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Jain-Buddhist Dialogue: Material from the Pāli Scriptures

I.B. Horner Memorial Lecture 1997

What exactly did the Buddhists know concerning the Jains? This has been an intriguing question which has given rise to various studies, the first of them being Jacobi's valuable observations in his introduction to the translation of two major Jain canonical works, the *Sūyagaḍa* and the *Uttarajjhāyā* (1895). Miss Horner herself, in 1946, briefly considered the subject in her article "Gotama and the other sects",¹ some years after Leumann's book *Buddha und Mahāvīra* (1922), and before Bhagchandra Jain Bhaskar's *Jainism in Buddhist Literature*, published in Nagpur in 1972.² Several other articles could also be mentioned and will be referred to in due course. In recent years, the relationship between the Buddha and the Jains has been at the center of a gentlemen's controversy between R. Gombrich and J. Bronkhorst.³

I am grateful to Peter Skilling for reading a draft of this paper and giving useful suggestions and additional references. — Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts are as in *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*. Other abbreviations are: *BEI* = *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes*; *BHSD* = F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*; *BSOAS* = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*; *CSCD*: Chaṭṭha-Sangāyana CD-ROM; *Jaina Path* = P.S. Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (Delhi, 1979); *Jaina Sūtras* = H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, Part II (Oxford), 1895; *JOIB* = *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*; *WZKS* = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*.

¹JAOS 66 (1946), pp. 283–89.

²There have been other less well-known attempts at comparisons such as Wolfgang Bohn, *Die Religion des Jina und ihr Verhältnis zum Buddhismus* (München, 1921), 36 pp. (extract from *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*).

³R. Gombrich, "The Buddha and the Jains", *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 48, 4 (1994), pp. 1069–96; J. Bronkhorst, "The Buddha and the Jainas reconsidered", *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 49, 2 (1995), pp. 333–50 (abridged version published under the same title in *Approaches to*

Therefore, it might not be out of place to review and assess the available data — which means that what I will write owes much to my predecessors — and provide another picture which can be compared with “Buddhists and Buddhism in the Earlier Literature of the Śvetāmbara Jains”.⁴

I will address issues pertaining to Jain practices, Jain doctrine, and ways of argumentation, after assessing the contexts wherein relevant information is embedded in Pāli scriptures. As far as possible, I will maintain an awareness of chronology and avoid conflating texts of different periods: what the commentaries by Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla, dating at least from the fifth century A.D., or the sub-commentaries report about the Jains may *a priori* be different from what the Pāli canon states. I shall thus deal with the Buddhists and the Jains rather than with the Buddha and Mahāvīra or the Buddha and the Jains.

Pāli literature does not use the term “Jain”. The generic designation for them as followers of the Jina or the Jinās (“the Conqueror(s)”) became common from at least the ninth century onwards.⁵ This is not surprising since the word *jina* is not used at this stage as a proper name but as a general title of rather wide scope. There is not much variety in the designations: in Pāli the word *khapaṇaka* (Pkt *khavaṇaya*, *khamaṇaya*, *khamaga*; Jain Skt *ṣapaṇaka*) is represented by a single late occurrence in the Abhidhānappadīpika-ṭīkā.⁶ Otherwise the usual

Jaina Studies: Philosophy, Logic, Rituals and Symbols, ed. N.K. Wagle and O. Qvarnström (University of Toronto), 1999, pp. 86–90.

⁴By W.B. Bollée, in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, ed. L.S. Cousins *et al.* (Dordrecht, 1974), pp. 27–39.

⁵See *Jaina Path*, p. 2, n. 3.

⁶Burmese edition p. 364 according to CSCD (*khapaṇaka-bhāsāya*). This word is also found in non-Pāli Buddhist literature (e.g. *ṣapaṇaka-siddhānta* in the *Vimalaprabhā-ṭīkā* of the *Laghukālacakratānta* (Sarnath, 1986), p. 269), and *ṣapaṇa* in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (see BHSD s.v.) but seems less frequently used than *nirgrantha*, which appears as the standard term. The Jain term, which literally means “who rejects, throws away”, is to be connected with the idea conveyed by the technical term *nirjarā*, rejection of accumulated karmas.

designation in the canon itself is *nigaṇṭha*.⁷ The word is used in the plural to refer to the group, for example in the old phrase *ājīvika ca nigaṇṭhā ca* (Suttanipāta 381), already attested in Asoka's 7th Pillar Edict. In the singular it mostly appears with a proper name. Thus we meet Saccaka Nigaṇṭhaputta, the *nigaṇṭha* Dīghatapassi, etc. And everyone knows of the proper name Nigaṇṭha Nāt(h)aputta, which refers to the leader of this religious group, otherwise known as Mahāvīra. Nātaputta is a clan-name attested through its Prakrit counterpart Nāyaputta handed down in Jain sources.

The only biographical detail about Mahāvīra himself known from the Pāli tradition seems to be the record that he died at Pāvā. The literary garb which clothes this report, for instance the suggestion that Upāli's conversion to Buddhism was an indirect reason for Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta's death or the narrative of subsequent disputes between surviving monks, is no reason to reject it.⁸ Pāvā, a small town in Bihar, is indeed the place Jain Śvetāmbara sources connect with Mahāvīra's death, and this connection is responsible for the important place Pāvā occupies on the map of Jain *tīrthas*. The Jain leader's personal image in the Pāli scriptures is rather negative: he did not have a very strong impact on his disciples, if we are to judge, for example, from the Vinaya episode where he failed to prevent Siha from going to the Buddha, let alone the harsh criticisms of the inconsistency and other defects of his teachings which led to the serious turmoil after his death. As for his charisma, the reports are equally unfavourable: his claims to omniscience and miraculous powers are openly denied.⁹

The very use of the term *nigaṇṭha* as a designation for the Jains is a convincing sign of the faithfulness of the Pāli tradition (both canon and

⁷However, for the sake of convenience, I will throughout conventionally render Pāli *nigaṇṭha* by "Jains", "Jainism", etc.

⁸*Tena kho pana samayena Nigaṇṭho Nātaputto Pāvāyaṃ adhunā kāla-kato hoti*, D III 117.5 = D III 209.24 = M II 243.19–20.

⁹See Dhp-a below (Garahadinna and Sirigutta); Dhp-a III 200–201 (Yamaka-ppātihāriyavatthu).

commentaries). The fact that Pāli *nigaṇṭha* is clearly recognized as a Jain term is shown by the etymological explanation occasionally recorded in the Pāli commentaries, an etymology which is ascribed to the Jains and actually attested in their own tradition:

We do not have defilements which are like knots, we are free of the defilements of obstruction, hence the name Nigaṇṭha.¹⁰

This statement accords with Jain texts, where the traditional image of the spiritual “knots” (already known from several Upaniṣads) is felt as being conveyed by the word *ṇiggantha* in the commentaries.¹¹ Thus Pāli sources do not seem to bear trace of any malicious or derogatory interpretation of the term. The fact that *nigaṇṭha* is used as the normal designation of Jain ascetics in the oldest Jain sources (śramanic poetry as well as disciplinary books) confirms its antiquity. The phonetic aspect of the word (*nigaṇṭha*, with a single *-ga-*, and the prefix *ni-* instead of *nir-*) are supported by Pkt *niyaṇṭha* and also point to an old form.¹²

References to Jains occur in two main contexts:

1. The first context, which is mainly represented in the canon itself, portrays a spirit of confrontation, the ultimate aim being to show the superiority of the Buddhist position. These are the dialogues in which a Jain approaches the Buddha with the intention to challenge him. The

¹⁰*Amhākaṃ ganthana-kilesa, palibujjhana-kilesa natthi, kilesa-gaṇṭhi-rahitā mayan ti evaṃ vāditāya laddha-nāma-vasena Nigaṇṭho*, Ps II 234.8–10 (ad M I 198.12, Nigaṇṭho Nāthaputto).

¹¹See, for instance, the cūrṇi on the *Sūyagaḍa: bajjha-abbhantarāo ganthāo ṇiggao ṇiggantho*, taken over by the Sanskrit commentary on the *Vyavahāra-sūtra* (quoted in C. Caillat, *Atonements in the Ancient Ritual of the Jaina Monks* (Ahmedabad, 1975), p. 43, n. 2): *nirgato granthād dravyataḥ suvarṇādi-rūpāt, bhāvato mithyāvādi-lakṣaṇād iti nirgranthaḥ*.

¹²See for instance H. Jacobi, “On Mahāvīra and his predecessors”, *IA* 1880, p. 158 (= *Kleine Schriften* (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 797); K.R. Norman, “Middle Indo-Aryan Studies II”, *JOIB* 10 (1961), pp. 348–49 = *Collected Papers I* (Oxford: PTS), 1990, pp. 25–26.

conclusion is always the same: the Jain is at a loss for an answer to the Buddha's questions and is finally confounded, or even converted to the Buddhist fold for good. Upāli is the most famous of these converts.

2. There are texts in both canon and commentaries in which the Jains appear as a group on a par with other non-Buddhist groups. The Jains then stand as one category among those who are quoted as representatives of various doctrines (*titttha*), as outsiders (*bāhiraka*), as followers of wrong viewpoints or "mere views" (*ditṭhi*).¹³ We should note that Pāli literature distinguishes itself from Brahmanic, Jain, and non-Pāli Buddhist literature in that, as far as I know, it has not developed a science of doxography or compendia of views. In this literary genre, the main features of the doctrines of different groups are summarized; the tenets of various schools are presented one after the other, generally in purely informative fashions, even if the author's or compiler's intention is to stress the superiority of his own doctrine. Such is the case in the *sarvadarśanasangrahas* or other *ṣaḍdarśana-samuccayas*, which have been regarded as the first indigeneous steps towards a truly philosophical approach.

In the Pāli scriptures, the existence of a text such as the famous Brahmajālasutta included in the Dīgha-nikāya could be adduced to invalidate the above statements. However, this text remains at a "pre-doxographic" stage and differs from standard doxographies because its purpose is clearly apologetic. Thus, neither in the canon itself nor in later literature do we find any exposé of non-Buddhist doctrine "in a neutral and non-committal sense".¹⁴ Any statement or account of other ideologies we read is always presented in comparison with the Buddhist viewpoint, the aim being to demonstrate the invalidity and inferiority of the other doctrine. Although such a situation is not specific to Pāli Buddhism — and is indeed to be expected of any religion which must assert its own position to the detriment of contemporary ideologies — this absence of real doxography should be noted.

¹³See W. Halbfass, "Observations on *darśana*", WZKS 23 (1979), pp. 198–99.

¹⁴W. Halbfass, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

In any case, the result is that in Pāli scriptures Jainism always appears in performance and never *in abstracto*. Contextual elements are meaningful. They are part of the rhetoric of persuasion. Thus the conditions in which the Buddhist-Jain dialogue takes place are interesting in themselves. To wit: The common context has individual Nigaṇṭhas going of their own accord to the Buddha for discussion or inquiry. This very fact places them in an inferior position because it is they who are in need of the other's instruction. Facing them, the Buddha appears as a teacher who can never be embarrassed and is much more powerful than Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta himself. For instance, when prince Abhaya, speaking on behalf of his Jain master, comes to question the Buddha about the modes of a Tathāgata's speech, the Buddha immediately understands how tricky and double-edged his question is. The commentary says: "With a single word the Buddha could smash the question which [Abhaya] had been preparing for four months, exactly as a stroke of lightning would crush the top of a mountain."¹⁵

When, elsewhere, the Nigaṇṭha Saccaka expresses his wish to ask a question, the Buddha's answer is "Ask whatever question you wish", and this simple sentence is the starting point for lengthy explanations in the commentary, which states that there is nothing the Buddha cannot consider, that this sentence draws attention to his omniscience and as such makes him different from Pratyekabuddhas or other special beings.¹⁶ The non-Buddhist can only be silenced or regularly entangled in self-contradictions. To take up the words of a commentary: "The Buddha is a hundred times, a thousand times, a hundred thousand times better at debates than a Nigaṇṭha,"¹⁷ and is the only one able to lead his Jain opponent to Enlightenment.¹⁸ So the fact that in Buddhist

¹⁵Ps III 109.19–21.

¹⁶Ps II 274.7ff.

¹⁷Ps II 276.19–20; see also Ps III 110.7–8.

¹⁸Ps II 276.5ff.: the difference between two categories of individuals: the *sāvaka-veneyyas* who can be enlightened by sāvakas and Buddhas, and the *buddha-veneyyas* who can be enlightened only by the Buddhas.

scriptures a Jain approaches a Buddhist is not a matter for surprise: on the contrary, it seems obvious that the former will have much to learn from the latter. But when, exceptionally, a Buddhist approaches a Nigaṇṭha, the oddity of the situation cannot escape the commentator's sharp eye. Thus when the Saṃyutta-nikāya states that "the Buddhist layfollower Citta once went to a Nigaṇṭha", the commentary has:

Why did a Buddhist layman, who has himself mastered traditional learning, who knows the Buddhist teaching, approach a naked Jain deprived of all glamour? — In order to be free from blame and also in order to refute. As a matter of fact, the Jains express the following criticism. They say, "The followers of the monk Gotama resemble stumps of hard acacia wood; they do not receive anybody in a friendly way."¹⁹

This passing remark expresses the tension which must have existed between the members of the two communities. It underlines the fact that the Buddhist follower engages in dialogue with other faiths merely in concession to public opinion, that the dialogue will not be a genuine one, and that it is certainly not motivated by a desire to learn or to be exposed to new ideas! Exactly the opposite takes place when the initiator of the dialogue is a Nigaṇṭha. In such a case, the commentary explains that he does not approach the Buddha with an intention to refute but with an intention to hear the Law.²⁰

The animosity and competition between the two leaders and their followers is emphasized by the commentaries: what prompted Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta to send prince Abhaya to the Buddha was a desire to get even because the Buddha had attracted some lay-followers away from his fold.²¹ When the commander-in-chief Sīha, a Jain lay-follower (*nigaṇṭha-sāvaka*), informs his spiritual leader about his intention to approach Gotama, he is not encouraged to do so, to say the least:

¹⁹Spk III 100.6 on S IV 297–98 (Citta-saṃyutta: 8. Nigaṇṭho).

²⁰E.g. Ps II 280.31–33.

²¹*Samaṇo Gotamo mayhaṃ sāvake bhinditvā gaṇhāti*, etc., Ps III 108.15–16 (on M I 392–96: Abhayarājakumāra-sutta).

But how can you, Sīha, being one who asserts an ought-to-be-done, go to see the recluse Gotama who asserts an ought-not-to-be done? For, Sīha, the recluse Gotama asserts an ought-not-to-be-done, he teaches a doctrine of an ought-not-to-be-done, and in that he trains disciples.²²

Advice that he does not obey.

The methods of teaching are a part of the apologetic strategy as well. There are of course several cases in the *suttas* where the Buddha slowly convinces his opponent of his wrong views by instilling his own right views and adjusting his discourse to him.²³ But there are also situations in which real argumentation is conspicuously absent and replaced by a show of almost miraculous powers. See, for instance, the story of Garahadinna, a lay-follower of the Nigaṇṭhas, and Sirigutta, a Buddhist lay-follower, told in the commentary of the *Dhammapada*. The Nigaṇṭhas' claim to omniscience — knowledge of past, present and future — is harshly satirized and fully annihilated on the day they come for food to Sirigutta. Having been unable to detect the trap the Buddhist layman has set for them, they all fall into a ditch and get a thrashing. When the Buddha's turn comes, he already has the advantage of suspecting that the Nigaṇṭhas are going to retaliate and can thus prepare himself. His method for converting the Jain layman is to impress the public by producing a miracle: lotus flowers spring up from charcoal.²⁴ Here there is no dialogue, only open conflict resulting in installing a

²²Vin I 233.27ff.; I.B. Horner's translation (*Book of the Discipline* IV, p. 318).

²³For examples of this process see R. Gombrich, *How Buddhism Began: The Conditional Genesis of the Early Teachings* (London, 1996).

²⁴Dhp-a I 434ff.

balance of power between two irreconcilable opponents. One wins, the other loses altogether.

The investigation which follows does not pretend to be exhaustive. It will single out a few striking points about Jainism which are highlighted in the Pāli scriptures.

First comes the problem of the relationship between the heretic teacher called Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta and the doctrine of the “fourfold restraint” (*cātu-yāma-saṃvara*) ascribed to him in the nikāyas, especially in the Dīgha-nikāya (Sāmaññaphala-sutta and Udumbarika-sīhanāda-sutta), but also in the Upālisutta of the Majjhima-nikāya and in a stanza of the Saṃyutta-nikāya, where a god speaking for Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta describes him as “protected by the fourfold restraint”.²⁵ For the last occurrence, indication of the meaning of the compound *cātu-yāma-saṃvara* is found only in the commentary. As far as the three other occurrences are concerned, information is available in the suttas themselves, but is not consistent. The Sāmaññaphala-sutta and the Upāli-sutta expand *cātu-yāma-saṃvara* by the four compounds *sabba-vāri-vārita*, *sabba-vāri-yutta*, *sabba-vāri-dhuta* and *sabba-vāri-phuṭṭha*.²⁶

Some translators understand that the first restraint (*sabba-vāri-vārita*) concerns water, following the commentaries, which generally take the first *vāri* to mean “water” in reference to the ban on cold water, whereas they render the three other *vāris* as *vāraṇa*. Such a discordance is hard to accept because in a stylistic concatenation such as this one, an identical meaning is to be expected for all the occurrences of the same word — unless word play is at work. Now, Jain sources where both a similar expression with an etymological figure and a Pkt *vāri* with the meaning “restraint” occur strongly speak in favour of the translation

²⁵D I 57f. III 48; M I 377; S I 66.17*.

²⁶See also Spk I 127.1-8 on S I 66.

“restrained by all restraints” — which is clearly the correct one.²⁷ There is no reason to disagree with this analysis at the level of the canon itself. However, I would like to indicate that the reason Buddhaghosa may have felt entitled to introduce a reference to “water” at some point in this discussion is that in the Upāli-sutta passage where our sequence of compounds occurs, the Jain specific habits and scruples towards the use of cold water are precisely the object of focus. This very feature of the Nigaṇṭha’s life provides a basis for the well-known discussion on the relative importance of physical violence compared to mental violence:

There might be a Jain here who, although sick, suffering, very ill, refuses cold water and takes [only] warm water.²⁸

The commentator is well aware of this rule as characterizing the Jains, as well as of its real motivation. He explains: “The Jains refuse cold water because they understand it contains living beings.”²⁹ He is also remarkably conscious of the double connotation of the compound *sabba-vāri-vārita*, understanding it to refer to the rejection of cold water or (*athavā*) to abstaining from all evil.³⁰ Thus it looks as if the Buddhists were deeply struck by the Jain ascetic custom of not using cold water — as other external observers of the Jains have often been — and found it both basic and distinctive.

²⁷K.R. Norman, “Pāli Lexicographical Studies IV: Eleven Pāli Etymologies”, *JPTS* 11 (1987), pp. 41–44 = *Collected Papers* III (Oxford: PTS, 1992), pp. 167–69. Apart from *Isibhāsiyāim* 29.19 (*savva-vārīhiṃ vārie*) one can also adduce *vāriya-savva-vāri* and *vāriya-savva-vāraṃ* from the commentaries on *Sūyagāḍa* 1.6.28 (as proposed by K. Watanabe, *BEI* 5 (1987), pp. 375–86).

²⁸I.B. Horner’s translation, vol. 2, p. 41. *Idh’assa nigaṇṭho ābādhiko dukkhito bālha-gilāno sītodako-paṭikkhitto uṇhodaka-paṭisevī*, M I 376.23–25.

²⁹*Sītodaka-paṭikkhitto ti Nigaṇṭhā satta-saññāya sītodakaṃ paṭikkhipanti taṃ sandhāy’ etaṃ vuttaṃ*, Ps III 57.4.

³⁰*Sabbavāriyārīto ti vārita-sabba-udako, paṭikkhitta-sabba-sītodako ti attho. so hi sītodake satta-saññī hoti, tasmā taṃ na valañjēti, athavā sabbavāriyārīto ti sabbena pāpa-vāraṇena vārita-pāpo*. Ps III 58.22–25, and Sv 168.1–2 = Spk I 127.3–5 (without the second interpretation). Already referred to in *Jaina Sūtras*, p. xix. On this topic see also below p. 23.

It is equally interesting to see how the sub-commentaries explain the compounds *sabba-vāri-vārita*, *sabba-vāri-yutta*, etc., and differentiate them by placing them in a clear Jain soteriological frame. Thus for the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-ṭīkā*, *vāra* (“restraint”) in *sabbena pāpa-vāraṇena yutto* means *saṃvara*, a common Jain technical term for the process of warding off entry into the soul of new karmic matter; *dhuta* (“shaken off”) in *dhuta-pāpa* is equal to *nijjara*, a process complementary to the preceding one and which aims at expelling the karmic matter already present in the soul; and *phuṭṭha* “reached” is expanded as “reaching liberation, i.e. destroying all karmas, through the rejection of all the eight karmas”.³¹ This last detail is an even clearer indication of the commentator’s familiarity with specific, albeit common, Jain terminology and concept. The eight classes of karmas are indeed a *topos* of Jain dogmatics as early as the canon.³²

Whatever the detail, the above definition of the “fourfold restraint” may look somewhat strange because it does not form the list of elements one is entitled to expect in the case of a compact expression containing a figure. The *Udumbarika-sīhanāda-sutta* provides what we are looking for:

The ascetic protectively shrouded in the protective shroud of the fourfold restraint

- (i) destroys no life; lets no life be destroyed; enjoys not the company of one who destroys life;
- (ii) he takes not that which is not given to him ...;
- (iii) he speaks no untruth ...;

³¹ Sv-pt I 298.14-19; see below n. 88 on the interpretation of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta’s doctrine given in the *Śrāmaṇyaphalasūtra* as incorporated into the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, and below pp. 34-35 concerning *saṃvara*, *nijjara* and *mokkha*.

³² E.g. in *Viyāhapannatti* 8.10 (see P. Dundas, *The Jains* (London, 1992), p. 85). They are (1) knowledge-obscuring (*jñānāvāraṇa-k.*); (2) perception-obscuring (*darśanāvāraṇa-k.*); (3) feeling-karma (*vedanīya-k.*); (4) delusory (*mohanīya-k.*); (5) life-karma (*āyus-k.*); (6) name-karma (*nāma-k.*); (7) clan-karma (*gotra-k.*); (8) obstacle-karma (*antarāya-k.*).

(iv) he aspires not to the object of his imagination.³³

As early as 1880 and 1895, H. Jacobi convincingly identified this with the teachings of the twenty-third Jina, Pārśva; and despite Rhys Davids's rejection,³⁴ Jacobi's view must be accepted. The Pāli text tallies perfectly with the concept of *cāujjāma* as defined in the Jain Ṭhānaṅga. Moreover, the reference to the three viewpoints from which the actions are considered — being done directly, through an intermediary, or through mere approval — is well in accordance with the general Jain formulation of the so-called “great” ascetic vows. Further, the Pāli text of the fourth restraint helps us understand the rare Prakrit term *bahiddhādāṇa* which occurs in the corresponding rule. The somewhat general wording used by both traditions implies that it comprises all sorts of external objects which cause the mind to be distracted. When the Jain tradition adopted the fivefold list of restraints devised by Mahāvīra, at which time only this became authoritative, the fourth restraint was then re-interpreted as referring both to the rule of non-possession and to the rule of celibacy.

It is remarkable that the Pāli scriptures know not only of the four restraints prescribed for Jain monks — as just seen — but also those prescribed for Jain laymen (*sāvakaṇaṃ dhamma-*): destroying living beings, taking what is not given, acting wrongly in respect of sensual passions, and telling lies are mentioned elsewhere and said to lead to rebirth in hell.³⁵ This shows that “we would, perhaps, have to differentiate between the Jainistic body of ideas and the person of the nigaṇṭha

³³See A. Mette, “The Synchronism of the Buddha and the Jina Mahāvīra and the Problem of Chronology in Early Jainism”, in *The Dating of the Historical Buddha*, Part I, ed. by H. Bechert (Göttingen, 1991), p. 136.

³⁴See Dīgha-nikāya translation p. 75 n. 1: “Prof. Jacobi thinks the Four Restraints are intended to represent the four vows kept by the followers of Pārśva. But this surely cannot be so, for these vows were quite different.” For Jacobi's point of view see “On Mahāvīra and his predecessors”, *IA*, June 1880, pp. 160–61 (= *Kleine Schriften*. Wiesbaden, 1970, pp. 799–800) and *Jaina Sūtras*, pp. xx–xxi.

³⁵S IV 317.27–33.

Nātaputta who appears in Buddhistic didactic texts as representative of this movement”,³⁶ as A. Mette puts it. In other words, although the Pāli canon speaks of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, whom it knew to be the same as Mahāvīra, it hands down the doctrine specific to his predecessor Pārśva; this suggests that the Nigaṇṭha order was not a newly founded one in Buddha’s time and had not yet been reformed.

Who were the Nigaṇṭha mendicants of the Pāli scriptures? How do they fit in with our knowledge of the later development of Jain sects and their fundamental division into Digambaras (“sky clad, naked”) and Śvetāmbaras (“white clothed”)? In other words, how do we address the vexed issue of nudity, for which it is very difficult to give a clear answer? Significant progress has been achieved in recent years, through studies such as D. Schlingloff’s “Jainas and Other ‘Heretics’ in Buddhist Art” and especially through P.S. Jaini’s “Jaina Monks from Mathura: Literary Evidence for Their Identification in Kuṣāṇa Sculptures”,³⁷ but we must face the fact that the testimony of the Pāli scriptures is often contradictory.

The lists of groups of ascetics supplied by the Pāli canon are hard to interpret. A stock passage of the Saṃyutta-nikāya (repeated in the Udāna)³⁸ mentions the Nigaṇṭhas, the *acela(ka)s* (“those without clothes”), the *ekasātakas* (“those with one garment”), and presumed Brahmanic groups (*jaṭilas*). If we assume at the outset that in such lists all terms refer to individually distinct groups and that the terms are not

³⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 134. Cf. p. 137: “The interpreters of early Buddhist sources should turn their attention to the fact that Buddhist remarks which appear to refer to Jainism, possibly reach back in the past, to a time when the person of Mahāvīra had not yet reached its later importance. Even if they may first have been formulated and recorded a certain time after the Buddha’s death, these Buddhist remarks are the oldest testimonies that inform us of the person of Mahāvīra”.

³⁷Published respectively in *Jainism and Prakrit in Ancient and Medieval India: Essays for Prof. Jagdish Chandra Jain* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1994), pp. 71–82, and in *BSOAS* 58,3 (1995), pp. 479–94.

³⁸S I 78.1 = Ud 65.5.

quasi-synonyms, we have to determine what differentiates them. And this is precisely what we are unable to do for the Nigaṇṭhas. Since the term is devoid of descriptive content and does not seem to refer to the appearance or attire of the ascetics as do the other terms, we could suppose that the *acelakas* and *ekasātakas* are subdivisions of the Nigaṇṭhas. On the other hand, as evidence for Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta's nudity we may adduce the passage of the *Devaputta-samyutta* where the ascetic "protected by the fourfold restraint" is mocked as "a nude, liar, and leader of pupils" by his opponent.³⁹

A much later source for information on the Nigaṇṭha's appearance is the Pāli commentaries (which in their final form date about one millenium after the Buddha and Mahāvīra and certainly long after the split between the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras, which is alleged to have taken place in the first century A.D.). A significant passage of the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā shows that the Nigaṇṭhas differ from the Ājīvikas: while the latter "go entirely naked, they, at least wear a covering in front."⁴⁰ Buddhaghosa expresses the same contrast in the Manorathapūraṇī where he says that the Ājīvikas are naked ascetics, *nagga-pabbajita*, whereas the Nirgranthas "are covered in their front parts".⁴¹

There are hints from other commentaries. While describing various heretic groups in the Udāna-aṭṭhakathā, Dhammapāla makes use of the compound *nagga-nigaṇṭha*.⁴² In Buddhaghosa's Sāratthappakāsinī as well, a Nigaṇṭha is said to be naked.⁴³ This seems to have been the prevalent view, to the extent that some translators did not hesitate to understand the two terms as strictly equivalent. See for instance Burlingame's rendering of Nigaṇṭha by "The Naked" in the

³⁹S I 66.30*.

⁴⁰Dhp-a III 489.18-20.

⁴¹*ājīvako ti nagga-pabbajito, nigaṇṭho ti purimabhāga-paṭicchanno*, Mp III 334.9ff. on A III 276.34 (quoted by Schlingloff, *op. cit.*, p. 71).

⁴²Ud-a 338.22.

⁴³Spk III 100.7.

Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā. This perception was current at least from the sixth to the eighth century A.D., where *nirgrantha* = *nagnāṭaka* in non-Pāli Buddhist scriptures, as well as outside.⁴⁴ On the other hand, Dhammapāla's Udāna commentary also says that the Nigaṇṭhas "wear white cloth" (*setapaṭa-nigaṇṭha-rūpa-dhārino*).⁴⁵

Finally, a passage from the Samantapāsādikā deserves special notice precisely because it deals with the costumes of various ascetic groups, with the concern that they should not be adopted by Buddhist monks. There we find the phrase *yathā setapaṭā aḍḍhapālikā nigaṇṭhā pārupanti*,⁴⁶ in which *aḍḍhapālika* must be in some way connected with Skt *ardhaphālaka* used in some Jain Digambara texts, and thus would be the earliest record of the term. The *ardhaphālakas* are unclothed ascetics who hold in their hands a single piece of cloth in such a way as to cover their nudity when begging for alms. They can be seen on Mathura sculptures. P.S. Jaini's identification of the *ekasāṭakas* of the Pāli canon with the Jain *ardhaphālakas* does not seem to apply to the Samantapāsādikā passage (which he did not consider) because there the *ekasāṭakas* come separately in the list. Moreover, the description of the way they dress is quite different. The interpretation of this conflicting information is problematic. Taken together, Dhammapāla's statements could mean that he was aware of the existence of two Jain orders, who could be the forerunners of the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras. This

⁴⁴See Yaśomitra's Vyākhyā on the Abhidharmakośa 405.20; Prajñāvarman's commentary on the Viśeṣastava vv. 26 and 51 (Skt *nirgrantha* = Tib. *gcer bu, gcer bu pa*) in J. Schneider, *Der Lobpreis der Vorzüglichkeit des Buddha*, Indica et Tibetica 23 (Bonn, 1993). — Commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka* 15.1 (cited by Schlingloff, *op. cit.*, p. 71); the Jain doctrine is called *vivasana-samaya* in Śaṅkara's commentary on *Brahmasūtra* 2.2.33; etc.

⁴⁵Ud-a 330.20; compare Ja V 427.23' *seta-samaṇī* (Saccatapāvī); see Bollée, *Kuṇāljātaka* (London: PTS, 1970), p. 137. "This may be a sneer at the Jainas as is suggested by Francis though they are usually called Nigaṇṭhas. One could also think of the female counterpart of *śvetabhikṣu* which Sandesara [in *JOIB* 16 (1966), pp. 120ff.] takes to mean Ājīvika."

⁴⁶Sp 1213.6.

is chronologically possible, since the split between the “white clad” and the “naked” apparently took place in the beginning of the Christian era.

The question remains whether *nagga* should be understood literally as a straightforward designation of the proto-Digambaras, or as an approximation or extended use. In the second case the word could be applied to ascetics who only have with them a piece of cloth in their hands — whether they are called *ekasāṭakas* or *ardhaphālakas*. They could be described as “naked” because they do not wear any cloth permanently. This extended use of the word would in effect lead to a confusion between Nigaṇṭhas and other non-Buddhist groups, especially Ājīvikas (who are actually naked). As a matter of fact, some texts suggest that there was indeed a certain amount of confusion or assimilation. The formulaic style, often used in the Buddhist and Jain texts, may well have favoured such a confusion. Thus the phrase *nagga-bhogga nissirīka* is applied to an Ājīvika ascetic in the prose of a Jātaka, but to a Nigaṇṭha in a commentary.⁴⁷

To give another example: what are we to think of Acela-Kassapa’s description of his thirty years of ascetic life as “nothing else than nakedness, a shaven head and dusting away the gravel”,⁴⁸ when we know that nakedness can be an outward sign of entering the order as an Ājīvika or a Jain monk? What are we to think of the extremely strict rules for begging said to be adopted by the Ājīvikas and the numerous cases prohibiting the acceptance of food which are listed in the Dīghanikāya (Kassapa-Sīhanāda-sutta), when the litany is so reminiscent of what can be read in the Dasaveyāliya-sutta?⁴⁹

Information about the daily routine of the Jain monk has been collected from Pāli sources by W.B. Bollée, who lists significant stereotyped phrases describing food-habits and other behaviour, and shows

⁴⁷Spk III 100.6, Ja VI 225.14.

⁴⁸*Natthi koci ... aññatra naggeyyā ca muṇḍeyyā ca pāvāla-nipphoṭanāya ca*, S IV 300.25–27.

⁴⁹Compare D I 166.2ff. and the prescriptions included in *Dasaveyāliya-sutta* 5.1.

how they are corroborated by comparable data in Jain texts.⁵⁰ Plucking out of the hair is an important Jain practice, and was perhaps also known to the Ājīvikas. In the Pāli scriptures it is criticized as characterizing the heretics,⁵¹ and, significantly, *keśōlluñcana* (nt.) is also singled out as one of the words listed in the *tīrthika*-section of the *Mahāvīyutpatti*. When the *Therīgāthā* (107) depicts the life of Bhaddā as a former Jain nun, she is said to be *lūna-keśī*. Dhammapāla's precise statement that plucking out was done by applying ashes to the roots of the hair in order to make the process smoother shows his familiarity with its practical side.⁵²

In the *Visuddhimagga-mahāṭīkā* the same custom is mentioned in illustration of the wrong view that self-mortification (*attakilamathānu-yoga*) is the means to liberation. Although the custom is not explicitly ascribed to the Jains in the text, the use of the technical term *kesaluñcana*, along with the equally technical term *anasana* "fasting" or even "fasting unto death", not attested with this meaning outside Jain contexts, and a reference to nakedness (*nagga-sīla*) are unmistakable.⁵³ Similarly a part of the life of the nun Nanduttarā before her conversion to Buddhism has a distinct Jain flavour, as she is said to have undertaken many vows (*bahu-vata-samādānā*), to have shaven half her head (*aḍḍham sīsassa olikhiṃ, cty muṇḍemi*), to have slept on the ground, and to have abstained from eating at night (*rat'-ūparatā*).⁵⁴ They all

⁵⁰See W.B. Bollée "Anmerkungen zum buddhistischer Häretikerbild", *ZDMG* 121.1 (1971), pp. 70–92.

⁵¹E.g. Sp 1021.16 and the texts based on it.

⁵²Th-a II 119.39–40 (on Th 283 *kesa-massuṃ alocayim*, concerning the Ājīvika-follower Jambuka); see also Thī-a I 107.1ff. (on Thī 107, just mentioned).

⁵³*Anasana-kesaluñcanādi-tapa-cariyāya nagga-sīla ... ādīhi ca atta-paritāpanena mokkho hotī ti atta-kilamatho*, *Vism-mhī* 1157.13–14 (= 2.218 of the Burmese edition on CSCD).

⁵⁴Thī 88ff. (whereas Thī 87 rather refers to Brahmanic customs). Even if the practice of not eating at night cannot be defined as strictly Jain (in view of D I 5.5 for instance) the use of the term at this point of the spiritual career of Nanduttarā may indicate that she later on gave it up, which she would not have done, had it been a basic rule of Buddhist monastic life. — As for

appear as symbols of the extremely painful ascetic practices favoured by the Jains and dismissed as ineffective by the Middle Path, as explained in several sermons of the Buddha. Thus, for instance, Buddhist ascetics do not pluck out their hair (*luñc-*) or shave (*muṇḍ-*), they have it done by a barber (*kappakena kesa-massūni ohārapetvā*). In brief, a strong connection between severe asceticism and Jainism has become a commonplace and a striking feature for outsiders, as is seen from non-Pāli Buddhist sources as well.⁵⁵

Among religious practices, the so-called *nigaṇṭha-uposatha* is one of the three varieties of *uposatha* described in the Aṅguttara-nikāya:

The Nigaṇṭhas invite the layman thus: “Set aside violence (*daṇḍam nikkhipāhi*) as regards all creatures that exist eastwards beyond a hundred yojanas, likewise towards the east, towards the west, towards the north and towards the south.” ... They call their laypeople on the fasting days, saying “Come here, sir. Abandoning all your clothes, speak thus: ‘I belong to no one; I am nothing to anyone. I own nothing; nothing owns me.’”⁵⁶

The rhetoric of the passage is meaningful and sounds authentic in content and style. In terms of content, it includes the basic elements of independent “vows” such as the *anartha-daṇḍa-vrata*, the vow to abstain from harmful activities, the *dig-* or *deśāvakaśika-vrata*, a vow

Isidāsi’s verses (Thī 400ff.), which have been considered to have a Jain flavour (by Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Sisters*, p. xxii), for example in 431cd (*pāpaṃ hi mayā pakataṃ kammaṃ taṃ nijjaressāmi*), they are problematic since Isidāsi is clearly said to be a Buddhist *bhikkhuni* (400). Had she been a householder, then a Jain, then a Buddhist, the last part of her conversion story would be missing.

⁵⁵See Prajñāvarman’s Udānavarga-vivarāṇa II.13 (edition by M. Balk (Bonn, 1984): 174.29): “The Nirgrantha has such a view, such a statement, to wit: ‘The very liberation is to be desired by means of harsh austerities’”; IV.10 (254.17): “The Nirgranthas, because they desire liberation, practise extremely difficult austerities”. (Translations provided by P. Skilling.)

⁵⁶A I 206.8ff.; translation from *Jaina Path* p. 223. This passage had been translated and examined by H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, pp. xvii–xix, but his conclusions need revision. Another passing reference to *nigaṇṭha-uposatha* in Ud-a 296.7.

concerned with the spatial restriction of the area where activity is performed, and the *poṣadha-vrata*, mainly characterized by fasting. At an early date these elements were combined in what is known as the *sāmāyika* ritual, which Jains view as a means for a layman to temporarily renounce everyday activity and cultivate equal feelings towards all beings. For the limited period during which he decides to perform *sāmāyika*, the layman is “similar to a monk”, as the texts say, giving up for a time all possessions which tie him to the world. Clothes are of course highly symbolic in this respect, and they are indeed given up by today’s Digambara laymen in such a context.⁵⁷

Clear affirmation of the basic freedom and detachment expressed by the formula “I own nothing, nothing owns me”, quite common in Jain scriptures, is also a part of this ritual and declares the layman’s “determination to ultimately renounce for ever”.⁵⁸ The style of the Pāli passage also looks authentic. It is in conformity with available Jain literature, where we read that such rituals are conducted under the guidance of a spiritual master, and as such always imply a verbal exchange with both the invitation from the master and the recitation of formulas on the lay disciple’s side. Nevertheless, a literal understanding of the statements ascribed to the Jains leads to a biased and restricted analysis: when the layman is exhorted to kindness towards creatures that exist in a certain direction beyond a certain limit, the Pāli text interprets it as partial compassion; when he expresses his detachment, it is understood as falsehood, because his family bonds are still in existence. The text does this quite skillfully, since the description of every feature of the ceremony is immediately followed by a demolishing critique. Finally, at the conclusion, the apparent faithfulness of the picture handed down by the Aṅguttara-nikāya is totally spoiled:

Then, as soon as that night has passed, [the layman] reclaims all that he has “given away”. This I declare is as good as stealing.

