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## THE PĀLI APADĀNA COLLECTION

The *Apadāna* is a collection<sup>1</sup> of stories (*apadāna-s*<sup>2</sup>) written in verse, most of which are ascribed to, and deal with the lives of, Buddhist elder monks (*thera-s*) and nuns (*therī-s*). These elders are acknowledged as direct disciples (*sāvaka-s*, lit. “hearers”) of Gotama Buddha who had been members of his monastic community, the *saṅgha*, for more than ten years. It is a long and unwieldy collection consisting of around eight thousand verses<sup>3</sup> distributed among 592 *apadāna-s*, the shortest of which contains fewer than ten verses, the longest over two hundred. It is arranged into four parts: *Buddhāpadāna*, *Pacceka-buddhāpadāna*, *Therāpadāna* and *Therī-apadāna*. The first two of these each contain a single eponymous *apadāna* ascribed to Gotama Buddha himself. Although they have identical introductory verses, there is no other connection between the two poems in either style or content, and their connection to the other two parts of the collection is similarly tenuous. In the *Therāpadāna*, verse stories ascribed to 550 elder monks<sup>4</sup> and conforming generally to a standard stylistic pattern are related. These stories are divided between 55 sections (*vagga-s*), each containing ten *apadāna-s*. In the *Therī-apadāna*, forty stories about elder nuns, which also generally conform to the standard *apadāna* pattern, are divided evenly into four sections, each containing ten *apadāna-s*.

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<sup>1</sup> This article on the *Apadāna* is based on the seven manuscripts and three printed editions of the text used in preparing my D.Phil. thesis for Oxford University.

<sup>2</sup> To reduce the number of foreign words in this paper, I have generally given the Pāli terms without Sanskrit equivalents. I have, however, used Sanskrit terms such as *karma* and *nirvāṇa* where they are better known.

<sup>3</sup> The exact number of verses is as yet unestablished due to the corrupt nature of the text.

<sup>4</sup> This figure, which appears to have been settled upon by the majority of modern editors despite inconsistent evidence, will be discussed further below.

While the formal structure of the *Apadāna* text (*Apadāna-pāli* or *Apadāna-pāṭha*) is somewhat problematic, the individual verse stories have a unity of content. The basic theme which underlies all the stories in the collection, with the exception of the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna*, is the efficacy of the law of *karma* (Pāli *kamma*), “effective (deliberate) action, (deliberate) action and its result”. The primary purpose of the *Apadāna* is to explore, within a particular Buddhist framework, the doctrine that good actions based on good intentions bring about good results and bad actions based on bad intentions bring about bad results. The *Critical Pāli Dictionary* describes the *Apadāna* as “tales in verse about the past *karma* of Buddhist saints”.<sup>1</sup> In the *apadāna*-s of the elder monks and nuns, the actions performed and the results obtained are almost always good. The actions described are generally also connected to a secondary theme of aspiration to future *sāvaka*-hood and attainment of *arahant*-ship (*arahatta*, “perfection”); the resulting liberation from the cycle of *samsāra*, “continuing existence”, was the central concern of the Buddha’s teaching. The *Apadāna* can thus be placed within the genre of didactic or homiletic literature in which stories are used to illustrate and interpret doctrinal points, particularly for the edification of pious lay people. The collection is regarded as belonging to the scriptural literature of the Theravādin Pāli canon by Buddhists in countries such as Myanmar (formerly Burma), Sri Lanka and Thailand. Like its structure, however, the place of the *Apadāna* in the fixed canon of sacred texts handed down by the orthodox Theravāda tradition of the Mahāvihāravāsins, and in Buddhist literature as a whole, is problematic. These problems will be discussed below.

<sup>1</sup> CPD I p. 267.

The term *apadāna*, like the corresponding Sanskrit term *avadāna*, has often been translated as “glorious, noble or heroic deed”.<sup>1</sup> With this meaning, the term is derived from the Sanskrit verbal root *ava√dai*, “to purify, cleanse”, and thence from the adjectival form *avadāta*, “pure, excellent”. Most of the poems in the Pāli collection are indeed concerned with meritorious and pious former actions of the elder monks and nuns to whom they are attributed. It seems probable, however, that this meaning came to be imputed to the term as a result of the nature of such stories in the Pāli *Apadāna* and those in the major early Sanskrit *avadāna* collections, the original meaning being thereby superseded and obscured. Paul Mus, speaking about the Indian influence on local beliefs in the ancient South-East Asian kingdom of Champa, sounded a warning note which I think is relevant here, if for the word “belief” is substituted “collection”. He remarked: “The way in which a belief is described and explained once it is formed, and the origins which are attributed to it at that stage, are necessarily different from the way in which it was invented and from its real origins”.<sup>2</sup>

The word *apadāna* occurs in the title of one of the discourses (*sutta*-s) in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the first collection of the *Sutta Piṭaka* section of the Pāli canon, which contains the long sermons attributed to Gotama Buddha. The Buddha is said to have preached the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* (*The Great Discourse on the Lineage*)<sup>3</sup> to a group of monks as a “sermon on the subject of past states [of existence]”.<sup>4</sup> It deals with the lives of seven buddhas, Gotama and the six buddhas who immediately preceded him, and is concerned only to describe the events of the final

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. MW p. 99; Winternitz p. 152; Norman p. 89, and Khoroché’s Introduction to his translation of the *Jātakamāla* p. xiv. See also Handurukande’s Introduction to the *Mañicuḍāvadāna* pp. xx–xxii.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Mus p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> D II 1–54 (= D XIV). Translation THIH pp. 199–221; I have used Walshe’s translation of the title. See also Norman p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> D II 2,6–7: *pubbenivāsapaṭisamyuttaṃ dhammiṃ katham*.

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

There are indeed a number of texts besides the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* in which the word *apadāna* is associated with the Buddha and in which his past lives as a *bodhisatta*, “future buddha”, are described in order to explain the events of his final life and his attainment of buddhahood. The *Buddhāpadāna* itself contains the story of a deed performed in one of Gotama’s past lives which is linked to his triumphant final life. Norman points out that the use of the word *apadāna* in the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* resembles that of the word *avadāna* in the colophons of many of the chapters in the *Mahāvastu*.<sup>2</sup> This Sanskrit

<sup>1</sup> Norman p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Norman p. 24.

work is a collection of stories (based on a recension of the *Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin Vinaya*) which illustrates the virtues of Gotama Buddha, often by reference to his past lives. There are many Sanskrit *avadāna-s* which relate exploits performed by Gotama in previous births, a number of them contained in verse collections known as *avadānamāla-s*, “garlands of *avadāna-s*”. Two canonical Pāli texts apart from the *Buddhāpadāna* refer to themselves as *apadāna-s* of the Buddha (*buddhāpadāna-s*): the *Pubbakammapiḷoti apadāna*, which is also included in the *Apadāna* collection, and the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, which is the fifteenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* collection and which is described in its colophon as *buddhāpadāniyam*.<sup>1</sup> In each of these texts, aspects of the final life and character of Gotama are explained through their connection with actions performed by him in former lives. It is this way of using “past lives”, exemplified particularly in the poetic extended autobiographies of elder monks and nuns which comprise the major part of the *Apadāna* collection, which should be recognised in any interpretation of the term *apadāna*.

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

<sup>1</sup> Cp 37,2. I.B. Horner translates this as “Heroic Stories of the Buddha” in *Basket of Conduct* p. 50,10–11.

<sup>2</sup> D III 80–98 (= D XXVII). Translation, THIH pp. 408–15; I have used Walshe’s translation of the title. A comparatively late date for this *sutta* is suggested in Norman pp. 41–42.

<sup>3</sup> D III 90: *lūnaṃ pi na ppaṭivirūḷhaṃ apadānaṃ paññāyittha*. Translation, THIH p. 412,21–22.

verbal root *ava* √do, “to cut, break off, divide”, and is used in the sense *avakhaṇḍane*, “cutting off, reaping”.<sup>1</sup> There are many examples in the Buddha’s teachings of his redefining terms from the society in which he lived, which was dominated by the brahminical religion and its ideology. There are, in particular, numerous examples of his use of agricultural terms, the meanings of which he altered and extended within the framework of his message. In the *Kasibhāradvāja Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta*,<sup>2</sup> for example, the Buddha explains to the brahmin Kasibhāradvāja that he too ploughs and sows, with faith as his seed and wisdom as his yoke and plough. Again, in a passage from the *Ānguttara Nikāya*, the fourth collection of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, the Buddha says: “*karma* is the field, consciousness the seed, craving the moisture [making the seed grow]”.<sup>3</sup>

As has been noted above, the basic theme of all but one of the *apadāna*-s in the Pāli collection is the working of *karma*. The image of reaping is particularly applicable to this doctrine and, as Norman points out in this connection,<sup>4</sup> there is a complementary metaphorical usage of the words “sowing” and “reaping” in English. The interpretation of the term as “(one’s) reapings” enables us to understand the *apadāna*-s as stories to illustrate the reaping in a present life of the fruit (*phala*) or result of good or bad deeds performed in the past. The entry for the word *apadāna* in the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*<sup>5</sup> provides a possible sequence for the development of an idiomatic sense of the word as “exploit, result, work” without, however, indicating the connection with the doctrinal theme of *karma* which is basic to the *apadāna* type of literature. In his work on Sanskrit *avadāna*-s, Strong often translates the word *avadāna*

as “karmic history” or “karmic biography”. In an article on *avadāna* specialists, he quotes a verse from the tenth chapter of the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā* which reveals the concern of the compilers of the Sanskrit *avadāna* collections with the theme of *karma*: “From dharmic action beings obtain bliss. From evil action they are allotted suffering. From mixed action they come to enjoy mixed fruits.’ Thus spake the *avadānist*”.<sup>1</sup> In his recent book on the monk Upagupta, whom he regards as the “patron-saint” of the *avadāna* specialists, Strong defines *avadāna* (which he equates with *apadāna*) as: “a genre of Buddhist story usually showing the workings of karma through the deeds of ordinary individuals”.<sup>2</sup>

This consideration of *apadāna*-s as karmic biographies, in which the present is explained through the description of events from past lives, is reflected in modern usage of the term to denote “history, life-story, biography (especially of a religious figure)” in Sri Lanka and Thailand. This is reflected in titles such as the *Kālapavattikathā Therāpadāna*, which is that of the recent biography of a renowned Thai monk. It is also consistent with the narrative format of the *apadāna*-s of the elder monks and nuns in the canonical collection, in which success in escaping from the cycle of *saṃsāra*, “continuing existence”, is linked with former behaviour. While the *Buddhāpadāna* also deals with a past action and its result, it does not completely conform to the standard narrative pattern (discussed below) which is followed, to a greater or lesser degree, in the *Thera*- and *Therī*-*apadāna*-s. Furthermore, the presentation of the karmic connection between the particular pious deed of the Bodhisatta which it describes and its fruit, the attainment of enlightenment, is so understated that it has not always been noticed.<sup>3</sup> We

<sup>1</sup> See CPD I p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> Sn pp. 12–16 (= Sn I,4). Translation GD II pp. 8–10.

<sup>3</sup> A I 223,21–22: *kammaṃ khettaṃ viññānaṃ bījaṃ taṇhā sineho*.

<sup>4</sup> EV I p. 133, note on the word *apadāna* in Th 47.

<sup>5</sup> CPD I p. 267.

<sup>1</sup> Strong (1) p. 867.

<sup>2</sup> Strong (2) p. 348 (Glossary).

<sup>3</sup> This appears to be the case in D.L. Barua’s article on the *Buddhāpadāna* and in Bechert (3) pp. 101–2.

have already noted that the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* is concerned simply to describe the glorious final lives of the seven buddhas and does not attempt to explain them by connecting them with their past lives.

There is, however, a type of text, closely linked with the *apadāna* genre, which is particularly concerned to develop karmic links between previous births of Gotama Buddha and episodes in his final life. This is the *jātaka* literature, which includes the canonical *Jātaka* collection of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* and also a large number of “apocryphal” *jātaka*-s, fifty of which comprise the South-East Asian *Paññāsa-jātaka* collection. The non-canonical prose stories of the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*, the commentary on the verses of the *Jātaka* collection, are primarily descriptions of the past career of the Bodhisatta and of his fulfillment of the ten perfections (*pāramī*-s, *pāramitā*-s) essential to his attainment of buddhahood.<sup>1</sup> The stories of good deeds performed by him in more than 500 previous human and non-human births<sup>2</sup> are presented as being related by the Buddha in order to explain incidents in his final life. They are introduced by a story of the present (*paccuppannavatthu*) which sets out the circumstances in which the past story came to be told. These are connected with the final linking statement (*samodhāna*) which connects the Buddha and those people close to him in his final life with the events in the story of the past (*atītavatthu*). The *jātaka* stories thus underline a view of the universe characterised by karmic interconnection and progression. They also imply the validity of similar, extended karmic biographies of people other than the Buddha such as those found in the *Thera*- and *Therī-apadāna*-s. In his early

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

<sup>2</sup> As with the *Apadāna*, the total number of stories properly included in the *Jātaka* collection is difficult to establish. The PTS edition by Fausbøll contains 547 *jātaka*-s although certain collections from Myanmar and Sri Lanka are said to contain 550.

study of Buddhist Sanskrit literature in Nepal, Mitra classed the *jātaka* as part of the *avadāna* genre: “In fact, the *avadāna* of the Nepalese is the class of which the *Jātaka* is an order. The former treats of the anterior lives of Sākya Buddha as well as of other persons, whereas the latter is confined to Sākya only.”<sup>1</sup>

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Mitra (Introduction) p. xli.

resolve was followed by an act of alms-giving (*dāna*) in honour of Padumuttara Buddha, and by a verbal aspiration in his presence for the position she desired. The former buddha then prophesied that she would obtain her wish in the future, as a disciple (*sāvīkā*) of Gotama Buddha. For the rest of that life she served him with devotion, as a result of which she was born in a later life as one of seven daughters of the King of Kāsi who served Kassapa Buddha continuously for twenty thousand years while living the household life. The story of the final birth of Paṭācārā is well-known from a variety of sources, including the commentaries on the *Therīgāthā* and the *Dhammapada*. According to the tradition, she became mad with grief following the deaths of her husband, children, parents and brother but was consoled by Gotama Buddha and admitted to the community of nuns. As a nun, she quickly attained *arahant*-ship and was declared by the Buddha to have achieved the foremost position for which she had aspired so many aeons before.

The *Paccekabuddhāpadāna*, despite its place in the collection, is not truly an *apadāna* and its inclusion is anomalous, reflecting the doctrinal motives of the compiler of the *Apadāna* rather than the nature of the poem itself. Although it is not formally an *apadāna* of the Buddha, the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna* is said to have been related by Gotama Buddha “for the purpose of explaining the doctrine”.<sup>1</sup> However, this attribution and the set of introductory verses which are almost identical to those in the *Buddhāpadāna*, cannot disguise the fact that the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna* was deliberately composed around the verses of another canonical work in order to complete the creation of a formal structure for the *Apadāna* collection. As part of his answer to the elder monk Ānanda’s request for information about paccekabuddhas, the Buddha quotes the whole of the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta*. This poem is the third in the *Suttanipāta* collection although there is no indication in the *sutta* itself

<sup>1</sup> PBAp v. 57: *dhammavijānanattham*.

that the verses are to be connected with paccekabuddhas.<sup>1</sup> While the *Apadāna* commentary states that the Buddha recited the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna* because “the resolve and aspiration of the Buddhas is known, likewise [the resolve and aspiration] of the *sāvaka*-s, but [that] of the paccekabuddhas is not known”,<sup>2</sup> these verses do not deal with resolves or aspirations. Furthermore, there is no attempt in either the *Khaggavisāṇa Sutta* or the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna* to develop causal connections between the past and present lives of even a single paccekabuddha, or to karmically explain the achievement of *pacceka*-enlightenment (*paccekabodhi*) and thereby provide a model of effective behaviour.

Former studies of the *Buddhāpadāna* have concentrated on the unusual features it possesses, which distinguish it in the context of Theravādin canonical literature, rather than on its place within the *Apadāna* collection. It does appear from the beginning of this poem that it may have originated in a separate collection of *apadāna*-s of the Buddha,<sup>3</sup> and Saddhatissa refers to a Laotian collection containing a text called the *Buddhāpadāna* which was transmitted as an independent work.<sup>4</sup> However, despite its distinctive features, it is the features which link the *Buddhāpadāna* with the other poems in the *Apadāna* collection which are relevant in this discussion. After the introductory verses, which establish the circumstances in which the *Buddhāpadāna* was related and link this poem with the two others in the collection attributed to the Buddha, the *apadāna* itself begins with a statement by the Buddha

<sup>1</sup> The connection with paccekabuddhas is made in the *Culla Niddesa* and in the closing verses of the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna*. See also Norman p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Ap-a 139,6–7: *buddhānaṃ patthanā ca abhinīharo ca dissati tathā sāvakanāṃ paccekabuddhānaṃ na dissati*.

<sup>3</sup> In BAp v. 5 the Buddha instructs his audience to listen “to the *apadāna*-s of the Buddha/buddhas” (*buddhāpadānāni*) and the significance of the use of the plural here requires investigation.

<sup>4</sup> Saddhatissa (2) p. 328.



that he made a resolve for buddhahood under previous buddhas.<sup>1</sup> The past story in this *apadāna* is unusual in that it deals with an episode from a former life in which the Bodhisatta was close to the end of his path to buddhahood and it describes a mental rather than a physical offering performed as an act of homage. The Buddha describes how he mentally created a jewelled mansion, filled with countless numbers of buddhas, paccekabuddhas and “disciples of the Conquerors” (*jinasāvaka*) and located within a glorious buddha-field (*buddha(k)khetta*), as a pious action. It is apparent that, just as the physical acts of piety described in the *apadāna*-s of the elder monks and nuns reflect the capabilities of the beings performing the actions, the act of pious visualisation described in the *Buddhāpadāna* reflects the advanced spiritual attainments and meditative skills of the Bodhisatta and is thus an appropriate offering from a being near the end of the path to enlightenment. Significantly, when the Buddha relates the result of this action, he uses the same formulaic verse as that found in the *apadāna*-s of elder monks and nuns: “By reason of that well-done deed and the aspirations of [my] will, on leaving my human body I went to the Tāvātimsa heaven”.<sup>2</sup> The *Buddhāpadāna* thus contains many of the features associated with an ideal *apadāna* although, interestingly, the story of the Bodhisatta’s first resolve for buddhahood, and the prophecy concerning his successful attainment of that resolve, are actually found in the *apadāna* of the elder nun Yasodharā.<sup>3</sup>

The *apadāna* genre does not deal solely with noble or glorious deeds and their fruit and may also deal with the effects of bad or evil deeds when this is necessary for the provision of a complete karmic explanation of an individual’s biography. As the anonymous author of

<sup>1</sup> BAṭ v. 4: *ahaṃ pi pubbabuddhesu buddhattaṃ abhipatthayim̐.*

<sup>2</sup> BAṭ v. 53: *tena kammaṇa sukatenā cetanāpaṇḍihī ca/jahitvā mānusaṃ dehaṃ tāvatimsaṃ agacch’ ahaṃ.*

<sup>3</sup> *Yasodharā therī apadāna* vv. 49–59.

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

<sup>1</sup> Walters (1) p. 88, paraphrasing Ap-a 114,21–23.

<sup>2</sup> *Upāliththerāp.* v. 109: *so me attho anuppatto vinaye pāramiṃ gato.*

quality of one's acts, rather than one's social position, which is ultimately significant.

Although the *Pubbakammapiḷoti-apadāna* is described as a *buddhāpadāna*, its connection with the Buddha is obscured by its placement within the *Therāpadāna* where it is designated as ThAp 390.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that this poem was originally linked in some way with the *Buddhāpadāna*, and the two poems are considered together in the commentary on the *Apadāna*. The reason for the anomalous placement of this *apadāna* may reflect the problematic nature of its subject matter: the *Pubbakammapiḷoti-apadāna* is concerned solely with bad deeds and their karmic fruit. It describes unskilful actions performed by the Buddha in former existences which remained karmically effective after he had mastered the perfections, most bearing fruit after his attainment of enlightenment. The Buddha is said to have related this *apadāna* in order to provide karmic explanations for specific unpleasant events which affected him in his final life, references to which can be found embedded in the canonical literature. The *Pubbakammapiḷoti-apadāna* begins with two introductory verses in which the setting of the poem is established, a feature which links this *apadāna* with both the *Buddhāpadāna* and the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna*. While this feature further distances the *Pubbakammapiḷoti-apadāna* from the other poems in the *Therāpadāna*, its setting, near Lake Anotatta (Skt *Anavatapta*), does link it with the Sanskrit text known as the *Anavatapta-gāthā*,<sup>2</sup> which is part of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* section of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya* and which contains a poem corresponding to the *Pubbakammapiḷoti-apadāna*. Bechert, who takes this as an indication that the Pāli *apadāna* is derived from a recension of the *Anavatapta-gāthā*, points out that the poem which precedes the *Pubbakammapiḷoti-apadāna*, the *Soṇakoṭṭivīsatharāpadāna* is also set at Lake Anotatta, and that its verses are almost identical to

those attributed to the elder monk Koṭṭivimṣa in the Sanskrit text.<sup>1</sup> In the *Pubbakammapiḷoti-apadāna*, former unskilful actions performed by the Buddha in twelve previous lives are concisely described, the causal connections between the deeds and their fruit being clearly and succinctly drawn. According to one verse: “[In another former birth] I was a doctor. I administered a purge [which was unnecessary] to the son of a wealthy merchant. As the fruit of that action, I have suffered from diarrhoea [in this life]”.<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> It is ThAp 387 in the PTS edition of the *Apadāna*.

<sup>2</sup> This text is called the *Pañcaśatasthavirāvadāna* in Lamotte p. 692.

<sup>1</sup> Bechert (1) pp. 10–11. I am most grateful to Regina Neumann for translating this article into English for me. See Hofinger (1) pp. 207–10 and ThAp 389 v. 15: *thero koṭṭiviso sono bhikkhusaṅghassa aggato/ pañham puṭṭho viyākāsi anotatte mahāsare ti*.

<sup>2</sup> ThAp 390 v. 28: *tikicchako ahaṃ āsiṃ seṭṭhiputtaṃ virecayim/ tena kammavipākena hoti pakkhandikā mama*.

<sup>3</sup> D.L. Barua p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> *Upālittherāp.* v. 14: *mantāniputto puṇṇo ti hessatī satthu sāvako*.

stressed, as is their connection in the birth in which he attained enlightenment and she *arahant*-ship. The close connection between the *apadāna* and *jātaka* literary types is also illustrated by the *Cariyāpiṭaka*. As we have noted above, and as I.B. Horner briefly discusses in the Preface to her translation of the text,<sup>1</sup> the *Cariyāpiṭaka* refers to itself as an *apadāna* of the Buddha. It is, however, largely based upon the *Jātaka* collection, each of the thirty-five stories it contains describing an action performed in a former life by the Bodhisatta in pursuance of his aim to master the *pāramitā*-s.

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

In the *Buddhavaṃsa*, Gotama is linked to previous buddhas by his aspirations and service, and by their prophecies. In the *Thera-* and *Therī-apadāna*-s, the elder monks and nuns are similarly linked to former buddhas and to Gotama, although their aspirations are for *sāvaka*-hood and *arahant*-ship rather than buddhahood. The idea that purposive thought can affect future existence is expounded in one of the *sutta*-s of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, the second collection of the *Sutta Piṭaka*, comprising the medium-length discourses attributed to, or approved by, the Buddha. In the *Samkhāruppattisutta* (*The Discourse on Rebirth through Aspiration*), the Buddha describes the efficacy of aspiration or purposive thought (*saṃkhāra*<sup>1</sup>) as a means by which a person endowed with certain qualities can obtain a specific rebirth or even freedom from rebirth. Although not all the *apadāna*-s in the Pāli collection are fully developed according to the standard pattern, most are histories of the undertaking to be a disciple of a future buddha. The colophon of the *Visuddhajanavilāsini* refers to itself as: *Buddha-Paccekabuddha-Sāvakattherassa apadānaṭṭhakathā*.<sup>2</sup> The *apadāna*-s of the elder monks and nuns detail the services performed to fulfil their commitment, and report the achievement, in the time of Gotama Buddha, of the success prophesied for them by the buddha or other person before whom their aspiration was made. The commentary on the verses of the elder monk Vāṅṅisa (*Vāṅṅisa-gāthā*) includes the following statement: “elder monks who have *apadāna*-s (*sāpadānā therā*), like those included in the *Apadāna*, are those who have an *apadāna*, technically called a disciple-perfection (*sāvaka-pāramitā*), which is set in motion by a meritorious action performed for former buddhas, paccekabuddhas or disciples of a

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

<sup>1</sup> The commentary explains *saṃkhāra* as being equivalent to *paṭṭhānā*, “aim, wish”. See I.B. Horner's Introduction to her translation of the *Majjhima Nikāya* where she notes this as being an unusual meaning of the term, and her note on the translation of the title of this discourse in MLS III p. 139, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ap-a 571,11–12.

buddha”.<sup>1</sup> The concept of a disciple-perfection, complementing the ten perfections of a buddha, is found in the *Nidhikaṇḍasutta* (*The Treasure-Store Discourse*) of the *Khuddakapāṭha*, the first book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*.<sup>2</sup> This discourse, which is, however, the only one in the *Khuddakapāṭha* not found elsewhere in the Pāli canon, contains the verse: “Discrimination, liberations, perfection of disciples too, and both kinds of enlightenment: all that is got by merit’s grace”.<sup>3</sup>

The term *sāvaka-pāramitā* does not occur in the *Apadāna*, although the concept is implicit in the poems of the collection, reinforcing its close connection to the *jātaka* genre and supporting B.M. Barua’s belief that: “the *Apadāna* may be regarded as a supplement to the *Buddhavaṃsa* in the sense that it adds the accounts of the Theras and Theris on the lines of the Great Legend (*Mahāpadāna*) of the Buddhas”.<sup>4</sup> It should also be noted that the term *sāvika-pāramitā* is not used in the corresponding passage in the commentary on the *Therīgāthā*, where it is stated that elder nuns who have *apadāna*-s: “are those who have an *apadāna*, technically called a performance of service (*katādhikārātā*)”.<sup>5</sup> The term *adhikāra*, “service”,<sup>6</sup> does occur in the *Apadāna*, notably in a

<sup>1</sup> Th-a II 216,20–21 (= PTS ed. III 204,28–31): *yesaṃ hi purimesu sammā-sambuddhesu pacceka-buddhesu buddhasāvakesu ca puññakiriyavasena pavattitāṃ sāvaka-pāramitāsāṅkhātāṃ atthi apadānaṃ te sādānā seyyathāpi apadānapāḷiyāṃ āgatā therā*.

<sup>2</sup> The problematic canonical status of *Khp* is discussed in Norman pp. 31–32 and 57–58.

<sup>3</sup> *Khp* 7,31–32 (= *Khp* VIII 15): *paṭisambhidā vimokkhā ca yā sāvaka-pāramī paccekabodhi buddha-bhūmi sabbāṃ etena labhati*. I have used Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli’s translation of the title and of this verse in *Minor Readings* p. 9,36–39.

<sup>4</sup> B.M. Barua p. 175.

<sup>5</sup> This passage is found in the commentary on the *Sumedha-therīgāthā*, Thī-a 225,16–18 (= PTS edition 297,11–15).

<sup>6</sup> *Adhikāra* is a common brahminical term in the meaning “entitlement”. In the brahminical religion, a specific *adhikāra* is the prerequisite for the performance of any religious action. In Buddhism, *adhikāra* used in the sense of “service” was

section of twelve verses in the *Yasodharā-therī-apadāna* (vv. 72–83) in which she describes her service to innumerable buddhas, pacceka-buddhas and sāvakas. The demonstration in the *apadāna* literature of the importance of service as a prerequisite for progress on the *sāvaka* path led B.M. Barua to write: “The doctrine upheld in the *Apadāna* is what may be technically called the *Adhikāravāda*”,<sup>1</sup> and to propose both that this implied a common date for the composition of the *Apadāna*, *Buddhavaṃsa* and *Cariyāpiṭaka* and that it represented a further connection between them in literary and philosophical terms.

Evidence supporting the consideration of these three texts as a group is available in the commentarial works of the great fifth century scholar Buddhaghosa, whose analysis of the Pāli canon established its authoritative form according to the tradition of the Ceylon Mahāvihāravāsins. In his commentaries, Buddhaghosa lists several ways of analysing the Buddha’s word (*buddhavacana*), the usual classification being its division into nine constituent parts or “limbs” (*aṅga*-s). This classification, which does not include *apadāna*, appears to refer to types of text rather than to specific canonical books and divides the Buddha’s word thus: *suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyājaraṇaṃ gāthaṃ udānaṃ itivuttakaṃ jātakaṃ abbhutadhammaṃ* and *vedallaṃ*.<sup>2</sup> Certain books are mentioned, however, in Buddhaghosa’s explanation of the nine terms. The *Apadāna* is not one of the books referred to by name and, despite its links with the *jātaka* class, it was apparently included in the *veyyākaraṇa* class which was explained thus by Buddhaghosa: “The whole of the *Abhidharma Piṭaka*, *suttas* which contain no stanzas and any other (sayings from the)

made the only valid *adhikāra*, in the sense of “prerequisite”, for spiritual progress.

<sup>1</sup> B.M. Barua p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Sp 28,4–7. This way of classifying the Canon is described in detail in Lamotte pp. 141–45.

word of the Buddha not included in the other eight Aṅgas should be known as the *Veyyākaraṇa* (Expositions)”.<sup>1</sup>

The vast size of the body of Buddhist teaching was responsible for problems, not only of arrangement and classification, but also of accurate transmission, even after the Pāli canon was first written down, some time during the first century B.C.E. Following the rehearsal of the Buddha’s teaching at the first communal recitation (*saṅgīti*) held, according to all Buddhist traditions, soon after the Buddha’s death, it appears that a system of specialist reciters, *bhāṇaka*-s, was established in order to preserve the texts agreed to be part of the *buddhavacana*. The *bhāṇaka*-s were responsible for memorising and transmitting particular parts of the canon, and the commentaries contain references to *bhāṇaka*-s of the first four *nikāya*-s. A single reference to *Khuddaka-bhāṇaka*-s occurs in the post-canonical text, the *Milinda-pañha*.<sup>2</sup> Buddhaghosa describes the *Apadāna* as the thirteenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*,<sup>3</sup> but he also records the conflicting views of the *Dīgha*- and *Majjhima-bhāṇaka*-s with regard to this arrangement. The *Majjhima-bhāṇaka*-s are said to have held that the monks at the first communal recitation recited fourteen texts which they called the *Khuddaka-gantha* and included in the *Suttanta Piṭaka*. The texts — *Jātaka*, *Mahā-* and *Cūla-niddesa*, *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, *Suttanipāta*, *Dhammapada*, *Udāna*, *Itivuttaka*, *Vimānavatthu*, *Petavatthu*, *Theragāthā*, *Therīgāthā*, *Cariyāpiṭaka*, *Apadāna* and *Buddhavaṃsa* — are the same as those given by Buddhaghosa for the *Khuddaka Nikāya* with the single omission of the *Khuddakapāṭha*. The *Dīgha-bhāṇaka*-s omitted not only the *Khudda-kapāṭha* but also the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, *Apadāna* and *Buddhavaṃsa* from their *Khuddakagantha*, which they included in the

<sup>1</sup> Translation of Ps II 106,13–15 in Norman p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Mil 342,1. This text, although probably not traditionally regarded as canonical in Myanmar, is included in the Chatṭhasaṅgīti edition of the *Tiṭṭaka*.

<sup>3</sup> Sp 18,12–16.

*Abhidhamma Piṭaka*.<sup>1</sup> This would support the inclusion of the *Apadāna* within the *veyyākaraṇa* class of scripture. The ambiguity concerning the canonical position of the *Apadāna* collection reflects that of the *apadāna* genre, and the classification of the *Dīgha-bhāṇaka*-s further reinforces the close relationship which exists between the *Apadāna* and its neighbouring texts.

The *Apadāna* collection is also closely connected with other books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. B.M. Barua considered that the focus in the *Apadāna* on “acts of piety” links the text not only to its close canonical neighbours but also to the *Vimānavatthu*, the sixth of the *Khuddaka* texts. In his Foreword to the Sinhalese edition of the *Apadāna*, Ven. P. Paññānanda writes: “in terms of the analysis of the teaching and its meaning, the *Apadānapaḷi* comes within the category of the description of *karma* like the *Jātaka*, *Buddhavaṃsa*, *Petavatthu* and *Vimānavatthu*, etc.”<sup>2</sup> B.M. Barua does not appear to have been aware that the *apadāna* genre was not exclusively concerned with pious actions, for he does not refer to the *Petavatthu*, the complementary text to the *Vimānavatthu*. The *Vimānavatthu* contains 83 stories in verse in which gods (*deva*-s) relate former good actions to explain their present enjoyment of life as inhabitants of heavenly mansions (*vimāna*-s). These stories can be compared with a number of *apadāna*-s, including the first five in the *Therāpadāna* collection. The *Petavatthu* contains 51 stories in verse in which a departed one (*peta*) explains the former wicked deed responsible for his or her existence in an unhappy state of rebirth. The use in these texts of the term *vatthu* (Skt *vastu*) to mean “a story, account”, corresponds to that in the technical terms denoting the past and present stories of the commentary on the *Jātaka* (the *paccuppannavatthu*

<sup>1</sup> Sv 15,22–29.

<sup>2</sup> *Apadānapaḷi* Part I p. xiii: *dharmārthavibhāga visin jātaka buddhavaṃsa petavatthū vimānavatthu ādiya men kammassakatājñāyehi vāṭena apadānapaḷiya*.

and the *atītavatthu*). Fragments of a Turfan manuscript of the Sārvāstivādin *Kṣudrakāgama* indicate that it contained two texts identified as the *Vimānāvādāna* and *Pretāvādāna*. According to Bechert,<sup>1</sup> these are of the same character and based on the same tradition as the Pāli *Vimāna*- and *Peta-vatthu*-s, reinforcing suggestions of a close correspondence between the *avadāna* (and, by implication, *apadāna*) literary types. Indications within the Pāli versions of these texts provide evidence of borrowing from and parallels with the *Jātaka* collection.<sup>2</sup> This further demonstrates the interconnections between the various types of narrative literature concerned with the doctrine of *karma*, and underlines the preponderance of such texts in the *Khuddaka Nikāya*.

The texts which appear on the surface to be most closely related to the *Apadāna* are the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s, the eighth and ninth books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*. These are collections of poems (*gāthā*-s, lit. “stanzas”) attributed to or connected with more than three hundred elder monks and nuns, many of which contain descriptions of the religious experiences and attainments of their subjects in their “present” lives. The form and intention of the individual *gāthā*-s and the structure of the collections, however, reveal that the relationship between these books and the *Apadāna* differs from those we have so far considered. While many of the verses in the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s were apparently indiscriminately selected from a large, remembered body of verses associated with specific elder monks and nuns,<sup>3</sup> most of the poems of the *Thera*- and *Therī-apadāna*-s reveal a deliberate process of composition, in accordance with a specific doctrinal intention. The poems

in the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s are arranged, like those of the *Jātaka*, according to the number of verses they contain, and a wide range of metres is represented in the collections. A numerical system of arrangement is not followed in the *Apadāna* and it is composed entirely in *śloka* metre, with the exception of the first three verses of the *Buddhāpadāna* and the *Paccekebuddhāpadāna* which are in *triṣṭubh* metre. The commentaries on the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s make it clear that some of the elder monks and nuns, whose verses are included in the collections, lived after the time of the Buddha. The message developed through the pattern of the lives of the elder monks and nuns in the *Apadāna* is underlined by their all having achieved the goal of birth at the time of Gotama Buddha and, thereby, direct access to his teaching.

The *apadāna*-s are histories of individual careers culminating in such achievements as those celebrated in the *gāthā* collections, and can be seen to provide explanations for those achievements in terms of past conduct. The monk Dhammapāla,<sup>1</sup> who followed the tradition established by Buddhaghosa, based much of his exegesis of the poems in the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s on the *Apadāna* tradition. Where appropriate, the relevant *apadāna* is quoted in its entirety in the commentary, although the attribution is not always accurate, and the elder monks and nuns do not completely overlap in the two collections. The quoted *apadāna*-s appear to have been taken from a different and much older version of the *Apadāna* collection than that currently available, although it is probable that these *apadāna*-s were inserted by scribes after the time of Dhammapāla. Indeed, Woodward gives this as his reason for not including the quoted verses in his edition of the *Theragāthā* commentary, saying: “Looking through the versions [of *apadāna*-s] given in our MSS. I find that they differ in almost every line from those of our P.T.S.

<sup>1</sup> Bechert (2).

<sup>2</sup> Norman pp. 71–72.

<sup>3</sup> The final two poems of the *Therīgāthā*, attributed to the elder nuns Isidāsī and Sumedhā, are notable exceptions, being literary compositions which display many features associated with *apadāna*-s, such as the description of previous births.

<sup>1</sup> In his review of *Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā Līnatthavaṇṇanā*, L.S. Cousins suggested a possible date of the seventh century for Dhammapāla. Cousins (1) p. 163.

edition, and from each other”.<sup>1</sup> Although the differences are often slight, the versions of the *apadāna*-s inserted in the commentaries on the *gāthā* collections occasionally preserve portions of the text which are no longer included in the *Apadāna* itself. For example, the commentary on the *Mahāmogallānattheragāthā* quotes two separate versions of the poem preserved in the *Apadāna* collection in its current form.<sup>2</sup> As Bechert points out, however, it is these discrepancies which give the *apadāna*-s quoted in the commentaries their special value.<sup>3</sup>

Müller demonstrated that of the forty *apadāna*-s ascribed to elder nuns, 33 are quoted in the *Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā*, sometimes with different attributions.<sup>4</sup> The form of the *apadāna*-s, in general, reveals a deliberate process of selection, structuring and restatement similar to that developed and elaborated in the prose commentarial works of the Pāli tradition. Warder considers the *Apadāna* to be “almost a commentary on the Theragāthā”<sup>5</sup> and implies that it was regarded as such at the time of the writing down of the canon. Bechert regards the *apadāna*-s of the elder monks and nuns as being “the verse versions of the pre-birth stories told to the Th and Thī”,<sup>6</sup> and believes that the *apadāna*-s were derived from old commentarial material connected with the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s. The close links between the *Apadāna* and a wide group of *Khuddaka Nikāya* texts (including but not limited to the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s) which we have already noted must, however, also be considered in any attempt to define the collection. Although the place of the *Apadāna* in the Pāli canon was not universally accepted before Buddhaghosa, and despite a recent description of the *Buddhāpadāna* as a

Mahāyāna text,<sup>1</sup> its canonical context should not be disregarded. Norman and D.L. Barua, in describing the *Apadāna* as an “appendix” to the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s,<sup>2</sup> more accurately reflect its developed and supplementary nature, and acknowledge its canonical attribution.

