

THE METRES OF THE LAKKHAṆA-SUTTANTA (II)

1. Introduction ¹

In an article ² devoted to an investigation of the verses in the Upaṭṭhitappacupita (= Upasthitapracupita) metre in the Lakkhaṇa-suttanta of the Dīghanikāya ³, I stated that it would be worth while making an investigation of the passages in the other ornate metres used in that suttanta, to see whether there was also the possibility there of using the metre as a guide for the restoration of the text. In this article, offered in honour of Mme Colette Caillat, whose publications in the field of Pāli have put all who work in that subject in her debt, I wish to examine the verses in the Pupphitagga (= Puṣṣitāgrā) metre in that suttanta, to see whether my suggestion is correct.

According to the CPD ⁴, the scheme for Puṣṣitāgrā is:

2 × (vvvv | vv- | vvvv- || vv | vv- | vv- | vvvv-).

A. K. Warder's analysis is ⁵: vvvvvvvv-vvvv- | vvvvvv-vvvv-vvvv- × 2.

1. Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts are those adopted by the *Critical Pāli Dictionary* (CPD). Other abbreviations are: PTS = Pali Text Society; PED = PTS's *Pali-English Dictionary*; m.c. = metri causa; v(v). = verse(s); v.l(l). = variant reading(s); p(p). = page(s); n. = note; s.v. = under the heading.

2. K. R. NORMAN, *The metres of the Lakkhaṇa-suttanta*, in Gatare Dhammapala et al. (edd.): «Buddhist studies in honour of Hammalava Saddhātissa», Nugegoda, 1984, pp. 176-88.

3. = D III 142-79.

4. CPD Epileg. 31*.

5. A. K. WARDER, *Introduction to Pali*, London, 1963, p. 361.

H. Smith refers⁶ to this metre as proto-Puṣpitaḡrā, and compares Mvu I 300,20-301,2.

In this article I have examined the 12 verses in the Pupphitagḡā metre in the Lakkhaṇa-suttanta⁷, and in the light of readings found in various editions of the text I have in most cases been able to suggest corrections for the errors which occur. I have discussed below the few places where this was not possible. Besides the Pali Text Society's edition (Ee)⁸, I have consulted the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana Burmese edition (Be)⁹, the Sinhalese Buddhajanti edition (Ce)¹⁰ and a Siamese edition (Se)¹¹. In making this new edition of these verses I have used the following conventions:

- () = the enclosed words occur in a different pāda in Ee
 <> = add enclosed word(s) or letter(s) (which occur in no edition) to the text
 [] = delete enclosed word(s) or letter(s) (which occur in all editions) from the text
 ~ = shorten a long vowel (which occurs in all editions) m.c.
 ^ = lengthen a short vowel (which occurs in all editions) m.c.

2. Text (Pupphitagḡā = Puṣpitaḡrā)

1. maraṇa⁽¹⁾-vadha-bhay' attano veditvā
 paṭivirato⁽²⁾ para⁽³⁾-māraṇāy'⁽⁴⁾ ahosi.
 tena⁽⁵⁾ sucaritena saggam agamā⁽⁶⁾,
 <~> sukata-phala-vipākam ānubhosi.

(1) Be māraṇa-; (2) Ee pati-; (3) BeEeSe param; (4) EeSe maraṇāy'; (5) Se adds so; (6) Se agamāsi.

2. caviya punar idh' āgato samāno
 paṭilabhatî idha tîṇi lakkhaṇāni,
 bhavati vipula-dīgha-pāsuṇîko⁽¹⁾

6. H. SMITH, *Saddanîti*, Lund, 1928-66, § 8.4.2.2 (p. 1158).

7. I have numbered them consecutively from 1 to 12: 1-4 = D III 150,16*-151,6*; 5-8 = 153,15*-154,8*; 9-12 = 163,11*-164,4*.

8. *The Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. III, ed. J. Estlin Carpenter, PTS London, 1911.

9. Rangoon, 1956.

10. Colombo, 1976.

11. Bangkok, 1926.

brahmā va sujju (2) subho sujāta-gatto.

(1) BeCe pāsaṇhiko, Ee pāṇiko, Se pāsaṇhiko; (2) BeCe va suju, Ee viy' uju.

