

CRITICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL NOTES
TO THE
FIRST CHAPTER (BĀHIRAKATHĀ)
OF THE MILINDA-PAÑHA

By V. TRENCKNER

REVISED AND EDITED, TOGETHER WITH AN INDEX OF WORDS
AND SUBJECTS,

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[INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.—The following ‘Notes’ and ‘Supplementary Notes’ were issued in 1879 by the late V. Trenckner as an appendix to his ‘Pali Miscellany’ (Part I.; London: Williams and Norgate), after portions of them had been communicated to a few Pali scholars. A careful inspection will show that these notes contain a series of very ingenious remarks on the most important questions within Pali philology. They were, in fact, based on a very extensive knowledge of Pali manuscripts and of parallel passages in the Piṭaka texts and commentaries; it is the more to be regretted that they seem to have been comparatively little used by later Pali scholars when editing the Pali texts. I think that this is due mainly to two circumstances, viz., the want of an index, and Trenckner’s way of making references to books and chapters in his own manuscripts, so that the passages quoted in a great many cases can be found only with difficulty. Thus it will be easily understood why, in many passages of

the printed texts, we find no reference to Trenckner's Notes, although a better reading could have been introduced by means of them. Examples of this are numerous; I need only to name the word *pettāpiya* (Notes, p. 62); cf. Hardy's edition of the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, III., p. 348⁴ and V., p. 138⁶; *abbeti* (p. 64); cf. *Jāt.* III., p. 34, and VI., p. 17; *opiya* (p. 78), cf. *Th.* v. 119 and *SN.*, I., p. 199, etc.; not to speak of the edition of *Majjhima-N.*, Vol. II.-III., where even Trenckner's MS. itself was at the editor's disposal; see, for instance, *atatha* (p. 67), *MN.*, II., p. 256, *se vante* (p. 75), *ibid.*, II., p. 254²⁵. Of course, it ought also to be said that Trenckner's critical remarks to several passages in the *Suttā-nipāta*, *Jātaka*, and *Digha-Nikāya* have been taken duly into consideration (*DN.*, II., p. 337 and II., p. 15; but cf. *MN.*, III., p. 123). I think I have said enough in order to justify this undertaking of mine to give a new edition of the 'Notes,' which I had planned already years ago. It was, therefore, a great satisfaction to me that the editor of this *Journal* himself proposed to me to publish them together with an index. This I have striven to make as complete as possible, and I have availed myself of the opportunity of inserting also references to some of Trenckner's notes in his editions of *Milinda-pañha* and *Majjhima-Nikāya*, vol. i. Thus the numbers between 55 and 83 refer to the following text, which is printed quite as it stands in *Pali Misc.*, pp. 55-83, after the corrections and additions from p. 84 have been inserted in their places; whilst the numbers 525-573 refer to *Majjhima*, vol. i., and 420-430 to the complete edition of *Milinda*, the text of which was already printed before Trenckner issued his *Pali Misc.* Of course, it was necessary to revise the most part of the quotations, and give references to the texts now printed; these references are added within parentheses, whilst a few additions of my own are put within brackets. Trenckner's abbreviations are the same as those known to us from his edition of *Milinda-pañha*; *Dh.* refers to the edition of *Dhammapada*, 1855, and *Mhw.* to Tournour's edition of *Mahāvamsa*, 1837.]

NOTES.

[55] Mil. 1¹. The name of Milinda has been happily identified with the Greek Menandros. In Pali the liquids n and l are easily interchanged, more especially either by assimilation or dissimilation; as, muḷāla S. mṛṇāla, nangala S. lāngala, nangula S. lāngula, nalāṭa S. lalāṭa, veḷu S. veṇu (proceeding from the oblique cases), pilandhati 'to ornament,' from pilandha¹ S. pinaddha (comp. onandhati, pariyonandhati), vijjotalanta, pres. part. of a denominative from S. vidyotana. The latter part of the name is made to contain the Pali word inda; or else assimilation of vowels may have taken place, as in nilicchita, S. nirasṭa from AKSH (the Burmese write nilacchita), nisinna S. nishaṇṇā, piṭṭhi S. pṛshṭha,² etc.

Mil. 1¹¹. Tamyathā 'nusūyate is a phrase well known from Sanskrit, especially Buddhist Sanskrit, comp. Five Jāt., p. 59; in Pali I have only found it in this place.

Mil. 1¹⁴. Rāmaṇeyyaka, S. rāmaṇīyaka, seems always to be used as a substantive; comp. Abhijānāsi no (i.e., nu) tvaṃ rājañña divāseyyaṃ upagato supinakaṃ passitā, āramarāmaṇeyyakaṃ vanarāmaṇeyyakaṃ bhūmirāmaṇeyyakaṃ pokkharaṇīrāmaṇeyyakaṃ (DN. 24); iccheyyāsi no

¹ Pilandha is used in Mil. and in comments; I have not found it in any Pitaka text. But pilandhita seems to be unused.

² An interesting case, showing the transition from the neuter piṭṭham to the fem. piṭṭhi, occurs in each of the four Nikāyas: Piṭṭhim-me (so MN. and SN.; piṭṭhi me DN. and AN.) agilāyati (āgilāyati SN.), tam-aham āyamissāmi, 'my back pains me a little, I wish to stretch it.' Comp. Jāt. I., p. 491 (at l. 3 read, paṭibhātu taṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammī kathā). The assimilation has taken place, but the nasal is retained, and the word probably still remains neuter. The case is different from nidhin-nikhāto (S. -ir ni-), Jāt. 307, v. 4 (vol. iii., p. 27).

tvaṃ [56] mārisa Moggallāna Vejayantassa pāsā-dassa rāmaṇeyyakam daṭṭhum (MN. 37, vol. i., p. 253¹¹). At Dh. v. 98 bhumiṃrāmaṇeyyakam is a compound with ṃ inserted for metrical reasons³; the parallel verse SN. XI, 15 (vol. i., p. 233⁴) has the same reading.

Mil. 1¹⁸. Caccara is S. catvara; v and r after a dental being sometimes changed into y, and thus together with the dental mostly forming a palatal, as gijjha S. gr̥dhra, ekacca⁴ S. ekatara (after contraction into *ekatra).

Mil. 2¹. Dānagga is no doubt a contraction of dānā-gāra, by elision of the penultimate vowel; for in the sense of house -agga is used in several compounds, as bhattagga (Dh., p. 104; Mhw., p. 88), salākagga, vassagga (a shed, Jāt. I, p. 123), uposathagga (also uposathā-gāra). The like contraction occurs in ekacca, referred to in the preceding note. Also in pitucchā, mātucchā, S. pitṛshvasar, mātṛshvasar: sasar, which is otherwise unused in Pali, being contracted to -ssar, will, according to a well-known Sanskrit rule, form -tsar, which in

³ Exactly as at v. 153 sandhāvissam with a double for a single s, to prevent the verse from ending in three iambs. This reading is, however, scarcely original, but so old that it came to be considered the correct form, and -isam is used only at the end of a hemistich. The examples are very numerous, and when Kuhn (Beitr. z. Pali-Gr., p. 111) characterized the form as 'äusserst selten,' he forgot that his knowledge of Pitaka texts was very limited.

⁴ At first view ekacca (also ekatiya, Th., v. 1009, if the reading is right) has the appearance of containing the suffix tya, and, like Kuhn and Senart, I formerly thought that such was the case. But that obsolete termination was no longer available for the formation of new words, and it never produced derivatives declined like ekacca, pl. ekacce. Compare also mahacca=mahattara, in mahaccarājānubhāvena, DN. 2 (vol. i., p. 49); MN. 84, 89 (vol. ii., pp. 83, 118); AN., V., v. 10 (vol. iii., p. 59) [and Vin. iii., p. 327]; and matyā or mātyā, petyā, S. mātrā, pitrā, Jāt. 527, vv. 3, 5 (vol. v., p. 214); 538, v. 29 (vol. vi., p. 16). At Khud-dakap. 9, v. 1=Sn. 8, v. 1 (v. 143), I consider abhisamecca the instrumental of -etar in the sense of a future, with irregular shortening of the final; perhaps an old clerical error.

Pali makes -cchar, and for final -ar, as in some other cases, -ā is substituted. Jñu in composition for jānu, offers a Sanskrit analogy.

Mil. 2⁷. Kodumbaraka, the reading of M, is also that of the Vessantara-Jātaka, where the commentary explains it 'Kodumbararaṭṭhe uppannāni (Jāt. VI., p. 501²⁵).

Mil. 2¹⁴. Leyya is S. lehya; sāyaniya from sāyati 'to taste,' S. svādate. A single consonant between vowels is [57] rather frequently elided, and to avoid the hiatus, which unlike the practice in Prakrit, is never allowed to remain, either a semivowel is inserted, or contraction takes place. Sāyati more immediately proceeds from the part. sāyita, like ta-y-idaṃ, khāyita from khādati, in which verb, however, the elision is confined to the participle. Sāyati is so frequently accompanied by ghāyati, 'to smell,' that the rhyme may have contributed to the change.

Mil. 3²¹. Moggaliputta - Tissatthero was the principal actor in the third sangīti⁵ or redaction of the Buddhist canon, 218 years after Buddha. His history, as related in Mhw., has many points of coincidence with our text.

Mil. 3²¹. Dissati. Of the three Sanskrit preterites, the perfect has left but very few vestiges, and the imperfect and aorist are commonly blended into one form, partaking of the character of both. Thus the old system has been entirely overthrown, and has had to be replaced by a new one. The aorist is expressed by the new Pali aorist formed from the Sanskrit imperfect, the terminations being on the whole borrowed from the Sanskrit aorist; the perfect by means of the past participle, so that the construction of the sentence commonly becomes passive (as, evam-me sutam, thus I have heard). The imperfect takes the form of the present tense, and on this analogy the future

⁵ Burnouf, and Childers on his authority, render sangīti by 'synod,' but I have met with the word in no context where the meaning 'redaction' is not either necessary or admissible. Nor does the verb sangāyati ever mean 'to convoke,' but invariably 'to make a collection or redaction of texts.'

may be used in the sense of an imperfect of the future. Hoti (= was), accompanied by a past participle, forms a pluperfect. The scheme is, however, partly infringed, in so far as the p. p., especially in an active sense, is often used instead of an aorist; and so is, in the text above, the present, of which licence there are, I believe, few other examples. This system of preterite tenses differs not much from that used in more recent Sanskrit; the use of the present for the imperfect in epic Sanskrit has been noticed by Rückert in *Zeitschr. d. d. morg. Gesellsch.*, 1859, p. 110, but according to his statement is more limited than in Pali.

Mil. 3²⁵. Niggumba from gumba, S. gulma, by metathesis [58]; gumbala being the intermediate stage. (Comp. simbali, S. çalmali.)

