22, line 7, delete hyphen in “virtu-ally”; line 8, delete hyphen in “especi-ally”.
- Pages 39, 42, last lines, read “357” for “356”.
- Page 58, note 29, line 13, delete hyphen in “abbrevi-ation”.
- Page 59, note 9, line 4, for “a}” read “a (sic)”.
- Page 66, last line, read “357” for “356”.
- Pages 67–69, last lines, read “358” for “357”.
- Page 71, line 1, read “⟨136⟩” for “⟨126⟩”; the Burmese edition numbers this prose portion (Vv-a E^c 71,1–6) of the *mūla* text (Vv 16,23–27) in the same way it numbers the verses. This portion is commented upon in Vv-a E^c 74,23–27, also introduced by “⟨136⟩”.
- Page 71, last line, read “358” for “357”.
- Page 80, note 12, lines 6, 7, delete hyphen in “ag-ainst” (3×).
- Page 99, last line, read “358” for “357”.
- Page 102, note 8 and note 16–16 delete hyphen in “materi-al”.
- Page 103, note 16, line 8, delete hyphen in “materi-al”
- Page 104, last line, read “358” for “357”.
- Page 105, last line, read “358f.” for “357”.
- Page 108, line 26, read “19” for “21”.
- Page 108, n. 21 should be renumbered “19” and placed after note 18.
- Pages 111, 113, 115, last lines, read “359” for “358”.

- Page 117, line 19, read “8–9” for “⁸–9”.
- Page 117 last line, read “359f.” for “358”.
- Pages 119–20, 122, 143–44, last lines, read “360” for “359”.
- Page 146, last line, read “361” for “360”.
- Page 151, line 1, *ajjhagā*; add a reference to the wrong reading in Jayawickrama 1989, v. 621, *ajjhatā* (also listed in *DOP*).
- Page 154, line 1, the verse number should be put directly before the verse.
- Pages 160–62, 165 last line, read “361” for “360”.
- Page 176, last line, read “361f.” for “360”.
- Page 179, line 14 read “⁸–Devarājā-r-iva⁸” for “8–Devarājā-r-iva⁸”.
- Page 186, last line, read “362” for “361”.
- Page 187, note 3, line 3, delete hyphen in “*unexpla-ined*”.
- Page 221, note 15, line 6, delete hyphen in “*squ-are*”; note 16, line 7, delete hyphen in “*aga-in*”.
- Pages 231–33, last lines, read “362” for “361”.
- Page 240, note 24, line 10, delete hyphen in “*aga-inst*”.
- Page 242. The following three footnotes were omitted: ³²E^c C¹ -gamanassa; *note that E^e treats tad as a separate word; the typographical system of B^e C^e S^e gives no indication either way, but I have treated it as seems more natural to me* ³³E^c C^e ’dha; E^c C² ca ³⁴E^e B^e asesato; E^c C² avasesato
- Page 243 last line, read “362” for “361”.
- Page 245, line 32 read “(915–16)” for “(915)”.
- Page 245, n. 22, read “mahā-” for “mahā”.
- Page 250, note 16, line 6, delete hyphen in “*punctu-ates*”.
- Page 284, note 38, line 13, delete hyphen in “*punctu-ated*”.
- Page 319, line 2, read “1203” for “1203”.
- Page 326, note 21, line 11, delete hyphen in “*aga-in*”.
- Page 339 last line, read “362” for “361”.
- Page 354, line 27, read “pakāsayantī” for “pakāsasantī”. Two Burmese editions that were not used for this edition, one printed and one online, also read “pakāsayantī”.
- Page 354, n. 25 (printed on p. 363), E^c reads “pakāsayanti” not “pakāsayantī”.
- Page 354 last line, read “362f.” for “361”.
- Page 359, line 19, read “line” for “lines”.

