This is the first of a projected occasional series of notes on Buddhist vocabulary. The first two items here concern suggested corrections to Edgerton's monumental *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, the third a Sanskrit word unknown to dictionaries, while the remaining two items concern Chinese Buddhist translation vocabulary.

I. *Vemātrī / vematr*

In the *editio princeps* of the *Mahāvastu* we find the following sentence:1 tehi dāni kumārebi mā mo jāti-sānḍoṣaṃ bhūvīyaṇīti jāti-sānḍoṣa-bhayena svakarṣaṃ yeva mātryo bhagṁāṇyo parasparasya sāvābhītāḥ. Edgerton suggested that the manuscript reading *matrīyo* should be kept, and proposed translating the final portion of the sentence “(the princes) gave to each other in marriage each their own sisters by the same mother (thus avoiding the marriage of any with his own co-uterine sister).”2 Other interpretations had already been offered by Senart and Jones. Senart suggested:3 “dans la crainte de compromettre la pureté de leur race, ils épousèrent leurs propres sœurs, chacun en choisissant une d'une autre mère que lui.” Jones translated:4 “Those young princes said to themselves: “There

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1 Senart 1882-1897: i.351.2-4, reprised on 8-9.
2 Edgerton 1953 s.v. *mātri*. What Edgerton means by “co-uterine” here is “full sister,” that is, having both parents in common, but see below.
3 Senart 1882-1897: 1.625.
must be no corruption in our race. And from fear of such a corruption they each married a half-sister born of a different mother."

The palm-leaf manuscript recently published by Yuyama may assist us here. It reads in this passage and its reprise a few lines below not svakarvakā yeva māryo but svakarvakā vēmāryo. The expression is attested in both Pāli and Sanskrit. In the former we find vēmātika bhāgini in the Jātaka, when the prince Udayabhadda is forced to wed his half-sister Udayabhaddā.5

udayabhaddān alankāretva1 tassa santike ṭhapsem | sā tav suvanνarupakān2 abhibhavirvā atthāsi | aha nesaṁ3 aniccamānanāmāṁ heva vēmātikaṁ bhāgininī4 udayabhaddakumārīṁ aggamahesīṁ karvā bodhisattāraṁ rajāya abhiśiccinī5 | te pana dve pi brahmacariyāsavana eva vasitūs ā | ubho ekagabbhe vasamānā6 pi lobhavasena indriyāṁ bhindivā aṁañāmaṁnaṁ na oloksaṁ ā

1) PTS: alankāritva 2) PTS: suvanṇarūpasī 3) PTS: tesan ā 4) PTS: vēmātikabhañginī 5) PTS vasaṁānā

Adorning Udayabhaddā, they set her in his presence, and she stood there outshining that golden image. Then even against the couple’s wishes they made his agnatic half-sister the princess of King Virūdhaka. Then even against the couple’s wishes they made his agnatic half-sister the princess of King Virūdhaka. They gave to each other in marriage their own agnatic half-sisters. They gave to each other in marriage their own agnatic half-sisters. With the Sage Kapila instructing the sons of King Virūdhaka Ikṣvāku, svakarvakā bhāgini tvaṃ vāmāryo vābhāginībhā śārdubam vasaṁ kalyaṇita, “Avoiding your full sisters, cohabit with your agnatic half-sisters.”

In Sanskrit, in the same story as that in the Maḥāvamsa, the tale of the origins of the Śākyas,7 we find the sage Kapila instructing the sons of King Virūdhaka Ikṣvāku, svakarvakā bhāgini tvaṃ vāmāryo vābhāginībhā śārdubam vasaṁ kalyaṇita, “Avoiding your full sisters, cohabit with your agnatic half-sisters.”

In light of the new manuscript evidence, we obtain an understandable text which, moreover, has the virtue of presenting a vocabulary item attested also in Pāli and Sanskrit. In light of the new manuscript evidence, we obtain an understandable text which, moreover, has the virtue of presenting a vocabulary item attested also in Pāli and Sanskrit.