Mil. 4¹. The nineteen sciences are intended to represent the Yonaka cyclopædia, the difference of which from the Indian must have been well known to the author. Hence the number was fixed at nineteen, to mark them out as distinct from the 'eighteen' Indian sciences. But this was all he knew about the matter, and so his specification of them turned out a mere farrago of Indian words, the exact meaning of which no one would probably have been more puzzled to explain than himself. He first thought of çruti and smṛti, of sâṅkhya, yoga, nyāya, vaiçeshika. For smṛti and nyāya were substituted sammuti (S. sammati, perhaps in the sense of 'what is universally agreed on') and nīti; the regular equivalents, sati and ñāya, being objectionable, because these are among the technical terms of Buddhism (ñāyo = ariyo aṭṭhangiko maggo), and might have rendered Milinda suspect of Buddhist attainments previous to his conversion. The rest of the names are chosen rather at random, and mostly disguised as feminines ending in -ā, in order to look less like Indian.

Mil. 4¹⁷. Pūraṇo is the correct name, though written in all our copies, and often elsewhere, Purāṇo. He was born, according to Buddhaghosa, after ninety-nine other slaves, thus 'filling up' the number of a hundred. In the

following names the forms Nāta- and Nāthaputto, Belaṭṭha- and Belaṭṭhiputto are written indifferently wherever they occur. The latter, however, is said by Buddhaghosa to mean Belaṭṭhassa putto. But on the whole metonymics alternate with corresponding patronymics so frequently, that it is often difficult to fix the right reading.

Mil. 4¹⁹. The forms Pakudho and Kakudho are used with nearly equal frequency. The transition from Kakudha, supposing this to be the original form, to Pakudha, belongs to a class of phonetical changes which offers one of the greatest difficulties in indentifying Pali words with Sanskrit. The mutes sometimes merge from one organic class into another, but I refer more especially to the change of a non-labial into a labial, or of a guttural into a dental, or *vice versa*.⁶ Sometimes the cause [59] is evidently dissimilation, as in kipillika, -laka, S. pipīlikā (in Spiegel's Kammav. incorrectly written kimiṇṇaka); gaddūhana, S. dadrūghna;⁷ takkola,

⁶ Khāṇu, which Vararuci, I suppose rightly, refers to S. sthāṇu, belongs to the class of etymologizing corruptions, alluding to khaṇati. Comp. su-nakha, su-pāṇa (the Burmese write suvāna), both from ḥvan; atraja, q. d. 'born in this house'; rathesabha (janasabha, janasuta) perhaps = ratheḥubh; purindada = purandara; balasata and palāsāda for palasata (commonly written phal., like most words beginning with pal-), 'a rhinoceros,' properly an adjective, possibly from S. parasvant, which in the Pet. Diet. is rendered conjecturally and perhaps wrongly 'a wild ass.' In luddaka for luddhaka, 'a hunter,' a confusion of luddha = lubdha and ludda = rudra has taken place. Khāṇu goes far to prove khaṇati to be the right reading; in Dhātumañjūsā (v. 44), to be sure, it is written with the dental, but its authority is in this case scarcely conclusive, as some grammatical sutta or other will easily account for the lingual, with which it is written invariably in all good Singh. MSS., and partly also by the Birmanas.

⁷ It is used to denote a very small measure or space of time: Yo antamaso gaddūhanamattam-pi mettam cittam bhavēyya SN. XIX. 4 (vol. ii., p. 264²³); AN. IX. ii. 9 (vol. iv., p. 395). Nābhijānāmi ābādham uppannapubban antamaso gaddūhanamattam-pi MN. 124 (vol. iii., p. 127). Na

Abhidh., v. 304, corresponds to kakkola in the parallel verse of Amarakosha; in Mil. (p. 359) also name of a country, perhaps S. Karkoṭa; jalūpikā or jalopikā for jalokikā (Mil., p. 407). The latter instance may, and some others must, be referred to labialism, induced by an accompanying u or o: khajjopanaka, S. khadyota (Dh., p. 338);⁸ nirumbhati, sannirumbhati (to hush, to silence; also to be hushed, to stand immovable), probably from RUDH;⁹ sampuṭita [60] 'shrunk, shrivelled' (seyyathā pi tittakālābu āmakacchinno vātātapena sampuṭito hoti sammilāto, MN., 12, 36, 85, 100 (vol. i., p. 80²², etc.), no doubt from KUṬ or KUC, since sankuṭita and sankucita also occur; kaḷopi (kalopi, also kha-) is possibly identical with karoti.¹⁰ The influence of a following labial consonant¹¹

kiñci apuññam āpajjeyya antamaso gaddūhanamattam-pi Mil., p. 110. The traditional explanation is very different and most absurd: Gaddūhanamattam-piti gāvīm thane gahetvā ekakhīrabindudūhanakālamattam-pi (Ps.). Gandhūhanamattam-piti gandhavahanamattam dvīh angulīhi gandhapīṇḍam gahetvā upasinghanamattam; apare gaddūhanamattan-ti pālim vatvā: gāvīyā ekavāram thanam añjanamattan-ti attham vadanti (Mp.). In the latter passage, for añjana- I read āviñjana-, from āviñjati, 'to pull'—it is used in all the Nikāyas, and also in later writings—perhaps from PIÑJ, for which root that meaning seems admissible on account of S. piñjana.

⁸ Also khajjūpanaka, khajjūpa, khajjūpaka; more rarely khajjota, -aka.

⁹ Fausböll and Childers consider -rumhati equally admissible. In Singhalese MSS. mh and mbh are difficult to distinguish, but as an aspirate after a consonant in no other case passes into h, and as the Dhātumañjūsā (v. 91) reads rumbh, there can be no doubt that -rumbhati is the only correct reading; and so it is spelled, I believe, by the Birmans, who are not in the habit of confounding h and bh.

¹⁰ Ālupa for āluka, Jāt. 446, v. l. (vol. iv., p. 46). It is possible on this analogy to identify sippi with çukti, the labializing u (*suppi) having afterwards been assimilated by the following vowel.

¹¹ Similarly mm for nv in Dhammantari (in Mil. name of a physician, daḷhadhammo (dhanuggaho) 'having a strong bow,' from dhanvan. So Buddhaghosa, no doubt correctly.

is evident in *bā-* for *dvā-* (*bārasa*, *bāvīṣati*, *bat-tiṃsa*), *ubbhaṃ* in certain cases for *uddhaṃ* (*ubbha-ṭṭhako hoti āsanapaṭikkhitto*, 'always standing erect, rejecting a seat,' DN. 8, 25 (vol. i., p. 167, etc.; MN. 12 (vol. i., p. 78), 14, 40, etc.; *ubbhamukha*, 'with one's mouth upwards,' SN. XXVII., 10 (vol. iii., p. 238); *ubbhaṃ yojanam-uggatā*, Jāt. 530, v. 53 (vol. v., p. 269); *ubbham-uppatita-lomo*, DN. 30); Prakrit *appa*, Hindostanee *āp*, from *ātman*, is a well-known instance. The opposite transition from the labial into some other class is unfrequent; the principal example is the root *SARP*, which by dissimilation—for most of the prepositions contain a *p*—forms *-sakkati*; as *apasakkati*, 'to go away'; *osakkati* (S. *apasarpati*), *paccosakkati*, 'to retreat' (only once I have found *osappati*); *ussakkati*, *abhussakkati* (or with assimilated vowels *-ssukkatī*), 'to ascend' (*ādicco nabhaṃ abhussakkamāno*, DN., MN., S.N., AN., mostly written *-sukk-*); *nissakkati*, 'to go out' (whence *nissakkavacanaṃ*, Buddhaghosa's appellation for the ablative¹²); *parisakkati*, 'to plan for' (*parisappanti*, Dh., v. 342, 343, in a different sense); *pasakkiya* = *prasṛpya*.¹³

Mil. 5²¹. As it seems, the author's original plan was to invent knotty questions and answers to correspond for each of the six teachers. But very likely he found the [61] task too difficult, and abandoned his design. So there is scarcely any reason to suppose a lacuna in our text.

¹² The names by which cases are denoted by Buddhaghosa and other scholiasts are partly peculiar, and never used either in Sanskrit or by Pali grammarians—what Childers at *kāraṇam* says to the contrary I believe to be an error—except in so far as Vanaratana, the author of *Payogasiddhi*, winds up his *Kāraṇaṇḍo* with the following memorial stanza, which Alwis, *Cat. I.*, p. 68, quotes from *Suttaniddesa*:
Paccattam - upayogañ-ca karaṇam sampadāniyam |
nissakka-sānivacanaṃ bhummam-ālapan' aṭṭhamam.

¹³ Also *anuparisakkati* *paṭisakkati*, *anusakkati*; but after *ā, vi, saṃ, p* is retained. *Upasappati* is used by Vanaratana in a grammatical example.

Mil. 6³. Acchati is in comments explained by nisīdati or vasati; by grammarians it is rightly referred to ĀS, from which it proceeds through the aorist acchi, S. *ātsīt.¹⁴ Hence the Bengalee verb substantive āch°.

Mil. 6¹⁶. Devaputta may be considered the sing. of

¹⁴ Dicchati, 'to give,' derives from adikshat. Vanaratana rightly refers it to 'disa atisajjane.' It occurs at SN. I., 32, v. 5=33, v. 2 (vol. i., p. 18²⁷=20¹⁶)=Jāt. 450, v. 7 (vol. iv., p. 65²¹): Appasm' eke pavecchanti, bahunā eke na dicchare (=dadanti, Jāt. Com.). In the same Jāt. v. 1: Apacanto (not cooking) pi dicchanti santo laddhāna bhojanam, the scholiast paraphrases it by dātum icchanti, but it is unnecessary to suppose it to be the desiderative of DĀ, and it can scarcely be different from the word employed at v. 7. The verb dicchati, from 'disa pekkhane,' mentioned by grammarians, might derive from adṛkshata, but it is possibly a mistake, owing its origin to a confusion with the former word. 'Pavecchati,' 'to give,' is traditionally explained by paveseti (as ifcaus.) or deti, and looks like a derivative from avikshat, but neither VIÇ nor VISH make good sense. In meaning it agrees with S. prayacchati, but the identification presents some phonetical difficulty. Pāhetha, above p. 12² (Mil. 8²), from pāhesi, is not found elsewhere. Uggāñchitvāna, Mil., p. 376 (in a verse quoted from an unknown source), from uggañchi. Rudati from arudat, as °ruhati (in verse) from aruhat. From DARÇ a base dakkh° seems to be in use, which may have sprung from addakkhi, but more likely from the forms I shall mention directly. Some of the examples are deceptive: dakkhisati is a future with double termination (comp. sakkhissati, modathavho, etc.), dakkhetha, dakkhema, -emu are optatives of the future, dakkhitāye, SN. I., 37, v. 1 (vol. i., p. 26) =DN. 20, v. 1 (vol. ii., p. 254; Grimblot, Sept Suttas, p. 280), is perhaps, an infinitive of the future (other examples of the infinitive termination -tāye exist), likewise dakkhitum, Vin. I., p. 179¹¹ (also used occasionally in comments, as well as dakkhitabba). More unmistakable are atīradakkhinī nāvā, DN. 11 (vol. i., p. 222); AN. VI., v. 2 (vol. iii., p. 368) (but in the same suttas tīradassī sakuno, synonymous with disākāko, which was rightly explained by Minayeff, Mēl. As. VI., p. 597), and dakkhāpita, Mil., p. 119³. Pahaṃsitvā, Five Jāt., p. 2, if it meant 'striking,' might be referred to a possible aor. *pahaṃsi=pahāsi; but it signifies 'rubbing, whetting, polishing,' and belongs to GHARSH; comp. Jāt. I., p. 278⁵, etc. Comp. Childers in Kuhn's Beitr. VII., pp. 450-3.

deva, which in the sense of 'god' is rarely used in the singular.