Headers from page 5 onwards should be changed
to conform to the headers in Hardy's 1901 edition:

- Pages 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, Paṭhama-pīṭhavimāna, Vv-a 1.1
 Pages 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.1
 Page 26, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.2
 Page 27, 29, Tatiya-pīṭhavimāna, Vv-a 1.3
 Page 28, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.3
 Page 30, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.4
 Pages 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, Kuṅjaravimāna, Vv-a 1.5
 Pages 32, 34, 36, 38, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.5
 Pages 40, 42, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.6
 Page 41, Paṭhama-nāvā-vimāna, Vv-a 1.6
 Page 43, Dutiya-nāvā-vimāna, Vv-a 1.7
 Page 44, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.7
 Pages 45, 47, 49, Tatiya-nāvā-vimāna, Vv-a 1.8
 Pages 46, 48, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.8
 Pages 50, 52, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.9
 Pages 51, 53, Dīpavimāna, Vv-a 1.9
 Page 54, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.10
 Page 55, Tiladakkhiṇavimāna, Vv-a 1.10
 Pages 56, 58, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.11
 Page 57, Paṭhama-patibbatāvimāna, Vv-a 1.11
 Page 59, Dutiya-patibbatāvimāna, Vv-a 1.12
 Page 60, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.13
 Page 61, Paṭhama-suṇṇisāvimāna, Vv-a 1.13
 Page 62, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.15
 Pages 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, Uttarāvimāna, Vv-a 1.15
 Pages 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.15
 Pages 75, 77, 79, 81, 83, 85, Sirimāvimāna, Vv-a 1.16
 Pages 74, 76, 78, 80, 82, 84, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.16
 Pages 86, 88, 90, Pīṭhavagga, Vv-a 1.17
 Pages 87, 89, Kesakārīvimāna, Vv-a 1.17
 Pages 91, 93, 95, Dāsīvimāna, Vv-a 2.1
 Pages 92, 94, 96, Cittalatāvagga, Vv-a 2.1
 Page 97, Lakhumāvimāna, Vv-a 2.2
 Pages 98, Cittalatāvagga, Vv-a 2.2
 Pages 99, 101, 103, Ācāmadāyikāvimāna, Vv-a 2.3
 Pages 100, 102, Cittalatāvagga, Vv-a 2.3
 Pages 104, 106, Cittalatāvagga, Vv-a 2.4
 Pages 105, 107, Caṇḍālivimāna, Vv-a 2.4
 Pages 108, 110, 112, Cittalatāvagga, Vv-a 2.5
 Pages 109, 111, 113, Bhadditthīvimāna, Vv-a 2.5

- Page 114, Soṇadinnāvimāna, Vv-a 2.6
Page 115, Uposathavimāna, Vv-a 2.7
Page 116, Cittalatāvagga, Vv-a 2.7
Page 117, Niddā-Suniddāvimāna Vv-a 2.8–9
Page 118, Cittalatāvagga, Vv-a 2.10
Page 119, Duttiya-bhikkhādāyikāvimāna, Vv-a 2.11
Pages 120, 122, Pāricchattakavagga, Vv-a 3.1
Pages 121, 123, Uḷāravimāna, Vv-a 3.1
Pages 124, 126, Pāricchattakavagga, Vv-a 3.2
Pages 125, 127, Uccudāyikāvimāna, Vv-a 3.2
Pages 128, 130, Pāricchattakavagga, Vv-a 3.3
Page 129, Pallāṅkavimāna, Vv-a 3.3
Pages 131, 133, 135, Latāvimāna, Vv-a 3.4
Pages 132, 134, 136, Pāricchattakavagga, Vv-a 3.4
Pages 137, 139, 141, 143, 145, 147, Guttilavimāna, Vv-a 3.5
Pages 138, 140, 142, 144, 146, 148, Pāricchattakavagga, Vv-a 3.5
Pages 149, 151, 153, 155, Daddallavimāna, Vv-a 3.6
Pages 150, 152, 154, Pāricchattakavagga, Vv-a 3.6
Pages 156, 158, 160, 162, 164, Pāricchattakavagga, Vv-a 3.7
Pages 157, 159, 161, 163, Pesavatīvimāna, Vv-a 3.7
Pages 165, 167, Mallikāvimāna, Vv-a 3.8
Pages 166, 168, Pāricchattakavagga, Vv-a 3.8
Pages 169, 171, Visālakkhivimāna, Vv-a 3.9
Page 170, Pāricchattakavagga, Vv-a 3.9
Pages 172, 174, Pāricchattakavagga, Vv-a 3.10
Pages 173, 175, Pāricchattakavimāna, Vv-a 3.10
Page 176, Mañjiṭṭhakavagga, Vv-a 4.1
Page 177, Mañjiṭṭhakavimāna, Vv-a 4.1
Pages 178, 180, Mañjiṭṭhakavagga, Vv-a 4.2
Page 179, Pabhassaravimāna, Vv-a 4.2
Pages 181, 183, Nāgavimāna, Vv-a 4.3
Page 182, Mañjiṭṭhakavagga, Vv-a 4.3
Page 184, Mañjiṭṭhakavagga, Vv-a 4.4
Page 185, Kaṅjikadāyikāvimāna, Vv-a 4.5
Page 186, Mañjiṭṭhakavagga, Vv-a 4.5
Pages 187, 189, 191, 193, Vihāravimāna, Vv-a 4.6
Pages 188, 190, 192, 194, Mañjiṭṭhakavagga, Vv-a 4.6
Pages 195, 197, Caturitthivimāna, Vv-a 4.7
Page 196, Mañjiṭṭhakavagga, Vv-a 4.7
Page 198, Mañjiṭṭhakavagga, Vv-a 4.8
Page 199, Ambavimāna, Vv-a 4.8
Pages 200, 202, Mañjiṭṭhakavagga, Vv-a 4.9
Page 201, Pitavimāna, Vv-a 4.9