⁵⁷See *Jaina Path*, p. 223.

⁵⁸*Jaina Path*, *loc. cit.*

In other words, a ritual meant to promote inner purity is portrayed as a blunt transgression of precisely those rules which are regarded as fundamental: abstention from violence, from falsehood, from taking that which is not given! This openly hostile critique betrays an approach which confines itself to the external forms and, because of its apologetic perspective, refuses or is not in a position to understand the underlying spirit. True, the Jain layman does return to daily life and its impedimenta after the ceremony, but the repeated performance of *sāmāyika* helps him in his spiritual progress and gradually instils in him an increased wish for permanent renunciation. Moreover, non-possession (technically called *aparigraha*) is considered by Jains to be a mental state as much as an objective reality: an individual may lead the life of a layman and at the same time be free from the ties arising from avidity and other passions. At any rate, it is interesting to observe that the Buddhists were not alone in criticizing the *nigaṇṭha-uposatha*. That it was a controversial ritual, liable to be misunderstood by outsiders, is proved by similar criticisms ascribed to the Ājīvikas against the Jains and by the need the latter felt to clarify the ambiguous status of the layman in such a situation: a dialogue read in the fifth *aṅga* of the Jain canon (the *Viyāhapannatti*) follows similar lines of argument:⁵⁹

Suppose a layman is seated in a monks' lodge performing *sāmāyika* and at this time his belongings are removed by somebody. Now, after completing his *sāmāyika*, if the said *śrāvaka* searches for his stolen things, does he search for his own belongings or someone else's belongings? — For his own.

⁵⁹Viyāhapannatti VIII 5 (Bombay: Jaina-Āgama-Series edition, 1974), Part I, p. 354ff.; Suttāgame I (Gurgaon, 1953), pp. 548ff.). Despite the adequate analytical summary available in J. Deleu, *Viyāhapannatti* (Bhagavāi) (Brugge, 1970; reprinted Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1996), p. 148, I here prefer to give a translation of the whole passage (see below). Deleu has also mentioned it in connection with other evidence regarding the interfaith dialogue: "Lord Mahāvīra and the Anyatīrthikas", in *Mahāvīra and His Teachings*, ed. A.N. Upadhye et al. (Bombay, 1977), pp. 187–93.

Suppose a layman has accepted the vow of conduct, restraint, renunciation, atonement and fasting, for such a one, do the belongings so stolen become non-belongings for him? — Yes, they do.

If that be so, then how do you maintain that while searching for these, he searches for his own belongings and not for someone else's belongings? — A layman who is seated in a *sāmāyika* feels that "silver is not mine, wealth, grains, pearls, gems, conchs, diamonds, jewels are not mine". But then he has not renounced his "mineness", for which I maintain that he searches for his own belongings, and not for someone else's belongings.

Suppose a layman is seated in *sāmāyika* in the monks' lodge when, per chance, a rogue enjoys the company of his wife; then, does he enjoy the company of the layman's wife or of the layman's non-wife? — Surely, he enjoys the company of the layman's wife.

Suppose the layman is under the vow of conduct, etc., then does the wife become non-wife? — Yes, she does.

If that be so, how do you maintain that the rogue enjoys the company of the layman's wife, not of his non-wife? — A layman who is under the vow of conduct, etc., has a feeling in his mind that "my mother is not mine, my father is not mine, my brother is not mine, my sister is not mine, my wife is not mine, my son is not mine", but his link of affection with them is not broken."⁶⁰

That at least the Pāli commentators had some acquaintance not only with major Jain practices but also with their intrinsic motivations as viewed by the Jains themselves has already been briefly indicated in the discussion of *vāri* and its connection with water. It is also shown by a story in the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā. When some Buddhist monks argue that the Nigaṇṭhas are better than the *acelakas* because they cover their front parts, and therefore show a sense of shame (*sahirikā*), the Nigaṇṭhas reply that shame is not the determining motivation:

⁶⁰*Bhagavatī Sūtra*, English translation by K.C. Lalwani, Vol. III. (Calcutta: Jain Bhawan, 1980), pp. 185–87 (with some changes and abridgments).

There are creatures, they say, such as dirt and dust which are provided with sense and life. We cover in order that they should not fall in the vessels we use for getting alms.⁶¹

As P.S. Jaini notes,⁶² the passage attests to Dhammapāla's accuracy. It is a clear reference to the Jain conception of *ahiṃsā*. Protection of minute living beings is indeed the reason the Jains adduce for using a covering cloth for the alms bowl, whether they wear clothes or not. At the same time, the Nigaṇṭhas' remark serves as a starting point for a polemic which is echoed in various Jain texts. The Buddhists' arguments adduced in the remaining part of the story are precisely the stock arguments of the opponents of the Digambaras, and they in part reveal why this group of naked ascetics has declined at some periods of history. Their nudity has been misinterpreted as a sort of shocking exhibitionism, while they themselves understand it as a sign of detachment, abandonment of possessions and overcoming of passions, while the Śvetāmbaras themselves list nakedness among the casual troubles (*parīśaha*) which monks may have to overcome.⁶³ Thus the Buddhist position expressed in the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā is representative of the position of all external and unsympathetic observers, and it produces a caricature of the almost pathological care of the Jains for all forms of life and their proverbial *ahiṃsā*.

This anecdote is one of the texts that focuses on the conception of *ekendriya-jīvas*, those beings who have only the sense of touch.⁶⁴ As early as their canonical scriptures, the Jains recognize five classes of

⁶¹*Paṃsu-rajādayo pi pana puggalā eva jīvit'-indriya-ṇṇibaddhā, evañ ca te no bhikkhā-bhājanesu mā patimsu. iminā kāraṇena ṇṇicchādemā ti, Dh-p-a III 490.1-3 (on Dh-p 316-17).*

⁶²"Jaina Monks from Mathura", p. 489. This passage had already been briefly commented upon by H. Jacobi. "On Mahāvīra and His Predecessors" (1880), p. 159 (= *Kleine Schriften*, p. 798).

⁶³See Dundas, *The Jains*, p. 44.

⁶⁴I here try briefly to summarize (and supplement) what can be gathered from the information found in L. Schmithausen, *The Problem of the Sentience of Plants in Earliest Buddhism* (Tokyo, 1991).

such living beings: earth bodies, water bodies, fire bodies, air bodies, and plants. Although the situation is rather intricate, there are clear hints to show that whenever reference is made to this question in the Pāli scriptures, it is taken as an external belief, coming from the “people”, more likely from certain people, namely non-Buddhist groups, whose pressure is instrumental in creating rules for the protection of plants, earth and fire, although it cannot be recognized as such.⁶⁵ But it is not openly and straightforwardly shared and adopted by Buddhist ascetics as a concept. On the contrary, sporadic references suggest that the belief is clearly deemed specific to the Jains (or the Ājīvikas): *ek'indriyan ti kāy'-indriyenēva ek'indriyaṃ, nigaṇṭhānaṃ acelakānaṃ matam*, says the Vajirabuddhi-ṭīkā (6th–7th cent.), or *khapaṇaka-bhāsāya rukkho pi pāṇi*, says a commentary on the Abhidhānappadīpikā.⁶⁶ Such statements would surely not be found had the idea made its way into Theravādin ideology. Moreover, as indicated by L. Schmithausen, the word *ekendriya* has no true counterpart outside Pāli sources.⁶⁷

The clearest example is the debate opposing Buddhists and non-Buddhists regarding the drinking of unboiled water in the Milindapañha.⁶⁸ In view of what has been said earlier regarding the interpretation of *vāri* as “water” in the commentaries and the strong connection between refusal of cold water and Nigaṇṭhas, these *titthiyas* are certainly Jains. Their refusal is motivated by the presence of one-sensed beings in the water (*udakaṃ jīvati ... ek'indriyaṃ samaṇā Sakyaputtiyā*

⁶⁵See Schmithausen, *op. cit.*, § 5.4–5.5, 9.1f., 10.1; § 15.2; § 17.1.

⁶⁶Respectively p. 379 (§969) and p. 364 (§545) of the Burmese editions (references traced through the CSCD). For non-Pāli Buddhist sources see, for instance, the Tarkajvālā on Bhāvaviveka's *Madhyamakahrdaya-kārikā*, p. 230 in Sh. Iida, *Reason and Emptiness: A Study in Logic and Mysticism* (Tokyo, 1980), p. 230 (nine subdivisions of *jīvas* according to the number of senses they have: one for earth, water, fire, wind, and plants; two for certain kinds of insects; three for others; four for yet others; five for quadrupeds, birds, and human beings) and the *Vimalaprabhā-ṭīkā* on the *Laghukālacakratāntra* (Sarnath, 1986), p. 269 (*śaḍ-jīva-kāya*).

⁶⁷*Op. cit.*, n. 78.

⁶⁸Mil 258.28–62.17 (VI.10 *Udakaṃ jīvati?*).

jīvaṃ viheṭhenti); this presence is not admitted by the Buddhists who refute it. Similarly, care for particles of earth in the form of dust and their gentle removal is mentioned with reference to the *acela* Kassapa, who, like today's Digambara monks, carries a bunch of peacock's feathers and uses it for this purpose at the time of sitting.⁶⁹ This instrument is listed among various insignia (*liṅga*) characterizing non-Buddhist ascetics.⁷⁰

As a crucial tenet of Jainism since the earliest period, *ahiṃsā* and violence along with their consequences were naturally a central issue in the Buddhist-Jain discussions. A striking instance of the conflicting views of the two movements is transmitted in the short *Telovādajātaka* (No. 246). Its two stanzas run as follows:

Being unrestrained, he offers a gift after having given injury, after having inflicted suffering, after having killed. The one who eats such a food is stained by evil (*so pāpen' upalippati*).

Being unrestrained, he offers a gift, even after having killed his entire family. Even if he eats, a wise being is not stained by evil (*na pāpen' upalippati*).⁷¹

The second verse is clearly an answer to the first and a rejection of the standpoint expressed therein. At this textual level the conflicting

⁶⁹*Bhūmiyaṃ nisīdantassa āsana-ṭṭhāne laggānaṃ paṃsu-raja-vālikānaṃ phoṭaṇ'-atthaṃ gahita-mora-piṅja-mattato*, Spk III 101.8-11 (on S IV 300.25-27). This instrument is known as *mayūra-piccha*, *picchikā*, *picchī* among the Digambaras for the religious act known as *pratilekhana*, inspection of the ground in order to avoid harming minute living beings.

⁷⁰Sp 1021.18 and all the Vinaya texts based on it.

⁷¹*Hantvā jhatvā vadhitvā ca deti dānaṃ asaṅghato edisaṃ bhataṃ bhuñjāno* (so read) *so pāpen' upalippati. putta-dāraṃ pi ce hantvā deti dānaṃ asaṅghato bhuñjamāno pi sa-ppañño na pāpen' upalippati.*

(Ja II 262.27*-28* and 263.6*-7*)

Emended text with elision (E^c *pāpena upalippati* in both cases) and present participle of the rarer variety in *-āna* in the first stanza (E^c *bhuñjamāno*). For the same situation with the same verb, see S I 5.5* *bhuñjānānaṃ*, quoted by O. von Hinüber, *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick* (Vienna, 1986), § 491.

speakers remain unidentified. That both could have been Buddhists of diverging opinions, or a “fool” and a wise person of any persuasion (as the variant title, *Bālovāda-jātaka*, might suggest) cannot be excluded. But for the prose of the *paccuppanna-vatthu* and of the *samodhāna*, the identity of the fool is not in doubt: he is Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta himself, while the one who admonishes him is the Buddha. That such a connection can be established is significant in itself, for it proves that respective views on the topic expressed in the verses were felt to be a kind of sectarian mark.

The statement of the first stanza would indeed be acceptable to a Jain. As is well known, *dāna* is discussed in detail in the Jain scriptures and very strict rules have been devised to guarantee its ethical character. Among the various categories, a gift of food occupies the foremost place as it is of such great importance in sustaining the ascetics. In order to be pure and acceptable, the food offered must fulfill strict conditions both on the side of the donor and on the side of the receiver. The donor should give food which fits the dietary rules of monastic discipline, he should give it at the right time and at the right place, in the right manner and with an appropriate state of mind. If he has committed some act of violence, the last condition is violated. But the responsibility is equally shared by the ascetic, who, as stated in rather early texts such as the *Āyāraṅga* (II), must be careful about the origin of gifts made to him.

In the *Jātaka*, the Buddhist reply is expressed in rather crude terms and denies that the donor's behaviour has any ethical value. For the Jains, this amounts to justifying the worst, and means that anything whatsoever can be done provided the mental state is pure. Although the *Jātaka* stanzas do not seem to have any verbal parallel in the oldest parts of the Jain canon, the following three verses from the *Sūyagaḍa* (2.6.26–28), which are supposed to express the opinion of the Buddhists, follow the same line of thought and form a sort of echo to the *Jātaka*, all the more so since they have a similar refrain:

- (i) If someone puts a ball of oil cake on a spit and roasts it with the idea, this is a man; or a gourd, thinking it to be a small boy; in our opinion he is soiled with killing a living being (*sa lippāi pāṇa-vahaṇa*

amhaṃ). (ii) On the other hand, however, if a *mleccha* puts a man on a spit and roasts him, taking him for an oil-cake, or does the same to a small boy he thinks is a gourd, in our opinion he is not soiled with killing a living being (*na lippatī pāṇa-vaheṇa amhaṃ*). (iii) If someone puts a man or a small boy on a spit and roasts it on a fire taking it for a lump of oil-cake, it is legally acceptable for Buddhists as a fast-breaking meal (*Buddhāṇa taṃ kappai pārāṇae*).⁷²

The question of violence and cannibalism is not addressed here in an abstract context, but precisely, as in the *Jātaka*, in the context of alms and offering of alms. The next stanzas of the same chapter could be a reply to the Buddhist position expressed in the *Jātaka* verse:

“[Even] when eating this meat in abundance we are not at all stained by evil” (*no ūvalippāṃḍ vayaṃ raeṇaṃ*) — Thus the unbelievers speak; unworthy people; fools; desirous of sensual pleasures. Whosoever eats food of this kind unknowingly does wrong. Virtuous people do not think of doing that. Even mentioning it is wrong. Out of compassion for all living beings the sages, the Jains, avoid blameful faults, are afraid of them and avoid food especially prepared for them (*uddiṭṭha-bhatta*). They hate to terrify living beings, laying aside violence against all beings. Therefore they do not eat food of this kind. This is the traditional right practice among recluses of our fold. (2,6,38–41)

This point of contention has remained irreconcilable through the centuries: when later Jain texts express a position on Buddhism, they continue to portray their ascetics as meat-eaters without any dietary restraint and they show some contempt towards them, considering their

⁷²W.B. Bollée’s new translation (with minor adjustments) in “Adda or the Oldest Extant Dispute between Jains and Heretics (Sūyagaḍa 2.6). Part Two”, *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 27 (1999), pp. 411–37 (Part I concerns the Ājīvikas; to be published in Muni Jambuvijaya Felicitation Volume). The older translation by Jacobi (*Jaina Sūtras*, pp. 414ff.), although valid on the whole, is less accurate. These observations also hold for the other extract given below.

laxity as unbefitting for a proper monastic life.⁷³ The fact that different attitudes towards alms were fundamental to the definition of the two groups' religious identities is proved by anecdotes adduced in Prakrit commentaries when defining the notion of *samyaktva* "orthodoxy" for the layman. Respecting orthodoxy means not indulging in the various forms of heretical practices, and such stories often have as protagonists a Jain and a Buddhist (called *bhikkhu* or *rattapaḍa* "red-clothed") in a context connected with food.⁷⁴

The debate just mentioned is connected with the issue of intentionality and its impact on culpability.⁷⁵ The Buddhists consider intention to be a determining factor — absence of *cittasya duṣṭatva* explaining why the first and last assertions of the Sūyagaḍa stanzas (above i and iii) are not blameworthy. As the Jain commentator Śīlāṅka (9th cent.) says, quoting their views: "Whatever act has not been mentally formed does not count."⁷⁶ On the contrary, they commonly interpret the Jain position as putting too little stress on its importance and viewing mental action as "half an action" (*aḍḍha-kamma*).⁷⁷ However, this is not accurate. In the earliest Jain tradition the notion of intentionality is not meant "to restrict the applicability of the general prohibition against taking life ... but is made a direct component of the definition of violence".⁷⁸ The distinction between "intended" and allegedly "unintended" violence is invalid, and carelessness (*pramāda*), which

⁷³See Ph. Granoff, "The Violence of Non-Violence: A Study of Some Jain Responses to Non-Jain Religious Practices", *Journal of the International Association for Buddhist Studies*, vol. 15, 1 (1992), pp. 1ff.

⁷⁴See the Āvaśyaka-commentaries connected with the transgressions of orthodoxy or R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga* (London, 1963; reprint Delhi, 1983), p. 46.

⁷⁵On its relationship with the question of food see D.S. Ruegg, "Ahiṃsā and Vegetarianism in the History of Buddhism", *Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula* (London, 1980), pp. 234–41.

⁷⁶*Manasākālpitaṃ karma cayaṃ na gacchati asmat-siddhānte*, Sanskrit commentary on Sūyagaḍa 2.6, 28.

⁷⁷See for instance M I 372 and Abhidharmakośa (Chap. IV), p. 2 and 155 in L. de La Vallée Poussin's translation.

⁷⁸Ph. Granoff, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

leads to the performance of unintended deeds, is strongly reviled as being action itself. Hence the Buddhist position that unintended violence can be excused because it has ignorance as its root is invalid. For the Jains, this cannot be a good reason, since ignorance causes the accumulation of additional karma and bondage. As such it cannot systematically be put forward as an excuse for bad deeds.

Non-violence is defined by right knowledge and proper behaviour, intention being also one factor in this process. However, the possibility of observing complete abstention from all types of violence is not self-evident, and this was a sensitive question which opponents of the Jains did not fail to ask. This is shown, for instance, in the Upālisutta, where the respective importance of bodily activity, verbal activity, and mental activity is discussed using the Jain technical terms: *kāya-daṇḍa*, *vacī-daṇḍa*, and *mano-daṇḍa* (in contrast with the Buddhist term *kamma*).⁷⁹ Although the Jain position emphasizes the gravity of the first, Upāli has to admit that mere walking implies an unavoidable violence and results in killing many small creatures. In order to resolve the dilemma he must contradict his first statement and assume that there is no blame if the creatures are killed unintentionally. In fact, such pragmatic attitudes also developed among the Jains themselves; according to a famous *sūtra*, violence occurs when it arises from passion.⁸⁰ Hence there may be factual violence without bondage of karma, and, conversely, violence without actual killing. What follows is found in a Jain — not a Buddhist — text:

It is the intention that ultimately matters. From the real point of view, a man does not become a killer only because he has killed or because the world is crowded with souls, or remain innocent only because he has not killed physically ... Even if a person does not actually kill, he becomes a killer if he has the intention to kill ... For it is the intention

⁷⁹A famous passage already considered by H. Jacobi, "On Mahāvīra and his predecessors" (1880), pp. 159–60 (= *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 798–99); *Jaina Sūtras*, p. xvii; by I.B. Horner, "Gotama and the other sects", *JAOS* 66 (1946), p. 286.

⁸⁰Cf. *Tattvārtha-sūtra* 7.8: *pramatta-yogāt prāṇa-vyaparopāṇam hiṃsā*.

which is the deciding factor, not the external act, which is inconclusive. From the real point of view, it is the evil intention which is violence, whether it materialises into an evil act of injuring or not. There can be non-violence even when an external act of violence has been committed and violence even when it has not been committed.⁸¹

The conception of karma is certainly one of the main issues considered in Pāli scriptures. The Jain position as viewed by the Buddhists is clearly stated in several canonical passages where the “three bases for heresy” (*tīṇi titthāyatanāni*) are discussed. They occur in connection with the theistic view, which explains the individual’s experience of pleasure, suffering, or neither-pleasure-nor-suffering as the creation of a supreme deity (*issara-nimmāṇa-hetu*), and with the view that this phenomenon is “without cause, without reason” (*ahetu apaccaya*) as presented in the Aṅguttara-nikāya, and (in almost identical terms) in the Vibhaṅga.⁸² The two relevant commentaries use a similar wording, but the Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā goes a step further by ascribing two out of the three doctrines to precise religious groups. Thus *ahetu apaccaya* is recognized as identifying the Ājīvika doctrine which ascribes everything to Destiny.⁸³ The statement “whatsoever pleasure, pain, or neither pain-nor-pleasure a man experiences, all this is due to past action” (*pubbe kata-hetu*, Vibh 367.20–22) is recognized by the commentator as expressing the Jain doctrine: *ayaṃ nigaṇṭha-samayo*.⁸⁴ He further expands:

⁸¹Jinabhadra’s Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya 2217–22 as quoted by Dundas (following D.D. Malvania, “Jaina Theory and Practice of Non-Violence”, *Sambodhi* 2,1 (April 1973), reprinted in *Jainism: Some Essays* (Jaipur, 1986), p. 40).

⁸²M II 217.12ff. = A I 173.18ff.; Vibh 367 28–368.3.

⁸³Vibh-a 498.1–3; compare A.L. Basham, *History and Doctrine of the Ājīvikas* (London, 1951), pp. 224ff.

⁸⁴Vibh-a 497, 20. This statement was deemed so characteristic of the Jain doctrine that it found its way into the Śrāmaṇyaphalasūtra incorporated into the Saṅghabhedavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya, edited by R. Gnoli (Rome, 1978), vol. 2, p. 226 §§ 26–28, where it is ascribed to Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta.

But those who assert this deny both active feeling (*kamma-vedanā*) and functional feeling (*kiriyyā-vedanā*) and accept only resultant feeling (*vipāka-vedanā*). They reject seven out of the eight ailments beginning with that originating from bile (S IV 230) and accept only the eighth (born of kamma-result, *kamma-vipāka*). They reject two out of the three kinds of kamma beginning with that to be experienced here and now (see M III 214f.) and accept only that to be experienced in a subsequent existence. Among the four kinds of volition called profitable, unprofitable, resultant, and functional, they accept only resultant volition.⁸⁵

Here the intellectual approach is interesting. The commentator does not refer to the categories and terminology devised by the Jains themselves to explain their position, but rather uses only well-attested Buddhist categories and notions. This process is undoubtedly effective for a Buddhist audience to whom the terms would be familiar because it offers a rather simplistic and mechanistic picture of the Jain view by insisting upon its narrowness. These features are stressed by the stylistic repetition of the phrases “they reject” and “they accept only” and by the repetition of the word *vipāka*, which ultimately stands out as a key word in the Jain formulation. Exactly as the expression *ahetu apaccaya* is a Pāli label for the Ājīvikas’ tenet, *pubbe kata* with maturation as its necessary complement functions as a label of the Jains’. These statements find expression in the poem ascribed to the Elder Samitigutta in the *Theragāthā*:

Whatever evil was done by me previously in other births, that must now be experienced. No other basic cause exists.⁸⁶

His assertion of this belief is an additional reason to consider as a Jain this Elder, whose name “Protected by the samitis” had already been

⁸⁵Vibh-a 497, 20–27; translation as in *The Dispeller of Delusion*, Part II (Sammoha Vinodanī) (Oxford: PTS, 1991), p. 256; compare Ps IV 1.15–18 (on M II 217.12ff.) and Mp II 274.12ff. (on A I 173.18ff.).

⁸⁶Th 81; K.R. Norman’s translation in *Elders’ Verses I*.

correctly interpreted as an indication of his religious affiliation.⁸⁷ In the Jain view the emphasis on karma preconditions the soteriological frame and the importance of ascetic practices as a means to annihilate karma. This leads to a kind of architecture where each piece of the building is connected to the others. At the syntactic level this conception is conveyed by a series of statements mutually linked through the stylistic figure *kāraṇamālā*, quite common in Jain phraseology, even if not confined to it:

Thus by burning up, by making an end of ancient deeds, by the non-doing of new deeds, there is no overflowing into the future. From there being no overflowing into the future comes the destruction of deeds; from the destruction of deeds comes the destruction of anguish; from the destruction of anguish comes the destruction of feeling; from the destruction of feeling all anguish will become worn away.⁸⁸

Complementary to the karma-theory is the question of the nature of the soul, for, as is vigorously said by a Prakrit stanza handed down in the commentary on the Laghukālacakratāntra: "Sometimes the soul is stronger, sometimes karmas are stronger. This is how the soul and karmas have developed a long-standing hostility."⁸⁹ In the sub-

⁸⁷Given these facts, it becomes clear that the dogma *pubbe kata-hetu* of the Mahābodhi-jātaka (No. 528), Ja V 238.29*ff. should be connected with Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta (V 246.12'). even if the verse itself does not establish the connection.

⁸⁸E.g. *iti purāṇānaṃ kammānaṃ tapasā vyantibhāvā, navānaṃ kammānaṃ akaraṇā, āyatiṃ anavassavo, āyatiṃ anavassavā kamma-kkhayo, kamma-kkhayā dukkha-kkhayo, dukkha-kkhayā vedanā-kkhayo, vedanā-kkhayā sabbaṃ dukkhaṃ nijjiṇṇaṃ bhavissati*, M II 217.14-18 (translation from *Middle Length Sayings*); Sanskrit in *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya*, edited by R. Gnoli (Rome, 1978), p. 226 § 27.

⁸⁹*Katthai jīvo* (Ed. *hoi*, to be omitted) *balio katthai kammāi honti baliāi | jīvassa a kammaṃsa a pubba-nibaddhāi verāi*, p. 269. The ultimate source of this stanza is not known, but its occurrence in a modern anthology of maxims such as the *Prākṛta-sūkta-ratnamālā* (Banaras, 1919: No. 123) proves its popularity.

commentary of the Dīgha-nikāya the Jain position is summarized as follows:

The Jains say that the immaterial self has the same extent as the body in which it is located, like the bitter taste in a lemon leaf.⁹⁰

The two features of the analysis developed by the Jains in their own scriptures are here aptly underlined: the immaterial character of the *jīva* and its ability to contract or expand so that it pervades the body it occupies, whether big or small.⁹¹ The expression *sarīra-parimāṇa* corresponds to the *sva-deha-parimāṇa* of the Jain texts and indicates the co-extensiveness of the soul with the body.⁹² At the same time, we notice a terminological difference both here and in other passages. Pāli scriptures regularly use *attā*, where Jain scriptures would favour *jīva*, which emphasizes the living sentient nature of the soul in contradistinction to non-life.⁹³

Pāli exegetical literature of the sub-commentaries may seem less fascinating because it takes us further away from the early period and the so-called “original” message of the Buddha, but it has much to offer. From the still largely unexplored world of *ṭīkās* valuable information about the Jains can be gleaned. A reference to Jain practices designated by proper technical terms in the Visuddhimagga-mahāṭīkā has been mentioned above. Furthermore, in this undoubtedly rich and learned

⁹⁰*Nimba-paṇṇe tittaka-raso viya sarīra-parimāṇo arūpī attā tatha tiṭṭhatī ti Niḡaṇṭhā*, Sv-pt I 223.18–20.

⁹¹Hence, *sarīra-parimāṇo* (*attā*) of Ud-a 339.31 is to be identified as a reference to the Jain position, in the same way as *anguṭṭha-parimāṇo*, *yava-parimāṇo*, *paramāṇu-p. attā* have been recognized as referring to Upaniṣadic, Sāṃkhya and Vaiśeṣika ideas by the translator (Oxford: PTS, 1995), n. 305–306, p. 926. The Jain conception is also highlighted in non-Pāli Buddhist sources: see, for example, Prajñāvarman’s Tibetan commentary on the Viśeṣastava, v. 45; Laghukālacakrantra v. 176 (*jīvaḥ kāya-pramāṇo*).

⁹²See e.g. P.S. Jaini, introduction to Amṛtacandrasūri’s Laghutattvasphoṭa (Ahmedabad: L.D. Series 62, 1978), p. 13.

⁹³See below, p. 36.

work, whose author is well acquainted with the main schools of Indian thought, the discussion of views on final release serves as a basis for a casual allusion to Jain cosmological ideas: "Final release — salvation — occurs on the summit of the world, for example according to the Jains".⁹⁴ This is an unambiguous reference to the Jain conception of *siddhi* as being figuratively located on the top of the three worlds. I have noted above that the interpretation of the *cātuyāma-saṃvara* offered by the sub-commentary on the *Dīgha-nikāya* reflects a distinct stage of Jain doctrinal development. I would now like to give two more important instances from the *Visuddhimagga-mahāṭīkā* and from the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-ṭīkā* — both written by Dhammapāla (A.D. 550–600) — which reveal a sound knowledge of classical Jain concepts which is apparently unattested in the earlier strata of Pāli literature.

For any Jain, the *tattvas*, "reals" or "fundamental entities" as we can call them, form an object of faith and as such are the basis of their philosophy. The *tattvas* have their own history, and it is possible that the full-fledged list does not date from the earliest times, even if it appears at least once in a canonical text and is the subject of the *Tattvārthasūtra*. A rather thorough account of these *tattvas* appears in the *Visuddhimagga-mahāṭīkā*.⁹⁵ The passage is typical of the pseudo-doxography we find in Pāli literature and appears in chapter 16 of the work called *Diṭṭhivissuddhiniddesa*.

One by one non-Buddhist conceptions are rather faithfully delineated with the terms used in their own sources, but in the end they

⁹⁴*Niṅaṅṭhāṇaṃ viya ca loka-thūpikāyaṃ apavaggo mokkho ti*, *Vism-mhṭ* 1157.4–5 (= 2.218 of the Burmese edition available on CSCD). For mere practical reasons I here refer to the Nalanda edition, which is the only one available to me in book form at present.

⁹⁵*Vism-mhṭ* 1384.4–87.5 (= CSCD 2, pp. 360–61). Prof. von Hinüber drew this passage to my attention when he visited Paris in winter 1996. — For another exposé of the nine Jain categories in a non-Pāli Buddhist source see the Tarkajvālā on Bhāvaviveka's *Madhyamakahr̥daya-kārikā*, II-B-3-c, in Sh. Iida, *Reason and Emptiness: A Study in Logic and Mysticism* (Tokyo, 1980), pp. 228–30.

are stated to be invalid. The twofold division into physical and mental of all the states of the three planes gives the starting point for an assessment of what the “outside doctrines (*bāhiraka*) have thought of as being categories”.⁹⁶ These categories are shown to be useless and wrong because they are ultimately included in one way or the other within *nāma* and *rūpa*. Since the issue concerns “categories” (*padattha*), each of the heterodoxies discussed is identified with a key phrase which is meant by the Buddhist author to summarize the view in question. Thus *pakati-ādi* means Sāṃkhya, *dravyādi* means Vaiśeṣika, *jīvādi* means Jainism, and *kāyādi* means the doctrine of the Ājīvikas, each of them being then discussed in turn.⁹⁷

⁹⁶*Yaṃ ito bāhirakehi padattha-bhāvena parikappitaṃ*, *Vism-mhṭ* 1384.4.

⁹⁷(1) Sāṃkhya (Pāli *Kāpila*, plur.): the classical expanded list of twenty-five categories with a discussion: matter or basis (*pakati* or *padhāna*), great principle or intellect (*mahā* or *buddhi*), sense of ego (*ahaṅkāro* or *asmimattā*), subtle elements (*tammattāni*), senses divided into senses of intelligence (*buddh'indriyāni*), senses of action (*kamma*^o) and mind (*mano*), elements (*bhūtāni*), eternal consciousness (*puriso*) — (2) Vaiśeṣika (no proper name mentioned): list of six categories: substance (*dravya*), quality (*guṇa*), action (*kamma*), generality (*sāmañña*), particularity (*visesa*), inherence (*samavāya*). As expected at the period when the text was written (5th–6th cent. A.D.), inexistence (*abhāva*) is not yet included. It came to be officially included much later, from the 12th century onwards (see W. Halbfass, *On Being and What There Is* (Delhi, 1993), pp. 69ff.). — (3) Jaina (see below). — (4) Ājīvika (no proper name mentioned): the list of the seven elemental categories (cf. Basham, pp. 16 and 262) which form *kāya*, i.e. earth (*pathavī*), water (*āpa*), fire (*teja*), air (*vāyu*), life (*attā*), joy (*sukha*), and sorrow (*dukkha*); and the list of the six colours (here called *jāti*; cf. Basham, p. 243; more usual is *abhijāti*): black (*kaṇha*), blue (*nīla*), red (*ratta*), yellow (*pīta*; more frequent “green”, *halidda*), white (*sukka*), and extremely white (*atisukka*) easily identify this group as such. But in the list of births (*gatiyo*), i.e. god (*sura*), human (*manuja*), ghost (*peta*), animal (*tiracchāna*), and hell (*naraka*), the categories *pavatti* and *apavagga* would deserve more investigation as they are not as clearly supported by other sources as the others. — For another passage in the *Vism-mhṭ* dealing with the ideas about salvation of the theists, Ājīvikas, followers of Sāṃkhya and Jains, see pp. 1156–57 (= CSCD Burmese ed. 2.218); pp. 1162–63 again about Sāṃkhya.

Jīvādi, the key phrase for the Jains, is expanded with a list enumerating the following nine terms: the sentient (*jīva*), the insentient (*ajīva*), bondage (*bandha*), good karmas (*puṇya*), bad karmas (*pāpa*), karmic influx (*āsava*), stoppage of karmic influx (*saṃvara*), destruction of karmas (*nijjara*) and liberation (*vimokkha*). It is easy to recognize here the nine-termed classical list of *tattvas*, all referred to by their usual technical designations. Since the concepts are mutually dependent from the logical point of view, the sequence of the terms is generally fixed, at least for the first components (*jīva-ajīva*) and the last components (*saṃvara-nirjarā-mokṣa*).⁹⁸ The Pāli list conforms to this principle as well. In the middle part, however, there is a degree of uncertainty regarding the place of the pair *puṇya-pāpa*, which has a special status, as the existence of a variant list with seven *tattvas* — implying them in *āsava* or *bandha* — shows.

A remarkable feature of the Pāli list is the unusual location of bondage *before* influx, a sequence which is not very consistent with the way the karmic process functions.⁹⁹ But nothing more can be deduced from this observation. The list is followed by the more or less exhaustive explanation of each concept. The treatment of *jīva*, for instance, is tantalizingly brief and literal: “*jīva* means *attā*”; this synonymy is of some significance since the Jains do not favour the use of *ātman* in such a context. No reference is made here to the cognitive capacity and intrinsic purity of the *jīva*, although from the Jain perspective these are prominent features which account for the specificity of the Jain understanding of omniscience. Similarly, the Pāli commentator feels *puṇya* and *pāpa* to be self-evident. All the other *tattvas* (except one) are defined by means of a phrase which could be a quotation (*vacanato*).

⁹⁸The juxtaposition of *saṃvara* and *nirjarā* which make a pair (the only Pāli instance of which is precisely our Vism-mhṭ passage according to the CSCD) may have also been encouraged by stylistic factors (homoteleuton). However, variations in the sequence are not unknown: cf. *Ṭhāṇaṅga* 9 (*nava-sabbhāvapay’attā pannattā*), *Haribhadra*, *Ṣaḍḍarśanasamuccaya* 4.47, etc.

⁹⁹Cf. *Tattvārtha-sūtra* 1.4: *jīvājīvāsrava-bandha-saṃvara-nirjarā-mokṣāṣ tattvam*, the *locus classicus* on the topic.

Only one of them is really easy to identify: *āsava-nirodho saṃvaro* “stopping the influx of karmic particles, that is *saṃvara*” is the Pāli equivalent of Tattvārthasūtra 9.1 (*āsava-nirodhaḥ saṃvaraḥ*), one of the best known sūtras of this famous treatise. Tracing the sources of the remaining quotations would be helpful for a clearer chronological and geographical assessment of the Pāli *īkā*. But even if their statements do not exactly correspond to what we read in the Tattvārthasūtra or similar works, they are close enough to these texts to show that the information of the Pāli commentator is sound:

Bondage (*bandha*) is defined as the intimate union of the soul with karmic matter.¹⁰⁰

Expulsion of karmic particles (*nijjara*) is said to be the non-occurrence of the natural condition which creates a karmic result¹⁰¹ and thus is meant to stop karmic maturation.

Salvation (*mokkha*) is “the fact of being free from all karmic matters”,¹⁰² an equivalent to Tattvārthasūtra 10.3 *kṛtsna-karma-kṣayo mokṣaḥ*.

The definition of *ajīva* is the only one for which no quotation is adduced. All the same, the Mahāīkā’s statement is quite in line with the Jain conception:

Th[is] notion applies to matter (*puggala*), motion (*dhamma*), rest (*adhamma*), space (*ākāsa*) and time (*kāla*).¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰*Bandho kamma-puggal’antara-saṃyogo ti vacanato*, III 1386.10; compare Tattvārthasūtra 8.2: *jīvaḥ karmaṇo yogyān pudgalān ādatte*.

¹⁰¹*Kammaphala-ppavattiyā pakatīyā appavatti nijjaro ti vacanato*, III 1386.13–14. The Pāli wording is not very straightforward. No similar phrasing could be traced in Jain sources. In Buddhist literature *nijjara* is commonly used as a masculine, whereas the idioms used by the Jains normally use it as a feminine in its technical meaning. The gender-distinction *cum* meaning-distinction is discussed in P. Skilling, *Mahāsūtras* II (Oxford, 1997), pp. 414–18.

¹⁰²*Mokkho pi savva-kamma-vimokkho ti vacanato*, III 1386.14.

¹⁰³*Puggala-dhammādharmākāsa-kālesu ajīva-saññā*, III 1386.7; compare Tattvārthasūtra 5.1 *ajīva-kāyā dharmādharmākāsa-pudgalāḥ*, and 5.39 *kālas ca*; Kundakunda, Pañcāstikāya v. 124.