II. *Parikarati: A ghost word*

The Pāṇiniṇḍana of the Divyāvadāna contains the following:8

avyuṣmān mahāmaudgalyāyanaṁ samālṣaṇyaṁ pūrvaṁ uktaṁ bhagavatā duṣkarakāraṇau hi bhikṣavāḥ putrasya mātipitāravā āpyavakṣuṣā saivāndhakau stanyasya datārau citrasya jambudvīpasya darṣayītau ā ekamānaṁ putra mātārau dvitiyena pitarau pūrṇavārasya parikarati yaṁ vāmaḥ mahāprīthivyān māṇayo muktā vaidūryānākhaḷīpāvaṇām rajātām jātaraṇam āṣāgārbo muṣāragalvo lohitikā daśāṣṭāvārī tah evaṁtrute vīvidhāṣṭāvyādhipate pratiṣṭhāpyaṁ neyata putreṇa mātipitāro kṛtaṁ vā śādūpaktīṁ vā yaṁ tv aṣā śārdūḥaṁ mātipitāraṁ śraddhaḥsaṁpaddi saṁmādhyāpayaṁ vinayatī nīvāсанyāti pratiṣṭhāpyaṁ dhiṣāṁ śīlānarīṁ mātaṁ saṁmādhyāpayaṁ vinayatī nīvāsanī pratiṣṭhāpyaṁ iyaṁ putreṇa mātipitroḥ kṛtaṁ vā śādūpaktīṁ vā veti 9

The verb printed in the editio princeps as parikare is discussed by Edgerton.10 Under the lemma “parikarati” he took the word as “possibly denom. to Skt. parikara,” and identified it with Pāli parikarati, saying “cited “karoti by PTSD, but all its citations fit the stem in -a-.” He then offered the definition “aids, serves, waits upon.” I suggest rather that we conjecturally emend very slightly to “parikare, as a form of parikarati (or parikerasya)” “carry around.” This suggestion is supported by Chinese dàn 當, and probably, although less certainly, by Tibetan bzhag, the terms we find in the corresponding passages in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya from which the Divyavādana drew its account. Interestingly, this understanding was already adopted by Burnouf, who translated from exception of the fact that they seem to gloss over the causative nature of the participle viveḥita, the translations of both Senart and Jones appear to be quite correct, grasping the true meaning in spite of the corrupt readings before them.

I do not, I confess, entirely understand Edgerton’s rendering, but he too may be after the same thing. Based, however, on his wrong assumption concerning mātri, his “by the same mother” cannot be accepted. The correct meaning of mātrīrīrīmātrī is “agnatic half-sister,” that is half-sister with a common father but different mothers. The entry for mātri in Edgerton’s dictionary should, correspondingly, be deleted, and a new lemma for mātrīrīrīmātrī entered, with reference to the standard Sanskrit and Pāli forms of the word.

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1 Jones 1949–1956: 1,296, with n. 3.
4 See Silk Forthcoming.
6 Perhaps the yuṣ of Senart’s edition represents a scribal attempt to compensate for a mis-understood yuṣ, or even yuṣ, which stood here in some archetype.
7 Cowell and Neil 1886: 51.18–52.3. The text is found in Tibetan (Derge Kanjur 1, [juan 4]) as well. The text was translated by Burnouf 1844: 276f; compare also Tatelman 2000: 77ff. The Chinese translation was translated into Japanese by Iwamoto 1968: 172ff.
8 Edgerton 1953 s.v. parikarati.
One said: ‘Mother and father, monks, do what is difficult for a son, they are nururers, nourishers, fosterers, givers of milk, teachers of multifarious ways of the world. Should a son carry his mother on one shoulder and his father on the other for a full hundred years, or were he to establish them in any variety of wealth or sovereignty [giving them] all the jewels, pearls, lapis lazuli, coral, conches, gems, gold, silver, emerald, sapphire, ruby, and right spiral conch of the whole earth, such a son would do nothing for his parents nor would he benefit them. But one who instigates, guides, directs to and establishes his unbelieving parents in the wealth of faith, or instigates, guides, directs to and establishes [parents] who are ill-behaved in the wealth of good behavior, selfish [parents] in the wealth of renunciation, ignorant [parents] in the wealth of wisdom, such a son would do something for his parents, he would benefit them.’

III. Vajrägni

The word vajrägni is not defined in Sanskrit dictionaries known to me, but occurs twice in the Ratnasoravivihàga. However, the word is far from unknown, appearing already in the Mahàbhàrata.

In the Saundarananda of Asvaghosa, in describing Nanda’s wife Sundari when Nanda has left to follow the Buddha and has not returned as promised, the poet says of her sà sundari svacalodari bì vajrägnisamambthatarà gheva, which Johnston translates “For Sundari, with her bosom straining with sob's like a cave whose opening has been split by the fiery thunderbolt.” In the ‘Ur’-Skandapuräna, concerning a member of Šiva’s army, Vipati, releasing an arrow against Vytra, we find (141.3cd): mumoca vajrägnisamam ripukrayakaram sarum. A verse from the Mokàpàya (vairàgypaprakaàana 16.47) reads: 

nàsidhàrà na vajrägnir na taptàyàhàkàmarciuù! 
tathà tìkàù tathà brahmàms triyàmayàhà kyà samàsthità! 