The construction of legendary biographies for elder monks and nuns reflected not only an expansion of karmic story literature, but also a growing interest in the personalities of the individuals associated with the Buddha; it represents monastic awareness of and response to this interest. Like the *gāthā* collections, the *Thera*- and *Therī-apadāna*-s were compiled from a number of sources. Snippets of biographical information and stories concerning a number of elder monks and nuns are found throughout the Theravādin canon. As Brough reminded us: “It has long been understood that the surviving early Buddhist literature is to a large extent secondary and often composite”.<sup>3</sup> The canon did not provide the only material for the author (or authors) of the hagiographies which comprise the *Thera*- and *Therī-apadāna*-s, although it is not possible now to identify the extra-canonical sources. The *Apadāna* itself, through presenting a coherent set of biographical references for those elder monks and nuns regarded as perfected disciples, became a source for the homiletic and hagiographic literature of the post-canonical and commentarial traditions. In the Introduction to her translation of the *Therīgāthā*, Mrs Rhys Davids notes that the *apadāna*-s were the end product of a deliberate process of composition: “The canonical *Apadāna*, in its metrical tales of thirty-three of the therīs, reveals their pre-natal legends already grown”.<sup>4</sup> A similar process of selection and composition was used to produce a comprehensive, connected biography for the Buddha himself.

<sup>1</sup> PTS edition of Th-a I (Preface) p. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Th-a II 173–74 and 191–92.

<sup>3</sup> Bechert (1) p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Introduction to the PTS edition of Thī-a, pp. ix–xi.

<sup>5</sup> *Path of Discrimination* (Introduction) p. xxxviii.

<sup>6</sup> Bechert (1) p. 14.

<sup>1</sup> Discussed below.

<sup>2</sup> Norman p. 89 and D.L. Barua p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> Brough (Preface) p. xiv.

<sup>4</sup> *Psalms of the Sisters* (Introduction) p. xviii.

Stories such as those which formed the starting point for the composition of developed hagiographies in the Theravādin tradition are also found in the canonical literature of other Buddhist schools, including the *Madhyamāgama* of the Chinese *Sūtra Piṭaka* and the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasārvāstivādins. The majority of texts in the Sanskrit tradition classified the *buddhavacana* into twelve constituent parts, adding three new categories to the ninefold list. One of the new classes was the *avadāna*,<sup>1</sup> which the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* of the Yogācāra school<sup>2</sup> ascribes to the *Vinaya Piṭaka* together with the *jātaka*. As in the Pāli tradition, it appears that: “the canonical status of the *avadānas* as a genre was fraught with ambiguity”.<sup>3</sup> However, the *avadāna* literature was developed and greatly expanded in the Sanskrit tradition over a considerable period of time, and a huge body of extra-canonical *avadāna* literature came into existence. Many of the Sanskrit *avadāna*-s were compiled in special verse collections, generally known as *avadānamālā*, “garlands of *avadāna*-s”, and they were based on a variety of sources including the early Sanskrit canonical tradition. No comparable expansion occurred with regard to the *apadāna* literature, its function having apparently been assumed by commentarial and extra-canonical literature, so that the *Apadāna* remains the only collection preserving this genre in the Pāli tradition.

The few scholars who have worked on individual *apadāna*-s from the canonical collection have suggested links between them and either non-Theravādin schools of the Śrāvakayāna which used Sanskrit for their literature, or early schools of the Mahayāna. Nakamura says of

<sup>1</sup> The other two additions were the *nidāna* and the *upadeśa*. These are discussed in Lamotte, pp. 145–46.

<sup>2</sup> This treatise is attributed to Asaṅga for whom Paul Williams tentatively ascribes the dates 310–90 C.E. The concordance between the *Tripitaka* and the twelve generic constituents is tabulated in Lamotte, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Strong (1) p. 163.

the *avadāna* literature (in which he includes “Pāli *Avadānas*”): “The *Avadāna* texts stand, so to speak, with one foot in the *Hīnayāna* literature, and the other in the *Mahāyāna* literature”.<sup>1</sup> As a collection, in the form in which it has come down to us, the *Apadāna* is emphatically Theravādin. It is composed in Pāli, and its constituent poems share many verses, metrical units (*pada*-s) and formulae with other texts of the Theravādin canon. This is, of course, partly a function of the oral nature of early Buddhist literature,<sup>2</sup> and of the “veneration of the religious cliché” which permitted the incorporation of “usable quarters” of existing verses in poetic composition.<sup>3</sup> It also, however, reinforces the Theravādin context of the collection and of its parts. In the final redaction of the *Apadāna*, the individual poems have been deliberately placed within a formal structure which provides them with a specific doctrinal framework. The collection consists of sections containing *apadāna*-s about Gotama Buddha, paccekabuddhas and disciples (*sāvaka*-s) who were members of the Buddha’s monastic community. This structure links the *Apadāna* with the threefold ideal grouping of *sāvaka*, *paccekabuddha* and *sammā-sambuddha* which characterises all the Śrāvakayāna schools including the Theravāda. As noted above, it is apparent that the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna* was specifically composed in response to the demand that the structure of the *Apadāna* reflect this threefold ideal.

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

<sup>1</sup> Nakamura p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> On this subject, see e.g. Collins (2), Cousins (2) and Gombrich (2).

<sup>3</sup> Brough (Preface) p. xvii.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. Paṭis II 3,23–27. Translation, *Path of Discrimination* p. 210,15–22, where they are listed together in respect of their development of the faculties (*indriyāni*).



to Enlightenment preached by the Buddha.<sup>1</sup> It does appear, however, to have been universally accepted as part of the Theravādin canon before the *Apadāna* was so recognised.<sup>2</sup> Experience of the four *paṭisambhidā*-s, “branches of analytical insight”, is included in the formulaic verses descriptive of the attainment of *arahant*-ship which occur at the end of the *apadāna*-s of elder monks and nuns and in some poems in the *Thera*- and *Therī-gāthā*-s.

In Mahāyāna Buddhism, the ideal of the *arahant* was replaced by that of the *bodhisattva*, and aspiration to the type of enlightenment achieved by a *sāvaka* or a *paccekabuddha* came to be considered as limited and inferior (*hīna*), and as an obstacle on the path to the perfect enlightenment of a *sammāsambuddha*. In the texts of the Pāli canon, the term *bodhisatta* is generally used to refer to Gotama Buddha, in connection with his long period of preparation for buddhahood. As we have seen, the *Buddhāpadāna*, is a text in which Gotama describes an episode from his career as a *bodhisatta*, thus closely linking it to the *jātaka* literature. Although it has been described by Bechert as “a full-fledged Mahāyāna text” within the Theravādin tradition,<sup>3</sup> its goal is not “to recommend to all the *bodhisattva* path aiming at full enlightenment” although this is one of the characteristics of texts belonging to the Mahāyāna.<sup>4</sup> The intention of the author of the *Buddhāpadāna* was to fulfil the requirements of the *apadāna* genre and to explain attainments in the present through the description of an action performed in the past. There is no reference in the poem to any *bodhisatta* other than Gotama, nor are *bodhisatta*-s as a group included among the perfected beings to

<sup>1</sup> Discussed in Warder pp. 312–15.

<sup>2</sup> On the question of the comparative dating of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* and its rejection by the Mahāsāṅghikas, see Norman p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Bechert, (2) p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> See the guidelines proposed for determining the classification of a *sūtra* in Skilling p. 143, note 1.

whom he pays homage. D.L. Barua, who considered the *Buddhāpadāna* to be a “striking specimen of early Buddhist poetry”, provided an English translation of it in order to draw attention to its poetic merits. In the article accompanying his translation, he says of the *Apadāna*: “It also divulges the difference between the achievements of a Perfect Buddha, a *Paccekabuddha* and a Perfect Disciple, all of whom are *arahants*”.<sup>1</sup> Thus, while positing the view that the last three books of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* are examples of what he calls “Mahāyāna in the Making”, he makes it clear that the basis of the *Buddhavamsa*, *Apadāna* and *Cariyāpiṭaka* is in the doctrines of the non-Mahāyāna tradition.

In his study of Pāli literature, Norman draws attention to the fact that examples of mainland Prakrit features uncommon in Pāli are found in the *Apadāna*, one such feature being particularly associated with the *Buddhāpadāna*.<sup>2</sup> This underlines the eclectic nature of the Pāli collection, although it does not imply a non-Theravādin origin for this *apadāna* or for the collection as a whole. Despite noting the parallels between some of the Pāli *apadāna*-s and poems in the *Anavataptagāthā*,<sup>3</sup> this is not an assumption made by Norman although, as we have seen above, it is the view subscribed to by Bechert, who uses it to explain the anomalous placement of the *Pubbakammapiṭoti-apadāna*.<sup>4</sup> Walters also postulates a non-Theravādin origin for the *Pubbakammapiṭoti-apadāna*, believing it to be a work of either the Sarvāstivādin or Mahāsāṅghika tradition.<sup>5</sup> It appears more likely, however, that versions of this *apadāna* existed before the division into sects took place, and other similarities between the Pāli *Apadāna* collection and the *Anavataptagāthā* may support this

<sup>1</sup> D.L. Barua p. 183. See also Ven. Saddhatissa’s Introduction to his edition of the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*, pp. 16–19.

<sup>2</sup> Norman pp. 91–92.

<sup>3</sup> Norman p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> Bechert (1) pp. 11–13.

<sup>5</sup> Walters (1) pp. 77–79.

explanation. Norman also notes the existence of *avadāna*-s in Tibetan and Chinese corresponding to the *Pubbakammapiḷoti-apadāna*, and he deduces that: “the *Apadāna* was the common property of both Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins”.<sup>1</sup>

Bechert based his identification of the *Buddhāpadāna* as a Mahāyāna text on the presence within it of certain ideas which were particularly developed and emphasised in certain texts of the Mahāyāna tradition. However, concepts such as the transfer of merit (*pattānumodanā*, referred to in three verses of the *Buddhāpadāna*), and the prophecy by an enlightened being of the successful fulfillment of an aspiration (found in most of the *apadāna*-s attributed to elder monks and nuns), were also developed in post-canonical Theravādin literature. The idea of a buddha-field (*buddha(k)khetta*), which is presented in some detail in the *Buddhāpadāna*, is also found in a more elaborate form in the *Mahāvastu*. This Mahāsāṅghika text is formally classified as Śrāvākayāna, despite its inclusion of many proto-Mahāyānist features and its exaltation of the Buddha as a supramundane (*lokottara*) being.<sup>2</sup> While concepts such as these became particularly highly evolved within Mahāyāna doctrine, it is misleading to assume that their presence in a Theravādin text implies an “infiltration” of the Mahāvihāra Theravādin tradition from an external source. Their presence in the *Apadāna* does, however, imply a comparatively late date for its final redaction, and suggests that it was subject to a complex process of accretion and selection before that time.

Bechert proposes a date of the first century B.C.E. for the first version of the *Apadāna* collection, and he suggests both that it underwent several enlargements after that time and that “at least three different versions of the *Apadāna* had existed”.<sup>1</sup> This would coincide with the traditional date given in the Sinhalese chronicles for the writing down of the Pāli canon and its commentaries which they place within the second reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya (89–77 B.C.E. according to the chronology accepted by the University of Ceylon<sup>2</sup>). This activity apparently occurred in Ceylon at a time of sectarian monastic rivalry, “when the position of the Mahāvihāra as sole legitimate custodians of Buddhism was under threat”.<sup>3</sup> While the nature of the *Apadāna* collection is such that alteration of the number and placement of its contents was possible even after it had been written down, the framework of the collection is only meaningful in terms of its canonical context. This must, therefore, have been established by the time its scriptural status was accepted and at the time it was written down as one of the canonical texts of the Mahāvihāra tradition. The fact that it does not appear to have possessed a commentary at that time may indicate that it achieved its final form only shortly before it was written down.

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

<sup>1</sup> Norman p. 92. Scholars including Paul Harrison and Peter Skilling are now studying some of the Chinese and Tibetan texts, and their work will enable effective comparisons to be made between the different versions of this text.

<sup>2</sup> The place of this teaching in terms of the origins of Mahāyāna Buddhism is discussed in Williams pp. 16–20.

<sup>1</sup> Bechert (1) pp. 11–14 and (3) p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I Part II p. 843.

<sup>3</sup> Collins (1) p. 98. See also Adikaram pp. 78–79 and 93–94.

<sup>4</sup> Gombrich (2) p. 29.

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

Many legends were constructed by the Buddhist traditions around the person of Aśoka, who has been called “the greatest political

and spiritual figure of ancient India”.<sup>1</sup> It is certainly possible, however, that his patronage was responsible for establishing Buddhism over a far wider area than would have been conceivable before the founding of the Mauryan Empire by his grandfather, Candragupta, in around 324 B.C.E. Aśoka is traditionally connected with what Warder refers to as “the popularisation of Buddhism”,<sup>2</sup> and with the enthusiastic promotion of religious activities such as pilgrimage and the veneration of relics through the construction of *stūpa*-s and shrines. By the time of Aśoka, not only were the Buddha and his chief disciples long dead, but so too were the monks and nuns who had been ordained and directly taught by them. The Buddha had left his doctrine and the corpus of monastic rules, rather than a person, in his place as the central authority for the religion which he had founded. He had charged his monks with the dissemination of his teachings, a responsibility which entailed the further duties of preservation and interpretation. He is said to have sent out the first sixty monks with the instruction: “Monks, preach the Dhamma, which is lovely at the beginning, in the middle and at the end ... and proclaim the pure religious life (*brahmacariya*)”.<sup>3</sup> The doctrine, however, involved “abstract ethics and abstruse concepts”,<sup>4</sup> and making it generally accessible was a fundamental and continual problem for the monastic community which was dependent on lay support for its survival in the long term, as well as on a day-to-day basis.

Hallisey notes that summaries and anthologies of the teachings were produced as one response to this problem,<sup>5</sup> and this would appear to provide a plausible motive for the compilation of a number of the collections in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* including the *Apadāna*. According to

<sup>1</sup> *Path of Discrimination* (Introduction) p. xxxix.

<sup>2</sup> Walters (2) and B.M. Barua p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> *Puṇṇamantāniputtatherāp.* v. 6 and *Khemātherī-apadāna* v. 90.

<sup>4</sup> Lamotte pp. 272–74.

<sup>1</sup> Lamotte p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> Warder chap. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Vin I 21,4–7.

<sup>4</sup> Gananath Obeyesekere, quoted in Obeyesekere (Introduction) p. x.

<sup>5</sup> Hallisey p. 39.

Warder, the movement to spread and popularise Buddhism in the centuries immediately following the death of the Buddha was paralleled by two lines of development in Buddhist literature. These were: the creation and use of new metres in poetry, and the elaboration of many existing narratives which were appended to the *Khuddaka Nikāya* “in order to satisfy the popular demand for stories”.<sup>1</sup> While it is fundamentally true that the Theravādin tradition “is the product of texts composed by, and indeed largely for, monks and nuns”,<sup>2</sup> homiletic texts such as the *Apadāna* were intended to be used by monks and nuns in their role as preachers and transmitters of the Buddhist doctrine. They were thus directed particularly towards lay audiences, although this is not to suggest that they could not have been used in teaching monks and nuns as well. B.M. Barua points out that “the *Apadāna* legends combine by a peculiar mythological device the pious life of a householder with the higher attainments of the recluse, the latter overshadowing the former”.<sup>3</sup> In the *apadāna*-s of the elder nuns Paṭācārā and Dhammadinnā, it is specifically stated that they were forced to remain in the household life “attached to attendance on [Kassapa] Buddha (*buddhopaṭṭhānaniratā*)” in a former life after their father refused to let them become nuns.<sup>4</sup> Storytelling gives an immediacy and concreteness to abstract ideas, in much the same way that the establishment of monuments to mark places connected with the life (historical and legendary) of the Buddha made Buddhism “something physically accessible to the entire population”.<sup>5</sup> As Obeyesekere makes clear: “They [Buddhist stories] have been central to the dissemination of Buddhist values and doctrine”.<sup>6</sup> The corrupt nature of the text of the *Apadāna*, already apparent in its (post-eleventh century)

commentary, suggests that its poems may have been found to be less accessible than the prose narratives based on the *Apadāna* tradition which were included in the commentarial literature. Support for this suggestion may be found in the fact that a thirteenth century *ānisamsa*, “advantage”, text attributed to the thirteenth century Sinhalese monk Siddhattha Porāṇaka Thera, quotes a number of *apadāna*-s from the commentary on the *Theragāthā* rather than from the *Apadāna* itself.<sup>1</sup>

It has been suggested that dramatic performances of texts like the *Apadāna* were presented at religious festivals,<sup>2</sup> but it appears that, at a relatively early date, the *Apadāna* declined in popularity as a preaching text, although parts of it continued to be quoted and used as the basis of stories in prose anthologies. Its homiletic function was apparently taken over by prose narratives such as those in the *Pūjāvaliya*, a thirteenth century collection of stories in Sinhala some of which contain quotes from the *Apadāna* itself. Its author, Mayūrapāda Thera, states that the *Pūjāvaliya* was intended for public recitation, and Pieris and van Geysel noted that it was still widely employed for that purpose when they translated stories from it into English in the 1960s.<sup>3</sup> The *Apadāna*, however, appears to have stopped being recited and studied and, as a consequence, it was carelessly copied and transmitted. It is also possible that the *apadāna*-s were originally embedded in a prose framework (similar to that found in the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*) which has not been preserved. Much more work needs to be done on establishing the *Apadāna* text, however, before any firm conclusions can realistically be drawn regarding this question.

<sup>1</sup> Warder p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Gombrich (1) p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> B.M. Barua p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> *Paṭācārātheri-ap.* vv. 16–17 and *Dhammadinnātheri-ap.* vv. 18–19.

<sup>5</sup> Warder p. 267.

<sup>6</sup> Obeyesekere (Introduction) p. x.

<sup>1</sup> This text is incorporated and explained in the *Pasādajanani nāma āvāsadānānisamsavaṇṇanā*, available in an undated edition. Entire *apadāna*-s are quoted in order to illustrate the advantages resulting from specific acts of piety.

<sup>2</sup> Warder pp. 238 and 280–81 and Walters (2) p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Reynolds p. 168.

Unfortunately, the versions of the *Apadāna* which are available to us now reveal that we possess a corrupt and late redaction of the text. The relationship between the extant *Apadāna* and its commentary reflects the generally problematic nature of the text. The *Visuddhajanavilāsini* contains no commentary on the *Therī-apadāna*, although the author does refer to it at the beginning of his commentary, stating that: “the forty *apadāna*-s in the *Therī-apadāna* are grouped in four sections”.<sup>1</sup> It also appears to be based on a version of the text which is longer than that currently accepted as authoritative, containing commentaries on and references to 561 *apadāna*-s in the *Therāpadāna* section. All modern printed editions of the *Apadāna*, except that by Mary Lilley for the Pali Text Society, contain a total of 550 *apadāna*-s attributed to elder monks, although this figure is not supported by the majority of manuscripts I have consulted. The manuscripts, like Lilley’s edition, omit three poems (ThAp 332–34) and thus contain a total of 547 *apadāna*-s, paralleling Fausbøll’s edition of the *Jātaka* collection. These three omitted *apadāna*-s, which are actually referred to in the summary verse (*uddāna*) of the relevant chapter of Lilley’s edition, are all, however, found elsewhere in the collection, as are two of the eleven additional *apadāna*-s preserved in the commentary.<sup>2</sup> In his Foreword to the Sinhalese edition of the *Apadāna*, Ven. P. Paññānanda states that there are 55 sections in the *Therāpadāna* although the edition actually contains 56 sections, due to its inclusion of the nine unduplicated additional *apadāna*-s quoted in the commentary. Similarly, the Burmese and Nālanda editions include all eleven additional *apadāna*-s, and it appears that the editors of these three modern versions have attempted to reconstruct the text with the assistance of the commentary. Each of these additional *apadāna*-s is quoted in the commentary on the *Theragāthā*, and it is possible that these poems were deliberately removed from the collection, some time after the composition

<sup>1</sup> Ap-a 101,20: *therī-apadānesu cattāḷisaṃ apadānāni vaggato caturo vaggā.*

<sup>2</sup> See Bechert (1) pp. 15–16. He believes that all the additional *apadāna*-s are duplicates, although this is not strictly true for nine of them.

of the *Visuddhajanavilāsini*, by a redactor who wished to underline the correspondence between the *apadāna* stories of the elder monks and the *jātaka* stories of the Buddha. Although Bechert believes that the eleven additional *apadāna*-s were taken from the *Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā* by the commentator on the *Apadāna*, he also admits the possibility that the final version of the *Apadāna* was the result of an attempt to match more closely the number of stories in the *Jātaka* collection.<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> Bechert (1) pp. 14–15.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. Barua p. 179.

of elder monks and nuns. This feature links the *apadāna*-s with the *ānisamsa* literature, which Norman classifies as part of the *jātaka* genre.<sup>1</sup> Strong defines it as “a genre of text comprising stories that extoll the advantages of meritorious deeds”,<sup>2</sup> and notes that these texts were composed specifically by monks for the laity. The *Apadāna* commentary includes a passage containing seven verses praising the advantages (*ānisamsā*) of Bodhisattas who have made an aspiration for buddhahood,<sup>3</sup> reinforcing the relationship between the two types of text.

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

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### Abbreviations

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

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

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

ap.	<i>apadāna</i>
BAp	<i>Buddhāpadāna</i>
B.C.E.	Before the Common Era
C.E.	Common Era
chap.	chapter
CPD	<i>Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> (Ed. V. Trenckner, Dines Anderson and H. Smith, Copenhagen, 1924–)
EVI	<i>Elders' Verses</i> Volume I (translation, with notes, of the <i>Theragāthā</i> by K.R. Norman, London, 1969)
GDII	<i>Group of Discourses</i> Volume II (translation, with notes, of the <i>Suttanipāta</i> by K.R. Norman, Oxford, 1992)
MLS	<i>Middle Length Sayings</i> 3 volumes (translation of the <i>Majjhima Nikāya</i> by I.B. Horner, London, 1954–59)
MW	Monier-Williams' <i>Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i>
PBAp	<i>Paccakabuddhāpadāna</i>
PED	<i>Pali-English Dictionary</i> (T.W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, London, 1921–25)
PTC	<i>Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance</i>
PTS	Pali Text Society
THIH	<i>Thus Have I Heard</i> (translation of the <i>Dīgha Nikāya</i> by Maurice Walshe, London, 1987)
ThAp	<i>Therāpadāna</i>
ThiAp	<i>Therī-apadāna</i>

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<sup>1</sup> Norman p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Strong (2) p. 347 (Glossary).

<sup>3</sup> Ap-a 48,16–49,20.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> P. Sarogāmamūla, identified by H.W. Codrington with modern Vilgammula in Laggala Pallēsiya Pattuva. See *Cūlavamsa*, Vol. I, p. 316, fn. 2.

The eight Buddhist fraternities (*mūla* = *āyatana*) which existed in medieval Sri Lanka were: Galaturumula (P. Selantaramūla), Kapārāmula, Uturnumula (P. Uttoruḷamūla), Vādummula, Mahanetpāmula, Dakuṇumula (P. Dakkhiṇamūla), Senaratmula (P. Senāpatimūla) and Vilgammula. See M.B. Ariyapala, *Society in mediaeval Ceylon*, Colombo 1968 (reprint), pp. 233–34.

<sup>2</sup> See colophon of the *Abh* ed. Subhuti, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> D.M. de Z. Wickremasinghe (*Catalogue of the Sinhalese manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1900, p. xv) considered the two authors to be the same person whereas Buddhadatta (*Theravādi Buddhācāryayō*, Colombo 1960, pp. 85–87) and Geiger (*Pāli Literature and Language*, Tr. B. Ghosh, New Delhi 1978 (reprint), pp. 55–56) take them to be two different authors.

<sup>4</sup> The Tamil slab-inscription of the Veḷaikkāras, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II.6.254.

<sup>5</sup> *Cūlavamsa*, 78.33. The galaxy of Buddhist Elders who were patronised by king Parākramabāhu I were all great scholars, proficient especially in Sanskrit. For instance, Moggallāna Thera, the grammarian (whether he was or was not the



The purpose of the *Abh* was to make readers adept in the Buddhist doctrine.<sup>6</sup> The work, greatly inspired by the *Am-k*, is divided into three parts, Saggakaṇḍa, Bhūkaṇḍa and Sāmaññakaṇḍa, and the author states that it explains the names of all objects in the celestial, terrestrial and Nāga regions.<sup>7</sup> The *Abh* has been widely used beyond the shores of Sri Lanka, especially in Burma (Myanmar) and Siam (Thailand).<sup>8</sup>

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

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author of the *Abh*), was considered as the incarnation of the Sanskrit grammarians, Pāṇini, Candra and Kātyāyana: *yā śaktiḥ Pāṇināu yā ca| Candra-Kātyāyanādīṣu| se'yaṃ mūrtimatī manye| Maudgalyāyana rūpiṇī|* quoted by Toṭagamuvē Śrī Rāhula in his *Pañcīkāpradīpa*, ed. Sri K. Dharmarama, Colombo 1896, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *iha yo kusalo matimā sa naro paṭu hoti Mahāmunino vacane*. Colophon, verse 2.

<sup>7</sup> *saggakaṇḍo ca bhūkaṇḍo tathā sāmaññakaṇḍa ti kaṇḍattayānvitā eṣā Abhidhānappadīpikā. tidive mahiyaṃ bhujagāvasathe sakalatthasamavhayadīpanīyaṃ.* Colophon, verses 1 and 2.

<sup>8</sup> In Burma, a commentary (*saṃvaṇṇanā*) was written on the *Abh* by the Minister Caturaṅgabala in the 14th century (Rangoon 1903), and the lexicon was translated into Burmese by Ṇāṇavara Ācariya, at the request of king Mahārājādhipati in the 18th century (Rangoon 1925). The fairly large number of editions of the *Abh* in the Bengali, Burmese and Nāgari characters bear testimony to its popularity in the region. See also fn. 11.

and the *Aṣṭāṅganighaṇṭu* (9th century), as deduced by Priyavrat Sharma, on the basis of an historical analysis of a cross-section of the plant names in the vanaṣadhivarga of the *Am-k*.<sup>9</sup> About one third of the plant names of the *Abh* is found in the *Siddhasāranighaṇṭu* (SiN), whose eminent editor, Ronald E. Emmerick, gives the concordance of plant names with special reference to the Bṛhatrayī and the Aṣṭāṅga-, Dhanvantari-, Bhāvaprakāśa-, Madanapāla-, and Rāja-nighaṇṭus.

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

In this study, the Subhūti edition of the *Abh* and the *Sūci* (Sū) are used with the sanne (Sinhala translation) and the ṭikā (Pāli commentary), both preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. The ṭikā or the saṃvaṇṇanā of the *Abh*, written in Burma by Caturaṅgabālāmacca<sup>10</sup> (14th century), was revised by Paññāsāmī, “comparing it repeatedly with the *Am-k*, various grammars and the *Ratanakosa*”.<sup>11</sup> The *Sūci* has been helpful in emending the text of the

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<sup>9</sup> See Priyavrat Sharma, “The vanaṣadhivarga of the Amarakoṣa and its historical implications”, *Glory of India*, Vol. III, No. 4, Dec. 1979, pp. 9–13.

<sup>10</sup> Caturaṅgabālāmacca (Minister in charge of the fourfold army, Minister of Defence according to modern parlance) is more a title than a name, in the opinion of Mabel Bode.

<sup>11</sup> Colophon of MS Pali 491, Bibliothèque nationale:

*Abhidhānappadīpikā yaṃ siharājino katā 'maccena Caturaṅgabalena suvidham ālakkhītā ti.*

*Amarakosagandhena nānābyākaraṇe hi ca Ratanakosapabhūti hi saṃsaṃdiya punappunam*

...

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

The sanne (Pali 490) consists of 132 palm-leaves, 460 × 60 mm, numbered *ka* to *jhā*, with 8 lines per folio and c. 100 akṣaras in each line. The araññavagga runs from folio *ghe* v 5 to folio *ni* r 4. The ṭikā or saṃvaṇṇanā of Caturaṅgabala (Pali 491) has 127 palm-leaves, 540 × 60 mm, numbered *ka* to *jau*, with 10 lines per folio and c. 105 akṣaras in each line. The commentary on the araññavagga runs from folio *ci* r 1 to folio *cai* r 9. Both manuscripts are neatly written.<sup>12</sup> They were brought to Paris by Paul Grimblot, French Consul in Colombo from 1859 to 1865, who obtained Pāli and Sinhala palm-leaf manuscripts thanks to the monks of the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy.<sup>13</sup>

It will be noticed that the ṭikā explains the formation of the words, giving the root with its meaning and the suffix, along with other philological data such as the gender, the insertion or the elision of

*Mbhomba iti nāma te gāme jāte jātiyā mayā*

*Paññāsāmī ti nāmena ṭikā visodhitā ayaṃ. (jau r 9–10).*

The same colophon is found in MS 2043 of the Colombo Museum Library, (*Catalogue of palm-leaf manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum* by W.A. de Silva, Colombo 1938). That MS had been copied under the supervision of the Galle Committee [PTS] in 2414 B.E. (1871 A.C.). W.A. de Silva describes another MS (2040) of the *Abh*, copied in Siam on 22 January 183(3) in Sinhala characters.

<sup>12</sup> See also, Jacqueline Filliozat, *Catalogue des manuscrits pâlis des collections françaises, fonds des bibliothèques publiques et privées*, to be published by the PTS.

<sup>13</sup> See Louis Leblois, *Les Bibles et les initiateurs religieux de l'humanité*. Vol. II: *La découverte des Bibles en dehors du christianisme*. Paris 1884, pp. 171–72.

phonemes and the syllabic quality (long or short), followed by the etymology. It also gives additional synonyms.

The etymology, often an indication of the nature of the tree or the plant, helps in their identification and use. Attention may be drawn to a few examples. Morphology: *sitapaṇṇāsa* (trunk and leaves are white); Medicinal properties: *eraṇḍa* (destroys humoral wind); Taste: *ambāṭaka* (leaves and fruits are acid); Habitat: *kāsmarī* (Kashmir) ...<sup>14</sup> Of course, a few etymologies such as Sakka's tree (§ 20), though of anthropological interest, are of no use to botanists. On the other hand, most of the names and their etymologies prove to be quite meaningful, a fact which was further confirmed when Dr Thierry Deroin<sup>15</sup> examined a few dried specimens of plants (e.g. *tivutā*, *tipuṭā*, § 88) to check the etymology given in the ṭikā. The study of plant names and their etymologies is thus interesting in itself, for it gives an insight into the traditional knowledge of this particular branch of Natural Science in ancient South Asian societies.

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

<sup>14</sup> Priyavrat Sharma has drawn attention to seven factors playing a rôle in naming plants in the Indian tradition: (1) *rūḍhi* (convention: *guḍūci*, *tuṅtuka*, etc.), (2) *prabhāva* (specific property: *krimighna*, *hayamāra*, etc.), (3) *deśyokti* (habitat: *māgadhi*, *vaidehi*, etc.), (4) *lāñcana* (characteristic signs: *ājiphala*, *citraparñi*, etc.), (5) *upamā* (assimilation: *śālaparñi*, *meṣaśṛṅgi*, etc.), (6) *vīrya* (active property: *kaṭukā*, *madhuka*, etc.), (7) *itarāhvya* (appellation: *śakrāhvya*, *kākāhvya*, etc.). See Dv, Vol. I, p. 19. The etymologies given in the *Abh* ṭikā correspond to these principles.

<sup>15</sup> Dr Thierry Deroin is a specialist in the Convolvulaceae family of plants in Madagascar and Indochina, and the Head of the Asian Herbarium of the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.

metathesis such as *visarati* for *virasati* (§ 21), *Povālito* for *Vopālito* (§ 39), *lini* for *nīli* (§ 106) are also found.

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

For the great majority of the words, two synonyms are given in the *Abh*. A good number of plant names given in the lexicon occur in the *Vessantara Jātaka Sanne* as well, itself datable to the 12th century.<sup>16</sup> In fact, the Sinhala commentarial literature on Pāli works sheds light on the identification of certain plants. This will be the subject of a separate study.

Each numbered paragraph below consists of three parts: (1) the synonyms given in the stanzas of the *Abh*, arranged in alphabetical order, with the gender, and the reference number of the stanza whose *pādas* are indicated by the letters a b c d; (2) the quotation of the ṭikā relating to those synonyms; and (3) the Sanskrit, Sinhala, English and Latin terms of the plant concerned. The Latin or botanical term is followed by its author and the family to which the plant belongs;<sup>17</sup> the current botanical

<sup>16</sup> See D.E. Hettiaratchi, *Vesaturudā sanne*, Colombo 1950.

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

term is given in bold type and the synonyms within simple brackets with the = sign. When the same plant has been identified differently, the authorities are quoted within brackets. The authors of plant names and the families of plants are not always identical with those given by the authorities quoted, due to standardisation. The authors of plant names have been indicated according to the list recently revised by the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, in consultation with a large international Working Party, and adopted as a standard by the International Working Group on Taxonomic Databases for Plant Sciences (TDWG). The abbreviations in that list, applicable to this paper, are given in an Appendix in view of the dearth of such documentation especially in South Asian countries, and in deference to the wish of the editors of that list for promoting the acceptance of the new abbreviations.

Although the alphabetical arrangement disturbs the particular principles of grouping of plants in the *Nighaṇṭu*,<sup>18</sup> it will make reference easier.

<sup>18</sup> For instance, in the *Saṅg*, the drugs are grouped according to great trees (*mahā vṛkṣa*), small plants (*kṣūpa*), spreading plants (*ulapa*), creepers (*latā*), fragrant drugs starting with sandalwood (*candanādi*), and food, etc. (*annādi*). The *Śrī Vāsudevanighaṇṭu* (palm-leaf MS) follows a division into *bhadravṛkṣavarga*, *kṣudra*<sup>o</sup>, *latā*<sup>o</sup> and *vargamātrakā*. The *Vanavāsa nighaṇṭu* gives respectively the plant names ending in *-vāna*, those having two varieties big and small, those ending in *-rāja*, those ending in *-āssa*, names of trees, names of herbs and creepers, etc. See my article, "A Sinhala glossary of medicinal plants and drugs", to appear in the *Priyavrat Sharma Felicitation Volume* (Jaipur).

It is rather difficult to see the order followed in the *araññavagga* of the *Abh*. Its model, the *vanaśādhivarga*, Book II, Ch. IV of the *Am-k*, has been classified by A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, in his edition of the latter work (Paris 1839), as follows: Section II: Trees and different species (*Abh* stanzas 551–581), Section III: Medicinal plants or plants with particular qualities (*Abh* 581c–588), Section IV: Useful plants (!) (*Abh* 589–592b), Section V: Drugs and pot-herbs, herbaceous plants, palms (*Abh* 592c–604).

In the matter of transcription, I have taken the liberty of rectifying orthographical errors with regard to the use of the cerebral *ṇ* and long and short vowels in the *ṭikā*, which has a penchant for short vowels (*i, u*). I also tried to avoid the excessive use of the half nasal sign (*ṅ* before *g, ḍ, d* and *m̃* before *b*) of the Sinhala script, as well as the *niggahīta*, by replacing them with the corresponding nasals, in conformity with Sanskrit orthography. The nouns in the accusative singular combined with a following noun are sometimes written in the *ṭikā* with the *niggahīta* as well as the nasal *-m* (e.g. *dvayaṃ maṃbilakhuraphale, cū r 8*); only one or the other, depending on euphonic combinations, has been retained in the transcription. Punctuation also has been adjusted rather freely. Corrupt readings, when left intact, are indicated with the exclamation mark (free from any value judgement). Emendations are given within angular brackets, and additions within square brackets. Wherever possible, I have given common synonyms in Sinhala when those given in the *sannaya* are obsolete. In such cases, the synonyms of the *sannaya* are indicated with an asterisk, supplementary synonyms given in the *sannaya* are indicated with a + sign.

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

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

This paper is mainly the result of an attempt to gain a wider knowledge of the medicinal plants, forming the bulk of the *materia medica* of the medical literature of Sri Lanka, which is my subject of study. It is hoped that the data collected, philological as well as botanical, will also be of use to the students of *Āyurveda*, botanists, ethnobotanists, pharmacologists, phytotherapists, ecologists<sup>19</sup> and last but not least lexicographers.

The study of *Āyurvedic* medicinal plants is rewarding in many respects. It is of utilitarian value, for since the 16th century when the Western nations coveted South and South East Asia mainly for its spices, economic crops have become the object of a flourishing commerce and industry, bringing in its trail a rich botanical literature, and studies on the flora of the region are still in progress. An attempt is made here to identify the plant names with the help of the works of specialists in the field.<sup>20</sup> This study also gives the personal satisfaction of understanding better the vegetal world around us, for most of the trees and plants

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

<sup>20</sup> Of the celebrated botanists who studied the flora of Sri Lanka, some, of British nationality, breathed their last in Sri Lanka itself, among them: Alexander Moon (–1825), George Gardner (1812–49) in Nuwara Eliya, George Henry Kendrick Thwaites (1812–82) in Kandy and Henry Trimen (1843–96) in Peradeniya. For their contribution to Sri Lankan Botany, see Ray Desmond, *The European Discovery of the Indian Flora*, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew & Oxford University Press 1992, pp. 163–67.

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

Modern societies have recently become preoccupied with problems of environment, mainly deforestation, as a reaction to the ill effects of industrialisation.<sup>21</sup> But in ancient South Asian cultures, the tree had an important place, not devoid of philosophical import. Trees were considered to be the abodes of deities (*devas*) and genii (*yakṣas*), and as such were regarded as objects of worship. The earliest representations of tree-spirits are found in some seals of the Indus Valley civilisation and later, abundantly in Buddhist art, starting with the sculptures of Bhārhuṭ.<sup>22</sup> The Pāli, Sanskrit and Sinhala literature is full of references to tree-deities and tree-spirits, a well-known example being the Devatā of the sacred fig tree (*Aśvattha*) under which the Bodhisatta Gotama attained Enlightenment (referred to in the story of Sujātā). The medieval Sinhala manual of architecture, the *Mayamataya*, gives instructions to the builder of a house as to how to cut the tree which was to be used as the auspicious pillar (*magul kapa*) at the commencement of building: go to the foot of the tree, scrape off the grass around it, draw the figure of the eight lucky objects (*aṭamaṅgala*) on the ground, place filled vases (*punkalas*) at the four cardinal points, offer flowers and sprinkle holy water mixed with sandalwood [paste] and milk. Then, go to the foot of that tree the following day and pray: “May the Deity living in this tree leave it for the sake of my house”. Saying that, cut off a branch of the tree and drag it on the ground to the foot of another tree, clear it in the same

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

<sup>22</sup> See Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India — Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, Suffolk 1956 (2nd ed.), pp. 16 and 48; Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, Dover ed., n.d., p. 47.

way as was done for the first, strew flowers, betel and sandalwood [water] and request the Deity to take possession of that tree, leaving his abode for building the house.<sup>23</sup> This shows the unsophisticated, respectful attitude of the simple folk towards trees, which constitute one of the prominent manifestations of Nature.