Mil. 6¹⁹. The particle pātu, in pātubhavati, pātukaroti, from S. prādur, is an instance of a sonant being exchanged for a surd. By Prakrit grammarians this sort of change is said to be peculiar to a particular dialect—an invention, perhaps, purporting to account for this irregular euphonism. In Pali the true reason is in most cases [62] assimilation,¹⁵ the transformed sonant having been influenced by one or two neighbouring surds; or by l, which in contra-distinction to l̥ = d̥ is in this respect on a par with surds. Some of the principal instances are the following:¹⁶ Akilāsu from a-glāsnu; pāceti Dh. v. 135, not from PAC but AJ, like pācana S. prājana; pithiyati¹⁷ from

¹⁵ The term 'assimilation' may, perhaps, be excepted against, because it is commonly used in a somewhat different sense. But the process by which, e.g., dharmā, agni became dhammā, aggi, is, in my opinion, elision, not assimilation. We ought to remember that the pronunciation was dharmmā, aggni.

¹⁶ I shall add some more: chakala S. chagala; akalu for agalu; paloka from palujjati (RUJ); °upaka for °upaga in kulūpaka, etc.; Upaku, in Payogasiddhi, for Upagu, Kacc. 348 (Senart, p. 187); Payāka for -ga, Jāt. 543, v. 111 (vol. vi., p. 198); vilāka for vilagga, *ib.* 527, v. 10 (vol. v., p. 215); thaketi from STHAG; lakanaka, 'an anchor,' (Mil., p. 377), from laketi = lageti; palikha rarely for paligha, Jāt. 545, v. 64 (vol. vi., p. 276³); Ceti, S. Cedi; rarely ketāra for kedāra, Jāt. 381, v. 2 (vol. iii., p. 255); patara for padara, *ib.* 444, v. 3 (vol. iv., p. 32); upathēyya (DHĀ), 'a cushion,' *ib.* 547, vv. 34, 237 (vol. vi., pp. 490¹³, 515²³); lāpa, S. lāba; lāpu, alāpu for -bu; pajāpatī, 'wife,' from prajāvatī (perhaps also nelapatī, puttapatī for -vatī); pettāpiya, AN. VI., v. 2 (vol. iii., p. 348⁴); X. viii. 5 (vol. v., p. 138⁶), from pitrvya; tippa for tibba in a certain formula of frequent use, especially in MN. Chakana is S. chagana, but as it derives from çakṛt, çakan, like yakana from yakṛt, yakan, the Pali form is the older of the two. Upaikā is connected, through °upatikā, with S. upadīkā, upādika, utpādikā; but as it offers an easy and natural etymology from upa- CI, it is probably the original of those corrupt forms.

¹⁷ Pithiyati was known to Childers only from Dh., v. 173, but it is of frequent use. Weber's obvious explanation did not meet with the

DHĀ, [63] for which explanation we are indebted to Weber, Zeitschr. d. d. morg. Ges. 1860, p. 56; chāpa, from çāva; palāpa, 'chaff' (more commonly in an adjectival sense, 'chaff-like, void'), from palāva; from LŪ lāpayati, Mhw. p. 617, if the reading is correct; from PLU opilāpeti, 'to make to sink,' etc.; from VAR apāpurati or avāpurati, 'to open,' for *apāvarati¹⁸ with labialized vowel, apāpuraṇa or avāpuraṇa, 'a key,' and the well-known pāpuraṇa (sometimes pārupana, which is properly the noun of action), S. prāvaraṇa, for which the Burmese write pāvuraṇa, the corresponding verb being, by metathesis originating, perhaps, in the p. p. pāruta

reception to which it was entitled, for Childers and Kuhn repeated the old error; so difficult it is for truth to prevail. The fact is that pithiyati may be suspected of being a Singhalese blunder for pidhiyati, for so the Burmese write invariably. Since I wrote the above remarks, an increased knowledge of Birman MSS. has proved to me that a certain proportion of the words in question are there written with the sonant we are justified in expecting. This statement applies to bhinkāra (perhaps chakala), Upaku, mutinga, pithiyati pāpuraṇa, supāṇa, and probably several others, the Birman form of which is still unknown to me. The Singhalese form of these words is likely to be posterior to the introduction of Buddhism and Pali literature into Transgangetic India. It continues an open question whether the rest are genuine, or were likewise corrupted in Ceylon, in the idiom of which assimilation, I think, forms a leading feature. On the other hand, it need not be said that the Burmese abound in errors of their own of this as well as other kinds; e.g., hupeyya (Vin. I., p. 8) for huveyya, which is the reading of genuine Singh. MSS. (the Upaka legend is found twice in MN.). Comp. Alwis, Introd. to Kachch, p. 48.

¹⁸ Childers, though otherwise adopting my explanation, considered avāpurati to contain ava, not apa; but he was mistaken. For, first, ava does not account for the change of the radical v to p. Next, apa is scarcely ever substituted for ava; but apāpurati and apāpuraṇa are in use, and the p. p. apāruta, S. apāvṛta, which Childers wrongly dissolved into a-pāruta, is constantly written with p. Finally, ava-VAR would mean 'to cover over,' and could only by a Prakritism signify 'to open' (comp. ava-CHAD). Weber rightly saw this (Zeitschr. d. d. morg. Ges., 1876, p. 179).

S. prāvṛta, pārupati¹⁹ (which the Burmese [64] corrupt into pārumpeti). In a few other cases a final surd has remained unchanged in comp. before a vowel, as Yamataggi from Yamad-agni.²⁰

¹⁹ Pāpurati instead of parupati is mentioned by Childers, but I am afraid it is a mere lapse of memory; in Sn., at least, no form of that verb occurs except pāruta, and I have met with it nowhere. Weber (*loc. cit.*) was inclined to doubt the proposed etymology, and raised a twofold objection. First, because VAR appears in its due form in pavāra, pāvāra; next, on account of the conjugation of the verb. I must here remark, in the first place, that nothing is more common than for a root or Sanskrit word to appear in a variety of Pali shapes; e.g., kusīta and kosajja; pidaḥati, pithiyati, and pidhāna; ludra, rudda, ludda (Fausböll and Childers failed in explaining this word), and rūḷa (Mil., p. 275); tikicchā, vicikicchā; byāpāra, byāvaṭa (whence veyyāvacca; from PAR, as Böhtlingk suspected); pāruta, vivaṭa, saṁvuta; apāpurati, ovaraka (S. apavaraka; at Jāt I., p. 391, read jātovarake); niyyātetī, -detī; pājetī, pāceti (AJ); gilāna, akilāsu (GLĀ); aḍḍha, āḷhiya (S. āḍhya); and a great many more. Secondly, the regular Pali conjugation of VAR is varati, see āvarati, vivarati, saṁvarati. Forms corresponding to S. vṛṇoti, vṛṇāti are rare (vaṇimhase, Jāt. II., p. 137; apāpuṇanti amatassa dvāram, It. 84, v. 2 (p. 80⁶); vaṇomi, Jāt. 513, v. 14 (vol. v., p. 27²⁵), if I conjecture rightly, the MSS. have apāmuṇanti and, against metre, vaṇṇemi), and partly questionable. Saṁvuṇoti is known only from grammarians, and so is āvuṇoti, -āti, if it means 'to cover.' But perhaps the same verb is intended which in our best MSS. is written āvunāti, 'to pierce, to impale, to string.' If so, we cannot with Childers derive it from VAR. It is a new present formed—like *vināti, vinati, 'to weave' (Jāt. II., p. 302⁵, and elsewhere), from vita, vīta, S. uta, ūta— from the p. p. āvuta (the regular equivalent of S. ota), on the analogy of luta lunāti (or suta suṇāti). The old present abbeti, S. āvayati, was almost superseded; I have only found it twice: coram gahetvā rājāno gāme kibbisakārakam abbeti nimbasūlasmim, Jāt. 311, v. 3 (vol. iii., p. 34); ekam sūlasmim abbetha, *ib.* 538, v. 37 (vol. vi., p. 17).

²⁰ Mutinga, or mudinga, from mṛd-anga; by false analogy, it seems, -taggha from -daghna. The latter part of bhinkāra for bhingāra, vākārā (the Burmese write vākūrā) for vāgurā, the rare ajakara for ajagara, Jāt. 427, v. 2 (vol. iii., p. 484), was mistaken for -kāra, -kara. From the phrase anabhāvaṁ gameti, 'to annihilate,' it may be suspected that anabhāvakata

Mil. 8²⁶. Uḷunka is S. udanka. It means the ladle of the rice boiler, usually made of a cocoon shell (see Mhw., p. 164).

Mil. 8²⁷. Sāmīci is to be derived from saṁyañc, with the abstract termination -ī or -i, formed, no doubt, from -ya, as in pāripūri from paripūra, pārisuddhi from parisuddha, kolaputti from kulaputta, pāramī from parama. Sāmīci consequently means 'completeness, perfection,' and seems to denote such minor offices as form a supplement to the strictly incumbent duties. As regards

—so the Singhalese and Burmese agree in writing—is a similar error for -gata, if it is not due to the vicinity of tālavatthakata, which always precedes it (anabhāva from anu-abhāva, if Buddhaghosa is right; but in my opinion from bhāva, with the negative prefix doubled for emphasis' sake, like anamatagga; erroneous formations which would naturally intrude themselves from the apparent analogy of anavajja being actually the reverse of vajja, anaññāta, S. anājñāta, coinciding in sense with aññāta, S. ajñāta. It is difficult to say why t takes the place of d in several derivatives of SAD: kusīta, Pokkharasāti or -sādi, the locatives saṁsati, Jāt. 429, v. 5=430, v. 5 (vol. iii., pp. 493-95), and the frequent parisati-m (whence the synonymous sabhati-m from sabhā, mentioned by grammarians); perhaps this irregularity may somehow be connected with the fact that sāteti (also sāṭeti, sādeti; paṇṇasata = parṇaṇṇasata), S. ḥātayati, is the actual causative of ḤAD. Pabbaja, which occurs occasionally for babbaja, is either a mere thoughtless confusion with pabbajati, or else an etymologizing corruption alluding to *parvaja, like supaṇa for suvāna, etc. (see above, p. [59];) for initials seem to be exempt from this sort of change, except under peculiar circumstances. Tuvamtuvaṁ or tvamtvam, 'quarrel,' is undoubtedly S. dvandva; but it was made to look like the doubled pronoun tvam, and Buddhaghosa accordingly mistook it to mean 'theeing and thouing.' The same remark holds good, I think, as regards the reverse substitution of a sonant for a surd, for which reason I do not agree with those who derive jhāyati from KSHĀ. Dandha, 'slow', which is commonly referred to S. tandra, I am inclined to identify with dṛḍha, because daḍḍhi (in kāyadaḍḍhibahula, a word much used by scholiasts, but not found in the Nikāyas), S. dārdhya, means 'sloth, inertness.' In the Sanskrit, or rather Prakrit, dhandha, the assimilation of the first and last consonants progressed one step farther.

the relation of the laity to the priesthood, the term implies, I believe, [65] such attentions as washing the priest's feet, presenting him a fan, and the like.