Finally, in Bhavabhuti’s Mahàvàracarita 3.2.1d we find vajrägnir drùgamàm iva bhmasàstikàromi (where the object of bhmasàstikàromi is àtatìyànam in pada b). In the context of an email discussion of this word, which prompted Isaacs’s kind contribution, Arlo Griffiths pointed to a passage in the Divyavàdàna’s Kàññalàvàdàna,

In manuscripts, working decades before the publication of the first edition. Burnouf’s manuscripts were not made use of by the editors, however, and we cannot know precisely how he read the word. There are, however, some complications.

In a passage in the Abhàguttara-Nikàya we find the duty a child owes his parents expressed as follows: ekena bhikkhàvo anisena màtaram parihareyya ekena anisena pitaram parihareyya ..., “if, monks, one were to carry his mother around on one shoulder and his father around on the other ...,” the text going on to say that even centuries of this and other sorts of good treatment would not repay the debt. The verb here, parihareyya, is, of course, the optative of pariharati, which also exists as such in Buddhist Sanskrit. Although Edgerton defines it (s.v.) as “protects, guards, looks after,” he in fact cites a passage perfectly parallel to the Pàli Abhàguttara-Nikàya example from the Aùvadàñalakàta: ya ekenàsena putro màtaram dvitìyena pitaram pàrnam varàyatam parihareyad va ... 14 The Pàli commentary to the Abhàguttara-Nikàya, the Manorathapàràrûmi, explains the usage as follows: ekena bhikkhàvo anisena màtaram parihareyya tà ekàmìnì anàsàkìte t padàvà màsàram pañjajëgya, “the expression ‘if, monks, one were to carry his mother around on one shoulder’ means ‘if one were to carry his mother having placed her on his shoulder.’” Here the verb parihareyya is glossed as pañjajëgya, the present indicative of which is pañjajëgati, Buddhist Sanskrit pratijàgati.

From another point of view, regarding the Tibetan equivalent of the postulated *parikaràtet, in the Aññàdhakàrikà the expression caïlendukàm içà siràsa parikaràb (“should carry him around on his head like a turban”) is rendered in Tibetan with ngo la tbd bzhin du tshogs sthang, in which tshogs rather than brabFigure is found. 17 (The meaning is confirmed by the commentary, which glosses dbràbyàc. In the Abhidàrmanda-kàyàbhùya, parikaràya is translated yongs ou brung ke,18 in which the idea of protection is emphasized. While there is no necessary reason we should expect consistency in the Tibetan translations of the Indic word, the term may well benefit from further study.

In sum, I propose as a translation of the Pàrñàvatudàna passage the following:

The Reverend Mahà-Maudgàlaysana thought to himself: “Previously the Blessed
which we have the half-verse: na šastravajrāgniṇīṣa parnāgāh kurvanti piṇḍām naḥbhāvāmīkārṇ[a]. Although in all the examples cited above vajrāgni appears to be a single word, it is questionable whether that is the case here. Hertel took it as two words,\footnote{26} which is also the understanding of a Chinese version of the same text (非刀劍害，亦非金剛、非火、非毒，非怨恨怨蛇),\footnote{28} translated by Przyluski: \textquoteleft Ce n'est pas le glaive qui blesse; ce n'est pas non plus la foudre ni le feu, ni le poison, ni le serpent hostile et cruel.	extquoteright\footnote{29}

The Tibetan translation of the Kanālāvādāna has something different: \textquoteleft mitsbön dang rdo rje dag dang strub rnam kyi \textquoteleft nam mkha\textquoteright \textquoteleft gyur zhiṅ phug byed mi nas so 11. Here mitsbön = šatra, rdo rje = varja (agni) and dag = viṣa. The translators appear to have skipped agni, unless they considered the compound identical in meaning with varja alone. In this Kanālāvādāna passage, then, vajrāgni seems to be a dvandva. Any future dictionary should, therefore, list both possibilities, giving both the meanings "thunderbolt" and "cudgel and fire" (or some such).