The inclusion of time and its recognition as an independent substance are not taken as self-evident in the Jain tradition, and the status of this concept has been the topic of numerous discussions. Works of Digambara affiliation normally recognize it as belonging to the category of *ajīva*; this fact could be a clue about the kind of source used by the Pāli commentator. The interpretation of the unique technical meanings of *dharma* and *adharmā* as principles to ensure the motion (*gati*) and the steadiness (*sthitī*) of living beings and matter, to help these functions only, and not as terms of ethics, is fully correct.¹⁰⁴ The list of the characteristics of matter agrees broadly with the Jain counterparts. Compare Visuddhimagga-mahāṭīkā:

sadda-phassa-rūpa-rasa-gandha-saññhāna-bandha-bheda-sukhuma-para-
aparāghāta-ppabhā-cchāyōjjāka-tamaṇi puggala-lakkhaṇaṃ ti puggalo (III
1386.7-8)

and Tattvārthasūtra 5.23:

sparśa-rasa-gandha-varṇavantaḥ pudgalāḥ; (24) śabda-bandha-saukṣmya-
sthaulya-saṃsthāna-bheda-tamaś chāyātapōddyotavantaḥ.

The words for sound, palpability, form (Pāli *rūpa*/TS *varṇa*), taste, smell, shape, binding, splitting, subtle(ness), shadow and darkness are the usual ones in such a context. Grossness (TS *sthaulya*) has no corresponding Pāli term but may be implicit in *sukhuma*; the distinction between heat (or hot light) and cool light, which is conveyed in the Tattvārthasūtra by the contrasting pair *ātapa* and *uddyota*, has a vague parallel in *ppabhā* and *ujjota* (corr. for eds. *ujjāka*). If the unsatisfactory *para-aparāghāta* may be understood as “composed with another [and] not composed with another” (?), it could be a reminiscence of the distinction between atoms (*aṇu*) and conglomerates (*saṃghāta*), which is expected in this environment and at this point of the argumentation,

¹⁰⁴*Dhammādhammā jīva-puggalānaṃ gati-tṭhiti-mattatāya tad-avisitṭhā*, Vism-mḥ 1386.9; compare Tattvārthasūtra 5.17: *gati-sthity-upagrahau dharmādharmaḥ upakārah*; etc.

even if these terms are generally not a part of the above mentioned list in Jain texts.¹⁰⁵

Finally, the way *vimokkha* is treated is clearly evocative of the method normally applied in Jain exegesis to the analysis of key terms. This method takes the help of various well-determined parameters and finds its full development in the so-called *nikṣepa*. In its simplest form, the parameters are two, namely *dravya* and *bhāva*. The *dravya* aspect refers to the concrete or literal meaning of a term, while the *bhāva* aspect refers to its meaning in a spiritual or religious context. Here, the text says, *dravya-mokkha* implies that a soul is only immateriality, whereas *bhāva-mokkha* is the absence of any modification in the soul caused by the states of passion, etc.¹⁰⁶ Although with a possible confusion in the contents of the terms, this is roughly reminiscent of a distinction known from some Jain sources, apparently only Digambara. According to them *bhāva-mokṣa* refers to the process of modification through which the soul is able to annihilate the four karmas that have a vitiating effect upon its qualities (the *ghāṭiya-karmas*), whereas *dravya-mokṣa* refers to liberation from the four determining karmas the function of which is only to generate embodiment and individual particulars.¹⁰⁷

The sub-commentaries seem rather well acquainted with Jain scholasticism and methods of argumentation, especially with the one known as “sevenfold predication” which is so typical. While the technical term *satta-bhaṅga* does not seem to occur in the Pāli canon itself, it appears, for instance, in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-ṭīkā*, where *sattabhaṅga-vāda* stands as an indirect designation for Jain philosophy. The

¹⁰⁵See *Tattvārthasūtra* 5.25: *aṇavaḥ skandhās ca, (26) saṃghāta-bhedebhya upadyante.*

¹⁰⁶*Jīvo ca arūpa-mattam evā ti ayaṃ dravya-mokkho; bhāva-mokkho pana jīvassa rāgādi-bhāvāpariṇāmo.* *Vism-mhṭ* 1386.16–17.

¹⁰⁷See the references collected in the *Jainendra-Siddhānta-Kośa* (Delhi: Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, 1987) vol. 3, pp. 322–23 (Kundakunda, *Pañcāstikāya* vv. 150–53; Nemicandra, *Dravyasaṃgraha*, v. 37). For the list of the eight karmas see above n. 32.

commentator's purpose is to demonstrate "the untenability of the doctrine of the seven predicates, which claims that entities possessing origin, decay, and persistence may be permanent, may be impermanent, and may be inexpressible".¹⁰⁸ The terms used for defining the triple character of the existent are exactly those of the Jain treatises: *utpādayaya-dhrauvya-yuktaṃ sat*, to quote just one famous sūtra from the *Tattvārtha* (5.29). On the other hand, the commentator restricts his list to the three primary predicates of the sevenfold set, which are sufficient for his argumentation:

- (1) in a way everything is;
- (2) in a way everything is not;
- (3) in a way it is unutterable.

The four missing ones are easily obtained by combining those three in different manners:

- (4) in a way it is and in a way it is not;
- (5) in a way it is, in a way it is unutterable;
- (6) in a way it is not, in a way it is unutterable;
- (7) in a way it is, in a way it is not, in a way it is unutterable.

The Pāli wording is quite accurate and in full agreement with the Jain counterpart. One immediately notices the basic word *siyā*, a starting point for the generic term *syādvāda*, which became the standard designation for this process. In the course of the systematic refutation which is then undertaken, one also comes across the typical term *anekāntavāda*, "the theory of the manifoldness of reality" which considers that each entity consists of diverse forms and modes, of innumerable aspects, and that destruction (i.e. losing the previous form), appearance (i.e. assuming a new modification), and continuity (i.e. persistence of the essential nature) coexist:

¹⁰⁸*Uppāda-vaya-dhuvatā-yutta-bhāvā siyā niccā, siyā aniccā, siyā na vattabbā ti ādinā pavattassa satta-bhaṅga-vādassa ayuttatā vibhāvītā hoti*, Sv-pt I 198.20-23.

But those who say: "Just as when a crown is made out of a golden pot, the existence of a pot disappears and the existence of a crown arises, whereas the existence of gold remains the same, exactly in the same way, in the case of all properties, one property disappears, another one arises, but the specific property remains" [to them it should be said ...].¹⁰⁹

This example adduced to illustrate the Jain view and ascribed to its tradition can be recognized as reminiscent of the idea expressed by the Jain Digambara philosopher Samantabhadra (c. A.D. 550) in his *Āptamīmāṃsā* (3.59):

ghaṭa-mauli-suvarṇārthī nāśōtpāda-sthitiṣv ayam
śoka-pramoda-mādhyasthyaṃ jano yāti sa-hetukam.

When the pot is destroyed, the crown is created and the gold stays on, the [same] person desiring [them], experiences pain, joy and neutrality — justifiedly."¹¹⁰

But the refutation underlines that the Jain way of arguing starts on a wrong basis and is self-contradictory:

What is the gold which remains the same in both the pot and the ornament? If it is said to be materiality, then it is impermanent like sound. If it is said to be an aggregation of materiality, an aggregation

¹⁰⁹*Ye pana vadanti 'yathā suvaṇṇa-ghaṭena makuṭe kate ghaṭa-bhāvo nassati, makuṭa-bhāvo uppajjati, suvaṇṇa-bhāvo tiṭṭhati yeva, evaṃ sabba-bhāvānaṃ koci dhammo nassati, koci dhammo uppajjati, sa-bhāvo pana tiṭṭhatī' ti (te vattabbā), Sv-pt I 198.29–99.3.*

¹¹⁰My translation. Compare N.J. Shah, *Samantabhadra's Āptamīmāṃsā, Critique of an Authority* (along with English translation, introduction, notes, and Akalanka's Sanskrit Commentary Aṣṭaśatī) (Ahmedabad, 1999), p. 55. See also B.K. Matilal, *The Central Philosophy of Jainism (Anekāntavāda)* (Ahmedabad: L.D. Series 79, 1981), p. 39, along with Kumāri's explanation in the *Mīmāṃsā-śloka-vārtika*. Among other similar examples adduced in this connection by the Jains are the one of the milk and the curd (*Āptamīmāṃsā* III.60; for the Buddhist interpretation of the same example see, for instance, D I 201.26ff.) or the one of the seed, the sprout, and the tree (*Tattvaprāṇīkā* on Kundakunda's *Pravacanasāra* 2.9), the pot and the clay (cty on *Tattvārthasūtra* 5.29).

is a mere conventional term to which neither existence, nor non-existence, nor permanence apply. Thus no doctrine of *anekānta* can obtain here. ... Moreover, the self and the world are not of an "eternal, non-eternal, indicable" nature ... like lamps and so on. For it is impossible to recognize a permanent, impermanent, indicable own-nature in form, etc., the nature of which is to rise and fall. Similarly [it is impossible to recognize] one form or the other among "permanent", etc. in the living principle.¹¹¹

In so stating, the Pāli commentator reflects the first among the traditional objections opposed to *syād-vāda*, i.e. self-contradiction, which he underlines again when he rejects the Jain assertion "There is soul, in a way it is permanent, in a way it is not".¹¹² For the Jains, however, *syāt* and *anekānta* do not mean uncertain or confusing answers but *conditional* assertions meant to embrace the complex nexus of reality.¹¹³

To conclude: The Buddhists of the Pāli sources are not very different from other external observers, ancient or modern, who have looked at Jain ways of life and conceptions, both in the topics which have caught their attention and in their approach. As far as practice is concerned, they are mainly the question of nudity, extreme asceticism, strict rules for begging, and eating. As far as doctrine goes, they are the Jain categories and the Jain way of looking at living beings with the crucial point of one-sensed living beings. In several cases it is not easy to

¹¹¹Sv-pt I 199.3ff. Translation (with minor adjustments) from *The Discourse on the All-Embracing Net of Views*, translated from the Pali by Bhikkhu Bodhi (Kandy, 1978), p. 156.

¹¹²*Atthi jīvo, so ca siyā nicco, siyā anicco*, Sv-pt I 298.26.

¹¹³See the clear, accurate statements of B.K. Matilal, *op. cit.*, a very convenient book which has the advantage of considering the Jain philosophical system together with the objections it has produced from other schools: "The *Anekānta* doctrine, to be sure, is neither a doctrine of doubt (or even uncertainty) nor a doctrine of probability. Thus *syāt* means, in the Jaina use, a conditional YES. It is like saying, 'in a certain sense, yes'. It amounts to conditional approval" (p. 52).

distinguish Jains from Ājīvikas, who are shown as sharing ideas or customs. As sharp critics, the Buddhists have emphasized sensitive issues which were fundamental to their opponents, such as the extreme consequences of the theory of non-violence combined with the question of intentionality. They are prompt to denounce the casuistry of the Jain tenets or arguments. As can be seen from stray references given above to non-Pāli Buddhist sources, these points are also those highlighted in the Buddhist perception of Jainism as expressed in Sanskrit or Tibetan texts.

Although the basically polemical attitude of Theravādins has naturally restricted the power of their analyses, confrontation with available Jain texts shows that sound and reliable evidence is clothed in literary garb, that there is a full awareness of Jain technical terminology. The second layer of Pāli exegesis, especially the sub-commentaries written by Dhammapāla, contains valuable material. It seems to reflect a historical context where “Jains” seems to mean rather “Digambaras” than “Śvetāmbaras”. As far as Dhammapāla is concerned, this could be explained by his South Indian milieu, where Digambaras were more numerous than their rivals. But in non-Pāli Buddhist sources — as well as in non-Buddhist sources — there are hints which suggest that Digambaras were also the main, if not the only, target, as if the Śvetāmbara tradition were negligible. This fact has still to be explained.

Nalini Balbir

The Legend of the Establishment of the Buddhist Order of Nuns in the Theravāda Vinaya-Pitaka

Even the Buddhist world has not remained unaffected by the growing awareness of the position of women, and Western Buddhist groups in particular have found it necessary to discuss the attitude of Buddhism to the position of women in society. Clarification of the attitude of early Buddhists towards women, and especially of the position accorded to nuns in the early Buddhist community, may well be expected from a detailed examination of the Vinaya-piṭaka. This book of the discipline of the Order rules on many questions regarding the daily life of monks and nuns of the time and also contains much information relating to cultural history. Passages which include references to or indeed exclusively refer to nuns shed light on the attitude towards women in early Buddhism.

Apart from the Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga, which contains those rules of the Pāṭimokkha that only apply to nuns as well as their histories and the relevant commentaries, there are few passages in the Vinaya-piṭaka which specifically relate to women. However, an examination of those passages in the Khandhaka reveals much which renders a consistent evaluation of the position of women in early Buddhism more difficult. In this paper the first section of the tenth chapter of the Cullavagga (Cv X.1 = Vin II 253–56) will be examined for direct and indirect statements regarding the position of women. In this section the events

This is an English translation by Marianne Rankin of the essay “Die Legende von der Einrichtung des buddhistischen Nonnenordens im *Vinaya-Piṭaka* der Theravādin” published in *Studien zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde, Festgabe des Seminars für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde für Professor Dr. Heinz Bechert*, Reinhold Grünendahl, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, and Petra Kieffer-Pülz, eds. (Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1993), pp. 151–70. The essay has not been revised, but the author has appended a list of additional publications which bear on the subject. Ed.

leading to the establishment of the Buddhist Order of nuns are described. Within this framework, the eight special rules for nuns (*garudhamma*) were laid down. These were to be accepted by every woman before her entry into monastic life. In addition, this passage contains sayings of the Buddha about women and their influence on Buddhist doctrine.

At the beginning of the first section of the tenth chapter of the Cullavagga, the events immediately preceding the establishment of the Buddhist Order of nuns are described. In general terms these are as follows: the foster mother (and aunt) of the Buddha, Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, is the first woman to ask the Buddha to permit the acceptance of women into the Order in principle.¹ The Buddha does not give his consent to this request of Mahāpajāpatī, which she repeats three times.²

¹Vin II 253 (Cv X.1.1): *sādhu bhante labheyya mātugāmo tathāgatappavedite dhammavinaye agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjan ti* (“It would be good, sir, if women could leave home for homelessness in the *dhamma* and *vinaya* expounded by the Tathāgata”). The term *pabbajjā* here is to be taken merely as a contrast to the worldly life, not in the sense of a technical term for lower ordination. In the *Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā* (Schmidt 1993, 3a1), however, the terms *pravrajyām upasampadam* are used at this point.

²Vin II 253 (Cv X.1.1): *alaṃ Gotamī mā te rucci mātugāmassa tathāgatappavedite dhammavinaye agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjā ti* (“Enough, Gotamī, let it not please you for women to leave home for homelessness in the *dhamma* and *vinaya* expounded by the Tathāgata”). Thus it is not an explicitly negative answer by the Buddha, but rather that he advises Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī against her request — without giving a reason. Similarly *mā rucci/mā ruccittha* is used in Vin II 198 (Cv VII.3.16): *alaṃ Devadatta, mā te rucci saṃghabhedo, garuko kho Devadatta saṃghabhedo ti* and in Vin I 150 (Mv III.11.6): *māyasmantānaṃ saṃghabhedo ruccitthā ti* (cf. Also Hinüber, 1968, section 260). — Sp 1290f. comments on the passage of the Cullavagga referred to here: *kāmaṃ honti kilametvā pana anekakkhattuṃ yācitenā anuññātaṃ pabbajjaṃ dukkhaṃ laddhā ayaṃ amhehī ti sammā paripālessantī ti garukaṃ katvā anujānitukāmo paṭikkhipati* (“[The Enlightened One] instills respect [for the Pabbajjā, thinking]: ‘The [women are] eager [to receive the Pabbajjā] but are in want [of it]. They will observe the Pabbajjā very carefully, which is permitted [by me] only after much petitioning, [because the women think]: ‘This Pabbajjā was hard to attain for us!’” [With these thoughts the

Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, although evidently much grieved, is not completely discouraged. She cuts her hair off, dresses in a robe, and with other women of the Sakya clan, follows the Buddha, who has meanwhile moved on to Vesālī.³ There Ānanda observes her piteous state and questions her, so she explains the situation to him.⁴ Thereupon Ānanda himself takes the matter up. He too expresses Mahāpajāpatī's wish three times to the Buddha, but in vain. Later, however, by skilfully steering the conversation⁵ he draws from the Buddha the admission that in principle women are capable of attaining Enlightenment,⁶ and by alluding to the many services which Mahāpajāpatī rendered the Buddha in his youth, Ānanda manages to get the Buddha to agree in principle to

Enlightened One] who wishes to permit [the Pabbajjā] rejects it.”).

³This passage is omitted in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā*; there Ānanda speaks to Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī just after she has left the Buddha.

⁴In the Pāli (Vin II 254) Gotamī says “the Enlightened One does not permit” (*na bhagavā anujānāti*) and in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā* (Schmidt 1993, 3b4), “women do not attain” (*na labhate mātrgrāmaḥ*) is said.

⁵After his direct request has failed, Ānanda thinks, (Cv X.1.3 = Vin II 254): *yan nūnāhaṃ aññena pi pariyāyena bhagavantam yāceyyaṃ* (“What if I were to ask the Enlightened One in a different way”). The portayal in the Cullavagga thus implies intentional manipulation of the Buddha by Ānanda. It is not clear, however, whether the reproaches made to Ānanda during the first council relate to this deliberate manipulation (Cv XI.1.10 = Vin II 289): *idam pi te āvuso Ānanda dukkaṭaṃ yaṃ tvaṃ mātuḡāmassa tathāgatappavedite dhammavinaye pabbajjaṃ ussukkaṃ akāsi* (“This too is a *dukkāṭa* [mis-demeanor] on your part, that you made such an effort to further women in the *dhamma* and *vinaya* expounded by the Tathāgata”). — In the *Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā* (Schmidt, 1993, 4a1/2), Ānanda only asks the Buddha once for his agreement; the description of how Ānanda steers the conversation another way is entirely absent.

⁶Vin II 254 (Cv X.1.3) *bhabbo Ānanda mātuḡāmo tathāgatappavedite dhammavinaye agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitvā sotāpattiphalam pi sakadāgāmi-phalam pi anāgāmi-phalam pi arahattam pi sacchikātun ti* (“Ānanda, when women leave home for homelessness in the *dhamma* and *vinaya* expounded by the Tathāgata, they are able to realise the fruit of entry into the stream, the fruit of once returner, the fruit of non-returner and [the state of an] arhat”). — This passage is missing in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā*.

the admission of Mahāpajāpatī — and thus of women in general — into the Buddhist Order.⁷

The acknowledgement that women are capable of attaining Enlightenment is fundamental for a definition of the position of women in early Buddhism. It means that in this respect the Buddha regarded men and women as equal.⁸ This assessment may also have been decisive for the Buddha's assent to the establishment of an Order of nuns.⁹ Gustav Roth puts it as follows:¹⁰ "The existence of such a view is of fundamental importance for the existence of an Order of Buddhist nuns."

The agreement to the establishment of the nuns' Order was not given unconditionally. This may be deduced from the further course of events described in this section of the Cullavagga. Only if Mahāpajāpatī is prepared to follow the eight *garudhammas* (literally, "important

⁷In contrast, the course of events in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācānā* (Schmidt 1993, 4a1-6a3) is as follows: Ānanda only asks the Buddha once to grant admission to women into the Buddhist Order. The Buddha answers *mā te ... rocatām* (Pāli: *mā te rucchi*) as in the Pali version and gives as the reason for his answer that the *dhamma* and *vinaya* would not last long (no time period is given here!) if women obtain the Pabbajjā and Upasampadā. The comparison of women to diseases follows this (see below) and only then comes the specification of the eight *garudhammas* to be observed by women.

⁸Cf. also Vajirarañānavarorasa, Vol. I, p. 142.

⁹Cf. Horner, 1930, p. 103; cf. Pitzer-Reyl, 1984, p. 19, and cf. Heng-Ching Shih 1991, p. 84. It should be noted here, however, that the attainment of Śrotāpanna rank is not synonymous with the attainment of the lowest grade of the Buddhist monastic path to salvation, as Jens-Peter Laut 1991 (p. 268 and p. 266, n. 55) evidently assumes. In this regard, the text examined by Laut should be checked again to determine whether it does in fact represent the ancient Turkish version of the legend of the establishment of the Buddhist Order of nuns.

¹⁰BhīVin (Mā-L), p. xxxi.

rules”) may she (thereby) belong to the Order.¹¹ Although these eight *garudhammas* serve not only as admission criteria but also as rules to be observed for life by every nun,¹² in the Pāli Vinaya¹³ they are not connected with the Bhikkhunīpāṭimokkha. At the same time, in seven *garudhammas* there are parallels either in words or in content with the Pācittiya section of the Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga.¹⁴ As will be explained below, it is possible that it was due to later editing by monks, that a list of the rules that seemed to them most important should be juxtaposed to the eight Pārājika rules applying to nuns.¹⁵ As regards the grade of penalty, the *garudhammas* are on a par with the Saṃghādisesa offences. This is shown by the content of the fifth *garudhamma* (see below). Furthermore, the content of passages in which monks are mentioned in

¹¹Vin II 255 (Cv X.1.4.): *sace Ānanda Mahāpajāpati Gotamī aṭṭha garudhamme paṭigaṇhāti sā ‘v’ assā hotu upasampadā*, and Vin II 257 (Cv X.2.2.): *yadaggena Ānanda Mahāpajāpatigotamiyā aṭṭha garudhammā paṭiggahitā, tad eva sā upasampannā ti*.

¹²This is expressed in the sentence following each *garudhamma* (Cv X.1.4 = Vin II 255): *ayam pi dhammo sakkatvā garukatvā mānervā pūjetvā yāvajīvam anatikkamanīyo* (“This rule is to be respected, honoured, esteemed and observed for life and must not be broken”).

¹³Gustav Roth (BhīVin(Mā-L), pp. xxixf.) has been able to establish that the position of the section within the Vinaya traditions containing the *garudhammas* is approximately the same across the various Buddhist schools: in the Pāli Vinaya-piṭaka, in Fa-Hsien’s translation of the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya, in the Tibetan version of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, and in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā*. He thus assumes that the direct connection between the *garudhammas* and the Bhikṣuṇīvibhaṅga found in the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin Vinaya is artificial, diverging from the arrangement in an “original” version.

¹⁴Cf. also BhīPr, pp. 8, 118. This will be examined in more detail when *garudhamma* 5 is considered below.

¹⁵It is noteworthy that there are thus eight Pārājika rules, eight *garudhammas* and — in so far as one can include the *garudhammas* as a category of misdemeanor alongside the other classes of offence of the Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga — eight categories of offence for nuns. Thus things are evened up, in that the Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga has no Aniyata section and thus contains one category of offence less than the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga.

connection with transgression against the *garudhammas* leads at least to equating the *garudhammas* with the Saṃghādisesa offences. One of the attributes a monk must possess in order to be allowed to instruct nuns is, according to Pācittiya 21 of the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga,¹⁶ that he should not have offended against a *garudhamma*. Here the *garudhammas* listed in the Cullavagga, which are applicable only to nuns, cannot be meant. Probably, as Horner says,¹⁷ the Saṃghādisesa rules are meant, for the relevant passages of the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga dealing with monks who have transgressed the *garudhammas*, mention *parivāsa*,¹⁸ a kind of trial period which constitutes part of the punishment for monks who have committed a Saṃghādisesa offence.¹⁹

Garudhamma 1 requires “the complete subordination of nuns to monks”.²⁰ The sequence of the eight rules specific to nuns begins with a stipulation which makes it quite clear that a nun is always beneath a monk in social rank. “A nun, even if she has been ordained for a hundred years, is to make a respectful [verbal] greeting, to stand up, to make the greeting with palms laid together and to carry out the acts of

¹⁶Vin IV 51: *na ... garudhammaṃ ajjhāpannapubbo hoti.*

¹⁷Cf. BD IV, p. 66, n. 1.

¹⁸Vin I 49: *sace upajjhāyo garudhammaṃ ajjhāpanno hoti parivāsāraho ...*; Vin I 52: *sace saddhivihāriko garudhammaṃ ajjhāpanno hoti parivāsāraho ...*; Vin II 226: *sace upajjhāyo garudhammaṃ ajjhāpanno hoti parivāsāraho.* The equation of the Saṃghādisesa rules of the monks and the *garudhammas* of the nuns is particularly clear in the two following passages: Vin I 143: *idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhu garudhammaṃ ajjhāpanno hoti parivāsāraho* (“But here, O monks, a monk has transgressed against a *garudhamma*, and has thus become one who deserves *parivāsa*”), and parallel to that, Vin I 144: *idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhunī garudhammaṃ ajjhāpannā hoti mānattārahā* (“But here, O monks, a nun has transgressed against a *garudhamma*, and has thus become one who has deserved *mānatta*”). Buddhaghosa (Sp, p. 1069) also expounds this passage in this way: *garudhammaṃ ajjhāpanno hoti parivāsāraho, mūlāya paṭikassanāraho hoti, mānattāraho abbhānāraho, saṅgho kammaṃ kattukāmo hoti.*

¹⁹The grade of penalty is explained in detail in Vin III 112 (in the word-for-word commentary on Saṃghādisesa 1 of the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga).

²⁰Thus BhīPr, p. 118.

homage to a monk, even if he has only been ordained that day.”²¹ Although it can be established that the wording of this *garudhamma* is not very close to that of Pācittiya 94 of the Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga (Vin IV 343),²² a close correlation in content can nonetheless be perceived. At that point in the Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga it is stated that a nun is not permitted to sit in the presence of a monk without having asked his permission. The *garudhamma* examined here thus goes further than Pācittiya 94, as it appears that a nun who is seated must stand up when a monk approaches, in order to make the necessary gestures of respect. At the same time, Cv VI.6.5 (Vin II 162) says that women — along with nine other groups of people — are *not* to be greeted by monks (*mātugāmo avandiyo*). Nuns, on the other hand, only have the Buddha’s permission to withhold, by means of a *daṇḍakamma*,²³ the respect otherwise due to a monk in exceptional cases (namely if a monk has behaved improperly towards an individual nun or to the Bhikkhunī-saṃgha).²⁴

In this context, the further course of the narrative in the *Cullavagga* is interesting. There it is recounted that Mahāpajāpatī — again through the mediation of Ānanda — asks the Buddha to rescind *garudhamma* 1 and to permit the main criterion of greeting, with the appropriate actions, between monks and nuns to be seniority rather than sex.²⁵ The Buddha, however, vehemently rejects this suggestion. “That is

²¹Vin II 255: *vassasatupasampannāya bhikkhuniyā tadahupasampannassa bhikkhuno abhivādanam paccuṭṭhānam añjalikammaṃ sāmīcikkammaṃ kātammaṃ*. In the *Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā* (Schmidt 1993) this *garudhamma* is placed last (see 6a1/2).

²²Vin IV 343: *yā pana bhikkhunī bhikkhussa purato anāpucchā āsane nisīdeyya, pācittiyan ti*. Cf. also BhīPr, p. 118.

²³Description of the implementation of a *daṇḍakamma* in Vin I 84 (Mv I.57).

²⁴Vin II 261f. (Cv X.9.1): *avandiyo so bhikkhave bhikku bhikkhunīsamghena kātabbo ti*. Cf. also Vajirarañānavarorasa, 1983, p. 264.

²⁵Vin II 257f. (Cv X.3): *sādhu bhante bhagavā anujāneyya bhikkūnañ ca bhikkhunūnañ ca yathāvuddham abhivādanam paccuṭṭhānam añjalikammaṃ sāmīcikkammaṃ ti*.

impossible, Ānanda.... Ānanda, the adherents of other religious communities, whose *dhamma* is badly expounded, will not greet women with respect ..., how then can the Tathāgata prescribe a respectful greeting of women?"²⁶ Thereupon he lays down that a monk who shows respect to a nun commits a *dukkāṭa* offence.²⁷ It emerges from this passage that the Buddha definitely regarded himself, and the Order he founded in the context of his wider social milieu and in particular in relation to the other religious communities existing at that time.²⁸ At the same time this *garudhamma* shows that at least some of the traditional ideas of the relations between the sexes were taken over into the life in the Buddhist Order, for in Asian countries the manner and sequence of greeting are important etiquette, reflecting the social structure.²⁹

Garudhamma 2 reads, "A nun shall not spend the rainy season in a residential district where there is no monk."³⁰ Pācittiya 56 of the *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga* (Vin IV 313) is identical to *garudhamma* 2. The definition of *abhikkhuko nāma āvāso* in the word for word commentary on this Pācittiya rule also contains a reason for the prescription: *na sakkā hoti ovādāya vā saṃvāsāya vā gantuṃ*: "It is not possible to go for instruction or *saṃvāsa*".³¹ *Saṃvāsa* means "living together" and as a

²⁶Vin II 257, 258: *aṭṭhānam etaṃ Ānanda anavakāso ime hi nāma Ānanda aññatitthiyā durakkhātadhammā mātugāmassa abhivādanaṃ ... na karissanti, kim aṅga pana tathāgato anujānissati mātugāmassa abhivādanaṃ ... ti.*

²⁷As the term *dukkāṭa* is used as the designation of an offence here, it may be assumed that this rule was not laid down until after the closing of the Pāṭimokkha (cf. Oldenberg's introduction to Vin I, p. xx).

²⁸A further example of this is the legend of the establishment of the Uposatha ceremony in Vin I 101-104 (Mv II.1-3). Here too the Buddha — at the suggestion of King Bimbisāra — takes his bearings from the adherents of other religious communities who meet at periodic intervals to make their teachings known.

²⁹Thus also Horner, 1930, p. 121.

³⁰Vin II 255: *na bhikkhuniyā abhikkhuke āvāse vassaṃ vasitabbaṃ*. — This *garudhamma* is placed third in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā* (see Schmidt 1993, 5a2/3).

³¹Buddhaghosa (Sp, p. 938) explains this: *saṃvāsāya ti uposathapavāraṇa-*

technical term in the Vinaya-piṭaka “the community which carries out legal action together, recites together and has the same instruction.”³² Consequently *garudhamma* 2 is closely connected to *garudhamma* 3 (see below). During the rainy season, which monks like nuns are to spend at a fixed place, the nuns will be under the control of monks;³³ however, at the same time they will be guaranteed male protection.

Garudhamma 3 states that twice a month a nun is to ask for two rulings from the Order of monks, one regarding the Uposatha day and the other about monks coming to offer instruction.³⁴ This *garudhamma* is in complete agreement with Pācittiya 59 of the *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga* (Vin IV 315). The nuns were obliged to ask the monks for information about the Uposatha ceremony as the exact date was determined by the monks.³⁵

pucchanatthāya: “For *saṃvāsa* is: for the purpose of asking [the date of] Uposatha and Pavāraṇā.” For further information Buddhaghosa refers to the passage of the Pācittiya-rules in the *Bhikkhuvibhaṅga* which relates to the instruction of the nuns.

³²Thus in Vin III 28: *saṃvāso nāma ekakammaṃ ekuddeso samasikkhātā, eso saṃvāso nāma. so tena saddhiṃ n’ atthi, tena vuccati asaṃvāso ti*: “Living together means: common legal procedure, common recitation and the same instruction. One refers to as *asaṃvāso* a person with whom this is not the case.”

³³Cf. also Pitzer-Reyl, 1984, p. 26.

³⁴Vin II 255: *anvaddhamāsaṃ bhikkhuniyā bhikkhusaṃghato dve dhammā paccāsiṃsitabbā uposathapucchakaṇ ca ovādūpasamkamaṇā ca*. In the *Bhikkhūṇī-Karmavācānā* this *garudhamma* only states that the nuns are to ask for the assignment of instruction every fortnight. The Uposatha ceremony is not mentioned there (*bhikkhūṇyā Ānanda bhikkhūṇī sakāsād* [sic] *anvaddhamāsam avavādānusāsānī paryeṣitavyā*). Here this *garudhamma* is placed second (see Schmidt 1993, 5a1/2).

³⁵Barua, 1966, p. 77, assumes that the nuns were *unable* to set the date. However, Barua does not give proofs in support of this assertion. It may be concluded from the further course of the description in the *Cullavagga* that the recitation of the Pāṭimokkha was completely taken over by the nuns shortly after the setting down of the *garudhammas* (Cv X.6.1-3 = Vin II 259,260; see also Mv II.36.1 = Vin I 135). Thus the nuns exercised their own administration of justice within their Saṃgha (cf. also Pitzer-Reyl, 1984,

The instruction given to the nuns, the main subject of which was the *garudhammas*,³⁶ changed over time. At first, the whole Bhikkhunī-saṃgha visited the monks in order to receive instruction. However, mistrust by “the people” soon led to only two or three nuns at a time being allowed to visit a monk, who had been designated by the Bhikkhusaṃgha as *bhikkhunovādaka* (“instructor of nuns”), for this purpose (Cv X 9.4 = Vin II 263f.). Monks were forbidden to enter the nuns’ area (*bhikkhunūpassaya*) to give instruction. This may be concluded from Pācittiya 23 of the Bhikkhuvibhaṅga (Vin IV 56). During their instruction the monks questioned the nuns as to whether they had kept the *garudhammas*, checking that they had maintained the discipline.³⁷

Garudhamma 4 and Pācittiya 57 of the Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga (Vin IV 314) describe the *pavāraṇā* ceremony³⁸ for nuns: “At the end of the rainy season a nun shall satisfy both orders in three respects: by that which is heard, seen and suspected.”³⁹ According to the description in the *Cullavagga*, at first nuns did not perform this ceremony at all. Then they performed it only within their order and later, in a third move, the complete order of nuns performed the *pavāraṇā* in front of the order of monks. As this caused trouble in the Bhikkhusaṃgha, the Buddha decreed that a *pavāraṇā* was first to be completed in the nun’s order. On the following day a nun appointed as spokeswoman by the

p. 27).

³⁶Vin IV 315 *ovādo nāma aṭṭha garudhammā*. Stipulations regarding the carrying out of the instruction of nuns are contained in Pācittiya 21-23 of the *Bhikkhuvibhaṅga* (Vin IV 49-57). Cf. BhīPr, p. 122.

³⁷Pitzer-Reyl, 1984, p. 27, sees here “a further instrument of control” over the nuns.

³⁸Detailed regulations for this ceremony for nuns in Cv X.19 (Vin II 275f.); the regulations concerning this for monks are in Mv IV.1.14 (Vin I 159f.).

³⁹Vin II 255: *vassaṃ vutthāya bhikkhuniyā ubhatoṣaṃghe tīhi ṭhānehi pavāretabbaṃ diṭṭhena vā sutena vā parisāṅkāya vā*. – Cf. Hinüber 1968, pp. 157f., section 147. This *garudhamma* is the only one which is in the same place in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā* (see Schmidt, 1993, 5a3/4/5) and in the Pāli tradition.

Bhikkhunīsaṃgha was to go with the Bhikkunīsaṃgha to the Bhikkhusaṃgha and was to carry out the *pavāraṇā* ceremony again (Cv X.19=Vin II 275f.) in front of the Bhikkhusaṃgha. Before that, the nuns had asked each other to say whether they had seen, heard or merely suspected any offence. On the following day these proceedings were repeated in front of the order of monks. The nuns' spokeswoman asked the monks to voice their objections.⁴⁰ The monks did not ask for objections from the nuns. Thus the nuns were controlled by two authorities, the monks only by one.

Garudhamma 5 stipulates that nuns who offend against a *garudhamma* must perform 14 days of *mānatta* in front of both orders.⁴¹ This *garudhamma* is the only one of the eight *garudhammas* for which there is no equivalent, either literal or in content, in the Pācittiya section of the Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga. However, *garudhammas* 2, 3, 4 and 7 correspond literally to Pācittiyas 56, 59, 57 and 52 of the Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga. There is a contradiction here within the Vinaya regulations as the penalty for a Pācittiya offence does not include the imposition of *mānatta*,⁴² which is part of the penalty designated for a Saṃghādisesa offence.⁴³

It is also noticeable here that within the series of the eight rules (*garudhammas*), seven regulations delineate the characteristics of these offences, and one rule (*garudhamma* 5) merely defines the penalty. In the categories of offence in the Pāṭimokkha the penalty is defined either in each rule itself (Pārājika),⁴⁴ or at the end of the category of offence in question (Saṃghādisesa), or in the commentary to the rules

⁴⁰Cf. BhīPr, p. 123.

⁴¹Vin II 255: *garudhammaṃ ajjhāpannāya bhikkhuniyā ubhatosamghe pakkhamānattaṃ caritabbaṃ*. In the *Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā* (see Schmidt, 1993) this *garudhamma* is placed seventh (5b4/5, 6a1).

⁴²An offence against one of the Pācittiya rules requires a simple confession.

⁴³Here in *garudhamma* 5 it is not a matter of *parivāsa*. Nuns, as opposed to monks, are not obliged to complete a *parivāsa* in the case of a Saṃghādisesa offence (cf. also *BD IV*, p. 192, n. 2).

⁴⁴Cf. Hecker, 1977, p. 93.

(Nissaggiya-Pācittiya, Sekhiya); or it may emerge from the designation of the offence itself (Pācittiya, Pāṭidesanīya). Further rules contain no penalty (Adhikaraṇa-Samatha), or the penalty is not pre-determined (Aniyata). This inconsistency within the Vinaya regulations can be judged as an indication that the compilation of the eight *garudhammas* recorded in the *Cullavagga* does not stem from an original conception, but is the result of a development. Accordingly it is possible that the compilation of the *garudhammas* which we have before us today is more recent than the rules corresponding to the *garudhammas* in the Pācittiya section of the *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga*.

Garudhamma 6 contains the two most important procedural differences between nuns and monks in bestowing the Upasampadā: “After having obeyed the six precepts for two years, a Sikkhamānā must request Upasampadā from both orders.”⁴⁵ Only women are subject to the condition of a two year probationary period,⁴⁶ and the condition that Upasampadā must be taken twice, with consent from both the nuns’ and the monks’ Orders.⁴⁷ This *garudhamma* expresses the dependence of

⁴⁵Vin II 255: *dve vassāni chasu dhammesu sikkhitasikkhāya sikkhamānāya ubhato saṃghe upasampadā pariyesitabbā*. This *garudhamma* is placed first (4b5, 5a1) in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā* (see Schmidt, 1993), which makes sense. In this tradition the point is only that a woman has to request both the Pabbajjā and the Upasampadā from the monks; a two year probationary period is not mentioned (*bhikṣubhyaḥ śākāsād [sic] Ānanda mātṛgrāmeṇa pravrajyopasampad bhikṣuṇībhāvaḥ pratikāṃkṣitavyaḥ*). In content, Pācittiyas 63 and 64 of the *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga* (Vin IV 319 and 321) correspond to the first part of this *garudhamma*. Pācittiya 63 rules that a nun who takes into the Order a Sikkhamānā who has *not* been instructed in the six precepts for two years commits a Pācittiya offence. Pācittiya 64 adds the extra condition that a Sikkhamānā must be approved by the Order.

⁴⁶Admission to this probationary period is also formalised by a legal act (*kamma*), as may be concluded from the history of Pācittiya 63 of the *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga* (Vin IV 318f.; cf. BhīPr, p. 137).