A similarity between man and trees was seen by ancient Indian sages. As shown by Priyavrat Sharma, the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* (3.9.1–6) compares the hairs (*loma*), skin (*tvak*), blood (*rakta*), flesh (*māmsa*), nerves (*snāyu*), bones (*asthi*) and marrow (*majjā*) in man to leaves and hairs (*parṇa*), epiderm (*bahirutpāṭikā*), latex (*niryāsa*), mesoderm (*śakara*), endoderm (*kināṭa*), heartwood (*ābhyanarakāṣṭha*) and pith (*majjā*) respectively of trees.<sup>24</sup>

The similarity between man and flora is recurrent in poetic imagery as well. For instance, in the description of Spring in his *Kumārasambhava*, Kālidāsa creates the happy image of trees (spouses) being clasped by creepers (young wives), with their bent branches (arms); the creepers (young wives) were pretty with their full-grown clusters of flowers (breasts) and tender leaves (quivering lips).<sup>25</sup>

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

<sup>23</sup> See Jinadasa Liyanaratne, *Le purāṇa Mayamataya*, Texte, Traduction et Commentaire, Paris 1976, pp. 5–6, 54–55; Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, New York 1956 (reprint 1979), pp. 121 foll.

<sup>24</sup> Dv IV, p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> *paryāptapuspastabakas tanābhyah  
sphurat pravālo 'ṣṭha manoharābhyah|  
latāvadhūbhyas taravo 'pyavāpur  
vinamraśākhābhujabandhanāni||* (III.39)

Upaniṣads. The latter is the basis of the āyurvedic theory that both man and Nature are of one single primary substance inherent in the five elements of water (*āpo*), fire (*tejo*), air (*vāyo*), earth (*paṭhavī*) and firmament (*ākāśa*).<sup>26</sup> As pointed out by Jean Filliozat, “As early as the Indo-Iranian period, general notions became firmly established regarding the cosmic rôle of the elements of nature such as water, fire and air. At the same time, there came into being the idea of an inter-relationship between those elements and the constituent principles of the body and that idea paved the way for the subsequent making of a parallel physiology and a cosmology”.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> See *Carakasamhitā*, Śārīrasthāna, I.16 foll.

<sup>27</sup> *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne*, Paris 1975 (2nd ed.), p. 66.

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

## A

1. akka (m.), vikiraṇa (m.) (581a)

gaṇarūpa. akko suriyo, tappariyāyanāmakattā akko (**syn. of sun**). vikarotī <vikiratī> ti vikiraṇo<e> (**spreading**), yu, si <assi>. akkavho p<v>asuko<ā> app[h]oṭo<ā> mandāro akkapaṇṇo pi. pume akkavho. “appoṭana vanamall aparājite” ti Ruddo. mandāro devaduma<o> hi pārībhaddake<o> pi. tasmim akko yo setapupphako tasmim alakko (q.v.) (**akka with white flowers is called alakka**).

Skt (arka), vikiraṇa. Syn. gaṇarūpa, arkāhva, vasukā, (vasuka m.-Suśr. p. 165), āspoṭa, mandāra, arkaparṇa (Am-k II.4.80,81); S. varā; E. Apple of Sodom, Mudar; **Calotropis procera (Aiton) R.Br.**, Asclepiadaceae.

2. akkha (m.f.nt.), vibhīṭaka (m.f.nt.) (m.f.\*) (569c)

karīsaphala. rogam asati bhakkhatī ty akkho (**eats up maladies**). kho, sassa ko. rogam vibhūtaṃ karotī ti vibhīṭako (**destroys diseases**), vibhīṭako pi, bhusavāso <bhūtāvāso> kaliddumo pi. kali sāsayati bhūto dumo kaliddumo.

Skt akṣa, vibhīṭaka. Syn. karṣaphala, bhūtāvāsa, kalidruma (Am-k II.4.58); S. buḷu; E. Bedda nuts, Belleric myrobalan; **Terminalia bellirica (Gaertn.) Roxb.**, Combretaceae.

3. aggijālā (f.), dhātakī (f.) (589d)

dhādhāki <dhātaki>. ayam tam<b>apupphī majjopas<y>uttā pupphā sugandhī dhātakicce va kkhayātā <khyātā> (**copper-coloured fragrant flowers are used to make spirits**). aggijālasamānapupphatāya

aggijālā (flowers are similar to flames of fire, i.e. red). atisaya paṇṭhitam (!) karotī ti dhāgati (!), nadādi.  
Skt agnijvālā, dhātakī. Syn. dhātupuṣpikā (Am-k II.4.124); S. malayitta;  
E. Fulsee flower tree; **Woodfordia fruticosa (L.) Kurz**, Lythraceae.

4. aggimantha (m.), kaṇikā (f.) (574b)

kaṇikārikā. aggi anena mandhyate <manthyate> [ti] aggimandho <aggimantho> (fire is struck with this), ṇo, tam katṭhehi ghaṁsiyamāno aggi utṭhahi <utṭhahati> (friction of wood of this tree gives fire). g<k>aṇa gatiyaṁ, ṇvu. jayā py atra. vijaye so. jayā duggā. jayanti gaṇikārike ti jayā nānattā.

Skt agnimantha, kaṇikā. Syn. gaṇikārikā, jayā (Am-k II.4.66); S. sihin midi; E. Headache tree; **Premna serratifolia L.** (= *P. corymbosa* sensu Hook.f. (non Rottler et Willd., *P. integrifolia* L., *P. obtusifolia* R. Br.), Verbenaceae.

5. ajjaka\*, ajjuka (m.), sitapaṇṇāsa (m.) (579c)

kaṇḍena patr<t>ena ca sete paṇṇāse (stalk and leaves are white). aja gamane, uko. sito sukko paṇṇāso sitapaṇṇāso.  
Skt arjaka, parṇāsa (Am-k II.4.79,80); S. heḷa aṇḍu; E. Shrubby basil, White parnas; **Orthosiphon pallidus Benth.**, Labiatae.

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

nadīsajja. ajja pūjāya, uno. ka ka lolye. vidataru <virataru> indudumo pi.  
Skt arjuna, kakubha. Syn. nadīsarja, virataru, indradru (Am-k II.4.45); S. kuṁbuk; E. Arjuna myrobalan; **Terminalia arjuna (Roxb. ex DC.) Wight et Arn.**, Combretaceae.

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

kharamañjarī. khassim (!) iti kkhyātāyaṁ. apamajjanti vatt[h]ādikam ane[nā ti] apāmaggo. dīgho upasaggassa. sikharam assā <sikharam assa

atthi-Sū> ti sekhariko (having crests).<sup>28</sup> dhāmaṇ<g>gavo pi mukhapupp[h]i pi. ghosake <kosātakī> kharamañju<a>riyaṁ. dhāmaggaṇḍo pume mato. vimukhaṁ pupp[h]am assā.

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

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

janamallikā. puṭa vikāsane, ā bhuso p[h]uṭatī ty ambāto <apphotā>, rassādi.

Skt āsphotā, mallikā (Am-k Maheśvara's cy. to II.4.70); S. validda\*, vālidida.<sup>29</sup> Syn. janamallikā; E...; **Walidda antidysenterica (L.) Pichon**, Apocynaceae.

9. abhayā (f.), haritakī (f.), haritakī (nt.\*) (569b)

sivā. na vijjate rogabhayaṁ (no fear of disease [with it]), rogabyathā (!) <rogatṭhāne payujjamānāyaṁ-Sū> copayujjamānāyaṁ assam ity abhayā. rogabhayaṁ rahaty apanetī [ti] haritakī (removes the fear of disease). ko, satthe ko, nadādi. haritakī pi. ab<v>yatā puthanā <pūtanā> amatā hemavatī cetakī sip<v>ā pi.

Skt id. Syn. avyathā, pūtanā, amṛtā, haimavatī, cetakī, śivā (Am-k II.4.59); S. araḷu; E. Black myrobalan, Chebulic myrobalan, Negro's olive tree; **Terminalia chebula Retz.**, Combretaceae.

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

phussaphala (!). natthi matam etissaṁ hetubhūtāyaṁ [ti] amatā (no cause for death with this). mala dhāraṇe, ṇvu, nadādi. āmalakī viyatṭhā <vayatṭhā> pi. vayo tiṭṭhatī ti ri (!) bhavati etāyā ti vayatṭhā (gives long life).

<sup>28</sup> Dv Vol. II, p. 542: flowers and fruits resemble clusters of 'sikhara' [crests].

<sup>29</sup> validda = wild idda; vālidida = idda creeper.

Skt amṛtā, āmalakī. Syn. tiśyaphalā, vayasthā (Am-k II.4.57,58); S. ām̄buḷu gasa\*; nelli; E. Emblic myrobalan, Indian gooseberry; **Phyllanthus emblica** L. (= *Emblica officinalis* Gaertn.), Euphorbiaceae.

11. amilāta (m.), mahāsahā (f.) (578d)

pupphaviṭapa. puppham āsum<āsu> na milā[ta]m assa bhavati ti amilāto (**flowers do not wither**). mahantaṃ v<p>i kālaṃ bhavati <sahati-Sū> ti mahāsayo <mahāsahā> (**lasts long**).

Skt amlāna, mahāsahā (Am-k II.4.73); S. kōmārikā; E. Barbadoes aloe, Indian aloe, Yellow-flowered aloe; **Aloe vera** (L.) **Burm.f.**, (= *A. vera* var. *littoralis* J.König), Liliaceae.

12. amba (m.), cūta (m.) (557c)

ama gatiyaṃ, bo, amba sadde vā, a. cuti āsevane, a, cu cavane vā, to, dīghādi. rasālo pi. rasaṃ lāti ti rasālo (**having taste**). dīgho eso ambo.

Skt āmra, cūta. Syn. rasāla (Am-k II.4.33); S. am̄ba; E. Mango; **Mangifera indica** L., Anacardiaceae.

13. ambāṭaka (m.), pītanaka (m.) (554a)

yassa pattaphalāni ambulāni (**leaves and fruits are acid**) pūgaphalappamāṇaṅ ca phalaṃ (**fruits are of the size of areca nuts**). sallakī rukkhasaṅṭhāno ca so rukkho (**having the appearance of the sallakī tree, see § 20**). amba sadde amo, satthe ko. pi tappamāṇakamtisu <tappanaṅkantisu-Sū>. tano pita <pītiṃ> vā tanoti pidhāno <pītanako>. satthe ko.

Skt āmrātaka, pītanaka (Am-k II.4.27); S. āmbarālla; E. Hog plum; **Spondias dulcis** Sol. ex Parkinson (RHFC), **Spondias pinnata** (L.f.) Kurz (GIMP, GVDB) (= *Spondias mangifera* Willd. sensu Trimen, *Evia amara* Comm., Terebinthaceae, ENUM), Anacardiaceae.

14. ambaṭṭhā (f.), pāṭhā (f.) (582c)

vanak<t>ittikā. amp<b>a sadde, ṭho, ava rakkhaṇe vā, niggahitāgamo. pā rakkhaṇe. to <ṭho>, setā pāpaceli <setapaveli-Sū> pi. setarasena rasena (!) yujjati ti (**having a white latex**), a.

Skt ambaṣṭhā, pāṭhā. Syn. vanatiktikā, pāpaceli (Am-k II.8.84,85); S. diyamitta; E. False pareira brava, Ice-vine, Portuguese wild olive, Velvetleaf; **Cissampelos pareira** L., **Stephania japonica** (Thunb.) Miers (IFPC), (= *Stephania hernandifolia* sensu Hook.f. et Thomson, *Stephania rotunda* sensu Hook.f. et Thomson p.p. non Lour.), Menispermaceae.

15. ariṭṭha (m.), phen(n)ila (m.) (555d)

puti. hatajantupamohasam̄khātāp<r>iphalatāya ariṭṭho (**seeds counter the lost desire of beings, i.e. aphrodisiac**), nipātanā hantissa tho <ṭho>, tā <taṃ> rogād<r>ivantehi icchitabbattā <rogārivantajanehi icchitabbaphalattā-Sū> vā ariṭṭho (**fruits are desired by those fighting against diseases**). isu icchāyaṃ, phana gatiyaṃ, [i]lo asse.

Skt ariṣṭa, phenila (Am-k II.4.31); S. gas peṇela; E. Soapberry, Soapnut tree; **Sapindus emarginatus** Vahl, (= *Sapindus trifolius* sensu Hiern p.p.), Sapindaceae.

16. alakka (m.) (581b)

setapupphatāya alaṃ bhūto akko alakko. ala bhūsaṇe, lattaṃ (**decorative due to white flowers**). patā[pa]so pi. (See akka above, § 1).

Skt alarka. Syn. pratāpasa (Am-k II.4.81); S. heḷa varā; E. Gigantic swallow wort; **Calotropis gigantea** (L.) R.Br., Asclepiadaceae.

17. asoka (m.), vañjula (m.) (573a)

natthi soko yena (**whence there is no sorrow, i.e. pleasing**). java <vaja> gamane (**shines**), ulo.



Skt *aśoka*, *vañjula* (Am-k II.4.64);<sup>30</sup> S. *hōpaḷu*; E. Asoka tree; **Saraca asoca** (Roxb.) W.J. de Wilde, (= *Saraca indica* auct. non L.), Caesalpiniaceae.

18. *assattha* (m.), *bodhi* (m.f.) (551a)

Buddhassa bhagavato sabbaññutaññapaṭilābhāhānabhūte dumarāje (**great tree under which the Buddha attained Omniscience**). aññatra tūpacārā. assaṃ sabbaññutaññāṇaṃ tiṭṭhati ethā ty assattho (**the seat of Omniscience**), jassatho, dvittama. Māravijayasabbaññutaññapaṭilābhādhikehi bhagavantam assāseti ti vā assattho (**comfort to the Blessed One in conquering Māra and obtaining Omniscience**), ā pubbo. sāsa anusiddhāhiyam, tosane vattati, tato gusso. sabbaññutaññāṇaṃ bujjhati ethā ti bodhi (**place of attainment of Omniscience**). budha avagamane (**to comprehend**), i, bodhi, dvīsu. caladalo pippalo kuñjarāsano pi.

Skt *aśvattha*, *bodhi*. Syn. *caladala*, *pippala*, *kuñjarāśana* (Am-k II.4.20,21); S. *āsaṭu*, *bō*; E. Bo tree, Sacred fig tree; **Ficus religiosa** L., Moraceae.

### I

19. *ingudī* (f.), *tāpasataru* (m.) (565a)

ābhañ *<ayaṃ-Sū>* ca kaṇḍakābhūllena (**full of thorns**). Majjhimadesa jāyate (**habitat: the Middle country, modern Madhya Pradesh**), i gamanatto, ido, issu, nadādi. tāpasopayujjamānaphalatāya tāpasataru (**fruits are used by ascetics**).

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

Skt id. (Am-k II.4.46), (*inguda* m.-*Suśr*, p. 165); S. *vāl aṅguṇa*; E. Egyptian balsam, Thorn tree; **Balanites aegyptiaca** (L.) Delile, Balanitaceae.<sup>31</sup>

20. *indasāla* (m.), *sallakī* (f.), *khāraka* (m.) (568a)

*sālānaṃ rukkhānaṃ indo rājā indasālo* (**the greatest among trees**). *dāsādīsu sirivaḍḍhi* *<a>kādi saddo* *<ā>* viya adhivacanama[atta]m idaṃ. Indassa Sakkassa sālo ti pi indasālo (**Sakka's tree**). *sallatto*, *ṇvu*, *nadādi*, *sallakī*. *khu* *<a>ra chedana* *vināsanesu*, *ṇvu*.

Skt *ś(s)allakī* (Am-k II.4.124); S. *iṅḍusal*; E. Indian frankincense, Indian olibanum tree, Salai tree; **Boswellia serrata** Roxb. ex Colebr., Burseraceae.

21. *indavāruṇī* (f.), *visālā* (f.) (597c)

*gorakkhakakkāri*. Indassa Sakkassa vāruṇi surā indavāruṇi (**[gives] Sakka's spirituous liquor**). *visesena sarati himsati kaphapittādayo ti visālā* (**attacks especially phlegm and bile**). “*sarameho kuṭṭhas* *<h>arī visālā kaphapittaghā*” *ti hi Dabbagūṇe* (**destroys urinary affections, removes skin diseases, kills phlegm and bile**). *visarati* *<virasati>* *virecayati etāyā ti vā visālā* (**causes purging**).

Skt *indravāruṇī*, *viśālā* (Am-k II.4.156);<sup>32</sup> S. *tiyaṃbarā*; E. Bitter apple, Colocynth; **Citrullus colocynthis** (L.) Schrad., (= *Colocynthis vulgaris* Schrad.), Cucurbitaceae.

<sup>31</sup> Two species of *S. aṅguṇa* are treated here: a creeper, *vāl-*, and a tree (*ruk-*, § 153). Two species *kīri* (= milk) *aṅguṇa* and *titta* (= bitter) *aṅguṇa*, both creepers according to the DVS, are identified in the RHFC as *Wattakaka volubilis* (L.f.) Stapf, with syn. *Dregea volubilis* (L.f.) Benth. ex Hook.f. (Asclepiadaceae).

<sup>32</sup> The syn. *gorakṣa* and *karkārī* are omitted in the Am-k, which gives however the term *gavāksī*. For *karkārī*, *S. kākiri*, see under *elāluka*, § 27.

## U

22. uddāla (m.), vātaghātaka (m.), rājarukkha (m.), katamālī (f.), indīvara (m.), vyādhīghātaka (m.), + caturāṅgula\*, ārocaka\*, suvaṇṇaka\* (552 bcd)

vātam uddālayatī ty uddālo (**annihilates humoral wind**). siṅgādīnaṃ saññāvasena [pupphehī ti-Sū]. rukkhānaṃ rājo rājarukkho (**the greatest of trees**) vādhāragahane <vātarogahanane-Sū> rājabhūto rukkho vā rājarukkho (**like a king in killing diseases caused by humoral wind**). katā mālā assa pubbehi <pupphehi> [ti] katamālo (**flowers are used to make garlands**) siṅgārappakāso. indati param issariyaṃ karoti vātap<h>aṇane ti indīvaro (**excels in killing humoral wind**), ivaro. Indiyā Sakkassa bhariyāya iñjitabbatā vā indīvaro (**desired by Sakka's wife**). caturāṅgulo ārevato suvaṇṇako pi.

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

23. ummatta (m.), mātula (m.) (577d)

dhutta<u>ra. duggaṃ pajjacchati (!) <uggaṃ majjati-Sū> yena [so] ummatto, mada ummāde, to. māreti ti mātulo (**mortal, i.e. toxic**), ulo, rassa to. “ummatto kitavo dhutto dhuttaro <dhattūro> kaṇakavhayo mātulo maddāno <madano>” ty Amarakoso<e>.

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

## E

24. eraṇḍa (m.), āmaṇḍa (m.) (566c)

eraṇḍi hiṃsāyaṃ. vātam <vanam-Sū> eraṇḍatī ti eraṇḍako (**destroys humoral wind**). maṇḍa bhūsane, īsaṃ pasannatelatāyaṃ <°tāya> vā āmaṇḍo (**gives a limpid oil**). āmaṇḍo vātam dāyati ti ty āmaṇḍo ( **fights humoral wind or acute rheumatism**), dā avakhaṇḍaṇe, dassa ḍo. cittako cañcu pi. aggasaññe pi cittako. “pume eraṇḍake cañcu — pakkhituṇḍe ti yaṃ mato”.

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

25. erāvata (m.), nāraṅga (m.) (560c)

tappaphala <tamba°>. Erāvati nadī, paṭhamakāle tassā tīre jāto [ti] erāvato (**original habitat: banks of the river Erāvati**). nāraṃ vuccati nīraṃ, taṃ gacchatī ti nāraṅgo (**attracted to water**).

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

26. elā (f.), bahulā (f.) (591d)

alo <elā>. phalātikkyātāyaṃ (**fruits in plenty**), ila gamane, a, isse. bahavo atthe lāti ti bahulā (**gives several benefits**), bahuroge lunāti ti vā bahulā (**destroys many diseases**). chandavālā <canda°> pi.

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

27. eḷāluka (nt.), kakkārī (f.) (nt.\*) (597a)

sampusa <tipusa>. iram vāriṃ lo<ā>ti tabbāhulyato ti eḷālukaṃ (**full of water**). “irā vārisurābhūmi — bhā[ra]tīsu payujjate” ti hi nānatt[h]asaṃgaho. thiyaṃ u, satthe ko, kuka ādāne, aro, nadādi, ussattaṃ. kaṃ vātaṃ kampaṇ ca karoti ti kakkārī (**provokes humoral wind**), aparatrapa lopo. kakkalī pi.

Skt urvāru, karkāru. Syn. karkaṭī (Am-k II.4.155); S. kākiri; E. Apple cucumber, Melon, Queen Anne's melon; **Cucumis melo L. var. utilissimus (Duthie) Duthie et Fuller**, Cucurbitaceae.

## K

28. kaṭukā (f.), kaṭukarohiṇī (f.) (582d)

kaṭa vassāvaraṇagatisu, u, kaṭu, nāri. kaṭukarasā hutvā ro<u>hatī ti kaṭukarohiṇī (**has a pungent taste by nature**). ruha janane, yu, nadādi. kaṭukarohiṇī ti samuditena nāmam idam kaṭukarohiṇī ti pi.

Skt kaṭu, kaṭurohiṇī (Am-k II.4.85); S. kuḷurāṇa\*, kaṭukarohiṇī; E. Hellebore, Kurroa; **Picrorhiza kurroa Royle ex Benth.**, Scrophulariaceae.

29. kaṇikāra (m.), dumuppala (m.) (570b)

pītapuppha. agandhapupphatāya attānaṃ kaṭṭhaṃ <kaṇiṭṭhaṃ-Sū> karoti ti kaṇikāro (**degrades itself due to odourless flowers**), ṭha lopo. padumappamānapupphadumatāya dumopphalo <dumuppalo>, (**tree bearing flowers of the size of lotuses**), <“mudusukhumapupphavantatāya mudupphalo” ti Syāmaṭikā-Sū (**having soft and delicate flowers, according to the Siamese commentary**)>.

Skt kaṇikāra, drumotpala. Syn. pītradu (Am-kII.4.60); S. kiṇihiriya; E. Golden silk cotton, Torchwood, Yellow silk cotton; **Cochlospermum religiosum (L.) Alston**, Cochlospermaceae, **Pterospermum acerifolium (L.) Willd.**, Sterculiaceae (GIMP).

30. kadamba (m.), piyaka (m.), nīpa (m.) (561a)

kaṃ vātaṃ dametī ti kadambo (**tames humoral wind**), bo. v<p>ineti ti piyako, ṇvu, iyādeso. nīyati mudam[nti] nīpo, bo.

Skt kadamba, priyaka, nīpa (Am-k II.4.42); S. koḷom; E. Cadamba; **Anthocephalus chinensis (L.) A. Rich. ex Walp., Haldina**

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

31. kapikacchū (m.), duphassa (m.) (582a)

makkaṭī. kapīnaṃ vānarānaṃ kacc[h]uṃ janetī ti kacc[h]u (**causes itch in monkeys**), kapikacchum pi. dukkhasaṃ<m>phassatāya duphasso (**painful to the touch**). attā guttā jaṭo ajjhanaddhā <ajahā, avyaṇḍā Am-k>. kaṇḍarā <kaṇḍura> pāp<v>usāyaṇī sukāsibbaṇī <sūkasibbi> pi. ayaṃ phassena kaṇḍum janayati ti kaṇḍa<ū>jā, y<s>ā lokehi parihariyyate <parihariyate>, tato aya[m] attanā guttā rakkhitā (**causes itch when touched and thus self-protected**). pāvusāya mudhuyam eti (!) jāyate (**becomes tender with the rains**), ñe, iṇī. sūkasahitā sibbi assā sūkasibbi (**having pods with awn**<sup>33</sup>), rassanto.

Skt kapikacchū. Syn. ātmaguptā, kaṇḍūrā, prāvṛṣāyaṇī, markaṭī, sūkaśimbi (Am-k II.4.86,87); S. kasaṃbilyā; E. Cowage plant, Horse-eye bean; **Mucuna pruriens (L.) DC.**, (= *M. prurita* Hook.) Papilionaceae.

32. kapilā (f.), śiṃsapā (f.) (571b)

picchilā. kapi calane, ilo. sāsa anusitthimhi <anusitṭhiyaṃ>. bhisa <sisā> icchāyaṃ vā, apo, niggahitāgamo ca, sisapāga<u>ru pi.

Skt kapilā, śiṃsapā. Syn. picchilā, aguru (Am-k II.4.62,63); S. varāhasu gasa\*, āṭṭēriya; E. Sissoo; **Murraya paniculata (L.) Jack** (RHFC), Rutaceae, **Dalbergia sissoo Roxb.**, Papilionaceae (Dv, GIMP, GVDB) (= *Murraya exotica* L., Rutaceae).

<sup>33</sup> This is the meaning of Skt *sūkaśimbi*, the name currently accepted (Am-k, RaN, Dv) and specified in the Dv as “*sūkayukta śimbi*”. The name may also be *sūkaśimbi*, “parrot-like pods”, the lower end of the pod being curled like the beak of a parrot, as shown to me by Dr Thierry Deroin in a dried specimen.

33. kappāsī (f.), badarā (f.) (589b)

yassā phalaṃ kappāsaṃ karoti lokānaṃ upakāranti kappāsī (**fruits give cotton to the benefit of the world**), karotismā pāso, nadādi. v<b>ada theriye, aro, samuddantā pi. “samuddantā tu kappāsī sittā <sikkā> durālabhāsu ca — kappāsī vanasambhavā ce bhāru<a>dvājī” ti vuccati.

Skt kārṣāsī, badarā. Syn. samudrāntā, bhāradvājī (Am-k II.4.116); S. kapu; E. Cotton plant; **Gossypium hirsutum L., G. herbaceum L.** Malvaceae (Dv, GIMP, IFPC).

34. karaka (m.), dāḷima (m.) (570d)

ratanapuppha.<sup>34</sup> karotismā, ṇvu. daḷa vidāraṇe, mo, ikārāgamo, dāḷimpo <dāḷimo> pi.

Skt karaka, dāḍima (Am-k II.4.64); S. deḷum; E. Pomegranate; **Punica granatum L., Punicaceae.**

35. karamadda (m.), susena (m.) (578a)

khaṇḍapākaphala <kaṇhapākaphala>. karaṃ hatthaṃ maddati kaṇḍakena karaman<d>do (**stalk is used for scratching the hand**), karamaddo pi. suṭṭhu sinotī ti suseno, si bandhane, yu.

Skt karamardaka, suṣeṇa. Syn. kṣṣṇapākaphala (Am-k II.4.67); S. (maha) karaṃba; E. Carandas tree, Carissa bush; **Carissa congesta Wight**, (= C. carandas L. var. congesta (Wight) Bedd.), Apocynaceae.

36. karavīra (m.), assamāraka (m.) (577b)

kucchitaṃ ravanti assā yena [so] karavīro (**makes horses neigh unpleasantly**), ire<o>. asse māretī t[y] assamārikā <assamārako> (**kills horses**). paṭihāso pi.

Skt karavīra, hayamāraka (aśvamāraka). Syn. pratihāsa (Am-k II.4.76,77); S. kaṇeru; E. Oleander; **Nerium oleander L.** (= N. indicum Mill., N. odorum Sol.), Apocynaceae.

37. karīra (m.), kakaca (m.) (580b)

marudesaje kaṇḍ<ṭ>akini karabham pi ye <karabhappiye-Sū> taruvisese. karīrādi dvayaṃ (**two kinds of trees, kaṇḍakini and karabha, growing in desert regions**). karotismā, iro. kaca bandhane, dvittam. kakaco gandhiko pi.

Skt karīra. Syn. krakara, granthila (Am-k II.4.77); S. kiḷila; E. Caper bush; **Capparis decidua (Forssk.) Edgew.**, (= C. aphylla Roth), Capparidaceae.

38. kalambaka (m.) (598c)

kalampika. kecy ale (!) lappatī <ke jale lambatī-Sū> ti kalambako (**hangs in water**), ṇvu, assu. upodikā pi, udakaṃ a<u>pagatā upodikā (**seeks water**).

Skt kalamba. Syn. upodikā (Am-k II.4.157); S. vila palā\*, kankun (RHFC); E. Swamp cabbage; **Ipomoea aquatica Forssk.** (= I. reptans (L.) Poir.), Convolvulaceae.

39. kaviṭṭha (m.), kapittha (m.) (551c)

kavimhī vānare tiṭṭhatī ti kab<v>iṭṭho. “vānare paṇḍite kavi” ti Povālito <Vopālito>, tathā kavitt<ṭ>ho, t<ṭ>ho, ṭhassa t[h]o ca. dadhitto ambilamalo pi.

Skt kapittha. Syn. dadhittha (Am-k II.4.21); S. givuḷu; E. Wood apple tree; **Limonia acidissima L.** (= Feronia limonia (L.) Swingle, F. elephantum Corrêa), Rutaceae.

40. kākodumbarikā (f.), pheggu (f.) (572c)

malaphusma. kākānaṃ udumbaro kākodumbaro, so eva kākodumbariko<ā>, satthe iko. phala nipp[h]attiyam, gu lassa go.

<sup>34</sup> *raktakusuma* is one of the syn. given in the Tibetan text of the *Bhesajanāmaparyāya* (MMITM, p. 162).

Skt kākodumbarikā, phalgu. Syn. malayū (Am-k II.4.61); S. koṭa diṃbulā; E. Red-wood fig tree; **Ficus daemona J. König ex Vahl** (RHFC), **F. hispida L.f.** (Dv, GIMP, GVDB), (= *F. oppositifolia* Roxb.), Moraceae.

41. kāravella (m.), susavī (f.) (596c)

tittarasatāya kucchitākārena lamp<b>ati ti kāravello (**having a bitter taste**), ussā <lassa>, arattaṃ, illo, ku pupp<b>o lav<b>i avasamsane. sasū hiṃsāyaṃ, avo, nadādi, assu haṃkhāh. lakkhyā.

Skt kāravella, suṣavī (Am-k II.4.154,155); S. karavilā\*, karivila; E. Balsam pear, Bitter gourd; **Momordica charantia L.**, Cucurbitaceae.

42. kāsamadda (m.) (598c)

kāsamaddādayo sākabheda sākavisesā (**a species of pot-herb**). kāsamaṃ maddatī ti kāsamaddo (**overcomes cough**). cacca paribhāsana tajjanesu, aro, nadādi, caccari.

Skt kāsamarda; S. ruvara\*, pāṇi tōra; E. Negro coffee, Senna; **Cassia occidentalis L.**, Caesalpiniaceae.

43. kiṃsuka (m.), pāḷibhadda (m.) (553c)

phalahara. ko aya suko ti vimatuppattikarapattikusumatāya (!) kiṃsuko. pārisamuddo, tatra bhaddo [ti] pāribhaddo, so eva pāḷibhaddo, kovilāro, taṃ saṅṭhānapattakusumi<a>tāya pāḷibhaddo (**leaves and flowers are similar to those of the kovilāra**, see § 55).

Skt kiṃsuka, pāribhadra (SaN I.16); S. erabadu; E. Coral tree, Thorny dadap; **Erythrina variegata L.**, Papilionaceae.

44. kiṃsuka (m.), palāsa (m.) (555c)

vātapotha. paṃ vātaṃ lunātī ti palāso ( **fights humoral wind**), aso. patte palāsaṃ. “so rukkho pati haritakī suke” ti hi Ruddo. vātapoto ti, vātassa poto vātapoto (**attacks humoral wind**), puthu hiṃsāyaṃ.

Skt kiṃsuka, palāsa. Syn. vātapotha (Am-k II.4.29); S. kāla, gas kāla; E. Bengal kino tree, Dhak tree; **Butea monosperma (Lam.) Taub.**, Papilionaceae.

45. kīcaka (m.) (600c)

kīṭādībhi kata rundhatā (!) nadanti te kīcakā nāma siyūṃ (**whistling through the holes [in the trunk] made by worms etc.**<sup>35</sup>). caki āmasane, ṇvu. pubbā parabyañjanānaṃ vipariyāyo. kīcakā.

Skt kīcaka (Am-k II.4.161); S. uṇa; E. Common bamboo; **Bambusa arundinacea Willd.**, **B. vulgaris Schrad. ex J.C.Wendl.**, (S. uṇa, *Bambusa thoursii* Kunth; S. kaṭu uṇa, *B. arundinacea* Willd. (ENUM) ) Gramineae.

46. kuṭaja (m.), girimallikā (f.) (573d)

rogaṃ [kuṭati-Sū] chindatī ti kuṭajo [kuṭa chedane-Sū] (**cuts off maladies**), jo. girimhi jātā mallikā girimallikā (**grows on hills**). sakki<a>pariyāyā py atra.

Skt id. Syn. śakra (Am-k II.4.66); S. keḷiṇḍa; E. Kurchi, Ivory tree, Palay tree; **Holarrhena pubescens (Buch.-Ham.) Wall. ex G.Don.** (= *H. antidysenterica* (Roxb. ex Fleming) Wall. ex A.DC.), Apocynaceae.

47. kunda (nt.), māghya (nt.) (578b)

kuṇa saṃkocane, do, nattaṃ (**contracting by night**). kuṇa saddopakaraṇesu vā. māghe bhavaṃ māghyaṃ, [ṇ]yo. tasmim kāle hi pupphādisamidhiyā bhavatī ti tabbhava[na]tthena p<v>yapadeso (**blossoms in January-February**).

Skt id. (Am-k II.4.73); S. koṇḍa; E. Common jasmine, White perfume; **Jasminum multiflorum (Burm.f.) Andr.**, Oleaceae.

<sup>35</sup> The sanne explains: “shaken by the wind entered inside through holes made by ‘tumbūlu’ worms, etc.”

48. kumbhaṇḍa (m.), vallibha (m.) (597b)  
 kumbha[p]amāṇaphalatāya kumbhaṇḍo (**fruits are of the size of pots**). aññatthe vo <ḍo-Sū>. kumbho viya ṭ<ḍ-Sū>eti ti vā kumbhaṇḍo, bind[v]āgamo, kusa chedane vā, aṇḍo, sassa bho, bind[v]āgamo. kaṃ vātamaṃ umbheti <ubheti vaḍḍheti-Sū>, ti vā kumbhaṇḍo (**increases humoral wind**), aṇḍo. valla saṃvaraṇe, ibho, mahāphalatāya sabbāsaṃ vallijātinamaṃ bhāti dibb<pp>ati ti vā vallibho (**surpasses all creepers on account of the great size of its fruits**). kakkāru pi.  
 Skt kūṣmāṇḍaka. Syn. karkāru (Am-k II.4.155); S. komaḍu pusul; E. Pumpkin, Summer squash, White gourd plant; **Citrullus lanatus (Thunb.) Matsum. et Nakai, Cucurbita pepo L. (GVDB)**, (= Colocynthis citrullus (L.) Kuntze), Cucurbitaceae.

49. kumbhī (f.), kumudikā (f.) (564b)  
 kambala <kapphala-Sū>. kucchitena phalena umbhati pūrati ti kumbhī (**full of insipid fruits**). kucchitena modati ti kumudikā, ṇvu.  
 Skt id. (Am-k II.4.40); S. kasaṭa, kahaṭa; E. Patana oak; **Careya arborea Roxb.**, Lecythidaceae.

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

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

52. ketakī (f.) (604c)  
 kita nivāse rogām<p>anayane ca, ṇvu, nadādi ttā <nadādi to> ī, ketakī, ayaṃ nārī.  
 Skt id. (Am-k II.4.170); S. vāṭakeyyā; E. Screw pine; **Pandanus odoratissimus L.f., P. zeylanicus Solms (IFPC)** (= P. fascicularis Lam., P. tectorius auct. non Sol. ex Parkinson), Pandanaceae.

53. kolavallī (f.), ibhapippalī (f.) (583d)  
 hatthippipphalī <°pippalī>. kolākārā taṃ nāmikā vā vallī kolavallī (**creeper similar to the Jujube or bearing that name**), rasso. ibhānaṃ hatthīnaṃ pipphalī <pippalī> ibhapippalī <°pippalī>. kapivallī vasiro pi. vasiro nānattho, vasiro apāmaggo, sāmuddalavaṇaṃ, hatthippipphalī <°pippalī> ce ti pumeyyaṃ.  
 Skt kolavallī. Syn. kapivallī, vaśira (= apāmārga-Suśr, p. 165) (Am-k II.4.97), gajapippalī, ibha°; S. āt vagapul; E. Big pepper; **Scindapsus officinalis (Roxb.) Schott**, Araceae (GIMP), **Piper chaba Hunter**, Piperaceae.

54. kolī (f.), badarī (f.) (558d)  
 sakaṇḍa <sakaṇṭa> ambilaphalarukkha (**thorny tree with acid fruits**). sakaṇḍ<ṇṭ>aku<a>ttā kucchitamaṃ lāti ti kolī, nadādi. bada theriye, aro, nadādi. kuvala kakkandhu pi.  
 Skt id. Syn. kuvala, karkandhū (Am-k II.4.36); S. ḍebara; E. Chinese date, Jujube; **Zizyphus mauritiana Lam.**, (= Z. jujuba Lam.), Rhamnaceae.

55. kovilāra (m.), yugapatta (m.) (552a)  
 “sukammadiccharo <sukappadoccharo> cammo <campo> kovilāro tu kuñjano <kañcano> — pubbo <puppho> sito paro ratto yugapatto<ā> ubho pi ce <te>” ti Ratanakoso<e> (**flowers are white, twin leaves are red**). kāñcanālako py atra. yugaṃ yamakamaṃ pattamaṃ assā ti pāda maddale (twin-leaved).

Skt kovidāra, yugapatraka. Syn. camarika (Am-k II.4.22); S. kobōlila; E. Mountain ebony, Oxhoof tree; **Bauhinia acuminata** L. (RHFC), **B. purpurea** L. (IFPC), **B. variegata** L. (Dv, GIMP), Caesalpinaceae.

## KH

56. khajjūrī (f.), sindī (f.) (603b)

khajju<a> khajjane byādhane <byathane> ca, uro, nadādi. sida mocane snehane ca, i, sandha savane <sanda passavane-Sū> vā, i. upassi <upantassi-Sū> ca, sindi.

Skt kharjūrī (Am-k II.4.170); S. hiñdī\*, iñdi; E. Date palm; **Phoenix sylvestris** (L.) Roxb. (Dv, GIMP, GVDB), **P. dactylifera** L. (GVDB), Palmae.

