dodecagonal base 100 metres long on each side. This was to be faced with brick, the centre to be filled with earth and stone. During construction the central mass of material sank eighteen metres into the alluvial subsoil. As subsidence continued the project was abandoned for a number of years. King Rāma IV (1851-1868) authorized Pya Sri Vivadhana to resume work on the shapeless mass and to make of it an artificial hill. It was completed early in the following reign and was so covered with brick and grey stucco as to resemble a steep Stone Mountain adorned with numerous shrines, small cetiyas, alcoves containing images, and memorials to the honoured dead. Its official name is Paramaparvata. Two stairways wind about it to the top. One starts at the base on the south side, the other on the north side. For many decades the platform at the top afforded the best view obtainable of Bangkok and environs. During the Wat Fair held each November the two stairways are thronged with climbers who come to venerate the sacred relic in the cetiva at the summit.

The sacred ashes came from a ruined stūpa at Piprāwā, near the border of Nepal and also the site of ancient Kapilavatthu. During the partial excavation by Peppe in January 1898 (*Revealing India's Past*, p. 119) was discovered a sandstone box which contained jewels, ornaments, and small urns was discovered. There was an ancient early Brāhmī inscription which has been translated:

"These relics of the Lord Buddha have been presented by the supreme Sakya Lord together with his grandchildren, son and wife." (Sir Charles Efliott, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 23)

The British government presented the relics to king Chulalongkorn, who sent Cao Pya Yomarāja to receive them. Portions of the relics were also given to representatives from Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Japan, and Siberia. The rest was enshrined in the cetiya on the Golden Mount, Bangkok, 23 May 1899.

Tropical rain and vegetation continually attack the surface of the Golden Mount and after a period of years cover it with green shrubbery. In 1954 it was again restored and the cracks cemented up. It is a royal *Wat*, second grade. The height of the Golden Mount is 77 metres. More recently a two-storey school building for monks and novices has been erected near the *uposatha* hall (bōt).

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K.E. Wells.

WAXING SYLLABLES is a principle that determines the sequence of terms in oral Pāli literature (See also VĀCĀ). According to this principle, words with fewer syllables in a series of terms are followed by words with an equal or greater number of syllables.

An example for a string of synonyms arranged according to the principle of 'waxing syllables' is bhīto saṃviggo lomahaṭṭhajāto (D. II,240), where the three terms used to express the same basic meaning of 'fear' follow each other with a syllable count of 2+3+6. Other examples are, daļiddo assako anāṭhiyo (M. I, 450), where the three terms used to describe the theme "poor" have a syllable count of 3+3+4; or aḍḍho mahaddhano mahābhogo (S. III, 112), three terms that refer to the opposite quality of being "wealthy", and which have a syllable count of 2+4+4. Such strings can be quite long at times, ass for example when the theme "old" is treated with altogether five synonyms, jiṇṇo vuddho mahallako addhagato vayo-anupatto (D. II, 100), resulting in a syllable count of 2+2+4+4+6.

The same principle can also be applied to verbs, such as when the practice of meditating is criticized, jhāyanati pajjhāyanti nijjhāyanti apajjhāyanti (M. I, 334), where the syllable count is 3+4+4+5; or when the Sangha is described as worthy of worship āhunevyo pāhunevyo dakkhineyyo añjalikaraneyyo (D. III, 5), following a syllable count of 4+4+4+7. If a particular list of terms becomes too long, however, the principle of waxing syllables is applied to subunits within the listing. An example in case is the description of various types of talks that are unbefitting and should better be avoided (e.g. M. I, 513). This description covers talking about "king, robbers, ministers", rājakatham, corakatham, mahāmattakatham(4+4+6); "armies, dangers, battles, food, drink, clothing, beds", senākatham, bhayakatham, yuddhakatham, annakatham, pānakatham, vatthakatham, sayanakatham (4+4+4+4+4+5); "garlands, perfumes, relatives, vehicles, villages, towns, cities, counties", mālākatham, gandhakatham, ñātikatham, yānakatham, gāmakatham, nigamakatham, nagarakatham, Janapadakatham (4+4+4+4+5+5+6); and "women, heroes, streets, wells, the dead", itthikatham, sūrakatham, visikhākatham, kumbhaṭṭhānakatham, pubbapetakatham (4+4+5+6+6).1