3. subhujō susu susaṇṭhito sujāto,
mudu-talun' (1) aṅguliyy' assa honti (dīghā),
tīhi (2) purisa-var'-agga (3)-lakkhaṇehi (4)
cira-yapanāya (5) kumāram ādisanti.

(1) Ce -taphaṇ'; (2) BeSe tibhi; (3) Se *omits* -var'-agga-; (4) Se lakkha-
nebhi; (5) Se -yāpanāya.

4. bhavati yadi gihī ciraṃ yapeti,
ciratara[m] pabbajati yadī tato hi
yāpayati (1) vas' iddhi-bhāvanāya
iti dīghāyukatāya tan (2) nimittaṃ.
(1) Be *adds* ca; (2) Be taṃ.

5. dānam pi ca (1) attha-cariyatañ (2) ca
piya-vadatañ (3) ca samāna-chandatañ (4) ca
kariya, cariya [su-]saṅgahaṃ bahunnaṃ (5)
anavamatenā guṇena yāti saggamaṃ.

(1) BeCeSe c'; (2) Ee -cariyatam pi; (3) Be -vāditañ; (4) Be -ttatañ, Se
-chandañ; (5) Be bahūnaṃ.

6. caviya punar idh' āgato samāno
kara-caraṇā-mudutañ (1) ca jālino ca,
atirucira-suvaggu (2)-dassaneyyaṃ
paṭilabhati daharo susū kumāro.
(1) Ce mudutalañ, Se mudukañ; (2) Se -suvagga-

7. bhavati pariṇaṇṇaṃ assavo vidheyyo,
mah' (1) imaṃ āvasito (2) susaṃgahito,
piya-vadu (3) [hita-]sukhataṃ jigimsamāno (4)
abhirucitāni guṇāni ācarāti (5).

(1) Ce mahim; (2) Ee āvasiko; (3) BeSe -vadū; (4) jigīsamāno; (5) Ce
ācaranto.

8. yadi ca jahati sabba-kāma (1)-bhogaṃ
kathayati dhamma-kathaṃ jino janassa,
vacana-paṭikar' (2) ass' abhippasannā (3)

sutvā⁽⁴⁾ dhamm'-anudhammam⁽⁵⁾ ācaranti.

(1) Ee adds -gūṇa-; (2) Ee -ppaṭikar'; (3) BeEeSe ābhippasannā; (4) BeSe sutvāna; (5) BeEeSe -anudhammam.

9. tuliya⁽¹⁾ paṭiviceyya⁽²⁾ cintayitvā

mahajana⁽³⁾-saṃgahataṃ⁽⁴⁾ samekkhamāno,

« ayam id[am]' arahatī » ti⁽⁵⁾ tattha tattha

purisa-visesa⁽⁶⁾-karo pure ahosi.

(1) Ee tulaya; (2) Be paṭivicaya, Ce paṭiviciya, Ee paviceyya, Se pavicaya; (3) BeEeSe mahā-; (4) BeCe -saṅgahanam, Se -saṅgāhakam; (5) Be arahati; (6) Se -visesañ-.

10. sa hi⁽¹⁾ ca pana t̥hito⁽²⁾ anonamanto

phusati karehi ubhohi jannukāni⁽³⁾,

mahiruha-parimaṇḍalo⁽⁴⁾ ahosi

sucarita-kamma-vipāka-sesakena.

(1) Be mahiṃ, Se samā; (2) Se t̥hito; (3) BeCe jannukāni; (4) Se -pparimaṇḍalo.

11. bahu-vividha-nimitta-lakkhaṇa-ññū

abhinipuṇā⁽¹⁾ manujā viyākarim̐su⁽²⁾:

« bahu-vividha⁽³⁾ gihīnam ārahāni⁽⁴⁾

paṭilabhatī daharo susū⁽⁵⁾ kumāro,

(1) Be atinipuṇā; (2) BeEeSe vyākarim̐su; (3) Be -vividhā, Ce vividhāni; (4) BeCeSe arahāni; (5) BeCeEe susu.

12. idha ca⁽¹⁾ mahi⁽²⁾-patissa kāma-bhogā⁽³⁾

gihi⁽⁴⁾-patirūpa⁽⁵⁾-k<ar>ā⁽⁶⁾ bahū⁽⁷⁾ bhavanti,

yadi ca jahati sabba⁽⁸⁾-kāma-bhogam̐,

labhati anuttaram uttamam̐⁽⁹⁾ dhan'-aggam̐ ».