- Page 203, Ucchuvimāna, Vv-a 4.10
Page 204, Mañjīṭṭhakavagga, Vv-a 4.10
Page 205, Vandanaṅgimāna, Vv-a 4.11
Pages 206, 208, 210, 212, 214, Mañjīṭṭhakavagga, Vv-a 4.12
Pages 207, 209, 211, 213, 215, Rajjumālāvimāna, Vv-a 4.12
Pages 216, 218, Mahārathavagga, Vv-a 5.1
Pages 217, 219, Maṇḍūkadevaputtavimāna, Vv-a 5.1
Pages 220, 222, 224, 226, 228, Mahārathavagga, Vv-a 5.2
Pages 221, 223, 225, 227, Revativimāna, Vv-a 5.2
Pages 229, 231, 233, 235, 237, 239, 241, Chattamāṅgavimāna, Vv-a 5.3
Pages 230, 232, 234, 236, 238, 240, 242, Mahārathavagga, Vv-a 5.3
Pages 243, 245, Kakkāṭakarasadāyakavimāna, Vv-a 5.4
Page 244, Mahārathavagga, Vv-a 5.4
Page 246, Mahārathavagga, Vv-a 5.5
Page 247, Dvārapālakavimāna, Vv-a 5.5
Page 248, Mahārathavagga, Vv-a 5.6
Page 249, Duttiya-karaṇiyavimāna, Vv-a 5.7
Page 250, Mahārathavagga, Vv-a 5.8
Page 251, Duttiya-sūcivimāna, Vv-a 5.9
Page 252, Mahārathavagga, Vv-a 5.10
Page 253, Paṭhama-nāgavimāna, Vv-a 5.10
Page 254, Mahārathavagga, Vv-a 5.11
Pages 255, 257, Tatiya-nāgavimāna, Vv-a 5.12
Pages 256, 258, Mahārathavagga, Vv-a 5.12
Pages 259, 261, 263, 265, 267, 269, Cūlarathavimāna, Vv-a 5.13
Pages 260, 262, 264, 266, 268, Mahārathavagga, Vv-a 5.13
Pages 270, 272, 274, 276, 278, 280, 282, 284, Mahārathavagga, Vv-a 5.14
Pages 271, 273, 275, 277, 279, 281, 283, 285, Mahārathavimāna, Vv-a 5.14
Page 286, Pāyāsivagga, Vv-a 6.1
Page 287, Duttiya-agāriyavimāna, Vv-a 6.2
Pages 288, 290, Pāyāsivagga, Vv-a 6.3
Page 289, Phaladāyakavimāna, Vv-a 6.3
Page 291, Paṭhama-upassayadāyakavimāna, Vv-a 6.4
Page 292, Pāyāsivagga, Vv-a 6.6
Page 293, Bhikkhādāyakavimāna, Vv-a 6.6
Page 294, Pāyāsivagga, Vv-a 6.7
Page 295, Paṭhama-kuṇḍalivimāna, Vv-a 6.8
Page 296, Pāyāsivagga, Vv-a 6.9
Page 297, Uttara(pāyāsi)vimāna, Vv-a 6.10
Page 298, Pāyāsivagga, Vv-a 6.10
Page 299, Cittalatāvimāna, Vv-a 7.1
Page 300, Sunikkhittavagga, Vv-a 7.2
Page 301, Mañiṭṭhāvimāna, Vv-a 7.3