⁴⁷The progress of a woman up to the attainment of nun’s status is thus as follows: (1) A lay member (*upāsikā*) becomes a Sāmaṇerī through the Pabbajjā. (2) As soon as a Sāmaṇerī is 18 years old, she may ask for permission from the Order of nuns, to begin the two year probationary period. The completion of the probationary period is the prerequisite for admission to

the Order of nuns on the Order of monks particularly clearly, as it guaranteed the influence of the monks on the admission of a woman to the Buddhist Order. The final decision whether to receive a woman into the Buddhist Order lay with the monks.

The six precepts to be obeyed by the Sikkhamānā during the probationary period correspond in content to four of the five *sīlā*⁴⁸ to be adhered to by lay members: to refrain from killing living creatures, from theft, from falsehood, and from the consumption of intoxicating drink. In addition the Sikkhamānā was not to be unchaste or to eat at the wrong time.⁴⁹

It is remarkable at this point that the Buddha, at the very moment of granting the establishment of a nuns' Order, uses a term (*sikkhamānā*) without giving any further explanation, although he could not possibly have used it before. The procedure by which a woman became a Sikkhamānā and the rules she was to obey during this time are described in the history of Pācittiya 63 in the *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga*, but not at this point in the *Cullavagga*. So one may presume that this particular *garudhamma* stems from the time when the Buddhist Order of nuns was already a permanent part of the Buddhist community. It is possible that after the death of the Buddha there was a tendency within

the Upasampadā. Now the Sāmaṇerī is given the title Sikkhamānā. If she breaks any of the six precepts during the probationary period, then (2) begins all over again. (3) After completion of the probationary period the Sikkhamānā asks the Order of nuns for Upasampadā. (4) After Upasampadā by the Order of nuns, she is taken by all the nuns to the Order of monks, where she (or rather another nun on her behalf) requests Upasampadā again. Only after the Order of monks has given her Upasampadā, is she a fully-fledged member of the nuns' Order, a Bhikkhunī.

⁴⁸Cf. also Nyanatiloka, 1983, p. 209.

⁴⁹These six precepts are listed in Pācittiya 63 of the *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga* (Vin IV 319). They are formulated as follows: *pāṇātipātā veramaṇiṃ dve vassāni avittikkamasamādānaṃ samādiyāmi, adinnādānā veramaṇiṃ ... samādiyāmi, abrahmacariyā veramaṇiṃ ... samādiyāmi, musāvādā veramaṇiṃ ... samādiyāmi, surāmerayaṃ na jjamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇiṃ ... samādiyāmi, vikālabhojanā veramaṇiṃ ... samādiyāmi*. Cf. also Horner, 1930, pp. 138ff.

the community of nuns to abolish this extra probationary period for nuns. At this, the more conservative members of the order may have felt compelled to give added weight to its institution by giving the ruling in the *garudhammas* the authority of the Buddha's words.

Garudhammas 7 and 8 refer to personal relationships between monks and nuns.

Garudhama 7: "A nun is in no way allowed to insult or disparage a monk."⁵⁰ This *garudhamma* corresponds to Pācittiya 52 of the *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga* (Vin IV 309). Here, according to Horner,⁵¹ reference is made to the conflict between the "group of six nuns" and Upāli, described in the history of Pācittiya 52 of the *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga*. Thus it is most probable that this *garudhamma* is of a later date when the Order of nuns already existed. On the other hand, the sequence of the origin of individual parts of the Vinaya-piṭaka cannot be clearly determined. Thus, if Oldenberg is correct in his assumption that the histories of the individual rules in the Pāṭimokkha originated at roughly the same time as the *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga*, then Horner's argument is invalid. The result of Horner's reflections can nevertheless be viewed as correct, because insulting or disparaging behaviour toward monks by nuns would not have required an extra ruling in the Pāṭimokkha if it had already been regulated in the *garudhammas*, which according to tradition had been laid down previously. This is particularly unlikely given the fact that an offence against a *garudhamma* entails a considerably harsher punishment (namely fourteen days *mānatta*) than neglect of a Pācittiya rule.

Garudhamma 8: "From today, for nuns, speaking⁵² to monks is

⁵⁰Vin II 255: *na bhikkhuniyā kenaci pariṇāyena bhikkhu akkositabbo paribhāsitaḥ*. Horner, 1930, points out that there is no rule for monks which forbids them to insult nuns. Insulting a nun by a monk is only mentioned in *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V, pp. 70f. (cf. Horner, 1930, p. 126 and note 2), where it is given as one of ten reasons for suspension from participation in the recitation of the Pāṭimokkha.

⁵¹1930, p. 158.

⁵²Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, 1885, p. 324, n. 4. translate *vacanapatha* by

forbidden, but for monks, speaking to nuns is not forbidden.”⁵³ This *garudhamma* corresponds in content partly to Pācittiya 95 of the *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga* (Vin IV 344): *yā pana bhikkhunī anokāsakataṃ bhikkhuṃ pañhaṃ puccheyya, pācittiyā ti* (“A nun who puts a question to a monk who has not given her permission [to do so, commits a] Pācittiya [offence]”).

On the one hand, the *garudhammas* separate the nuns’ Order from the monks’ Order, as they are only valid for nuns; on the other hand they integrate the two Orders, in that they regulate the personal relationship of the nuns to the monks.⁵⁴ They are thus of fundamental importance in the evaluation of the position of the *Bhikkhunīs* in relation to that of the *Bhikkhus*. In the *garudhammas* “the dependence of the *Bhikṣunīsaṅgha* on the *Bhikṣusaṅgha* is at times quite bluntly expressed”.⁵⁵ All eight *garudhammas* express an aspect of the personal subordination of individual nuns to the monks.⁵⁶ Hermann Oldenberg, in fact, sees the significance of the *Bhikkhunīsaṅgha* within the early Buddhist community as defined through the *garudhammas*.⁵⁷ He is perhaps not going too far when he says,⁵⁸ “As the wife is under the guardianship of the husband, the mother under the guardianship of her sons, so the Order of nuns is under the guardianship of the Order of monks.” Although the *Bhikkhunīsaṅgha* is in itself a completely

“admonishing”. Oldenberg, 1959, p. 345, gives reasons why *vacanapatha* here cannot be taken to mean that a nun is not allowed to speak to a monk at all. He maintains that what is meant is that she is not allowed to call a monk to account for an offence. As against that, the sequence of addressing one another was apparently dependent on social hierarchy and thus “speaking to” in the narrower sense may be intended here.

⁵³Vin II 255: *ajjatagge ovaṭo bhikkhunīnaṃ bhikkhūsu vacanapatho, anovaṭo bhikkhūnaṃ bhikkhunīsu vacanapatho*.

⁵⁴See also *BhīPr*, p. 118.

⁵⁵*BhīPr*, p. 8. Cf. also Oldenberg, 1959, p. 345.

⁵⁶*BhīPr*, p. 8.

⁵⁷Cf. Oldenberg, 1959, p. 347.

⁵⁸Oldenberg, 1959, p. 343.

independent institution, as a whole it is subordinate to the Bhikkhusaṃgha. Roth even suspects that the *garudhammas* were in fact aimed at discouraging women from entering the Order.⁵⁹ This interpretation, however, does not seem appropriate to the historical situation. When the Buddha, contrary to contemporary custom, admits women into his Order, he is on new spiritual ground, which demands particular consideration for the views of “the people”.

When Mahāpajāpati has accepted the eight *garudhammas* without hesitation, Ānanda conveys this to the Buddha. It is only then that the Buddha expresses his misgivings about the admission of women into the Buddhist Order to Ānanda, and establishes the consequent importance of keeping the eight *garudhammas*.⁶⁰ Before this, the founder of the religion had explained the consequences of his assent to the establishment of an Order of nuns thus:⁶¹

⁵⁹BhīVin(Mā-L), p. xxxi.

⁶⁰Vin II 256 (Cv X.1.6) *seyyathāpi Ānanda puriso mahat taḷākassa paṭigacc’ eva ālim bandheyya yāvad eva udakassa anatikkamanāya, evam eva kho Ānanda mayā paṭigacc’ eva bhikkhunīnaṃ aṭṭha garudhammā paññattā yāvajīvaṃ anatikkamanāyā ti* (“Ānanda, just as a man, looking ahead, builds a dam for a great [water] reservoir, so that the water does not overflow, so have I, with foresight, laid down for nuns eight *garudhammā* which are to be kept for life”).

⁶¹Vin II 256 (Cv X.1.6) *sace Ānanda nālabhissa mātugāmo tathāgatappavedite ... pabbajjaṃ ciraṭṭhitikaṃ Ānanda brahmacariyaṃ abhaviṣṣa, vassasahassaṃ saddhammo tiṭṭheyya. yato ca kho Ānanda mātugāmo tathāgatappavedite ... pabbajjito, na dāni Ānanda brahmacariyaṃ ciraṭṭhitikaṃ bhavissati, pañc’ eva dāni Ānanda vassasatāni saddhammo ṭhassati. seyyathāpi Ānanda yāni kānici kulāni bahutthikāni appapurisakāni tāni suppadhamśiyāni honti corehi kumbhatthenakehi, evam eva kho Ānanda yasmim̐ dhammavinaye labhati mātugāmo ... pabbajjaṃ na taṃ brahmacariyaṃ ciraṭṭhitikaṃ hoti. seyyathāpi Ānanda sampanne sālikkhette setaṭṭhikā nāma rogaḷāti nipatati evan taṃ sālikkhettaṃ na ciraṭṭhitikaṃ hoti, evam eva kho Ānanda yasmim̐ dhammavinaye labhati mātugāmo ... pabbajjaṃ na taṃ brahmacariyaṃ ciraṭṭhitikaṃ hoti. seyyathāpi Ānanda sampanne ucchukkhette mañjeṭṭhikā nāma rogaḷāti nipatati evan taṃ ucchukkhettaṃ na ciraṭṭhitikaṃ hoti, evam eva kho Ānanda yasmim̐ dhammavinaye labhati mātugāmo ... pabbajjaṃ na taṃ brahmacariyaṃ*

“If, Ānanda, women had not received the Pabbajjā in the *dhamma* and *vinaya* expounded by the Tathāgata, the Brahmā path would have lasted long. The *saddhamma* would have lasted 1000 years. And now, Ānanda, that women have received the Pabbajjā in the *dhamma* and *vinaya* expounded by the Tathāgata, the Brahmā path will not last long, Ānanda. The *saddhamma* will last only 500 years.⁶²

“Just as families with many women and few men are easily overpowered by thieves, so the Brahmā path in whose *dhamma* and *vinaya* women receive the Pabbajjā will not last long.

“Just as when a disease known as mildew affects a whole rice field, that field will not last long, so the Brahmā path in whose *dhamma* and *vinaya* women receive the Pabbajjā will not last long.

“Just as when a disease known as blight affects a whole field of sugar cane, that sugar cane field will not last long, so the Brahmā path in whose *dhamma* and *vinaya* women receive the Pabbajjā will not last long.”

Women are equated with disease and their admission into the Buddhist Order allegedly brings about an earlier decline of the Buddhist teaching. The Buddha says this, not as the reason he is against the establishment of the Order of nuns,⁶³ but only after the deed has already been done.

These statements are difficult to reconcile with the fact that the Buddha had without hesitation admitted that women had the ability to attain Enlightenment and had in the end assented to the establishment of an Order of nuns. Here on the one hand the ambivalence becomes clear which reflects the currents of a time of radical spiritual change and on the other hand this passage illustrates the personal conflict in which the founder of the religion may have found himself. His affection for his

ciraṭṭhitikaṃ hoti.

⁶²The numbers given are surely not to be taken literally. Probably, in fact, long periods of time are meant (cf. Horner, 1930, p. 105, n. 3). No time is given in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā* (Schmidt, 1993), 4a2/3.

⁶³However, *Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā* (Schmidt, 1993), 4a2/3.

foster mother led him to wish to protect her interests but also led him into conflict with his wider social milieu, as the decision to include women in the community of the Order was not usual at that time.

Beginning from the assumption that the events recorded in the *Cullavagga* did in fact take place in this or in a similar way, an attempt has been made to formulate a uniform assessment of women on the part of the Buddha.

B.C. Law takes the view that the rights which were granted to the nuns within the Saṃgha were not the result of the liberal attitude of the Buddha, but that on the contrary they had been hard won by the nuns themselves. He starts from the assumption that the Buddha himself was against the establishment of the Order of nuns,⁶⁴ but had to bow to the persistent entreaties of the women. At the same time, Law believes it probable that the Buddhist Order of nuns was only established after the Buddha's death.⁶⁵ This interpretation, however, is not supported by a critical examination of the texts.

In several more recent works on women in early Buddhism it has been unanimously established that in comparison to his contemporaries, the Buddha himself took a progressive attitude toward women.⁶⁶ As the idea of the admission of women into ascetic communities was nothing new,⁶⁷ the decision to establish an Order of nuns was not so exceptional. However, as Horner states, the Buddha gave a strong further impulse to a new development of his time.⁶⁸ In addition, Horner points

⁶⁴Cf. Law, 1927, p. 66.

⁶⁵Cf. Law, 1927, p. i.

⁶⁶Thus Horner, 1930; Kabilsingh, 1984; Pitzer-Reyl, 1984; and Jordt, 1988, pp. 31-39.

⁶⁷There were a great many Jain nuns living in Vesālī, where the events leading to the admission of women into the Buddhist Order took place, according to Horner, 1930, p. 108. This statement, however, she only substantiates through one passage, *Jātaka* 536 (cf. Horner, 1930, p. 108, n. 5). On parallels in the traditions regarding the establishment of Orders of Jain and Buddhist nuns cf. Horner, 1930, p. 102.

⁶⁸Cf. Horner, 1930, p. 108; thus also Pitzer-Reyl, 1984, p. 20.

out that apart from this point in the *Cullavagga* there are no further proofs in the Vinaya that the Buddha was originally against the establishment of an Order of nuns.⁶⁹ Another conjecture expressed in the literature suggests that the reservations of the Buddha regarding the establishment of a nuns' Order was due to his realistic appraisal of the situation of women living the homeless life.⁷⁰ It was clear to him that women belonging to no household would be deprived of protection. Transferral of this protecting role to the monks would have meant that they would have had to take on within the Saṃgha the very role which they had just decided to give up by joining the Order to concentrate on their spiritual development. Although early Buddhism did not differentiate between men and women regarding the ability to achieve Enlightenment, in other areas Kajiyama concludes that social discrimination against women was predominant.⁷¹

As has been shown, the passage examined here contains eloquent but partially contradictory information regarding the position of women in early Buddhism. On the one hand, the acknowledgement that women, like men, are able to attain Enlightenment illustrates that the Buddha did not discriminate between the sexes in this respect. Such a specific assessment is fundamental for a definition of the position of women within a community in which the declared goal of each member is the attainment of Enlightenment (escape from the cycle of rebirth). In addition, the result of the events described in the first section of Chapter Ten of the *Cullavagga*, that is, the establishment of the nuns' Order by the Buddha, establishes that the founder of the religion was prepared to take into account the concept of equality of the sexes provided for in Buddhism, documented here by acknowledgement of the full ability of women to attain Enlightenment.

On the other hand, the *garudhammas* make it clear that a nun is

⁶⁹Cf. Horner, 1930, p. 105.

⁷⁰Cf. Kabilsingh 1984, pp. 24f. and cf. Kajiyama, 1982, pp. 53-70, see especially p. 60.

⁷¹Cf. Kajiyama, p. 70, and Jordt, 1988, p. 34.

always below a monk in social rank. In fact, these particular rules for nuns also ensure that the nuns are guaranteed male protection and knowledgeable instruction. Nevertheless, this is outweighed by the aspect of the control exercised by the monks. The nuns were usually subject to two authorities, the monks to only one, and the final judgement always rested with the monks. Although the *Bhikkhunīsaṃgha* was conceived as a completely independent institution in itself, as a whole, nevertheless, it was subordinate to the *Bhikkhusaṃgha*. The traditional ideas of the relations between the sexes were thus taken over into the life of the Buddhist Order.

It must be added here that the Buddha was probably not able to free himself entirely from the idea of woman as temptress and so did not consent unreservedly to the establishment of a nuns' Order.⁷² According to Pitzer-Reyl, an assessment of the position of women in early Buddhism is impossible without taking account of the rule of celibacy, which is fundamental to the Buddhist community (*Pārājika 1* of the *Bhikkhuvibhaṅga*). As Buddhism is a religion with basically ascetic characteristics, it partly took over from Brahmanism the traditional view that identified woman with a sexuality hostile to Enlightenment (being a distraction from the religious goal).⁷³ The Buddha evidently saw himself and the Order he founded in the context of his wider social milieu and in particular within the context of the other religious communities which originated at that time. The Buddhist Order was founded in a time of radical spiritual change and Buddhism was but one of many newly established ascetic religious communities. Thus, while it was possible for the Buddha to take the risk of disseminating his new ideas, he must also have been aware that the new would only last if it first gained the acceptance of his contemporaries.

An added complication was that the Buddhist Order had been conceived as dependent on the good will of a lay community and was thus in competition with the other religious communities established at

⁷²Cf. Also Kabilsingh, 1984, pp. 25f., and Pitzer-Reyl, 1984, p. 20.

⁷³Cf. Pitzer-Reyl, 1984, pp. 16f.

the time. Against this background, the hesitation of the Buddha over the establishment of an Order of nuns is also understandable. On the one hand, he wanted to take into account the concept of equality provided for in Buddhism, and in addition to that there was probably the particular obligation he felt towards his (foster) mother, yet on the other hand, the demands of the wider social milieu could not be ignored. Many passages in the Vinaya indicate that the Buddha was an innovator as well as being a conservative person.

According to tradition, a number of the rules of the Suttavibhaṅga were only drawn up because “the people” complained about the behaviour of the monks or nuns.⁷⁴ These complaints are, however, often described as based on misunderstandings and misinterpretations on the part of the laity. Nevertheless the Buddha always reacted by laying down a rule, thus complying with the wishes of “the people”. This conformism of the Buddha, documented in the Vinaya, confirms the conjecture that it was his thinking with regard to the understanding of the lay members which was the cause of his hesitation as well as for the subordination of the nuns to the monks. It is possible that he was afraid that if he accorded equal status to women within his Order, it would cost him many members and thus endanger the very survival of the Buddhist Order. Bearing in mind that Buddhism was only one among many contemporary ascetic groups this is more than probable. Nevertheless, while interpreting the histories of the Pāṭimokkha rules, it must be borne in mind that they are probably more recent than the corresponding rules themselves. Often the whole history only represents a “schematic setting for the content of the formula”.⁷⁵ This leads to the conjecture that the histories of the individual rules of the Pāṭimokkha contained in the Suttavibhaṅga arose for the most part from the need of

⁷⁴Thus Pārājika 2 and Saṃghādisesa 7 of the *Bhikkhuvibhaṅga*, Saṃghādisesa 1, Nissaggiya-Pācittiya 1, 11, and 12 of the *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga*. Cf. also Hecker, 1977, p. 95.

⁷⁵BhīPr, p. 185.

the monks and nuns to have a historical basis for each rule.⁷⁶

The passage examined here contains clear indications that the legend of the establishment of the Order of nuns did not originate entirely from events which actually took place. In view of the chronological succession of the events described, the text seems much more likely to have been extended gradually, reflecting the concerns of various “editors”. According to Horner, it was the men who handed down the texts. It was therefore quite possible that they neglected to transmit some of the passages which referred to women. Only events which were so unusual that they could not be omitted were handed down. She explains,⁷⁷ “It should be remembered too, that monks edited the sayings attributed to Gotama and they would naturally try to minimise the importance which he gave to women.” Possibly the legend recounted in this section of the *Cullavagga* may be seen as a reflection of such a development. Thus it is also uncertain whether the Buddha himself demanded so complete a subordination of nuns to monks as is laid down in the eight *garudhammas*.

There was a time lapse between the death of the Buddha⁷⁸ and the final codification of the Vinaya. As the Buddha left his community without a spiritual leader, many problems arose for the then leaderless Saṃgha. Often the rules for behaviour laid down by the Buddha were inadequate to meet new cases of conflict. Therefore new rules had to be drawn up. These rules were also attributed to the Buddha, the sole “lawmaker” in his lifetime,⁷⁹ in order to prevent any doubt as to their binding character. It is probable that during this period, elements of a patriarchal system gained greater acceptance, altering the concept of equality originally provided for in Buddhism.

⁷⁶Cf. BhīPr, p. 185. Dieter Schlingloff, 1964, p. 538, takes this view: “In one story or another memories of actual incidents in the community may have been reflected. However, most of the stories are pure invention in order to give reasons for the regulations.”

⁷⁷Horner, 1930, p. 105.

⁷⁸Cf. Bechert, 1991.

⁷⁹Hecker, 1977, p. 90.

It is possible that the compilation of the *garudhammas* to hand constitutes a later insertion into the Vinaya, which is more recent than the rules corresponding to the *garudhammas* in the Pācittiya section of the Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga. Pointers toward this are the inconsistency in the sequence of *garudhammas* (see *garudhamma* 5 in particular); the unsystematic order of the eight *garudhammas* in the *Cullavagga*; the difference in the sequence of *garudhammas* in the traditions of other Buddhist schools,⁸⁰ as well as the parallels both literal and in content in the Pācittiya section of the Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga. It is therefore possible that the compilation of the eight *garudhammas* is not based on an original conception but is the product of a process of development. It may be assumed that some of the *garudhammas* examined here stem from the time when the Buddhist Order of nuns was already a fixed component of the Buddhist community. Possibly after the death of the Buddha there was a tendency within the nuns' community to abolish the additional rules for nuns, or at the least, to mitigate them, whereupon conservative members of the Order may have felt compelled to give them added weight by establishing them as the *garudhammas*.

ABBREVIATIONS

BD	I.B. Horner (transl.), <i>The Book of the Discipline, Vinaya Piṭaka</i> Vols. 1–6, London 1938–66.
BhīPr	Ernst Waldschmidt, <i>Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins</i> , Leipzig 1926 (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, 3).
BhīVin(Mā-L)	Gustav Roth, ed. <i>Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya including Bhikṣuṇī-Prakīrṇaka of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin</i> , Patna 1970 (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series, 12).
Cv	<i>Cullavagga</i> .
Mv	<i>Mahāvagga</i> .

⁸⁰A further indication is also the direct link of the *garudhammas* with the *Bhikkhunīvibhaṅga* in the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin. Roth explains (BhīVin(Mā-L), p. xxx), "This throws a clear light upon the tendency which has been observed in regard to the arrangement and the composition of our Bhi-Vin(Mā-L), the tendency being to supply a complete set of the Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya as a whole which is consistent in itself."

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Tuvaṭṭati/tuvaṭṭeti Again

One of the rare *deśī*-words in Pāli, *tuvaṭṭati*,¹ is discussed by W.B. Bollée in his article “Notes on Middle Indo-Aryan Vocabulary II”.² His article follows one by Ludwig Alsdorf,³ who discovered this word in the Aśokan edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada. Previously, the words of the relevant sentence (P/Q) *e kilamṭe siyāti*⁴ *te<na> ugaca saṃcalitaviye tuvaṭṭaviye etaviye vā* at Dhauli had been segmented as *tu vaṭṭaviye*. However, as L. Alsdorf rightly pointed out, *tu* (“but”) is used only in the Gīrnār version, while all other versions have *cu*. This, however, raises a semantic problem concerning the newly discovered Aśokan word *tuvaṭṭaviye*, which Alsdorf discussed at some length, using the evidence found in Jain texts. To this Bollée added the relevant Theravāda references.

In both Buddhist and Jain literature, *tuvaṭṭati/tuvaṭṭeti* and *tuyaṭṭāi/tuyaṭṭei* are usually and correctly assumed to mean “to lie down”. There is no etymology, however, to support this. The traditional derivation as given by Jain commentators is a strange, even desperate, attempt to Sanskritize this word as *tvagvartayati* (“das drollige Sanskrit-Äquivalent”),⁵ which seems to be due to purely phonetic considerations (“Lauteschieberei”), but of course, once created, the word almost necessarily developed a semantic life of its own. The second part of the compound must have invited commentators to assume a meaning such as “lying down [and] rolling from one side to the other”.

Unfortunately, the verb *tuvaṭṭaviye* stands next to *saṃcalitaviye* in the Aśokan inscriptions. Although Alsdorf also clearly saw that the Jain parallels are not sufficient to establish the exact meaning of *tuvaṭṭaviye*

¹See von Hinüber, 2001, § 72.

²Bollée, 1983–84, pp. 112 foll.

³Alsdorf, 1968.

⁴On *siyāti* being one word, see von Hinüber, 2001, § 437.

⁵Alsdorf, 1968, p. 18 = 478.

as used by Aśoka,⁶ he nevertheless succumbed to the temptation to follow the Jain “etymology” in part and assumed a meaning such as “sich rühren”, or “be active” as Bollée translated Alsdorf. With commendable caution, W. B. Bollée draws attention to the Pāli evidence not discussed by Alsdorf, pointing out the difficulties rather than giving solutions.

The problem of *tuvaṭṭati*, however, was not put to rest, but taken up again recently in an article by H. Tieken, who reviewed the evidence once more in his study “Middle Indic *tuvaṭṭa*”.⁷ Tieken is certainly to be commended for assembling all relevant passages from Jain and Buddhist literature and placing them side by side with the Aśokan inscriptions, thus making it easy to view all the material.

Tieken’s argument begins with Aśoka and with Alsdorf’s opinion concerning the meaning of *tuvaṭṭaviye*, to which he adds his own derivation from Sanskrit *ati-vṛt-*, suggesting it means “to move excessively”. According to the Poona Dictionary, however, the meaning of *ati-vṛt* is rather “to go beyond”, etc., as we would expect. The phonetic development postulated by Tieken is not an easy one: “loss of the initial *a-* in *ati-* and labialization of the vowel representing *-ṛ-*”.⁸ The vowel “labialized”, however, is the *-i-* in *ati-*, while *-ṛ-* would develop quite regularly into *-a-* in *(a)tu-va-*.

Without taking into consideration either the semantic or the phonetic difficulties, Tieken tries to read his interpretation into the Jain and Buddhist texts. As is well known from previous discussions, the verb occurs in Jain texts, e.g., in such stock phrases as *parakkamejja vā ciṭṭhejja vā nisīejja vā tuyaṭṭejja vā* (“should exert himself, stand, sit, lie down”).⁹ As Tieken noted, this is in stark contrast to the assumed

⁶Alsdorf, 1974, p. 19 = 479.

⁷Tieken, 1996.

⁸Tieken, 1996, p. 17.

⁹It seems to have escaped the attention of scholars that the meaning of *tuyaṭṭai* is also confirmed indirectly by the four *iriyāpatha* of the Buddhists: *gamana, ṭhāna, nisajja, seyya* (CPD s.v. *iriyāpatha* 2., e.g., S V 78,3).

meaning of the word in Aśokan inscriptions. He therefore turns to the Theravādins for help.

The word occurs in Vinaya contexts for monks and for nuns. The following is said with reference to monks: ... *na ekamañce tuvattitabbaṃ na ekattharaṇā tuvattitabbaṃ ... yo tuvattēyya, āpatti dukkaṭassa*, (“one should not lie down on one bed, one should not lie down under one cover ... whoever lies down [commits] a *dukkāṭa* offence”).¹⁰ This rule was adapted for nuns and incorporated into the Bhikkhunī-Pātimokkha as Pācittiya XXXI,¹¹ *yā pana bhikkhuniyo dve ekamañce tuvattēyyuṃ, pācittiyam* (“whatever two nuns lie down on one bed [commit] a Pācittiya offence”).¹² The commentary in the Suttavibhaṅga explains this as *ekāya nipannāya aparā nipajjati* (“after one has lain down, another lies down”).¹³ As Bollée points out, this gives a very precise meaning for *tuvattati* in a relatively early text. Although it is difficult to date older Pāli literature with any precision, the composition of the Bhikkhunī-Pātimokkha can hardly be later than Aśoka, thus pointing to rather early usage for the verb. Later usages in Pāli, such as *sayane ’han tuvattāmi*,¹⁴ continue the old meaning.

This would stand in the way of Tieken’s understanding *tuvattati* as any sort of “bodily activity”. Therefore, he has to back up his argument with “the accusation made by outsiders with regard to the laxity of the monks and nuns. On the basis of this passage it may be argued that *tuvatta-* ‘to show excessive activity’ has actually found its way into the canon as a colloquial expression for having sex.” This argument, however, is categorically ruled out by the Vinaya. For, as explained *in extenso et ad nauseam* in the commentary on Pārājika I,¹⁵ having sex with anybody or anything results in immediate expulsion from the

¹⁰Vin II 124.10–13.

¹¹This rule is discussed in Hüsken. 1997, pp. 194 foll.; cf. Pācittiya XXXII.

¹²Vin IV 289.1** foll.

¹³Vin IV 289.5.

¹⁴Ap 137.18.

¹⁵Vin III 28.23–40.25.

order. Here, the infraction is only a *dukkata* offence for monks, corresponding as usual to a *pācittiya* for nuns, so that we must follow the commentary in the Suttavibhaṅga, which takes *tuvaṭṭeyya* to mean *nipajjati*. Moreover, Pācittiya XXXI for nuns also corresponds to Pācittiya VI for monks: *yo pana bhikkhu mātugāmena sahaseyyaṃ kappeyya, pācittiyaṃ* (“Whatever monk should share a bed with a woman [commits] a Pācittiya”).¹⁶ This underlines the fact, if it is necessary to do so, that simply lying down is, as expected, an offence.

Consequently, there is no way to explain away the meaning “to lie down” for *tuvaṭṭati*. This obviously leaves us with a problem in the Aśokan inscriptions. There does not seem to be, however, much room or even much need to deviate from the usual meaning of *tuvaṭṭati*, which is amply supported by the texts. It should be kept in mind that it was only because the verbs *saṃcalitaviye* and *etaviye* stood next to *tuvaṭṭitaviye* that Alsdorf was led to assume a meaning involving movement for *tuvaṭṭitaviye* after a rather superficial look at the Jain evidence. The closer examinations made by both Bollée and Tieken show that the fairly rich evidence in Jain and Buddhist literature should not and cannot be overruled by one single passage in an inscription that is still poorly understood despite the effort made and the progress achieved by Alsdorf. He even had to reckon, probably correctly, with mistakes by the engraver in this very passage.

What then is said in the inscriptions at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa in the relevant sentence? It clearly begins with *e kilaṃte siyāti* “who is exhausted ...”. Then it seems to recommend that this exhausted official should do three things described by three *participia necessitatis*, namely *saṃcalitaviye* – *tuvaṭṭitaviye* – *etaviye*. Contrary to the discussion so far, only *tuvaṭṭitaviye* is clear and comprehensible: An exhausted official was simply given the choice of doing what is quite natural, to take some rest. In a similar situation, even the Buddha said shortly before his death: *kilanto ’smi Cundaka nipajjissāmi* (“I am exhausted, Cundaka, I

¹⁶Vin IV 19,31** foll.

want to lie down”).¹⁷ The exact connotation of *saṃ-cal-* and *saṃ-car-* is not known. In Sanskrit they mean respectively, “to quiver, to move away” and “to meet, to approach, to practise”.¹⁸ Nor is the exact connotation of *etaviye* known. For **etabba* is unattested in canonical Pāli texts, and *etavya* seems to be rare in Sanskrit. In both languages it would be usual to use *gantavya/gantabba*. Thus research somehow seems to have moved in the wrong direction, investigating the obvious and avoiding the obscure.

One thing, however, is made perfectly clear from the way this problem was approached. It is neither wise nor sound methodology to start from an assumed meaning in a single passage in an epigraphic text that is moreover fairly obscure, then try to explain (if not distort) the semantics of words that are well attested in literature.

O. v. Hinüber

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¹⁷D II 134.26.

¹⁸See for example Monier-Williams, 1899, s.vv.

Playing with Fire: The *pratītyasamutpāda* from the Perspective of Vedic Thought

The present paper is an attempt to look at the law of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) from the perspective of earlier Vedic thought, rather than that of the Buddhist texts and tradition. This perspective reveals several striking similarities between the Buddha's chain and the Vedic ideas of creation.

These similarities are reflected in the general structure of both processes and, in many instances, in particular notions denoting their stages. I am, nevertheless, well aware that in their specific contexts the Vedic creation and the Buddha's *pratītyasamutpāda* displayed a whole gamut of distinct meanings. I am also aware of the fundamental difference between these two processes: the former (the process of the creation of the world) is regarded as desirable; the latter, which leads to suffering, is not.

In my analysis I shall work with the classical formulation of the *pratītyasamutpāda*, consisting of twelve links. I am aware of the existence of different formulations in the Pāli Canon,¹ but taking all of them into consideration goes beyond the scope of this paper and needs a closer collaboration between Vedic and Buddhist scholars.

I am going to show the most important Vedic equivalents of each link and the main lines along which the Buddha's reasoning may have gone. Since I am not a Buddhologist, I do not attempt to analyze here all the meanings which have been ascribed to these links in Buddhism; I restrict myself to their principal and most general meanings.

I would also like to stress that I am aware that the interpretation of the *pratītyasamutpāda* as a polemic against the Vedic cosmogony tackles only one aspect of this huge problem; as the Buddha said to Ānanda: "This conditioned origination is profound and it appears pro-

¹See Mejer 1994, pp. 136–49.

found”² (*gambhīro cāyam ānanda paṭiccasamuppādo gambhīrāvabhāso ca*). The investigation of all the other questions connected with the understanding of the Buddha’s chain remains within the scope of Buddhology.

Generalities

On the most general level, the Vedic cosmogony and the *pratītyasamutpāda* describe the creation of the conditions for subject-object cognition, the process of this cognition, and its nature, which, in both descriptions, is represented by the image of fire.³

Inspired by Prof. Richard Gombrich’s investigation,⁴ I am inclined to believe that this similarity is neither accidental, nor caused by the Buddha’s inability to free himself from the mental paradigms of his culture. I would rather argue that he formulated the *pratītyasamutpāda* as a polemic against Vedic thought.⁵ Through the identification of the creative process with the process that leads only to suffering, he rejected the Brāhmaṇic way of thinking in a truly spectacular way.

In Vedic cosmogony, the cognitive process is undertaken by the self-cognizing Absolute. The reflexive character of this process is expressed by the word *ātman*, which denotes both the Absolute itself, the conveyor of the cosmogonic process, and the forms assumed by the Absolute in this process: the world, the human being, the inner Self, and finally the fire altar, which expresses those manifestations on the ritual level. The negation of the *ātman*’s existence postulated in the Buddha’s doctrine of *anattā* leads to the conclusion that the whole Vedic cosmogony is based on a false assumption and its acceptance inevitably leads only to suffering.

²D II 55, Gombrich’s translation (in Gombrich 1996, p. 46).

³See Reat 1990, p. 328.

⁴Gombrich 1996; Gombrich 1992, pp. 159–78.

⁵This may have been done not by the Buddha personally, but by the authors who composed the Pāli Canon. In such a case, they would be the ones who disputed with the Veda. Who disputed is less important here than the fact that there was such a dispute.

The character of the similarities between the Vedic creation and the *pratītyasamutpāda* enables us to propose a tentative reconstruction of the line of the Buddha's argument, which consisted in the redefinition of Brāhmaṇic notions and ideas.⁶ Although the Buddha rejected the existence of the *ātman*, he did not reject the *ātman*'s transformations, but in formulating his *pratītyasamutpāda* he restricted their meaning so as to make them denote the process of human entanglement in empirical existence. This process is deprived of any absolute grounds that could serve as its justification, so the best thing that can be done is to stop it as soon as possible.

A general example could be provided by the famous declaration of the Buddha that in this "fathom-long body" (*vyāmamate kaḷevare*) is the world, its origin, its cessation, and the path which leads to its cessation.⁷ The Sanskrit term *vyāmamātra* appears in ŚB 1.2.5.14 denoting the measure of the altar. It has the shape of a man and is not only the counterpart of the sacrificer but also the manifested counterpart of the Creator (Prajāpati), and his body is understood as being identical with the cosmos within which all the cosmogonic changes take place. If we deny the existence of the Creator, these changes can occur only in a human being.

The Vedic cosmogonic descriptions begin already in the Ṛigveda, which constitutes the basis for later Brāhmaṇic philosophy. Both the fundamental model of creation and the characteristic way of describing it were formulated here. Creation is described in metaphors which have many semantic layers and allow for simultaneous expression of all aspects of the creative process understood as the cognitive

⁶See Gombrich 1996, pp. 31ff., 42; Gombrich 1992, pp. 162ff.

⁷S I 62: *api khvāham āvuso imasmiññeva vyāmamate kaḷevare saññimhi samanake lokam ca paññāpemi lokasamudayaṃ ca lokanirodham ca lokanirodhagāminiṃ ca paṭipadan-ti.*

transformations of Agni, fire.⁸ The famous Nāsadīya (RV 10.129) assembles the Ṛgvedic cosmogonic ideas into a general model and introduces a new kind of description which uses not only metaphors but also abstract terminology.⁹

The model of creation proposed by the Nāsadīya constitutes an important starting point for later philosophic speculations. The essentials of the process change neither in ŚB nor in the oldest Upaniṣads. The differences lie mainly in its description. In early ŚB, the cognitive character of the cosmogony is expressed in metaphors, the metaphor of eating food and of the sexual act;¹⁰ in later ŚB and the early Upaniṣads, descriptions using abstract terminology appear more and more frequently, although metaphors are also in use.

It goes beyond the scope of this paper to analyze all the reasons for this continuity in cosmogonic conceptions, but two of them seem to be evident. The first is the Vedic assumption about the basic character of the Ṛgveda: later literature constitutes its commentary, which has to explain the details of Ṛgvedic thought rather than to formulate new metaphysical postulates. The second is the possible repetition, under the guidance of a spiritual teacher, of the mystic experience of Ṛgvedic poets (*kavī ṛṣī*), during which the riddle of the world's creation and existence was solved.

It is possible to find the references to various Vedic texts (RV, ŚB, BU, AU, TU and CU) in the *pratītyasamutpāda*. It seems that the Buddha chose those cosmogonic descriptions which met two conditions: first, they explicitly express the cosmogony as transformations of the *ātman*; second, they preserve their cognitive meaning, even if they are taken out of the Vedic context.¹¹

⁸This is the main thesis of my book "Kosmogonia Rygwedy: Myśl i metafora" ("The Cosmogony of the Ṛgveda: Thought and Metaphor") forthcoming this year (2000).

⁹See Jurewicz 1995a, pp. 141–51, Jurewicz 1995b, pp. 109–28.

¹⁰See Jurewicz 1997, pp. 31–46.