(1) CeEe omit, (2) BeCe mahī-; (3) BeCe -bhogā; (4) Se gihi (5) Ce -patirūpa-; (6) read -karā with Ee v.l.; (7) Ce bahu; (8) Ee sabbam̐; (9) Be uttama-.

3. Commentary

1. In pāda c the first two short syllables are contracted to one long syllable in *tena*. We must scan *agamā* as -. In pāda d the first two morae are missing. We could read <atha> or, if we assume that a long syllable might replace two short syllables, we could read <so>, and suggest that it had dropped out before

sukata- (cf. the extraneous *so* in *Se* in pāda *c*). In pāda *d* we must scan *sukata-phala-* as ˘˘˘˘. Although no edition reads the required *ānubhosi* here, *Ee* reads *ānubhavi* in the *Pamitakkharā* pāda at *D III* 174,12. Cf. my suggestion¹² of reading *ānubhosi* at *D III* 176,2.

2. In pāda *c* we might think of reading *-paṇhiko*, the usual form of the Pāli equivalent of Sanskrit *pārṣṇi*, and assume that *Ee -paṇiko* is a mistake for this. This would leave the pāda one syllable short, but we could read <ca> with the v.l. in *Ee*. *Sv* 926,26, however, glosses: *dīgha-pāsāṇiko* (*Ee so*; *Be -pāsāṇhiko*) *ti dīgha-paṇhiko*. The fact that the gloss is the usual form of the Pāli word suggests that the reading in the text is not the usual form, but the reading *-pāsāṇio* in *Sv* (*Ee*) does not scan, and cannot be derived from *pārṣṇi*. I therefore adopt the reading *-pāsūṇiko* from *Se*, but lengthen the vowel to give *-pāsūṇiko* m.c. This can be derived from *pārṣṇi*, by assuming the development of a svара-bhakti vowel. The reading *-pāsāṇhiko* in *BeCe* would seem to be a conflation of *-pāsūṇiko* and *-paṇhiko*. It is clear that *Ee -pāṇiko* is a mistake for *pā<su>ṇiko*.

In pāda *d* the first two short syllables are contracted into one long syllable in *Brahma*. *Sv* 926,27 glosses: *Brahma-visujjū* (*Ee so*; *Be va sujjū*) *ti Brahmā viya sutṭhu uju*. The presence of *sutṭhu* confirms *sujju* as the correct reading, and it would appear that *-visujju* in *Sv* (*Ee*) is merely a mistake for *va sujju*. The reading *viy'* in *Ee* probably arises from the same mistake of *vi-* for *va*, with the akṣara *sa* being misread as *ya*.

3. I assume that in pāda *b* *mudu-talun' aṅguli'* is elided from *mudu-talunā aṅguliyo*, with a dvandva adjective in agreement with *aṅguliyo*. *Sv* (*Be*) seems to confirm this: *mudutalunaṅguli-yassā ti mudū ca talunā ca aṅguliyo assa*, but *Sv* (*Ee*) adds *ti mudutalun'aṅgulī*, with the rubric punctuated *mudu-talun' aṅguli-y-assa*. This would then give the nominative singular masculine of an *-in* stem, shortened m.c., to be taken with pāda *a*. *Be Ee*¹³ and *Se* print *dīghā* at the beginning of pāda *c*.

12. K. R. NORMAN, *op. cit.* (in n. 2), p. 178.

13. The pāda division is corrected in later reprints of *Ee*.

In pāda d *yāpanāya* has been shortened > *yapanāya* m.c. The reading *yāpanāya* in Se disregards this, although Se reads *yapeti* in 4a.

4. All editions read *yapeti* m.c. in pāda a.

In pāda c the first two short syllables are contracted into one long syllable in *yāpayati*. In pāda c I assume that *vas'* is elided from *vasī*, i.e. the nominative singular of an *-in* stem. Sv 927,1 seems to confirm this with the gloss: *vasi-ppatto hutvā*.

In pāda d two short syllables are contracted into one long syllable in *dīgh-*.

5. In pāda a the first four short syllables are contracted into two long syllables in *dānam*. We must scan *-cariyatañ* as --, i.e. take the two short syllables *cari-* as one long, or alternatively disregard the svarabhakti vowel and read the word as *-car'yatañ*.