Mil. 8²⁹. 'Aticchatha bhante' is the phrase by which a mendicant priest is refused alms in a civil way (comp. Dh., pp. 241, 242). A *ṭikā* explains it thus: *Atikkamitvā icchatha, idha bhikkhā na labbhati, ito aññattha gantvā bhikkham̐ pariyesathāti adhippāyo.*

Mil. 10¹³. The attainments of a learned brahman are in the suttas invariably described in these words. The *Nighaṇḍu* is, of course, the *Nighaṇṭu*.²¹ *Keṭubha* seems to mean the *Kalpa*; it is thus explained by *Buddhaghosa*: 'The science which assists the officiating priests (?) by laying down rules for the rites, or leaving them to their choice' (*keṭubhan-ti kiriyākappavikappo, kavīnaṃ upakārāya sattham̐*). The *Akkharappabheda*, according to the same authority, means *Ḷikshā* and *Nirukti* (*saha-akkharappabhedena 'sākkharappabhedānam̐'; akkharappabhedo ti sikkhā ca nirutti ca*). In making the *Itihāsas* the fifth part of the doctrine, the *Vedāngas* seem to be reckoned as a whole; the scholiasts, however, think of *Atharvaveda* as the fourth part, though not mentioned. For the thirty-two *mahāpurisalakkhaṇas*, specified in several suttas, see *Burnouf's Lotus*. *Anavaya* is never used except in this phrase;²² I [66] take it to stand for *an-avayava*,²³ with elision of *v*, 'in whom there is nothing fragmentary.'

²¹ *Buddhaghosa* says *Nighaṇḍūti nāmanighaṇḍu, *ukkhādīnam̐ vevacanappakāsakam̐ sattham̐*.

²² When I wrote this I was unacquainted with AN; it occurs there, at V., xiv., 5 (vol. iii., p. 152), in a different phrase: *tattha sikkhito hoti anavayo*. Mp. renders it by *samatto paripuṇṇo*.

²³ Like *upajjham̐* for *-ām̐, -āyam̐; ettam̐* for *-aam̐, -akam̐* (at Dh., v. 196, the construction of the latter hemistich has been mistaken; several prose parallels prove the meaning to be, '... cannot be counted by anyone (so as to state), This is so much'). Traditionally *anavaya* is no doubt derived from *VĀ (vayati)*; the comments say, *Anavayo ti imesu lokāyata-mahāpurisalakkhaṇesu anūno paripūrakārī; avayo na hotīti vuttam̐*

Mil. 11⁴. Pāpakānaṃ malānaṃ pabbājetuṃ seems to be inadmissible; it is probably an error for pāpakāni malāni.

Mil. 11⁶. Palibodha is, perhaps, an amalgamation of parirodha and paribādh; comp. sukhumāla (sukhuma, sukumāra).

Mil. 11²⁹. Onītapattapāṇi is thus explained in Payogasiddhi: Onīto pattato pāṇi yena, so onītapattapāṇi. Onīta consequently means apanīta.²⁴

Mil. 13⁷. All the canonical writings, and in an eminent degree the Abhidhamma, abound in repetitions, which in the MSS. are often omitted, being marked by the abbreviation 'pe.' The not omitting these repetitions is what is meant by 'vitthārena osāressāmi.' The sign of abridgment, pe, or, as it is written in Burmese copies, pa,²⁵ we are informed by Alwis (Introd., p. 93), means peyyāla, which is not, however, as he asserts, an imperative 'insert, fill up the gap,' but a substantive, peyyālo or peyyālaṃ, signifying a phrase to be repeated over and over again. I consider it a popular corruption of the synonymous pari-yāya, passing through *payyāya,²⁶ with -eyy- for -ayy-, like seyyā, S. çayyā.²⁷

hoti; avayo nāma yo tāni atthato ca ganthato ca santānetuṃ na sakkoti. Lokāyataṃ is explained by vitanḍavādasattham.

²⁴ Buddhaghosa says: Onītapattapāṇin-ti pattato onītapāṇim, apanītahatthanti vuttam hoti. He mentions another reading, which is not in our MSS.: onītapattapāṇim, 'having washed his bowl and his hands,' from NIJ. The best Singh. MSS. write the word with n, not ṇ, as Childers has it, and for which there seems to be some Burmese authority. The MS. marked M, however, has it only in one place.

²⁵ Also la and gha; the latter I am unable to account for, unless it be a contraction of la-pa—to which Burmese gha bears some likeness—instead of pa-la.

²⁶ This form, perhaps, occurs in the Bhabra inscription. Burnouf reads payāya for Wilson's paliyāya (see Lotus, p. 724).

²⁷ And like -teyya for -tayya, -tāya, S. -tavya. (Of the various changes which the suffix -tavya undergoes, apart from -tabba, only one example is found in printed texts, and it has

Mil. 17¹³. The phrase 'bhuttāviṃ onītapattapāṇiṃ . . . ekamantaṃ nisīdi' is very frequent in the suttas, and no [67] absolutive is ever added, like *disvā* in M, or *viditvā* farther down in all our MSS. Scholiasts supply *ñatvā* or *upagantvā*. Some such verb, it is true, must be understood, unless we are to consider 'bhuttāviṃ onītapattapāṇiṃ' as an accusative absolute, of which, however, scarcely another instance exists.²⁸

escaped the notice of our Pali scholars. At Dh., v. 316, we must read with the scholiast, *Alajjitāye lajjanti, lajjitāye na lajcare*, because *lajjita* cannot mean 'what one ought to be ashamed of'; in other texts *-tayya, -teyya, -tāya* are not unfrequent.)

²³ This is no doubt an error. I have subsequently met with several cases much like the one above, from which I select the following as the least doubtful: *Etad-attani sambhūtaṃ brahmayānaṃ anuttaraṃ niyanti dhīrā lokamhā aññadatthum* (only, exclusively) *jayā jayam*, SN. XLIV., 4, v. 4 (vol. v., p. 6). *Yathā pi camarī, vālam kismiñca (or -ci) paṭilaggitaṃ, upeti maraṇaṃ tattha, na vikopeti vāladhim*, Bv., v. 202 (II., v. 124)=*Jāt. I.*, p. 20. *Evam-pi maṃ tvaṃ khali-taṃ, sapañña, pahīnamantassa punappasīda*, *Jāt.* 474, v. 10 (vol. iv., p. 206). *Tā, chandarāgaṃ purisesu uggataṃ, hiriya nivārenti sacittam-attano*, *ib.*, 535, v. 92 (vol. v., p. 410¹⁵). The comment in these two cases supplies 'viditvā.' *Santaṃ yeva kho pana paraṃ lokaṃ: na-tthi paro loko ti 'ssa diṭṭhi hoti . . . ti sankappeti, . . . ti vācaṃ bhā-sati, . . . ti āha; . . . santaṃ yeva kho pana kiriyāṃ: na-tthi kiriyā ti 'ssa diṭṭhi hoti, . . . ti āha*, MN. 60 (vol. i., p. 402). *Evam-mānī assa, atathaṃ samānaṃ, MN.* 105 (vol. ii., p. 256). Ps. makes no remark on the subject. *Yo bhikkave evaṃ vadeyya: Yathā yathā 'yaṃ puriso kammaṃ karoti tathā tathā naṃ paṭisaṃvediyatīti, evaṃ santaṃ bhikkhave brahmacariyavāso na hoti, okāso na paññāyati sammā dukkhassa antakiriyāya; yo ca kho bhikkhave evaṃ vadeyya: Yathā yathā vedaniyaṃ ayaṃ puriso kammaṃ karoti tathā tathā 'ssa vipākaṃ paṭisaṃvediyatīti, evaṃ santaṃ bhikkhave brahmacariyavāso hoti, okāso paññāyati s. d. antakiriyāya*, AN. III., x., 9 (vol. i., p. 249); *evaṃ santanti evaṃ sante*, Mp. In more recent Pali I do not consider this use of the accusative admissible. Hence in Mil., at p. 143, for *hatthagataṃ janapadaṃ* I adopted the locative on the

Mil. 18¹⁰. The canonical texts of Buddhism are principally divided into three piṭakas, or baskets. We are at first view naturally inclined to think of three baskets of manuscripts. But such cannot be the Buddhist sense of the word, since the whole of the Buddhavacana, according to tradition, was in existence, together with its divisions and subdivisions, long before the texts were written down. 'A basket of oral tradition' is certainly a strange expression, but it may perhaps be accounted for in the following manner. Buddha occasionally impugns the authority of his antagonists on the ground of their doctrine being traditional, and tradition is uncertain because memory is often [68] unfaithful:²⁹ Puna ca param̃ Sandaka idh' ekacco satthā anussaviko hoti anussava-sacco, so anussavena itihītiparamparāya piṭakasampadāya dhammaṃ deseti; anussavikassa kho pana Sandaka satthuno anussava-saccassa sussatam-pi hoti dussatam-pi hoti, tathā pi hoti aññathā pi hoti. 'And again, Sandaka, suppose a teacher to be a traditionist, one who knows only the truths he has heard from others; he preaches his doctrine from tradition, through a series of teachers who received it one from another, basket-wise;³⁰ now,

authority of M (probably a conjecture, but a good one, for -am and -e are often confounded), and at p. 290, for dve tayo divase vitivatte I now think that I ought to have substituted d. t. d. vitivattetvā, -tvā being not unfrequently omitted or added at random. Nite dārake (p. 275) is no doubt the loc. sing.

²⁹ This might seem to bespeak great improvidence on Buddha's part, since after his death the stricture would apply no less to his own teaching; but then his dhammo was 'ehipassiko opanayiko paccattam veditabbo viññūhi'; it was not a thing to be learned by rote. However, these sayings are not likely to have been invented after his death, and they are probably as genuine as any word of Buddha's.