¹¹See below on, *vijñāna*, *nāmarūpa*, the limitation of the number of the

At the same time, it seems that the Buddha (perhaps for polemical purposes) aimed greatly to simplify the Vedic ideas; the most important result of this is that he let go the cyclical character of the process: the *pratītyasamutpāda* is a simple, linear process.¹² And finally, in formulating the notions which denote the successive links of the chain, he used abstract terminology instead of metaphors (which he made much use of in his own explanations).¹³

We could say then, a bit paradoxically, that in this chain the Buddha extracted the essence of Vedic cosmogony and expressed it in explicit language.

1. *avidyā*

The actual term *avidyā* does not appear in Vedic cosmogony. But the ability to cognize appears in it. Firstly, the pre-creative state of reality is identified with the state of being unknowable: the Ṛgvedic *Nāsadiya* describes it as the state in which neither *sāt* nor *ásat* exists. These notions have both ontological and epistemological meaning, so their negation means not only that neither being nor non-being exists in the pre-creative state but also that it is impossible to assert whether anything exists or does not exist. It is a state of total inexpressibility. Using the Buddha's term, one could call it pre-creative *avidyā*.

Continuing the description of the creation, the *Nāsadiya* describes the manifestation of the creative power of the Absolute, called *tád ékam*, and then describes the appearance of darkness hidden by itself (*táma āsīt támasā gūlham*). In the Ṛgveda, darkness symbolizes the states which are characteristic for night, when no activity physical or mental takes place; cognition begins with the *vāreṇyaṃ bhárgas* of Savitṛ arousing thoughts (RV 3.62.10). The image of darkness which appears after the image of the creative manifestation should be

āyatanas.

¹²The only exception is the possible repetition of *avidyā* in *trṣṇā*.

¹³See first of all the concepts *trṣṇā* and *upādāna* instead of the image of Agni the fire.

interpreted as expressing the impossibility of cognition.

This inability to cognize is different from the pre-creative one. It is the state in which not every kind of cognition is impossible but only the subject-object one. The two spheres, the hiding and the hidden, mark the future subject-object division. But at this stage of creation both spheres are dark, so still identical, and cognition cannot be performed. Using the Buddha's term, one could call it creative *avidyā*.

The later cosmogonic texts usually do not describe the pre-creative state of unknowableness,¹⁴ but very often depict the second, creative inability to cognize, understanding it as the impossibility of subject-object cognition exactly as inferred from the Nāsādīya description. The most explicit text is BU 1.4.: here the Creator (*ātman*) in the form of man (*puruṣavidha*) realizes his own singularity: he looks around and he does not see anything else but himself, which indicates not only that there existed nothing aside from himself, but also that he was not able to cognize anything other than himself.¹⁵

The idea of the inability to cognize, the result of the absence of anything other than the Creator, is also expressed in the suggestive metaphors of Agni the fire, who because of hunger attacks his Creator (ŚB 2.2.4.1–4), and of Death, identified with hunger, who looks for food (BU 1.2.1).

¹⁴Its description appears in the descriptions of liberation, see for example BU 4.3.23–32.

¹⁵BU 1.4.1: *ātmaivedam agra āsīt puruṣavidhaḥ | so 'nuvīkya nānyad ātmano 'paśyat|*; see also AU 1.1: *ātmā vā idam eka evāgra āsīn nānyat kiṃcana miśat|*. It seems justified to associate the idea of winking expressed by the root *√miṣ* with the idea of being alive and awake, which in its turn is associated with the possibility of cognition. It also seems probable that the idea of being a not-cognizing *ātman* may constitute one of the meanings of *avidyā*, which is the source of all the successive events inevitably leading to entanglement in the empiric world. This inevitability is also present in the Vedic cosmogony: once *ātman* manifested his inability to cognize, the rest of the creative process became a constant attempt to fill the epistemic and ontological gap which appeared in the perfect and full Absolute.

2. *saṃskāra*

When the Creator asserts the absence of anything other than himself and his inability to cognize, the wish or desire for the presence of “a second” appears in him. In BU 1.2.1 this wish is expressed in the formula *ātmanvī syām*, because “the second” is identical with the Creator; in other words, “the second” is his own *ātman*.¹⁶

This cosmogonic Creator’s wish to create the *ātman* is sometimes expressed in ŚB by the subjunctive form of the verb *sam* √*kr* (with or without *abhi*). Here, Prajāpati wants to build himself (*ātmānam*) in the form of a fire altar, which is his body and the cosmos at the same time. He exudes from himself his eating (subjective) and eaten (objective) parts. Then, he devours food with his eating part. Thus, Prajāpati builds himself up (*ātmānam abhisamskaroti*), which is a natural consequence of eating.¹⁷

For instance, in ŚB 6.2.1 Prajāpati, wishing to find his son Agni hidden in the five sacrificial animals, says: “They are Agni. I want to make them myself” (ŚB 6.2.1.5: *ime vā agnir imān evātmānam abhisamskaravai*).¹⁸ He kills the animals, cuts off their heads, puts them on (*upa* √*dhā*), and throws the torsos into the water. Then he looks for the torsos, calling them himself (*ātman*, ŚB 6.2.1.8: *yam imam ātmānam apsu prāpiplavaṃ tam anvicchāni*). He takes water and earth which was in the contact with the torsos of the animals and builds the bricks. Then he thinks: “If I create my true self in this way, I will become a mortal carcass, with the evil unremoved” (ŚB 6.2.1.9: *yadi vā idam itham eva sadātmānam abhisamkariṣye martyaḥ kuṇapo’napahatapāpmā*

¹⁶What follows is the description of the creation and formation of the *ātman*, which is, first of all, the cosmos (BU 1.2, BU 1.4, AU), but also the human being, and also the innermost self of the cosmos and the human being (AU). The fact that the presence of “the second” is the necessary condition for subject-object cognition is often stated in BU in its descriptions of liberation, e.g. 4.2.14, 4.3.23–32.

¹⁷See ŚB 7.1.2, 10.4.2 and 6.2.1 analysed below.

¹⁸Eggeling’s translation (in Eggeling 1989, Vol. 3, p. 162).

bhaviṣyāmi). He bakes the bricks in the fire and out of the torsos of the animals he builds the altar; the heads he puts under the altar. Thus he reunites the heads of the animals with the torsos in the fire altar which is himself, his own *ātman*, and becomes the fire (ŚB 6.2.1.12: *tato vai prajāpatir agnir abhavat*).

The creation of the second self described in the myth is the creation of the self in the process of eating. Agni's disappearance from Prajāpati's range of view corresponds to the images of the internal void felt by Prajāpati, attested in many places in ŚB, which should be identified with hunger.¹⁹ Prajāpati's desire to find Agni is in fact the desire to eat him. ŚB 6.2.1.15 identifies five animal forms of Agni with food (*anna*).²⁰ The animals are prepared before eating: they are killed and their heads are separated from their torsos. The image of putting on (*upa √dhā*) the heads refers to the act of eating them, through which Prajāpati puts the heads inside himself. It is not necessary to cook them because they are of fiery nature: they have mouths identified in the Veda with fire.²¹ The eating of the fiery heads allows Prajāpati himself to obtain the mouth enabling him to eat food. We may conclude that the image of the cooking of the torsos in the fire symbolizes not only the act of cooking food before it is eaten — lest it be eaten raw, which may cause death — but also the very act of eating food and digesting it in the internal fire of the Creator. Thus, Prajāpati, having eaten the fiery animals, becomes the fire; he confirms his identity with the fire and at the same time he regains himself in his *ātman*.

It is important to see the similarity between ŚB's description and the Upaniṣadic descriptions presented above: the image of Agni's disappearance, and so of his absence, corresponds to the image in which the *ātman* realizes his singularity, so the absence of any object and the

¹⁹E.g. 3.9.1.1, 10.4.2.2 where Prajāpati feels empty (*ririṁcāna iva mene*), 7.1.2.1 where the food is flowing out from Prajāpati when he is relaxed.

²⁰In *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* 21.2.1 (in Lévi 1898, p. 25) the creatures run away from Prajāpati fearing that he will eat them.

²¹See for example ŚB 7.1.2.4.

impossibility of its cognition. So it appears that the beginnings of the cosmogony in the Veda could be described in the terms of the *pratītya-samutpāda*: *saṃskāra* arises from *avidyā*.²²

3. *vijñāna*

The term *vijñāna* appears in TU 2 in a significant context. TU 2 describes five *ātman*s called “buckets” (*kośa*): one made of food and liquid (*annarasamaya*), one made of breath (*prāṇamaya*), one made of the mind (*manomaya*), one made of consciousness (*vijñānamaya*), and one made of bliss (*ānandamaya*). What the TU is here presenting is the liberating process during which a human being cognizes and realizes ever deeper layers of himself: all the *ātman*s have the form of man (*puruṣavidha*) — they have the head, the sides/wings, the feet/tail, and the torso. This means that these *ātman*s are also the fire altar and the cosmos, exactly like Prajāpati’s *ātman* in ŚB.²³ They also have the same form of man as the *ātman* (Creator) from BU 1.4.

If we reverse the process described in TU (which is justified on Vedic grounds),²⁴ we get the image of the creation of the successive

²²It is worth noticing that in the very image of hunger the ideas of *avidyā* and of *saṃskāra* are present: hunger is both the lack of food and the desire to have it.

²³This identification directs us to the five layers of the fire altar and to the sacrificer’s journey along these layers up to heaven, which is performed during the sacrifice. The above description of TU would probably be the first description of liberating activity understood as the act of climbing up, not only within the cosmos, but also within one’s own body up to the head (which is identified with heaven), since the successively realized *kośas* are inside the human being.

²⁴Also the description of the four stages of *ātman* (see CU 8.7–12) has this twofold meaning of the liberating and the creative process. In later thought (*smṛti*), the *pralaya*’s order clearly reverses the order of creation. It is also worth noting that there is a great similarity between the order in which the five *ātman*s are realized and the stages of yoga in its later formulation: *āsana* means bodily practice (corresponding to the *ātman annarasamaya*), *prāṇayama* is breath practice (*ātman prāṇāmaya*), *nirodha* is the cessation of mental perception (*ātman manomaya*) and of the *buddhi*’s activity (*ātman*

*ātman*s, that is, of the successive forms of oneself having head, sides/wings, feet/tail, and torso.²⁵ Now the *ātman ānandamaya* symbolizes the pre-creative state,²⁶ the *ātman vijñānamaya* symbolizes

vijñānamaya) which culminates in the realization of the highest reality (*ātman ānandamaya*). The roots of classical yogic ideas seem to be here.

²⁵See ŚB 10.4.2.26, where Prajāpati, having created three worlds identified with the womb and with the *ukhā*, pours himself into them — made of metres, of hymns, of breaths, and of gods — identified with semen (*sa eṣu triṣu lokeśūkhāyām | yonau reto bhūtam ātmānam asiñcac chandomayaṃ stoma-mayaṃ prānamayaṃ devatāmayaṃ*). The three worlds which are the womb and the *ukhā*, should be identified with the eater (the *ukhā* as the belly, that is, something which eats, appears in ŚB 7.5.1.38; in BU 1.4.6 the womb and the mouth and the internal part of hands are identified as those parts of *ātman* which are hairless). The Prajāpati's *ātman* — made of metres, made of hymns, made of breaths, made of gods — is the eaten food. And this very act results in creating the new *ātman* of Prajāpati, which is expressed in forms of the root *sam* √*kr*: “In the course of a half-moon the first body (*ātman*) was made up, in a further [half-moon] the next [body — *ātman*], in a further one the next — in a year he is made up whole and complete” (translation in Eggeling 1989, Vol. IV, p. 354, *tasyārdhamāse prathama ātmā samaskriyata davīyasi paro davīyasi paraḥ saṃvatsara eva sarvaḥ kṛtsnaḥ samaskriyata* |). The process of creating a new *ātman* for Prajāpati is identified with the building of the fire altar (ŚB 10.4.2.27); we may presume that his three *ātman*s enumerated above are the three *citis* of the altar corresponding to the earth, the *antarikṣa*, and the sky. One should remember, however, that in the fire altar we have five *citis* (there are two more: one between the *ḥiti* corresponding to the earth and that to the *antarikṣa* and one between the *ḥiti* corresponding to the *antarikṣa* and that to the sky).

²⁶This seems to contradict the claim made above that the pre-creative state is the state of unknowableness. There are, however, many descriptions in the Upaniṣads which identify this state with the state in which cognition is impossible (e.g. BU 4.3.23–32, 4.2.14). As explained there, the impossibility of cognition results from the Absolute's singularity. The idea of this singularity is also present in the notion of *ānanda*, which is also used to denote the bliss gained in the sexual act, during which the unity of the subject and the object is realized (as far as is possible), and this unity may be interpreted in Vedic thought as the state of singularity of the subject: according to BU 1.4.3, when the *ātman* wants to create his “second self” he splits himself into husband and wife and this division is the very creation of “the second”.

the Creator's first manifestation, that of his consciousness;²⁷ the *ātman manomaya* is the appearance of thought and of desire for a second self; the appearance of the *ātman prāṇamaya* and *annarasamaya* is the creation of the second self which is alive and has a body thanks to eating and drinking.

The above description of the cosmogony generally agrees with the cosmogonic descriptions of ŚB, in which Prajāpati, having manifested himself (*ātman vijñānamaya*), wants to create his second self (*ātman manomaya*), and then transforms himself into the eater and the food. Vedic thought identifies the *prāṇa* with fire,²⁸ which is the eater, while *anna* and *rasa* obviously play the role of food.

BU 4.4.5 supports the cosmogonic interpretation of the reversed process described in TU 2. This lesson gives important evidence for the understanding of *vijñāna* in Buddhism as the transmigrating element, the analysis of which goes beyond the scope of this article. The term *vijñānamaya* appears here after the description of the dead and (at the same time) liberated *ātman* and is used exactly in the same order as in TU: the *ātman brahman* is made of consciousness, made of mind, made of breath, made of eye, made of ear, made of earth, made of water, made of space.²⁹ Finally, it appears that the *ātman* is made of the whole cosmos, so we should presume that BU 4.4.5 describes the return of the *ātman* to the world after his death/liberation and his repeated cosmogenesis, in which the *ātman brahman* mentioned in the beginning corresponds with the *ātman ānandamaya* in TU.³⁰

²⁷*Vijñāna* is the highest cognitive power in the human being, e.g. BU 2.4.5: *ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyo maitreyi | ātmano vā are darśanena śravaṇena matyā vijñānenedaṃ sarvaṃ viditam|*

²⁸See note 57.

²⁹*sa vā ayam ātmā brahma vijñānamayo manomayaḥ prāṇamayaś cakṣurmayāḥ śrotamayaḥ pṛthivīmaya āpomayo vāyumaya ākāśamayas tejomayo'tejomayaḥ kāmamayo'kāmamayaḥ krodhamayo'krodhamayo dharmamayo'dharmamayaḥ sarvamayaḥ | tad yad etad idaṃmayo'domaya itil.*

³⁰See also BU 4.4.22: *ātman vijñānamaya* in the space of the heart, being

Assuming that the *viññāna* link corresponds to this stage of the Vedic cosmogony in which the Creator manifests his consciousness, it is important to notice that in the Brāhmaṇic ideas of creation the manifestation of the consciousness is cyclically repeated. The creation of the world is the process of the *ātman*'s realization of his inability to cognize, of his wish to cognize himself, and of his cognitive power. This power once again displays its inability to cognize, its wish to cognize, and its cognitive act, and so forth. In other words, the process is the constant manifestation of the *ātman* as the object of cognition, as the will to cognize the object, and as the subject performing the cognition.

We may then assume that the *avidyā* link refers to all the states of ignorance (objective states) which manifest themselves in the cosmogony. So the *saṃskāra* link refers to all the acts of the creative will to dispel ignorance, and the *viññāna* link refers to all the subjective manifestations which realize this will. This means that the sequence *avidyā* — *saṃskāra* — *viññāna* can be used to express the whole Vedic creation.³¹

sarvasya vaṣṭ sarvasyeśānaḥ sarvasyādhipatiḥ; a very similar (but later) description to the *suṣupti* state in MāU (5–6): *yatra supto ... na kañcana svapnaṃ paśyati ... eṣa sarveśvaraḥ | eṣa sarvajñaḥ | eṣo'ntaryāmī |*, which makes a synthesis of TU's (*sarvajña*) and CU's (*svapnaṃ na paśyati*) descriptions of the third stage of the *ātman*. In BU 3.9.28.7 *brahman* is both *viññāna* and *ānanda*.

It should be added that the cosmogonic scheme which agrees with the reversed process of TU is continued by the later descriptions (later Upaniṣads, *smṛti* and classical *sāṃkhya*), where the first manifestation of the Absolute (*smṛti*) and of the *prakṛti* (*sāṃkhya*) is the *buddhi*, identified with the *viññāna* in KU 1.3.9. There are other similarities between the *buddhi* and the *viññāna*: the most important function of the *buddhi* are discernment and decision making (*adhyavasāya*); the idea of discernment is also present in the root *viññā*. *Buddhi* (as the *viññāna*) is also the highest human cognitive power.

³¹ See *nāmarūpa*, *ṣaḍāyatana*, *trṣṇā*. The mechanism is the same, although the Buddha in his description used different terms. If *avidyā* referred to the pre-creative state, it could have an ontological meaning (like the terms *asat* or *anṛta*), i. e. asserting the non-existence of any pre-creative reality.

The miserable situation of the *ātman* can be seen very clearly now: it not only does not exist, but, what is more, it cyclically repeats its false cognition and postulates its own existence. Put in the terms of the first three links of the *pratītyasamutpāda*, the Vedic cosmogony reveals its absurdity.

4. *nāmarūpa*³²

In Vedic cosmogony, the act of giving a name and a form marks the final formation of the Creator's *ātman*. The idea probably goes back to the *jātakarman* ceremony, in the course of which the father accepted his son and gave him a name. By accepting the son, he confirmed his own identity with him, by giving him a name he took him out of the unnamed, unshaped chaos and finally created him.³³ The same process can be observed in creation: according to the famous passage from BU 1.4.7, the *ātman*, having given name and form to the created world, enters it "up to the nail tips".³⁴ Thus, being the subject (or we could say, being the *viññāna*), he recognizes his own identity with the object and finally shapes it. At the same time and by this very act he continues the process of his own creation as the subject: within the cosmos, he equips himself with the cognitive instruments facilitating his further cognition.³⁵ As the father lives in his son, so the *ātman* undertakes

³²The Vedic sources of this link are known to Buddhologists, see Frauwallner 1990, Vol. 1, pp. 216ff.

³³In ŚB 6.1.3 Prajāpati gives names to Agni in order to make him *apahata-pāpman*, "without evil"; *pāpman* is identified with death (*mṛtyu*, see for example ŚB 10.4.4.1, 11.1.6.8), and death symbolizes the pre-creative state.

³⁴This means that the *ātman* and the cosmos have the same *puruṣavidha* shape (*taddhedam tarhy avyākṛtam āsīt | tan nāmarūpābhyām eva vyākriyata ... sa eṣa iha praviṣṭa ā nakhāgrebhyah |*). The idea of the *nāmarūpa* appears also in ŚB 6.1.3, ŚB 11.2.3, CU 6.1–4. The Creator enters the world after its division into name and form also in ŚB 6.1.3. In ŚB 11.2.3.1–6 and in CU 6.3.2–4 the entrance of the Creator into the world takes place at the very moment of its division into name and form.

³⁵According to the BU 1.4.7, the *ātman* takes up cognitive activity within the created cosmos, giving names to his cognitive powers: *prāṇann eva prāṇo*

cognition in his named and formed self.³⁶

But self-expression through name and form does not merely enable the Creator to continue self-cognition. At the same time, he hides himself and — as if divided into the different names and forms — loses the ability to be seen as a whole.³⁷ Thus the act of giving name and form also makes cognition impossible, or at least difficult.

I think that this very fact could have been an important reason for the Buddha's choosing the term *nāmarūpa* to denote an organism in

nāma bhavati vadan vāk paśyaṃś cakṣuḥ śṛṇvañ śrotraṃ manvāno manaḥ | tāny asyaitāni karmanāmāny eva | In ŚB's metaphor of eating, the giving of name and form is the creation of food and its devouring, which results in creating the eater.

³⁶This whole idea can also be expressed in ŚB's metaphor of eating: the eater, having created his own body, enters it. On the one hand, it means that the eater eats the created body and thus makes it his own (confirms his own identity with it). On the other hand he lives in the new body acquired thanks to the act of eating it, see ŚB 6.2.1, quoted above.

³⁷This idea is present for example in ŚB 6.1.3, where the act of giving names to Agni and his assuming forms adequate to the names results in its being impossible to recognize Agni as a whole: only his different forms are visible (ŚB 6.1.3.19: *so'yaṃ kumāro rūpāṇy anuprāviśan na vā agniṃ kumāram iva paśyanty etāny evāsya rūpāṇi paśyanty etāni hi rūpāṇy anuprāviśat |*). Similarly, in BU 1.4.7 the division of the *ātman* into name and form causes it to become imperceptible as a whole: *yathā kṣurāḥ kṣuradhāne 'vahitaḥ syād viśvambharo vā viśvambharakulāye | taṃ na paśyanti | akṛtsno 'hi saḥ | ... sa yo 'ta ekaikam upāste na sa veda | akṛtsno hy eṣo 'ta ekaikena bhavati | āmety evopāsīta | atra hy ete sarva ekaṃ bhavanti |* It should be noted that in BU 1.4 the description of the creative division into name and form appears after the description of *ātman*'s division into male and female parts, so the order is different from that in the Buddha's chain, where *nāmarūpa* appears before *śaḍāyatana*. Likewise, ŚB's description of Agni, divided into name and form, appears before the whole story of creation which was interpreted as a description of the beginnings of creation. I would explain this as the Buddha's attempt to gather different Vedic descriptions in one general, simple scheme in which the cognitive character of the concepts is the most important. The main line of both schemes is the same: the creation of the subject is followed by the creation of the object no matter what it is called (the *ātman* who is as great as a man and a woman embracing each other or the *ātman* who is divided into names and forms).

which *viñāna* settles. If we reject the *ātman*, who, giving himself name and form, performs the cognitive process, the division of consciousness into name and form has only the negative value of an act which hinders cognition. As such, it fits very well into the *pratīyasamutpāda* understood as the chain of events which drive a human being into deeper and deeper ignorance about himself.³⁸

5. *śaḍāyatana*, 6. *sparsā*, 7. *vedanā*

The cognitive character of the next three links of the *pratīyasamutpāda* (*śaḍāyatana*, *sparsā*, *vedanā*) is obvious,³⁹ but it is worth noticing that they also concur with the stages of the Vedic cosmogony.

The appearance of the subjective and objective powers during creation takes place in the act of the *ātman*'s division into name and form. It is also metaphorically described by BU 1.4.3: the *ātman*, led by the desire for its second self, becomes as great as a man and a woman embracing each other. Then it divides itself into husband (subject) and wife (object), who join together in the sexual act, which symbolizes the cognitive union of subject and object.⁴⁰

From this perspective, it is also important that the term *āyatana* appears in the cosmogonic descriptions of AU. This Upaniṣad begins with a description of the *ātman*'s lonely existence before creation. It realizes its cosmogonic will and creates the worlds and their eight guardians (*lokapāla*), also called deities (*devatā*). These guardians are born in the process of heating the cosmic man, who is split into

³⁸The image of the Creator's manifestation in name and form is one of the most explicit Vedic images expressing the cognitive character of creation. This could also be an important reason for the Buddha's choosing the term *nāmarūpa*.

³⁹See Oldenberg 1994, pp. 222ff., Frauwallner 1990, Vol. 1, pp. 218ff.

⁴⁰BU 1.4.3. *sa haitāvān āsa yathā strīpumāṃsau sampariṣvaktau | sa imam evātmānaṃ dvedhāpatayāt | tataḥ patīś ca patnī cābhavatām | ... tāṃ samabhavat | tato manuṣyā ajāyanta |* The fact that in the sexual union of the subject and the object the Creator unites with his female part is confirmed in ŚB 6.1.2.1: *so 'gninā prthivīm mithunaṃ samabhavat*, see also ŚB 6.1.2.2-9.

cognitive instruments which are the source of their cognitive power, and out of which their respective guardians are finally born. Thus, each *lokapāla* becomes the highest cognitive manifestation governing the respective cognitive power and instrument (e.g. the sun governs the eyesight and the eye).⁴¹ But in order to exist they need an object: they are in danger of dying and they ask the *ātman*: “Find us a dwelling in which we can establish ourselves and eat food”⁴² (AU 1.2.1: *āyatanam naḥ prajānīhi yasmin pratiṣṭhitā annam adāma*). The *ātman* brings them a cow and a horse, but they are rejected by the guardians, who finally accept a man. So *ātman* tells them: “Enter, each into your respective abode”⁴³ (AU 1.2.3: *yathāyatanam praviśata*). And the guardians enter the man in the inverse order of the creative process.⁴⁴

Thus *āyatana* in AU is the abode of the highest subjective powers dwelling in the cosmos and in a human being (*puruṣa*), governing the cognitive powers and instruments. At the same time, each *āyatana* becomes the object of cognition of these cognitive powers and instruments (e.g. the eye cognizes the sun through eyesight). So their appearance in AU has the same meaning as the appearance of the six

⁴¹*mukha* — *vāc* — *agni*, *nāsike* — *prāṇa* — *vāyu*, *akṣiṇī* — *caḥṣus* — *āditya*, *kaṛṇau* — *śrotra* — *diśas*, *tvāc* — *lomāni* — *ośadhi-vanaspatayaḥ*, *hr̥daya* — *manas* — *candramas*, *nābhi* — *apāna* — *mṛtyu*, *śiśna* — *retas* — *āpas*. Note the similarity between the creative process and other Vedic cosmogonic descriptions analysed here, and at the same time the similarity with the links of the *pratiṣṭhasamutpāda*. The *ātman*, having realized its cognitive incapacity (in ŚB’s expressions the lack of food and its own hunger, the *avidyā* link) creates its cosmic manifestation in the form of man (*ātmānam puruṣavidham*), in which it settles the highest subjective power (the *viññāna* link preceded by the will to create — *saṃskāra*).

⁴²Olivelle’s translation (in Olivelle 1998, p. 317).

⁴³Olivelle’s translation (in Olivelle 1998, p. 317).

⁴⁴*agni* — *vāc* — *mukha*, *vāyu* — *prāṇa* — *nāsike*, *āditya* — *caḥṣus* — *akṣiṇī*, *diśas* — *śrotra* — *kaṛṇau*, *ośadhi-vanaspatayaḥ* — *lomāni* — *tvāc*, *candramas* — *manas* — *hr̥daya*, *mṛtyu* — *apāna* — *nābhi*, *āpas* — *retas* — *śiśna*. This is the final formation of the *ātman*’s self, corresponding to the final creation of the fire altar and cosmos in ŚB and BU and the *nāmarūpa* link in the *pratiṣṭhasamutpāda*. AU sees it also as the creation of the human being.

abodes in the *pratītyasamutpāda*: the manifestation of the subjective powers and their objects.⁴⁵

As far as *vedanā* is concerned, the convergence of Vedic cosmogony and the Buddha's chain is not so clear, although one may indicate possible paths of exploration. The meaning of *vedanā* as the emotional reaction to contact directs us to BU 1.4.2-3, where the lack of "the second" means the lack of possibility of experiencing negative (fear) or positive (joy) feelings towards an object. The creation of "the second" will create the possibility of experiencing these feelings.

It is also worth noticing that the root $\sqrt{\text{vid}}$ appears in the cosmogonic context at CU 8.12.4-5. This Upaniṣad describes the liberation of the *ātman* through the process of realization of the four states and then the cognitive return of the liberated *ātman* into the world, which means his repeated creation. Here the root $\sqrt{\text{vid}}$ denotes the *ātman*'s consciousness of the will to perform subject-object cognition.⁴⁶

⁴⁵See Schayer 1988, p. 114. The difference lies in the number of the abodes, of which AU enumerates eight. Five abodes in AU (*mukha, nāsike, akṣiṇ, karnau, tvāc*) agree with the abodes enumerated by the Buddha, the sixth is the heart (*hrdaya*), which in the Buddha's chain is replaced by the mind (*manas*, connected with the heart also in AU). The last two (*nābhi, śiśna*) have cognitive meaning only in the Vedic context, so it is not surprising that they do not appear in the *pratītyasamutpāda*.

⁴⁶*atha yatra itad ākāśam anuviṣaṇṇam cakṣuḥ sa cākṣuṣaḥ puruṣo darśanāya cakṣuḥ | atha yo vededaṃ jighrāṇīti sa ātmā gandhāya ghrāṇam | atha yo vededaṃ abhivyāharāṇīti sa ātmābhivyāhārāya vāk | atha yo vededaṃ śṛṇavānīti sa ātmā śravaṇāya śrotam | (4) atha yo vededaṃ manvānīti sa ātmā | mano'sya daivaṃ cakṣuḥ |* The image of sight dispersed in space refers to the Ṛgvedic images of the cosmogonic sunrise which creates the possibility of seeing and cognizing: *ākāśa* is the space which is brightened by the rising sun; *cākṣuṣaḥ puruṣaḥ* is *ātman* — the Creator of the world identified with the sun, who manifests himself in the form of a golden man standing in the space between the earth and the sky, marking the path of the rising sun and constituting the cosmic pillar (*skambha*). It is he who is aware of his will to perform subject-object cognition.

One possible Vedic source of *vedanā* as the effect of *sparsā* on the philological level seems to be BU 3.2.9. where the causative of $\sqrt{\text{vid}}$ is used to

If we posit that the Buddha referred to this image in formulating the *vedanā* link, it is important to notice the difference between the description of CU and the *pratītyasamutpāda*: in CU the consciousness of the subject-object cognition precedes the act, whereas in the Buddha's chain, it comes after the act. On the other hand, we might argue that the next link in the *pratītyasamutpāda* is *trṣṇā*, which is the craving for continued subject-object acts, so it is possible to claim that here too *vedanā* precedes the successive subject-object acts.

8. *trṣṇā*, 9. *upādāna*

The process of Vedic cosmogony can be further expressed in the next two links of the *pratītyasamutpāda*, *trṣṇā* and *upādāna*.

After the final creation of the cosmos, human beings become the next manifestation of the Creator's subjective power. This is clearly seen in the Ṛgvedic Nāsadiya, according to which the Creator (*tād ékam*) manifests itself as the cosmos (*ābhū*) and then divides into the subjective part, constituted by the poets (*kavāyas*), and the objective part, constituted by the world cognized by the poets. Next, Nāsadiya describes the poets' union with the world as they extend the ray (*raśmī*). This image (apart from its other meanings) symbolizes the act of releasing semen and the poets' sexual union with the world.⁴⁷ This in turn symbolizes the poets' cognitive act, as the very essence of their activity is the cognition and naming of reality. At the same time, the sexual character of the metaphor strengthens the similarity of the act it

denote the act of recognizing tactile contact (*tvāg vai grahaḥ | sa sparśenāto grāheṇa gṛhītaḥ | tvacā hi sparśān vedayate* l).

⁴⁷See Jurewicz 1995a, pp 145–14; Jurewicz 1995b, pp. 120–24. BU 1.4.4, having presented a description of the birth of the human beings from the first sexual act between husband and wife, does not describe their creation but the creation of different masculine parts of the *ātman*, which — led by sexual craving, we can presume — looks for the appropriate feminine parts in order to join with them sexually: *sā gaurabhavad vṛṣabha itaraḥ | tāṃ sam evābhavat | tato gāvo jāyanta | vaḍavetarābhavad aśvavṛṣa itaraḥ | gardabhītaraḥ gardabha itaraḥ | tāṃ sam evābhavat | tata ekaśapham ajāyata* | and so forth.

expresses to the act expressed by the links of *tr̥ṣṇā*: craving for another person constitutes the basis of sexual activity.⁴⁸

It is important to notice here that the poets' activity realizes on the microcosmic scale the cosmogonic activity of the Absolute.⁴⁹ This fact sheds an interesting light on the division of the *pratītyasamutpāda* into two shorter chains, one of which begins with *avidyā* and the other with *tr̥ṣṇā*, as proposed in the commentary on the *Udānavarga*.⁵⁰ The Vedic material justifies the division of the *pratītyasamutpāda* in this way, which further supports the thesis that the Buddha was referring to Vedic data when he formulated his chain.⁵¹

The references are more distinct here than may at first appear. The Buddha in his descriptions of *tr̥ṣṇā* very often refers to the image of fire.⁵² I think that the reason why he does so is not only because the metaphor of fire is particularly expressive, but also because something more lies behind it: here he is referring to the Vedic image of creation as performed by human subjects.

Now we have to go back to the Ṛgvedic image of the poets pervad-

⁴⁸This reflects the cyclical character of Vedic cosmogony: the appearance of the poets precedes the manifestation of semen and desire in the Creator (a typically sexual image), and the poets repeat the Creator's activity.

⁴⁹This may also be expressed in the terminology of the *pratītyasamutpāda*: the poets meet an unknown object (symbolized in the Ṛgveda mainly by a rock or the night), which corresponds to the image expressed in the *pratītyasamutpāda* as *avidyā*; then they assume the subjective form (*vijñāna*), which is probably preceded by the will to get the object (*saṃskāra*; the presence of this will is guaranteed by the sexual metaphor used to describe the poets' activity). The next stage is the recognition of the object and its creation (*nāmarūpa*). This correspondence with the *pratītyasamutpāda* is especially clear at BU 1.4.4. The idea that man repeats the Absolute's creative activity is also present in the interpretation of the ritual in ŚB which is the step-by-step repetition of the cosmogony of Prajāpati.

⁵⁰See Mejer 1996, p. 124.

⁵¹My interpretation is different from that of Frauwallner (1990, Vol. 1, p. 220), who postulated that the two shorter chains came first and were then superficially joined together.

⁵²See Oldenberg 1994, pp. 223–24.

ing the dark object with their ray. In other hymns of the Ṛigveda, the poets (called *kaví, ṛṣi* or fathers) are depicted as inflamed with internal heat (*tápas*) and they burn the rock, which symbolizes the object that they recognize. They are often identified with specific families of poets, especially with Āngirasas — the sons of Agni.⁵³

What is more, in the Ṛigveda forms of the root $\sqrt{trṣ}$, from which the noun *trṣṇā* is derived, denote the fire's activity.⁵⁴ It may be assumed that in formulating the *trṣṇā* link, the Buddha was also referring to the fiery activity of the poets burning the world in the cosmogonic act of cognition. In his chain, their activity is deprived of its positive dimension and is identified only with the negative aspect of fire, which in its insatiability digests, and thus destroys, itself and the world around it.

One more thing is important here. The state of primal creative ignorance is often expressed by the image of hunger, which in turn is identified with Agni.⁵⁵ It appears then that the beginnings of creation were

⁵³See for example RV 3.31, 4.1–3, 9.97.39, 10.109.4, 10.169.2. Āngirasas as sons of Agni: RV 1.71.8. Agni himself is called Āngiras (see for example RV 1.31.1, 1.127.2, 6.11.3, 10.92.15) and *kaví* (e.g. RV 1.149.3, 4.15.3, 5.15.1, 6.7.1).

⁵⁴The covetous burning identified with devouring is so characteristic a feature of the fire that it becomes the basis for comparisons: RV 10.113.8 *raddhām vṛtrám áhim índrasya hánmanāgnír ná jámbhais trṣv ánnam ávayat* || Agni as *tātrṣāṇá* RV 1.31.7, 2.4.6, 6.15.5 *á yó ghrṇé ná tātrṣāṇó ajáraḥ*, while he burns the trees and the bush RV 1.58.2,4, 7.3.4, 10.91.7. See also RV 4.7.11 *trṣú yád ánnā trṣúnā vavákṣa trṣúṃ dūtám kṛṇute yahvó agníḥ | vātasya melīm sacate nījūrvann áśúm ná vājayate hinvé árvā* ||, RV 1.140.3 *trṣucyút*, RV 4.4.1 *trṣvīm anu prásitīm drūṇāno*. The second meaning of the forms of the root $\sqrt{trṣ}$ is the state caused by the influence of the warmth: thirst (RV 1.85.11, 1.116.9, 1.173.11, 1.175.6, 5.57.1, 7.33.5, 7.69.6, 7.89.4, 7.103.3, 9.79.3), lack of water (RV 4.19.7), sweating (RV 1.105.7). In RV 8.79.5 form of the root $\sqrt{trṣ}$ refers to mental desire (*arthíno yánti céd ártham gáchān íd dadúšo rātīm | vavrjyús trṣyataḥ kāmam* ||).

⁵⁵See above, *saṃskāra*. Compare the void experienced by Prajāpati expressed in ŚB by the forms of the root \sqrt{ric} , see also ŚB 2.2.4, BU 1.2. It has already been noted that the state of primal ignorance is also identified with death. It is interesting to compare this state with what Gombrich (1996, p. 78) says about Māra: “Buddhist Māra at the same time represents desire, and the life he is

also understood in the Veda as the manifestation of fire, exactly like the poets' creative activity.⁵⁶ From the Vedic perspective, the *pratītya-samutpāda*'s division into two shorter chains, starting from *avidyā* and *tṛṣṇā*, is fully justified.

The identity of the poets' activity and the beginnings of creation results from the basic Vedic assumption that cosmogony is the manifestation of Agni, the fire, who, out of the darkness symbolizing the pre-creative state of ignorance, emerges in creative enkindling and generates the conditions of cognition: light which reveals shapes and speech that enables their naming and recognition.⁵⁷ When Agni the fire fully

urging is the life in the world, performing the fire sacrifice (*aggihutta*)". In the Veda, death appears in the beginnings of cosmogony and, identified with hunger and Agni, comprises desire. I would wonder, then, whether *aggihutta* should be taken in its narrow, ritual meaning; it may be better to understand it as referring to fire as the metaphysical principle of cosmogony and life.

⁵⁶In RV *tṛṣṇā* is joined with the *nīrṛti* symbolizing the pre-creative state (1.38.6 *mó śu nah pára-parā nīrṛtir durhánā vadhīt | padīṣṭá tṛṣṇayā sahá ||*) or with the enemies of the Aryans (RV 1.130.8) symbolizing the same (because they, are dark (e.g. RV 1.130.8), they are asleep (RV 4.51.3), they are not able to cognize (e.g. RV 3.18.2), to speak in a proper way (e.g. RV 3.34.10), or to perform sacrifices (e.g. RV 7.6.3)).