In pāda b the reading *samānattatañ* in Be is doubtless due to the occurrence of *samānattatāya* in the prose version (152,18).

In pāda c the occurrence of *su-* in all editions is doubtless due to its presence in *susaṅgahitā* in the prose version (153,5).

Sv 929,6 gives *anapamadena* as a pāṭhāntara for *anavamatena* in pāda d: *anapamadenā* (Be *anapamodenā*) *tī pi pāṭho. na apamadena* (Be *appamodena*) *na dītena* (Be *dīnena*) *na gabbhitenā tī attho*.

6. I follow A. K. Warder¹⁴ in reading *-caraṇā-* m.c. The form of *jālino* is difficult to explain, and I assume that it is an accusative plural form, to be taken in agreement with «hands and feet», extracted from the compound: «He obtains softness of hands and feet and webbed (hands and feet)».

On pāda d Sv 929,11 glosses: *susu-kumāro tī suṭṭhu-sukumāro*, although on *susu* in 3a it explains: *mahallaka-kāle pi taruṇa-rūpo*. I see no reason to doubt that we should separate *susu* and *kumāro*¹⁵.

7. The gloss on pāda a in Sv 929,12 is: *parijan' assavo tī parijano assavo vacana-karo* (Ee separates words wrongly). This makes it clear that *parijan'* is a nominative singular, with the ending *-o* elided.

14. A. K. WARDER, *op. cit.* (in n. 5), p. 371.

15. See J. BROUGH, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London, 1962, p. 240.

In pāda b the second syllable of *imaṃ* shows two short syllables contracted into one long syllable.

In pāda c we may assume that *-vadu* is a scribal representation for *-vadō*, with *-o* shortened m.c., although the scribal tradition accepted *subhujō* in 3a. The fact that the form in *-u* existed at the time of the writing of the *ṭikā* and was accepted as genuine by the commentarial tradition is shown by the comment in Sv-pṭ III 142,25: *piyaṃ vadatī ti piyavadū yathā sabbavidū ti*. The inclusion of *hita-*, against the metre, doubtless arises from the gloss in Sv 929,15-16: *piya-vādo hutvā hitaṃ ca pariyesamāno*.

8. The gloss in Sv 929,17-18 on pāda c (*vacana-paṭikarass' abhippasannā ti vacana-paṭikarā assa abhippasannā*) makes it clear that *paṭikar'* is elided from *paṭikarā*, i.e. nominative plural.

In pāda d the first four short syllables are contracted into two long syllables in *sutvā* (cf. 5a).

9. In pāda a no edition reads *paṭiviceyya*, but we can obtain this reading by combining the *paviceyya* of Ee with the *paṭi-* of BeCe.

In pāda b it is not clear what *-saṅgahanam* in BeCe could be, since we should expect a retroflex *-ṇ-*. I therefore prefer the *saṅgahataṃ* found in Ee, and note that there are several other abstract nouns in *-taṃ* (= accusative of *-tā*) in these verses¹⁶. I assume that the reading of Ce arises from a misreading of Sinhalese *-t-* as *-n-*. The dental *-n-* in Be would, on this assumption, be based upon an earlier Sinhalese manuscript. This is, however, complicated by the fact that Sv (Be) reads: *mahājana-saṅgāhakan ti mahājana-saṅgahanam*, but *-saṅgāhakam* cannot have been the original reading, despite Se, because it is unmetrical.

10. The reading *mahiṃ* in pāda a in Be is probably due to *mahi-* in pāda c.

11. In pāda c *-vividha* is accusative plural, with *-a* m.c. It is possible that we should separate *bahu*, and assume that this is m.c. for *bahū*. The lemma at Sv 936,3 (Ee) has *tad* instead of *-nam*, and this occurs as a v.l. in Ee. It doubtless reflects a belief

16. viz. *atthacariyataṃ* 5a, *piyavadataṃ* 5b, *samānachandataṃ* 5b, *karaṇāmudutaṃ* 6b, *sukhataṃ* 7b.

by a scribe that *-naṃ* was the third person pronoun. The reading *-gihīnaṃ* occurs in Sv (Be) and is confirmed by the gloss: *bahu vividhāni gihīnaṃ anucchavikāni*.