57. khadira (m.), dantadhāvana (m.) (567b)

khadi [dhiti-Sū] hiṃsāyaṃ theriye ca, khadanti antāyenā (!) <dantānenā-Sū> ti khadiro (**hurt with the ends**), iro. dantā dhāvanti yenā ti (**used to clean teeth**). nirogattā dantadhāvano (**renders teeth healthy**), yu, dhāva gatisuddhiyaṃ. gāyattī bālatanayo pi. “gāyattī khadire itthi — chandasi pi chaṭṭhakkhare” ti Rabhaso. bālo sukhumo pattasaññito tanayo yassa [so] bālatanayo (**shoots are like tender leaves**).

Skt id. Syn. gāyatrī, bālatanaya (Am-k II.4.49); S. kihiri; E. Catechu tree, Cutch tree, Jerusalem thorn; **Acacia catechu** (L.f.) Willd. (Dv, GIMP, GVDB), **A. chundra** (Roxb. ex Rottler) Willd. (IFPC), Mimosaceae.

58. khīrikā (f.), rājāyatana (nt.) (m.\*) (564a)

ciravantāya cīrikā <khīravantatāya khīrikā-Sū> (**having latex**). devarājassa nivāsanaṭṭhānattā rājāyatanaṃ (**abode of the king of gods**). piyāle<o> pi.

Skt kṣīrikā, rājādana (Am-k II.4.45). Syn. priyāla; S. kiripaḷu; E. Indian ape-flower tree; **Buchanania axillaris** (Desr.) Ramam., (= *B. angustifolia* Roxb.), Anacardiaceae.

## G

59. gaddabhaṇḍa (m.), kapīтана (m.) (562b)

ambilakhuraphala (**fruits are acid**), setarukkha (**white tree**). gadrabhaṇḍa[p]pamāṇaphalattā gaddabhaṇḍo (**fruits are the size of donkeys' testicles**), ra lopo. kapi calane, tato dīgho, āgamassa. kandak<r>ālo milakkho pi.

Skt gardabhāṇḍa, kapīтана. Syn. kandarāla (Am-k II.4.43); S. telasaṭu\*, gaṃsūriya; E. Bendy tree, Indian tulip tree, Portia tree, Umbrella tree; **Thespesia populnea** Sol. ex Corrêa, Malvaceae.

60. gālava (m.), lodda (m.) (556c)

loddamutta. lasa gamanatto, avo. rattakaphapittasote <rattakaphapitto-Sū> lunātī ti loddo (**destroys diseases arising from blood, phlegm and bile**), do. tiriṭṭho sāvaro pi, sāvaro aparādhe ca. loddo pāpe ca byākato ty ājeyyo.

Skt gālava, lodhra. Syn. tirīṭa, śābara (Am-k II.4.33); S. lot; E. Lodh; **Symplocos racemosa** Roxb., Symplocaceae.

61. girikaṇṇī (f.), aparājītā (f.) (584b)

app[h]oṭa. kaṇṇasaṅṭhānapupphatāya kaṇṇī. girimhi jātā kaṇṇī girikaṇṇā<i> (**flowers are similar to ears, habitat: hills**). rogādijitattā [na parājītā-Sū] aparājītā (**overcomes diseases etc.**).

Skt girikarṇī, aparājītā. Syn. āsphotoṭā (Am-k II.4.104); S. kaṭaroḷu; E. Blue clitoria; **Clitoria ternatea** L., Papilionaceae.

62. guggulu (m.), kosika (m.) (557b)

kumbha. rogaharaṇe garuṇo pi vajjassa garu gaggulu <guruno pi vejjassa guru guggulu-Sū> (**teacher par excellence of the physician in**

**dispelling diseases**>. nipātanā, kusa chedane, ṇvu. kumbho puro pi rāsibhede. gaja muddhamse. kumbhakaṇṇayute ghaṭe. “kāmuṣosanāriyañ (!) <kārmuke vāranāryām> ca kumbho <kumbham> tivan <klībam> tu guggulūmhī <guggulāviti>” Rabhaso.<sup>36</sup> pura aggagamane, ro, puro. Skt guggulu, kauśika. Syn. kumbha, pura (Am-k II.4.34); S. gugul; E. Indian bdellium; **Commiphora mukul (Hook. ex Stocks) Engl.**, Burseraceae.

63. gundā (f.), bhaddamutta (nt.) (599c)

gu sadde, do. muca mocane, to, rogaharaṇattā bhaddañ ca taṃ muttam ceti bhaddamuttam (**good for dispelling diseases**).

Skt gundrā, bhadrāmūstaka (Am-k II.4.160); S. vammutu\*, kalāṇḍuru; E. Big nut grass, Rush nut; **Cyperus rotundus L.**, Cyperaceae.

64. guḷaphala (m.), pīlu (m.) (554c)

lambuni (!). go<u>lo viya sātena phalam [et]assā [ti] guḷaphalo (**fruits are sweet like sugar**). b<p>ilam iti thambhe, u.

Skt guḍaphala, pīlu (Am-k II.4.28); S. palu; E. Rack tree, Toothbrush tree; **Manilkara hexandra (Roxb.) Dubard**, Sapotaceae (IFPC), **Salvadora persica L.**, Salvadoraceae (Dv), (= *Mimusops indica L.*, Sapotaceae).

65. gokaṇṭaka (m.), siṃghāṭa (m.) (583c)

tikaṇḍ<ṭ>aka. gavaṃ kaṇḍ<ṭ>ako gokaṇḍ<ṭ>ako, pat<ṭ>haviyaṃ vā laggo<a>kaṇḍ<ṭ>ako gokaṇḍ<ṭ>ako. siṃgha ghāyane, āṭo. palaṃkasā sādukaṇḍ<ṭ>o pi. yuttarasāyaṃ palāse ca palaṃkāsā ti sya (!) sādukaṇḍ<ṭ>o vikaṅkate pi.

Skt gokaṇṭaka, vanaśṅgāṭa. Syn. palaṃkaśā, svādukaṇṭaka (Am-k II.4.99), (trikaṇṭaka = gokṣuraka-Suśr, p. 169); S. gokaṭu\*, neremci; E.

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

Small caltrops, Turkey blossom; **Tribulus terrestris L.**, Zygophyllaceae.<sup>37</sup>

66. golisa (m.), jhāṭala (m.) (563d)

guṇṭhā <ghaṇṭā> pāṭalī. gāvo lihanti ti goliso (**relished by cattle**). satī samyāte <jhāṭa samghāte>, alo, jhāṭalo. pāṭalipupphākāro<e> dīghaphalo<e> rukkhe (**fruits are long like the flowers of the pāṭalī**). makkho pi.

Skt golīḍha, jhāṭala. Syn. ghaṇṭā, pāṭalī (m.), mokṣa (Am-k II.4.39); S. val paḷol; E. Muccaady tree, Weaver's beam tree; **Schrebera swietenoides Roxb.**, Oleaceae.

67. golomī (f.) (599b)

... dubbā sitā sukkā ce golomi nāma (**white dubbā** q.v.). golomajattā (!) golomī. sataviriyaṃ gaṇḍālī sakulakkhaṇo pi. (See saddala, § 168).

Skt id. Syn. śataviryā, gaṇḍālī, śakulākṣakā (Am-k II.4.159); S. sudu hītaṇa; E. White conch grass; **Cynodon dactylon (L.) Pers.**, Gramineae.

68. golomī (f.), vacā (f.) (584a)

chagandhā. yā uggagandhā ti py uccate (**strong smelling**). guṇṇaṃ lomasammānanaṭṭhāne <lomasampānanaṭṭhāne-Sū> jātā golomī (**literally, growing in the place where hair/fur is weighed/falling/gathering**). vaca va<i>yattiyaṃ vācāyaṃ, karaṇe, a. satapibbikā pi. vacā sukkalohitamūlabhedena duvidhā. tatra sukkā hemavati ty uccate Amarakose (**two species of vacā, white and red, the white is called hemavati**).

<sup>37</sup> See note to § 81.



Skt id. Syn. *ṣaḍgranthā*, *ugragandhā*, *śataparvikā* (Am-k II.4.102), (haimavatī-Suśr, p. 168);<sup>38</sup> S. *vadakasā\**, *vadakaha*; E. Myrtle flag, Sweet flag; **Acorus calamus L.**, Araceae.

## GH

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

## C

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

71. *ciñcā* (f.), *tintiṇī* (f.) (562a)  
*ambilakā*. *cīca*, *co*. *cīca ādāna*<e> *saṃvaraṇe* *vā*. *tanu vitthāre*.  
*amp*<b>*ilaraññaṃ* <*ambilarasaṃ-Sū*> *tanotī* *ti tintiṇī* (**having**  
**excessive acid taste**), *dvittaṃ rittaṃ* <*ittaṃ-Sū*> *nattaṇ ca*, *nadādi*.  
Skt *ciñcā*, *tintiḍī*. Syn. *amlikā* (Am-k II.4.43); S. *siniṃbalā\**, *siyaṃbalā*;  
E. Tamarind; **Tamarindus indica L.**, (= *T. officinalis* Hook.),  
Caesalpinaceae.

<sup>38</sup> GVDB (p. 388) says that *śataparvikā* may be identified with *śveta dūrvā* or *vacā*. The *Abh* *ṭikā* supports the identification with *vacā*.

72. *cittaka* (m.), *aggisaññita* (m.) (580d)  
*citi*<a> *himsāyaṃ*, *gandhe ca*, *ṇvu*. *aggisaññito* *ti*. *aggipariyāyanāmakō*  
(**syn. of fire**). *pāci* <*pāthī*> *pi*, *pumeyyaṃ*.  
Skt *citraka*, *vahnisañjaka*. Syn. *pāthī* (Am-k II.4.80); S. *rat niṭul*, *rat neṭul*;  
E. **Leadwort** (red); **Plumbago indica L.**, Plumbaginaceae.<sup>39</sup>

## J

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

74. *jiñjuka* (m.) (f.\*), *guñjā* (f.) (585c)  
*jañja yuddhe*, *a*, *bind*[v] *āgamo*. *nāmantarāṇi* *cassa*. “*dumesā rattikā*  
*rattadalā cūlāmaṇi* *ca sā* — *kākapiñjatulā bijam kaṇṭalā ca sikhaṇḍinī*”.  
Skt *guñjā*. Syn. *kākaciñcī*, *kṛṣṇalā* (Am-k II.4.98); S. *hunida\**, *oliñda*  
(*vāl*); E. *Bead vine*, *Crabs' eyes*, *Indian liquorice*, *Jequirity beans*, *Rosary*  
*pea*, *Wild liquorice*; **Abrus precatorius L.**, Papilionaceae.

75. *jīvantī* (f.), *jīvanī* (f.) (594c)  
*ayaṃ rattaṅgamārasākati*. *jīvatito anto*, *nadādi*. *itarato*, *yu*, *nadādi*. *jīvā*  
*jīva*[nī] *yā madhū mi* (!).  
Skt id. Syn. *jīvā*, *jīvaniyā*, *madhusravā* (Am-k II.4.142); S. *divi pasuru*,  
*divi pahuru*; E. *Milky yam*; **Ipomoea pes-tigridis L.**,  
Convolvulaceae, **Leptadenia reticulata (Retz.) Wight et Arn.**  
Asclepiadaceae (Dv, GIMP, GVDB).<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> S. *heḷa niṭul*, E. *Leadwort* (white), *Plumbago zeylanica* L.; S. *rat niṭul*, E.  
*Leadwort* (red), *P. rosea* L. (ENUM).

<sup>40</sup> DVS, with illustration and description, identifies *divipahuru* with *Ipomoea*  
*pes-tigridis* [L. Convolvulaceae], the S. name meaning “the claws of tigers” and  
the Latin name meaning “the paw of tigers”.

JH

76. jhāvuka (m.), picula (m.) (561c)

pāvusā &lt;habusā-Sū&gt;. c&lt;jh&gt;apa dāhe, ṇvu. passa vo. paca pāke, ulo.

Skt id. (Am-k II.4.40); S. picula, +nāvā gasa\*; E. Common tamarisk;

**Tamarix indica Willd.**, (= T. gallica auct. non L.), Tamaricaceae.

T

77. takkāri (f.), vejyantikā (f.) (573b)

jayā. tam tam rogajay[an]ādikaṃ karotī ti takkāri (**overpowers various diseases**), ṇī. visesena jāyanti <jāyati> ti vejyantikā, anto, nadādi. satthe ko. “jayā [jāyanti] takkāri nādeyī vejyantikā” ty Amarakoso<e>.Skt tarkāri, vajjayantikā. Syn. jayā, jayanti, nādeyī (Am-k II.4.65); S. tiṭṭiṅga; E. Pea tree; **Sesbania sesban (L.) Merr.**, (= Aeschynomene sesban L., Coronilla sesban (L.) Willd., Sesbania aegyptiaca Poir.), Papilionaceae.

78. tacasāra (m.), veṇu (m.), vaṃsa (m.) (600a)

vaṃsa. vi gamane, ḷu. taco va sāro yassa. vi gamane, u, nāgamo, ṇattam. vana sambhattiyam, so. vasa nivāse vā, karaṇe a, niggahītāgamo. satapabbo yavabalo makkaro tejano pi, makkaro ti. paṭisevati yena makkaro. saññāya, a.

Skt tvaksāra, veṇu, vaṃśa. Syn. śataparvā, yavaphala, maskara, tejana (Am-k II.4.160,161); S. huṇa; E. Thorny bamboo; **Bambusa bambos Druce**, Gramineae.<sup>41</sup>

79. taṇḍuleyya (m.), appamārisa (m.) (594b)

mārisākati appamattako bhūmilaggapatto taṇḍuleyyo. appamāriso nāma taṇḍulato jāyati ti taṇḍuleyyo (**grows from a kind of pot-herb**<sup>41</sup> See note to § 45. S. kaṭu uṇa, E. Thorny bamboo.**named appamārisa**), ṇeyyo. appamattatāya appo ca so mārisākati tat[h]ā māriso cety appamāriso (**mārisa of smaller size**).Skt taṇḍuliya, alpamāriṣa (Am-k II.4.136); S. suḷu kūra\*, kaṭu tampalā (RHFC); E. Careless weed, Prickly red amaranth; **Amaranthus spinosus L.**, Amaranthaceae.

80. tambaka (m.) (598b)

tamu kaṃkhāyam, ṇvu, bandho &lt;banto-Sū&gt; ca. (kalambake-Sū) see above, § 38).

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

81. tāpiṇja (m.), tamāla (m.) (573c)

samuddasamīpadesaje sāmādale tamālanāme tarumhi (**tree named Tamāla, with black leaves, growing in coastal regions**). tāpise jāyati ti tāpiṇjo (**grows near the Tapti river**). aññatthe s<j>o, bind[v]āgamo. “tāpi tu h<s>aritantare” ti hi nānattasamgaho. tamu kaṃkhāyam, a<ā>lo.Skt tāpiccha (tāpiṇja), tamāla (Am-k II.4.68); S. kaṣaṭa\*, kasa\*, +tamalu\*, (kollan, SaN V.23); E. Gamboge tree; **Garcinia morella (Gaertn.) Desr.** (Dv, GIMP, GVDB), **G. xanthochymus Hook.f.** (GIMP), (= G. tinctoria (DC.) W. Wight), Guttiferae.<sup>42</sup>

82. tāla (m.), vibhedikā (f.) (603a)

tala patiṭṭhāyam, curādi, a. vātādayo vibandhati <vibhindati-Sū> ti vibhedako <°ikā> (**checks humoral wind etc.**). vāttagho byuhana namihā kuṭṭhanāsano “<vāttagho brūhaṇo kāmi kimihā kuṭṭhanāsano> — rattapittaharo sādu tālo sattaguṇo mato” ti hi Dabbaguṇe (**kills humoral**<sup>42</sup> S. gokaṭu = kana goraka, Garcinia morella Desr., Guttiferae in ENUM, with remark: “Only species growing in Ceylon from which gamboge is obtained”.

wind, fattening, aphrodisiac, kills worms, destroys skin diseases, removes internal haemorrhage, sweet), tiṇarājā pi.  
Skt tāla. Syn. tṇarāja (Am-k II.4.168); S. tal; E. Palmyra palm;  
**Borassus flabellifer** L., Palmae.

83. tālī (f.) (604c)

saṇṭhānato tālasadisatāya tālī (**resembles a tāla tree**, see § 82), lattam, upamāṇe, i. taḷa āghāte vā, curādi, a, nadādi, tālī.

Skt id. (Am-k II.4.170); S. tala; E. Corypha, Talipot palm; **Corypha umbraculifera** L., Palmae.<sup>43</sup>

84. tiṇasūla (nt.), mallikā (nt.) (574d)

tiṇāni sūlanti yasmin ti tiṇasūlam (**causes diseases in grass**), sūla rujāyaṃ, yatra taṃ jāyati tatra tiṇāni roginī <rogī> bhavanti ty attho (**where it grows, the grass there becomes diseased**). tiṇasūlam malla<i>kāya maṇḍalam ka<e>takīphale. malyate dhāriyate sabbehī ti mallikā, malla dhāraṇe, is <i> satthe ko. bhūpadī satabhīru ca.

Skt tṇasūnya, mallikā. Syn. bhūpadī, śītabhīru (Am-k II.4.69,70); S. idda; E. Arabian jasmine; **Jasminum sambac** (L.) Aiton, Oleaceae (Dv, GIMP, GVDB), **Wrightia antidysenterica** (L.) R.Br. (IFPC), (= W. zeylanica R.Br.) Apocynaceae.

85. tinīsa (m.), atimuttaka (m.) (555b)

gūthadduma. ratham tanoti yena [so] tinīso (**used to make chariots**), iso. abhipamuccati <ati muccati-Sū> dāhapittam anene ty a[ti]muttako (**removes especially burning sensation and bile**). ccavi (!) pi.  
Skt tiniśa, atimuktaka (Am-k II.4.26); S. kōmbu; E...; **Ougeinia oojeinensis** (Roxb.) Hochr., (= O. dalbergioides Benth.), Papilionaceae.

<sup>43</sup> Borassus flabellifer and Corypha umbraculifera were the two species of palms whose fronds were used to write manuscripts on, Ola MSS.

86. tinduka (m.), kālakhandha (m.), timbarūsaka (m.), timbarū (m.) (560a)

tanu vitthāre, uko, danto ca. tidi hiṃsāyaṃ vā, u, saññāyaṃ ko. kālo khandho makaṇḍo <ca kaṇḍo?> yassā ti <yassa so> kālakhandho (**having a black trunk**). tima<u> addabhāve, ūso, satthe ko. ratto ca. uppaccaye timbaru.

Skt tinduka, kālaskandha (Am-k II.4.38); S. timbiri; E. False mangosteen; **Diospyros malabarica** (Desr.) Kostel., (= D. embryopteris Pers., D. peregrina auct. non W.R.Guerke), Ebenaceae.

87. tilaka (m.), khuraka (m.) (561d)

sirimati. yassa phalāni maricappamāṇāni ambulāni (**fruits are of the size of black pepper, acid**). tila gamane, ṇvu. khura chedane, ṇvu.  
Skt tilaka, kṣuraka. Syn. śrīmān (Am-k II.4.40); S. madaṭa; E...; **Wendlandia exerta** (Roxb.) DC., Rubiaceae.

88. tivutā (f.), tipuṭā (f.) (590a)

sukkativutā. tisso j<v>utā tacarājiyo yassā [sā] tivutā (**having a triple streak round the bark**). tisso phuṭā <puṭā> tacarājiyo (!) yassā [sā] tipuṭā (**having three pockets [in the fruit]**). sarabhā, tibhaṇḍī, devati pi.

Skt trivṛtā, tripuṭā. Syn. saralā, tribhaṇḍī (Am-k II.4.108); S. sudu trastavāḷu; E. Indian jalap, (White) turpeth tree; **Operculina turpethum** (L.) Silva Manso, (= Ipomoea turpethum (L.) R.Br.), Convolvulaceae.

89. tumbī (f.), alābu (f.), lābu (lābusā\*) (f.) (596d)

lāp<b>u. tumba adane, tumbati hiṃsati m<p>ittam iti tump<b>i (**attacks bile**), nadādi. na puppho <pubbo> lamba avasamsane, u, ma lopo. nassattaṃ alāpu pāniniyānaṃ ā pubbo, lamp<b>a avasamsane, alābu. kānantikānaṃ candanaṃ ceva. ambhākantu rassaṃ katvā alāp<b>u. abhedopacāreṇa tīni pi phale pi 'tthilingāni. sāsaddo itthilingattajotako.

Skt tumbī, alābu (Am-k II.4.156); S. diya labu; E. Bottle gourd; **Lagenaria siceraria (Molina) Standl.**, (= *L. vulgaris* Ser.), Cucurbitaceae.

90. tejana (m.), sara (m.) (601c,  
tija nisāmaṇe <nisāne-Sū>, yu. saranty anene ti saro (**used for crushing [enemies]**), pume, saññāyaṃ, a, sara hiṃsāyaṃ vā. gundo py atra.

Skt tejana, śara. Syn. gundra (Am-k II.4.162); S. bihi (hī\*) baṭa; E...; **Saccharum munja Roxb.**, Gramineae.<sup>44</sup>

## D

91. dantasaṭṭha (m.), jambhira (m.) (553a)

yassa phalam [am]bilam hoti, ambilatā dantassa saṭho, saṭha ketavahiṃsāyaṃ kilesesu, a. (**fruits, due to their acidity, hurt the teeth**). jamu adane, iro, bhanto ca, jambha gattavināme vā. jambho jambhalo <jambhulo-Sū> jambharo <jambhiro-Sū> pi.

Skt dantaśaṭha, jambhira. Syn. jambira, jambha, jambhala (Am-k II.4.24); S. desi, dehi (=jaṃbira, jaṃba, jambala, + doḍam\* = orange); E. The true lime; **Citrus aurantifolia (Christm. et Panz.) Swingle, C. limon (L.) Burm.f.** (RHFC), Rutaceae.<sup>45</sup>

92. dābbi (f.), dāruhaḷiddā (f.) (586c)

dara vidāraṇe, bo, rassa bo, dābbi. dighādi, nadādi. haḷiddavaṇṇadārutāya dāruhaḷiddā (**wood is yellowish in colour**). haḷiddā pi.

Skt dārvī, dāruharidrā. Syn. haridru (Am-k II.4.101,102); S. vaṇuvāl\*, veṇivāl; E. Barberry; **Coscinium fenestratum (Gaertn.) Colebr.**

<sup>44</sup> S. *baṭa*, *Ochlandra stridula* Thwaites (IFPC, ENUM) Gramineae.

<sup>45</sup> RHFC gives the following identifications: S. *jambōla*, E. Pomelo or Pummelo, Shaddock, *Citrus grandis* (L.) Osbeck; S. *peni dodan* <paṇi doḍan>, *pumci jambōla*, E. Orange, *Citrus sinensis* (L.) Osbeck.

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

93. devatāḍa (m.), jīmūta (m.) (578c)

devatā asanti [bhakkanti-Sū] yaṃ [so] devatāso (**eaten by divinities**). jīmūtakāle sañjātattā jīmūto (**grows in summer**). mahanalā.

Skt id. (Am-k II.4.69); S. dēvadāli; E. Bristly luffa; **Luffa echinata Roxb.**, Cucurbitaceae.

94. devadāru (m.), bhaddadāru (m.) (568c)

devānaṃ dāru devānaṃ tarubhūtattā [bhaddaṇ ca taṃ dāru ceti-Sū] bhaddadāru (**having good wood, being the tree of gods**), sakkapādapo, pāribhaddako pītadāru (**yellow wood**) dāru pūtikaṭṭham pi.

Skt devadāru, bhaddadāru. Syn. pāribhadraka, pītadāru, dāru, pūtikāṣṭha (Am-k II.4.53,54); S. dēvadāru; E. Cedar, Deodar; **Cedrus deodara (Roxb.) D. Don**, Pinaceae, **Erythroxyllum monogynum Roxb.**, Erythroxyllaceae, **Polyalthia longifolia (Sonn.) Thwaites**, Annonaceae (IFPC).

## N

95. nattamāla (m.), karañja (m.) (567a)

rattā mālā yassa <nattā rattiyaṃ mālā yassa-Sū, **flowering at night**>. kañ jayati ti karañjo (**wins humoral wind**), ṇo, cillavillo karañjo pi.

Skt naktamāla, karañja. Syn. karaja, ciribilva, (cira°, Suśr, p. 164, 165) (Am-k II.4.47); S. karañda; E. Indian beech; **Pongamia pinnata (L.) Pierre, Humboldtia laurifolia (Vahl) Vahl**, Caesalpinaceae.

96. naḷa (m.), dhamana (m.) (601a)

ni naye, alo, lattam, dhama saddaggi y<s>amyogesu, yu, [dhamano], poṭagalo py atra.

Skt id. Syn. poṭagala (Am-k II.4.162); S. kulal baṭa; E. Great reed; **Arundo donax** L. (Dv), (= Phragmites maxima auct. non (Forssk.) Chiov.), Gramineae.

97. nāga (m.), nāgamālikā (f.) (572d)

na gacchatī ti nāgo (**does not move, i.e. firmly rooted**), dīghādi. nāgānaṃ mālā sā<sup>46</sup> sañjātā yatra nāgamālikā (**flowers of Nāgas**).

Skt nāga; S. nā; E. Ironwood tree, Rose chestnut; **Mesua ferrea** L., Guttiferae.

98. nāgabālā (f.), jhasā (f.) (588c)

gorakkhataṇḍula. vuttañ ca tan[tan]taro<e> “gāṅgerukī nāgabālā jhasāṅge <jhasā go>rakkhataṇḍulo<ā>” ti. nāgassa balam iva bala[m] etassā rogaharaṇattā ti nāgaphalā <°balā> (**having the power of an elephant in removing diseases**). jhasa hiṃsattho, a.

Skt nāgabālā, jhasā. Syn. gāṅgerukī (Am-k II.4.117); S. kāliya; E. Broom weed, Indian mallow, Sida; **Grewia orientalis** L., (RHFC), **Microcos paniculata** L. Tiliaceae, **Sida spinosa** L., Malvaceae (GIMP), (= Grewia columnaris Sm., G. microcos L., Tiliaceae).<sup>47</sup>

99. nāgalatā (f.), tāmbūlī (f.) (589c)

pannālikā <pañjalatā>. nāgaloke jātā latā nāgalatā (**creeper whose original habitat was the world of the Nāgas**). tampa<b>avaṇṇaṃ lāti ti tāmbūlī (copper-coloured creeper), assu, nadādi. tāmbūlassā vā ayaṃ tāmbūlī. tāmbūlavallī nāgavallī pi. kambulaṃ nāma phalapattacuṇṇādi yogasamūhānaṃ nāmaṃ (**name of a composition of the fruits, leaves, powder etc. called ‘kambula’**). tadattā vallī nāgalokassa vallī.

<sup>46</sup> sā has to be transposed to precede nāgamālikā.

<sup>47</sup> ENUM identifies *bābila* (also *bāvila*) and *not k āliya*, with *Sida acuta* Burm., Malvaceae.

Skt tāmbūlī. Syn. tāmbūlavallī, nāgavallī (Am-k II.4.120); S. bulat vāla; E. Betel; **Piper betle** L., Piperaceae.

100. nālikera (m.) (604b)

nāli viya jāyatī ti nālikero. aññatthe iro, konto ca. nālikero lāṅgalī pi. “lāṅgalī nālikere ca sirapānimhi lāṅgulī” pi Rabhaso.

Skt nālikera, nārikela. Syn. lāṅgalī (Am-k II.4.168); S. pol; E. Coconut; **Cocos nucifera** L., Palmae.

101. nigguṇḍī (f.), sinduvāra (m.) (574c)

natthi guṇḍaṃ gabbha[bandha]nam etāya <etassā-Sū> ti nigguṇḍī. si bandhane, a, sindhunama <sinduma> gabbhabandhanama vāretī ti sindhuvāro <sindhuvāro> (**prevents obstruction of foetus, i.e. facilitates delivery**). indrāṇī py atra. indranakaraṇe thinama (!). sindhuvārentarā visu (!).

Skt nirguṇḍī, sinduvāra. Syn. indrāṇikā (Am-k II.4.68); S. nika; E. Chinese chaste-tree; **Vitex negundo** L. (Dv, GIMP, GVDB, RHFC), **V. trifolia** L., Verbenaceae (IFPC).

102. nigrodha (m.), vaṭa (m.) (551b)

bahupāda. adhobhāgaṃ rundhatī ti nigrodho (**lower part kept back [by aerial roots]**), usso, gāgamo ca. vaṭa vedhane, vaṭatī ti, a.

Skt nyagrodha, vaṭa. Syn. bahupāda (Am-k II.4.32); S. nuga, maha nuga; E. Banyan, Bengal fig, Pagoda tree; **Ficus benghalensis** L., (= F. altissima var. forgesonii King), Moraceae.

103. nicula (m.), mucalinda (m.), nīpa (m.) (563ab)

cula nimmajjane, a. mucala saṃghāte indo. nīpa kadambo pi.

Skt (nicula), nīpa. Syn. kadamba (Am-k II.4.42); S. midella\*, goḍa midella (RHFC); E. Indian oak; **Barringtonia racemosa** (L.) Spreng., Lecythidaceae.<sup>48</sup>

104. nididdhikā (f.), byagghī (f.) (585a)

kakaṇḍ<ṭ>akārikā (!). niddahati kaṇḍ<ṭ>akapuṭe <kaṇṭakam phuṭṭhe-Sū> ti niddaddhikā, ṇvu, bhayakaraṇavasena byagghasadisatāya byagghī (**fearful as a tiger**). bṛhatī khuddā pi.

Skt nidigdihikā, vyāghrī. Syn. kaṇṭakārikā, bṛhatī, kṣudrā (Am-k II.4.93,94); S. kaṭuvāl baṭu; E. Wild eggplant, Woody nightshade, Yellow-berried nightshade; **Solanum surattense** Burm.f., (= Solanum xanthocarpum var. jacquini (Willd.) Thwaites), Solanaceae.<sup>49</sup>

105. nimba (m.), ariṭṭha (m.), pucimanda (m.) (570c)

hiṅguniy[y]āsa. ni naye, bo, b<m>onto ca. kinnarasatā aribhāve tiṭṭhati ti ariṭṭho. “puci<a>ṃ kuṭṭham man<d>datī ti pucimando” iti Dhammaseno (**acts as a check on skin diseases**). mālako pi, malate rogam mālako, ṇvu.

Skt nimba, ariṣṭa, picumanda. Syn. hiṅguniryāsa, mālaka (Am-k II.4.62); S. kosāmba, kohōmba; E. Bead tree, Indian lilac, Margosa, Neem tree, Persian lilac, Pride of India; **Azadirachta indica** A.Juss., Meliaceae.

106. nīlī (f.), nīlinī (f.) (585b)

nīlavanno nīlavaṇṇatāya lini <nīlī> (**blue-coloured**), nadādi, ini, nilinī. kālā tuttā pi. kālākaṇḍanipunāyaṃ. nīlī yojanavallisū. paṇḍe rasañjane tuttā. sukhumelāyaṃ nīliyaṃ.

<sup>48</sup> S. *diya midella*, B. asiatica (L.) Kurz; S. *eḷa midella*, B. acutangula (L.) Gaertn. (RHFC). S. *luṇu midella*, Melia composita Willd., Meliaceae (ENUM).

<sup>49</sup> CMP makes the following identifications: Solanum jacquini (*kaṭuvāl baṭu*), Solanum trilobatum (*val tibbaṭu*), Solanum xanthocarpum (*eḷa baṭu*), Solanum indicum (*tibbaṭu*), Solanum ferox (*mala baṭu*).

Skt id. Syn. kālā, tutthā, rañjanī (Am-k II.4.94,95); S. beru gasa\*, avariya; E. Indigo plant; **Agrostistachys coriacea** Alston, Euphorbiaceae, **Oplismenus compositus** (L.) Beauvais, Gramineae (IFPC), **Indigofera tinctoria** L., (Dv, GIMP, GVDB), (= I. indica Lam., I. sumatrana Gaertn.), Papilionaceae.

107. nuhī (f.), mahānāma (m.) (587a)

samantaduddhā. nug<h>a uggā<i>raṇe, nadādi. mahanta[m] nāmam assā ti <yassa so> mahānāmo. sīhuṇh[d]jo vajiradumo guḷā pi.

Skt snuhi. Syn. samantadugdhā, sihuṇḍa (sehuṇḍa-Suśr, p. 166), vajra, guḍā (Am-k II.4.105,106); S. uk; E. Sugar cane; **Saccharum officinarum** L., Gramineae.

## P

108. pakiriya (m.), pūtika (m.) (566a)

kaṇḍ<ṭ>akarañja. kaṇḍ<ṭ>akini karañjagumbe. yaṃ loke kalino <kalīro-Sū> ti vuccati (**popularly known as kalīra**). kara <kira> hiṃsāyaṃ, karatoririyā (!) <kiraṇe vā, iyo-Sū>. pu pavane, iko, tonto ca. pūtikarañjo kalikārako pi kalino <kalīro>.

Skt prakīrya, pūtika. Syn. pūtikarañja, kalimāraka (Am-k II.4.48), kaṇṭā karañja; S. kaṭu karañda; E. Bonduc nut, Redwood; **Caesalpinia crista** L., Caesalpinaceae.

109. paṭola (m.), tittaka (m.) (595c)

paṭa gamane, olo, paṭuṃ rasam lāti ti vā paṭolo (**having a pungent taste**), usso. tittarasatāya tittako (**having a bitter taste**). satthe ko. kulakam<o> paṭa<u> pi.

Skt paṭola, tiktaka. Syn. kulaka, paṭu (Am-k II.4.155); S. dummālla; E. Serpent cucumber, Wild snake gourd; **Trichosanthes dioica** Roxb., Cucurbitaceae.

110. paṭṭī (f.), lākhāpasādana (m.) (564d)

lohitalodda. pu<a>ṭi ity ākhyā yassa. paṭṭi madditi (!) pi pāṭho. asmim pakkhitte lākhā tto (!) <rattā-Sū> bhavati ti lākhāssādano (**gives red lac-dye**). kamuko pi.

Skt paṭṭī, lākṣāprasādana. Syn. kramuka (Am-k II.4.41), lohitalodhra; S. rat lot; E. Red lodh tree; **Symplocos paniculata (Thunb.) Miq.** (= *Symplocos crataegoides* Buch.-Ham. ex D.Don), Symplocaceae.

111. panasa (m.), kaṇṭakīphala (m.) (569a)

pana b<v>yavahāre thutimhi ca, aso, khaṇḍ<ṭ>akayuttam phalam assā [ti] kaṇḍ<ṭ>akīphalo (**having thorny fruits**).

Skt id. (Am-k II.4.61); S. kos; E. Jak/Jack; **Artocarpus heterophyllus Lam.**, (= *A. integrifolius* auct. non L.f.), Moraceae.

112. papunnāṭa (m.), eḷagaja\*, eḷagala (m.) (594a)

pakāreṇa dadduṃ punāti ti papunnāṭo (**used for cleansing ringworm**), pu pavane, kiyādi, aṭo, niggahitāgamo. phalaḡam <eḷagam> dadduṃ lunāti te<i> laṅgalo <eḷagalo>. dadduḡho cakkamaddako uraṅakkhyo pi. dadduṃ hanti ti dadduḡho (**destroys ringworm**). hanassa gho. cakkākāratāya cakkam ([**leaves are**] circular in shape). daddu tam maddayati ti cakkamaddako (**suppresses ringworm**). uraṅakhyo mesākhyo [Skt meṣasya ākhyā iva ākhyā yasya (**having the appearance of a sheep**)].

Skt prapunnāḍa, eḷagaja. Syn. dadrugghna, cakramardaka, uraṅakhyā (Am-k II.4.147); S. tuvara\*, āt tōra; E. Fetid cassia, Ringworm plant; **Cassia alata L.**, Caesalpiniaceae.

113. palāṇḍu (m.), sukandaka (m.) (595b)

rattamūla, harīta. palaṅḍi gandhane (**smelling**),<sup>50</sup> u. sundaro kando yassa [so] sukandako (**having a beautiful stalk**).

Skt id. (Am-k II.4.147); S. sā lūnu, +nil lūnu\*, ratu lūnu; E. Red onion, Small onion; **Allium cepa L.**, **A. ascalonicum L.**, Liliaceae (IFPC).

<sup>50</sup> PED suggests the etymology “*pala* (white) + *aṇḍu* (*aṇḍa*?, egg)”.

114. pāṭalī (f.), kaṇhavaṇṭā (f.) (559c)

toyādhīpāvinī <toyādhivāsīnī = ambu<sup>o</sup>>. yassā mūlam mahāpañcamūle pavīṭṭham (**roots are included in the mahāpañcamūla**).<sup>51</sup> ava <paṭa> gamane, alo, nadādi. pāṭalī pāṭal[y]ā pi. kaṇhapuppavaṇṭam yassā sā kaṇhavaṇṭā (**stalk of the flower is black-coloured**). kasmīriyā pi alipariyā <alipriyā>, tambapupphalī <<sup>o</sup>pupphī> py atra.

Skt pāṭalī, kṛṣṇavṛntā. Syn. pāṭalā (Am-k II.4.54,55); S. paḷol; E. Messenger of spring, Trumpet flower; **Stereospermum chelonoides (L.f.) DC.**, (= *Stereospermum suaveolens* (Roxb.) DC.), Bignoniaceae.

115. picchilā (f.), simbalī (f.) (m.f.\*) (565c)

picchā yogā picchilā. ilo, sapa <sabi-Sū> maṇḍale, alī, assi. “picchilā pūraṇī mocā c<th>irāyu simp<b>alī dvisu” ty Amarakoso<e>.

Skt picchilā, śālmālī. Syn. pūraṇī, mocā, sthirāyu (Am-k II.4.46); S. iṅbul; E. Silk-cotton tree; **Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gaertn.**, Bombacaceae. See § 149. (= *Eriodendron orientale* Steud., Sterculiaceae).

116. pippalī (f.), māgadhi (f.) (583b)

kaṇā. pitta[m] phalati kupphati <kuppati> yāya pippalī <pippalī>, nadādi (**provokes bile**). Magadho<e> bhavā māgadhi, magadhānam ayaṃ vā māgadhi. tatra paṭhamam uppannattā bāhulyena vā (**originated or found plentifully in Magadha**). tatra jāyamānattā tam samaññāyaṃ <<sup>o</sup>ya> b<v>yapadissate. vedehī kaṇā kolā pi vedehānam ayaṃ vedehī. kaṇānattā vuttaṅ ca kaṇāpippahalyajā (!) ceti (**black-coloured**).

Skt id. Syn. vaidehī, kaṇā, kolā (Am-k II.4.96,97); S. vagapul\*, tippilī; E. Long pepper; **Piper longum L.**, Piperaceae.

117. piyaka (m.), asana (m.), pītasāla (m.) (563bc)

kadamba. asa bhakkaṇe, yu. pītapubbo sālo rukkho pītasālo (**yellow sāla tree**). jambukapuppho jīvako.

<sup>51</sup> *bilva*, *agnimantha*, *tiṅṭuka/ṭuṅṭuka* (= *syonaka*), *kāsmarī*, *pāṭalā*. See *Suśr. Sūtrasthāna* 38. 68, *Śārṅgadharasamhitā* II.2.116.