- Pages 302, 304, Sunikkhittavagga, Vv-a 7.4
Page 303, Suvannaṇvimāna, Vv-a 7.4
Pages 305, 307, Ambavimāna, Vv-a 7.5
Page 306, Sunikkhittavagga, Vv-a 7.5
Pages 308, 310, Sunikkhittavagga, Vv-a 7.6
Page 309, Gopālavimāna, Vv-a 7.6
Pages 311, 313, 315, 317, Kaṇḍakavimāna, Vv-a 7.7
Pages 312, 314, 316, Sunikkhittavagga, Vv-a 7.7
Pages 318, 320, Sunikkhittavagga, Vv-a 7.8
Pages 319, 321, Anekavaṇṇavimāna, Vv-a 7.8
Pages 322, 324, 326, 328, 330, Sunikkhittavagga, Vv-a 7.9
Pages 323, 325, 327, 329, Maṭṭhakunḍalīvimāna, Vv-a 7.9
Pages 331, 333, 335, 337, 339, 341, 343, 345, 347, 349, 351, Serīsakavimāna,
Vv-a 7.10
Pages 332, 334, 336, 338, 340, 342, 344, 346, 348, 350, Sunikkhittavagga, Vv-a
7.10
Page 352, Sunikkhittavagga, Vv-a 7.11
Page 353, Sunikkhittavimāna, Vv-a 7.11
Pages 354, 355 Nigamana

An Index to *JPTS*, Volumes IX–XXXIII

An Index to the Journals of the Pāli Text Society (1882–1927 = Volumes I–VIII), compiled by P.D. Ratnatunga (Mudaliyar) and revised with an Appendix and arranged by S.S. Davidson, was published by the Society in 1973. This current index lists, by author, the articles published in the Journal since it was revived in 1981. The years of publication are: IX (1981), X (1985), XI (1987), XII (1988), XIII (1989), XIV (1990), XV (1990), XVI (1992), XVII (1992), XVIII (1993), XIX (1993), XX (1994), XXI (1995), XXII (1996), XXIII (1997), XXIV (1998), XXV (1999), XXVI (2000), XXVII (2002), XXVIII (2006), XXIX (2007), XXX (2009), XXXI (2011), XXXII (2015), XXXIII (2018).

Allon, Mark. A Gāndhārī Version of the Simile of the Turtle and the Hole in the Yoke	XXIX.229–62
———. Primoz Pecenko, 1947–2007	XXX.1–3
Anālayo, Bhikkhu. The Buddha’s Truly Praiseworthy Qualities : According to the Mahāsakuludāyi-sutta and Its Chinese Parallel	XXX.137–60
Balbir, Nalini. The I.B. Horner Lecture 1997: Jain– Buddhist Dialogue : Material from the Pāli Scriptures	XXVI.1–42
———. Three Pāli Works Revisited	XXIX.331–65
Bangchang, Supaphan na. A Pāli Letter Sent by the Aggamahāsenāpati of Siam to the Royal Court at Kandy in 1756	XII.185–212
Bureau, André. The Theravādins and East India According to the Canonical Texts	IX.1–9
Baums, Stefan, <i>see</i> Richard Salomon	
Bechert, Heinz. The Bauddhayāna of Indonesia : A Syncretistic Form of Theravāda	IX.10–21
Blackburn, Anne M. Notes on Sri Lankan Temple Manuscript Collections	XXVII.1–59
Bodhi, Bhikkhu. The Susīma-sutta and the Wisdom- Liberated Arahant	XXIX.51–75
———. Susīma’s Conversation with the Buddha: A Second Study of the Susīma-sutta	XXX.33–80
Braun, Erik, ed. Two Letters from Ledi Sayadaw to Mrs Rhys Davids	XXXI.155–82