⁵⁷This idea goes back to RV (e.g. the idea of *apāṃ nāpāt*) and is developed in later Vedic thought. Prajāpati's *ātman* is created in the process of burning (*√tap*) and has the form of the fire altar; the confirmation of the Creator's identity with fire constitutes the last act of the cosmogony. In ŚB 2.2.4 creation is the act of blowing out the fire identified with *prāṇa*. In ŚB 10.5.3 the transformations of the *manas* end with the manifestation of fire. There are also evident proofs that the idea of the Upaniṣadic *ātman* goes back to the idea of fire, for instance the identification of Agni and *ātman* with *prāṇa* and the wind (already in RV 1.34.7, 7.87.2) and with the sun (RV 1.115.1, 1.163.6). In RV 1.73.2 Agni is compared to the *ātman*. The Upaniṣadic evidence also attests the fiery nature of the *ātman*, who in the creative process transforms through burning (BU 1.4, AU *√tap*) and congealing under the influence of the warmth (AB *√mūrch*). See also BU 1.4.7, where the *ātman* divided into names and forms is compared to the fire hidden in its nest (note 37), and also CU 3.13.7–8, where the means of cognition of the *ātman* are the means of cognition of the fire: *tasyaiśā dṛṣṭiḥ | (7) yatraitad asmiñ śarīre saṃsparśenoṣṇimānaṃ vijānāti | tasyaiśā śrutir yatraitat karṇāv apigrhya*

manifests his blazing *ātman* in the cosmos, creation is taken up by the burning poets. Through them Agni burns in the world he created. He burns voraciously and constantly needs fuel in order to exist. And this constant, voracious devouring of the fuel and its digesting are expressed by *upādāna*. The meaning of this word is both “fuel” and “grasping”.⁵⁸ The first evokes the fire metaphor with its concrete meaning of burning fuel and eating food; the second is more abstract and refers to cognitive activity. So it encompasses the activity of Agni as described in the Veda.

10. *bhava*, 11. *jāti*, 12. *jarāmaraṇa*

The last three links of the *pratītyasamutpāda* evidently may refer to the activity of fire which may come into being, be born, and die because it burns the fuel. This is how the Buddha interpreted it.⁵⁹

In the Vedic formulation, it is the constant cognitive craving of the fiery Absolute which guarantees the coming into existence (*bhava*) of the creation. This is also expressed by the Vedic metaphors for subject-object contact: the metaphor of sexual union and the metaphor of eating, actions which result in a new existence or assure the continuation of the existence achieved so far.⁶⁰

Some similarities between the last three links of the *pratītyasamutpāda* and the Vedic cosmogony may also be seen in AU, where the *ātman*, having created the cosmos and man (*puruṣa*), opens the top of the head and is born in it, in order to recognize that it is he who is man¹

ninadam iva nadathur ivāgner iva jvalata upaśṛṇoti l.

⁵⁸See Gombrich 1996, pp. 48, 67–69; also, Oldenberg 1994, pp. 223–24

⁵⁹See Oldenberg 1994, pp. 223–24.

⁶⁰What is more, it is the very cognitive act directed to an object which assures the existence of the subject which *ex definitione* is the cognizing entity: at the moment when the cognition is interrupted, it ceases to be the subject. The fulfilment of self-cognition and the disappearance of the desire for it to continue means the end of the world, just as for the Buddha the disappearance of craving means the end of the process realized in all the links of the *pratītyasamutpāda*.

and the cosmos (AU 1.3.12-13). Then AU describes three births of the *ātman* in human beings: inside a woman at the moment of conception, during the physical birth, and at death (AU 2). Thus, the *ātman* exists in the world before its birth and its death: its *bhava* precedes its *jāti* and *jarāmaraṇa*.

Describing the existence of the *ātman* in the form of an embryo inside the womb, AU several times uses the causative form of the verb $\sqrt{bhū}$ in order to denote that his life is supported by his mother. It is not impossible that the term *bhava* in the Buddha's chain refers to this very image.⁶¹ The possible references to this part of AU could be confirmed by another, later Buddhist interpretation of the *pratītyasamutpāda*, according to which these three last links describe the existence that follows the existence described in links 3-9 (*vijñāna — upādāna*).

In its description of the three births of the *ātman*, AU stresses the reflexive character of this act, which is understood as the *ātman*'s self-transformations. The *ātman* existing in man as his semen is at the same time the father — the giver of semen, and the semen itself — the potential offspring. The *ātman*, fed by its pregnant mother, becomes identical with her, so it is its own mother. This reflexive character is also present in the description of the *ātman*'s dying.⁶²

According to AU, the *ātman* is nourished by the pregnant woman in her womb: "For the continuance of these worlds, for it is in this way that these worlds continue"⁶³ (*eṣāṃ lokānāṃ saṃtatyā evaṃ saṃtatā*

⁶¹AU 2.1.2-3: *sāsyaitam ātmānam atra gataṃ bhāvayati* (2) | *sā bhāvayitrī bhāvayitavyā bhavati* | *taṃ strī garbhaṃ bibharti* | *so'gra eva kumāraṃ janmano'gre'dhi bhāvayati* | *sa yat kumāraṃ janmano'gre'dhi bhāvayaty ātmānam eva tad bhāvayati* | (3)

⁶²*puruṣe ha vā ayam ādīto garbho bhavati yad etad retaḥ* | *tad etat sarvebhyo'ṅgebhyas tejah sambhūtam ātmany evātmānaṃ bibharti* | (2.1.1) *tat strīyā ātmabhūyaṃ gacchati yathā svam aṅgaṃ tathā* | *tasmād enāṃ na hinasti* | (2.1.2) *so 'syāyam ātmā puṇyebhyaḥ karmabhyaḥ pratidhīyate* | *athāsyāyam itara ātmā kṛtakṛtyo vayo gataḥ praiti* | *sa itaḥ prayann eva punar jāyate* | *tad asya tṛtīya janma* | (2.1.4).

⁶³Translation by Olivelle (1998, p. 321).

hīme lokāḥ). This immediately makes one think of the idea of the *dharmasaṃtāna* which appears in the explanations of the *pratītyasamutpāda*.⁶⁴ The difference is crucial: in the Vedic cosmogony *lokānāṃ saṃtāna* is realized thanks to the self-transformations of the *ātman*; in the *pratītyasamutpāda*, the *ātman* does not exist; there are only changes.⁶⁵

It is surely significant that the *locus classicus* for the exposition of the *pratītyasamutpāda* is called the Mahānidānasutta. The word *nidāna* appears in the cosmogonic context in RV 10.130.3: “What was the prototype, what was the counterpart and what was the connection between them?” (*kāsīt pramā pratimā kīṃ nidānam*). In ŚB 11.1.6.3 *pratimā* is the cosmos identified with the fire altar, in ŚB 11.1.8.3 *pratimā* is sacrifice.⁶⁶ The *pramā* is Prajāpati, the Creator, the *nidāna*, the link between the Creator and the creation: their identity. Thus *pramā* and *pratimā* resolve themselves into *nidāna* which guarantees and expresses their identity.

Nidāna, denoting the ontological connection between different levels and forms of beings, also refers to the epistemology: it also gives the explanation of this connection.⁶⁷ I presume that this is the first meaning of *nidāna* in the title of the Buddha’s sermon. It is really “a great explanation”: there is no *ātman*, the *nidāna* of the cosmogony. The negation of the ontological *nidāna* constitutes the Buddha’s *mahānidāna*.

I would like to propose a mental experiment here. The Buddha preached at least some of his sermons to educated people, well versed in Brāhmaṇic thought, who were familiar with the concepts and the general idea of the Vedic cosmogony. To them, all the terms used in the *pratītyasamutpāda* had a definite meaning and they evoked definite associations. Let us imagine the Buddha enumerating all the stages of

⁶⁴Mejor 1996, p. 122.

⁶⁵See Gombrich 1996, p. 62.

⁶⁶Smith 1989, pp. 73–75.

⁶⁷Smith 1989, p. 79.

the Vedic cosmogony only to conclude: "That's right, this is how the whole process develops. However, the only problem is that no one undergoes a transformation here!" From the didactic point of view, it was a brilliant strategy. The act of cutting off the *ātman* — or rather, given his fiery nature, the act of blowing him out — deprives all the hitherto well-defined concepts of their meanings and challenges the infallibility of all their associations, exposing the meaninglessness, absurdity even, of all the cosmogonic developments they express.

The similarities between the Vedic cosmogony and the *pratītya-samutpāda* which I have been trying to show are too evident to be pure coincidence. If we agree with the thesis that the Buddha in formulating the *pratītyasamutpāda* was referring to Vedic cosmogony, his chain should be treated as the general model for Vedic cosmogony but negating its metaphysical, cognitive, and moral sense. To apply the doctrine of *anattā* here would be to deny the *ātman* as the metaphysical basis of all cosmogonic transformations as well as its final forms as they successively appear in the stages of the process. This deprives the Vedic cosmogony of its positive meaning as the successful activity of the Absolute and presents it as a chain of absurd, meaningless changes which could only result in the repeated death of anyone who would reproduce this cosmogonic process in ritual activity and everyday life.

And since fire is the intrinsic character of the *ātman*, *nirvāṇa* can mean not only the liberating recognition of the *ātman*'s absence, but also the refutation of the whole of Vedic metaphysics, which postulates that fire underlies, conditions, and manifests itself in the cosmogony.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Aitareya Upaniṣad
BU	Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad
CU	Chāndogya Upaniṣad
D	Dīgha Nikāya
KU	Kaṭha Upaniṣad
MāU	Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad
RV	Ṛgveda
S	Samyutta Nikāya
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
TU	Taittirīya Upaniṣad

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The Cause of the Buddha's Death

The Mahāparinibbānasuttanta, the longest text in the Dīgha-nikāya (D II 72.1–168.5), contains what seems to be a fairly reliable source for the details of the death of Siddhattha Gotama, the Buddha. It allows readers to follow the story of the last days of the Buddha, beginning a few months before he died (D II 106.19 fol.).

Although the *sutta* portrays the Buddha as a miracle worker, who could have lived up to the end of a *kappa* on the condition that someone invited him to do so (D II, 103.1–15), who determined the time for his own death (D II, 99.7–9; 104.19), and whose death was accompanied by miracles such as the shower of heavenly flowers, sandal powder, divine music (D II, 137.20 foll.) etc., the Buddha is also depicted as an old man, who grumbled about his failing health and growing age (D II, 120.19* foll.), who almost lost his life because of a severe pain during his last retreat in Vesālī, and who was forced to come to terms with his unexpected illness and death after consuming a special dish offered by his host, the smith Cunda (D II 127.5). After the Buddha ate this particular dish, he suddenly fell ill. The name of this dish, *sūkara-maddava*, attracted the attention of scholars, though, in spite of all efforts, the exact significance of this word remains obscure, most likely because it is the name of a very special local dish. The Chinese versions of the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, investigated also by A. Bareau, indicate that the true meaning of *sūkaramaddava* was soon lost.¹

Although the philological investigations end in a dead alley, the *sutta* also provides medically significant details about the Buddha's symptoms and signs of illness, including reliable information about his medical circumstances over four months previous to his death. All this precious information has attracted hardly any attention.

When the Buddha entered his last rains retreat at Beluvagāma, he fell ill (D II 98.26–99.14). The symptom of the illness was sudden.

¹See the appendix.

severe pain, briefly described as so intense that it almost killed the Buddha. The *sutta* does not, however, describe the location or character of this pain.

This part of the story also provides information important to understanding the nature of the Buddha's last illness. For we learn that the Buddha already had a serious illness, symptoms of which recurred and finally killed him; the food he ate was not the only cause of his death.

The Time of the Death of the Buddha

The Theravāda Buddhist tradition adheres to the assumption that the historical Buddha passed away during the night of the full moon in the month of Visākhā (May or June in the solar calendar), the same full moon during which he was born and experienced enlightenment. This date is in contradiction with the information given in the Mahā-parinibbānasuttanta which states clearly that the Buddha died soon after the rains retreat, most likely some time between November and January. This date concurs with the description of the miracle of the unseasonable leaves and flowers of the *sāla* trees (*yamakasālā sabbaphālipullā honti akālapupphehi*, D II 137,20 fol.), between which the Buddha lay down, because the *sāla* tree blossoms only in March.² This date also has consequences for the interpretation of *sūkaramaddava*. For, autumn and winter are unfavorable seasons for the growth of the mushrooms that some scholars believe were the source of poison in the Buddha's last meal.

Differential Diagnosis of the Illness of the Buddha

The *sutta* tells us that the Buddha felt ill immediately after eating *sūkaramaddava*. Since we do not know anything about the true nature of this food, it is impossible to draw any conclusions from this dish concerning the cause the Buddha's death. But we do know that the onset of the Buddha's illness was rapid. The disease started while eating, so

²Renate Syed, *Die Flora Altindiens in Literatur und Kunst* (München, 1990; Ph.D. thesis, München 1982), pp. 559–71, on *sāla/sāla* (*Vatica robusta*, *Shorea robusta*); on the blossoms, p. 567.

the Buddha assumed that there was something wrong with this unfamiliar delicacy and he suggested to his host that the food be buried (D II 127.21–25). Soon the Buddha suffered severe stomach pain and passed blood from his rectum (D II 127.35 fol.).

Was food poisoning the cause of the illness? Unlikely. The described symptoms do not indicate the typical symptoms, which rarely cause a diarrhea of fresh blood. Bacterial food poisoning usually requires an incubation of two to twelve hours to manifest; only then does diarrhea occur, usually with vomiting but never with passing of blood.

Another possibility is chemical poisoning, which does have an immediate onset. However, it is unusual for it to cause bleeding unless corrosive chemicals such as strong acid were ingested. But such agents would have caused upper gastro-intestinal bleeding with a vomiting of blood, which is not mentioned in the text. Moreover, it is unthinkable that the Buddha's host would prepare a toxic dish for him.

A parasitic contamination in the food can also be ruled out as it would not produce a bloody diarrhea with severe abdominal pain after the meal.

Peptic ulcer diseases can be excluded from the list of possible causes. In spite of the fact that they produce an immediate onset, they seldom occur with acute fresh blood, but rather with black stool. For ulcers higher than the ligament of Treitz, the anatomical border between the upper end of the jejunum and lower end of the fourth part of the duodenum, when there is severe bleeding, it would manifest as a bloody vomiting, not a passing of blood through the rectum. Other evidence ruling against this possibility is that patients with large gastric ulcers usually do not have an appetite. By accepting the invitation of Cunda, we can assume that the Buddha felt healthy for a man in his early eighties. It should also be kept in mind, however, that turning down an invitation would have been a rather severe rebuke of Cunda's good intentions.

Given the Buddha's age we cannot rule out that he did have a chronic disease, such as cancer or tuberculosis or a tropical infection such as dysentery or typhoid, all of which were probably quite common in the Buddha's time and could produce bleeding of the lower intestine. But they are usually accompanied by other symptoms, such as lethargy, loss of appetite, weight loss, growth of a mass in the abdomen, none of which are mentioned in the sutta.

A large haemorrhoid can also cause severe rectal bleeding, but it is unlikely that a haemorrhoid would cause severe abdominal pain unless it is strangulated. But then it would have greatly disturbed the walking of the Buddha to the house of his host, and bleeding from a haemorrhoid triggered by eating a meal is rare.

What disease might be accompanied by acute abdominal pain with the passing of massive fresh blood, commonly found among elderly people, and triggered by a meal? Mesenteric infarction: an obstruction of the blood vessels of the mesentery. Acute mesenteric ischemia is a grave condition with a high morbidity and mortality. Anatomically, the mesentery is a posterior part of the intestinal wall that binds the whole intestinal tract to the abdominal cavity. An infarction of the vessels of the mesentery normally causes a necrosis of a large section of the intestinal tract, which results in a tear and laceration of the intestinal wall. The pathology normally produces severe pain in the abdomen with massive passing of blood. Normally, the patient dies of acute blood loss. The course of this disease most closely matches the information given in the sutta, including that the Buddha later asked Ānanda to fetch some water for him to drink.

As the story goes, Ānanda refused to bring him some water, as he saw no source for clean water (D II 128.20–23). He argued with the Buddha that the nearby river was muddied by a large caravan of carts. But still the Buddha insisted. People suffering from mesenteric infarction crave water due to blood loss (cf. also D II 134.22).

A significant question can be asked at this point: Why did the Buddha not go to the water himself, instead of pressing his unwilling attendant to do so?

The answer is simple. The Buddha was suffering from a shock caused by severe blood loss (cf. D II 128,15-17). Probably he was no longer ambulatory, and from then onward to his deathbed he most likely had to be carried on a stretcher.³ However, this is not mentioned in the text, where it is stated that the Buddha continued to walk (e.g., D II 134,20), until he reached Kusinārā. This, it is generally assumed, was not the intended final destination of his journey, because the description of the road the Buddha took rather points to his native town, Kapilavatthu.

Before passing away, the Buddha told Ānanda that Cunda was not to be blamed and that his death was not caused by eating *sūkaramaddava* (D II 135,19-136,19). This statement can perhaps be interpreted in the following way: The meal was not felt by the Buddha to be the immediate cause of his death. He knew that the symptoms were a recurrence of an illness that a few months earlier had almost killed him. *Sūkaramaddava*, no matter what it was, only triggered his death because of a preexisting condition.

Mesenteric Infarction: The Cause of the Disease and Its Progress

Mesenteric Infarction is a disease commonly found among elderly people, caused by the obstruction of the main artery that supplies the middle section of the bowel, the small intestine. The most common cause of the obstruction is the degenerative change of the wall of the blood vessel, the superior mesenteric artery, giving a severe abdominal pain, also known as abdominal angina. Normally, the pain is triggered by a large meal that requires the higher flow of blood to the digestive tract. As the obstruction persists, the bowel is deprived of its blood

³This question had already worried the commentators: *siniddham bhojanam bhuttatā pana tanuvedanā ahosi, ten' eva padasā gantum asakkhi* (Sv 568,26 fol.) "because he had eaten fat food, the pain was small. Therefore, he could walk". (O.v.H.)

supply; this subsequently leads to an infarction, or gangrene of the section of the intestinal tract, which in turn results in laceration of the intestinal wall and causes profuse bleeding into the intestinal tract and bloody diarrhea. The disease gets worse as the liquid and contents inside the intestines ooze out into the peritoneal cavity, causing peritonitis or inflammation of the abdominal walls. Such complications add to an already high mortality among patients who do not die due to the loss of blood alone. In modern medicine, if the pathology is not corrected by surgical operation, the disease often progresses to septic shock due to the bacterial toxin infiltrating into the blood stream.

Retrospective Analysis

From the differential diagnosis given above, it is most likely that the Buddha suffered from mesenteric infarction caused by an occlusion of an opening of the superior mesenteric artery. This caused severe pain that almost killed him a few months earlier, during his last rains retreat. With the progress of the pathology, a certain proportion of the mucosal lining of his intestine sloughed off, which became the origin of the bleeding site. Artherosclerosis was the cause of the arterial occlusion, a small occlusion that did not result in bloody diarrhea, but did cause the symptom of abdominal angina. The Buddha had his second attack while eating *sūkaramaddava*. The pain was probably not unbearable in the beginning, so he was not sure what went wrong. Suspicious about the nature of the food, he asked his host to have it all buried, so that others might not suffer from it.

Soon, with more pain and the passing of fresh blood, the Buddha realized that his disease was serious. Due to the loss of blood, he went into shock. The degree of dehydration was so severe that he could not maintain himself any longer and had to take shelter under a tree along the way, feeling very thirsty and exhausted. It is probably true that the Buddha got better after taking some drink to replace his blood loss, and some rest.

A patient with shock, dehydration and profuse blood loss usually feels very cold. And this was the reason why he told his attendant to prepare a bed using four sheets of the *saṅghāṭi* (D II 128,15-17).

After a mesenteric infarction, patients normally live for ten to twenty hours. From the information contained in the *sutta* we are able to estimate that he died about fifteen to eighteen hours after the attack. During that time, his attendants may have tried their best to comfort him. However, it would be highly unlikely that a shivering patient would need someone to fan him as is described in the *sutta* (D II 138,26). This then may be the true reason why the Buddha asked the well-meaning monk Upavāna to step aside, saying that he blocked the view of the gods.

Still, the Buddha may have recovered from a state of exhaustion, which allowed him to continue his dialogues with a few people as recorded in the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*. But finally, late in the night, the Buddha died from septic shock due to bacterial toxins and the infiltration of contaminated intestinal contents into his blood stream. This medical history is consistent with the usual course of this illness for a person of the Buddha's age.⁴

Mettanando Bhikkhu, M.D.

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⁴I wish to thank Thawatchai Suksanong, M.D., F.A.C.S, F.I.C.S., and Stanley Terman, Ph.D., M.D., for useful suggestions.

APPENDIX

The Last Meal of the Buddha

A Note on *sūkaramaddava*

As we learn from the above article, the last meal of the Buddha was not the immediate cause of, but contributed only indirectly to his death. A similar view is found, though of course not based on medical considerations, in the later part of the *Milindapañha*. The question raised by Milinda is answered by Nāgasena (Mil 174.9–176.9) stating that *na mahārāja tatonidānaṃ bhagavato koci anuppanno rogo uppanno, api ca mahārāja bhagavato pakatidubbale sarīre khīṇe āyusañkhāre uppanno rogo bhiyyo abhivaḍḍhi. ... natthi, mahārāja tasmim piṇḍapāte doso, na ca tassa sakkā doso āropetun ti*, (Mil 175.23–176.9) (“It was not from that source [i.e. the last meal], sire, that an illness arose that had not [so far] arisen, but it was, sir, because of the natural weakness of the Lord’s physical frame and because of the waning of the components of his life-span that the illness which arose in him grew so much worse. ... There was no defect, sire, in the alms-gathering and it is not possible to ascribe a defect to it.”).⁵

This is part of a long debate within Theravāda on this section of the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*, beginning at a very early date and concentrating on two points. One is the possible fault of Cunda in offering food to the Buddha which seemed to have caused his death, the other is the nature of that very food.

The earliest trace of that debate concerning the second point in the Theravāda tradition is found in the commentary on the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*: *sūkaramaddavan ti nātitaruṇassa nātijiṇṇassa ekajettḥakasūkarassa pavattamaṃsam. taṃ kira muduñ c’eva siniddhañ ca hoti. taṃ paṭiyādāpetvā sādhukaṃ pacāpetvā ti attho* (Sv 568.13–17) (“*Sūkaramaddava* means: the fresh meat of an excellent boar, which is neither too young nor too old. For this is soft and fat. Having had it

⁵Trans. by I.B. Horner. This concurs with D II 135.19–136.19 and is emphasized in the commentaries.

prepared means having had it cooked.”). The subcommentary by Dhammapāla explains: *sūkaramaddavan ti vanavarāhassa mudumaṃsaṃ. yasmā Cundo sotāpanno, aññe ca bhagavato bhikkhusaṅghassa ca āhāraṃ paṭiyādentā anavajjam eva paṭiyādenti, tasmā vuttaṃ pavattamaṃsaṃ. taṃ kirā ti nātitaruṇassā ti ādinā vuttavisesaṃ. tathā hi tam muduñ c' eva siniddhañ cā ti vuttaṃ. mudumaṃsabhāvato hi abhisaṅkharānavisesena ca maddavan ti vuttaṃ* (Sv-pt II 218.9-15) (“*Sūkaramaddava* means: the soft meat of a wild boar. Because Cunda as a Sotāpanna, and others, when they prepare food for the Buddha and for the assembly of monks, prepare only faultless [food], therefore it is called fresh meat. ‘For it is’ [introduces the] qualification expressed by ‘of a not too young, etc.’. And therefore it is called soft and fat. Because of the soft nature of the meat and because of the special way of preparing it, it is called *maddava*.”).

This explanation is supplemented again by Dhammapāla in his Udāna-aṭṭhakathā (Paramatthadīpanī I): *sūkaramaddavan ti sūkarassa mudusiniddhaṃ pavattamaṃsan ti Mahā-aṭṭhakathāyaṃ vuttaṃ. keci pana sūkaramaddavan ti na sūkaramaṃsaṃ, sūkarehi madditavaṃsa-kaḷīro ti vadanti. aññe sūkarehi madditapadesa jātaṃ ahicchattakan ti. apare pana sūkaramaddavan nāma tam ekarasāyanan⁶ ti gaṇhiṃsu* (Ud-a 399.23-400.1) (“*Sūkaramaddava* means: the soft, fat, fresh meat of a boar as it is said in the Mahā-aṭṭhakathā. However, some say that it is not the meat of a boar, but bamboo sprouts crushed by boars. Others say it is a mushroom growing at a place trampled upon by boars. But others took *sūkaramaddava* to mean an elixir that prolongs life.”).

Similar explanations are also found in the Sumaṅgalavilāsini, however only in the Burmese tradition:⁷ *eke bhaṇanti: sūkaramaddavan ti pana muduodanassa pañcagorasayūsapācanavidhānassa nām' etaṃ yathā gavapānaṃ nāma pākanāmaṃ. keci bhaṇanti sūkaramaddavaṃ*

⁶So read following E. J. Thomas, quoted below.

⁷The following text is printed without further comment in the Chaṭṭha-saṅgāyana edition; Sv (C^e 1918 (Simon Hewavitarne Bequest Series)) states that the text is not found in any of its Sinhalese sources.

nāma rasāyanavidhi, taṃ pana rasāyanasatthe āgacchati. taṃ Cundena bhagavato parinibbānaṃ na bhaveyyā ti rasāyanaṃ paṭiyattan ti, (Sv 568, note) (“Some say sūkaramaddava is the name of soft rice prepared by cooking a broth with the five products from the cow [i.e. milk, curds, buttermilk, butter, ghee]. This is a name like ‘rice pudding’, a name of a cooked dish. Some say sūkaramaddava means some sort of elixir. This, however is the tradition in the science of elixirs. This elixir was prepared by Cunda with the intention that the parinibbāna of the Lord should not happen.”).

It is difficult to say whether this text is old or is a later interpolation. The second explanation given here is confirmed by Dhammapāla. Moreover, the word *sūkaramaddava* is quoted by using *nāma*, not by *iti*, which might indicate that this is an old explanation also based on the *Sīhaḷa-aṭṭhakathā*.⁸

All this evidence shows that during Dhammapāla’s time at the latest the exact meaning of *sūkaramaddava* was completely forgotten. Moreover, we learn that Buddhaghosa’s explanation is based upon the old *Aṭṭhakathā*. Consequently, this explanation is most likely centuries older than the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*.

Thus we are left with four, if not five choices: meat, bamboo, mushroom, a life prolonging elixir, and a drink prepared from milk and rice. Only the interpretations of *sūkaramaddava* as meat and mushroom survived into modern times.

Older European opinions on this word, including, for example, H. Oldenberg, “Eberfleisch”,⁹ and T. W. Rhys Davids, “dried boar’s flesh”

⁸O.v. Hinüber, *Entstehung und Aufbau der Jātaka-Sammlung. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur* (Mainz: Abhandlungen der sozial- und geisteswissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1998, No. 7), p. 171; and *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin, 1996) §§ 249, 261.

⁹*Reden des Budha: Lehre, Verse, Erzählungen* (München, 1922), p. 109 = (Freiburg, 1993), p. 150.

and "quantity of truffles",¹⁰ are collected by D. G. Koparkar, "Sūkara-maddava" (Poona Orientalist 9 [1944], pp. 34-42). A few years later, but without being able to use Koparkar, E. J. Thomas took up the matter again in his article "Buddha's Last Meal" (*Indian Culture* [Calcutta] 15 (1948-49), pp. 1-3), discussing the evidence found in the Theravāda commentaries, which only a few years earlier had been discussed already at great length and in great detail by E. Waldschmidt in his *Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen; Philologisch-historische Klasse 1939, pp. 55-94) = *Von Ceylon bis Turfan: Schriften zur Geschichte, Literatur, Religion und Kunst des indischen Kulturraumes* (Göttingen 1967, 80-119, pp. 76 foll. = 101 foll.). Thomas was obviously unaware of this article, most likely due to the breakdown of communication during the Second World War. Nor does he refer to R. O. Franke, who had done almost the same already in 1913.¹¹ Both Franke and Thomas favour "boar's flesh", as does the PED. The latest English translation of the Dīgha-nikāya by Maurice Walshe (Boston 1987, p. 256) tries to evade controversy by translating "pig's delight".¹²

The last Western scholar so far, it seems, to have discussed this matter is G. R. Wasson, "The Last Meal of the Buddha" (*JAOS* 102

¹⁰*Buddhist Suttas* (Sacred Books of the East, XI; Oxford, 1881), p. 72: "dried boar's flesh", but *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II (London, 1910), p. 138: "truffles".

¹¹*Dīgha-nikāya: Das Buch der Langen Texte des buddhistischen Kanons in Auswahl*, R. O. Franke, trans. (Göttingen 1913), p. 222, n. 4.

¹²This translation is not tenable because *maddava* does not mean "delight". The translation is justified in a long note, where it is said that modern interpreters favoured the translation "truffles", which is not correct. The preference is rather for "meat" than "mushroom".

There is, however, a predecessor to Walshe's translation in K. E. Neumann, *Die Reden Gotamo Buddhos: Die Mittlere Sammlung* (4th ed., Zurich, 1956), p. xxxi (introduction, 1895). "Eberlust", but "Ebermorcheln" in the translation (1906) of *Die Längere Sammlung* (3rd ed., Zurich, 1957), p. 271.

[1982], pp. 591–603),¹³ who, unsurprisingly, favours the translation “mushroom”.

This opinion is also preferred in the Chinese translation of the *Dīrghāgama*, which can be found conveniently in A. Bareau, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapiṭaka et les Vinayapiṭaka anciens*, II *Les derniers mois: Le Parinirvāṇa et les funérailles*, Vol. I (Paris 1970), pp. 265 foll. This Chinese translation seem to be based on a Sanskrit (or Gāndhārī) word like *candanakarṇa* (*l'oreille d'arbre santal*), which points to a mushroom. Other Chinese translations or parallel texts such as the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* do not mention any specific meal. Still, it seems implausible to postulate a later addition in the text of the Theravādins and in the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* on the basis of these parallels. For it is much easier to assume that an old word was either no longer understood properly or was felt to be offensive and was dropped than that there was a late invention of an obscure term such as *sūkaramaddava*.

Moreover, the structure of the section in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* where *sūkaramaddava* occurs points to a rather old text, because the preceding prose is summed up in a verse (D II 128,6*–12*).¹⁴

It seems unlikely that a clear and universally acceptable solution of the problem of the meaning of the word *sūkaramaddava* can ever be reached. The oldest available evidence from the old *Aṭṭhakathā* and the word itself rather points to meat; as pointed out by Waldschmidt, later Buddhists found this interpretation offensive. But it would not have offended the compilers of the Theravāda canon. For the Buddha did accept *sūkaramaṃsa* once: *sampannakolakaṃ sūkaramaṃsaṃ taṃ me*

¹³Earlier literature is listed in note 1, which supplements Koparkar as quoted above.

¹⁴On this particular text structure: L. Alsdorf, *Die Āryā-Strophen des Pāli-Kanons metrisch hergestellt und textkritisch untersucht* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der sozial- und geisteswissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1967, No. 4), p. 60, no. 2.

bhagavā paṭiṅaṇhatu ... paṭiṅgaheṣi bhagavā (A III 49.21–23) (“Pork with jujube ... may the Lord accept that from me. The Lord accepted”). The commentary explains this as *pakkaṃ ekasaṃvaccharika-sūkaramamsaṃ*, Mp III 253.8 fol.

Most likely, *sūkaramaddava* is a genuine old local name of a dish being based on *sūkara* (“boar, pig”) and *maddava*. If so, the meaning of the compound could be lost easily like, for example, the German local dish *Schweinshaxe*, based on standard German *Schwein* and Bavarian dialect *Haxe* (“leg”). As long as a sufficient corpus of standard high German texts survives, one would always understand the first member of the compound, whereas the second one would be liable to fall into oblivion soon, though in this case it is an old Indo-European word related to Sanskrit *kakṣa* and consequently provided with an etymology.

Finally, Theravāda tradition is also concerned with the fact that this particular food can be digested only by a Tathāgata (D II 127.21–25). It may be sufficient here to draw attention to the Kasibhāradvājasutta, which has been discussed by A. Bateau, “La transformation miraculeuse de la nourriture offerte au Buddha par le brahmane Kasibhāradvāja”, in *Études à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou* (1977) = *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapīṭaka et les Vinayapīṭaka anciens*, III *Articles complémentaires* (Paris 1995), p. 267–276.¹⁵ In the commentary on this *sutta* similar instances are collected (Pj II 154.1–7): Food to be digested only by a Tathāgata is the *pāyāsa* offered by Kasibhāradvāja (Sn 15.5 cf. S I 168.34), the *pāyāsa* offered by Sujātā (Ja I 68.28), the *sūkaramaddava* offered by Cunda, and the *guḷa* offered by Kaccāna (Vin I 225.17).¹⁶

Oskar v. Hinüber

¹⁵The accompanying *gāthās* are also discussed by P. Horsch, *Die vedische Gāthā- und Śloka-Literatur* (Bern, 1966), pp. 244 foll.

¹⁶Cf. Mil 231.23 foll.

Lān² Nā as a Centre of Pāli Literature During the Late 15th Century

Research into Theravāda literature composed in Pāli has been concentrated so far on India, the homeland of Buddhism, and on the two major surviving traditions of Ceylon and Burma respectively. Thailand, Laos and Cambodia, on the other hand, have received comparatively little attention. This is obvious from two well-known, fairly comprehensive monographs, which were written long ago to describe the Pāli literature of both Ceylon and Burma.¹ As far as Thailand is concerned, however, there is only a slim, though important article by G. Cœdès (1886–1969) on this subject. Less than a decade ago, this article was fortunately supplemented, but not superseded, by a substantial, well-researched study by Supaphan na Bangchang.² Unfortunately, this important contribution has had very little impact on international research on Pāli because it is written in Thai.

This progress in our knowledge of Pāli literature and of manuscripts preserved in Thailand was achieved only recently, so it comes as no surprise that Siamese manuscripts were hardly ever used when editions of the Pāli Text Society were prepared. These editions are almost exclusively based on material from Ceylon and Burma.³ In spite of this, it should not be forgotten that the earliest Pāli manuscripts

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¹Mabel Haynes Bode, *The Pāli Literature of Burma* (London, 1909); Gunapala Piyasena Malalasekera, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon* (Colombo, 1928).

²G. Cœdès, "Note sur les ouvrages pali composés en pays Thai", *BEFEO* 15 (1915), pp. 39–46. Supaphan na Bangchang, *The Development of Pāli Literature Based on the Suttapiṭaka Composed in Thailand* (Bangkok, 1990; in Thai).

³An exception is the recently published new edition of the *Sagāthavagga* of the *Samyuttanikāya* by G.A. Somaratne (1999), cf. *OLZ* (in press).

traceable in Europe came from Siam. They are catalogued for the first time in the *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Regiæ* as early as 1739 and belong to the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris today. These manuscripts were used by Eugène Burnouf (1801–52) and Christian Lassen (1800–76) in their book *Essai sur le pali* inaugurating research on Pāli in Europe in 1826.⁴

For a short while, the printed version of the Tipiṭaka that was most widely used was the version printed in Siam (present-day Thailand) in 1893–94. That edition was gradually superseded by the Pali Text Society editions. The Siamese editions receded into the background also because of certain shortcomings. Their manuscript basis was not clearly defined in the introduction, for example, and different traditions seem to have been confused. This follows from a very brief remark in the Braḥ Rājabañśāvātāra Chapāp Braḥ Rājahatthalekhā,⁵ which tells us that manuscripts in *ākṣara lāva* (“Lao letters”) and in *ākṣara rāmaña* (“Mon letters”) were used for “cleaning” and were then transcribed into *ākṣara khom* (“Khmer letters”) as part of the preparation of the restitution of the Central Thai Pāli canon in Bangkok in 1788–89.⁶ Thus, it seems, the high value of the northern tradition was either not fully recognized at that time, or no good northern manuscripts were easily accessible in central Siam.

⁴E. Burnouf and Ch. Lassen, *Essai sur le pali ou langue sacrée de la presque île au-delà du Gange* (Paris, 1826) supplemented by E. Burnouf, *Observations grammaticales sur quelques passages de l'essai sur le pali* (Paris, 1827).

⁵Printed in Bangkok in I ⁸2534, II ⁸2535 (12455): ⁸1992, vol. II, p. 267. Cf. also: Dhani Nivat Kromamun Bidyalabh, “The Reconstruction of Rama I of the Chakri Dynasty”, *JSS* 43 (1955), pp. 21–48 = *Selected Articles from the Siam Society Journal*, Vol. IV (Bangkok, 1959), pp. 238–65; see especially, “Revision of the Buddhist Canon”, pp. 242ff.

⁶The introduction to the edition of the Tipiṭaka does not contain this information: O.v. Hinüber, “Einleitungen und Herausgeber früher Pāli-Drucke in Siam”, *Lex et Litterae: Studies in Honour of Oscar Botto* (Torino, 1997) [appeared in 1998, manuscript sent to the editor in 1986], pp. 237–57.

Consequently, it is no wonder that hardly anything was known outside Siam about the Lān² Nā tradition, where quite a few rather old Pāli manuscripts of partly excellent quality have survived.⁷

The vast majority of these northern manuscripts are fairly recent and do not even contain Pāli texts, but rather Thai Yuan literature. The oldest of these manuscripts dates back to the year C.S. 940 (A.D. 1578)⁸ and contains a highly interesting text on calculating the calendar, the Adhikamāsavinicchaya.⁹ Pāli manuscripts, some of which are quite old, form a small minority, about fifteen per cent, although this is only a very rough estimate. The Pāli texts contained in these manuscripts are both canonical Theravāda texts and works by local authors.

This northern tradition begins to emerge in A.D. 1471 with the oldest dated manuscript of a substantial fragment of a Jātaka text. About the same time, inscribed Buddha images also begin to appear in Lān² Nā, whereas stone inscriptions can be dated to a little earlier than A.D. 1471. It is revealing to compare the development of these three sources for written records. The comparative statistics for manuscripts copied during the 15th to the 17th centuries, for inscribed Buddha images, and for inscriptions show a parallel pattern : ¹⁰

⁷However, important information on Northern Thai Pāli manuscripts is found in Harald Hundius, "The Colophons of Thirty Pāli Manuscripts from Northern Thailand", *JPTS*, 14 (1990), 1-173; and in *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts Kept in the Otani University* (Kyoto, 1995).

⁸"C.S." is the Cūlasakkarāja era, which begins A.D. 638.

⁹*Lan Na Literature: Catalogue of Palm-Leaf Texts on Microfilm at the Social Research Institute* (Chiang Mai: Chiang Mai University, 1986), Section 6, no. 108.

¹⁰These figures are based on: Alexander B. Griswold, "Dated Buddha Images of Northern Siam", *Artibus Asiae*, Supplementum XVI (Ascona 1957); Hans Penth, *Cārūk dī² brah² buddharūp nai nagar jeīyañ hmai¹* (Bangkok, 1976), and the figures given in H. Penth, *Bulletin of the Archive of Lanna Inscriptions*, 2 (1990), p. 18, as of 31 December 1989. The calculation of the number of manuscripts is based on my own observations.