12. In pāda c all editions read *-rūpakā*, but this is not metrical, and the meaning «resembling householders» not quite appropriate. I therefore read *-rūpa-k<ar>ā*, with Ee v.l. I take this as having the same general meaning as Sanskrit *pratirūpa-dhṛk*¹⁷, «giving a pattern (for householders)», i.e. «appropriate (for householders)».

4. Translation

1. Realising his own fear of death and destruction, he was averse to the killing of others. Because of that good conduct he went to heaven, and enjoyed the fruit and result of good deeds.

2. Passing away and come here again he obtained here three marks: he had long broad heels, was very straight like Brahmā, beautiful, with a well-formed body.

3. He had good arms, was young, well-formed, and well-born. His fingers were soft and delicate and long. By these three marks of an excellent man they showed the young man to be destined for long life.

4. «If he becomes a householder he will live for a long time; he will live even longer if he goes forth as a wanderer with his senses under control for the development of supernormal powers. Thus this is the mark of longevity».

5. Having practised generosity, and the doing of good, and kindly speech and impartiality, and acting kindly to many, because of his esteemed virtue he went to heaven.

6. Passing away and come back here again the tender young prince obtained very lovely, charming and beautiful softness of hands and feet and webbed (hands and feet.).

7. «His attendants will be obedient and docile; inhabiting this earth, (being) very kindly disposed, speaking kindly, desiring happiness, he will practise pleasing virtues.

17. Sir M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, s.v. *pratirūpa*.

8. But if he abandons all sensual pleasures and enjoyments, (and) as a conqueror preaches a sermon on the doctrine to the people, those who do his word will be believers; hearing the doctrine and the minor teaching they will practise (it) ».

9. Weighing, deliberating, thinking, having regard for the favour of the people (thinking) « This one is worthy of that », he formerly made distinctions here and there between men.

10. But standing without bending he could touch his knees with both hands; because of the remnant of the result of his well performed actions he had the proportions of a tree.

11. The very clever men who know many signs and marks of different sorts declared: « The tender young prince will receive many things of different sorts worthy of householders.

12. Here there are many sensual pleasures and enjoyments for the lord of the earth, suitable for householders. But if he abandons all sensual pleasures and enjoyments, he will obtain the highest incomparable peak of wealth ».

5. Conclusions

1. Although the results are not as spectacular as those obtained in the investigation into the verses in the *Upaṭṭhitappacupita* metre, nevertheless they follow the same broad pattern. It is clear that the form of the metre allows a number of variations from its classical pattern, which doubtless explains why H. Smith called it proto-*Puṣpitaḅrā*. Two short syllables are contracted into a long syllable in *pādas* 1c 2d 4cd 7b. Four short syllables are contracted into two long syllables in *pādas* 5a and 8d. In *pādas* 1cd (and perhaps 5a) a long syllable has been resolved into two short syllables.

2. It can be seen that the ancient tradition failed to understand the metre, as is shown by the fact that the same errors appear in all three oriental editions, e.g. *su-* in 5c and *hita-* in 7c.

3. It is possible to see how some of these errors arose. The prefix *su-* has come into the text from the prose version. It looks as though *hita-* is a gloss upon *sukha* which has been included in the text.

4. It is clear that some modern editors did not recognise the metre. Sometimes correct readings are included in the critical apparatus, but ignored in favour of incorrect readings, but the failure to identify the Pupphitagga metre is shown most obviously by the fact that BeEe¹⁸ and Se all print an incorrect pāda-division between 3b and 3c.

5. Ee has no independent tradition behind it, and represents merely an eclectic version of the text, but it is of interest in that in its critical apparatus it sometimes preserves forms which give a hint as to the correct reading, or at least to a reading which is more metrical, e.g. in 12c all editions read *pati*-(or *paṭi*-)*rūpakā*, which is incorrect metrically. Ee has the v.l. *pati-rūpakarā*, which suggests the more metrical reading.

6. If the basic premise underlying this article is correct, that these Pupphitagga verses were metrical when first composed, and if the emendations proposed are correct, then some lexical items, e.g. *pāsuṇika* and *paṭiviceyya*, will need to be added to PED.

7. It would appear that my suggestion was correct, and in view of this I intend to consider, at some later date, the passages in other metres in the Lakkhaṇa-suttanta.

18. See n. 13 above.