- Braun, Heinz. The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts XXVII.147–53
 Buddhadatta, Aggamahāpaṇḍita Polvatte, ed. XI.155–226
 Paramatthavinicchaya by Anuruddha
- Ciurtin, Eugin. A Nobel for the Pali Text Society? XXXII.195–212
 T.W. Rhys Davids Writes to the Nobel Commission
 of the Swedish Academy
- Clark, Chris. A Note on the Disappearance of the Dhamma XXXIII.101–14
 According to the Manorathapūraṇī
- Collins, Steven. *Kalyāṇamitta* and *Kalyāṇamittatā* XI.51–72
 ———. On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon XV.89–126
 ———. The Story of the Elder Māleyyadeva XVIII.65–96
 ———. Remarks on the Third Precept: Adultery and
 Prostitution in Pāli Texts XXIX.263–84
 ———. *See also* Eugène Denis
- Cone, Margaret, ed. Patna Dharmapada. Part I: Text XIII.101–217
 ———. The I.B. Horner Lecture 1995: Lexicography,
 Pāli, and Pāli Lexicography XXII.1–34
 ———. *caveat lector* XXIX.95–106
- Cousins, Lance S. The Paṭṭhāna and the Development IX.22–46
 of the Theravādin Abhidhamma
 ———. Bibliography XXXII.7–14
- Crosby, Kate. Sāriputta’s Three Works on the XVIII.49–59
 Samantapāsādikā
 ———. *Saṅkhepasārasaṅgaha* : Abbreviation in Pāli XXIX.169–74
- Cutler, Sally Mellick. *See under* Mellick
- Denis, Eugène, and Steven Collins, ed. Braḥ XVIII.1–64
 Māleyyadevatthera-vatthu
- Dundas, Paul. A Note on the Heterodox Calendar and XXIX.76–92
 a Disputed Reading in the Kālakācāryakathā
- Exell, R.H.B., trans. Rūpārūpavibhāga by Buddhadatta XVI.1–12
- Falqués, Aleix, *see* Alastair Gornall
- Filliozat, Jacqueline. Documents Useful for the XVI.13–54
 Identification of Pāli Manuscripts of Cambodia,
 Laos and Thailand
 ———. A Survey of Burmese and Siamese Pāli XIX.1–41
 Manuscript Collections in the Wellcome Institute

- . The Commentaries to the Anāgatavaṃsa in the Pāli Manuscripts of the Paris Collections XIX.43–63
- . Catalogue of the Pāli Manuscript Collections in Burmese and Siamese Characters Kept in the Library of Vijayasundarārāmaya, Asgiriya XXI.135–191
- . Survey of the Pāli Manuscript Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford XXIV. 1–80
- . Nine Pāli Manuscripts in the Vatican Library XXVI.139–60
- Gethin, Rupert. Mythology As Meditation: From the Mahāsudassana Sutta to the Sukhāvātīvyūha Sūtra XXVIII. 63–112
- . What’s in a Repetition? On Counting the Suttas of the Saṃyutta-nikāya XXIX.367–89
- . Lance Selwyn Cousins, 1942–2015 XXXII.1–5
- . A Note on the Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta and Its Commentary XXXII.233–52
- Gombrich, Richard F. A New Theravādin Liturgy IX.47–73
- . Old Bodies Like Carts XI.1–3
- . Three Souls, One or None: The Vagaries of a Pāli Pericope XI.73–78
- . Two Notes on Visuddhimagga IX:1. The Etymology of *Puggala*; 2. An Imperfect Form in Pāli XII.169–71
- . A Note on Ambapālī’s Wit XV.139–40
- . Making Mountains without Molehills: The Case of the Missing Stūpa XV.141–43
- . Why Is a *Khattiya* Called a *Khattiya*? The Aggañña Sutta Revisited XVII.213–14
- . The Monk in the Pāli Vinaya: Priest or Wedding Guest? XXI.193–213
- . Report of the Pāli Text Society for 1994 XXI.215–17
- Gornall, Alastair, and Amal Gunasena. A History of the Pāli Grammatical Tradition of South and Southeast Asia by Vaskaḍuvē Subhūti (1876), Part I XXXIII.1–53
- and Aleix Ruiz-Falqués. Verses of a Dying Arahant: A New Translation and Revised Edition of the Telakaṭāhagāthā XXXIII.55–100