	Inscriptions on Stone or Bronzes	Buddha images	Manuscripts
14th century	9	—	—
15th century	109 (1450–1500: 98)	35 (beg. 1465)	10 (beg. 1471)
16th century	140 (95 prior to 1550)	71	150
17th century	25	8	50

All three branches of material thus concur in their respective numerical development, and consequently, the numbers of the surviving manuscripts and their distribution in time are not accidental but evidently mirror the so-called “golden age of Lān² Nā culture”¹¹ during the late 15th and early 16th centuries and the subsequent decline after the Burmese conquest in A.D. 1558. During the period preceding the Burmese annexation of northern Thailand, more Pāli works were composed in Lān² Nā than before or after. The best known work and the one that has been studied the most, because of the historical value of its content, is Ratanapañña’s *Jinakālamālinī*, which was completed in A.D. 1527.¹² It is well known, though somewhat puzzling, that no northern manuscript of this text has come to light.

A second very productive author or compiler, Sirimaṅgala, whose works are dated between A.D. 1517 and 1524, is perhaps best known for his *Maṅgalatthadīpanī* and *Cakkavāḍadīpanī*.¹³ The latter text was written in A.D. 1520 and survives in a very old, fragmentary northern manuscript copied in C.S. 900 (A.D. 1538). Consequently, it is separated from Sirimaṅgala’s original by only eighteen years and by

¹¹H. Penth, *A Brief History of Lān Nā Civilizations of North Thailand* (Chiang Mai, 1994) pp. 13ff.

¹²O.v. Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin, 1996) (HPL) § 428; H. Penth, *Jinakālamālinī Index: An Annotated Index to the Thailand Part of Ratanapañña’s Chronicle Jinakālamālinī* (Oxford and Chiang Mai, 1994), p. vi.

¹³HPL §§ 389, 400.

only fourteen years from the Maṅgalatthadīpanī. Therefore, it is not unlikely that Sirimaṅgala was still alive when this manuscript was copied. This then would be quite unique in the history, not only of Pāli manuscripts, but of any older Indian or Southeast Asian tradition.

Ñāṇakitti, the third author of the same period, is almost forgotten, though his work does deserve some attention. Ñāṇakitti's work has been almost totally neglected up to now. This oblivion may be due in part to the fact that he was a grammarian who composed a fairly comprehensive commentary called *Kaccāyanarūpadīpanī*¹⁴ on Buddhapiya's well-known *Rūpasiddhi*. An old, complete manuscript of this commentary comprising 15 *phūk* (bundles of twenty-four palm leaves each) that dates from C.S. 950 (A.D. 1588)¹⁵ is preserved today in the important collection of Vat Suñ Men in Phrae, a collection that consists mostly of the early 19th-century Pāli manuscripts brought together at the initiative of the monk Kañcana in the early 19th century.

The text itself has not been studied, and it seems no edition has been prepared. It is known only through the article by G. Cœdès, who had not seen the *Kaccāyanarūpadīpanī* himself, but who knew of a manuscript then extant in Cambodia. The colophon of the Phrae manuscript gives some information on Ñāṇakitti. It is said that he lived in the Panasārāma monastery situated to the northwest (*pacchima-uttara-bhāge*) of Abhinavapura, which is the Pāli name for Chiang Mai. The monastery has, unfortunately, resisted all attempts at identification. The author describes himself as well versed in all branches of grammar (*sakala-veyyākaraṇa-saṅga-ñāṇa*) and as having a full command of the *Tipiṭaka* together with its commentaries.

¹⁴Cf. V. Trenckner, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. I (Copenhagen, 1924-48), Epilegomena (1948), pp. 1*-99*: 5.1.42.

¹⁵The donors, the *upāsakas* Nein Tem Bā and Nān Suḍ Gāṃ, who were husband and wife, originally deposited this manuscript in the Phra Khāv Bān monastery in Chiang Seen, from which a second manuscript containing the *Sammohavinodanī* (Vibh-a) copied in A.D. 1612 is extant and found in the Duang Dī Monastery in Chiang Mai today (film no. 04-031-00).

Although the date of composition is not mentioned, the name of the king who provided the building in the Panasārāma where Ñāṇakitti lived is given as Siri-Tibhuvanādicca-dhammarāja. Although no king of this name is known in Lān² Nā history, he can be identified without too much difficulty. In praising this king, the colophon continues: *laṅkābhidhānena suvaṃsajena rājādhirājena*. The form *laṅkā* is misleading at first, as it seems to indicate a Sinhalese king. Comparing colophons of other works by Ñāṇakitti, however, shows that the correct reading is *laka*. This, of course, is not a Pāli, but a northern Thai word. It is to be pronounced /lok/ and is used to name the sixth child, particularly in a royal family. Furthermore, Dāo² Lak¹⁶ is listed as a name of King Tilokah, who ruled Chiang Mai between 1441 and 1487. According to an oral communication made by Hans Penth in Chiang Mai long ago, Tiloka might well have coined his Pāli name on the model of the name of his contemporary and rival who ruled Ayuthayā between 1448 and 1488 as Phra Parama-Trailoka-nātha (Borommatrailokanath). Needless to say, Tiloka and Tibhuvana are synonyms.

This identification can be considered as accurate; so Ñāṇakitti lived during the reign of King Tiloka, most likely towards the end of the reign. For, as other dated works indicate, he may have outlived the king by at least fifteen years.

Besides the grammatical commentary briefly discussed above, there are two commentaries on the Vinaya and possibly eight on Abhidhamma texts written by Ñāṇakitti. It is uncertain whether there is, or ever has been, a complete set of subcommentaries on the entire Abhidhamma-piṭaka. The traces of a Kv-a-y and Yam-a-y are vague as they are found in the not entirely trustworthy handlist of the National Library in Bangkok, originally published in A.D. 1921.¹⁷ Three works

¹⁶Udom Rungriangsri, *Bacanānukram Lān² Nā Daṅy*, 2 vols. (Bangkok 1991) [reviewed in *ZDMG* 145 (1995), p. 238]; and *The Northern Thai Dictionary* (Bacanānukram Bhāsā Thin¹ Bhāg Hneüø) (Chiang Mai, 2539 = 1996).

¹⁷This list has been reprinted in *Bukkyō Kenkyū* (Buddhist Studies) (Hamamatsu) vol. 5 (1976), pp. 79-57.

of Ñāṇakitti are dated: The Dhātukathā-atthayojanā¹⁸ and the Pātimokkhaṅṭhipada were composed in A.D. 1493–94, and the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-mahāṭīkā-yojanā, named Pañcīkā by Ñāṇakitti himself, in A.D. 1502–1503.¹⁹

The first commentary in the set explaining the Abhidhammatthakathā, the As-y, was written with astonishing speed. As one of the colophon verses states, it took Ñāṇakitti only nine months to finish this book comprising no less than 16 fascicles (*phūk*) or 248 printed pages in the Burmese edition of 1927:

... dhīrena	therena Ñāṇakittinā
Aṭṭhasālīniyā attha-	yojanā sādhu saṅkhatā
Māghasiram upādāya	yāva Sāvaṇamāsato
navamāsehi niṭṭhānaṃ	sampattā athayojanā.

As-y B^e 1927 249,12*-15*

The wise Elder Ñāṇakitti carefully composed the commentary on the Atthasālīnī, and the commentary reached its end in nine months from Māghasira (Nov.–Dec.) to the month of Sāvaṇa (July–Aug.).

This is in itself a rare statement found only three times in Pāli literature. The other two instances are the *nigamana* to the Samantapāsādikā stating that this text was composed during the 20th and 21st years of the King Sirinivāsa,²⁰ and the corresponding information provided by Sumaṅgalasāmi in the *nigamana* of his Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī-ṭīkā. This text comprises 169 pages in the Pali Text Society

¹⁸The dates and colophons are found in G. Cœdès, as note 2, pp. 40f. The exact date of Dhātuk-a-y is slightly doubtful: *tathāgatassa parinibbānato navatiṅsādhikesu dvisu vassahassesu paripuṇṇesu atikka-ntesu pacchā vasse ... catupaññāsādhika-aṭṭhasatasakkarāje assayuje māsassa kālapakkhajīvadinabhūte dasamadine*: BE 2040 = A.D. 1497, but C.S. 854 = A.D. 1492 does not concur, unless Ñāṇakitti used the highly unlikely date 548 B.C. for the Nirvāṇa instead of 543 B.C. as is usual in Thailand.

¹⁹This text is only about half a century younger than Ariyavaṃsa's Maṇisāramañjūsā on the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, composed in Burma in 1466. A comparative study on the methods of commenting on the text used in both these commentaries might yield interesting results.

²⁰HPL § 209.

edition and is said to have been composed in only twenty-four days, which is indeed a remarkable speed, even if, as H. Saddhatissa points out,²¹ this commentary is almost entirely based on the *Abhidhammattha-purāṇa-sannaya* by Sāriputta, Sumaṅgalasāmi's teacher.

Ñānakitti not only mentions the time he needed for his work, but also indicates the months during which he worked. Similarly, he states at the end of *Dhātuk-a-y* that this commentary was finished in the month of Assayuja (Sept.–Oct.) on the tenth day of the dark half of the month, which was a Thursday (*jīvadina*).²² Consequently, it seems not unlikely that this commentary was finished in October, immediately before he took up the work on the *As-y* in November. If this is correct, *As-y*, too, can be dated to A.D. 1492–93, although the *nigamana* does not contain a year. No direct or indirect date is available for any of the other *Abhidhamma* commentaries by Ñānakitti, including *Vibh-a-y*, which falls in between *As-y* and *Dhātuk-y* in the sequence of *Abhidhamma* texts.

A decade elapsed before Ñānakitti composed his last dated work, the *Pañcikā*, which is a subcommentary to the highly popular handbook by Anuruddha, the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*.²³

²¹*Abhidh-s* and *Abidh-s-mhṭ*, introduction, p. xix; cf. HPL § 346.

²²This and other colophons contain an interesting, though not entirely clear remark: *Ñānakittināma-dheyyena therena Haribhuñjayavāsinaṃ bhāsāya katā ayam dhātukathāppakaraṇaṭṭhakathatthavojanā*. The meaning of *bhāsā* may follow Thai usage here, as H. Pentz suggests in a letter of 10 Sept. 1998: “following the way/understanding of the (monks) living in Lamphun”, which was a renowned seat of Theravāda scholarship in Ñānakitti's time.

²³The oldest dated manuscript of *Abidh-s* is no. 37 dated A.D. 1571 in the collection of the Siam Society, Bangkok; see O.v. Hinüber, “The Pāli Manuscripts Kept at the Siam Society, Bangkok: A Short Catalogue”, *JSS*, vol. 75. (1987), pp. 9–74.

Altogether, Ñāṇakitti wrote the following eleven commentaries :

I. Vinaya :

1. Pātimokkhaṅṭhīdīpanī [Pātīm-gp-d] : 1492–93 ; ms G. Cœdès,²⁴ number of *phūk* uncertain ; Epilegomena : ²⁵ 1.1,1 ;
2. Samantapāsādikā-attha-yojanā [Sp-y] : no date ; S^e and mss at Phrae ; 19 *phūk* ; Epilegomena 1.2,14.

II. Abhidhamma :

3. Atthasālinī-attha-yojanā [As-y] : no date (perhaps 1492–93) ; C^e, B^e and ms at Phrae ; 16 *phūk* ; Epilegomena 3.1,15² ;
4. Sammohavinodanī-attha-yojanā [Vibh-a-y] : no date ; C^e, B^e and mss at Phrae ; 16 *phūk* ; Epilegomena 3.2,15² ;
5. Dhātukathā-attha-yojanā [Dhātuk-a-y] 1492–93 ; ms L^k, and mss at Phrae ; 3 *phūk* ; Epilegomena 3.3,15 ;
6. Puggalapaññatti-attha-yojanā [Pg-a-y] : no date ; mss at Phrae ; 1 *phūk* ; [Epilegomena 3.4,15] ;
7. [Kathāvatthu-attha-yojanā] (Kv-a-y) : existence uncertain ; Epilegomena 3.5,15 ;
8. [Yamaka-attha-yojanā] (Yam-a-y) : existence uncertain ; Epilegomena 3.6,15 ;
9. Paṭṭhāna-attha-yojanā [Paṭṭ-a-y] : no date ; ms G. Cœdès ; number of *phūk* uncertain ; [Epil. 3.7,15].
10. Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī-attha-yojanā [Abhidh-a-mhṭ-y] : 1502 ; S^e ; [Epil. 3.8.1,22].

²⁴This refers to the article mentioned in n. 2 above.

²⁵Epilegomena, as in n. 14. Titles and their abbreviations and numbers not mentioned in the Epilegomena are put in brackets.

III. Veyyākaraṇa :

11. Kaccāyanarūpadīpanī (commentary on Buddhapiya : Rūpasiddhi) :
no date ; ms at Phrae ; 15 *phūk* ; Epile gomena 5.1,42.

As no research has been done on these commentaries, nothing is known about their exact contents. Sp-y suggests itself as a good starting point, for while only two books, Sp-y (S^e) and Abhidh-s-mḥṭ-y (S^e), are provided with indexes in the printed editions, the latter text has only one general index, starting in a fairly comprehensive way in volume one, only to get slimmer and slimmer towards volume three, and ending on a decidedly discouraging note : *icc-evaṃ-ādi padānaṃ anukkamo idh' evaṃ tāva veditabbo. aññāni pi nātukāmena sayam eva gavesitabbāni* (Abhidh-s-mḥṭ-y III 601,9f.). “This is as far as the alphabetical list of words goes. Whoever wishes to know other [words], must search for himself.”

The Samantapāsādikā-yojanā, on the other hand, also contains a small and incomplete list of Pāli works quoted. This provides some useful first information about books available to and used by Ñāṇakitti. Combining this information with some material collected at random from Sp-y, the following preliminary remarks can be made about these commentaries. Anybody used to reading Vinaya commentaries will be surprised, if not somewhat disappointed, by Sp-y, for, as a true grammarian, Ñāṇakitti explains the grammar of the Samantapāsādikā to such an extent that it is at times hard to see that he has before him a text on Buddhist law. The sophisticated legal discussions found in the works of his predecessors seem to be almost completely absent.

Obviously, Ñāṇakitti was not a *vinayadhara*. He arranges sentences in such a way as to show the syntactical construction, which is called *sambandha*. Much is said on word formation, on the meaning of sometimes quite well-known words, or on the use of cases. All this is, of course, based on Pāli grammars such as Buddhapiya's Rūpasiddhi

(Sp-y I 4.27), Moggallāna (Sp-y I 13.2) or Aggavaṃsa's Saddanīti.²⁶ Therefore it is difficult to avoid the impression that the Samantapāsādikā was used, if not misused, to instruct monks in the basics of grammar rather than in Vinaya.

More useful, and at times quite interesting, are the variant readings mentioned by Ñāṇakitti, but not preserved elsewhere in the manuscript tradition, e.g., *ūnaṃ onan ti pi ca pāṭhā*, Sp-y I 288,13 on Sp 297,30. Furthermore, etymologies such as the one of Kusinārā deserve some attention: *kuso hatthe etassa tveva atthī ti kusī, daṇḍādito ika iti suttena ī* (Kacc 368). *kusī ca sa naro cā ti kusinaro, kusa-hattham naram passivā māpitaṃ nagaram kusīnaram*, Sp-y I 22,11–13, or of Pāli:²⁷ *pakaṭṭhā āli pāli atha vā attham pāti rakkhatī ti pāli*, Sp-y I 13,1 ref. to: *pātismā ḷi hoti, attham pāti rakkhatī ti pāli tanti*, Mogg VII 228 (uṇādi).

One aspect of Ñāṇakitti's works is of immediate interest, however. By quoting texts of other authors, he sheds some light on Lān² Nā literature, for these quotations not only demonstrate Ñāṇakitti's learning, but at the same time show which texts were available in Lān² Nā by the turn of the 16th century.

Apart from this immediate evidence of the presence of certain books, access to a complete Tipiṭaka should not have been a problem in Ñāṇakitti's time. Today it is. No monastery in the north, with the possible exception of Vat Suñ Men at Phrae, possesses anything like a complete set of the Tipiṭaka in manuscript form. Ñāṇakitti, on the other hand, witnessed, and in all likelihood also participated in, the eighth council according to Thai reckoning, convoked by King Tiloka in Chiang Mai at Vat Jet Yòt in A.D. 1477–78, where the king also had a

²⁶The quotation *anduyā bandhanam andubandhanam. saddanītiyam pana addū ti vuttam*, Sp-y II 212.14f. refers to § 447 *adi bandhane andati, andū*, Sadd 377.10, where the form *andu* is not mentioned.

²⁷For older explanations of and different opinions on the word *pāli* cf.: O.v. Hinüber, "On the History of the Pāli Language" (1977) in *Selected Papers on Pāli Studies* (1994), pp. 76–90.

library constructed to house the revised copy of the Tipiṭaka.²⁸ Explanatory literature such as the Aṭṭhakathā must have existed at Chiang Mai during that time as well. Thus the preconditions existed to make Ñāṇakitti a true *sāṭṭhakathātipiṭakadhara*, a scholar “commanding the Tipiṭaka together with the commentary”, as he is called in his colophons.

The fairly incomplete index to the Thai printed edition of Sp-y traces altogether more than twenty quotations in this text. This number is at once reduced by one rather puzzling quotation from a text called “Vākyopaññāsa”, queried with much justification by the Thai editors. For *tathā ti vākyopaññāse vuttam*, Sp-y I 569,13 simply means “said at the beginning of the sentence”. Of course no such book exists.

It is certainly not surprising to find some quotations from canonical Suttas or Jātakas, nor is knowledge of the Buddhavaṃsa with its commentary, the Mahāvaṃsa, and the Thūpavaṃsa unexpected. Much more interesting is occasional information on relatively late Pāli literature. Thus it seems Ñāṇakitti is the first to provide a source for the existence of the Visuddhajanavilāsini, the commentary to the Apadāna. The earliest date for this otherwise undatable text was until now the oldest surviving manuscript, copied in A.D. 1557 and preserved at Vat Lai Hin.²⁹

Moreover, Ñāṇakitti quotes the following Vinaya commentaries: Buddhaghosa’s Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī, the Vinayagaṇṭhipada (*i.e.* the Vajirabuddhiṭīkā), Buddhadatta’s Vinayavinicchaya³⁰ with its commentary, the Vinayatthamañjūsā (*i.e.* the commentary on the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī), the Khuddakasikkhāporāṇaṭīkā (Khudda-s-ṭ) and Khuddaka-sikkhā(bhinava)ṭīkā (*i.e.* the Sumaṅgalappasādanī (Khudda-

²⁸Penth, *Jinakālamālīnī Index*, (as note 12 above) p. 218; see also, E.W. Hutchinson, “The Seven Spires: A Sanctuary of the Sacred Fig Tree at Chiang Mai”, *JSS* vol. 39 (1951), pp. 43ff.

²⁹HPL § 302.

³⁰This is quoted as Vinayavinicchayapāṭho, Sp-y II 232.29.

s-ṭ)),³¹ the Uttaravinicchayaṭīkā, Vācissara's Sīmālaṅkāra and his Sīmālaṅkārasaṅgaha. His quotations thus confirm the wrong attribution of the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī to Buddhaghosa as well as Vinayagaṇṭhipada as the original, though rarely used, title of the Vajirabuddhiṭīkā:³² *vinaya-gaṇṭhipade ... vuttaṃ*.

If we accept the information given in the index to Sp-y, he even seems to know the name of the author of the otherwise anonymous commentary on the Uttaravinicchaya when he quotes a long and interesting paragraph on coins and currencies, ending in a number of verses:

Uttaravinicchayaṭīkāyaṃ³³ pana:

missakakahāpaṇo yeva nīlakahāpaṇo. tath' eva hi porāṇasatthavihitalakkhaṇaṃ
[°taṃ lakkh°] dissati. [kathaṃ] pañca māsā suvaṇṇassa, tathā
rajatassa, dasa māsā tambassā ti ete vīsati māsē missetvā
bandha[na]tthāya vīhimattaṃ lohaṃ pakkhipitvā akkharānaṃ [°āni]
ca hatthipādādīnaṃ [hatthi-ādīnaṃ ?] aññatarāṇi ca rūpaṃ dassetvā
kato niddosattā nīlakahāpaṇo nāma hoti. [= Utt-vin-ṭ Be II 407.23–
408.5]

honti c' ettha:

<i>hemarajatatambehi</i>	<i>satthe niddiṭṭhalakkhaṇaṃ</i>
<i>ahāpetvā kato vīsa-</i>	<i>māso nīlakahāpaṇo</i>
<i>hemapādaṃ sajjhupādaṃ</i>	<i>tambapādadvayaṃ hi so</i>
<i>missetvā rūpaṃ appetvā</i>	<i>kātuṃ satthe sudassito</i>
<i>elo [elā] ti vuccate doso</i>	<i>niddosattā tathārīto [tathīrito]</i>
<i>tassa pādo suvaṇṇassa</i>	<i>vīsavihagghanāmako</i>
	<i>[°agghano māso]</i>
<i>yasmiṃ pana padese so</i>	<i>na vattati kahāpaṇo</i>
<i>vīsaovaṇṇavihagghaṃ</i>	<i>tappādagghaṃ ti vediyam</i>
<i>vīsaovaṇṇavihagghaṃ</i>	<i>thenentā bhikkhavo tato</i>
<i>cavanti sāmāññaṅga</i>	<i>icc' āhu vinayaññuno ti</i>

³¹On these commentaries cf. Heinz Braun and Anne Peters, *Burmese Manuscripts*, Part 3 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland Band XXIII, 3; Stuttgart, 1996), nos. 715, 716.

³²HPL § 367.

³³The usually correct wording in Utt-vin-ṭ is given in brackets, where it differs from Sp-y, and is preferred as the basis of the translation.

[= Utt-vn-ṭ Be II 409,4*-13*] *Vācissaranāmākācariyena vuttaṃ*, Sp-y I 288,15-89,12 (on Sp 297,30).

[It is said], however, in the commentary on the Uttaravinicchaya:

A *nīlakahāpaṇa* is a composite *kahāpaṇa*. For this characteristic can be found described in ancient handbooks. How? A flawless *nīlakahāpaṇa* is made when five *māsa* of gold and [five *māsa*] of silver [plus] ten *māsa* of copper — these twenty *māsa* — are mixed. For better coherence an amount of iron corresponding only to the size of a grain of rice is added [and] letters and one of the marks such as an elephant, etc., are shown [on the coin].

And there are [the following verses]:

A *nīlakahāpaṇa* of twenty *māsa* [that is] not deficient in the characteristics described in the handbooks is made out of gold, silver, [and] copper. For it is well described in the handbooks that it is made by mixing a *pāda* of gold,³⁴ a *pāda* of silver, two *pādas* of copper, and by adding a mark. A fault is called *ela*,³⁵ because of [describing *nīlakahāpaṇa* as] being without fault, it has been said in this way [in the preceding verses]. A *pāda* of this gold [is called] a *māsa* equivalent to twenty grains of rice. In a country where a *kahāpaṇa* is not a currency, the value of a *pāda* should be understood as corresponding to twenty grains of rice in gold. Monks stealing gold [equal in] value twenty grains of rice fall from the virtues of an ascetic as a consequence. So say those who are knowledgeable in the Vinaya.

This has been said by the Teacher Vācissara."³⁶

Ñāṇakitti's reference to Vācissara at the end of this paragraph sounds quite exciting at first. When checking the relevant paragraph itself, however, it becomes clear at once that these verses are quoted in the Uttaravinicchayaṭīkā as well, although no source is indicated. But even if Ñāṇakitti succeeded only in identifying their author correctly, which we are unfortunately unable to verify, some of the excitement would remain. For Vācissara, who lived in Ceylon during the late 13th

³⁴According to Vin III 45,11 five *māsaka* correspond to one *pāda*.

³⁵Cf. CPD s.v. *ela*.

³⁶This text is not quoted by Charan Das Chatterjee: "Some Numismatic Data in Pāli Literature", in: *Buddhist Studies*, ed. by Bimala Churn Law. Calcutta 1931, p. 383-452.

century and is best known as the author of the Thūpavaṃsa,³⁷ also wrote on the Vinaya. Two short texts on *sīmā* problems survive in manuscripts, the Sīmālaṅkāra and the Sīmālaṅkārasaṅgaha.³⁸ Consequently, Ñāṇakitti would be right in saying this only if he referred to an otherwise unknown work on Vinaya by Vācissara, for verses on money that obviously refer to the second Pārājika would be quite unexpected in any discussion on *sīmā*.

Therefore, if the verses quoted in the Uttaravinicchayaṭīkā were actually composed by Vācissara, this could provide a date *ante quem* (13th century) of this otherwise undated commentary. A two-hundred-year range between the 13th and the end of the 15th centuries is not unacceptable given the fact that we can give precise dates for Pāli texts of hardly any period.

Furthermore, Ñāṇakitti even traces the sources of two quotations found within the text of the Samantapāsādikā: *iti vaje — pe* [i.e., *satthe nāvāyan ti tīsu ṭhānesu natthi vassacchede āpatti,*] — *pavāretuñ ca labhatī ti* (Sp 1072, Af.) *porāṇaṭṭhakathāvacane*, Sp-y II 280,8; and again *yena akataṃ tena kātabbam, yaṃ ca akataṃ taṃ kātabban* (Sp 830,8)³⁹ *ti Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathāpāṭhe*, Sp-y II 83,1. Although both these short texts are also marked as quotations in the Samantapāsādikā, no source is indicated, nor are they identified by any of the predecessors of Ñāṇakitti who are known to us, such as Vajirabuddhi, Sāriputta, or Kassapa Coḷa. Therefore, Ñāṇakitti could not draw this information from an older commentary but had to rely on his own knowledge.

This at once raises the interesting though difficult question whether Ñāṇakitti could have had immediate access to these very old texts which he gives as the sources of the quotations and which had been superseded

³⁷HPL § 192.

³⁸HPL § 339; cf. P. Kieffer-Pülz, "Vācissara's Sīmālaṅkārasaṅgaha and the Disagreement between Coḷiyas and Sīhaḷas", *Buddhist Studies* (Hamamatsu), vol. 28 (1999), pp. 11–18.

³⁹It is interesting to note that this sentence is commented upon in the Samantapāsādikā.

by the Samantapāsādikā a millennium before his own time. However, they were still available in 12th century Ceylon.⁴⁰ Consequently, if Ñāṇakitti could still use the old Sinhalese commentaries, they must have survived much longer than is usually assumed. Although it seems at first highly unlikely, if not impossible, that this unexpected knowledge was available in Lān² Nā far away from Ceylon in the 15th century, we have to keep in mind that at the beginning of the 15th century twenty-five monks from Chiang Mai travelled to Ceylon for higher studies.⁴¹ Therefore it is not as far-fetched as it might seem at first that knowledge even of these commentaries was brought back to Lān² Nā, and moreover, it is not impossible to imagine that part of the oral tradition, including information about quotations in the important Vinaya texts, was acquired by the travelling monks in Anurādhapura.

Even if this problem cannot be solved, it raises the more general question of Ñāṇakitti's international position and that of his work during his lifetime and after. At the same time this can open a new perspective on Ñāṇakitti's activities within the context of Theravāda literature.

A general survey of commentaries on the Theravāda canon shows that there are two types of commentaries or commentators. On the one hand, there are large sets of commentaries by a single author such as Buddhaghosa, and on the other hand there are commentators who concentrated on only a single text such as the Vajirabuddhi. Once the commentarial literature is viewed from this angle, it is immediately obvious that the vast majority of this literature is connected to the names of only four authors: Buddhaghosa, Dhammapāla, Sāriputta, and finally, Ñāṇakitti. This leads to two questions: Why were these truly

⁴⁰W. B. Bollée, "Die Stellung der Vinayaṭīkā in der Pāli-Literatur", in XVII. *Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 21. bis 27. Juli 1968 in Würzburg*, Vorträge Teil 3. (ZDMG Supplementa I. Wiesbaden, 1969), pp. 824–35.

⁴¹Penth, *Jinakālamālinī Index* (as note 12 above), p. 114; cf. also, E.W. Hutchinson, "The Seven Spires" (as note 28 above), pp. 40, 34f.

voluminous texts written at a certain point in the development of Theravāda literature? And why were they written in specific areas?

The answers are obvious only with respect to Sāriputta, because the motives for his literary activity are well known. He explained the Vinaya at the request of Parakkamabāhu I (1153–86), who needed these very texts for his Saṃgha reforms in the 12th century. It is not unlikely that Buddhaghosa worked under similar circumstances when he composed the Visuddhimagga as the definitive handbook of Theravāda orthodoxy and as a centrepiece around which he grouped the commentaries on the first four Nikāyas of the Suttapiṭaka. During the same period, the commentaries on the Vinayapiṭaka and the Abhidhammapiṭaka were developed as well, though not created by Buddhaghosa, as is erroneously assumed by the Theravāda tradition.⁴² If the generally accepted date for Buddhaghosa is correct, he was active at a time when the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura successfully sought to re-establish itself after having been almost completely suppressed by the rival fraternity of the Abhayagirivihāra.

Nothing at all is known about Dhammapāla's background; his productivity was impressive, next only to Buddhaghosa's.⁴³

Looking at Nānakitti's work from the same perspective, he suddenly gains a surprisingly prominent position in the history of Theravāda literature, and, at the same time, his presumed intentions and programme become visible. Nānakitti lived during or shortly after a period of active exchange of Buddhist monks between Ceylon and Lān² Nā under a king who, not unlike Parakkamabāhu, tried to renew Buddhism. The council convoked by King Tiloka has been mentioned above. In this connection it makes more sense to follow earlier

⁴²A survey of the authors and a tentative chronology of the commentaries on the Theravāda Tipiṭaka is found in HPL § 307.

⁴³Buddhaghosa's commentaries comprise approximately 5,000 printed pages; the Abhidhamma commentaries, approximately 1,700 printed pages; the Samantapāsādikā, approximately 1,500 printed pages. Dhammapāla's commentaries, on the other hand, comprise more than 2,700 printed pages.

examples and have commentaries written as well. The close connection between King Tiloka or Siri-Tibhuvanādicca and Ñāṇakitti is quite evident from the colophons. Furthermore, Ñāṇakitti's programme could have been inspired by the model from Ceylon because the pattern of his commentaries clearly imitates earlier examples. There are no explanations of the Suttapiṭaka, which had dropped into the background long before, while scholarly activities of Theravāda monks such as Kassapa Coḷa concentrated on both the Vinaya and Abhidhamma.

Viewed from this angle, Ñāṇakitti's activities can be seen as part of the flowering of Lān² Nā culture before and after the year 1500, and this was not only due to his work. If we take into consideration the great number of extant Pāli manuscripts copied during this period, Lān² Nā was for a short time a late centre of Pāli literature, and perhaps the importance of this activity was understood at the time.

In contrast to his illustrious predecessors, however, Ñāṇakitti failed to gain the same international recognition. This is only too evident from the rarity of manuscripts of his works even in Thailand. And no manuscript seems to be known outside Thailand, Laos or Cambodia. Thus, the Sinhalese print of the Vibh-a-y of 1892 states expressly that the manuscript material was provided by the then king of Siam, Chulalongkorn (1853-1910, reigned from 1868). Neither the Sāsanavaṃsa, the Gandhavaṃsa, nor the Piṭakatthamaññ (*Piṭakat-samuññ*) mentions his name.

This shows that Lān² Nā was only a local centre of Pāli literature and not of any international significance. It never exercised any recognizable influence on either Burma or Ceylon. And, as far as the work of Ñāṇakitti is concerned, this failure to win international appreciation in the Theravāda world may be due in large part to the somewhat limited information his exercises in grammar provide. The lack of new ideas in continuing the discussion of controversial points in both the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma does not immediately appeal to the reader.

Another reason may have been the political development. The Burmese conquered Lān² Nā in 1558, half a century after Ñāṇakitti. After that event, the Lān² Nā Pāli tradition merged with, or was absorbed by, the exegetical tradition of Burma which was stronger, older, and much better. Thus it seems that the Burmese prevailed not only politically but also culturally, pushing back into near oblivion a short-lived attempt of a local culture to establish itself in the world of Theravāda Buddhism. Although that attempt ultimately failed, it does deserve to be remembered as a late phase of Pāli literature.

Oskar von Hinüber

Nine Pāli Manuscripts in the Vatican Library

The present paper is respectfully dedicated, as a token of gratitude, to the memory of the great scholar Monseigneur Sauget MEP, lector orientalis Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, and to Umberto Figliuoli, Avvocato di Sacra Rota.

During a short mission to Rome in March-April 1986, l'École française d'Extrême-Orient gave me the opportunity of establishing a "Bibliothèque Vaticane, état sommaire du fonds des manuscrits en écritures indiennes ou dérivées".¹ The following is an abstract translated into English of the file concerning the Pāli collection.

Pāli manuscripts are found in two different collections, Borgia (BORG) and Vaticana-Indiana (VAT-IND). Six manuscripts are in Burmese script, two in the Kham script of Siam, one in Sinhalese script. Except for the manuscripts from the Borgia Collection, the provenance remains unknown. Three MSS were copied during the 18th century, one in the middle of the 19th century, the dates of the others are unknown.

The Three Pāli Manuscripts of the Borgia Collection

The collection built up by Cardinal Stefano Borgia (1731–1804) which is housed today in the Vatican Library comes from the Propaganda Fide Library in Rome and Borgia Museum of Velletri.²

At the end of the 18th century, Indian and Indochinese manuscripts of the Borgia collections were carefully described by Paulinus

¹See EFEO DATA Filliozat, file *Vaticana* kept in the data base of the École française d'Extrême-Orient Library, 22 avenue du Président-Wilson, 75116 Paris, France. Free copy on request.

²Moved to the Vatican in 1902. See Orsatti Paola, *Il fondo Borgia della Biblioteca Vaticana e gli studi orientali a Roma tra sette e ottocento* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1996, Studi e Testi), p. 376.

Bartholomeus,³ a White Friar former missionary who was a reader in Oriental languages at the College of Missions in Rome at Saint Pancras. He published two books in Rome :

Examen historico-criticum codicum Indicorum, Bibliothecae Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide. Rome: Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1792

Musei Borgiani Velitris codices manuscripti avenses peguani siamici malabarici indostani animadversionibus historico-criticis castigati et illustrati. Rome: Antonium Fulgonium, 1793.⁴

Unfortunately not all the Pāli manuscripts described in these two works could be traced today in the Vatican Library. The only manuscript we could identify in the first book is the text of the Pātimokkha⁵ in Pāli with a Burmese *nissaya*, and in the second book, two Pāli manuscripts classified among the *Codices Peguani*: a fragment of a Jātaka⁶ text and the same Pātimokkha.⁷ Concerning the Kammavācā text studied by Bartholomeus⁸ described as leaves on palm we do not recognize the MS BORG-IND 72 on metal plates. There is no information concerning what happened to the other manuscripts described by Bartholomeus after the time they were housed in the Propaganda Fide Library and the Velletri Borgia Museum.

³According to J.W. de Jong, *A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America* (Varanasi 1976), p. 14, he was an Austrian, and his civil name was J. Ph. Wesdin (1748-1806).

⁴Shelf-mark, Vaticana sala consult. MSS nos. 421, 422.

⁵Shelf-mark Vaticana, BORG-IND 51, cat. Bartholomeus Prop. Fide. exemplum, no. I pp. 41-42.

⁶Shelf-mark Vaticana, BORG-IND 49, cat. Bartholomeus Mus. Borg. codices peguani, no. I, pp. 1-15.

⁷Shelf-mark Vaticana, BORG-IND 51, cat. Bartholomeus Mus. Borg. codices peguani, no. II, pp. 16-23.

⁸Bartholomeus 1792, introduction, pp. 77-78, and Bartholomeus 1793, pp. 84-89.

Two articles by Vivian Ba published in *The Guardian*⁹ and *The Journal of The Burma Research Society*¹⁰ together with William Pruitt's study of Pātimokkha *nissayas*¹¹ shed light on the constitution of the small collection of the Burmese (and Pāli) manuscripts in the Propaganda Fide collection and on the role of Cardinal Stefano Borgia. It is Bishop Percoto, Barnabite from Milan, an erudite scholar in Pāli and Burmese, who translated many Christian texts into Burmese, and who also translated Burmese translations of the Kammavācā and the Pātimokkha into Latin, using the manuscripts given to him by Burmese monks.

Percoto sent all his Burmese manuscripts to Rome to the Propaganda Fide to be printed.¹² His envoy, the Reverend Father Carpani, acted as his intermediary and cast the first Burmese fonts for the printing press of the Propaganda Fide. They were used for the *Alphabetum Barmanum seu Bomanum Regni Avae finitimarumque Regionum*, printed in Rome in 1776 and dedicated to Pope Pius VI by Msgr Stefano Borgia, Secretary of Propaganda Fide.¹³ This is the first printed work in Burmese for the use of missionaries. It gives a summary list of all the manuscripts on palm-leaf belonging to Bishop Percoto and brought to Rome by Carpani. We have not been able to trace them.

⁹The Early Catholic Missionaries in Burma: A study of their manuscripts and the first casting and printing of Burmese alphabets, outline grammar, and catechism in 1776, from Latin, Italian, Portuguese, and French sources", August 1962–December 1962

¹⁰*JBR* XLIX, ii (Dec. 1962), "Odyssey of the First Burmese Types".

¹¹William Pruitt, *Étude linguistique de nissaya birmans, traduction commentée de textes bouddhiques*, PEFEO monographies no. 174, Paris 1994.

¹²Vivian Ba, *The Guardian*, Sept. 1962 pp. 19–20; Oct. 1962 pp. 21–24. The list of Mgr. Percoto's manuscripts is given in *Bibliotheca Missionum*; cf. also Luigi Gallo, *Storia del Cristianesimo nell' Impero Barman* (Milano 1862, 3 vols.). I am indebted and very grateful to my colleague William Pruitt for having provided me with these documents.

¹³Vivian Ba, *The Guardian*, Nov. 1962 p. 29.

After a detailed description of the palm-leaf folios, the following information is given concerning Cardinal Borgia's gift of a text entitled *Padimot* (Pātimokkha), which is no doubt BORG-IND 51.¹⁴

Eruditissimus, neque umquam labore vincendus, Illustrissimus Praesul Stephanus Borgia in Congratione de Propaganda Fide a Secretis praeter ferreum stilum, qui ad scribendum apud Barmanos in usu est, dono etiam dedit eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis Bibliothecae cum Evangelia, quae per annum in Missa leguntur, tum B. Pauli Apostoli Epistolas, 1 Dialogum Talapoinum inter, & Missionarium, denique *Padimot*, hoc est eorumdem Talapoinorum Regulas, omnia in hisce *olis*, characteribus, Barmanaque lingua impressa.