³⁰ In thus translating 'piṭakasampadāya,' I thought more especially of the compound adjective evamsampada, syn. with idisa; but I should now prefer deriving sampadā in this context from DĀ, because I have found in a similar passage the word sam-

such a teacher will remember some things well and some things badly. He may be right or he may be wrong,' MN. 76, (vol. i., p. 520), Comp. also Yam-idaṃ bho Gotama brāhmaṇānaṃ porāṇaṃ mantapadaṃ itihītiparamparāya piṭakasampadāya (āgataṃ should be added, I suppose; *ib.* 95, vol. ii., p. 169). Working people are represented as accoutred with kuddālapīṭakaṃ,³¹ 'hoe and basket.' It appears that baskets travelling from hand to hand were used instead of wheelbarrows, as fire-buckets are occasionally in our day. The term piṭaka consequently refers to the fact of oral tradition, and so do undoubtedly several other names of the Buddhist canon or parts of it. [69] Pāḷi,³² in my opinion,

padāna used as its substitute: *Etha tumhe Kālāmā mā anussavena, mā paramparāya, mā itikirāya, mā piṭakasampadānena, mā takkahetu, mā nayahetu, mā ākāraparivitakkena, mā diṭṭhinijjhānakhantiyā, mā bhabbarūpatāya, mā: samaṇo no garūti; yadā tumhe K. attanā va jāneyyātha, etc.* ('in the manner baskets are handed about,' AN. III., vii. 5 (vol. i., p. 189); comp. vii. 6 (p. 193); IV., xx. 3 (vol. ii., p. 191). Traditionally piṭaka in these texts is understood in the technical sense of 'section of a book:' Piṭakasampadāyāti vaggapaṇṇāsakāya piṭakabandhanasampattiyā (Ps.); mā piṭakasampadānenāti amhākaṃ piṭakatantiyā saddhiṃ samentīti mā gaṇhittha (Mp). It is far more probable that this sense originated in texts such as those I have quoted.

³¹ *E.g.*, Seyyathā pi bhikkhave Gangānadī pācīnāninnā pācīnapoṇā pācīnapabbhārā, atha mahā janakāyo āgaccheyya kuddālapīṭakaṃ ādāya: mayam imam Gangānadiṃ pacchāninnam karissāma pacchāpoṇam pacchāpabbhāraṇti, SN. XXXIV., 242 (vol. iv., p. 191), etc. Comp. Jāt. I., p. 836²⁹.

³² The word pāḷi, which is wanting in the best Singh. MSS. available to me, is spelled thus almost constantly in those of second or third rate, and the Burmese agree with them, so far as my experience goes. Comp. paṭipāṭi and S. pāṭi. With the spelling pāli it occurs in Asoka's inscriptions in the sense of 'precept,' which proves that the word is much older than it would appear from Buddhist literature, and also that it then bore a more general sense than the one to which it was afterwards limited. The name of the suttadharas, who

properly signifies the 'row' or 'series' of teachers by whom the text was handed down; or, in Mohammadan terms, it is first the 'isnād,' next the hadīth' resting on its authority.³³ *Tanti*, used as a synonym for *pāḷi*, originally means 'string, chord.' As a third synonym I consider the much-discussed 'sutta;' literally the 'thread' of tradition.³⁴ In the like manner *paveṇi*, 'race, lineage, the traditional law for secular matters,' lit. signifies 'a long (pa-) braid.' *Vaṃsa*, 'pedigree, list of teachers,' is often used for 'traditional doctrine or custom,' e.g., *Five Jāt.*, p. 52; comp. *Aliyava(m)sāni* in the *Bhabra inscription*.³⁵

Mil. 19¹⁷. *Bhadanta*, though only known as an honorific appellation of a Buddhist, seems to have been originally invented as a nickname to signify one who addresses Buddha by the word *bhadante*, which is the emphatic form corresponding to *bhante*; just as *bhovādin* (*Dh.*, v. 396, and the parallel verse of the *Vāsetṭhasutta*, *MN.* 98, v. 27 = *Sn.* 35, v. 27; *Jāt.* 543, v. 158, vol. vi., p. 211) is used by way of retaliation by the Buddhists for those who style Buddha 'bho Gotoma.'³⁶ (For a somewhat different explanation by Weber, see his note to the verse.) *Bhante* [70] and *bho Gotama* are, in fact, the

formed a sort of tribunal (*Alwis, Introd.*, p. 100; *Lassen, Ind. Alt. II.*, p. 80), shows that also *sutta* was not confined to religious or scientific tradition.

³³ A few Buddhistic isnāds are still preserved in comments; they are at least sufficiently genuine to prove that such lists were once in existence.

³⁴ He who receives a *sutta* from his teacher, for the time being holds, as it were, 'the end of the thread,' *suttanta*. Compare also such phrases as *suttam bandhati*, 'to fasten a thread;' *suttam osāreti*, 'to let down a thread,' which are used for composing or reciting a *sutta*; *suttanikkhepa*, 'throwing down a thread,' for *sutta* composition.

³⁵ Comp. *Atimadhuraṃ Buddhavacanaṃ mā nassatu, tantim dhāressāmi, vaṃsam ṭhapessāmi, paveṇim pālessāmi* (*Ps.* 22). *A ṭikā* says, *Paveṇiti dhammasantati, dhammassa avicchedena pavattiti attho*.

³⁶ Comp. Childers in *Journ. R. A. S.*, vol. v., p. 230.

two distinctive styles of address used in the suttas respectively by Buddhist and non-Buddhist interlocutors. Though bhante would seem to be a contraction of bhadante, the vocative of bhadanta, this is perhaps an error. I incline to consider bhante a contraction either of bhavant or bhagavant, and bhadanta to proceed from the elided form *bha-anta, with insertion of an inorganic d, like attadattha, sadattha, anva-d-eva for anva-(g)-eva, samma-d-eva for samma(g)-eva.

Mil. 21¹⁷. Pāramī was explained in a preceding note [64]. We may add that the word sometimes takes the pleonastic suffix -tā, before which the final is shortened, thus forming pāramitā.³⁷ This form is used in Buddhist Sanskrit, and has been differently explained by Burnouf and Böhtlingk (see the Petersburg Dictionary).

Mil. 22¹⁷. Katheti is probably a passive form for kathiyati; a rare contraction certainly, of which no other undoubted instance is known to me except paṭisaṃvedeti, used indifferently with -diyati. I take it, like the synonymous akkhāyati in the frequent phrase aggama-kkhāyati, in the sense of 'appearing, proving to be,' or simply 'being.'

Mil. 22¹⁸. Devamantiya is evidently one of the 500 Yonakas, as well as Anantakāya, mentioned farther down (Mil., p. 29). Both names, in spite of their Indian garb, are void of meaning ('counsellor of the gods,' 'having an infinite body'), and are, no doubt, corrupted from the Greek names Demetrius and Antiochus. It is not clear whether the same remark applies to the name of Mankura (Hermagoras?). At all events the author's list of

³⁷ The suffix -tā is occasionally added to abstracts in -ti, as santuṭṭhitā; very often to those in -ya, as kāruṇṇatā, kamyatā, saḥavyatā, pāṭikulyatā, pāguṇṇatā, dovacassatā, etc., or in -ana, especially in later writings, as anivattanatā, anosakkanatā (tānatā, Dh., v. 288), etc. Transcribers frequently corrupt these forms, comp. Dh., p. 383, l. 16 [read patthanatāya], 18; Mil., p. 132, etc.) Also -na is superadded, as jāratana, purisattana, etc.

Yonaka names was at an end here, for Sabbadinna is S. Āarvadatta.

Mil. 22²⁸. Chambhita from STABH, with transposition of the sibilant, like cheva (also theva) 'a drop' from STIP, and in inverse order tharu from tsaru.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

[71] The specimen above, apart from the foot-notes, was written in 1868 and communicated to a few Pali scholars, the late lamented R. C. Childers among the rest, who in the preface to his Dictionary mentioned my performance in terms, I am afraid, too flattering. Various circumstances have retarded its publication, and I am aware that the matter it contains is partly a great deal better known now than it would have been at the time of its compilation. I cannot help thinking, however, that in its present shape it still offers some interest to Pali scholars, to whose judgment I further submit some additional notes, mostly intended to give a few supplements to our Pali grammars.

Mil. 1². Upagañchi is the reading of the four Singhalese MSS., and it is doubtlessly correct. At some unknown period, either on the continent of India or in Ceylon, the acrist -gacchi was all but displaced by -gañchi. I have for years made this form the subject of particular inquiry, and judging from nearly 300 examples I find that the Singhalese write -gañchi in about four cases out of five. Whenever several MSS. or parallel passages are available, the reading almost always proves to be -gañchi, with the exceptions I shall mention presently. Gacchati, gaccheyya, etc., of which there are thousands of examples, are never once written with a nasal, and, if the form were not right, no reason appears that could have induced transcribers to write -gañchi, whereas -gacchi being regular was likely enough to be substituted by copyists who had a smattering of scholarship. At Kacc. 517 (Senart, p. 263) the reading

āgacchum cannot possibly be correct, since the sutta refers to mere anomalies. But the error is not surprising if we consider what seems to be a fact—Turnour's statement that the grammar was not extant in Ceylon in 1837 is not disproved by Alwis' finding a Singhalese copy in 1855—that all the copies of Kaccāyana, if not Transgangesic, descend from one or more Burmese sources. For by the Burmese -gañchi is used so rarely that I once thought they ignored it altogether. And this [72] may be connected with the fact that Kaccāyana, whose precepts they seem to follow more closely than the Singhalese usually do, allows the formation of -gacchi at 476 (Senart, p. 247).¹ He is no doubt right, if we understand him rightly: in the compound adhigacchati the aorist does not take the nasal (excepting -gañchum and ajjhagañchi), and in the plural, before -imsu, -ittha, -imha, -gañchi is very rarely used.²

The form in question has not been overlooked by native grammarians. I pointed out just now that Kaccāyana, or at least his scholiast, takes notice of it. And Moggallāna says expressly, 'Damsassa ca ñchañ,' which the sanna and Payogasiddhi agree in understanding thus: 'DAMÇ, and as implied by ca also GAM, optionally form

¹ It is rather surprising that Kaccāyana should have restricted to gacch^o an observation which applies with equal truth to most other irregular bases of conjugation; unless, indeed, this is intended for a polemical remark against previous grammarians, who possibly excluded the aorist -gacchi; perhaps also the future gacchissati, which, in fact, is very rarely used in old prose, and, to my knowledge, never in old verse (Mil., p. 412?), certainly not in Dh., Sn., Jāt., nor the Nikāyas.

² I have found but one example from the old language: upagañchimsu, SN. XLI., 13 (vol. iv., p. 348), and only two more in other texts. In the first and second persons of the plural, both -gañchi and -gacchi seem to be all but unused; I have noticed only upagañchittha, Mhw., p. 28). Gacchimsu, on the contrary, is frequent, but examples from canonical writings are still wanting. It would seem that a certain tendency prevailed to avoid nasals after two consecutive vowels: gacchimsu is to gañchi as -mhi to -smim, or -imsu (= -amsu = S. -an + su) to -isum.

the aorist by means of the suffix *ñchañ*,³ or by substituting *ñch* for the final of the root.³

I have said enough, I hope, to show that Childers did not do well in passing judgment upon the form. Nor is it so difficult as he thinks to say how it arose. The original aorist *-gacchi* was mistaken to be on a par with *acchi*, *akkocchi*, etc., and to derive directly from GAM with the imaginary termination *-cchi*, abstracted from these and the like aorists. It was consequently by a would-be correction changed to *-gañchi*, very much in the same manner as *gatvā* was amended to and supplanted by [73] *gantvā*; and as the latter is of undoubted antiquity, it is not easy to be seen why *-gañchi* should not likewise belong to the stage of genuine continental Pali.