The crescendo effect that results from the application of the principle of waxing syllables is a typical feature of the early discourses. The function of this principle is predominantly to facilitate recall of the passage in question, as "It is surely easier to remember a sequence of words arranged in this manner according to syllable length". 2Though the principle of waxing syllables has had a considerable influence on the present shape of early Pali literature, it is not implemented invariably, especially when doctrinal reasons militate against it. This is the case, for example, when the seven factors of awakening, bojjhanga, are listed, or the factors of the noble eightfold path. Here the doctrinal significance of listing the respective terms in a particular order is of more importance than concern about arranging them according to syllable count. Thus the awakening factors are listed as sati, Dhammavicaya, viriya, pīti, passaddhi, Samādhi, and upekhā. resulting in a rather irregular syllable count of 2+5+ 3+2+3+3+3. Since according to the Ānāpānasati Sutta each factor of awakening arises in dependence on its predecessor(s) (M. III, 85), the order of terms is doctrinally important and could therefore not accommodate the principle of waxing syllables. Similarly in the case of the noble eightfold path, where according to the exposition in the Mahācattarīsaka Sutta a comparable dependence of each factor on its predecessor(s) obtains (M. III, 76). The actual listing of sammā-ditthi, sammā-sankappa, sammā-vācā, sammā-vāyāma, sammā-sati, and sammā-samādhi then indeed results in an irregular syllable count of 4+5+5+4+5+4+5.

Nevertheless, the principle of waxing syllables appears to be responsible for the order of terms found in a number of listings, standard expressions and compounds. An example in case would be *Dhammavinaya* (e.g. M.I, 284), where the reason for Vinaya to stand in second position may well be the fact that Vinaya has three syllables, and thus according to the principle of waxing syllables should stand after the two-syllable term Dhamma. Another such case would be a pācittiya regulation according to which a monk should not teach more than "six or five" words in

particular circumstances, cha-pañca, where the sequence of the numerals seems to follow the principle of waxing syllables against their natural order (Vin. IV. 21). Yet another example is itthi vā puriso vā (M. I, 32), also found in the compound form itthi-purisa (Ja. V, 461), where for the "woman" come before the "man" stands in contrast to the subordinate position of women in ancient Indian patriarchal society. In fact, once the syllable count is the same, the male usually precedes the female, cf. e.g. devo vā devi vā (D.II, 26); yakkha-potako vā yakkha-potikā vā gandhabbo vā gandhabbbī vā (D. III, 203); kumārakā vā kumārikā vā (M. I, 234), upāsakā ca ... upāsikā ca (M. I, 493).3 Hence in the case of listing itthi vā puriso vā, the reason for adopting this sequence would be the respective syllable count, itthi having 2 and purisa 3 syllables.

The same principle occurs also in Jain scriptures, where the series naccam, gñam, vāditam (e.g. D. I, 6) has its counterpart in naṭṭā, gīa, vāiya.4 In fact, to arrange words in an increasing syllable count appears already in Vedic texts, and is recognized by Pāṇini as a rule of dvanda compounds.5

Analayo

## References

- 1 Cf. Allon: "The Oral Composition and Transmission of Early Buddhist Texts", *Indian Insights*, London 1997:48.
- 2 Allon: Style and Function, A study of the dominant stylistic features of the prose portions of Pāli canonical sutta texts and their mnemonic function, Tokyo 1997: 252.
- 3 An exception to this pattern is mātā vā pitā vā (e.g. D. II, 26). The Saddanīti (Burm. Ed./ I, 73) explains that in this case the sequence is due to euphonic reasons.
- 4 Von Hinuber: Untersuch ungen zur Mündlichkeit früher mittelindischer Texte der Buddhisten, Stuttgart 1994: 33.
- 5 Caland: "A rhythmic law in language" Acta Orientalia, 9, 1931:59-68, quotes Pāṇini 2.2.34 and then provides a series of examples where due to following the law of waxing syllables the compound members in a dvanda come in a sequence that is in opposition to their natural order (cf. esp. p. 62 the examples strīpumāṃsu and Kanyākumārau).

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