- Grey, Leslie. Supplement to the *Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories* XXIV.103–47
- Gunaseña, Amal, *see* Alastair Gornall.
- Hallisey, Charles. Tuṅḍilovāda: An Allegedly Non-canonical *Sutta* XV.155–95
- . A Propos the Pāli Vinaya As a Historical Document: A Reply to Gregory Schopen XV.197–208
- . Nibbānasutta: An Allegedly Non-canonical *Sutta* on Nibbāna As a Great City XVIII.97–130
- Hara, Minoru. A Note on *vinaya* XXIX.285–311
- Hazlewood, Ann Appleby. A Translation of Pañcagatidīpanī XI.133–59
- . *Saddhammopāyana*: The Gift Offering of the True Dhamma XII.65–68
- Hinüber, Oskar von. The Ghost Word *Dvīhitika* and the Description of Famines in Early Buddhist Literature IX.74–86
- . Two Jātaka Manuscripts from the National Library in Bangkok X.1–22
- . The Oldest Dated Manuscript of the Milindapañha XI.111–19
- . An Additional Note on the Oldest Dated Manuscript of the Milindapañha XII.173–74
- . Remarks on a List of Books Sent to Ceylon from Siam in the Eighteenth Century XII.175–83
- . Khandhakavatta: Loss of Text in the Pāli Vinayaṭṭaka? XV.127–38
- . The Arising of an Offence: *Āpattisamuṭṭhāna* XVI.55–69
- . The *Nigamanas* of the Sumaṅgalavilāsini and the Kaṅkhāvitarānī XXI.129–33
- . Chips from Buddhist Workshops: Scribes and Manuscripts from Northern Thailand XXII.35–57
- . The Paramatthajotikādīpanī, a Fragment of the Sub-commentary to the Paramatthajotikā II on the Suttanipāta XXIII.27–41
- . *Tuvaṭṭati/tuvaṭṭeti* Again XXVI.71–75
- . Lān² Nā as a Centre of Pāli Literature during the Late 15th Century XXVI.119–37

- . Preface XXIX.ix–xiv
- . *See also* Mettanando Bhikkhu.
- . The Verb **addhabhavati* as an Artificial Formation XXXII.213–27
- . An Old Colophon Preserved: The Tipiṭaka of
Ñāṇavaṃsa and Sobhaggasiri XXXII.229–39
- . Two Notes on Pāli Metre XXXIII.115–22
- Horner, Isaline Blew. *Keci* “Some” in the Pāli
Commentaries X.87–95
- Hundius, Harald. The Colophons of Thirty Pāli
Manuscripts from Northern Thailand XIV.1–173
- Hüsken, Ute. The Legend of the Establishment of
the Order of Nuns in the Theravāda Vinaya-piṭaka XXVI.43–69
- Jackson, P. A Note on Dhammapāla(s) XV.209–11
- . The Canonicity of the Netti and Other Works XXVIII.61–62
- Jaini, Padmanabh S. *Tīrthaṃkara-prakṛti* and the
Bodhisattva Path IX.96–104
- . A Note on *micchādīṭṭhi* in Mahāvamsa XXIX.153–68
- Jong, Jan Willem de. Fa-Hsien and Buddhist Texts
in Ceylon IX.105–15
- Jurewicz, Joanna. Playing with Fire: The *Pratītya-*
samutpāda from the Perspective of Vedic Thought XXVI.77–103
- Kahrs, Eivind G. Exploring the Saddanīti XVII.1–212
- . Commentaries, Translations, and Lexica: Some
Further Reflections on Buddhism and Philology XXIX.137–51
- Kalupahana, D.J. The Philosophy of History in
Early Buddhism IX.117–26
- Khantipālo, Bhikkhu. Where’s That *sutta*? A Guide
to the Discourses in the Numerical Collection
(Aṅguttara-nikāya) X.37–153
- . *See also* Laurence C.R. Mills
- Kieffer-Pülz, Petra. Stretching the Vinaya Rules and
Getting Away with It XXIX.1–49
- . The Law of Theft: Regulations in the
Theravāda Vinaya and the Law Commentaries XXXI.1–56
- . “And there is this stanza in this connection”:
The Usage of *hoti/honti/bhavanti c’ ettha* in Pāli
Commentarial Literature XXXII.15–162