\textbf{IV. Rāṇbūi 捲縊 and associated vocabulary}

We find a striking sentence in the \textit{Adbhūtarma Mahāvībhāṣa}, narrating the story of Mahādeva: 21 其子長大，染縊於母, "The son had grown up and defiled his mother." Here the verb rāṇbūi 捲縊, to defile, has mother, mā 母, as its direct object, a relation which is clearly marked by yā 於. The word rāṇbūi 捲縊 is relatively rare (as is its inversion, buirān 染縊). When rāṇbūi 捲縊 is used in the Chinese Dirghāgama, the expression yǒu bǐ rāṇbuixiäng 由彼染縊想 is equivalent to aparītyasannáthapā in the Pali version, a word which the Critical Pali Dictionary defines as "whose aspirations are unsatisfied."\footnote{22} Okayama,\footnote{23} however, suggests that the Chinese means simply "defiled" (keguo), and he translates the line "kānō keguōshí mōnī mì yóuè" as "through that defiled thought.

The latter sense is to be noticed more in Narendrayasā's translation of the Samādhiśīrā-sūtra, where in verse 10 of the first chapter we find 汝染縊心起佛道 for what in Sanskrit reads asamkliṣṭena cītena buddhashānam āgaveṣa,\footnote{25} "to strive after the wisdom of a buddha with undefiled mind." A sense of disgust is more strongly brought out in a verse from the same Samādhiśīrā-sūtra, kāmānaṇā kāraṇaṁ bālāḥ striaṁ svanānti pātikāṁ | pātikāṁ gati gacchanti patante [telṣa durgatim 11],\footnote{37} "Fools driven by lusts attend on putrid women. They go on the path of those putrid [women], and through that fall into evil destinies [after death]." This is quoted in the Sūtrasamuccaya as follows: 38 愚者欲非諸欲事 親近女人染縊身 還當向彼染縊中 流溺堕在諸趣中. We might conclude from this that, first, we cannot with any confidence suggest a good Sanskrit equivalent for rāṇbūi 捲縊, and second, that it certainly appears to be used euphemistically, in perhaps something close to the same sense that is conveyed in English by the expression "he defiled her." It is interesting that it is only the example from the \textit{Adbhūtarma Mahāvībhāṣa} which uses rāṇbūi 捲縊 as a verb.

Although no direct connection between the words can be established, we should note that Sanskrit duṣṣāpa appears in something very much like the same meaning.\footnote{39} In addition to Buddhist examples, see for instance the Mahābhārata verse (1.57.61-62): roṣumāyogya ca duṣṣāta kanāhātā 11 kanāyate dāśīte cāpi karthin (ākhyay eva jīvottama), where the reference is to the violation of virginity.

\textbf{V. Two Chinese Kinship Terms Unknown to Dictionaries: qinmei 親妹 and qinzí 親姊}

The term qinmei 親妹 is not recorded in the Hanyu Daquidian, and taken by Morohashi as a modern word, defined as "eldest sister."\footnote{36} However, the word is used several times by the Zhou-Tang period translator Yijing, in contexts in which it seems to mean only sister(s) in general, either specifically full sister, or generically sister. In a Mulasārvāravīdāna Vinaya Vinayakṣudrakavastu passage the expression de dag gis der rang gis ir iro mo btang ste 1 ma dhen gyi iro mo rnam dang lhan cigs 'tsbo gnas 'khol do is paralleled in Chinese with 拳妹等親妹取異母者.\footnote{41} Here qinmei 親妹 clearly corresponds to rang gis ir mo, an expression of Sanskrit nākavakakā bhaginiḥ. The correspondence, however, need not always be so strict. In the Prajawijñavastu of the Mulasārvāravīdāna Vinaya we find the expression 'di ni kbo bo'i chung ma ma yin gyi 1 'di ni kbo bo'i iro mo yin no 11, to which corresponds Chinese 此非我妻，是親妹也.\footnote{42} Here qinmei 親妹
corresponds simply to *ring mo*, sister.

The certainly related *qinzi* 親子, as far as I know not recorded at all in dictionaries, appears to be equally rare, if not rarer. I have found it only in a tenth century translation of Faxian,\(^43\) and in an eighth-century translation of Bodhiruci.\(^44\) In the latter case, the correspondence of the expression as a whole, however, is not clear to me.\(^45\)

Both kinship terms should be entered in future comprehensive dictionaries of Chinese.

**Literature**


43 T. 191 (II) 937b1 (juan 2).

44 T. 1092 (XX) 252c14 (juan 5).

45 Derge Kanjur 686, rygyu ’bum, ma, 396-7: *ring mo zhes byrgyas nas ni dgyo pa’i yo byas thams cad tshang bar stsho par gyur zhes yan lag thong bar byrgyas du* 11, T. 1092 (XX) 252c14-15 (juan 5): 若乞臝女為親篤。宮中實具衣服甘露飲食亦盡賞賜。
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Bauddhavacana: Notes on Buddhist Vocabulary