That such is the origin of the form I am discussing is strongly corroborated by the existence of a future of similar formation, *gañchati* or *gañchīti*, which is far from unfrequent, though grammarians, as far as I know, have left it unnoticed. Compare the following examples: *Ehi tvam rājakumāra, samaṇassa Gotamassa vādam āropehi*; *evam te kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggañchīti*:¹ *Abhayena rājakumārena samaṇassa Gotamassa vādo āropito ti* (MN. 58 (vol. i., p. 392); the passage is repeated farther down in the same sutta). *Bahūni ca duccharitāni caritvā gañchisi kho papataṃ cirarattaṃ* (Sn. 36, v. 9 (v. 665); the metre is *Dodhaka*). *Evañ-ce maṃ viharantaṃ pāpimā upagañchisi*,² *tathā maccu karissāmi na me maggam-pi dakkhisi* (SN. VIII., 1, v. 5; vol. i., p. 186³).

³ The aorist *aḍaṅchi*, S. *adānkshīti*, is found, I believe, at Jāt. 444, v. 3 (vol. iv., p. 32; written '*aḍanthi*' in the Cop. MS.); *ib.* 490, v. 5 (vol. iv., p. 330, '*aḍachi*'); Cp., v. 338 ('*ataṃsi*' in the London Phayre MS. ['*aḍaṃsi*' in the edition of Morris p. 100, v. 8]).

¹ At SN. XLI., 9 (vol. iv., p. 323), this phrase recurs with the reading *abbhuggacchati*, which no doubt should be *abbhuggañchati*.

² The parallel stanza, Th., v. 1213, has *upagacchasi* in a Burmese MS.

Mātuc-ca³ me rodantyā jetṭhassa ca bhātuno akāmassa hatthe pi te gahessam, na hi gañchisi no akāmānam (Jāt. 525, v. 19; vol. v., p. 183). Mettam cittam bhāvettha appamānam divā ca ratto ca, atha gañchitha devapuraṃ, āvāsam puññakammānam (*ib.*, v. 51 (p. 191); written 'gañchittha' against the metre, thoughtless scribes mistaking it for an aorist). Sā 'jja lohitasañchannā gañchisi Yamasādhanaṃ (*ib.*, 531, v. 47 (vol. v., p. 304); the metre recommends gañchisi). Pūjitā nāṭisanghehi na gacchisi (*sic*) Yamakkhayaṃ (*ib.*, v. 49). Ekarrattim vasitvāna pāto gacchasi (read gañchasi or gañchisi) brāhmaṇa, nānāpupphehi sañchanne nānāgandhavibhūsite nānāmūlaphalākiṇṇe (viz., dārake) gacchissādāya (read gañchis' ādāya) brāhmaṇa (*ib.*, 547, v. 453; vol. vi., p. 543). I have noticed more than a score of instances, but the rest would require some discussion as to the right reading, for ignorant copyists too often trouble us with their gacchati instead of gañchati, and the evidence [74] here given will suffice to prove that such a form is in use. It comes very opportunely to our assistance in explaining -gañchi, for it is not like that aorist without analogies. From HAN sprung up in the same manner the futures paṭihankhāmi (in the formula 'iti purāṇaṃ-ca vedanaṃ paṭihankhāmi navaṃ-ca vedanaṃ na uppādessāmi'), hañchati Jāt. 457, v. 6 (vol. iv., p. 102), hañchema, Jāt. II., p. 418 (an optative of the future; the form was noticed by Moggallāna and Vanaratana), and, I believe,

³ The metre requires mātu ca, which is most uncommon in Piṭaka texts; for even in prose I have otherwise found mātuc-ca, pituc-ca, bhātuc-ca, in exclusive use. Comp. kaccic-ca, Jāt. 547, v. 738 (the reading C^k not referred to, vol. vi., p. 585¹⁶); munic-ca, MN. 91, v. 2 (vol. ii., p. 144); perhaps maccuc-ca, Dh., vv. 135, 150; socic-ca paridevic-ca, madic-ca pamādic-ca, AN. VIII., vii., 1; viii. 7 (vol. iv., 294, 326) (in prose). Cases like these account for the false cca instead of ca in ādiyati-cca, Sn. 41, v. 6 (v. 785); jātu-cca, Jāt. 539, vv. 134, 137 (vol. vi., pp. 59-60).

āhañcham.¹ All these were formed in seeming accordance with vakkhati, dakkhati, or dakkhīti, lacchati, pacchati or pacchīti (S. prāpsyati; AN. IX., i., 4; vol. iv., p. 362¹⁰), etc. Comp. Prakrit soccham from ÇRU.

Mil. 1⁴. Ṭhānāṭhāna. Compounds like bhavābhava, kiccākicca are by scholiasts considered to contain the prefix a, to which they arbitrarily ascribe the signification of vuddhi, 'increase,' so that such words are generally said to mean 'small and large things.' This is positively disproved by ṭhānāṭhāna, unless we write it with the Burmese ṭhānatṭhāna. Fausböll, at Dasaratha-Jāt., p. 26, explained the case on the analogy of rajāpatha for rajapatha, etc. But as that elongation is limited to a few very old words, I am inclined to trace this sort of dvandva to a drawing together of phrases like gāmā gāmam, dumā dumam. It is occasionally not very easy to tell whether the text means to give us a compound or two words. There are certain dvandvas consisting of the same word repeated with a preposition, as angapaccanga, buddhānubuddha, mañcātimañca, etc.; but the compounds in question can scarcely contain the prep. ā. Nor can they be considered to be analogous to calācala, keṇākeṇi, etc.

Mil. 17. Suttajālasamatthita, i. q., samatthita-suttajāla. Samatthita I take to mean 'reconciled (comp. samarthana in Wilson).

[75] Mil. 1¹¹. Tamyathā. The author, in availing himself of this Sanskritizing form, shows that he did not per-

¹ This is a conjecture of mine in a passage where the copies vary extremely. I refer to a stanza which enters into the Upaka legend, Mn. 26 (vol. I., p. 171) = 85 = Vin. I., p. 8. My MSS. exhibit āhaccam, āhañña (Burm.), agajum; Alwis (Buddh. Nirv., p. 133) quotes āhañcum; Oldenberg gives āhañci, āhañhi, ahañhi, ahamhi. From these elements I construed a new reading, āhañcham, and I think it is confirmed by Buddhaghosa, who explains the word in question by paharissāmi, and no doubt had that reading before him 'Āgaccham (sic) amatadundubhin-ti dhammacakkapaṭilābhāya amatabherim paharissāmiti gacchāmi.

ceive the identity of S. *tad yathā* with the Pali, or rather Māgadhi, *seyyathā*. In Māgadhi the masc. in -e was, for a great part at least, substituted for the neuter. There is double evidence that more especially *se* superseded *tad*. First, the Bhabra inscription professes, 'E keci bhāṁte bhagavatā budhena bhāsīte save se subhāsīte vā,' = 'yaṁ kiñci . . . bhāsitaṁ sabbaṁ taṁ subhāsitaṁ yeva.' Secondly, in a Māgadizing passage of MN. 105 (vol. ii., p. 254²⁵), it is said, 'Āṇaṅjādhimuttassa purisapuggalassa ye (= yaṁ) lokāmisasaññojane (= -naṁ) se vante (= taṁ vantaṁ),' etc. In Jaina Māgadhi *se = tad* is frequent as a particle, and *se yahā* occurs there, too (see Weber's *Bhagavati*). Compare also *yebhuyena* from **yadbhūyas*.

Mil. 3⁴. *Majjhantika* apparently derives from **majjhanta*, like *pubbanta*, *aparanta*, q. d. 'the middle end!' No doubt a vulgar corruption of **majjhanhika*, or rather S. *madhyandina*, *mādhyandina*.

Mil. 4⁴. *Sūriya* from *sūra* occurs at SN. XLVII., 51 (vol. v., p. 228³); *Jāt. I.*, p. 282.

Mil. 4²⁰. *Sārāṇiya* is the spelling of the Singh. Nikāya MSS., with scarcely an exception. It is formed with double Vriddhi, like *sāmāyika*, *pettāpiya* (or *pettāviya*, from *pitṛvya*; see p. [62]), *poroseyya* (MN. 54 (vol. i., p. 366¹), explained by *purisānucchavika*), *āvenika* (not -ṇ-, no doubt from *a-vinā*, lit. 'sine quo non'), and perhaps others. A phenomenon allied to this is the occasional substitution of a for penultimate i and u: *Koṇḍañña* (S. *Kaṇḍinya*), *sākhalya* (*sakhila*), *kolañña* (*kulīna*), *kosajja* (*kusita*), *āṇaṅja* ('immovableness,' from **aniñja*), *porohacca* (or *-hicca*), *bāhusacca* (*bahussuta*; doubling induced by composition is dropped in case of Vriddhi, except after *catu*).

Mil. 5¹². *Pukkusa*, S. *pukkasa*. Assimilation is one of the most common causes of vowel change in Pali. Instances of i assimilating a were given above, p. [55]. I acts upon u in *vijigucchati*, *parijigucchati* (whence *jigucchati*), *kipita*, 'sneezing' (for **khupita*,

*khuvita, KSHU),¹ perhaps in sippi, from çukti (p. [60]). But on the whole i—i is a sequence of sounds not much in favour; on the contrary, i before or after i is not rarely assimilated by a neighbouring a: tadaminā, paṭhavī, pokkharāṇī, gharāṇī, dhajanī (or -inī), kāhasi kāhati, karahaci, timingala (or -gila), perhaps icchasaṃ,² etc., and so is occasionally a [76] single i: koṭṭhaka (Five Jāt., p. 36), ñātaka, upapajjare and similar forms from the Vedic termination of -ire. The vowel a likewise influences u: pana, āyasmant, kappara (S. kūrpara), kahaṃ (S. kuha), tavaṃ for tuvaṃ, bāhā for bāhu, Sutanā (Jāt. 501; vol. iv., p. 413¹³), perhaps for -tanu, sakkhalī (S. çashkulī), accharā and accharikā of the same origin with S. ācchurita (Dasaratha-Jāt., p. 22). Oftener, however, u assimilates a and i: uḷunka, kurunga, kunkuṭṭha (Burmese kan-, S. kankushṭha), puthujjana (partly confounded with puthu), anutthunaṃ, Dh., v. 156, and elsewhere, usūyā;¹ ucchu, usu, susu, kukku, etc. The transformations of the vowel r are partly to be accounted for in the same manner, as gaha, gihin, anaṇa (iṇa), uju, utu. Singhalese transcribers are rather prone to this sort of euphonism, and errors like payurupāsati, vinubbhujati, nuṭṭhura, kaṭucchu,

¹ Not from KSHIV, which has a different sense, and forms chubhati, whence chuddha, Dh., v. 41, etc. (comp. Mil., pp. 130, 187-8).