- . Corrections for the 2016 Edition of Vv-a XXXIII.123–29
- Lamotte, Étienne. The Gāravasutta of the Samyutta-
nikāya and Its Mahāyānist Developments IX.127–44
- Ledi Sayadaw. Two Letters from Ledi Sayadaw to
Mrs Rhys Davids XXXI.155–82
- Lienhard, Siegfried. On the Correspondence of
Helmer Smith and Gunnar Jarring XXIX.409–22
- . Corrigenda et postscriptum for “On the
Correspondence of Helmer Smith and Gunnar Jarring” XXX.177–78
- Liyanaratne, Jinadasa. Pāli Manuscripts of Sri Lanka
in the Cambridge University Library XVIII.131–47
- . South Asian Flora As Reflected in the
Twelfth-Century Pāli Lexicon *Abhidhānappadīpikā* XX.43–161
- . A Pāli Canonical Passage of Importance for
the History of Indian Medicine XXII.59–72
- . Sri Lankan Manuscriptology XXVIII.39–48
- Lottermoser, Friedgard. Minor Pāli Grammar Texts:
The Saddabindu and Its “New” Subcommentary XI.79–109
- Manné, Joy. Categories of *Sutta* in the Pāli Nikāyas
and Their Implications for Our Appreciation of
the Buddhist Teaching and Literature XV.29–87
- . Case Histories from the Pāli Canon I:
The Sāmaññaphala Sutta Hypothetical Case History
or How to Be Sure to Win a Debate XXI.1–34
- . Case Histories from the Pāli Canon II:
Sotāpanna, Sakadāgāmin, Anāgāmin, Arahat –
the Four Stages Case History or Spiritual Materialism
and the Need for Tangible Results XXI.35–128
- Matsumura, Junko. Remarks on the Rasavāhīni
and the Related Literature XXV.153–70
- Mellick Cutler, Sally. The Pāli *Apadāna* Collection XX.1–42
- Mettanando Bhikkhu & O. von Hinüber. The Cause
of the Buddha’s Death XXVI.105–17
- Mills, Laurence C.R. The Case of the Murdered Monks
———. *See also* Bhikkhu Khantipālo XVI.71–75
- Mori, Sodo. *Uttaravihāraṭṭhakathā* and *Sārasamāsa* XII.1–47

- . Recent Japanese Studies in the Pāli
Commentarial Literature XXIX.175–90
- Nihom, Max. Kāmaloka: A Rare Pāli Loan Word in
Old Javanese XX.163–70
- Nolot, Édith. Studies in Vinaya Technical Terms I–III XXII.73–150
(1. *saṃgha-kamma*; 2. *adhikaraṇa*; 3. *mānatta*,
parivāsa, *abbhāna*)
- . Studies in Vinaya Technical Terms IV–X XXV.1–111
(4. The disciplinary procedures of *tajjanīya*-°,
nissaya-°, *pabbājanīya*-°, *paṭisāraṇīya*-°, and
threefold *ukkhepanīya-kamma* (n.);
5. *Nissāraṇā* (f.)/*nissāraṇīya* (n.), *osāraṇā* (f.)/
osāraṇīya (n.); 6. *Nāsanā* (n.f.), “expulsion”;
7. *Daṇḍa-kamma* (n.), “punishment”;
8. *Pakāsanīya-kamma* (n.), “procedure of
proclamation”; 9. *Patta-nikkujanā*°/*ukkujanā*
(n. f.), “turning down/up the alms-bowls”)
- Norman, K.R. Devas and Adhidevas in Buddhism IX.145–55
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies III: Ten Pāli
Etymologies X.23–36
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies IV: Eleven Pāli
Etymologies XI.33–49
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies V: Twelve Pāli
Etymologies XII.49–63
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies VI: Six Pāli
Etymologies XIII.219–27
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies VII: Five Pāli
Etymologies XIV.219–25
- . Index to JPTS Volumes IX–XIV XIV.227f.
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies VIII: Seven Pāli
Etymologies XV.145–54
- . Index to JPTS Volumes IX–XV XV.213f.
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies IX: Four Pāli
Etymologies XVI.77–85
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies X: Two Pāli
Etymologies XVII.215–18
- . Pāli Lexicographical Studies XI: Six Pāli
Etymologies XVIII.149–64

- Etymologies
 ———. Index to JPTS Volumes IX–XVIII XVIII.177–80
 ———. External Sandhi in Pāli (with Special Reference XIX.203–13
 to the Suttanipāta)
 ———. Pāli Lexicographical Studies XII: Ten Pāli XX.211–30
 Etymologies
 ———. Book Review (*Catalogue of the Burmese–Pāli XXVI.161–64
 and Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of the
 Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine*)
 ———. Index of Grammatical Points Discussed in the XXVI.165–68
 Notes to *Elders' Verses I*
 ———, ed. and trans. The Anāgatavaṃsa Revisited XXVIII. 1–37
 ———. On Translating Literally XXX.81–97
 ———. Bibliography XXX.99–135
 Oberlies, Thomas. Pāli, Pāṇini and “Popular” Sanskrit XXIII.1–26
 ———. A Study of the Campeyya Jātaka, Including XXVII.115–46
 Remarks on the Text of the Saṅkhapāla Jātaka
 ———. The *h*-Future of Pāli with Random Notes on XXXII.163–94
 “Historical” and “Irregular” Future Forms
 Pecenko, Primoz. Sāriputta and His Works XXIII.159–79
 ———. Linatthapakāsini and Sāratthamañjūsā: The XXVII.61–113
*Purāṇaṭīkā*s and the *Ṭīkā*s on the Four Nikāyas
 ———. The History of the Nikāya Subcommentaries XXX. 5–32
 (*ṭīkā*s) in Pāli Bibliographic Sources
 Penth, Hans. Buddhist Literature of Lān Nā on XXIII.43–81
 the History of Lān Nā’s Buddhism
 Pind, Ole Holten. Studies in Pāli Grammarians I: XIII.33–81
 Buddhaghosa’s References to Grammar and
 Grammarians
 ———. Studies in Pāli Grammarians II.1 XIV.175–218
 ———. Pāli Grammar and Grammarians from XXXI.57–124
 Buddhaghosa to Vajirabuddhi: A Survey
 Pruitt, William. References to Pāli in Seventeenth-Century XI.119–31
 French Books
 ———. Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of XIII.1–31
 Congress, Washington, D.C.