Skt priyaka, asana. Syn. bandhūkapuṣpa, jīvaka (Am-k II.4.44); S. piyā gas\*, gammālu (AAS); E. Amboyna kino tree, Bastard teak, Gum kino tree; **Pterocarpus marsupium Roxb.**, Papilionaceae.

118. piyāla (m.), sannakaddu (m.) (556d)  
dhanupaṭa (bowstring). v<p>i pāne, alo, isse<a>, iyādese<o>. sannakā tāpasā, tesam dudumo, sannakaddu, cāpapaṭo. “lavano <lalano> tāy<p>asappiyo <tāpasādolavaṇṇo tāpasappiyo-Sū>” ti hi kosantare.  
Skt priyāla, sannakadru. Syn. dhanuḥ(ṣ)paṭa (Am-k II.4.35); S. piyal; E. Buchanan’s mango; **Buchanania lanzan Spreng.**, Anacardiaceae.

119. pilakkha (m.), pippalī (f.) (559b)  
a[s]satt[h]akulasambhūte rukkhapāsānādisu sañjātarukkhe (tree belonging to the *Ficus religiosa* family and growing on trees, stones etc.). m<p>ilam param nissa[ya]bhūtam kasatī ti m<p>ilakkho, kasa vilekhaṇe (scratching when touched). sassa khattādi [nipātanā-Sū]. akhādaniyaphalattāya <°phalattāya> virūpam phalam assātī ti pippalī (inedible and ugly fruits), ī, nadādi. vissa pi ca.

Skt plakṣa (Am-k II.4.32), pippala;<sup>52</sup> S. pulila, kapuṭu bō, kavuḍu bō; E. Patana bō, Yellow-barked fig; **Ficus arnottiana (Miq.) Miq.**, **Ficus lacor Buch.-Ham.** (GIMP, GVDB), Moraceae.

120. puṇḍarīka (m.), setamba (m.) (558a)  
puṇḍa maṇḍane, maṇḍa khaṇḍane ty eke, ṇvu, arāgamo ca. setavaṇṇo ambo setambo (white mango).  
Skt puṇḍarīka; S. āṭamba; E. White mango; **Mangifera zeylanica Hook.**, (RHFC, IFPC), **M. indica L.**, Anacardiaceae (ENUM).<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *plakṣo jaṭi parkaṭi ca — pippalo ’śvattha patrakah.* SaN 18.45.

<sup>53</sup> Identification in the AAS. The common meaning of *puṇḍarīka* given in Skt and P. sources is white lotus. However, according to the *Buddhavaṃsa* and other Buddhist texts, the Bodhisatta Sikhī attained Buddhahood under a *puṇḍarīka*,

121. punnavā (f.), sopathāṭī (f.) (596a)  
vuddho pi puna navo bhavati yāya yogato yāti <yogakatāyāti-Sū> punnavo (even an old person becomes young by its use); sot[h]am hantī ti sothaghāṭam <sothaghāṭī> (destroys swelling). t<h>anassa ghāṭ<t>o, [ī-Sū].  
Skt punarnavā, śothaghñī (Am-k II.4.149); S. suḷu buruda\*, sāraṇa; E. Hogweed; **Boerhavia diffusa L.**, Nyctaginaceae (Dv, GIMP, IFPC), **Trianthema decandra L.**, Sesuviaceae (ENUM).

122. punnāga (m.), kesara (m.) (556b)  
tuṅga. pumanāmena gorukkho, punnāgo. “punnāgo puriso tuṅge<o> kesaro devavallabho” ti hi Amarasīho. dīgho, pumassa līngādisu samāsesu ti ākāra lopo ca. atisayapupphaleseravantatāya <atisayapupphakesaravantatāya-Sū, (flowers full of pollen)<sup>54</sup>> kesaro. kisa tanukaraṇe ti vā, aro. pupphakesayuttatāya vā kesaro, ro (having hairy flowers).  
Skt id. Syn. tuṅga, puruṣa, devavallabha (Am-k II.4.25); S. doṃba; E. Alexandrian laurel; **Calophyllum inophyllum L.**, Clusiaceae.

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

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

<sup>54</sup> *kesara* is explained in the PED as filament of flowers, hairy structures of plants esp. of the lotus; Monier-William’s *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* explains it as the filament of a lotus or of any vegetable, a fibre (as of a Mango fruit). The S. term, *kesaru* or *kesuru*, equivalent of *reṇu*, means pollen. For example, the *Vesaturudā sanne* (p. 51) explains the P. term “*kiṅjakkhareṇunā yuttam*” as “*kusum kesuren gāvāsī gat*”, full of pollen of flowers. “Pollen” seems to be the meaning in the present context.



ṇo. jassa go. kamu icchāyaṃ, hetukattari, ṇvu, khamuro <kamuko> pi. (For verse 602, the ṭikā adds: ghono pi. “ghono badarapūgesū” ti Ruddo).

Skt pūga, kramuka. Syn. ghoṇṭā, guvāka (Am-k II.4.169); S. pūga\*, puvak; E. Areca nut tree; **Areca catechu L.**, Palmae.

124. pūtilatā (f.), gaḷocī (f.) (581c)

chinnaruhā. tittarasattā putibhūtā latā pūtilatā (**creeper rendered distasteful due to bitter taste**). pu pavane vā ti. rogamaḷaṃ punāti ti pūti. sā eva latā pūtilatā (**creeper which cleanses the impurities of diseases**). gu<a>ḷa rakkhaṇe (**protects [from diseases, i.e. immunity drug]**), [o]co, nadādi, gara secane vā, amatā, madhupaṇṇi pi. madhupaṇṇaṃ <madhur iva paṇṇam-Sū> assā [ti] madhupaṇṇi pi (**having leaves with sweet taste**).

Skt guḍūcī. Syn. chinnaruhā, amṛtā, madhupaṇṇi (Am-k II.4.82,83); S. kiṇḍi\*, rasakiṇḍa; E. Guduch, Heart-leaved moonseed; **Tinospora cordifolia (Willd.) Miers. ex Hook.f. et Thomson**, Menispermaceae.

125. poṭagala (m.), kāsa (m.nt.) (601ab)

puṭaṃ aṇṇaṃ aṇṇaṃ saṃsaggamaṃ gacchatī ti poṭagalo, massalo. kāsa dittiyaṃ, a, ayam anitthi.

Skt poṭagala, kāsa (Am-k II.4.162);<sup>55</sup> S. vāḷuk (vāl uk); E. Thatch grass; **Phragmites karka (Retz.) Trin. ex Steud. (IFPC)**, **Saccharum spontaneum L. (GIMP, GVDB)**, Gramineae.

## PH

126. phaggava (m.) (598d)

<sup>55</sup> The ṭikā gives *poṭagala* as a syn. of *naḷa*, q.v., § 96.

phama vātaṃ gaṇṭhātī <gaṇṭhātī-Sū> ti phaggavo [gaha upādāne, a-Sū] (**removes humoral wind**). lassa vo, phaggavo. piṣaṃkhata <viṣaṃkhata>.

Skt ... ; S. haṅguḷu\*<sup>56</sup> ... E ...

## B

127. bandhūka (m.), jayasumana (nt.), bhaṇḍika (m.) (bhaṇḍikā f.\*), bandhujīvaka (m.) (575cd)

rattapubba <°puppha-Sū> (**red flowers**). bandha bandhane, u, satt[h]e ko. jayatthaṃ sumanaṃ jayasumanaṃ. bhaṇḍati smā iko, bhaṇḍiko. jīvati ti jīvako, jīva pānadhāraṇe, ṇvu, jīvakaṣaddassa pītasālādisv api pavattanato bandhu eva jīvako bindujīvako ti. bandhusaddena viṣesetvā vuttaṃ, samuditena vā nāma[am] idam ek<t>assa, “bandhu bandhukapubbe <°pupphe-Sū> ca — bandhu bhātari <bhāratī-Sū> bandhave” ti vacanato, “jīvako<e> pītasāle ca khepane <uppanne-Sū> vuddhijīvinī — sevini phānake phātī (!) <pā(ṇa)pakepyāhi-Sū> tuṇḍike pādapantare” ti vacanato ca. bandhujīvako ti ettha dve nāmāni pi daṭṭhabbāni (**bandhu and jīvaka are also treated as two names**). Skt bandhūka, bandhujīvaka. Syn. raktaka (Am-k II.4.73); S. baṇḍuvada; E. Shoe flower; **Pentapetes phoenicea L.**, Sterculiaceae.

128. bākucī (f.), somavallikā (f.) (586b)

somarājī. vaka ādāne, aco. somasamatāya kārikā vallikā <vallī-Sū> somavallikā (**similar to the soma creeper**), satthe ko. kaṇḥaphalā pūtiphalā pi.

<sup>56</sup> The sanne groups *tambaka* = *tampalā*, *kalambaka* = *vila palā* (S. *palā* = pot-herb), *kāsamadda* = *ruvara*, *jajjharī* = *lihikoḷa*, and *phaggavā* = *haṅguḷu* as *sākabheda*, *śākaviśeṣa* (species of pot-herb). For S. *haṅguḷu*, one of the syn. given in the DVS is *aṅguṇa vāla*, (= *vāl aṅguṇa*, § 19). The *Bhesajjamañjūsā sanne* on the other hand, gives the S. term *aṅguḷu palā* for the P. (and Skt) term *kākajāṅghā*. Some S. words lose the initial *h* as in *hoya* > *oya* (= a stream). (See W. Geiger, *A grammar of the Sinhalese language*, Colombo 1938, § 84).

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

## BH

129. bhallī (f.), bhallātaka (m.f.nt.) (561b)  
vidarukkha (!). yassa ni[y]āsenā pelādayo lippanti <limpanti-Sū> bhala bhalla (!) paribhāsana himsādānesu, nadādi, aññatra ko, t<k>anto ca. bhallātako tisv ayaṃ. arukaro aggimukho<ī> pi.  
Skt bhallātakī. Syn. vīravṛkṣa, aruṣkara, agnimukhī (Am-k II.4.42); S. baduḷu; E. Marking nut; **Semecarpus gardneri Thwaites**, Anacardiaceae (ENUM, IFPC), **Semecarpus anacardium L.f. (Dv)**, **Semecarpus oblongifolia Thwaites**, Anacardiaceae (ENUM).

130. bhīṅgarāja (m.), mākkava (m.) (595d)  
kesarañc<j>ane. bhīṅgo vuccati bhamaro, tabbaṇṇaṃ katvā tesāṃ rañjēti ti bha<i>ṅgarājo (used as hair dye, having the colour of bees). muca mocane, avo. ussā. mākkavo.  
Skt bhīṅgarāja, mārkava (Am-k II.4.151); S. kīkiriñdiya; E. Trailing eclipta; **Eclipta prostrata (L.) L.**, (= E. alba (L.) Hassk., E. erecta L.), Compositae.

131. bhujapatta (m.), ābhujī (f.) (565b)  
sundaratace rukkhe. yassa tace mantakkharāṇi likkhanti <likhanti> (the beautiful bark of this tree is used for writing charms on). bhujō pāṇi, taṃ sadisa[patta]tāya bhujapatto (leaves are similar to the hand), mantalekhakehi ābhujita tacavantatāya ābhujī (the bark is bent by the writers of charms). bhujō campī <cammi> muduttaco pi.

Skt (bhūrjapatra-SaN I.33). Syn. bhūrja, carmi, mṛduttvaca (Am-k II.4.46 omits bhūrjapatra); S. ruk buruda; E. Himalayan birch; **Betula utilis D.Don**, Betulaceae.

132. bhūtiṅga (nt.), bhūtiṅga (nt.) (602b)  
gandhad<k>eṭi iti khyāte tiṅe. vuttañ ca “bhūtiṅgaṃ <bhūtiṅga-Sū> gandhakheṭaṇ ca sugandhaṃ gomayaṃ v<p>iyam” iti. atha[vā] rāmakappūrato ko assa bhedo (a variety of fragrant grass called **rāmakarpūra**), rāmakappūraṃ bahupattaṃ kaṇḍaṃ kappūra-sugandhi<aṃ> gandhakheṭaṇ tu ikkacca <ikkata> samānapattaṃ khyā<jhā>tasabhāvaṃ bhūmilaggaṃ ato-y-eva bhūtiṅga[m] uccate. bhūmiyaṃ laggaṃ tiṅgaṃ bhūtiṅgaṃ (grass adhering to the earth). nattañ ca, satthe ko.  
Skt bhūstṛṇa (Am-k II.4.167); S. gandhakheṭa taṇa; E. Geranium grass; **Cymbopogon schoenanthus (L.) Spreng.**, Gramineae.

## M

133. mañjiṭṭhā (f.), vikaṣā (f.) (582b)  
maṇḍūkapaṇṇī. majja suddhiyaṃ (cleans), ṭho. kāsa dittiyaṃ (whets appetite), karaṇe, a, rasso. samaṅgā yoja[na]valli pi. samaṅgatī ti samaṅgā (spreading), a. yojanaṃ valli yassā yojanavalli (a league long creeper).  
Skt mañjiṭṭhā, vikaṣā. Syn. maṇḍūkapaṇṇī, samaṅgā, yojanavalli (Am-k II.4.90,91); S. vāl madaṭa; E. Indian madder; **Rubia cordifolia L.**, Rubiaceae.

134. madhuka (nt.), yaṭṭhimadhukā (f.), madhulaṭṭhikā (f.) (587cd)  
madhurasatāya madhukaṃ (having a sweet taste). upamāne ko. daṇḍākārattā yaṭṭhiñca sā madhurasattā madhukā ceti yaṭṭhimadhukā (having the form of a rod, and a sweet taste), madhura[sa]bhāve tiṭṭhatī ti madhulaṭṭhikā (remains sweet). rassa lo, sakatthe ko ca.

madhuyatthikā ti pi pātho. vuttañ ca “madhukaṃ klitakaṃ yatthi — madhukā madhuyatthikā” ti.

Skt madhuka, yaṣṭimadhuka, madhuyaṣṭikā. Syn. klitaka (Am-k II.4.109); S. vāl mī; E. Liquorice; **Glycyrrhiza glabra** L., Papilionaceae.

135. madhuraka (m.), jīvaka (m.) (594d)

ayaṃ aṭṭhavaggapaviṭṭho (a component of the group of eight drugs).<sup>57</sup> anen eva nāmena vāñijānaṃ pasiddho. madhura[ra]satāya madhurako (having a sweet taste). jīvāpeti ti jīvako, ṇu. “jīvako siṅgiko sek<t>o dīghāyu kucchisāsako <kacchasisako-Sū> — rassag<k>o madhuro sādu pānako cīrajivī <cīrajivatī-Sū>” pi ti tantantaraṃ.

Skt id. Syn. śṛṅga, kūrcaśīrṣa (Am-k II.4.142); S. jīvaka; E. Adder’s mouth; **Malaxis muscifera** (Lindl.) Kuntze, (= *Microstylis muscifera* (Lindl.) Ridl.), Orchidaceae.

136. mahākanda (m.), lasuna (nt.) (595a)

yassa mūlaṃ setavaṇṇaṃ palaṇḍukandato mahantakandatāya mahākando (white roots, big stalk). ambilen ekena rasena ūnatāya lasunaṃ (lacks only acid taste). lattaṃ, rassattañ ca, ṇattañ ca, lasa kantiyam vā, yu, assuṃ <assu>, ṇattaṃ. mahosadhaṃ ariṭṭhaṃ rasādane pi.

Skt mahākanda, laṣuna. Syn. mahauśadha, ariṣṭa, rasonaka (Am-k II.4.148); S. heḷa\* (sudu) lūnu; E. Garlic; **Allium sativum** L., Liliaceae.

137. mahosadha (nt.), ativisā (f.) (586a)

mahāviriyaṃ osadhaṃ mahosadhaṃ (very powerful drug). “lasuṇo ’tavisāyañ ca suṅṭhiya (!) mahosadham” iti Ruddo. atīva visati

<sup>57</sup> meda, mahāmeda, kākolī, kṣīrakolī, jīvaka, vṛṣabhaka, ṛddhi, vṛddhi. See *Śārngadharaśamhitā*, II.6.19,20.

bhesajja[pa]yogesū ty ativisā (commonly used in medicinal compositions). visā pi aruṇā siṅgī pi.

Skt mahauśadha, ativiṣā. Syn. aruṇā, śṛṅgī (Am-k II.4.99,100); S. ivada\*, atividayam; E. White aconite; **Aconitum heterophyllum** Wall. ex Royle, Ranunculaceae.<sup>58</sup>

138. mātuḷuṅga (m.), bijapūra (m.) (577c)

matto lujjati yena mātuḷuṅgo (destroys intoxication), luja vināse. paripuṇṇabijatāya bijapūro (full of seeds). rucako pi, ruca dittiyaṃ (whets appetite), ṇvu.

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

139. mālūra (m.), beluva (m.), billa (m.) (556a)

siriphala. mala dhāraṇe, īro <ūro>, ī (!) p<b>ila bhedane, ṇuvo, beluvo. la[p]paccaye<o>, billo saṅḍilyo seḷuho pi. “munippabhede mālūro saṅḍilo pādapantare aṭo billo ca seḷuso”<sup>59</sup> ti Rabhaso.

Skt mālūra, bilva. Syn. śrīphala, śāṅḍilya, śailūṣa (Am-k II.4.32); S. beli; E. Bengal quince; **Aegle marmelos** (L.) Corrêa, Rutaceae.

140. muddikā (f.), madhurasā (f.) (587b)

dakkhā. dumuguṇayogā (!) muddikā. madhuraso<ā> sādu, tena vuttaṃ Vajjagandhe <Vejjagandhe-Sū> “sādulavaṇatittāmbilakāṭa<u>kasāyakā” iti <ti>, taṃ yogā madhurasā.<sup>60</sup> gottanī dakkhā pi.

Skt mṛdvikā, madhurasā. Syn. drākṣā, gostanī (Am-k II.4.107); S. midī vāl; E. Grape vine; **Vitis vinifera** L., Vitaceae.

<sup>58</sup> Three meanings of *mahauśadha* are given here: (1) *ativisā* (syn. *viśvā*, *viṣā*, *prativisā*, *ativisā*, *upavisā*, *aruṇā*, *śṛṅgī*), (2) *suṅṭhī* (ginger, *Zingiber officinale* Roscoe), (3) *laṣuna* (garlic, *Allium sativum* L.). See § 136.

<sup>59</sup> A *pāda* with eight *mātrās* is missing in the quotation.

<sup>60</sup> The gloss on *madhurasā* as the combination of sweet, salty, bitter, acid, pungent and astringent tastes is noteworthy.

141. muṇḍā (f.), madhurasā (f.) (581d)

madhuseni. yā patte hi ca sadisi tat thaco <taco> tantadhanuṇopayutto (bark, similar to leaves, is used to make bowstrings). “mubbā vikāratā eva dhanujiyā sādhu <sādu> pubbā” ty uccate. pubba bandhane, a. madhurasattā madhuraso (sweet). devī moratā pi. mura pavedhane, aṭo, moratā.

Skt mūrṅvā, madhurasā. Syn. madhuśreṇī, devī, moratā (Am-k II.4.83,84); S. mora\*, niyaṇḍa; E. Bowstring hemp; **Sansevieria zeylanica** (L.) Willd., Haemodoraceae.

142. mūlaka (m.nt.), cuccū (f.) (598a)

ṇvu. mhi mūlako, cacca paribhāsaṇa tajjanesu, assu.

Skt mūlaka (Am-k II.4.157), cuccū; S. mūla palā; E. Radish; **Raphanus sativus** L., Cruciferae.

### Y

143. yaññaṅga (m.), udumbara (m.) (551d)

yaññaṅgammānam aṅgo ekaṅgattā yaññaṅgo. dubbī hī<iṃ>sāyaṃ, aro, niggahītāgamo, et<k>assa p<b>assa lopo ca. jantā<u>phalo pomaduddho <hema> pi.

Skt id. Syn. jantuphala, hemadugdhaka (Am-k II.4.22); S. dirṅbul\*, +dumarukkha\*, aṭṭikkā; E. Cluster fig; **Ficus racemosa** L., (= F. glomerata Roxb.), Moraceae.

144. yūthikā (f.), māgadhi (f.), +vassa<i>kī f.\* (576c)

campeyya. yudha hīmsāyaṃ, i, satthe ko, dīghādi. Mā<a>gadhe bhavā māgadhi (habitat: Magadha). gaṇikā ambaṭṭhā pi.

Skt id. Syn. gaṇikā, ambaṭṭhā (Am-k II.4.71); S. sīnidda; E. Jasmine of poetry, White-flowered jasmine; **Jasminum auriculatum** Vahl, Oleaceae.

### R

145. rattaphalā (f.), bimbikā (f.) (591b)

rattam pakkam phalam assā oṭṭhavaṇṇā samāna[vaṇṇa]phalatāya bimbikā (ripe fruits are of red colour, similar to the colour of lips),<sup>61</sup> assā eva hi phalen oṭṭho upamiyate tuṇḍikerī piḷupañṇī pi.

Skt raktaphalā, bimbikā, (bimbī -Suśr, p. 165). Syn. tuṇḍikerī, piḷupañṇī (Am-k II.4.139); S. kem vāla; E. Scarlet-fruited gourd; **Coccinia grandis** (L.) Voigt, (= Cephalandra indica Naudin, Coccinia indica Wight et Arn.), Cucurbitaceae.

146. rambhā (f.), kadali (f.), moca (m.) (589a)

rammanti yassa <ramanti yassaṃ sā-Sū> rambho<ā> (delightful [to the taste]), bho. kada māraṇe, alo, nadādi. muca mocaṇe, ṇo.

Skt id. (Am-k II.4.113); S. kesel; E. Adam's fig, Banana, Plantain; **Musa acuminata** Colla (IFPC), **M. balbisiana** Colla, **M. paradisiaca** L. (GIMP, GVDB), Musaceae.

147. rasāla (m.), ucchu (m.) (599d)

rasaṃ lātī ti rasālo (having taste), dīgho. issa <isu> icchāyaṃ, u, usa dāhe vā, u. sassa cho, pubbatra. issu, assarūpadvittaṃ <asa>, ucchu, pume.

Skt rasāla, ikṣu (Am-k II.4.163); S. uk; E. Sugar cane; **Saccharum officinarum** L., Gramineae. See nuhī (§ 107).

148. reṇuka (m.), kapilā (f.) (590d)

gandhadabba (fragrant drug). ayaṃ reṇuke va pānichādinam khyātā. assā ca sachinditā vātākīphalaṃ. reṇa<u> gatisaddesu, ṇvu. kapilā vuttā

<sup>61</sup> In fact, women's lips are compared to the *bimba* fruits in Skt and S. classical literature, cf. *tanvī śyāmā śikhari daśanā pakvabimbādharoṣṭhī* (Meghadūta, II, 22); *dimut saṇḍaḷuvala keḷinā laṇḍa adara* — *surat bābaḷi biṃbupalayayi kara adara* (Girāsandeśaya, verse 53).

dvijā hi<a>reṇu koṭi (!) bhasmāgandhini mi (!) “hareṇu so kalāse pi reṇukā yaṃ tiyaṃ bhava” ti Ruddo.

Skt reṇukā, kapilā. Syn. hareṇū, dvijā, bhasmagandhinī (Am-k II.4.120), (hareṇukā, reṇukā-Suśr, p. 166); S. hareṇu, +rāhāniya\*; E. Fragrant pepper; **Piper wallichii (Miq.) Hand.-Mazz.** (= *P. aurantiacum* Wall. ex DC.), Piperaceae.

149. rocana (m.), kūṭasimbali (f.) (565d)

picchilākāra<e> kaṇḍ<ṭ>akasaḥite rukkhe (**thorny tree, similar to the picchilā (q.v.) tree**). ruca dittiyaṃ (**whets appetite**), hetukattari, yu. kuṭa koṭiye (**crooked**), kattari ṇo, koṭo. asimbalī samāno simbalī sadisākāradaṣṣanato koṭa<i>simbalī (**similar in appearance to the simbalī tree**), pume, kasimbalo pi.

Skt rocana, kūṭaśālmali. (Am-k II.4.47); S. koḷa iṃbul\*, kaṭu iṃbul,<sup>62</sup> E. Kapok tree; **Bombax ceiba L.**, (= *B. malabaricum* DC., *Salmalia malabarica* (DC.) Schott et Endl.), Bombacaceae.

150. rohi (m.) (f.\*), rohitaka (m.) (566b)

dāḷimapupphākāra p[|]iḥanāsa rukkha, ruha janane, ṇi (**tree inimical to the spleen, and with flowers similar to those of the pomegranate**). lohitapupphatāya l<r>ohitako (**flowers are red**).

Skt rohī, rohitaka. Syn. dāḷimapuṣpaka, plīhaśatru (Am-k II.4.49); S. val erabadu; E. White cedar; **Tecomella undulata Seem.**, (= *Tecoma undulata* (Roxb.) G.Don), Bignoniaceae.

L

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

<sup>62</sup> According to the popular beliefs of the Sinhales, those who commit adultery are made to climb the *kaṭu iṃbul* tree in hell. See my article, “The birth story of the deer”, in *The Bodleian Library Record*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, April 1993, p. 306.

uhurukkha. labunāmake pabbate jāyatī ti labujo (**called labuja because it grows in the mountain named Labu**). khuddakattā līnam apākaṭaṃ. kucasaṃkhātaṃ phalam etassa [ti] likuco (**fruits are shaped as the female breast**), nipātanā.

Skt lakuca, likuca. Syn. ḍahu (Am-k II.4.60); S. ḍahaṃbu\*, +del\*, E. Breadfruit; **Artocarpus lakoocha Wall. ex Roxb.**, (= *A. nobilis* Thwaites), Moraceae.

152. lāṅgali (f.), sāradi (f.) (588d)

aggisikhā. naṅgalasadisamūlatāya lāṅgali (**roots resemble a plough**), [na]ssa lo, diḅho ca. niṅgalatī ti pi pāṭho. saradakāle sajjātatta <sañjātattā> sāradi (**grows in springtime**).

Skt lāṅgali, śāradi (Am-k II.4.111). Syn. agniśikhā (SaN IV.29); S. liyanaṅgalā; E. Malabar Glory Lily; **Gloriosa superba L.**, Liliaceae.

153. likocaka (m.), aṅkoḷa (m.) (557a)

ahanu. likuco nāma uhurukkho, tagguṇattā likocako, saṃñāyaṃ <saññāyaṃ>, ko. aṅgālakkhaṇe, olo, aṅkolo.

Skt (aṅkola), aṅkoṭa, nikocaka (Am-k II.4.29); S. ruk aṅguṇa; E. Sage-leaved alangium; **Alangium salvifolium (L.f.) Wangerin subsp. salvifolium**, (= *A. lamarckii* Thwaites), Alangiaceae.

V

154. vañjula (m.), vetasa (m.) (553d)

vidula. yo abbhassa[ma]ye pupphati (**blossoms in the rainy season**). vaja gama[ne], [u]lo. dhi<vi> pajane, aso, bhonto <tonto> ca, vipubbo, atha <ata> sātaccagamane vā, aso, vāniy<r>o pi.

Skt id. Syn. vidura, vānira (Am-k II.4.29,30); S. homu vaṅgu; E. Rattan, Rotang; **Calamus rotang L.**, Palmae.

155. vakula (m.), kesara (m.) (572b)

bahula (!). vaka ādāne, ulo. kesarayuttapupp[h]atāya kesaro (**having fibrous or hairy flowers**).

Skt bakula, kesara (Am-k II.4.64); S. muḥuḷu mal\*, muḥuṇa mal, mūṇa mal; E. Indian medlar tree, Nagkassar; **Mimusops elengi** L., Sapotaceae.

156. vatthula (nt.), vatthuleyyaka (m.) (597d)

anūpasāka (**herb growing in watery land**). vasati yasmim khāraguṇe (**alkaline**). vatthu ratthu, vasa himsāyaṃ vā, vasati kaphati vātapitte <kaphavātapitte-Sū> ti vatthu (**attacks phlegm, humoral wind and bile**). vatthuleyyako ti samuditanāmam, laya sāy<m>ye, layāpeti sabbadose ti leyyako (**pacifies all doṣas, morbid entities**<sup>63</sup>), ṇvu, asse, vatthu ca so leyyako cāti vatthuleyyako. muhaṅga.

Skt...; S. maha kūra...; E...; **Amaranthus polygonoides** L., Amaranthaceae.

157. varaṇa (m.), kareri (m.), +varaṇa, setu, tittaka, kumāraka m.\* (553b) vara icchāyaṃ, yu. kala samkhyāṇe, iro, nadādi, rassanto. varuṇo tittasāko pi (**bitter plant**).

Skt varaṇa. Syn. varuṇa, setu, tiktaśāka, (tiktaśāra-Suśr, p. 165), kumāraka (Am-k II.4.25); S. luṇuvaraṇa; E. Sacred caper, Three-leaved caper; **Crateva magna** (Lour.) DC., (= C. nurvala Buch.-Ham, C. religiosa G. Forst., C. roxburghii R. Br.), Capparidaceae.

158. vātingaṇa (m.), bhaṇḍākī, bhaṇṭākī\* (f.) (588a)

vātahara[ṇa]tthēna gaṇiyate ti vātingaṇe (**removes humoral wind**). bhaṇḍa paris<bh>āsane, ṇvu, nadādi. ṭakāraṇe ca bhaṇḍati pi.

<sup>63</sup> doṣa = morbid entity is the tr. of G.J. Meulenbeld (*The Mādhavanidāna and its chief commentary*, Chapters 1–10, Introduction, Translation and Notes, Leiden 1974).

bṛhatiyaṃ pi ayam. “vātingaṇo tu vattā tu vattakā sākaveḷu ca — bhaṇḍati rājakumbhaṇḍo vattākī duppabhāsini” ti Rabhaso.

Skt vārtākī, bhaṇṭākī. Syn. duṣpradhārṣiṇī (Am-k II.4.114); S. vambaṭu; E. Aubergine, Brinjal, Eggplant; **Solanum melongena** L., Solanaceae.<sup>64</sup>

159. vāttākī (f.), bṛhatī (f.) (588b)

vatthaṃ <vāttam> nirāmayam karotī ti vitthākī <vāttākī>, vātingaṇe pi. bṛha vuḍḍ<dd>hiyam, to, nadādi. (See vātingaṇa above).

Skt vārtākī (Am-k II.4.114); S. heḷa baṭu, eḷa baṭu; E. Indian nightshade, White eggplant; **Solanum anguivi** L., (= *Solanum indicum* auct. non L.), Solanaceae.<sup>65</sup>

160. vāneyya (nt.), kuṭannaṭa (nt.) (592b)

kuṭa iti khyāte sugandhadabbe (**fragrant drug**). kuṭa chedane, ṭho, krayam pat<ṭ>haviyam tiṭṭhatī ti vā kuṭam. byādhināmakattā byādhi. tathā ca “koveram bhāsuraṃ kuṭam pāribhābā (!) gadavhayam” iti Rabhaso. phālaka[m] uppalam pi.

Skt vāneyya, kuṭannaṭa. Syn. paripelava, dāśapura (daśapūra) (Am-k II.4.131); S. dasapura, +maha vammutu\*; E. Anti-emetic root, Sting bisom; **Cyperus articulatus** L., Cyperaceae.

161. vāsantī (f.), atimutta (m.) (577a)

muṇḍaka. vasante puphatī ti vāsantī (**blossoms in spring**). ati mudam tanotī ti atimutto (**gives great pleasure**), nipātanā. mādhavī latā pi.

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

<sup>65</sup> Cf. syn. given in the SaN (III.20,21,22) for the three species: (1) **heḷa baṭu**: *bṛhatī*, *hingulī*, *simhī*, *vārtākī*, *rāṣṭrakī*, *śira*; (2) **vambaṭu**: *mahāvārtākīnī*, *sthūla*, *bṛhatī*, *mahāphala*, *bhaṇḍākī*, *prthuvārtākī*, *bṛhatī*; (3) **tibbaṭu**: *ksudravārtākīnī*, *simhī*, *bhaṇṭākī*, *bahuputrikā*, *nidigdhi*, *rāṣṭrakā*, *ksudravārtākī*. See also note on *nididdhikā*, § 104.

“madhumhi khitte cesāvo pubbatī ti mādhavī — latā jotimatī viṇṇā sākhāvallī miyaṅgusu”. latā kattarikāyañ ca. sāmutt̥ha mādhavī sucāti latā anekattā.

Skt vāsantī, atimukta. Syn. mādhavī, latā (Am-k II.4.72); S. yohombu\*, gātipicca; E...; **Hiptage benghalensis (L.) Kurz**, Malpighiaceae.

162. vitunna (nt.), sunisannaka (nt.) (596b)

anūpaje sāke (herb growing in watery land). tuda b<v>yathane, bhāvato, vigataṃ tunnam etassaṃ<a> khādane [ti] vitunnaṃ. sada visaranagatyavasānesu, to, annādeso, satthe ko.

Skt vitunna, suniṣaṇṇaka (Am-k II.4.149); S. kiṃbulvāna; E. ... ; **Marsilea minuta L.**, Marsileaceae.

163. vilaṅga (nt.), citrataṇḍulā (f.) (586d)

aṅgarāṅgalaṅgaty atthā. daṇḍakadhātu. a. lattaṃ vilṅgaṃ. citrāni taṇḍulāni yassā [sā] [citra]taṇḍulā. kip<m>isatthu pi.

Skt viḍaṅga, citrataṇḍulā, taṇḍula. Syn. (krimiśatru) kṛmighna (Am-k II.4.106); S. vaḷaṅgasāl; E. Embelia; **Embelia ribes Burm.f.**, Myrsinaceae.

## S

164. satamūlī (f.), satāvarī (f.) (585d)

aheru. ayam aheru icce va khyātā kaṇḍ<ṭ>akavati ca bhavati. satam mūlāni yassa [so] satamūlī (having a hundred roots). sataroge āvarati ti satāvarī (prevents a hundred diseases), vara āvaraṇicchāsu. athavā satāti ca āvariti ca dve nāmāni. tassā <tasmā> “satamūlī bahusutābhīrur indati ca rivati (!)” ti hi vuttaṃ.

Skt śatamūlī, śatāvarī. Syn. aheru, bahusutā, abhīru, indīvarī (Am-k II.4.100,101); S. sātāvārī\*, hātāvārīya; E. Asparagus; **Asparagus falcatus L.** (ENUM, IFPC), **A. racemosus Willd.**, Liliaceae (Dv, GIMP).

165. sattapaṇṇī (m.), chattapaṇṇa (m.), + visālattaca\*, sārādī\*, visamacchada\* (555a)

visālataca. yo sarade pupphati patipubbaṃ (blossoms in autumn). sattapaṇṇāny assā [ti] sattapaṇṇī (having seven leaves), pume. chattam iva paṇṇam assā [ti] chattapaṇṇe<o> (leaves resemble a parasol). visamacchada pi, sattapaṇṇattā visamacchada.

Skt saptaparnī. Syn. viśālatvak, viṣamacchada (Am-k II.4.23); S. ruk attana; E. Devil's tree, Dita, White wood; **Alstonia scholaris (L.) R.Br.**, (= *Echites scholaris* L.), Apocynaceae.

166. sattalā (f.), navamallikā (f.) (576d)

devāli. sundaraṃ dalam etissā [ti] sattalo<ā> (having beautiful young leaves), dassa to, sattadalāni yassā vā sattalā (having seven young leaves). navā nūtanā mallikā navamallikā (new jasmine), navamallikā <°mālikā> pi.

Skt saptalā, navamālikā (Am-k II.4.72); S. satpeti dāsaman; E. Multi-petalled (literally, seven-petalled) jasmine; **Jasminum arborescens Roxb.**, Oleaceae.

167. sattuphalā (f.), samī (f.) (566d)

sivārukkha. sattayuttaphalatāya satta<u>phalā. gaṇḍaṃ sameti ti samī (heals tumours), i, nadādi.

Skt saktuphalā, śamī. Syn. śivā (Am-k II.4.52); S. sāma gas; E. Musquit bean, Screw bean; **Prosopis cineraria (L.) Druce**, (= *P. spicigera* L.), Mimosaceae.

168. saddala (m.), dubbā (f.) (599a)

sundaraṃ dalaṃ pātem <pattim> etassa maṅgalapāt<ṭh>e ti saddalo, saddaṃ maṅgalasaddaṃ lanti bhāsanti pat<ṭh>anti brāhmaṇā y<n>enāti vā saddalo (used in Brahmanic ceremonies [to the accompaniment of] auspicious sounds). dubbi<a> himsāyaṃ, a. avamaṅgalaṃ dubbatī ti dubbā. dunnimittādayo vārenti yāyati <etāyāti-

Sū> vā dubbā (**wards off evil omens etc.**), nerutto. satappabbikā bhaggavī anantā ruhā pi.

Skt dūrvā. Syn. śataparvikā, bhārgavī, anantā, ruhā (Am-k II.4.158), śādvala; S. hitaṇa; E. Conch grass, Durba grass; **Cynodon dactylon** (L.) Pers., Gramineae. See golomī above (§ 67).

169. samīraṇa (m.), phaṇijjaka (m.) (579d)

appamatta paṇṇāsa. īra kampane, yu. phaṇiṃ jayati ti phaṇijjako (**overcomes serpents, i.e. effective against snake poison**), yassa ko.

Skt id. Syn. parṇāsa, marubaka (Am-k II.4.79), (phaṇijjhaka, Syn. maruvaka-Suśr, p. 165); S. maruvā\*, muruvā; E. Annual marjoram, Sweet marjoram; **Marsdenia tenacissima** (Roxb.) Moon, Asclepiadaceae.

170. sarala (m.), pūtikāṭṭha (nt.) (571a)

pītiduma. sarati kālantaraṃ, saralo, alo. pūti-y-eva kaṭṭhaṃ pūtikaṭṭhaṃ, pūtimuttaṃ yathā (**the wood has a putrid odour**).

Skt sarala, pūtikāṣṭha. Syn. pītradru (Am-k II.4.60); S. sarala; E. Chir pine, Long-leaved Indian pine; **Pinus roxburghii** Sarg., Pinaceae.

171. salla (m.), madana (m.) (567d)

piṇḍitaka. sala gamane, lo, [sallo]. mada ummāde, yu. “piṇḍitako maravako sasano karahāṭako” ty Amarakoso<e>.

Skt śalya, madana. Syn. piṇḍitaka, marubaka, śvasana, karahāṭaka (Am-k II.4.52,53); S. kukurumuvan; E. Emetic nut; **Catunaregam spinosa** (Thunb.) Tirveng., **Randia dumetorum** (Retz.) Poir., Rubiaceae (GIMP, GVDB).

172. saha (m.), sahakāra (m.) (557cd)

“sugandha vā atisayagandhayutto samāno saho sakkāro” ti vo<u>ccate (**fragrant or strong-smelling**), saha sattiyam, sugandham kattum

sahati ti saho (**capable of making a good odour**), a, sahanam saho, tam karoti ti sahakāro. hā vā mudā tāya saha vattati ti saho. saham samuddam <samudam> karoti ti sahakāro.