² Yehi jātehi nandissaṃ (aor.) yesaṅ-ca bhavam-icchasaṃ, SN. VII., 14, vv. 1, 6 (vol. i., p. 176). The commentary on Dh., v. 324, quotes this stanza with the reading icchisaṃ, and an imitation of it has, Yena jātena nandissaṃ yassa ca bhavam-icchisaṃ, Jāt. 432, v. 9 (vol. iii., p. 513). Icchasaṃ, if correct, may, however, have been formed by adding, -saṃ to the A-terminations, like pamādassaṃ, MN. 130 (vol. iii., p. 179); AN. III., iv. 6 (vol. i., p. 139¹).

¹ In anasūyaka the preceding a sometimes preserves the primitive sound, and at Five Jāt., p. 13¹ = Jāt. II., p. 192, this is likely to be the right reading. Payogasiddhi quotes 'kā asūyā avijānataṃ, but at SN. IV., 25, v. 8 (vol. i., p. 127), the reading is usūyā, and so it is quoted at Kacc. 277 (Senart, p. 125).

etc., are not uncommon; so some caution is necessary. It may be doubted that all the forms of this description are genuine, even if the MSS. do not vary. Niṭṭhubhati is about as frequent as nuṭṭh-, which renders the authority of the latter questionable. Abbhussukkati (p. [60]) is not written so uniformly. Kapaṇiddhika, as the word is written almost constantly in Singh. MSS., is perhaps an error for -addhika. Long vowels are not exempt from this sort of change: seḷeti (Sn. 37, v. 4 (v. 682), etc.) from ḤĀḌ, oṇojeti from NIJ, vedhetti from *vyāthayati (comp. byādhayissati, SN. VIII., 1, v. 3 (vol. i., p. 185) = Th., v. 1211; Th., v. 46), ereti² perhaps for īreti (comp., however, the Pet. Dict.), khepeti probably from kshāpayati (KSHI). The modifying vowel is often a short one: masāraka, S. masūraka, a point to which I shall have occasion to revert farther down.

Mil. 5²⁶. Dosina or -nā, S. jyautsna, jyotsnā, was rightly explained by Weber, see Bhagavatī. The same [77] phrase is found in the introduction to DN. 2 (vol. i., p. 47), of which our text is in part an imitation; and the word is also used at MN. 32 (vol. i., p. 212); Th., vv. 306, 1119; Jāt. 544, v. 19 (vol. vi., p. 223). Buddhaghosa's explanation is a striking instance of his occasional errors: 'Dosinā ti dosāpagatā, abbha-mahika-dhūma-rajorāhūti imehi upakkilesehi virahitā ti attho.'

Mil. 7⁹. I ought, no doubt, to have written uparūparūpapattiko; the Singhalese are extremely apt to substitute uppajjati, uppatti for upapajjati, upapatti.

Mil. 7²⁰. Paggāṇhitvā dehi. The Burmese corrector did not know or was unwilling to acknowledge this phrase. But the use of deti in connection with an absolute to signify 'doing something for the benefit of some one' is very common: Rukkhe . . . tacchentanāṃ parivat-tetvā deti (turned the logs for them), Ten Jāt., p. 25. Dārūni āharitvā aggim katvā dassati, Five Jāt.

² At Dh., v. 134, read n' eresi.

p. 2 (in this place Fausböll rightly rendered it 'will make a fire for thee'); Dh., p. 186 (not 'made a fire and gave it them,' Childers at samayo); Jāt. I., p. 296. Esa no bhājetvā dassati, *ib.* I., p. 265. Pettikaṃ me rajjaṃ gaṇhitvā dehi, Dh., p. 157; Ten Jāt., p. 29; Five Jāt., p. 3. Cīvaram no katvā detha, Jāt. I., p. 220. Pallankaṃ attharivā adāsi, *ib.* I., p. 129. Gītassa atthaṃ kathetvā detha, Jāt. 415 (vol. iii., p. 410⁸), etc., etc. I also think that gaṇhāti is similarly used, though less frequently, in the reverse meaning of 'doing something in one's own behalf.' Examples from old Pali are wanting, and, as in Singhalese, the corresponding verbs 'denavā' and 'gannavā' are largely used in the same manner (see Ferguson's 'Singhalese Made Easy,' Colombo, 1878, p. 61), there can be little doubt that this phraseology sprung up in Ceylon.

Mil. 9²⁰. Tadūpiya is, perhaps, properly a Vinaya word; at least it is rare in the texts with which I am acquainted: Nālikodanaparamaṃ bhuñjāmi tadūpiyañ-ca sūpeyyaṃ, SN. XXI., 96 (vol. iii., p. 146²⁸). Pañcamattāni taṇḍulavāhasatāni paṇḍumuṭtikassa (or -ṭī-) sālino tadūpiyañ-ca sūpeyyaṃ, MN. 81 (vol. ii., p. 54). In Ps. it is explained 'tadanurūpa-telaphāṇitādīni' (comp. Minayeff's Pātim., p. 81). In a ṭīkā I have found 'Bhaṇḍāgāriko alankārabhaṇḍaṃ paṭisāmetvā pasādkanakāle tadūpiyaṃ alankārabhaṇḍaṃ rañño upanāmetvā taṃ alankaroti.' I think that this is a wrong use of the word, and that it has no such general signification. At Jāt. II., p. 160, 'na ca paññā tadūpiyā' may perhaps be [78] intended for a jest, 'there is no corresponding seasoning of wit.' If it really means, as the scholiast renders it, nothing more than anucchavika, the passage would prove that the etymology and proper meaning of the word were forgotten at an early age, for in my opinion tadūpiya can be nothing but S. tadopya. The Pet. Dict. at ā-VAP refers us to that compound, but it is wanting in its place, and I am ignorant in what sort of phrases it is used

in Sanskrit. It is true that analogy would seem to require in Pali not *opiya*, but *āvupiya* (comp. *vutta* S. *ukta*, *upta*; *āvuta* S. *ota*, etc.). But that participle was probably derived directly from the present *opati*, *opeti*; for in this verb, in the sense of 'putting into,' *āva* is contracted to *o* : *Rukkhamūlagahanam pasakkiya* (see p. [60]) *nibbānam hadayasmim̐ opiya jhāya Gotama mā ca pamādo, kin-te biḷibiḷikā karisati*, SN. IX., 5, v. 1 (vol. i., p. 199) = Th., v. 119. *Na tesam̐ koṭṭhe openti, na kumbhī (= kumbhyā, loc.), na kaḷopiyā*, SN. XI., 20, v. 4 (vol. i., p. 236) = Jāt. 529, v. 12 (vol. v., p. 252) = Therīg., v. 283. It is also used several times in the Jātaka commentary. The nearly synonymous *osāpeti* was formed in the same manner from *ā-VIḤ*; it occurs in comments in phrases like '*patam̐ dhovitvā vodakam̐ (dry, vi-odaka) katvā thavikāya osāpetvā*' (comp. also Jāt. I., p. 25).

If I am right in identifying *tadūpiya* with *tadopya*, it is not difficult to account for the *ū* substituted for *o*. It is due to the following *i*. The vowel *i* occasionally by assimilation changes *e* into *ī*, and by half-assimilation *o* into *ū* : *pāṭihīra = -hera = -hāriya, pariḥīrati* (Sn. 11, v. 13, v. 205) for **-herati, -hariyati* (hence *saṃhīrati*, the passive of *saṃharati* or *sangharati*), *abhiḷhāna* (Jāt. 546, v. 49; vol. vi., p. 373¹⁶ = *viriyakaraṇa*) from *JEH*¹; *abhirūhati, virūhati* (whence the syn. *rūhati*; comp. *ārohati*,² *orohati*), *visūka* from *viḥoka* (Childers' Dict.), *mittadūbhin* from *-drohin, sītūdaka, nirūdaka* from *-odaka* (for in

¹ VEN, VEN appears in the shape of *apavīṇati*, MN. 48 (vol. i., p. 324); Jāt. 533, v. 1 (vol. v., p. 339); *pavīṇati*, Jāt. 409, v. 4 (vol. iii., p. 387). Compounds with *anu* and *vi*, which were probably in use, as they are in Sanskrit, account for the vowel change.

² In later writings *ārūhi, -itvā* are found occasionally; it is, perhaps, fortuitous that *ārūhati, etc.*, are wanting. The form may be explained from the syn. *abhirūhati*, but it is of doubtful authority. *Āruhati*, which is not unfrequent in verse, was explained above from the aorist *aruhat*.

comp. [79] odaka is generally used for udaka).¹ So likewise u affects a neighbouring e, changing it to ī: anu-hīramāna, DN. 14 (vol. ii., p. 15), MN. 123 (vol. iii., p. 123), for *-hera-, -hariya-; dvihi, dviṣu for *duvehi, *duvesu. It might be anticipated that u would assimilate o into ū, but such within my experience is scarcely ever the case,² so true it is that the Rule of Three by no means universally applies to matter of language.³ And yet o—u and u—o formed a sequence of vowels which at one time must have grated particularly upon the Indian ear, for it is in many cases avoided. But the expedient resorted to is dissimilation; either u is changed to i, or e takes the place of o: bhiyyo (comp. yebhuyyena), mātito, pitito for -uto (in old Pali māti, piti are not otherwise used as bases), vito, vīto for *vuto, *vūto (see p. [64]); ahesum (comp. ahoṣi), antepura for antopura, pure for *puro, suve (sve) for *svo, duve (dve), *duvehi, *duvesu (assimilated to -ī-) for *dvo- (comp. ubho, -ohi, -osu), hetuye, Bv., v. 89 (ii., v. 10, p. 7) = Jāt. I., p. 4, for *hotuye

¹ The ū of khajjūpanaka, ārūgya, MN. 66 (vol. i., pp. 450-51), may be due to the latent i of dy, gy.

² Ukkūsa, S. utkroṣa, seems to form an exception, for ū is required by the metre at Jāt. 486, v. 2 (vol. iv., p. 291); but it is constantly written ukkusa.

³ I once had occasion to make this remark to Childers, who, in order to prove gacchi to be correct, from certain analogies was tempted to assert that the Singh. character in question should be read cch, not ṅch. If we expect to find u o v dealt with on the analogy of i e y, or *vice versa*, we are often disappointed. Y is doubled after e (except in keyūra), not v after o (except yobbana, yobbañña). From dussīla derives dussīlya, but pāṭikulya-tā from patikkūla seems to require short u. After a consonant va goes into u, v suffering elision (as anudeva, catuha, annukāri, etc.); but ya, yā make ī (with a few exceptions, as kujjhisi, abbhībhāsi, Jāt. 524, v. 21 (vol. v., p. 169), pattiya S. pratyaya, whence pattiyaṅyati, 'to believe,' Jāt. I., p. 426¹⁰, etc.; comp. pattiyaṅmi, Weber's Bhag., 1866, p. 272). Aya makes e, as ava does o, and this looks like symmetry; but if we are to go by analogy, the former must have passed through aī with ī for ya, the latter through a u, with the second vowel labialized and v elided.