- . Additions to the Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. XXIV.171–83
- . The Career of Women Disciple Bodhisattas XXIX.391–407
- , ed. Two Letters from Ledi Sayadaw to Mrs Rhys Davids XXXI.155–82
- Rahula, Walpola. Humour in Pali Literature IX.156–74
- Rook, A. Index of K.R. Norman's *Collected Papers I–VII* XXVI.169–231
- Ruegg, David Seyfort. A Further Note on Pāli *Gotrabhū* IX.175–77
- Ruiz-Falqués, Aleix *see* Alastair Gornall
- Saddhatissa, Hammalava. Pāli Literature in Cambodia IX.178–97
- . *Nāmarūpasamāso*: The Summary of Mind and Matter XI.5–31
- , trans. *Nāmacāradīpaka* XV.1–28
- Salomon, Richard, and Stefan Baums. Sanskrit *Ikṣvāku*, Pāli *Okkāka*, and Gāndhārī *Ismaho* XXIX.201–27
- Schmithausen, Lambert. On Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra VII.1 XXIX.199–200
- Schopen, Gregory. The *Stūpa* Cult and the Extant Pāli Vinaya XIII.83–100
- . The Ritual Obligations and the Donor Roles of Monks XVI.87–107
- . The Buddhist *Bhikṣu*'s Obligation to Support His Parents in Two Vinaya Traditions XXIX.107–36
- Silk, Jonathan A. A Small Problem of Tense and Person: Dhammapada 306 and Its Parallels XXX.161–76
- . Kern and the Study of Indian Buddhism: With a Speculative Note on the Ceylonese Dhammarucikas XXXI.125–54
- Skilling, Peter. The Rakṣā Literature of the Śrāvakayāna XVI.109–82
- . A Citation from the *Buddhavaṃsa of the Abhayagiri School XVIII.165–75
- . Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation XIX.69–201
- . Vimuttimagga and Abhayagiri: The Form-Aggregate According to the Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya XX.171–210
- . The *Sambuddhe* verses and Later Theravāda Buddhology XXII.150–83

- . On the School-Affiliation of the “Patna Dhammapada” XXIII.83–122
- . New Pāli Inscriptions from South-East Asia XXIII.123–57
- . A Note on King Milinda in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya XXIV.81–101
- . A Note on Dhammapada 60 and the Length of the *Yojana* XXIV.149–70
- . Praises of the Buddha Beyond Praise XXIV.195–200
- . The Sixty-Four Destructions According to the Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya XXV.112–18
- . On a New Edition of the Syāmaratṭhassa Tepitakatṭhakathā XXVII.155–58
- . Some Citation Inscriptions from South-East Asia XXVII.159–75
- . Jātaka and Paññāsa-jātaka in South-East Asia XXVIII.113–73
- . Zombies and Half-Zombies: Mahāsūtras and Other Protective Measures XXIX.313–30
- Somaratne, G.A. Intermediate Existence and the Higher Fetters in the Pāli Nikāyas XXV.119–52
- Stargardt, Janice. The Oldest Known Pāli Texts, Fifth–Sixth Century. Results of the Cambridge Symposium on the Pyu Golden Pāli Text from Śrī Kṣetra, 18–19 April 1995 XXI.199–213
- Thiradhammo Bhikkhu. Corrections to *The Book of the Discipline* XIX.65–68
- Warder, A.K. Some Problems of the Later Pāli Literature IX.198–207

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