Skt sahakāra (Am-k II.4.33); S. mi aṃba; E. [Sweet] mango; **Mangifera indica** L., Anacardiaceae.

173. sādukaṇṭa (m.), vikaṅkata (m.) (559d)

gandh<th>ila. sādhuḥphalatāya sādhu <sādhuḥphalatāya sādhu> so (**fruits are sweet**), kaṇṭakasahitatāya <kaṇṭakasadisa°-Sū, **thorn-like**> kaṇṭo (**thorny**) ceti sādukaṇṭh<ṭ>o, sakaṇṭatāya attānam virūpaṃ karoti ti vikaṅkato (**rendered ugly because of thorns**). dvittam, niggahitāgamo ca.

Skt svādukaṇṭaka, vikaṅkata. Syn. granthila (Am-k II.4.37); S. kaṭu kihiri\*, ugurāssa; E. Governor's plum, Lawyer vine; **Flacourtia indica** (Burm.f.) Merr., (= Flacourtia ramontchi var. sapiaria Roxb.) Flacourtiaceae.

174. sāmā (f.), kālā (f.) (590b)

kaṇṭhativutā. sā tanukaraṇe. virecanakaraṇena <virocana°-Sū> kāyaṃ rogam ca sārati <sāyati-Sū> ti sāmā (**diminishes the body and the disease by the action of purging**). “sāmā tu mecake vuddha-dārake harite nadi” ti kaṇṭha[ti]vutā, gundā. “sārivāyam iti suce” ti Rabhaso. kala saṃkhyāne, kara karaṇe vā, a, kālā. “thikālā <vikālā> kaṇṭhativutāyaṃ nili yojanavallisu — madhurā vidalā <masūra Vidalā> addhacandā kālamesikā” pi.

Skt śyāmā, kālā. Syn. masūra Vidalā, ardhacandrā, kālameṣikā (Am-k II.4.108,109); S. trastavālu\*, kaḷukāmbēriya\*, + pūḍā vāl\*; E. (Black) turpeth tree; **Operculina turpethum** (L.) **Silva Manso**, (= Ipomoea turpethum (L.) R.Br.), Convolvulaceae. See tivutā above (§ 88).



175. sāmā (f.), piyaṅgu (f.), kaṅgu (f.) (571c)  
balanī <phalini>. sā tanukaraṇe, mo. piyabhāvaṃ gacchatī ti piyaṅgu  
(pleasant), u. kammaniyabhāvaṃ gacchatī ti kaṅgu (**charming**),  
nipātānā. pahilavhayā <mahilāhvayā> latā gundā baligandha (!) bali (!)  
kārambo pi.

Skt śyāmā, priyaṅgu. Syn. mahilāhvayā, latā, gundrā, gandhaphali, phali,  
kārambhā (Am-k II.4.55,56); S. poṅgu\*, puvaṅgu; E. Perfumed cherry;  
**Aglaia elaeagnoides (Juss.) Benth. var. beddomei (Gamble)**  
**K.K.N. Nair**, (= *A. roxburghiana* (Wight et Arn.) Miq.), Meliaceae.

176. sāla (m.), assakaṇṇa (m.), saija (m.) (562c)  
sala gamane, ṇo. sāravantatāya vā sālo (**having latex**).  
assakaṇṇasadisapaṇṇatāya assakaṇṇo (**leaves resemble the ears of**  
**horses**). sañja sañj<g>e (**sticky**), a, saija adane vā, a.  
Skt sāla, aśvakarṇaka, sarjaka (Am-k II.4.44) sarja (Suśr p. 165); S.  
sal;<sup>66</sup> E. Sal tree; **Shorea robusta C.F.Gaertn.**, Dipterocarpaceae.

177. sālapanṇī (f.), thirā (f.) (584d)  
sālapanṇisaddisa <°sadisā> vi[sā]tatāya sālapanṇī (**leaves are broad**  
**like those of the sal tree**). sālāṃ sobhanayuttam paṇṇam assā ti  
sālapanṇī (**leaves beautify the branches**), thu gati theriyesu, iro, tiro.  
Skt śālaparṇī, sthirā (Am-k II.4.115); S. asvānna; E. Tick trefoil;  
**Alysicarpus vaginalis (L.) DC.** (ENUM, IFPC), **Desmodium**  
**gangeticum (L.) DC.** (Dv, GIMP, GVDB), Papilionaceae.

178. siṅgī (f.), usabha (m.) (590c)  
kakku<a>ṭasiṅgā<i>. siṅgasadisapupphatāya siṅgī (**flowers resemble**  
**horns**). kulirasiṅgī cakkasiṅgī pi.

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

Skt śṛṅgī, ṛṣabha (Am-k II.4.116). Syn. karkaṭaśṛṅgī, kulira°(RaN  
p. 117); S. vaṃhāpala\*, osabiya; E. Pistache, Wax tree; **Pistacia**  
**chinensis Bunge**, (= *P. integerrima* J. Stewart ex Brandis),  
Anacardiaceae.<sup>67</sup>

179. sirīsa (m.), bhaṇḍila (m.) (571d)  
sarati hiṃsati rogaṃ sirīso (**destroys diseases**), iso, assi. bhaṇḍa  
paribhāsane, ilo. kapītano pi, ambāṭike bhaddabhaṇḍe ca, kapītano.  
Skt śirīsa, bhaṇḍila. Syn. kapītana (= āmrātaka-Suśr, p. 168, see pītana  
§ 13) (Am-k II.4.63); S. mahari\*, māra, sūriya māra; E. Egyptian acacia,  
Kokko, Lebbeck, Siris tree, Woman's tongue tree; **Albizia lebbeck**  
**(L.) Willd.**, Mimosaceae.

180. sihapucchī (f.), pañhipaṇṇī (f.) (584c)  
kalabhisi <kalasi>. sihapucchākāraṃ kusumamañjaritāya sihapucchi  
(**clusters of flowers resembling the tail of lions**). pañhī <pañhi-  
Sū> ti appatta <appatanu-Sū> vuccate. pañhipaṇṇam yassā pañhipaṇṇī  
(**less leaves**).  
Skt siṃhapucchī, pṛṣniparṇī. Syn. kalaśī (Am-k II.4.92,93); S. pusvānna;  
E. Pointed-leaved uraria; **Uraria lagopodioides (L.) Desv.** (GIMP),  
**U. picta (Jacq.) Desv.** (IFPC), Papilionaceae.

181. sumanā (f.), jātisumanā (f.), mālatī (f.), jāti (f.), vassikī (f.)<sup>68</sup>  
(576ab)  
sundaraṃ mano yassa sugandhattā jātisumanā ti samuditanāma[m]  
(**pleasant and fragrant**), mala dhāraṇe, to, nadādi, jana jananti.

<sup>67</sup> *cakraśṛṅgī* is omitted in the Am-k, Dv, and GVDB. *vaṃhāpala* in S. is  
generally Skt *vāsā*, E. Malabar nut, Adhatoda vasica Nees.

<sup>68</sup> The grouping of *vassikī* in the syn. here is apparently an error of the Subhuti  
ed. The same takes *vassikī* with *yūthikā*, *māgadhi* (= *S. sinidda*). See § 144. That  
avoids the confusion between *vāsanti* and *vassikī*; cf. *yūthikā gaṇikā* 'mbaṣṭhā  
*māgadhi bālapuṣpikā* — *modanī bahugandhā ca bhṛṅgānandā gajāhvayā*. RaN,  
p. 233.

vassakālasañjātapupphatāya vassa<i>kī (blossoms in the rainy season). it<k>o, nadādi.

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

182. sepaṇṇī (f.), kāsmarī (f.) (558c)

sirimantāni paṇṇāni yassā [sā] sepaṇṇī (**having bright leaves**), nadādi, sirisaddassa se [ādeso]. Kāsmarīdese jātattā kāsmarī (**original habitat: Kashmir**). kāsa dittiyaṃ vā (**or, whets appetite**), maro, nadādi. madhupaṇṇī bhaddapaṇṇī pi.

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

183. sephālikā (f.), nīlikā (f.) (575a)

kaṇhapupphasepālikā. siphātā <sephā jaṭā-Sū> yass atthi sephālikā (**having a complex stamen**), iko. lamajjho. nīlapubbatāya <°pupphatāya> nīlikā (**flowers are blue**). “suvahā nigguṇḍī pi, sindhuvāro pi nigguṇḍī, nīlasephāliyāmicē” <°kā pi ce> ti Ruddho.

Skt śephālikā, nīlikā. Syn. suvahā, nirguṇḍī (Am-k II.4.70), sindhuvāra; S. kaḷu mal sēpālikā; E. Coral jasmine, Night jasmine, Sorrowful nycanthos, Tree of sadness, Tree of sorrow; *Nyctanthes arbor-tristis* L., Nyctanthaceae.

184. sereyyaka (m.), dāsī (f.), kimkirāta (m.), kuraṇḍaka (m.) (579ab)

jiṇḍī <jhiṇṭī>. sira<i>ṃ vattati yena [so] sereyyako, neyyako <neyyo, satthe ko> (**maintains splendour**). dāsanāmakattā dāsī. kira vikkiraṇe, āto, dvittam, kuru<a> sadde, v<d>o, satthe ko.

Skt saireyaka, dāsī, kuraṇṭaka. Syn. jhiṇṭī (Am-k II.4.74,75); S. kaṭu karaṇḍu; E. Yellow nail-dye plant; *Barleria prionitis* L., Acanthaceae. 185. seleyya (nt.), asmapuppha (nt.) (591c)

thañ <taṃ> ca pāsāṇabhavaṃ sugandharasadabbaṃ selajam iti kkhyātam (**fragrant drug produced in stone**). silāyaṃ pāsāṇe bhavaṃ seleyyaṃ (**produced in stone**). neyyo. asmato asmassa vā pupphaṃ asmapupphaṃ (**stone flowers**). kālānusāriyam pi.

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

186. selu (m.), bahuvāraka (m.), +uddāla\* (558b)

yassa phalāni picchillāni <picchilāni> (**having slippery fruits**), si bandhane, lu. sala gamanatthe vā, u, asse. picchilattā bahūni vārā<i>ṇi yasmiṃ bahuvārako (**plenty of water due to slipperiness**), saññāyaṃ ko. sito uddālo kapalo pi.

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

187. sonaka (m.), dīghavaṇṭa (m.) (572a)

muṇḍaka<maṇḍūka>paṇṇa. suna gatiyaṃ, ṇvu. dīghaṃ phalavaṇḍ<ṭ>aṃ yassa (**fruits having a long stalk**). naṭo kuṭaṭo (!) pi.

Skt s(ś)yonāka, dīrghavṛnta. Syn. kuṭannaṭa, maṇḍūkaparṇa (Am-k II.4.56,57); S. toṭīla; E. Indian trumpet flower; *Oroxylum indicum* (L.) Benth. ex Kurz, Bignoniaceae.

188. sobhañjana (m.), siggu (m.), +bhujāṅga\* (554d)

tikkhi<a>gandha. sobhaṃ janetī ti sobhañjano (**creates beauty**). sobhavisañjanam ekena <sobhati añjanam etena-Sū> hetubhūtenā ti vā <vā ti> sobhañjano vuttañ ca. “sirīsapuppharitena <srīsapupphassa

rasena-Sū> bhāvitaṃ sahasavāraṃ maricaṃ sitavhayaṃ <sitāhvayaṃ>  
— etena sam[m]anti visā hi sambhavā katañjana[m] snehānapālanatthikā  
<snehanapādanatthuto-Sū (!)>” ti (antidote).<sup>69</sup>

Skt sobhāñjana, (śobhāñjanaka-Suśr, p. 165), śigru. Syn. tīkṣṇagandha  
(Am-k II.4.31); S. muruṅgā; E. Drumstick tree, Horse-radish tree;  
**Moringa oleifera Lam.**, Moringaceae.

189. somavakka (m.), kadara (m.) (567c)  
sitasāra. khadira. khadirādikan tu pītasāre khadire. setavaṇṇatāya somo  
(white-coloured). kappa<ū>rasadiso vakko vakkalam etassā [ti]  
somavaṇṇ<kk>o (the bark, similar to that of kappūra, camphor,  
is white). “somo kuvero pitu devatāyaṃ — vasuppabhede vasudhākāre  
ca — dibbosadhasāmalatā (!) samīraṃ — kappūraniresu ca vānare cā” ti  
nānattasaṃgaho. īsaṃ khuddakaṃ dalam etassa kadaro (leaves are  
small). lassa ro.

Skt somavalka, kadara. Syn. sitakhadira, (śveta°) (Am-k II.4.50); S. heḷa  
khipiri; E. Gum arabic tree; **Acacia suma Buch.-Ham.**, Mimosaceae.

190. hintāla (m.) (604a)  
hintālayo sattanissaraṇāya tināni ca. tāni mūlena jālapānasāmaññatto  
pādapā ceti tinapādapā vuccanti. tina adane. pamāṇato tālato hīno hintālo  
(smaller than the tāla tree). padavipariyās<y>o rasso ca.  
Skt hintāla (Am-k II.4.169); S. kitul; E. Jaggery palm, Toddy palm;  
**Caryota urens L.**, Palmae.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. śirīṣapuṣpasvarase saptāhaṃ maricaṃ sitam/ bhāvitaṃ sarpadaśānām  
pānanasyāñjane hitam// Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya, Uttarasthāna, 36.72

śirīṣapuṣpasvarase bhāvitaṃ maricaṃ sitam/ saptāhaṃ sarpadaśānām  
nasyapānāñjane hitam// Cakradatta, Viśacikitsā, 8.

(“Seeds of the horse-radish soaked in the juice of the Egyptian acacia flowers for  
seven days is good for those stung by serpents, to be used as a beverage, an  
errhine or an ointment.”) NB: sitam maricaṃ = śigrubijam = horse-radish seeds.

191. hirivera (nt.), vāla (nt.) (591a)  
phālaka <bālaka>. Hirināmit<k>āya devadhītāya sarīrato sañjātattā  
hiriveraṃ (born of the body of the female divinity called Hiri).  
vāretī ti vāraṃ. virināmakattā <vāra°> vā vāraṃ, latte phālam <vālam>  
udijjhaṃ. kesāmp<b>unāmam pi. Udidese bhavaṃ udijjhaṃ (found in  
the North-Western region). kesassa ambuno ca yāni nāmāni tāni  
sabbāny assām iti kesāmp<b>unāmam.  
Skt hrīvera, bāla. Syn. keśāmbunāma, udīcyā (Am-k II.4.122); S.  
iriveriya; E. Fragrant mallow; **Plectranthus zeylanicus Benth.**  
(IFPC), Labiatae, **Pavonia odorata Willd.**, Malvaceae (GIMP).

#### ABBREVIATIONS TITLES OF BOOKS

Abh	=	<i>Abhidhānappadīpikā</i> , ed. Waskaduwe Subhuti, Colombo 1938.
Am-k	=	<i>Amarakośa</i> , ed. Chintamani Shastri Thatte, Bombay 1877.
AAS	=	<i>Āyurveda auśadha saṃgrahaya</i> , Vol. I Pts 2 & 3, Department of Ayurveda, Colombo 1979, 1985.
CMP	=	<i>Ceylon medicinal plants and Sinhalese medicines</i> by (Henry Trimen), Colombo 1900.
DVS	=	<i>Deśīya vaidya śabdakośaya</i> by Kiriāllē Nāṇavimala, Ratnapura 1970.
Dv	=	<i>Dravyaguṇa-vijñāna</i> by P.V. Sharma, Vol. I, Varanasi 1981 (6th ed.), Vol. II, Varanasi 1981 (5th ed.), Vol. III, Varanasi 1980 (2nd ed.), Vol. IV, Varanasi 1977 (2nd ed.), Vol. V, Varanasi 1981.
ENUM	=	<i>Enumeratio Plantarum Zeylaniae: An Enumeration of Ceylon Plants with descriptions of the new and little-known genera and species, observations on their</i>

- habitats, uses, native names, etc.* by G.H.K. Thwaites, assisted in the identification of the species and synonym by J.D. Hooker, London 1858–1864.
- GIMP = *Glossary of Indian medicinal plants* by R.N. Chopra et al., New Delhi 1956; Supplement, New Delhi 1974 (reprint).
- GVDB = *Glossary of vegetable drugs in Brhatrayi* by Thakur Balwant Singh & K.C. Chuneekar, Varanasi 1972.
- IFPC = *A provisional index to the local names of the flowering plants of Ceylon* by R.N. de Fonseka & S. Vinasithamby, Peradeniya 1971.
- MMITM = *Materia Medica of Indo-Tibetan Medicine* by Bhagwan Dash, New Delhi 1987.
- PED = *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1992.
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- SaN = *Sarasvatī nighaṇḍuva*, ed. Devika Gunasena, Nugegoda 1970.
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- Suśr = *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, ed. Jādavji Trikmaji Ācārya, Bombay 1938.
- Sū = *Abhidhānappadīpikā sūci* by Waskaduwe Subhuti, Colombo 1893.

## GENERAL

cy.	=	commentary
E.	=	English
ed.	=	editor(s)/edition
f.	=	feminine
fn.	=	footnote
m.	=	masculine
nt.	=	neuter
P.	=	Pāli
q.v.	=	quod vide, which see
S.	=	Sinhala
Skt	=	Sanskrit
Syn.	=	synonym(s)
Tr.	=	translator/translation

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 Mimusops elengi L. 155  
*Mimusops indica* L. 64  
 Momordica charantia L. 41  
 Moringa oleifera Lam. 188  
 Mucuna pruriens (L.) DC. 31  
*Mucuna prurita* Hook. 31  
*Murraya exotica* L. 32  
 Murraya paniculata (L.) Jack 32  
 Musa acuminata Colla 146  
 Musa balbisiana Colla 146  
 Musa paradisiaca L. 146

## N

- Nerium indicum* Mill. 36

*Nerium odorum* Sol. 36  
*Nerium oleander* L. 36  
*Nothosaerva brachiata* (L.) Wight 80  
*Nyctanthes arbor-tristis* L. 183

## O

*Ochlandra stridula* Thwaites\* 90 (fn.)  
*Operculina turpethum* (L.) Silva Manso 88, 174  
*Oplismenus compositus* (L.) Beauvais 106  
*Oroxylum indicum* (L.) Benth. ex Kurz 187  
*Orthosiphon pallidus* Benth. 5  
*Ougeinia dalbergioides* Benth. 85  
*Ougeinia oojeinensis* (Roxb.) Hochr. 85

## P

*Pandanus fascicularis* Lam. 52  
*Pandanus odoratissimus* L.f. 52  
*Pandanus tectorius* auct. non Sol. ex Parkinson 52  
*Pandanus zeylanicus* Solms 52  
*Parmelia perlata* Ach. 185  
*Pavonia odorata* Willd. 191  
*Pentapetes phoenicea* L. 127  
*Phoenix dactylifera* L. 56  
*Phoenix sylvestris* (L.) Roxb. 56  
*Phragmites karka* (Retz.) Trin. ex Steud. 96, 125  
*Phragmites maxima* auct. non (Forssk.) Chiov. 96  
*Phyllanthus emblica* L. 10  
*Picrorhiza kurroa* Royle ex Benth. 28  
*Pinus roxburghii* Sarg. 170  
*Piper aurantiacum* Wall. ex DC. 148

*Piper betle* L. 99  
*Piper chaba* Hunter 53  
*Piper longum* L. 116  
*Piper wallichii* (Miq.) Hand.-Mazz. 148  
*Pistacia chinensis* Bunge 178  
*Pistacia integerrima* J. Stewart ex Brandis 178  
*Plectranthus zeylanicus* Benth. 191  
*Plumbago indica* L. 72  
*Plumbago rosea* L. 72 (fn.)  
*Plumbago zeylanica* L. 72 (fn.)  
*Poa sinaica* Steud. 69  
*Polyalthia longifolia* (Sonn.) Thwaites 94  
*Pongamia pinnata* (L.) Pierre 95  
*Premna corymbosa* sensu Hook.f. (non Rottler et Willd.) 4  
*Premna integrifolia* L. 4  
*Premna obtusifolia* R.Br. 4  
*Premna serratifolia* L. 4  
*Prosopis cineraria* (L.) Druce 167  
*Prosopis spicigera* L. 167  
*Psoralea corylifolia* L. 128  
*Pterocarpus marsupium* Roxb. 117  
*Pterospermum acerifolium* (L.) Willd. 29  
*Punica granatum* L. 34

## R

*Randia dumetorum* (Retz.) Poir. 171  
*Raphanus sativus* L. 142  
*Ricinus communis* L. 24  
*Rubia cordifolia* L. 133

## S

- Saccharum munja Roxb. 90  
 Saccharum officinarum L. 107,147  
 Saccharum spontaneum L. 125  
*Salmalia malabarica* (DC.) Schott et Endl. 149  
*Salvadora persica* L. 64  
*Sansevieria zeylanica* (L.) Willd. 141  
*Sapindus emarginatus* Vahl 15  
*Sapindus trifoliatus sensu Hiern p.p.* 15  
*Saraca asoca* (Roxb.) W.J.de Wilde 17  
*Saraca indica auct. non L.* 17  
*Schrebera swietenoides* Roxb. 66  
*Scindapsus officinalis* (Roxb.) Schott 53  
*Semecarpus anacardium* L.f. 129  
*Semecarpus gardneri* Thwaites 129  
*Semecarpus oblongifolia* Thwaites 129  
*Sesbania aegyptiaca* Poir. 77  
*Sesbania sesban* (L.) Merr. 77  
*Shorea robusta* C.F.Gaertn. 176  
*Sida spinosa* L. 98  
*Solanum anguivi* L. 159  
*Solanum ferox*\* 104 (fn.)  
*Solanum indicum auct. non L.* 104 (fn.), 159  
*Solanum jacquini*\* 104 (fn.)  
*Solanum macrocarpon* [L.] 158 (fn.)  
*Solanum melongena* L. 158  
*Solanum surattense* Burm.f. 104  
*Solanum trilobatum*\* 104 (fn.)  
*Solanum xanthocarpum* [Schrad. et J.C.Wendl.]\* 104 (fn.)  
*Solanum xanthocarpum var. Jacquini* (Willd.) Thwaites 104  
*Spondias dulcis* Sol. ex Parkinson 13

- Spondias mangifera* Willd. sensu Trimen 13  
*Spondias pinnata* (L.f.) Kurz 13  
*Stephania hernandifolia sensu Hook.f. et Thomson* 14  
*Stephania japonica* (Thunb.) Miers 14  
*Stephania rotunda sensu Hook.f. et Thomson p.p., non Lour.* 14  
*Stereospermum chelonoides* (L.f.) DC. 114  
*Stereospermum suaveolens* (Roxb.) DC. 114  
*Strychnos nux-vomica* L. 50  
*Symplocos crataegoides* Buch.-Ham. ex D.Don 110  
*Symplocos paniculata* (Thunb.) Miq. 110  
*Symplocos racemosa* Roxb. 60

## T

- Tamarindus indica* L. 71  
*Tamarindus officinalis* Hook. 71  
*Tamarix gallica auct. non L.* 76  
*Tamarix indica* Willd. 76  
*Tecoma undulata* (Roxb.) G.Don 150  
*Tecomella undulata* Seem. 150  
*Terminalia arjuna* (Roxb. ex DC.) Wight et Arn. 6  
*Terminalia bellirica* (Gaertn.) Roxb. 2  
*Terminalia chebula* Retz. 9  
*Thespesia populnea* Sol. ex Corrêa 59  
*Tinospora cordifolia* (Willd.) Miers ex Hook.f. et Thomson 124  
*Trianthema decandra* L. 121  
*Tribulus terrestris* L. 65  
*Trichosanthes dioica* Roxb. 109

## U

- Uria lagopodioides* (L.) Desv. 180



*Uraria picta* (Jacq.) Desv. 180

## V

*Vernonia anthelmintica* (L.) Willd. 128

*Vitex negundo* L. 101

*Vitex trifolia* L. 101

*Vitis vinifera* L. 140

## W

*Walidda antidysenterica* (L.) Pichon 8

*Wattakaka volubilis* (L.f.) Stapf\* 19 (fn.)

*Wendlandia exerta* (Roxb.) DC. 87

*Woodfordia fruticosa* (L.) Kurz 3

*Wrightia antidysenterica* (L.) R.Br. 84

*Wrightia zeylanica* R.Br. 84

## Z

*Zingiber officinale* Roscoe\* 137 (fn.)

*Ziziphus jujuba* Lam. 54

*Ziziphus mauritiana* Lam. 54

## APPENDIX

Abbreviations of the names of authors  
of plant names

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

Ach.	Acharius, Erik (1757–1819)
A.DC.	Candolle, Alphonse Louis Pierre Pyramus de (1806–93)
Aiton	Aiton, William (1731–93)
A.Juss.	Jussieu, Adrien Henri Laurent de (1797–1853)
Abeyw.	Abeywickrama, Bartholomeusz Aristides (1920–)
Alston	Alston, Arthur Hugh Garfit (1902–58)
A.Rich.	Richard, Achille (1794–1852)
Andr.	Andréanszky, Gábor (Gabriel) (1895–1967)
Arn.	Arnott, George Arnott Walker (1799–1868)
Beauvais	Beauvais, P. (fl.1975)
Bedd.	Beddome, Richard Henry (1830–1911)
Benth.	Bentham, George (1800–84)
Berg	Berg, Ernst von (1782–1855)
Blanco	Blanco, Francisco Manuel (1778–1845)
Brandis	Brandis, Dietrich (1824–1907)
Buch.-Ham.	Buchanan-Hamilton, Francis (1762–1829)
Bunge	Bunge, Alexander Andrejewitsch (Aleksandr Andreevic, Aleksandrovic) von (1803–90)
Burm.f.	Burman, Nicolaas Laurens (Nicolaus Laurent) (1734–93)
C.F.Gaertn.	Gaertner, Carl (Karl) Friedrich von (1772–1850)
Chiov.	Chioyenda, Emilio (1871–1941)

Christm.	Christmann, Gottlieb Friedrich (1752–1836)
Colebr.	Colebrooke, Henry Thomas (1765–1837)
Colla	Colla, Luigi (Aloysius) (1766–1848)
Comm.	Commerson, Philibert (1727–73)
Corrêa	Corrêa da Serra, José Francisco (1751–1823)
DC.	Candolle, Augustin Pyramus de (1778–1841)
D.Don	Don, David (1799–1841)
Delile	Delile, Alire Raffeneau (1778–1850)
Desr.	Desrousseaux, Louis Auguste Joseph (1753–1838)
Desv.	Desvaux, Nicaise Auguste (1784–1856)
Druce	Druce, George Claridge (1850–1932)
Dubard	Dubard, Marcel Marie Maurice (1873–1914)
Duthie	Duthie, John Firminger (1845–1922)
Edgew.	Edgeworth, Michael Pakenham (1812–81)
Endl.	Endlicher, Stephan Friedrich Ladislaus (1804–49)
Engl.	Engler, Heinrich Gustav Adolf (1844–1930)
Fleming	Fleming, John (1785–1857)
Forssk.	Forsskål, Pehr (Peter) (1732–63)
Fuller	Fuller, George Damon (1869–1961)
Gaertn.	Gaertner, Joseph (1732–91)
Gamble	Gamble, James Sykes (1847–1925)
G.Don	Don, George (1798–1856)
G.Forst.	Forster, Johann Georg Adam (1754–94)
Hand.-Mazz.	Handel-Mazzetti, Heinrich R.E. (1882–1940)
Hassk.	Hasskarl, Justus Carl (1811–94)
Hiern	Hiern, William Philip (1839–1925)
Hochr.	Hochreutiner, Bénédict Pierre Georges (1873–1959)
Hook.	Hooker, William Jackson (1785–1865)
Hook.f.	Hooker, Joseph Dalton (1817–1911)
Hunter	Hunter, Alexander (1729–1809)
Jack	Jack, William (1795–1822)
Jacq.	Jacquin, Nicolaus (Nicolaas) Joseph von (1727–1817)

J.C.Wendl.	Wendland, Johann Christoph (1755–1828)
J.König	König, Johann Gerhard (1728–85)
J.Stewart	Stewart, John Lindsay (1832–73)
Juss.	Jussieu, Antoine Laurent de (1748–1836)
King	King, George (1840–1909)
K.K.N.Nair	Nair, K.K.N. (1948– )
Kobuski	Kobuski, Clarence Emmereu (1900–63)
Kostel.	Kosteletzky, Vincenz Franz (1801–87)
K.Schum.	Schumann, Karl Moritz (1851–1904)
Kunth	Kunth, Karl Sigismund (1788–1850)
Kuntze	Kuntze, Carl (Karl) Ernst (Eduard) Otto (1843–1907)
Kurz	Kurz, Wilhelm Sulpiz (1834–78)
L.	Linnaeus, Carl von (1707–78)
L.f.	Id. (1741–83)
Lam.	Lamarck, Jean Baptiste Antoine Pierre de Monnet de (1744–1829)
Lindl.	Lindley, John (1799–1865)
Lour.	Loureiro, João de (1717–91)
Mart.	Martius, Carl (Karl) Friedrich Philipp von (1794–1868)
Maton	Maton, William George (1774–1835)
Matsum.	Matsumura, Jinzô (1856–1928)
Medik.	Medikus, Friedrich Kasimir (1736–1808)
Merr.	Merrill, Elmer Drew (1876–1956)
Miers	Miers, John (1789–1879)
Mill.	Miller, Philip (1691–1771)
Miq.	Miquel, Friedrich Anton Wilhelm (1811–71)
Molina	Molina, Giovanni Ignazio (Juan Ignacio) (1737–1829)
Moon	Moon, Alexander (–1825)
Nakai	Nakai, Takenoshin (Takenosin) (1882–1952)
Naudin	Naudin, Charles Victor (1815–99)
Osbeck	Osbeck, Pehr (1723–1805)

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

Stocks	Stocks, John Ellerton (1822–54)
Swingle	Swingle, Walter Tennyson (1871–1952)
Taub.	Taubert, Paul Hermann Wilhelm (1862–97)
Thomson	Thomson, Thomas (1817–78)
Thunb.	Thunberg, Carl Peter (1743–1828)
Thwaites	Thwaites, George Henry Kendrick (1812–82)
Tirveng.	Tirvengadam, D.D. (fl.1986)
Trimen	Trimen, Henry (1843–96)
Trin.	Trinius, Carl Bernhard von (1778–1844)
Vahl	Vahl, Martin (Henrichsen) (1749–1804)
Voigt	Voigt, Joachim (Johann) Otto (1798–1843)
Wall.	Wallich, Nathaniel (1786–1854)
Walp.	Walpers, Wilhelm Gerhard (1816–53)
Wangerin	Wangerin, Walther (Leonhard) (1884–1938)
Wight	Wight, Robert (1796–1872)
W.Wight	Wight, William Franklin (1874–1954)
Willd.	Willdenow, Carl Ludwig von (1765–1812)
W.J.de Wilde	de Wilde, Willem Jan Jacobus Oswald (1936– )
W.R.Guerke	Guerke, Wayne R. (fl.1978)

(Source: *Authors of Plant Names*. ed. R.K. Brummitt & C.E. Powell, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew 1992)

## KĀMALOKA: A RARE PĀLI LOAN WORD IN OLD JAVANESE ?

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> cf. Soewito Santoso, *Sutasoma: A Study in Javanese Wajrayana*, Delhi, 1975 (Śata-Piṭaka Series no. 213).

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

*sañ atēlasan anṛttāninditānwam tuwuhnya  
inirin i wuri len tañ cārakākweh ri wuntat  
pilih amēnañ ataṇḍin rūm sakeñ kāmaloḱa  
hayu nika tuwin aṅsal yan tēkeñ rūmnya dewī*

Teeuw and Robson (1981: 147) translate:

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

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

Secondly, and much more important, the translation "Kāma's realm" for *kāmaloḱa*, where *kāma* is taken, as it here is, as the proper name of the god of love, is questionable. The reasons are: 1) the term *kāmaloḱa* is not otherwise attested in Old Javanese,<sup>1</sup> 2) the compound *kāmaloḱa* is completely absent from all standard Sanskrit dictionaries,<sup>2</sup> and 3) Kāma,

<sup>1</sup> That is, there is no entry under *kāmaloḱa* in Zoetmulder's Old Javanese dictionary (1982) at all.

<sup>2</sup> That is, from Böhtlingk and Roth (St. Petersburg), Schmidt, Monier-Williams,

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

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

Apte, Mylius, Edgerton (Buddhist Hybrid), Conze (Prajñāpāramitā literature), and Sircar (epigraphic). Das (1985: p. 691) supplies both *kāmadhātu* and *kāmaloḱa* for Tibetan 'dod khams but does not supply text-references. Given that this dictionary reference is the only one furnished by Chandra (1976: p. 1261) in his Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary and in the light of the absence of *kāmaloḱa* in all the above dictionaries, one may be inclined to consider this as a 'ghost translation', the more because *kāmaloḱa* is also absent from the Mahāvvyutpatti, as well as from the index on the Abhidharmakośa (la Vallée Poussin) and its *bhāṣya* (Hirakawa).

<sup>1</sup> See, however, Stuti and Stava no. 405, the Smarastava, (Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971: p. 253), a hymn used in Śaivite circles, where Kāmadeva is said to prevail over Īśvara, Brahmā, Mahādeva and Viṣṇu (verse 6) and to be worshipped by the triple world (*trailokyasevitas*, verse 7d).

<sup>2</sup> Nor do hypothetical synonyms such as *\*kāmabhuvana*, *\*kāmabhūmi* or *\*kāmapada* appear to be attested in either language.

<sup>3</sup> Kāma and Ratih, moreover, are the patrons of poets and the *dalang*, the performer of the *wayang* plays, on Bali (Gonda 1975: p. 46. see C. Hooykaas, "The Function of the *dalang*", in *Akten des 24. intern. Orientalisten-Kongresses*, München, 1957). However, the context of the Kuñjarakarṇa does not appear to permit an understanding of 'the world of Kāma', that is, as the *wayang*.

As for the dancers being superior in beauty to a “goddess” (*dewī*), this would amount to the same thing, since, in Buddhist cosmology, the worlds of the gods (*devaloka*)<sup>1</sup> are superordinate to the worlds of demons, men, animals, ghosts and hell-beings, but still within the realm of desire. Nevertheless, we ought to consider if *dewī* could be a proper name, for “in her Sundanese (West Javanese) form as *Devī Śrī* she is a divine princess, able to descend from heaven and closely related to the *vidyādhariś*, a class of kindly fairies who in part of the Archipelago are believed to preside over love and in Java to revive the deceased. They are in all probability a body of indigenous deities who have assumed an Indian name, taking over the role played, in India, by the *apsaras*” (Gonda 1975: p. 30).<sup>2</sup> The Kuñjarakaṇṇa identifies the dancers as *Apsaras* and divine women (*apsara mwañ surastri*, 33.2a). In itself this is not a problem for identifying *dewī*, since the poem does not seem rigorously to distinguish between *apsaras* and *widyādhariś*. Moreover, since Pūrṇawijaya, king of the *widyādhariś* and lord of the *apsaras* (26.4a, 31.7c, 37.2a, etc.) has returned from a spell in the *aweci* (sic) hell where he had been boiled in the hell-cauldron while his body lay in bed at home as if dead (25.2a, 29.1), only to engage in love with his wife (31.7), the identification of *dewī* as *Devī* would appear to be a reasonable possibility.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> These worlds, of which there are generally six, are also known as the *kāmāvacarāḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> Gonda refers here to K.A.H. Hidding, *Nji Pohatji Sangjang Sri*, Leiden, 1929, which is not available to me.

Certainly they are victorious measured in beauty compared to those  
in the world[s] of desire.

Their loveliness also obtains when compared to the beauty of a  
goddess (or: *Devī*).

The difficulty therefore is: if *kāmaloka* is truly not available in Sanskrit, has the author of the Kuñjarakaṇṇa forged the compound by himself combining the very common items *kāma* and *loka* ? The answer to this would seem to be in the negative, since 1) the parallel termini *arūpaloka* and *rūpaloka* are also not attested in Sanskrit or Old Javanese, and 2) the expected Sanskrit terms *kāmadhātu*, *rūpadhātu* and *arūpadhātu* are attested in the Old Javanese Saṅ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, because the words *kāmadhātu*, etc., are attested in Old Javanese, it does not seem plausible that the poet would have assumed the interchangeability of *loka* and *dhātu* unless he knew that *loka* in this Buddhist cosmological sense existed. Consequently, it is likely that the term *kāmaloka*, meaning the world(s) subject to desire, is borrowed from Pāli, where we find *kāma-*, *rūpa-* and *arūpaloka* as precise cosmological equivalents to *kāma-*, *rūpa-* and *arūpadhātu* in Sanskrit.

Beyond the merely linguistic interest of an addition to the trifling number of Pāli loan words in Old Javanese, the import of this conclusion is that there must have existed, at some time or another and at some place or another in the Archipelago, a Pāli text from which this word could have been borrowed.<sup>2</sup> As for which text, where and when, it is impossible to say with any certainty. Given that the Ratu Baka inscription of 792/3 A.D. mentions the foundation of the monastery Abhayagiri for the Sinhalese (*abhayagirivihāraḥ kāritaḥ siñhalānām*)<sup>3</sup> and given the

<sup>1</sup> Kats 1910: 55.4, 10, 13 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> As a cosmological term *kāmaloka* also may be distinguished from the material items cushion (*pataraṇa*) and throne (*palāṅka*) furnished by Ensink (supra).

<sup>3</sup> cf. de Casparis 1961. Sarkar (1971: p. 48) translates “The people of Ceylon

mention of Sinhalese as foreigners resident on Java in inscriptions of king Airlāṅga in the eleventh century,<sup>1</sup> we may opine that this may have been many centuries before the composition of the Kuñjarakarmadharmakathana. Indeed, it is conceivable that this could have been as early as the seventh century, since I Ching observes that *āgama* texts on Buddha's *nirvāṇa* were translated in Java and since, according to Gonda (1975: p. 7), these texts belonged to the "Hīnayāna". Further, we may refer to the work of Lokesh Chandra (1986) who makes a reasonable case for the existence of Abhayagirivāsins hailing from Ceylon on Java. Accordingly, one may conjecture that *kāmaloka* as a Pāli loan word in Old Javanese might ultimately have been borrowed from one or other text brought to Java by these monks sometime prior to 792/3, the date of the Ratu Baka inscription.

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

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have erected the monastery called Abhayagiri". See also Chandra 1986, who discusses this inscription with reference to its bearing on the Barabudur.