(*hotuve, hotave; comp. gaṇetuye, Bv., v. 371 (iv., v. 28, p. 22).⁴

[80] Mil. 10¹⁸. Ettaka is of somewhat doubtful origin, but as tattaka, yattaka, kittaka are formed from tāvant, etc., in the same manner as S. iyattaka from iyant, ettaka is either this very word, or else contracted from *etāvattaka. The latter is, perhaps, the more likely derivation, since *kiyattaka or *kivattaka forms kittaka, not kettaka (comp. also edisa = etādisa).

Mil. 10²¹. Anuyogaṃ datvā. In my rendering of this phrase, 'having applied himself zealously,' I left to anuyoga the signification in which it is generally used in Pali. I am now convinced that I committed an error, and I regret to see it repeated by Childers. The phrase must have quite a different sense. It occurs at Mil., p. 348, in another but equally obscure context, and in the Jātaka comment it is often employed exactly as above. But I have not succeeded in finding out any very probable sense, and I prefer confessing that I do not know what it means.

Mil. 11¹³. Urattāḷim, which is of frequent use in the suttas in the above phrase, is S. uras-tāḍam, with -im for -am, like uttarim, saddhim, kuhim (for kuham, S. kuha). Absolutives in -am are not much in use, and there is, perhaps, no second example of -im. Forms in -akam, on the contrary, are frequent, as parippohasakam (PRUSH), samparivattakam, ālumpakārakam, sannidhikārakam, dantullehakam, phenuddehakam, udarāvadehakam, etc.

Mil. 13¹⁵. Pubbanha is so written not only in B, but

⁴ Some of the nominatives in -e may be accounted for on this principle: Vanappagumbe yathā phussitagge, Khuddakap., 6, v. 12 = Sn. 13, v. 12 (v. 233); ito so ekanavute kappe yam Vipassī bhagavā loke udapādi, DN. 14 (vol. ii., p. 2), (comp. in the same sutta ito so ekatimso kappo); sukhe dukkhe, DN. 2 (vol. i., p. 56²⁴); MN. 76 (vol. i., p. 517²³); SN. XXIII., 8 (vol. iii., p. 211¹¹), for sukho dukkho (*i.e.*, sukham dukkham), etc.

also, together with sāyanha, throughout in SN., which, in point of distinguishing the two nasals is by far the best MS. in the Copenhagen collection. Vanaratana¹ [81] remarks that h may be joined to any one of the five nasals, and gives these examples: avañ-hoti, tañ-hi, taṇhā, pubbanho, amhe. We may reasonably conclude that nh is also the correct spelling of cinha, junhā, majjhanha, which are known only from MSS. of no authority. It is rather fortunate that pubbanha is so uncommonly well authenticated, for there is no perceptible law for the influence of a latent r upon n; it may or may not change it into ṇ (comp. tāṇa, pāṇa, tīni, etc., with ghāna, agghanaka, savana, etc.). The very rare aparaṇha most likely requires the lingual. The average of Singha- lese as well as Burmese copies scarcely ever present nh, and the scribes evidently are prejudiced against it, probably from the frequency of words like taṇhā, gaṇhāti, etc. I once made some observations on the subject to Childers, who at anha repeated the substance of them. But he must afterwards have changed his mind, for he writes majjhanha in both ways, and at pubbanha he rejected

¹ As native grammarians are so very sparing of remarks on the correct use of the two nasals, I shall here add another of his rules: 'Ta-tha-na-rānaṃ ṭa-ṭha-ṇa-lā'—ta-tha-na-rānaṃ ṭa-ṭha-ṇa-lā honti yathākkamaṃ: dukkataṃ dukkaṭaṃ, evaṃ sukataṃ sukaṭaṃ, paḥaṭo uddhaṭo viṣaṭo; aṭṭhaka-thā; paṇidhānaṃ paṇipāto paṇāmo paṇītaṃ pariṇato pariṇāmo suṇṇayo (meaning, I suppose, duṇṇayo) oṇato; paripaṇṇo palipaṇṇo (sic) evaṃ palibodho pallankaṃ taluṇo mahāsālo māluṭo sukhumālo. It is obvious that with 'paripaṇṇo palipaṇṇo' begins the examples of l for r, and we must read paripanno palipanno. The latter was received by Childers with some doubts, it seems (see his Dict.), but it is not unfrequent in the suttas: Sake muttakarīse palipanno, DN. 14 (vol. ii., pp. 24-25), etc.; palipapalipanno or palipāpalipanno, MN. 8 (vol. i., p. 45), (palipa or -ā, 'mud,' Jāt. 378, v. 1 (vol. iii., p. 241); 509, vv. 9, 19 (vol. iv., pp. 480-86); Th., v. 89; Therīg., v. 291; a derivative from LIP, like the syn. palipatha, Dh., v. 414 = Sn. 34, v. 45 (v. 638) = MN. 98, v. 45; AN. VIII., vi. 6, v. 3 (vol. iv., p. 290).

the spelling for which there is incomparably the best authority.

Mil. 13¹⁵. Phāsu is perhaps the Veda S. prāçu.

Mil. 15¹⁷. Comp. Jāt. III., p. 2⁵, where the reading ought, no doubt, to be *asammaṭṭaṭṭhānaṃ* or *asammaṭṭaṭṭhānaṃ*.

Mil. 20¹⁶. Na-tthi. Na never loses its vowel before a, but constantly, in case of sandhi, coalesces with it to ā, even before a *saṃyoga*. Napparūpa is no proof to the contrary,¹ for *lacchasi napparūpaṃ*, Ten Jāt., p. 115, is, I dare say, a mere erratum for *lacchasi 'napparūpaṃ*, as the scholiast explains it. Natthi, if written n' atthi, looks like an exception, which it scarcely is; it is rather additional proof how apt is the root AS to drop the initial. Hence I prefer writing *na-tthi* (and *na-mhi*). Also *na* [82] 'tthi would do, if it were not that *na si*, *ca si*, etc., cannot very well be written *na 'si*, etc., as the vowel *a* in prose—in verse the case is different—always coalesces, if sandhi takes place, with a following light *a*. At Ten Jāt., p. 28⁷ = Jāt. II., p. 21¹⁶, the context requires *mahājanassa līnaṃ cittaṃ*. There are, however, some exceptions, or what seems to be so. But in the cases that have come under my notice, the second word is almost always *ahaṃ*, and I consider it preferable to write 'haṃ; as *tāva 'haṃ*, *eva 'haṃ* (Mil., p. 219), *tattha 'haṃ*, and especially *nāma 'haṃ* (and *nāma 'yaṃ*). But also *nāmāhaṃ* (and *nāmāyaṃ*), etc., are found, and altogether the reading is not always, if ever, indubitable. Besides the Prakrit *haṃ*, there is other evidence that the initial of *ahaṃ* has a

¹ *Nantaka* (not *nattaka*), 'a shred, a rag,' is said to be so called because there is no (regular) end to them: 'Na-antakāni, antavirahitāni vatthakhaṇḍādīni'; or, as we might guess just as well, because 'no end' of them are required to make up a garment. In Sanskrit *naktaka*, because the naked cover their nudity with them; or *laktaka*, from being of various dyes. All these seem to be so many attempts at finding an Aryan etymology for a word which may have been borrowed from some aboriginal language.

tendency to vanish. The elision of an initial a after o and e is rare in Pali prose, and only applies to the initial of ahaṃ, ayaṃ, and the present of AS; after e (with the exception of re'yya, Mil., p. 124) only to ahaṃ, and even this is most unfrequent.¹

Mil. 21¹⁵. In my translation of vedagū, 'erudite in Veda lore,' I was no doubt mistaken; for though such is probably its original meaning, it is always used differently. It is one of those paradoxical or purposely ambiguous expressions in which Buddha appears to have delighted [83] (comp. Dh., vv. 97, 294-5, etc.). It is explained 'vedasankhātehi catuhi maggañāṇehi gato,' 'catumaggañāṇasankhātehi vedehi akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ vedagū, 'catuhi maggañāṇavedehi kilese vijjhivā gatattā vedagū,' etc.

Mil. 21²⁰. Sāgaro viya akkhobbho—*i.e.*, like the depth of the sea. Comp. Majjhe yathā samuddassa ūmi no jāyatī, t̥hito hoti, Sn. 52, v. 6 (v. 920) (= mahāsamuddassa uparimahet̥ṭhimabhāgānaṃ vemajjhasankhāte majjhe, Pj.).

¹ This is, no doubt, a point on which the particular dialect of Sanskrit, from which Pali took rise more immediately, differed from the language of books. In the dialect in question final e and o must, generally speaking, have been treated uniformly before all vowels, not excepting a; and Pali follows the same sandhi law, only the hiatus very rarely remains, it being bridged over either by contraction or by the insertion of a euphonical consonant. Cases like sa cā haṃ, etc., which I think should be dealt with on this principle, are well known. But the other sort of examples have not, it seems, struck the attention of grammarians, native any more than occidental, though they are very numerous, as ya-d-antagū = yo antagū, haṃsa-r-iva = haṃso iva, ta-d-āsu = te āsu, etc., and may be met with even in prose: ya-d-a-riyo = ye ariyo, dantehi danta-m-ādhāya, etc., if these are not allusions to verse. At Dh., v. 412, and the parallel texts I propose to read, ubho sanga-m-upaccagā = ubho sange u., in accordance with ubh' anta-m-abhiññāya, Sn. 55, vv. 65, 67 (vv. 1040, 1042), which the comment justly explains ubho ante. For scholiasts are perfectly well acquainted with this sort of sandhi—I was going to say too well, for they sometimes have recourse to it where it is rather out of place.

Mil. 21²¹. Raṇaṅjaha is used at SN. II., 11, v. 2 (vol. i., p. 52), and It. 104, v. 2 (p. 108). In Abhidh. raṇa is rendered by pāpa, and in a-raṇa, sa-raṇa commentators explain it by rāga, raja, kilesa. But it is rather tempting to conjecture raṇaṅjaya, 'victorious in the battle (with Māra).'

Mil. 21³². Uppalāśenta I consider an error for upalāśenta, I suppose from RAS. Comp. sankhaṃ upalāśitvā (instead of -etvā), DN. 23 (vol. ii., p. 337). However, paḷāsa, 'conceit, pride,' from the same root, no doubt, is commonly spelled with ḷ; but examples from SN., which would be the best authority, are wanting.

Mil. 22⁵. Sudam̐ is a combination of su = sma with dam̐ or idam̐, and might also be written su dam̐ or su 'dam̐.

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