<sup>1</sup> cf. Ensink, *loc. cit.*

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## VIMUTTAMAGGA AND ABHAYAGIRI: THE FORM-AGGREGATE ACCORDING TO THE SAMSKRĀTĀSAMSKRĀTA-VINIŚCAYA

### A. Introduction

The *Vimuttimagga* is a comprehensive manual of the Theravādin school; lost in the original Pāli (or, less probably, Sanskrit),<sup>1</sup> it is preserved in a complete Chinese translation, made by a *bhikṣu* of Funan in the early 6th century.<sup>2</sup> This version has been translated into English in full under the title *The Path of Freedom*.<sup>3</sup>

While both Chinese and Pāli sources agree that the name of the author is Upatissa (Skt Upaṭiṣya),<sup>4</sup> there is some confusion about the Sanskrit form of the translator's name. In 1883 Bunyiu Nanjio gave the name Saṃghapāla, with the alternative Saṃghavarman.<sup>5</sup> In 1915 Sylvain Lévi rejected the form Saṃghapāla as erroneous, and suggested

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

<sup>2</sup> T 1648 (Vol. XXXII), KBC 968, *Chieh t'o tao lun*.

<sup>3</sup> See Bibliography: the English translation is hereafter referred to as *Path*.

<sup>4</sup> The name, prefaced by “arhat”, is transcribed at the head of the Chinese version; in the *Visuddhimagga* Commentary the author is described as *thera (Paramatthamañjusā, cited at Path xxxvi, ekacce ti upatissatheraṃ sandhāyāha, tena hi vimuttimagge tathā vuttam)*.

<sup>5</sup> Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, the Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan*, [Oxford, 1883] San Francisco, 1975, § 1293 “Saṃghapāla”; Appendix II § 102, “Saṃghapāla or Saṃghavarman”.



Samghavarman or Samghabhara.<sup>1</sup> In 1923 J. Przyluski, after referring to both Nanjio and Lévi, described Samghapāla as “doubtful”, and suggested Samghabhara or Samghabhāṭa.<sup>2</sup> In 1927 Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, after referring to the above-mentioned sources, rejected both Samghapāla and Samghavarman, and accepted Samghabhara.<sup>3</sup> The *Hōbōgirin* gives “Samghabhara (?)”,<sup>4</sup> as well as “Samghavara (?)”, and “Samghavarman (?)”.<sup>5</sup> Lancaster and Bareau give Samghabhara without discussion.<sup>6</sup> The *Path* reverts to Samghapāla; since the translators do not discuss the name, and since the bibliography does not refer to any of the other works mentioned above, it is likely that they took the name from Nanjio’s *Catalogue*, which they refer to on pp. xxvii and xxxvi. This is unfortunate, since the form Samghapāla, rejected by all authorities since Nanjio, has thereby been perpetuated.<sup>7</sup> For the time being, I accept the form \*Samghabhara; I hope that the question will be re-examined by those competent in the field, in the light of resources now available.

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

<sup>1</sup> Lévi, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> J. Przyluski, *La légende de l’empereur Açoka (Açoka-avadāna) dans les textes indiens et chinois*, Paris, 1923, pp. xi–xii.

<sup>3</sup> Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine*, tome I, Paris, 1927, pp. 415–18.

<sup>4</sup> *Hōbōgirin*, *Répertoire du canon bouddhique sino-japonais*, Paris-Tōkyō, 1978, § 1648.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, p. 281a, under Sōgyabara.

<sup>6</sup> KBC § 968; Bareau 1955, p. 242.

<sup>7</sup> Samghapāla is given by George Cœdès, in *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, Honolulu, 1968, note 92, p. 285 (see also p. 58), by W. Pachow, “The Voyage of Buddhist Missions to South-East Asia and the Far East”, in *Journal of the Greater India Society* XVII/1&2 (1958), p. 13, and no doubt elsewhere in secondary literature.

career as a translator in 506 — a date confirmed by Lévi, Przyluski, and *Hōbōgirin* — this must be an error. Both Bagchi and Lancaster give the date of translation as the 14th year of the T’ien Chien era of the Liang Dynasty, which Bagchi equates with 519, Lancaster with 515. *L’Inde classique* states that the translation was made between 506 and 524, “probablement en 515”; *Hōbōgirin* does not give a date. According to Dr. Josef Kolmaš, 515 is the correct date.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the Chinese translation, the *Vimuttimaggā* is known from extensive quotations given by Daśabalaśrimitra in his *Saṃskṛtāsamskṛta-viniścaya*, a compendium of the tenets of several Buddhist schools, also lost in the original, but extant in Tibetan translation.<sup>2</sup> In this paper, I will give an extract from Chapter 13 of the *Sav*, a citation of the *Vimuttimaggā* which corresponds to the opening of the 10th fascicle, 11th chapter, first section, of the *Path* (pp. 237–38), in the following format:

- a) romanised Tibetan text;
- b) English translation of the Tibetan;
- c) English translation of the Chinese from the *Path*.<sup>3</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Kolmaš for checking the date for me during a visit to the Oriental Institute, Prague. It is likely that Nanjio’s 505 is simply a misprint for 515. (cf. also e.g. KBC 1086, where the 15th year of T’ien Chien = 516.)

<sup>2</sup> *Dus byas dan ’dus ma byas rnam par nes pa* = *Sav*. I have been able to consult only two editions: D and Q (see Bibliography); variants are given in parentheses without discussion. For an analysis of this work and a discussion of its authorship and date, see Skilling 1987.

<sup>3</sup> From the passages selected for this study, it can be seen that the translation of the *Path* is often unreliable. I am grateful to Dr. Prapod Assavavirulhakarn (Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok) for consulting the Chinese text; his clarifications are followed by the initials [PA].

(*mahābhūta*), constitute the aggregate of form, *rūpa-kkhanda*. The list is of considerable interest and importance because it throws light on the problem of the school affiliation of the *Vimuttimaggā*. Because “school” in this context refers to divisions or traditions within the broader fold of the Theravāda, the tradition of the Pāli *Aṭṭhakathās*, *Ṭīkās*, and Abhidhamma manuals will be specified as that of the Mahāvihāravāsins throughout.<sup>1</sup>

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

## B. Text and Translation

**B.0a** (D 185a3; Q 98b6) *pañḍita chen po gnas brtan dge sloṅ* (D om. *gnas brtan dge sloṅ*) *stobs bcu dpal bśes gñen gyis bsdus pa ’dus byas dan ’dus ma byas rnam par nes pa las* (Q la) *gnas brtan pa ’i sde pa ’i tshul lugs phuṅ po skye mched khams rnam par nes pa zes bya ba le ’u bcu gsum pa ’o//<sup>2</sup>*

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

<sup>2</sup> This is the colophon of the chapter of the Sav from which the citations are drawn.

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

**B.1a** (D 179a1; Q 90b3) *’phags pa gnas brtan pa ’i sde pa ’i luṅ las ’di ltar rnam par bžag ste/ de la las dan po pa ’i rnal ’byor pas rga śi las grol bar ’dod pa dan/ ’khor ba ’i rgyu yaṅ dag par gcod pa don du gñer ba* (Q bas) *dan/ ma rig pa ’i mun pa rnam par sel ba ’i don du gñer ba dan/ ’phags pa ’i śes rab thob pa don du gñer ba rnams kyis gnas lña la mkhas par bskyed par bya ’o/ ’di lta ste/ phuṅ po la mkhas pa dan/ skye mched la mkhas pa dan/ khams la mkhas pa dan/ rten ciṅ ’brel bar ’byuṅ ba la mkhas pa dan/ ’phags pa ’i bden pa la mkhas pa ’o//*

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

Herein, the novice meditator (*ādikammika-yogin*) who wishes to be liberated from ageing and death (*jarā-maraṇa*), who strives to cut off the cause of cyclic existence (*samsāra-* or *bhava-hetu*), who strives to dispel the darkness of ignorance (*avijjā-andhakāra*), and who strives to realise

<sup>1</sup> For the title, which, in accordance with Tibetan (and Indian) tradition, is given at the end of the chapter, I have given Sanskrit equivalents for the Tibetan. Although the bulk of the Sav, dealing with Vaibhāṣika and Mahāyāna tenets, would have been composed in Sanskrit, we do not know the language of the *Vimuttimaggā* and other Sthavira citations given by Daśabalaśrīmitra. In order to facilitate comparison with the Mahāvihāravāsins Theravādin tradition, which is preserved in Pāli, I have given Pāli equivalents in the translation of the citations, based on the Sanskrit equivalents of the Tibetan as given for example in the *Mahāvīyūtpatti* (Mvy). In most cases these equivalents are virtually certain; those which require some explanation are discussed in the notes. The Pāli terms given in the citations of the *Path* have been taken from the footnotes to that work as appropriate.

the wisdom of the noble (*ariya-paññā*), should develop proficiency (*kosalla*) with regard to five states (*ṭhāna*): proficiency with regard to the aggregates (*khandha-kosalla*), proficiency with regard to the bases (*āyatana-kosalla*), proficiency with regard to the elements (*dhātu-kosalla*), proficiency with regard to conditioned arising (*paṭicca-samuppāda-kosalla*), and proficiency with regard to the truths of the noble (*ariya-sacca-kosalla*).

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

**B.2a)** (D 179a3; Q 90b6) *de la phuṅ po lna ni 'di lta ste/ gzugs kyi phuṅ po dan/ tshor ba 'i phuṅ po dan/ 'du śes kyi phuṅ po dan/ 'du byed kyi phuṅ po dan/ rnam par śes pa 'i phuṅ po 'o//*

<sup>1</sup> The translators of the *Path* supply the term *upāya*; the characters employed are also used for *kauśalya* = *kosalla*, equivalent here to the Tibetan *m khas pa* [PA]. While forms with *kusala* (MN III 62,4, *dhātu-kusala*, *āyatana*-°, *paṭiccasamuppāda*-°, *ṭhānāṭṭhāna*-°), *kuśala* (E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil [edd.], *The Divyāvadāna*, Delhi, 1987, 340,26, and Nalinaksha Dutt [ed.], *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part 4, [Calcutta, 1950] Delhi, 1984, 42,18, *dhātu-kuśala*, *pratītyasamutpāda*-°, *sthānāsthāna*-°; *Divyāvadāna* 567,8, *skandha-kuśala*, *dhātu*-°, *āyatana*-°, *pratītyasamutpāda*-°), or *kauśalya* (Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya [ed.], *The Yogācārabhūmi of Ācārya Asaṅga*, Calcutta, 1957, 71,9, *dhātu-kauśalya*, *āyatana*-°, *pratītyasamutpāda*-°, etc.) are well-attested in this context, the use of *upāya* is not. I therefore take the nominal form *kosalla* (for which confer PTSD 230b), equivalent to the Tibetan *m khas pa* (in the passage cited clearly a noun = Skt *kauśalya*), to be the correct form.

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

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

**B.3a)** (D 179a4; Q 90b6) *de la gzugs kyi phuṅ po ni gñis te (Q om. te) 'di lta/ 'byuṅ ba chen po dan/ 'byuṅ ba chen po las byuṅ ba 'i gzugs so//*

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

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

**B.4a)** (D 179a4; Q 90b7) *de la 'byuṅ ba chen po la bzi ni 'di lta/ sa dan/ chu dan/ me dan/ rluṅ no//*

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Here the Sav omits the definitions of the four basic elements given in the *Path* pp. 237,15–238,10.

**B.5a)** (D 179a5; Q 90b7) 'byuñ ba chen po las byuñ ba 'i gzugs ni ñi śu ñer drug ste/ 'di ltar ...

**B.5b)** There are 26 [types of] form derived from the basic elements<sup>1</sup> ... [See Table 1.]

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

**B.6a)** (D 179a7; Q 91a3) *de 'i phyir 'byuñ ba chen po bzi dañ ñe bar bslañ ba 'i gzugs ñi śu ñer drug ste/ gzugs (Q rdzas) sum cur 'gyur ro//*

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

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

### C. Discussion

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

<sup>1</sup> This introductory sentence is not given in the *Path*, which gives instead a question. In Table 1 I have omitted the *dañ* (*ca*, "and") that follows each item in the Tibetan.

<sup>2</sup> D *gzugs* = *rūpa*, Q *rdzas* = *dabba* (Skt *dravya*). The Chinese here definitely = *rūpa* [PA].

<sup>3</sup> This sentence follows the definitions of the 26 types of derived form that are given in the *Path* (pp. 238,20–240,31) but omitted in the *Sav*.

*Katamañ ca bhikkhave rūpaṃ ? Cattāro ca mahābhūtā catunnaṃ ca mahābhūtānaṃ upādāya rūpaṃ, idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave rūpaṃ* (SN III 59,19)

What, O monks, is form ? The four basic elements and form derived from the four basic elements: this, O monks, is termed form.

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

The earliest list of the Mahāvihāravāsīn Theravādīns is found in their *Abhidhamma* in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (§ 596)<sup>1</sup> which gives 23 types of derived form in response to the question *katamaṃ taṃ rūpaṃ upādā*. This type of form became known as *upādā-* or *upādāya-rūpa*. The 23 types of derived form of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (indicated with an asterisk in Table 1) follow the same order as the corresponding items of the *Vimuttimaggā* list.

From the time of Buddhaghosa on, the Mahāvihāravāsīns added the "heart-base", *hadaya-vatthu*, between no. 12, *jīvitindriya*, and no. 13, *kāyaviññatti*, to make a total of 24 varieties of derived form. This list is found, for example, in the *Visuddhimaggā* (375 § 36; Mm 11,10).<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> References to this work are by section number, as given in the PTS edition (ed. Edward Müller, [1885] London, 1978) and in the Devanagari script edition (ed. P.V. Bapat and R.D. Vadekar, Poona, 1940).

<sup>2</sup> References to this work are to Henry Clarke Warren (ed.) and Dharmananda Kosambi (rev.), *Visuddhimaggā of Buddhaghosācariya* (Harvard Oriental Series 41), [1950] Delhi, 1989, by page and paragraph number, and to the Thai

Sav and the *Path*, however, state explicitly that there are 26 types of derived form (see above, §§ B.5ab and B.6abc).

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

*reg bya'i skye mched ni sa'i khams daṅ/ me'i khams daṅ/ rluṅ  
gi khams daṅ/ chu'i khams daṅ/ sra ba daṅ/ 'jam pa daṅ/ dro  
ba daṅ/ bsil ba ste/ gaṅ lus kyi spyod yul lo//*

This definition is confirmed by the *Path* (254,19)<sup>1</sup>:

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

script edition published by Mahāmakutaṛājavidyālaya (Mm), Bangkok, 2509 [1976] by page and line.

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

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

The Mahāvihāravāsins, however, hold that the *phoṭṭhabbāyatana* consists of only three great elements, excluding water, *āpo-dhātu*, and that cold, *sīta*, is not *āpo-dhātu* but *tejo-dhātu*, in the “condition of feeble heat” (*mande hi uṇhabhāve sītābuddhi*).<sup>1</sup> The position of the *Vimuttimaggā* is closer to that of the Vaibhāṣikas, who include all four elements as well as cold (*śīta*) in the *spraṣṭavyāyatana*.<sup>2</sup> Confirmed by both the Tibetan of the Sav and by the Chinese of the *Path*, the definition of *phoṭṭhabbāyatana* is another important point on which the tradition of the *Vimuttimaggā* disagrees with the Mahāvihāra school.

When this error is corrected, the Sav and the *Path* agree completely on the 26 items enumerated and their order.<sup>3</sup> This list of 26 items may safely be termed the *Vimuttimaggā* list of derived form.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* §§ 647–51 and Karunadasa 1967, pp. 19–20, 29–30.

<sup>2</sup> cf. P. Pradhan (ed.), *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu* (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series VIII, 2nd edition), Patna, 1975, I,10d, p. 7,8.

<sup>3</sup> The basic list in the *Path* gives 25 items only, omitting the important no. 21, “birth of matter”, which is, however, given in the Chinese (see note 5 to Table 1).

consciousness [*viññāna-dhātu*, PA] is called the sense-organ of the material element”,<sup>1</sup> which is not very illuminating.

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

*Tattha vatthurūpaṃ, tassa nissayāni cattāri mahābhūtāni, tannissitā vaṇṇa-gandha-rasa-ojā jīvitam ti, idaṃ vatthudasakam nāma.*

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

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

(D 179b6; Q 91b4) *de la mig bcu zes pa ni/ rab tu daṅ ba'i mig gi dños por gyur pa'i 'byuṅ ba chen po bzi daṅ/ kha dog daṅ/ dri daṅ/ ro daṅ/ gzi brgyid daṅ/ srog gi dbaṅ po daṅ/ mig gi rab tu daṅ ba'o// chos bcu po 'di rñams gnas rnam pa tha dad med pa'i goṅ bu yin pas/ mig bcu zes brjod do// ... (D 180a4; Q 92a4) de bzin du rna ba bcu ldan daṅ/ sna bcu ldan daṅ/ lce bcu ldan daṅ/ lus bcu ldan daṅ/ bud med kyi dbaṅ po bcu ldan daṅ/ skyes pa'i dbaṅ po bcu ldan daṅ/ dños po bcu ldan daṅ/ srog gi dbaṅ po bcu ldan rñams rgyas par šes par bya'o//*

<sup>1</sup> “Sense-organ of the material element” = *vatthu-rūpa*: the definition belongs to the *vatthu-rūpa* of the preceding list (Table 1, § 25), and the characters are nearly the same [PA].

Herein, that which is called the “eye-decad” (*cakkhu-dasaka*) consists of the four basic elements, colour, odour, taste, nutriment (*ojā*), life-element, and the sensitive eye-tissue (*cakkhu-pasāda*) that make up the substance of the sensitive eye. Because these ten *dhammas* are a physically undifferentiated conglomeration (*piṇḍa*), they are called the “eye-decad” ... The ear-decad, the nose-decad, the tongue-decad, the body-decad, the femininity-faculty-decad, the masculinity-faculty-decad, the base-decad (*vatthu-dasaka*), and the life-faculty-decad [correct to “ennead”]<sup>1</sup> should be understood in detail in the same manner.

(*Path* 242,1) What is the eye-decad? The four elements of eyesentience are its basis. And again, it consists of the four

<sup>1</sup> “Life-faculty decad”, *srog gi dbaṅ po bcu ldan*, must be an error of scribe or translator. In the Pāli Abhidhamma, the life-faculty is an ennead (*jīvitindriya-navaka*); for it to be a decad, one would have to count the life-faculty twice. Furthermore, the ennead is referred to later on in the Sav: (D 180b4; Q 92b7) *tshaṅs pa rñams kyi skye ba'i dus su gzugs sum cu dgu ni 'di lta ste/ dños po bcu ldan daṅ/ mig bcu ldan daṅ/ rna ba bcu ldan daṅ/ srog gi dbaṅ po dgu ldan no// 'du šes med pa'i sems can rñams kyi skye ba'i dus su gzugs dgu 'byuṅ bar 'gyur te 'di lta srog gi dbaṅ po dgu'o//* “For Brahmās at the moment of birth there are 39 [constituents of] form: the base-decad, the eye-decad, the ear-decad, and the life-faculty-ennead (*jīvitindriya-navaka*). For beings without perception (*asaññi-satta*) at the moment of birth 9 [constituents of] form arise, that is, the life-faculty-ennead.” *Path* p. 244,6 has “Brahmā arouses 49 material qualities at the moment of birth. They are the basis-decad, the eye-decad, the ear-decad, the body-decad, and the life-principle-ennead” for the first part. The figure 39 of the Sav is correct, since the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha* (Mm 38,8; Nārada 312,1) states that since the nose-, tongue-, body-, and sex-decads are not found in the world of form, that is the Brahmāloka, at the moment of birth there are four *kalāpas*, the eye-, ear-, and base-decads, plus the life-ennead: *rūpaloke pana ghāna-jivhā-kāya-bhāva-dasakāni ... na labbhanti, tasmā tesam paṭisandhi-kāle cakkhu-sota-vatthu-vasena tīṇi dasakāni jivita-navakañceti cattāro kamma-samuṭṭhāna-kalāpā ... labbhanti.*

primaries, form, odour, flavour, contact,<sup>1</sup> life-principle and the sentient eye. This decad is produced together and does not separate. This is called “group” and this is called the eye-decad ... (242,16). Thus should the eye-decad be known. In the same way one should know the ear-decad, the nose-decad, the tongue-decad, the body-decad, femininity-decad, masculinity-decad, life-principle-ennead at length.

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

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

(D 180a6; Q 92a6) *mñal gyi skye ba'i skad cig la gzugs sum cu 'byuñ bar 'gyur ro// dños po bcu ldan dañ/ lus bcu ldan dañ/ gañ gi tshe bud med na (D ni) bud med kyi dbañ po bcu ldan dañ/ yañ na skyes par (D skye bar) 'gyur na de'i tshe skyes pa'i dbañ po bcu ldan dañ/ ma niñ rnams kyi ni gzugs ñi šu 'byun bar 'gyur te/ 'di lta ste/ dños po bcu ldan dañ/ lus bcu ldan no//*

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

<sup>1</sup> Here the Chinese has *phassa* against the *ojā* (*gzi brgyid*) of the Tibetan [PA]. The latter is correct.

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

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

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

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

*Pasāda-hadaya-saṅkhātāṃ chabbidham pi vatthu-rūpan-nāma, itaraṃ avatthu-rūpan-nāma.*

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

This classification derives from the list of synonyms given for the five sense bases in the *Dhammasaṅgani* (§§ 597 foll.): *loka, dvāra ... khetta, vatthu*, etc. The *Visuddhimagga* (382 § 78; Mm 21,15) notes that the five sense bases are both “base” and “door” (*pasāda-rūpaṃ vatthuñ c' eva*

*dvāraṇ ca*), while the heart-base, which is not given in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, is a “base” but not a “door” (*yaṃ paṇ’ ettha hadaya-rūpaṃ nāma taṃ vatthu na dvāraṃ*).

After defining the 24 types of derived form accepted by the Mahāvihāravāsins, Buddhaghosa, in his *Visuddhimagga* (381 § 71; Mm 19,10), goes on to say:

*Imāni tāva pāliyaṃ āgatarūpān’ eva. Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana bala-rūpaṃ sambhava-rūpaṃ jāti-rūpaṃ roga-rūpaṃ ti ekaccānaṃ matena middha-rūpaṃ ti evaṃ aññāni pi rūpāni āharitvā “addhā munī ’si sambuddho n’ atthi nīvaraṇā tavā” ti ādīni vatvā middha-rūpaṃ tāva natthi yevā ti paṭikkhittaṃ. Itaresu roga-rūpaṃ jaratā-aniccatā-gahaṇena gahitaṃ eva, jāti-rūpaṃ upacaya-santatiggahaṇena, sambhava-rūpaṃ āpodhātuggahaṇena, bala-rūpaṃ vāyodhātuggahaṇena gahitaṃ eva. Tasmā tesu ekam pi viṣuṃ n’ atthī ti sannīṭṭhānaṃ gataṃ. Iti idaṃ catuvīsati-vidhaṃ upādāya-rūpaṃ pubbe vuttaṃ catubbidha-bhūtarūpaṇ ca ti aṭṭhavīsati-vidhaṃ rūpaṃ hoti anūnam-anadhikaṃ.*

Only this many [types of] form are given in the Pāli [i.e. in the *Tipiṭaka*].<sup>1</sup> In the *Aṭṭhakathā*, however, other [types of] form are brought in: *bala-rūpa*, *sambhava-rūpa*, *jāti-rūpa*, *roga-rūpa*, and, in the opinion of some, *middha-rūpa*. [Because the *Abhidhamma* states that form is not to be abandoned, *apahātabba*, while torpor, as one of the hindrances, *nīvaraṇa*, is to be abandoned, as the verse says:]

“Surely you are a sage, fully enlightened:

there are no hindrances in you”,<sup>1</sup>

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

From this passage several important conclusions may be drawn. Firstly, the *jāti-rūpa* or *rūpassa jāti*<sup>2</sup> of the *Vimuttimagga* list was not accepted by the Mahāvihāravāsins as a separate or distinct entity, although, since it was mentioned in an unnamed *Aṭṭhakathā* it was acceptable as a concept for the growth and continuity of form. (A similar interpretation is given in the *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*, Mm 34,10, Nārada 286,7, *jāti-rūpaṃ eva paṇ’ ettha upacaya-santati-nāmena pavuccatī ti*.) Secondly, *middha-rūpa*, “physical torpor” — described significantly not as from the *Aṭṭhakathā* but as according to “the opinion of some” — was rejected outright.

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

<sup>1</sup> Citation from *Sutta-nipāta* v. 541cd.

<sup>2</sup> I take these two terms to be equivalent. For the *gzugs kyi skye ba* of the Sav I have given *rūpassa jāti* on the analogy of the *rūpassa upacaya*, etc., of the Pāli.

<sup>1</sup> As noted above, the sole canonical source, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, lists only 23.



derived form. The *Visuddhimagga*, however, states emphatically that only 24 varieties are found in the Pāli, and that, added to the four great elements, these make a total of 28 constituents of the form aggregate, *no more and no less*, against the *Vimuttimagga* total of 30.

Although the *Visuddhimagga* attributes the “heresy” of *middharūpa* to the opinion of an unspecified “some” (*ekaccānaṃ matena*), the *Ṭīkā* tells us that this refers to the Abhayagirivāsins: *ekaccānan ti abhayagiri-vāsīnaṃ*.<sup>1</sup> Thus the inclusion of *middha-rūpa* in both the Chinese version and the Tibetan extracts of the *Vimuttimagga* is convincing evidence that the *Vimuttimagga* contains classifications that were categorically rejected by the Mahāvihāra but accepted by the Abhayagiri school.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> *Paramatthamañjusāya nāma Visuddhimagga-saṃvaṇṇanāya Mahāṭīkā-sammatāya tatiyo bhāgo*, Mahāmakutaṛājavidyālaya, Bangkok, 2508 [1965], p. 48,2.

(D 181a2; Q 93a7) *yaṅ gzugs thams cad ni rnam pa gsum ste 'di ltar/ zin pa'i gzugs dan/ ma zin pa'i gzugs dan/ rnam par phye ba'i gzugs so//*

1) *de la las las skyes pas zin pa'i gzugs la dgu ste 'di ltar/ dbañ po'i gzugs brgyad dan/ dños po'i ño bo'o//*

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

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

Furthermore, all form (*sabbaṃ rūpaṃ*) is of three types: *upādiṇṇa-rūpa*, *anupādiṇṇa-rūpa*,<sup>1</sup> and *\*vibhatta-rūpa*.<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> *Zin pa—ma zin pa* are the regular Tibetan equivalents of the technical terms *upātta—anupātta* of the Vaibhāṣikas. As noted by Karunadasa (1967, pp. 103 foll.), *upātta—anupātta* as employed in the *Abhidharmakośa* have a different meaning from the *upādiṇṇa—anupādiṇṇa* of the Theravādin Abhidhamma. However, since the classifications and definitions as *kammaja*, etc., agree with those of the Pāli, and since *zin pa*, “grasped, appropriated”, etc., means the same as *upādiṇṇa*, there can be no doubt that these are the correct equivalents in this context.

<sup>2</sup> *Rnam par phye ba* is the usual Tibetan equivalent of *vibhajya*; Hirakawa et al. (p. 157) also give *vibhakta*, *vipañcita*, and *viyukta*; Yamaguchi (p. 129) gives *vikalpitu*, *vibhāga*; Mvy 6838 *vicita*. The PTSD (p. 629) has “divided, distributed, parted, partitioned, having divisions ...” for *vibhatta*; since it does not seem to be a technical term in Pāli, this is a tentative equivalent.

(*indriya-rūpa*: eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, femininity, masculinity, life) plus *vatthu-rūpa*.

2) In the sense of not arising from kamma (*akamma-jatthēna*), *anupādiṇṇa-rūpa* is of 9 [types]: sound (*sadda*), bodily expression (*kāya-viññatti*), vocal expression (*vacī-viññatti*), lightness of form (*rūpassa lahutā*), plasticity of form (*rūpassa mudutā*), wieldiness (*kammaññatā*), decay (*jarā*), impermanence, (*aniccatā*), and torpor (*middha*).

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

The Chinese version as given in the *Path* (244,28), while revealing some difficulties in translation, agrees with the Sav:

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

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

2) Nine material qualities are<sup>2</sup> the sense-object of sound, body-intimation, speech-intimation, buoyancy of matter, impressibility of matter, workability of matter, decay of matter, impermanency

<sup>1</sup> The *Path* garbles the text. "They are *upādiṇṇa*, *anupādiṇṇa*, and 'perishable'" [PA]. The last, "perishable" presumably translates a form in *BHAÑJ* against the *BHAJ* of the Tibetan.

<sup>2</sup> "Nine material qualities are *anupādiṇṇa*:" ... [PA]. The *Path* omits *anupādiṇṇa*.

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

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

The classification into *upādiṇṇa-anupādiṇṇa* is given only as a *duka-mātikā* in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (§§ 585, 653–54); however, as the group from *rūpāyatana* to *kabaḷīkāra āhāra* is given under both categories, this implies the third *\*vibhatta* category of the *Vimuttimagga*. The itemisation of the *Vimuttimagga* and the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* is otherwise identical, except, of course, that the former adds *vatthu-rūpa*, *rūpassa jāti*, and *middha*.

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

(D 181a7; Q 93b6) *yañ gzugs thams cad la rnam pa lha<sup>2</sup> ni 'di ltar rañ bzin gyi gzugs dañ/ rnam par 'gyur ba'i gzugs dañ/ mtshan ñid kyi (Q om. kyi) gzugs dañ/ yoñs su chad pa'i gzugs so//*

1) *de la yoñs su rdzogs pa'i don gyis rañ bzin gyi gzugs la dbye ba bcu dgu (D dgu bcu [!]) ste/ 'di ltar/ gañ rags pa'i gzugs su gsuñs ba'i bcu gñis po de dañ/ bud med kyi dbaṅ po dañ/ skyes pa'i dbaṅ po dañ/ srog gi dbaṅ po dañ/ chu'i khams dañ/ kham gyi zas dañ/ dños po 'i no bo dañ/ gñid (Q ñid) do//*

<sup>1</sup> The uncertainty is expressed by the translators of the *Path*. The Chinese agrees with the Tibetan: "in the sense of being both" (*ubhayatthēna*) [PA]. That is, the items of the last category are both *upādiṇṇa* and *anupādiṇṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> The text states "five (*lha*)", but lists only four, as do the *Path* and the *Visuddhimagga*; thus "five" must be an error.

2) *rañ bzin gyi gzugs rnam par 'gyur ba'i don gyis rnam par 'gyur ba'i gzugs la bdun ni 'di ltar/ lus kyi rnam par rig byed dan/ nag gi rnam par rig byed dan/ gzugs kyi yañ ba ñid dan/ gzugs kyi 'jam pa ñid dan/ las su ruñ ba ñid dan/ gzugs kyi 'phel ba dan/ gzugs kyi rgyud do//*

3) *'dus byas kyi don gyis (Q adds na) mtshan ñid kyi gzugs la gsum ni 'di ltar/ gzugs kyi skye ba dan/ gzugs kyi rga ba dan/ gzugs kyi mi rtag pa'o//*

4) *tshogs pa yoñs su chad pa'i don gyis yoñs su chad pa'i gzugs gcig ni 'di ltar/ nam mkha'i khams so// 'dir rañ bzin gyi gzugs gañ yin pa de (D de'i) yoñs su chad pa yin gyi lhag ma ni yoñs su ma chad pa'o//*

Furthermore, all form (*sabbaṃ rūpaṃ*) is of four<sup>1</sup> types: intrinsic form (*sabhāva-rūpa*), transforming form (*vikāra-rūpa*), characterising form (*lakḥaṇa-rūpa*), and delimiting form (*paricchada-rūpa*).

1) Herein, in the sense of being absolute (*parinipphannaṭṭhena*),<sup>2</sup> there are 19 categories (*bheda*) of intrinsic form: the 12 that have been taught as coarse form (*oḷārika-rūpa*), the femininity-faculty, the masculinity-faculty, the life-faculty, the water-element (*āpo-dhātu*), nutriment (*kabalīkāra-āhāra*), *vattu-rūpa*, and torpor (*middha*).

<sup>1</sup> See preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> *Yoñs su rdzogs pa = parinippanna, paripūrṇa*, etc., Hirakawa et al. p. 262. While *nipphanna* is the preferred term in the Pāli Abhidhamma, *parinipphanna* is also used, for example in the *Aṭṭhasālinī*: cf. Karunadasa 1967, p. 42.

2) In the sense of transforming intrinsic form (*sabhāva-rūpa-vipariṇāmanaṭṭhena*),<sup>1</sup> transforming form is of 7 [types]: bodily expression, vocal expression, lightness of form, plasticity of form, wieldiness, growth of form, and continuity of form.

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

4) In the sense of delimiting an aggregation (*kalāpa-paricchadaṭṭhena*),<sup>2</sup> there is one delimiting form: the space-element (*ākāsa-dhātu*). Herein, essential form is delimited (*paricchinna*); the remainder (*sesa*) are not delimited (*aparicchinna*).

(*Path* 245,8) Again, all material qualities are of four kinds, by way of intrinsic nature of matter [*sabhāva-rūpa*, PA], material form, material characteristics [*lakḥaṇa-rūpa*, PA], and delimitation of matter [*paricchada-rūpa*, PA].<sup>3</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> This is tentative: *rnam par 'gyur ba = vipariṇāma, vikāra*, Hirakawa et al. pp. 155–56; *vikṛti*, Yamaguchi p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Tshogs (pa) = kalāpa, saṃghāta, samudāya, samūha, sāmagrī*, etc., Hirakawa et al. p. 225: the reference is to the Abhidhammic atom, *rūpa-kalāpa*, for which see Karunadasa 1967, Ch. VIII, and especially p. 152, “Every *rūpa-kalāpa* is delimited (*paricchindate*) by the enviroing *ākāsa*, space”.

<sup>3</sup> The first term, *sabhāva-rūpa*, is clear. The second might be equivalent to *vikāra-* or *vipariṇāmana-rūpa*. The third should be “characterising form” (*lakḥaṇa-rūpa*) rather than the “material characteristics” of the *Path*, and the fourth “delimiting form” (*paricchada-rūpa*) rather than “delimitation of matter” [PA].

principle, element of water, solid food, material basis, and material quality of eye,<sup>1</sup> because they limit (?).<sup>2</sup>

2) Seven material qualities are material form. They are body-intimation, speech-intimation, buoyancy of matter, impressibility of matter, workability of matter, integration of matter, continuity of matter, and intrinsic nature of matter, because they change.<sup>3</sup>

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

4) One material quality is delimitation of matter [*pariccheda-rūpa*, PA]. It is space-element, because it defines the groups.<sup>4</sup> Here, through intrinsic nature one discriminates, not through the others.<sup>5</sup>

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

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

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

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

<sup>5</sup> The Chinese of this sentence again corresponds exactly to the Tibetan: “Herein, essential form is delimited (*paricchinna*); the remainder (*sesa*) are not delimited (*aparicchinna*)” [PA].

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

*Nipphanna-rūpaṃ pan' ettha rūpa-rūpaṃ nāma ākāsa-dhātu pariccheda-rūpaṃ nāma kāyaviññatti ādi kammaññatā-pariyantam vikāra-rūpaṃ nāma jāti-jarā-bhaṅgam lakkhaṇa-rūpaṃ nāmā ti evaṃ rūparūpādi-catukka-vasena catubbidham.*

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> cf. Karunadasa 1967, pp. 42 foll. for a thorough study of the concept of *nipphanna-rūpa* and its implications.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of Yaśomitra's reference, see Skilling 1993B.

the latter, the theory of the heart-basis, without being named as such, is attributed to the Sthaviras:

Les Sthaviras disent qu'il y a dans la poitrine un *rūpa*, un *rūpadravya*, analogue a l'oeil, etc., qui sert d'*indriya* au *manovijñāna*.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

(D 181a1; Q 93a5) *gžan yañ gzugs la rnam pa gñis ni 'di ltar/ dbaṅ po'i gzugs daṅ/ dbaṅ po min pa'i gzugs so// de la bdag po'i don gyis (Q gyi) dbaṅ po'i gzugs la brgyad ni 'di ltar/ mig daṅ/ rna ba daṅ/ sna daṅ/ lce daṅ/ lus daṅ/ bud med kyi dbaṅ po daṅ/ skyes pa'i dbaṅ po daṅ/ srog gi dbaṅ po'o// dbaṅ po daṅ mi ldan pa'i don gyis dbaṅ po min pa'i gzugs la ñi śu ñer gñis te 'di ltar// gzugs lhag ma rnam so//*

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

<sup>1</sup> Louis de La Vallée Poussin (tr.), *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, la Siddhi de Hiuan-Tsang*, Vol. I, Paris, 1928, p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> Wei Tat (tr.), *Ch'eng Wei-Shih Lun, The Doctrine of Mere-Consciousness*, Hong Kong, 1976, p. 327. Although Wei Tat's version is purportedly rendered directly from the Chinese, in the present case it seems to be dependent on La Vallée Poussin, particularly for the Sanskrit terms.

Herein, in the sense of exercising sovereignty (*adhipatiyaṭṭhena*), there are 8 [types of] form as faculty: the eye, ear, nose, tongue, and body, the femininity-faculty, masculinity-faculty, and life-faculty. In the sense of not possessing faculties<sup>1</sup> there are 22 [types of] form that are non-faculty, that is, the remaining [types of] form.

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

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

*Katamaṃ taṃ rūpaṃ indriyaṃ ? Cakkhu-indriyaṃ sotindriyaṃ ghānindriyaṃ jivhindriyaṃ kāyindriyaṃ itthindriyaṃ purisindriyaṃ jīvitindriyaṃ, idaṃ taṃ rūpaṃ indriyaṃ.*

*Katamaṃ taṃ rūpaṃ na indriyaṃ ? Rupāyatanaṃ ... pe ... kabaḷiṅkāro āhāro, idaṃ taṃ rūpaṃ na indriyaṃ.*

<sup>1</sup> *Dbaṅ po daṅ mi ldan pa'i don gyis*: it is possible that *dbaṅ po* = *indriya* (in both D and Q) is a mistake for *bdag po* = *adhipati*, as in the definition of *indriya-rūpa*.

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

<sup>3</sup> This is the translators' parenthesis. As seen from the Tibetan, the reference is to the five "internal" faculties: the eye, ear, nose, tongue, and body.

As mentioned above, however, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* does not include *hadaya-vatthu* in its list of form. That it is not *indriya-rūpa* is made clear by the *Visuddhimagga* (381 § 73; Mm 20,14):

*Pasādarūpam [= cakkhādi pañcavidham rūpam] eva itthindriyādittayena saddhiṃ adhipatiyaṭṭhena indriyam, sesaṃ tato viparītattā anindriyam.*

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

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

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

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

Thus it is clear that for both the *Vimuttimagga* and the Mahāvihāra *vatthu-rūpa* or *hadaya-vatthu* was *anindriya-rūpa*. An interesting explanation for this is put forward by Y. Karunadasa, who writes that unlike the sense-organs, the *hadaya-vatthu* “is not an *indriya*. Because of this reason, although *mano* and *mano-viññāna* have *hadaya-vatthu* as their basis, they are not controlled by it in the sense that the relative

strength or weakness of the latter does not influence the former. Since mental culture is a central theme in Buddhism, the scholiasts seem to have taken the view that it is not proper to conceive *mano* and *mano-viññāna* as controlled by the *hadaya-vatthu*, although the latter is recognised as the physical basis of the former”.<sup>1</sup>

## E. Conclusions

There is on-going debate about the school affiliation of the *Vimuttimagga*. While it is accepted that the text belongs to the broader Theravādin tradition, there is disagreement as to whether or not it can be associated with the Abhayagirivāsins.<sup>2</sup> My own conclusion — based primarily on the sections of the *Vimuttimagga* discussed in this article — is that it may indeed be associated with that school. My evidence and arguments are as follows:

- 1) The *Vimuttimagga* clearly belongs to the Theravādin tradition, and therefore should belong to either the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri, or the Jetavanīya school.
- 2) The *Vimuttimagga* cannot have been transmitted by the post-Buddhaghosa Mahāvihāra, since it disagrees with the texts of that school on a number of points, such as the important definition of one of the four elements and the inclusion of *rūpassa jāti* and *middha* as an elemental form.<sup>3</sup> The passages translated above or given in Table 2 on the classification of *rūpassa jāti* and *middha-rūpa* show that they are fully

<sup>1</sup> Karunadasa 1967, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> See Norman 1983, p. 29 and accompanying note, and pp. 159–60. The most recent contribution to the debate is Norman 1991, pp. 41–50, which gives an extensive bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> For other points on which the *Vimuttimagga* disagrees with the Mahāvihāra, see P.V. Bapat, *Vimuktimārga Dhutagaṇa-nirdeśa*, Bombay, 1964, pp. xviii–xix.

integrated into the system of the *Vimuttimagga*. Furthermore, while the Mahāvihāra rejected *middharūpa* categorically, in the *Vimuttimagga* it is classified as a *sabhāva-rūpa*, the most substantial type of derived form, thus placing it ontologically on a par with the four elements, the five sense-bases, and the five sense-objects.

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

4) These are not, as suggested by some scholars, minor points.<sup>1</sup> According to the Theravādin Abhidhamma tradition, there are four ultimates (*paramattha*): mind (*citta*), mental states (*cetasika*), form (*rūpa*), and nibbāna.<sup>2</sup> When the *Vimuttimagga* disagrees with the Mahāvihāra tradition on the definitions of both constituents of one of these ultimates, form — of the four basic elements and of derived form — this is a major point of contention. The fact that Buddhaghosa takes pains to discuss *rūpassa jāti* and *middha-rūpa* in his *Visuddhimagga*, and that he is so emphatic about the numbers of types of derived form, itself shows that this was a controversial point.

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

<sup>2</sup> *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, Mm 1,6, Nārada 6,10.

5) Buddhaghosa attributes the theory of *middha-rūpa* to an anonymous “some”; the *Ṭikā* specifies that this refers to the adherents of the Abhayagiri tradition, which eliminates the Jetavanīyas. This statement may, of course, be wrong, since no commentator is infallible. However, since the author of the *Ṭikā* was a learned Theravādin monk writing in Ceylon, where we know that the different schools lived in close proximity, I see no basis for reasonable doubt, and assume that he is correct in attributing the theory of *middha-rūpa* to the Abhayagiri.<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> The authors of the *Ṭikās* certainly had access to Vaibhāṣika texts — which are paraphrased in Pāli in some of their works (for example, Vaibhāṣika explanations of the number and order of the 22 faculties [*indriya*] given in the *Visuddhimagga-ṭikā*, *Vibhaṅga-anuṭṭikā*, and *Abhidhammattha-vibhāvinī*) — and I see no reason to doubt that they had direct access to Abhayagiri works. Reference to philosophical opponents as “some” or “others” would rarely if ever suggest that a writer did not know the name or school of his opponents: rather it was a matter of protocol, widely followed in Sanskrit Buddhist texts of all periods. In both the Pāli and Sanskrit tradition, it was left to the commentators to name the opponents if they so chose.

I therefore conclude that the *Vimuttimaggā*, which asserts the existence of a type of intrinsic form, *sabhāva-rūpa*, called *middha*, was a manual transmitted by the Abhayagiri school within the greater Theravādin tradition.<sup>1</sup> I use the word “transmitted” advisedly: there is no evidence to date that Upatissa was a native of Ceylon or that he composed his only surviving work at the Abhayagiri Vihāra. The *Vimuttimaggā* may have been composed elsewhere in Ceylon, in India, or perhaps even South-east Asia.

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

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### Abbreviations and Bibliography

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

D Derge (sDe dge) edition of the Tibetan *Tanjur* (“Karmapa reprint”, copy courtesy Prof. H. Bechert, Göttingen)

<sup>1</sup> For references to other works considered by some to be affiliated with the Abhayagiri see Norman 1983 and 1991 and Skilling 1993A.

<sup>2</sup> For the question of the Sthavira presence in India, see Skilling 1987 and 1993B.

- KBC Lewis L. Lancaster in collaboration with Sung-bae Park, *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Berkeley, 1979
- Mm Thai script edition(s) of Mahāmakuṭarājavidyālaya, Bangkok
- Mvy R. Sakaki (ed.), *Mahāvvyutpatti*, Kyōto, 1926 [repr. Suzuki Research Foundation, Tōkyō, n. d.]
- [PA] Comments on the Chinese text by Dr. Prapod Assavavirulhakarn (see note 1 on p. 4)
- Path N.R.M. Ehara, Soma Thera, and Kheminda Thera, *The Path of Freedom (Vimuttimaggā)*, [Colombo, 1961] Kandy, 1977
- Q Peking (Qianlong) edition of the Tibetan *Tanjur* (“Otani reprint”)
- Sav 'Dus byas dan 'dus ma byas rnam par nes pa. D 3897, Vol. 108, *dbu ma, ha*; Q 5865, Vol. 146, *no mtshar bstan bcos, ño*.
- T Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka

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- Skilling, Peter, 1993A: "A Citation from the \**Buddhavaṃsa* of the Abhayagiri School", *JPTS XVIII*, pp. 165–75
- Skilling, Peter, 1993B: "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation", *JPTS XIX*, pp. 69–201
- Yamaguchi, Susumu, 1974: *Index to the Prasannapadā Madhyamaka-vṛtti*, Part Two, Tibetan-Sanskrit, Kyoto

Table 1: The 26 types of derived form<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> An asterisk indicates that an item is given in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* list (§ 596).

- \*8. *dri*  
*gandha*  
odour 8. odour as sense-object
- \*9. *ro*  
*rasa*  
taste 9. taste as sense-object
- (*reg pa*)  
(*phassa*)  
(contact) —
- \*10. *bud med kyi dbaṅ po*  
*itthindriya*  
femininity-faculty 10. femininity
- \*11. *skyes pa'i dbaṅ po*  
*purisindriya*  
masculinity-faculty 11. masculinity
- \*12. *srog gi dbaṅ po*  
*jīvitindriya*  
life-faculty 12. life-principle
- \*13. *lus kyi rig byed*  
*kāyaviññatti*  
bodily expression 13. body-intimation
- \*14. *ṅag gi rig byed*  
*vacīviññatti*  
vocal expression 14. speech-intimation
- \*15. *nam mkha'i khams*  
*ākāśadhātu*  
space element 15. element of space

- \*16. *gzugs kyi yaṅ ba ṅid<sup>2</sup>*  
*rūpassa lahutā*  
lightness of form 16. buoyancy of matter
- \*17. *gzugs kyi 'jam pa ṅid*  
*rūpassa mudutā*  
plasticity of form 17. impressibility of matter
- \*18. *gzugs kyi las su ruṅ ba ṅid* 18. adaptability of matter  
*rūpassa kammaññatā*  
wieldiness of form
- \*19. *gzugs kyi 'phel ba<sup>3</sup>* 19. integration of matter  
*rūpassa upacaya*  
growth of form
- \*20. *gzugs kyi rgyud* 20. continuity of matter  
*rūpassa santati*  
continuity of form
21. *gzugs kyi skye ba<sup>4</sup>* 21. arising of matter<sup>5</sup>  
*rūpassa jāti*  
birth of form

<sup>2</sup> D *span* for *yaṅ*.

<sup>3</sup> Also at Q 91b1, 94a2. '*Phel ba*, increase, development, growth, etc., is given as the equivalent of Sanskrit *upacaya* at Mvy 7437, and in Yamaguchi, p. 145. Other equivalents include *virūḍhi*, *vivardhana*, *vṛddhi*, *caya*, etc. The *Visuddhimaggā* (380 § 67, Mm III 18,10) gives *vaḍḍhi* as a synonym of *upacaya* "according to the Aṭṭhakathā". Both Nāṇamoli (p. 489) and Karunadasa (1967, pp. 78, etc.) translate *upacaya* as "growth".

<sup>4</sup> Also at Q 91b1, 94a2.

<sup>5</sup> "Arising of matter" is omitted here in the English translation (*Path*, 238,17) but found in the Chinese of the Taishō edition (445c22). It is given at *Path* 240,25, where it is defined as "the arising of material objects is the coming to birth of matter", as well as at 241,26 ("birth of matter"), 242,5,28 ("birth"), 245,17 ("birth of matter").

*22.	<i>gzugs kyi rga ba</i> <sup>6</sup> <i>rūpassa jara[tā]</i> decay of form	22. decay of matter
*23.	<i>gzugs kyi mi rtag pa</i> <i>rūpassa anicca[tā]</i> impermanence of form	23. impermanency of matter
*24.	<i>kham kyi zas</i> <sup>7</sup> <i>kabaḷiṅkāra-āhāra</i> nutriment	24. solid food
25.	<i>dños po 'i ño bo</i> <sup>8</sup> <i>vatthurūpa</i> form as base	25. the basis of the material element
26.	<i>gñid</i> <sup>9</sup>  <i>middha</i> torpor	26. the material quality of torpor ( <i>middha-rūpa</i> )

<sup>6</sup> Same at Q 93b1, 94a3 but *gzugs kyi rñins pa* at 91b2.

<sup>7</sup> Also at Q 91b1, 93b8.

<sup>8</sup> Also at Q 91a6, 93a8, 93b8. *Dños po* = *vastu, padārtha, bhāva* (Yamaguchi, pp. 41–44); *Mvy* 793, 949, etc.; Hiraakawa et al. p. 50. *Ño bo* = *rūpa* (Yamaguchi, p. 41), also *bhāva* (Hiraakawa et al., p. 49). Note that while both *Sav* and the *Path* place *vatthurūpa* here as § 25, the *Visuddhimagga* places the equivalent *hadayavatthu* between §§ 12 and 13.

<sup>9</sup> Also at Q 91a8 (correct *ñid* to *gñid*), 93b2, 93b8 (correct *ñid* to *gñid*).

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

A. <i>Vatthu-rūpa</i>	B. <i>Middha</i>	C. <i>Rūpassa jāti</i>
1) <i>las kyiis kun tu bsṭaṅ ba</i> Q 91a5, D 179b1 <i>kamma-samuṭṭhāna</i> arisen from kamma <sup>1</sup>	<i>dus daṅ sems daṅ zas kyiis</i> <i>kyiis kun tu bsṭaṅ ba</i> Q 91a7, D 179b3 <i>utu-citta-āhāra-samuṭṭhāna</i> arisen from temperature, mind, and nutriment	<i>dus daṅ las daṅ sems daṅ zas</i> <i>rñams kyiis kun tu bsṭaṅ ba</i> Q 91a8, D 179b3 <i>utu-kamma-citta-āhāra-samuṭṭhāna</i> arisen from time, kamma, mind, and nutriment
2) <i>phra mo</i> , Q 93a3, D 180b7 <i>sukhuma</i> subtle	idem	idem
3) <i>phyi rol</i> , Q 93a4, D 180b7 <i>bahiddhā</i> outer	idem	idem

<sup>1</sup> The *vatthu-dasaka* is also described as *las kyiis kun nas bsṭaṅ ba* (Q 91b3, D 179b1).

4) <i>dbaṅ po min</i> , Q 93a6, D 181a2 <i>anindriya</i> non-faculty	idem	idem
5) <i>zin pa</i> , Q 93a8, D 181a3 <i>upādīṇa</i> grasped	<i>ma zin pa</i> , Q 93a8, D 181a3 <i>anupādīṇa</i> ungrasped	<i>ṃnam par phye ba</i> , Q 93b2, D 181a4 <i>*vibhāṭṭa</i> to be distinguished (?)
6) <i>bstan du med pa thogs pa med pa</i> Q 93b5, D 181a7 <i>anidassana-appaṭiḡha</i> invisible and non-obstructive	idem	idem
7) <i>raṅ bzin gyi gzugs</i> , Q 93b7, D 181b1 <i>sabhāva-rūpa</i> intrinsic form	idem	<i>ṃtshan ṅid kyī gzugs</i> , Q 94a2, D 181b3 <i>lakkhāṇa-rūpa</i> characterising form

PĀLI LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDIES XII<sup>1</sup>

## TEN PĀLI ETYMOLOGIES

Here is another random group of words which are either omitted from PED,<sup>2</sup> or given an incorrect meaning or etymology there, or misunderstood by translators.

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

1. (*a*)*pi*: emphatic particle

We find at D III 203,22 the sentence *api ssu naṃ mārisa amanussā rittam pi pattaṃ sīse nikkujjeyyūṃ*, which is translated by Rhys Davids

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

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenckner: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924–48 (= CPD). In addition: BHS(D) = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Dictionary); CP I, II, III, IV = K.R. Norman, *Collected Papers*, Vols. I, II, III, IV, PTS 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993; MW = M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1899; PTS = Pali Text Society; PED = PTS’s *Pali-English Dictionary*; PTC = *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*; AMg = Ardha-Māgadhī; Pkt = Prakrit; Skt = Sanskrit; GDhp = Gāndhārī Dharmapada; B<sup>e</sup> = Burmese edition; C<sup>e</sup> = Sinhalese edition; E<sup>e</sup> = European edition; cty/cties = commentary/ commentaries.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> T.W. and C.A.F. Rhys Davids (tr.), *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part III, 1921, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Maurice Walshe (tr.), *Thus have I heard*, London 1987, p. 477.

## 2. *abhijāna* “knowledge”

At Mil 78,13, as one of the sixteen (actually seventeen<sup>1</sup>) ways in which *sati*<sup>2</sup> arises, we find the statement *abhijānato pi mahārāja sati uppajjati*, and in response to the question *katham abhijānato sati uppajjati* (Mil 78,23) there is the answer: *yathā mahārāja āyasmā ca Ānando Khujjuttarā ca upāsikā ye vā pan’ aññe pi keci jātissarā jātīm saranti, evam abhijānato sati uppajjati*.

Rhys Davids translates<sup>3</sup> *abhijānato* as “by personal experience”, and Miss Horner “from personal experience”, and PED lists *abhijāna* as “recognition, remembrance, recollection”, and gives an etymology from *abhiññāna*, although this might have been expected to develop > *abhiññāna* in Pāli, since *abhijñā* develops > *abhiññā*. It is possibly for this reason that CPD does not list *abhijāna* as a noun, but maintains that *abhijānato* is the masculine genitive of the present participle of the verb *abhijānāti*. This is, of course, formally possible, and the phrase in Mil would then mean “*sati* arises to/for one knowing, i.e. one having knowledge”.

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

<sup>1</sup> See T.W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, I, Oxford 1890, p. 123 note 17.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Horner (*Milinda’s Questions*, I, London 1963, p. 106 note 4) translates *sati* as “mindfulness”, which is its usual meaning in Buddhist contexts. Rhys Davids is more likely to be correct in giving the word the common meaning of Skt *smṛti* “memory”.

<sup>3</sup> Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

*uppajjati* as “arises subjectively”, while Miss Horner translates it as “arises knowing objectively”. Trenckner stated (Mil p. 422) that Mil 78,1 was corrupt, without making it clear whether he thought that the corruption extended over more than one line. Miss Horner follows Mil- in reading *sabbā sati abhijānantā uppajjati* in Mil 78,3, which certainly fits in with the earlier passage and is easier to understand, although it is not at all clear how the corruption, if it is one, came about.

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

It is, of course, possible to take *abhijānantā sati uppajjati* as a direct parallel to *abhijānato sati uppajjati*, since *abhijānantā* can be the ablative of *abhijānanta*, which may be either a genuine compound of *abhijāna*

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

and *anta*, or an example of *abhijāna* with *-anta* added pleonastically.<sup>1</sup> If this is correct, then we have the problem of *kaṭumikā [uppajjati] sati*. Once again, this problem is not insuperable, since we may take *kaṭumikā* as a “truncated” ablative of the noun *kaṭumikā*, where *-ā* = *-āya*.<sup>2</sup> If we make these assumptions, then the statements in the two sections are completely parallel.

It is not clear why CPD does not list *abhijāna* as a noun. To take *abhijānato* as a present participle when it is followed by *kaṭumikāya*, which is presumably an ablative, and fifteen other quasi-ablative forms in *-ato*, seems very perverse. CPD does list *abhijānana*, i.e. an action noun formed from the present stem of the verb *abhijānāti* with the *-ana* suffix, and there seems to be no reason for rejecting the formation of an *a*-stem noun from the same root. I assume, therefore that PED is correct in taking *abhijāna* as a noun, but incorrect in implying that it is to be derived from *abhijñāna*.<sup>3</sup>

### 3. *assa* = *yassa*

We find in Dh 179 the following:

*yassa jitaṃ nāvajīyati*  
*jitaṃ assa no yāti koci loke,*  
*tam buddham anantagocaram*  
*apadam kena padena nessatha.*

<sup>1</sup> See K.R. Norman, *The Group of Discourses*, Vol. II, p. 174 (ad Sn 127).

<sup>2</sup> See W. Geiger, *Pāli Grammar*, § 81.

<sup>3</sup> Note Karashima’s suggestion that *Buddha-yāna* may be derived from \**Buddha-jāna* = *Buddha-jñāna*. See S. Karashima, *The textual study of the Chinese versions of the Saddharmapuṇḍarikāsūtra in the light of the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions*, Tokyo 1992, p. 266 and *Papers in Honour of Prof. Dr. Ji Xianlin on the occasion of his 89th Birthday*, Vol. II, Beijing 1991, pp. 607–43.

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

It is interesting to note that the parallel version at Udāna-v XXIX.52 in Bernhard's edition<sup>2</sup> reads the first two lines as:

*yasya jitaṃ nopajīyate  
jitaṃ anveti na kaṃ cid eva loke.*

Unfortunately Nakatani's edition<sup>3</sup> is defective here. If we could be certain that the Udāna-v redactor received something approximating to the Pāli version, then the differences between the Pāli version and the Udāna-v would seem to show an attempt to solve the problem of *assa* by omitting it, so that pādas a and b are both part of the clause introduced by *yasya*. That is, in effect, an admission that *assa* is to be taken as a relative pronoun.

#### 4. *kañcana* “golden”

CPD states that *kañcana* as an adjective is found only in compounds. This is to ignore Alsdorf's suggestion<sup>1</sup> that at Ja VI 269,5\* we should read *kañcane* rather than *kañcana-maye*. The latter reading is unmetrical, and to overcome this problem CPD suggests reading *kañcanā-maye* m.c. This overlooks the fact that as emended in this way the pāda is an even (posterior) Vaitāliya pāda where an odd (prior) one is required.

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

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

#### 5. *kañcanadepiccha* “golden two-winged one”

This word occurs in the verse *yaṃ na kañcanadepiccha andhena tamasā gataṃ / tādisa sañcajaṃ pāṇaṃ kam attham abhijotaye*, Ja V 339,19\*–20\*, and is glossed: *yaṃ nā ti ettha nakāro upamāne, kañcanadepicchā ti kañcanadvepiccha* (v.l. *-dopiccha*), *ayam eva pāṭho kañcanasadisa-*

<sup>1</sup> See K.R. Norman, “Notes on the Aśokan Rock Edicts”, *IJJ* X, 1967, pp. 160–70 (pp. 165–67) (= CP I, pp. 47–58 [pp. 52–54]).

<sup>2</sup> Franz Bernhard (ed.), *Udānavarga*, Band I, Göttingen 1965.

<sup>3</sup> H. Nakatani (ed.), *Udānavarga de Subāsi*, Paris 1987.

<sup>1</sup> L. Alsdorf, “Das Jātaka von weisen Vidhura”, *WZKS* XV, 1971, pp. 23–56 (p. 31).

*ubhayapakkhā ti attho. tamasā ti tamasi gatan ti kataṃ, ayam eva vā pāṭho, purimassa nakārassa iminā sambandho, na katan ti kataṃ viyā ti attho*, 341,19'. The pāda is quoted at Sadd 889,10, where the compound has the form *kañcanadvēpiñcha*. It is noteworthy that three spellings of the middle element of the compound are found, i.e. *-de-*, *-dve-*, *-do-*. The form *-de-* was doubtless preferred to *-dve-* m.c., to give the cadence

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

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

<sup>1</sup> *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, edited by Oskar v. Hinüber and Ole Holten Pind, Vol. III, Fascicle 1, pp. 29–30.

grounds for doubting that the cty tradition knew the usual meaning of the word *piccha* as “tail feather”,<sup>1</sup> there must have been some special reason for saying that here it meant *pakkha*. Sadd 782,7–8 specifically gives this explanation: *kañcanavannā dve picchā dve pakkhā yassa haṃsarājassa so 'yaṃ kañcanadvēpiccho*. The reason for this was presumably the fact that the cty tradition had handed this meaning down.

It is not difficult to suggest a cause for this. I would suggest that here we have the western development of *kṣ* in *pakṣa* > *cch*, as opposed to the usual eastern *kḥ*. The resultant *paccha* developed > *piccha* by the palatalisation of *-a-* > *-i-* before *cch*,<sup>2</sup> and the tradition which Sadd 889,10 was following replaced this by the alternative *piñcha*, for which the v.l. *viñca* in C<sup>ks</sup> is not an unreasonable variant.

The verse presents other problems. The cty states that the first *na* (*purimassa nakārassa*) has here the meaning of *viya*, a view shared by Sadd. Smith, however, in his edition of Sadd, and Oskar von Hinüber (= OvH) take *andhena* at Ja V 339,19\* as two words. That produces two occurrences of the word *na* in the line, of which only one can be equal to *viya*, but OvH's suggested translation shows no trace of the other *na* being translated as a negative. Moreover, since *tamasā* is an instrumental, although explained as *tamasi* in the cty,<sup>3</sup> we presumably need *andhena* as an instrumental to parallel it. The meaning of the verse might then be: “O golden two-winged one, abandoning (i.e. if you abandon) your life in such circumstances, what profit, which is covered (reading the v.l. *katam* for *gataṃ*) as it were by blinding darkness, would you make clear?” In other words: “Please tell me what profit there would be in your

<sup>1</sup> Although both MW and PED quote the lexical meaning “wing” for Skt *piccha*.

<sup>2</sup> See K.R. Norman, “Middle Indo-Aryan Studies XIII: The palatalisation of vowels in Middle Indo-Aryan”, *JOI(B)* XXV, 1976, pp. 328–42 (p. 333) (= CP I, pp. 220–37 [p. 226]).

<sup>3</sup> Note *tamasīva* at Jāt-m 134,8.



sacrificing your life. I can see no profit in it at all. If there is any profit, it is completely hidden from me, as though covered in darkness”.

#### 6. *khuddā* “bee”, *khudda(ka)* “honey”

Although *khuddā*, *khudda* and *khuddaka* are not included in PED, the first two are listed in Childers, who quotes Abh 494 821 (nt.) “honey” and 645 (fem.) “bee”, and *khudda* is quoted in PTC and by Geiger<sup>1</sup> (*khudda* “honey” Ja VI 582,30\* = Skt *kṣaudra*). MW quotes Skt lex. *kṣaudra* “honey, species of honey” from *kṣudrā* “a kind of bee”.

I cannot quote any occurrence of *khuddā* in Pāli literature, but *khudda* occurs three times in the same phrase in the Aggañña-suttanta of the Dīgha-nikāya. It is not clear why the PTS edition prints the phrase in three different ways: *seyyathā pi nāma khudda-madhu anelakaṃ, evaṃ assādā ahoṣi*, D III 85,16; *khuddaṃ madhuṃ anelakaṃ*, 87,6; *khudda-madhu-anelakaṃ*, 87,23. It is glossed: *khuddaṃ madhun ti khudda-makkhikāhi kataṃ madhuṃ*, Sv 866,8.

The same phrase occurs in the Vinaya: *seyyathā pi khuddamadhuṃ anīlakaṃ evaṃ assādaṃ*, Vin III 7,9. This is glossed: *khuddaṃ madhun ti khuddamakkhikāhi katamadhuṃ*, Sp 182,17. It also occurs in the Aṅguttara-nikāya: *seyyathā pi nāma khuddaṃ madhuṃ anīlakaṃ*, A III 369,9 (*khuddaṃ madhun ti khuddamakkhikāhi kataṃ daṇḍakamadhuṃ*, Mp III 385,25). At Mp III 314,9 *khuddamadhu* occurs with *anelakaṃ* in the gloss on *aggarasa* at A III 237,14. There is a reference to the same simile in the Majjhima-nikāya: *seyyathā pi puriso catummahāpathe khuddaṃ madhuṃ anelakaṃ piḷeyya*, M II 5,8 (*khuddaṃ madhun ti khuddamakkhikāhi kataṃ daṇḍakamadhuṃ*, Ps III 237,19).

<sup>1</sup> Geiger, § 15.4

It would appear that the correct form of the compound is *khuddamadhu*, i.e. it is the type of honey called “*khudda*”, as opposed to any other sort of *madhu*: *madhu nāma makkhikāmadhū ti*, *madhukarihi nāma madhumakkhikāhi*, *khuddakamakkhikāhi bhamaramakkhikāhi ca kataṃ madhu*, Sp 715,14.

The word also occurs, in the simplex form or in compounds, in the Jātaka and Apadāna: *phalāni khuddakappāni bhuñja* “fruits like honey” Ja IV 434,8\* V 324,2\* (*khuddakappāni ti etāni nānārukkaphalāni khudda-madhupaṭibhāgāni madhurāni*, 324,11’) VI 85,27\* 93,10\* 532,30\* 542,26\* 569,18\*; *dajjā amā brāhmaṇassa phalaṃ khuddena missitaṃ*, Ja VI 555,15\* (*khuddena missitaṃ ti tañ ca khuddaka-madhunā missitaṃ*, 555,29’); *imaṃ muḷālavaṭakaṃ sālukaṃ piñjarodakaṃ bhuñja khuddehi saṃyuttaṃ saha puttehi khattiya*, Ja VI 563,8\* (*idaṃ sabbaṃ khuddamadhunā saṃyuttaṃ puttehi saddhiṃ bhuñja*, 563,27’); *madhuñ ca khuddaṃ anuttaraṃ bhesajjaṃ patthayantā*, Ap 7,21; *madhuṃ yathā khuddaṃ iva ssavantaṃ*, Ap 13,30.

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

#### 7. *je*: vocative particle

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

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

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

*kissa je* (to Ambapālī) Vin I 232,2 ≠ *kiñ je* D II 96,14

*dehi je* (to Ambapālī) Vin I 232,5 = D II 96,19

*handā je* Vin I 269,13; 271,35; IV 162,4

*gaccha je* Vin I 291,3,14,26; 292,15

*sace je* (contrasted with *yagghe* 'yve Vin III 15,35; M II 62,13) Vin III 15,36; M II 62,15 (*je ti ālapane nipāto, evaṃ hi tasmim dese dāsijanam ālapanti, tasmā: hambho dāsi ...*, Sp 209,4 = Ps III 297,1); Vv-a 187,22, 26

*ye je sve* Vin III 161,31 (*ye je ti ettha je ti dāsim ālapati*, Sp 580,24)

*he je* (to a daughter-in-law [*ghara-sunhā*]) Vin IV 21,3 foll.; M I 125,18,28; 126,1 (*he je Kālī ti are Kālī*, Ps II 99,7)

*kim je* M I 125,18,28; 126,1; Vv-a 207,10

*bhoti je* Dh-p-a IV 105,6

*je* Ap 420,2 (E<sup>e</sup> so [probably wrong reading]; B<sup>e</sup> S<sup>e</sup> *te*)

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

OvH suggests<sup>1</sup> that “most probably *je* is an abbreviated form of \**ajje*” (= *ayye*, i.e. the vocative feminine from < *āryā*), but later in the same article he expresses his view as certainty: “*re* is derived from *are*, in the same way as *je* is from \**ajje*”. It is, however, not easy to see how something

<sup>1</sup> Oskar von Hinüber, “From colloquial to standard language: the oral phase in the development of Pāli”, *Premier Colloque Étienne Lamotte*, Louvain-la-neuve 1993, pp. 101–13 (p. 101).

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

I think that OvH is on surer ground with the suggestion that there is a connection with the particle *je* found in Pkt infinitives ending in *-um je*. This had already been suggested by L.A. Schwarzschild in her discussion of Pkt *je*, and she had given more references<sup>4</sup> than the single one given by OvH, and referred to earlier discussions of the particle in this usage. I have suggested elsewhere that the Pāli equivalent of this *je* is *ye*, also found with infinitives in Pāli.<sup>5</sup> It is possible that this particle can be seen in the emphatic particle *yeva* < *ye* + *eva*.<sup>6</sup> It also occurs in the Aśokan inscriptions.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If *re* is to be derived from *are*, then its pejorative sense would arise from the fact that it is identical in form, and perhaps in derivation, with the vocative of *ari* “enemy”.

<sup>2</sup> If the particle is an abbreviation, then we might see *ye* as a shortened form of *aye*, which occurs in Skt as well as *ayi*, but this suggestion is unlikely to be correct unless there is evidence for \**aje*, \**aji* in an eastern dialect.

<sup>3</sup> L.A. Schwarzschild, “The indeclinable *je* in Middle Indo-Aryan”, *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, 20–21/1–4, 1961, pp. 211–17 (p. 216).

<sup>4</sup> For further examples of its usage see Thomas Oberlies, *Āvaśyaka-Studien 2, Glossar ausgewählter Wörter zu E. Leumanns “Die Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen”*, Stuttgart 1993, p. 78, s.v. *je*.

<sup>5</sup> See K.R. Norman, *Elders’ Verses* II, PTS London, 1971, ad Thī 418. It is interesting to note that Thī-a 268,9 glosses *kātuye* as *kātum ayye*, showing that the commentator was not acquainted with the particle *ye*. There is no comparable *ayye* in the explanation of *marituye* at Thī-a 269,20 (ad Thī 426). The context excludes such an explanation of *ye* in *hetuye* (Bv II.10; *bhavitum*, Bv-a 69,29) and *ganetuye* (Bv IV.28; *ganetum saṅkhātum*, Bv-a 152,18).

<sup>6</sup> Note also *nirodhe ye vimuccanti*, It 46,1; 62,10 (*ye ti nipātamattam*, It-a II 42,21).

<sup>7</sup> K.R. Norman, “Notes on the Aśokan Rock Edicts”, *IJJ* X, pp. 160–70 (p. 162) (= CP I, pp. 47–58 [pp. 48–49]).

It is very likely that *j-* in *je* is the same *j-* as in *jantāghara*, i.e. initial *y-* > *j-*, which we find consistently in the relative pronoun in some dialects of MIA. If this is so, then both words would be borrowings from the same eastern dialect, or related dialects, used at an early stage of the Buddhist tradition, and the rareness of the sound change at such an early date probably caused problems for the translators.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> John Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London 1962, p. 249 (ad GDhp 237).

of those texts did recognise that they were inappropriate to the dialects into which they were translating, and they therefore replaced them by forms which were more appropriate.

#### 8. *dhoreyya* “foremost”

At Dh 208 we find *dhoraṃyha(-sīla)* (glossed *dhuravahana-sīlatāya*, Dh 208,10) used as an epithet of the Buddha. PED suggests an etymology < *\*dhoraṃyha* = Skt *\*dhaurvahya*, as an abstract noun from *dhurvaha* “carrying a yoke”. The idea of carrying a yoke was strong in the cty tradition: *dhoraṃyha-sīlin* at Ja II 97,16\* is glossed *dhura-vahanaka-ācārena sampanna* (97,19’-20’).

We should note the following passages: *dhuravahanatthena dhoraṃyho*, Spk I 80,20 (ad *dhoraṃyho*, S I 28,21); *viriyam me dhura-dhoraṃyhaṃ*, S I 173,1\* (glossed: *dhura-dhoraṃyhan ti dhurāyaṃ dhoraṃyhaṃ, dhuraṃ vahati ti attho*, Spk I 255,5); *purisa-dhoraṃyheṇa*, D III 113,18 (glossed: *purisa-dhoraṃyheṇā ti yā asama-dhurehi Buddhehi vahitabbā dhurā, taṃ dhuraṃ vahana-samatthena Mahā-purisenā*, Sv 896,22); *dhoraṃyho balasampanno kalyāṇaajavanikkamo*, A I 162,14\* = III 214,4\* (glossed: *dhoraṃyho ti dhuravaho*, Mp II 258,22 [*nāssa vaṇṇaṃ parikkhāre ti assa goṇassa sarīravāṇaṃ na parikkhanti, dhuravahanakammam eva pana parikkhanti*, Mp II 258,25]); there is no gloss on *dhoraṃyho* at Ap 460,26. We should not, however, expect *\*dhaurvahya* to become *dhoraṃyha* in Pāli. As Brough says,<sup>1</sup> no one has explained why *\*dhaurvahya* did not produce *\*dhobbayha* in Pāli, although, as he says, the Pāli form might be due to a blending of *\*dhūrvahya-* or *\*dhaurvahya-* with *dhaureya-*.

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

<sup>1</sup> Brough, *op. cit.*, p. 236 (ad GDhp 177).

*dhoraḥya*. Even if this is correct, it would seem to be a gloss which has entered the text.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Brough, *op. cit.*, p. 236 (ad GDhp 177).

<sup>2</sup> See M. Cone (ed.), “Patna Dharmapada I”, *JPTS* XIII, 1989, pp. 101–217.

In our new edition of the Dhp,<sup>1</sup> however, Professor von Hinüber and I have been able to include the reading which has long been recognised to be the correct one, because it is now attested in manuscripts from Thailand.<sup>2</sup>

### 9. *bārasa* “twelve”

OvH has pointed out that the historical MIA form of the numeral *bārasa* “12” seems not to have left any trace in Pāli except in grammatical literature, as *dvādasa* prevails throughout in the text tradition. He based his statement on the absence of the word from PED and the index to Sadd except in references to grammatical literature.<sup>3</sup> In my survey of numerals in MIA I expanded this slightly to “only in grammarians and late texts”,<sup>4</sup> because it does occur in late texts, e.g. at Saddh 213<sup>5</sup> (where the comparable passage in the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*<sup>6</sup> has *dvādasa*).

The implication is, therefore, that at one time both *bārasa* and *dvādasa* were in use — or the grammarians would not have recorded the two forms — but at some time, for some reason, all canonical attestations of *bārasa* were changed to *dvādasa*. This is very strange, in as much as it is noteworthy that it is only in the numeral *dvādasa* that the change of *dv-* > *b-* seems not to take place in Pāli. We find it in other numerals, e.g. *bāvisati* “22” (Kv 218,27), *battiṃsa* “32” (Ja III 207,15\*), etc.

<sup>1</sup> O. von Hinüber and K.R. Norman (eds): *Dhammapada*, PTS Oxford 1994.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.* p. 59 (ad Dhp 208).

<sup>3</sup> O. von Hinüber, *Notes on the Pāli tradition in Burma* (Beiträge zur Überlieferungs-geschichte in Birma, I), Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. Phil. Hist. Klasse. Jg 1983, Nr. 3, 1983, pp. 74–75.

<sup>4</sup> “Middle Indo-Aryan Numerals”, in Jadranka Gvozdanović (ed.), *Indo-European Numerals*, Berlin 1992, Chapter 6, pp. 199–241 [p. 210].

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in K.R. Norman, “The literary works of the Abhayagirivihārins”, *Kalyāṇa-mitta* (Professor Hajime Nakamura Felicitation Volume), Delhi 1991, pp. 41–50 (p. 50 note 46) (= Cp IV, pp. 202–17 [p. 213 note 4]).

<sup>6</sup> *Upāsak* 292,19.

It is therefore a matter of some interest that *bārasa* does occur in the canon, in the compound *bārasa-vassika* at Ap 498,1. Ap-a makes no comment on the form, saying (as commonly) *sesaṃ suviññeyyam eva*, which perhaps implies that at the time of the composition of Ap-a *bārasa* was a common form, and did not require any comment.

#### 10. *sadhāyamānarūpa* “abusive”

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

The readings found are as follows:

*sadd-* is the reading of Ud (E<sup>e</sup> and S<sup>e</sup>); it is also the reading of the *pāṭhāntara* in Ud-a (B<sup>e</sup> and E<sup>e</sup>) and it is a v.l. in Ud-a (E<sup>e</sup>); *paṭh-* is a v.l. quoted from Ud-a in a footnote in Ud (E<sup>e</sup>), but is not quoted as a v.l. in Ud-a (E<sup>e</sup>); *path-* is a v.l. in Ud-a (E<sup>e</sup>); *padh-* is a v.l. in Ud (E<sup>e</sup>); *sadh-* is

<sup>1</sup> F.L. Woodward, *Udāna: verses of uplift*, London 1935, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> John D. Ireland, *The Udāna: inspired utterances of the Buddha*, Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy, 1990, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Masefield (*The Udāna*, PTS Oxford 1994, p. 107) translates “in a ridiculing fashion”, and notes (p. 117 note 127) that this translation is “wholly provisional”.

the reading of Ud (B<sup>e</sup> and N<sup>e</sup>) and of Ud-a (B<sup>e</sup>); *saddh-* is the reading of C<sup>e</sup> (Buddha Jayantī ed.) and is a v.l. in Ud (E<sup>e</sup>); *vadh-* is the reading of C<sup>e</sup> (1926 as quoted in N<sup>e</sup>) and of Ud-a (E<sup>e</sup> and C<sup>e</sup>).

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

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

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

Ud-a (E<sup>e</sup>) 318,17–25 reads: *te vadhāyamāna-rūpā ti uppaṇḍana-jātikam vacanam sandhāya vuttam. aññesaṃ uppaṇḍentā vadhanti, tad-atthavacana-silā ti attho. tass' āyaṃ vacan'-attho: vadhanam vadho taṃ ācikkhantī ti: vadhayamānā ti vattabbe, dīghaṃ katvā vadhāyamānā ti vuttam. athavā viheṭṭhe vadhe viya attānam ācarantī ti, vadhāyamānā. tato evaṃ sabhāvatāya vadhāyamāna-rūpā ti vuttam. saddāyamāna-rūpā ti pi pātho. uccā-sadda-mahāsaddaṃ karontā ti attho.* This seems to be explaining the alternative readings *vadh-*, which is confirmed by the inclusion of *viheṭṭha* in the alternative explanation, and *sadd-*. If these

<sup>1</sup> *sadhu saddakucchiyaṃ: sadhati*, Sadd 395,1.

<sup>2</sup> Sadd 395 note b.

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

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

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