The Bibliothèque nationale in Paris¹⁵ possesses three copies of this small book in Latin with quotes from the *Kammuva* and the *Padimot* on page xxviii.¹⁶ In the second edition the text is fully recomposed. The plate on page x is the same extract of the *Kammuva* but with larger square characters.¹⁷ I do not think that the Kammavācā manuscript

¹⁴*Alphabetum Barmanum*, p. xxx, n. 1. Un homme très savant, jamais mis en échec par le labeur, le très illustre P. Stéphane Borgia secrétaire de la Congrégation de la Propagande de la Foi, donna outre un stilet de fer dont les Barmans se servent pour écrire, avec les Evangiles de la Bibliothèque de la Congrégation sacrée qui sont lus au long de l'année à la messe, les épîtres de B. Paul Apôtre et le Dialogue entre les talapoins et les lettres des missionnaires, et enfin le *Padimot*, c'est la règle de ces talapoins, tout ceci sur ces ôles, avec les caractères, gravés en langue barmane. (Translation into French by Marie Ver Eecke.)

¹⁵According to the ex-libris, the book formerly belonged to the Library of Séminaire de Saint Sulpice, Paris.

¹⁶Département des manuscrits, salle orientale, shelf-mark 8° Imp.Or. 110, R.P. Melchior Carpanus, *Alphabetum Barmanum seu bomanum regni Avae finitimarumque regionum*, Rome, Sacrae Congregatione Propaganda Fide, 1776, and a revised edition with the title *Alphabetum Barmanorum seu regni Avensis. Editio altera emendatior*, Rome 1787 (2 copies: 8° Imp.Or. 111 and inventaire X 20378).

¹⁷A. Peters, "Ergänzendes zur Pāli-Quadratschrift" in *Studien zur Indologie und Buddhismus. Festgabe des Seminars für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde für Prof. Dr. Heinz Bechert zum 60. Geburtstag am 26. Juni 1992*, Edited by

found today under shelf-mark Vatican BORG-IND 72 is the one used for this plate. I agree with Luce,¹⁸ who says:

[I]n the Preface written by Johannes Christophorus Amadutius p. vii, we read: "On his return, last year, from the Pegu Mission, Melchior Carpani, of the diocese of Lodi and a member of the clerics regular of St. Paul, who are called Barnabites, to whom has been entrusted the propagation of our Faith in the most extensive kingdom of Ava and the holy ministry in thirteen churches scattered throughout that same country, has happily brought unto us the signs and letters well designed of the said Burmese language. As he lived mostly in the city called Rangun, a seaport of the kingdom of Pegu, and dwelt for sometime at Ava near the king himself, it was easy for him to become proficient in the languages of the country and obtain the exact forms of its alphabet. Thanks to this the carving, cutting and casting of this alphabet was duly proceeded with by our own experts in the art of casting, and thus we were able to commit to the press the very first specimen letters of that language as also a summary of our Christian doctrine."

In 1825, the French scholar Eugène Burnouf was searching all over Europe for Kammavācā manuscripts in order to decipher the different formulas, and to edit, translate, study, and extract an alphabet to complete the plates for his *Essai sur le Pali*.¹⁹ With the help of Abel Rémusat, Burnouf hoped to be able to consult the Italian manuscript of the *Kammuva* described by Bartholomeus.²⁰ He wrote to Ch. Lassen on the 6th September 1825:²¹

R. Grünendahl, J.-U. Hartmann, P. Kieffer-Pülz, Indica et Tibetica Verlag, Bonn 1993: 221–28 + 4 pl.

¹⁸E. Luce, "Alphabetum Barmanorum Carpani Melchior" in JBRs, IV, ii, Rangoon 1914: 144–45

¹⁹E. Burnouf and Ch. Lassen, *Essai sur le Pali ou langue sacrée de la presque île au-delà du Gange, avec six planches lithographiées et la notice des manuscrits palis de la Bibliothèque du Roi, Société Asiatique* (Paris, 1826).

²⁰See L. Feer, *Papiers d'Eugène Burnouf* (Paris 1899) pp. 114–15.

²¹E. Burnouf, *Choix de lettres d'Eugène Burnouf 1825–1852* (Paris 1891), pp. 1–2.

[M. Abel Rémusat]²² m'a fait entendre qu'il ne serait pas impossible d'avoir, au moyen de l'Ambassade française à Rome, l'extradition, si l'on peut ainsi dire, du manuscrit traduit du Kammouva dont parle Paulin. Je lui ai donné avec une vive reconnaissance, une note détaillée du manuscrit.

The Bibliothèque nationale also possesses records of the correspondance of Burnouf concerning his request for Pāli manuscripts from Burma catalogued by Bartholomeus:²³

Note remise par E. Burnouf à Abel Rémusat afin d'obtenir le prêt d'un manuscrit du Kammuva conservé à Velletri:

I. Il existe dans le musée de Velletri avec traduction italienne d'un ouvrage pali, sous le titre de: Kammuva, ossia trattato della ordinazione dei Talapoini del secondo ordine, detti Pinzen. Le manuscrit de cette traduction faite par l'ordre du cardinal Borgia et à laquelle est joint un commentaire sur le texte, forme en tout 30 pages in-4°; il se trouve sous le n° 6 suivant le catalogue du Père Paulin de Saint Barthélémy. On lit la phrase suivante au commencement de l'ouvrage: "Innanzi a tutto un precettore prendere conviene; il precettore preso, che sia del vaso o della pentela per accatare il cibo e dell'abito trattare conviene. ..." Cette même traduction se trouve encore, mais, de plus, avec le texte pali même, dans la bibliothèque de la Propagande sous ce titre: "Kammuva, ossia trattato della ordinazione dei Talapoini, in caratteri Pali o Bali sopra olle aurate. Traduzione fatta per commissione di Monsignor Stephano Borgia, secret. di Propag. nel 1776". Le texte dont il s'agit est écrit en un caractère carré gros et très noir, sur des feuilles dorées longues et peu larges.

II. Il existe encore dans le même musée de Velletri un manuscrit du R.P. Carpanus sous ce titre: "Osservazioni sopra i due libri Barmani num. 1 e 2" coté n° xxxvi d'après Paulin. Ce manuscrit contient des notes et éclaircissements sur le livre pali appelé par le savant missionnaire Padimauka. On y lit cette phrase: "Questo è il libro delle costituzioni o regole dei Talapoini, conosciuto

²²*Papiers d'Eugène Burnouf* (Paris 1899), pp. 114–116, where a letter to Abel Rémusat dated 1 Sept. 1825 is given along with the text of the note concerning the *Kammuva* of Velletri (see below).

²³*Papiers Burnouf* 70(8), *Kammuva* de Velletri (ff. 97–99).

specialmente sotto il nome o titolo di Padimauka, benché chiamasi ancora con altri nomi più proprii". Le texte pali du Padimauka se trouve dans le même musée, sous le n° 2, en un manuscrit sur feuilles de palmier au nombre de 102, longues de trois pieds et demi environ et larges de trois pouces et demi. Le caractère en est rond. N.-B. Ces indications sont dues au Père Paulin de Saint-Barthélémy: 1° Musei Borgiani Velitris codices p. 17 et 84; 2° Systema Brahmanicum p. 114 et s.

III. Un troisième manuscrit, qu'il serait intéressant de consulter, est le suivant: "Compendium legis Barmanorum" musée de Velletri, MS, n° 3. C'est un manuscrit sur papier contenant 19 pages divisées en deux colonnes: sur l'une est le texte pali écrit en caractères ronds, sur l'autre une traduction italienne du R. P. Joseph ab Amato. Le manuscrit commence par une lettre de ce Père.²⁴

Burnouf did not obtain the "extradition" of these manuscripts as they had probably already been lost by 1825. His request sent to the Propaganda Fide being unsuccessful, he asked for F. Bopp's help in London. Bopp procured a facsimile of the Kammavācā of the Royal Asiatic Society for Burnouf.²⁵

²⁴The text is actually in Burmese for the most part, not in Pāli, with Italian translation. It is not classified here but in the Burmese collection. This manuscript is kept today under the shelf-mark BORG-IND 5, "Compendium legis Barmanorum Mahatabassi Dharma rāgiaguru, paper, 24.5 x 18.5 cm, 19 pp. Burma, Pali (characteribus rotundis). A compendium of the laws of the Burmese nation with a parallel translation by Fr. Giuseppe de Amara (clericus regulare OS. Paulo)".

Cf. Bartholomeus 1793, introduction, pp. 24–46, example reproduced on p. 23; and Vivian Ba, "The Early Catholic Missionaries in Burma", *The Guardian* (Sept. 1962), p. 20, n. 2: "Padimot [Pātimokha] translated also by Percoto (*Compendium legis Barmanorum*, 1762). The Italian manuscript is in the Borgia Museum, Velletri, Italy, and the Pali original in the Library of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome. (*Compendium legis* also attributed to Carpani)" [The information concerning the location of the manuscript is obsolete]

²⁵*Choix de lettres*, p. 7 (Burnouf to F. Bopp in London, 14 Nov 1825); p. 9 (Burnouf to F. Bopp in London, Dec. 1825). For details see EFEO DATA file *Burnouf & Royal Asiatic Society*.

BORG-IND 49

Laṭukikajātaka and [Culladhammapālijātaka] fragments

CPD 2.5.10,1

Fol. 1a, in Roman script, black ink: "Fragmentum sacri cuiusdam codicis Barmanorum lingua sacra et characteribus, ut ipsi vocant *magata* conscripta vide lib. cui titulus "Musei Borgiani Velitris Codices manuscripti ... libri Avenses, Peguani n° 1 pag 1e et seq." fol. 1b, blank.

Beg., fol. 2a (3):²⁶ madditvā māressati handa naṃ puttakānaṃ parittānatthāya dhammikaṃ rakkhaṃ yācāmīti sā ubho pakkhe ekato katvā tassa purato thatvā pathamaṃ gātham āha | vandāmi taṃ kuñjara saṭṭhihāyanaṃ | araṇakaṃ ...

fol. 4a.2 (5) | laṭukijātakaṃ sattamaṃ |

End, fol. 4b.1 (5): ekadivasaṃ bhikkhudhammasabhāyaṃ kathaṃ samuthāpesuṃ āvuso devadatto buddhānaṃ maraṇattāyam eva upāyaṃ karoti sammāsambuddhaṃ mārāpessāmīti dhanuggahe payojesi silaṃ pavijjhi nālāgiri visajjāpetvā satthā āgantvā kāya nuttha bhikkhave evārupākāthāya sannisinnāti pucchitthā imāya nāmāti vutte na bhikkhave idān' eva pubba pesa mayhaṃ vaya parisakkati yeva idāni pana tāsamattaṃ pi kātuṃ na sakkoti ti pubbe maṃ dhamma-[pā]lakumārakāle attano puttaṃ samāmānaṃ jīvitakkhayaṃ pāpetvā asimālaṃ nāma kāresīti vatvā atitaṃ ahari | atīte barāṇasiyaṃ mahāpatāpe nāma rajjaṃ kārente bodhisatto tassa aggamaheṣiyā candādeviyā kucchimhi nibbatti dhammapālo ti 'ssa nāmaṃ karisuṃ | tam enaṃ sattamāsikakāle mātā gandhodakena nāpetvā alaṅkaritvā kiḷāpayamāna puttasinehena samappitā hutvā rājānaṃ passi[tvā]na uṭṭhāhi so cintesi ayaṃ idāneva tāva puttaṃ nissāya mānaṃ karoti maṃ kismici na mañati

fol. 5, blank (fols. numbered 1, 2, 6 are missing)

²⁶Numbers in parentheses are in Burmese numerals in the manuscript.

Cf. Ja III 174.20–78.26. This ms is erroneously described by Bartholomeo 1793 under no. I, Codices Peguani, as “Bidagat” (= Piṭaka). He gives p. 15 as a specimen of the script.

5 fols., 520×55mm, 2 cord holes, 6 lines, 72 char.—square small compressed Burmese script — Numb. Burmese numerals — all margins on verso, right side: catupañcha nipāt jāt; left side: pathama. Found inside a cardboard case with MS BORG-IND 50, inscribed in Roman golden letters: “fragmentum primi libri indici bidagat”.

No date [18th c.]

BORG-IND 51

Pātimokkha

Pāli-Burmese nissaya, CPD I.1

Fol. 1a, Roman script, black ink: “Regole dei talapoini sia Pādi-maukhā vide lib. tit. Musei Borgiani Velitris codices manuscripti libri Avenses ... Peguane n° II pag. 16”; fols. 1b, 2, blank.

Beg., fol. 2b (ka): namo tassa ... samajjani padipo ca | udakaṃ āsanena ca | uposathassa etāni pubbakaraṇan ti vuccati | samajjani | [+ Burmese] ... suriyālokassa | atthitāya ... padipakiccaṃ ...

End, fol. 100a.9 (jhi): pāṭimokkhasaṃvarasilakica ... patimokkhanissaya ... paṭimokkhakilesa ... Fol. 102, blank.

Cf. J. F. Dickson, ed., “The Pātimokkha ...” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1876, pp. 62–96 for the Pāli text. This ms is described by Bartholomée 1792, introduction, pp. 41–42, and Bartholomée 1793, BORG-IND 49, pp. 16–23, dating it to 1132 B.E. = A.D. 1769 but I read 1130 = A.D. 1768.

102 fols., 510×60mm, gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle, 8 lines, 56 char. — Burmese script — Numb. Burmese letters.

Date: 1130 B.E. = A.D. 1768.

BORG-IND 72

Kammavācā

CPD 1.1,16

1. Upasampadā°

Beg., fol 1b, text in the middle, illuminated margins with framed peacocks: namo tassa ... pathamaṃ upajjhaṃ gāhapetabbo | upajjhaṃ gahāpetvā ...

End, fol 8b (khè)

Cf. ed. Frankfurter, *Handbook of Pāli*, London 1883, pp.141-45.

2. Kaṭhina°

Beg., fol 8b,2 (khè)

End, fol 10a,5 (kho, 1 [European numeral]): ubbhatam saṃghena kaṭhinaṃ khamati saṃghassa tasmā tuṇhi evam etaṃ dhārayāmiti | akkharā ekamekañ ca buddha° ...

fol 10b, 3 floral medallions, the middle one is surrounded by 2 flying *devatā* and floral motifs.

Cf. Frankfurter 1883, pp. 147-48.

This is not the ms studied by Bartholomée 1792, BORG-IND 51, pp. 77-78 and Bartholomée 1793, BORG-IND 49, pp. 84-89, as it is described as being written on palm leaves.

10 metal plates, 510×100mm; 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and painted in red on the recto only with 3 floral motifs in the middle, birds on extremities, only one cord hole, 6 lines, 35 char.— Burmese tamarind-seed large script in black lac on gilded ground, fine red motifs between the lines — Numb. Burmese letters — Labels giving wrong titles.

No date.

The Six Pāli Manuscripts of the Vatican Indian Collection

The inventory registers being reserved for the library staff, no records were available to me for tracing the provenance of the six manuscripts quoted under VAT-IND.

VAT-IND 43

Yamaka

fragments, CPD 3.6

1. Mūla-yamaka

Fol. ka missing.

Beg., fol. 1a (kā): | dhammā | sabbe te kusalamūlena ekamūlakā | yevā pana kusalamūlena ekamūlakā sabbe te dhammā kusalā | ye keci kusalamūlena ekāmūlakā dhammā | sabbe te ... [Left margin in smaller characters]: ye keci kusalādharmā | sabbe te kusalamūlamūlakā | yevā pana kusalamūlamūlakā | sabbe te dhammā kusalā | ye keci kusalādharmā | sabbe te kusalamūlena ekamūlamūlakā ... Fol. kū missing.

End, fol. 5b,₁₁ (ke): | ye keci nāma dhammā | sabbe te nāma hetū | nāmanidāna | nāmasambhāvā | nā

All margins verso, right side mūlayamuik pālītō

Cf. Yam I 1,24–13,20 (lacunas in the ms).

2. Āyatana-yamaka

Khandha-yamaka is missing.

Beg., fol. 6a (ge): na dhammo nāyatanam | nāyatanā na cakkhu | na dhammo nāyatanam | nāyatanā na sataṃ | la | nāyatanā na mano | cakkam bandhitabbaṃ | uddesavāro | ...

End, fol. 16b,₁₀ (cō): | no ca tesam tattha cakkāyatanam nirujjhattha | itaresam pañcavokārānam tesam tattha rūpāyatanañca nirujjhissati | cakkhāyatanañca nirujjhitttha | yassa yattha cakkhāyatanam nirujjhattha | tassa tattha mānāyatanam nirujjhatīti | pañcavokāre parinibbantānam tesam tattha cakkhāyatanam nirujjhatta | no ca tesam tathamanā

All margins verso, right side: āyatanayamuik

Cf. Yam I 53,18 – 141,26 (lacunas in the ms).

3. Sacca-yamaka

Beg., fol. 17a (cui?): s[e]sam taṅ[h]āya uppādakkaṇe tesam tattha [sa]mudayasacca uppajjati | maggasaccaṇca uppajjissati | yassa vā pana yattha maggasaccam uppajjissati | tassa tattha samudayasaccam uppajjissati ...

End, fol. 18b (ñu)

All margins verso, right side: saccayamuik

Cf. Yam I (B^e) 226.

4. Anusaya-yamaka

Saṅkhārayamaka missing. Fol. 19a, blank.

Beg., fol. 19b (ka), left margin: sabbasakkāyapariyāpannesu dhammesu ettha diṭṭhanūsayo anuseti | ... [main text]: namo tassa ... | satta anussayā kāmarāgānusayo paṭighānusayo mānānusayo | diṭṭhanusayo vicikicānusayo | bhavarāgānusayo | avijjānusayo | katha kāmarāgānusayo anuseti kāmādhātuyā dvīsu vedanāsu | ertha kāmarāgānusayo anuseti | ...

End, fol. 32b (jāḥ)

All margins verso, right side: ānūsaya-yamuik

Cf. Yam I 268, 19ff. (lacunas in the ms).

5. Citta-yamaka

Beg., fol. 33a (ku?): bhaṅgakkhaṇe nirodhasamāpannānaṃ asaṅga-sattānaṃ tesam cittaṃ uppajjittha no ca tesam cittaṃ ...

fol. 33b (ku?) I: tta | tassa cittaṃ na nirujjhati ti | natthi | yassa cittaṃ nirujjhati | tassa cittaṃ nirujjhati | tassa cittaṃ nirujjhissatī | pacchimakittassa bhaṅgakkhaṇe tesam cittaṃ nirujjhati ...

End., fol. 33b (ku?) II: ... pacchimakittassa bhaṅgakkhaṇe tesam cittaṃ na ce uppajjati na ca nirujjhissati | yassa

In the margin, right side: cittayamuik

Cf. Yam II 9–21 (?)

6. Dhamma-yamaka

Fols. ka, kā missing.

Beg., fol. 34a (ki): dhammā ti | ānantā | dhammā kusalā dhammā ti | kusalādhammā | dhammā ceva kusalā dhammā ca avasesā dhammā na kusalā dhammā | akusalā dhammā ti | āmantā | ... [many lacunas]

End, fol. 37b.¹¹ (kāḥ): ... satta akusalā dhammānaṃ [ni]rujjhanti | tattha abyākatā dhammā nirujjhanti | āmantā | yattha vā pana abyā^o

All margins verso, right side: dhammayamuik

Cf. Yam II 22–24.

7. Indriya-yamaka

Beg., fol. 38a (ñe): yassa vā [pa]na upekkhindriyaṃ na uppajjissati | tassa ghānindriyaṃ na uppajjissatīti | te saghānakā somanasse na uppajjitthā parinibbāyissanti | ...

End, fol. 40b.¹¹ (chū): ... tassa tattha upekkhāya uppaṭṭhūtīti | catuvokārā pañcavokārā cavantānaṃ pavatte cittassa bhaṅgakkhaṇe upekkhā sampayuttacittassa upādakkhaṇe tesam tattha | manindriyaṃ uppajji

All margins verso, right side: indriyayamuik

Cf. Yam II. 179f. (?) (many lacunas)

40 fols., 525 × 60mm, 2 cord holes, 11 lines, 72 car. — Burmese script — Numb. Burmese letters — Many notes in the text and margins.

No date.

VAT-IND 44

Kammavācā

CPD I.2,16

1. Upasampadā^o fragments

Fol. 1a, illuminated with 5 octagonal medallions including peacocks and floral motifs painted in red on a golden ground.

Beg., fol. 1b (ka, 12²⁷), illuminated margins, same medallions, but here on a silvered ground, gilded joins on corners, main text: namo

²⁷Arabic numerals on labels (in incorrect order).

tassa ... | pathamaṃ upajjhaṃ gāhabetabbo | upajjhaṃ gāhāpetvā |
pattacivaraṃ ācikkhitabbaṃ ...

End, fol. 5b (ku): suṇatu me bhante saṃgho | ayaṃ nāgo | āyasmato
tissassa upasampadāpekho

Fols. kū, ke missing.

Resumes, fol. 6a (kè, 10): [tiṇasalā]kaṃ upādāya | yo bhikkhu
pādaṃ vā | pādārahaṃ vā | atirekapādaṃ vā | ...

End, fol. 5b,5 (kè, 10): upasampannena bhikkhunā uttari ma[nussa-
dhammaṃ] ...

Fols. ko, kō missing.

Cf. Frankfurter 1883, p. 143,33 and pp. 144,31–45,12.

2. Sīmā° fragment

Resumes, fol. 7a (kaṃ, 7): bhante eso pāsāṇo nimittaṃ | dakkhiṇāya
disāya kinnimittaṃ

End, fol. 8b (kaḥ, 6) 5

Cf. Frankfurter pp. 146,24–47 end of Chap. III.

3. Kaṭhina° fragment

Beg., fol. 9a,1 (kha, 8)

End, fol. 9b,5 (kha, 8) ... sace saṃghāṭiyā kaṭhinaṃ attharitikāmo
hoti porāṇikā saṃghāṭi paccuddha°

Cf. Frankfurter pp. 147 Chap. IV–148,17.

4. Therasammuti° fragment

Beg., fol. 10a (khi, 9): ... maṃ therasamuti yācāmi | dutiyam pi |
tatiyaṃ pi | yācāpetvā...

End, fol. 10b,3 (khi, 9)

5. Nāmasammuti°

Beg., fol. 10b,3 (khi, 9)

End., fol. 11b,3 (11)

6. Vihāra°

Beg., fol. 11b,3 (11)

End., fol. 12a.5 (1) + di | pu | ā | Fol. 12b same illuminations as in fol. 1a.

Cf. ed. p. 149 chap. VI up to p. 150 chap. VII.

This ms could be the one studied by Bartholomée 1792, pp. 77–78; and 1793, pp. 84–89 as it is on palm leaves. We would expect, however, for the shelfmark to begin “BORG-IND”.

12 fols., 560 × 100mm, 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded and painted in red with 8 medallions mixed with floral motifs, 2 cord holes for fols., only one for the boards, 5 lines, 34 char. — Burmese tamarind-seed large script in black lac on decorated silvered ground — Numb. Burmese letters and incorrect European labels — Repairs on borders and corners with gold leaf.

No date.

VAT-IND 45

Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā, fragment

CPD 2.5.2.1

Fol. 1a, left margin, minute script: saddivihārikavattu ānanda-seṭṭhivattu udāyittheravattu suppubuddhakuṭivattu kasakavattu s[u]manamālākāravattu; in the middle: | bra dhammpadaṭṭhakathā kambujjaranvāta ... phūk 14; fols. 1b–4, blank.

Beg., fol. 5a (ra) agamāsi | bārāṇasīvāsino dve pi tayo pi bahutarāpi ekato hutvā āgantukadānaṃ pavattayimsu | tadā bārāṇasīyaṃ cattāḷisaṃ cattāḷisacattāḷisakoṭivibhavā cattāro seṭṭhīputtā saḥāyakā ahesuṃ |

Fol. 11a.1 (re): | kosalavattu | (*cf.* variant reading K. in E^c, Dh-p-a II 19 note 6); fol. 14b.5 (ro) | kassapattheravattu |; fol. 17a.3 (la) | ānandaseṭṭhivattu |; fol. 18a.3 (lā): | gaṇḍikabhedakacoravattu |; fol. 18b.5 (lā): | udāyittherassavattu |; fol. 19b.5 (li): | pāveyyakabhikkhuvattu |; fol. 21b.2 (lu): | suppubuddhakuṭṭhivattu |; fol. 23a.3 (le): | kasakavattu |; fol. 28a.4 (laḥ): | sumanamālākāratthu |

End, fol. 28b.4 (laḥ): | ... tassā acīrapabbajitāya evaṃ uposathāgāre kālavāro pāpuṇi | sā dipaṃ jāletvā uposathāgāraṃ sammajjitvā

dipasikhāya nimittam gaṇhitvā ʔhitā va punappunaṃ olokayamānā tejo kasiṇārammaṇaṃ jhānaṃ nibbattetvā tam eva pādakaṃ katvā arahattaṃ pāpuṇi saddhiṃ patisambhidāhi ceva abhiññāhi ca | Fols. 29–32, blank.

Cf. Dhp-a II 9,14–49,7, from the middle of Aññatarapurisavatthu up to Uppalavaṇṇatherivatthu.

32 fols., 555 x 52mm, in a wooden painted box, inside red, outside black, spotted and illuminated with gilded floral motifs, gilded edges, 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 65 char. — Mūl script — Numb. Mūl letters — Corrections and additions in purple ink.

No date.

VAT-IND 51

Apādāna-aṭṭhakathā (Visuddhajanavilāsini)

Pāli-Burmese nissaya, CPD 2.5.13,1

Fols. 1- 6a, blank.

Beg., fol. 6b (ka): namo tassa ... | paccekabuddha-apādāna ... [+ Burmese] ... thera-apādān ... tadanantaram therāpadānaṃ ... | saṃgahagāthā ... right margin: apādān athakathā nisya; fols. 77b–84, 143–46, 207–209, 270–73, blank.

End, fol. 356a,6 (lam): | ... evanatikkhagambhiparapaccotahāsa-pañatā | ... piṭakāni ca ... sakkarāj 1208; fols. 356b–62, blank.

Cf. Pāli text, Ap-a.

362 fols. (the first six and the last 6 fols. are sewn and used as covers), 2 red lacquered wooden covers, gilded on the recto only, 490 x 62mm, red lacquered and gilded edges, 2 cord holes, 10 lines, 72 char. — Burmese script — Numb. Burmese letters.

Date: 1208 B.E. = A.D. 1846

VAT-IND 52

1. Atthasālinī, fragment

CPD 3.1,1

Fol. 1a, in the middle: “bra saṅgaṇī phūk 1 |”. Fols. 1b–4, blank.

Beg., fol. 5a (ka): namo tassa ... | karuṇā viya sattesu pañāyassa mahesino ...

End., fol. 27b (khai) bra saṅgaṇī phūk 1 | Fols. 28–34, blank.

Cf. As 1f.

2. Abhidhamma-piṭaka, mixed fragments

A. Vibhaṅga, CPD 3.2

Fol. 35a, in the middle: bra vibhaṅgapakaraṇamāttikā phūk 2 | Fols. 35b–9a, blank.

Beg., fol. 39b (kho): | pañcakkhandhā rūpakkhandho vedanā-kkhandho sañākkhandho saṃkhārakkhandho viñāṅakkhandho |

End, fol. 56a (ghi): | bra vibhaṅga phūk 2 | Fols. 56b–60, blank.

Cf. Vibh 1f.

B. Dhātukathā, CPD 3.3

Fol. 61a, in the middle: bra dhātukathāpakaraṇaparipuṇṇa phūk 3 | Fols. 61b–65a, blank.

Beg., fol. 65b (ṇa) | puggalo uppalabbhati sannakattha paramattenāti āmantāyo ... [The text is actually the Kathāvatthu.]

End, fol. 77a.5 (ca): | bra dhātukathā phūk 3 | kusalādhammā akusalā [These are the first words of the Dhammasaṅgaṇī.] Fols. 77b–83, blank.

C. Puggalapaññatti, CPD 3.4

Fol. 84a, in the middle: bra puggalapaññattipakaraṇa phūk 4 | Fols. 84b–87, blank.

Beg., fol. 88a (gha): | ārabhatina<ṃ> v[i]ppatisāra hoti tañ ca aceto vimutti yathābhūtaṃ pajanāti ... Fols. 90 a and 91, similar (ghi, ghi !): bra puggalapanatipakaṇo mātikā phūk 4 | Fols. 99–103, blank.

D. Kathāvatthu, CPD 3.5

Fol. 104a, in the middle: bra kathāvatthupakkaraṇa phūk 5 | Fols. 104b–108a, blank.

Beg., fol. 108b (ṇā): | cha pañattiyo khandapañatti āyattanapañatti ... [This is actually the Puggalapañatti.]

End, fol. 118a.3 (cā) | bra kathāvatthu niṭṭhitā | kusalādhammā akusalādhammā abyākatā dhammā kusalā yasmim samaye [The first words of the Dhammasaṅgaṇī.]

E. Yamaka CPD 3.6

Fol. 125a, in the middle: bra m[ū]layamakkapakaṇaṇaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ phūk 6 | Fols. 125b–28a, blank.

Beg., fol. 128b (chaḍ): | ye keci kusalā dhammā sabbe te kusalamulā yevā pana kusalamulā sabbe ...

End, fol. 147a (jhe): mūlayamakka niṭṭhitaṃ phūk 6 | Fols. 147b–48b, 149–50, blank.

F. Mahāpaṭṭhāna, CPD 3.7

Fol. 151a, in the middle: mahāpaṭṭhānapakaṇaṇamāttikā phūk 7 | Fols. 151b–54a, blank.

Beg., fol. 154b (ci): hetu paccayo ārammalo paccayo ...

End, fol. 174b (chaṃ): | ekamulakaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ | bra mahāpaṭṭhānapakaṇaṇa mātikā | Fols. 175–78, blank.

178 fols., 7 bundles mixed leaves (I was not allowed to replace them in order), 2 thick wooden covers, 580 × 50mm, gilded edges, 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 52 char. — Mūl script — Numb. Mūl letters.

No date.

VAT-IND 53

Suttanipāta (Paramatthajotikā II)

CPD 2.5.5.1

First wooden cover recto, a label in Roman script, black ink: “Bu(!)ddha Kanika Sutra Nipataya. A sacred book of religious precepts etc. written in Pali the sacred language of Buddhism.” Another fly label

reads: "Bu(!)ddhekanika Sutrānipatheya presented by Robell (?) G[r]ey Anthony Lenore Jayesekere Karunaratne Aratchi n° 28 Barber Street Colombo." Fol. 1a, blank.

Beg., fol. 1b: namo tassa ... uttamaṃ vandaneyyānam vanditvā ratanattayaṃ yo khuddakanikāyamhi khuddakacārapphāyīnā — desito lokanāthēna lokanisaraṇesinā tassa suttanipātassa karissām' atthavaṇṇanā — gāthāsatasamākinno geyyavyakaraṇaṃkito kasmā suttanipāto ti saṃkham esa gato ti ce —; fol. 13a,3 — paramatthajotikā khuddakaṭṭhakathāya uragasuttavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā —; 118b,7 — paramattha°dhaniyasuttavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā —; fol. 50a,3 — jīvitasamkhaya-gāthā vaṇṇanā samattā; fol. 50b,5 — paramattha° khaggavisānasuttavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā —; fol. 61b,4 — kasībhāradvājasutta°; fol. 64b,9 — cundasutta°; fol. 70b,2 — aggikabhāradvājasutta°; fol. 77a,9 — mettassuttavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā —; fol. 86a,6 — hemavatasutta°; fol. 94a,3 — ālavakasutta°; fol. 108a,9 — munisutta°... — pathamavaggo ca vattanāyato [*read*: atthavaṇṇanāyato] samatto nāmena uragavaggoti —; fol. 123a,9 — ratanasutta°; fol. 129a,1 — amagandhasutta°; fol. 130b,5 (13)²⁸ — sucilomavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā—; fol. 133a,4 (16) — kapilasutta°; fol. 137b,9 (20) — brahmanadhammikasutta°; fol. 140a,2 (23) — dhammasutta°; fol. 141b,8 (24) — kiṃsīlasutta°; fol. 143a,5 (26) — uṭṭhānasutta°; fol. 149a,5 (32) — sammāparibbājanīyasutta°; fol. 153a,9 (36) — dhammikasutta°... — niṭṭhito ca vago dutiyo nāmena cullavaggo ti —; fol. 155a,3 (38) — pabbajjāsutta°; fol. 157b,9 (40) — padhānasutta°; fol. 165a,1 (48) — puralāssutta°; fol. 167,7 (50) — māghasutta°; fol. 174b,4 (57) — sabhiyasutta°; fol. 181b,1 (64) — selasutta°; fol. 184a,3 (67) — sallasutta°; fol. 188a,1 (71) — vāsetṭhasutta°; fol. 191a,6 (74) — kokāliyasutta; fol. 197b,7 (80) — nālakasutta°; fol. 201a,1 (84) — dva(!)tānupassanāsutta°... — niṭṭhito ca vago tatiyo nāmena mahāvaggo —; fol. 202a,3 (85) — kāmasutta°; fol. 203b,9 (86) — guhaṭṭhakasutta°; fol. 205b,5 (88) — duṭṭhakasutta°; fol. 207b,1 (90) — suddhaṭṭhakasutta°; fol. 208a,5 (91) —

²⁸Arabic numbers.

paramatthakasutta°; fol. 209b.8 (92) — rāhulasutta°; fol. 212b.2 (95) — nigrodhakappasutta°; fol. 213b.4 (1) — jarāsutta°; fol. 214b.6 (2) — tissametteyyasutta°; fol. 216b.2 (4) — pasurasutta°; fol. 219b.6 (7) — purābhedasutta°; fol. 221a.4 (9) — kalahavivādasutta°; fol. 222a.6 (10) — cuḷavyūhasutta°; fol. 223b.6 (11) — mahāvvyūhasutta°; fol. 225a.4 (13) — tuvaṭakasutta°; fol. 227a.1 (15) — sārīputtasutta° ... niṭṭhito ca vaggo catuttho — nāmena aṭṭhakavaggo —; fol. 232a.8 (20) — punnakasutta°; fol. 232b.10 (20) — mettāgunattasutta°; fol. 233a.6 (21) — dhotakasutta°; fol. 234a.1 (22) — upasīvasutta°; fol. 234a.5 — nandasutta; fol. 234a.9 — hemakasutta°; fol. 234b.2 (22) — todeyyasutta°; fol. 234b.5 — kappasutta°; fol. 234b.10 — jatukannikasutta°; fol. 235a.6 (23) — bhadrāvudhasutta°; fol. 235b.4 (23) — udayasutta°; fol. 236a.2 (24) — posalasutta°; fol. 236a.8 — mogharājasutta°; fol. 236b.4 — piṅgiyasutta°

End, fol. 237b.10 — niṭṭhito parāyanavaggo ti — ettavatā ca yaṃ vuttaṃ uttamaṃ vandaneyyānaṃ vanditvā ratanatayaṃ yo khuddakanikhāyaṃhi khuddācārappahāyinā desito lokanāthena lokanītharane-sinā tassa suttanipātassa karassām' atthavaṇṇanaṃ ti—

Cf. E^e Kv-a 1-607,30; S^e Kv-a 1-489,31.

237 fols., 462 × 60mm, 2 wooden covers, verso only lacquered in orange colour and decorated with floral motifs in yellow and green, 2 cord holes protected by a silver *pot sakiya* in shape of lotus. On the final cover, a small silver plate is inlaid in the wood, engraved in Roman script: "R. A. Lenore Colombo"; 10 lines, 108 char. — Sinhalese script — Numb. none 1-128, then European figures 1-100 from fol. 129; then 1-24 for fols. 213-36 in right margin.

No date.

Jacqueline Filliozat

Città del Vaticano, 1986

List of Pāli texts in the manuscripts of the Vatican Library

- Atthasālinī *VAT-IND 52* (Kham script)
 Anusayayamaka *VAT-IND 43* (Burmese script)
 Apadānaṭṭhakathā *VAT-IND 51* (Burmese script, A.D. 1846)
 Abhidhammapiṭaka *VAT-IND 43* (Burmese script) *VAT-IND 52* (Kham script)
 Abhidhammamātikā *VAT-IND 52* (Kham script)
 Āyatanayamaka *VAT-IND 43* (Burmese script)
 Indriyayamaka *VAT-IND 43* (Burmese script)
 Upasampadākammavācā *BORG-IND 72* (Burmese script, 18th c.), *VAT-IND 44* (Burmese script)
 Kaṭhinakammavācā *BORG-IND 72* (Burmese script, 18th c.), *VAT-IND 44* (Burmese script)
 Kathāvatthu *VAT-IND 52* (Kham script)
 Kammavācā *BORG-IND 72* (Burmese script, 18th c.), *VAT-IND 44* (Burmese script)
 Khuddakaṭṭhakathā = Paramatthajotikā
 Cittayamaka *VAT-IND 43* (Burmese script)
 Culladhammapālajātaka *BORG-IND 49* (Burmese script, 18th c.)
 Jātaka *BORG-IND 49* (Burmese script, 18th c.)
 Therasammutikammavācā *VAT-IND 44* (Burmese script)
 Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā *VAT-IND 45* (Kham script)
 Dhammayamaka *VAT-IND 43* (Burmese script)
 Dhammasaṅgaṇī *VAT-IND 52* (Kham script)
 Dhātukathā *VAT-IND 52* (Kham script)
 Nāmasammutikammavācā *VAT-IND 44* (Burmese script)
 Paramatthajotikā *VAT-IND 53* (Sinhalese script)
 Pātimokkha *BORG-IND 51* (Burmese script, A.D. 1768)
 Puggalapaññatti *VAT-IND 52* (Kham script)
 Mahāpatṭhāna *VAT-IND 52* (Kham script)
 Mūlayamaka *VAT-IND 43* (Burmese script)

- Yamaka *VAT-IND 43* (Burmese script), *VAT-IND 52* (Kham script)
Laṭukikajātaḁa *BORG-IND 49* (Burmese script, 18th c.)
Vibhaᅅga *VAT-IND 52* (Kham script)
Vihāarakammavācā *VAT-IND 44* (Burmese script)
Visuddhajanavilāsinī = Apadānaṭṭhakathā
Saccayamaka *VAT-IND 43* (Burmese script)
Sīmāsammutikammavācā *VAT-IND 44* (Burmese script)
Suttanipāta *VAT-IND 53* (Sinhalese script)

Book Review

Catalogue of the Burmese-Pāli and Burmese Manuscripts in the Library of The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine. Prepared by William Pruitt and Roger Bischoff. pp. iii, 187. Coloured frontispiece, 28 b&w and 31 colour plates. The Wellcome Trust, London. 1998.

The library of the Wellcome Institute possesses a fine collection of Burmese-Pāli and Burmese manuscripts, mostly purchased at auctions in London before the death of Sir Henry S. Wellcome in 1936. A few manuscripts touching on medicine have been added since then.

The Burmese-Pāli manuscripts were first catalogued by Jacqueline Filliozat in an earlier number of this Journal (*JPTS* XIX, 1993, pp. 1-41), but that catalogue left many problems unsolved, and it is no longer an adequate guide to the collection (it lists, for example, only 93 manuscripts), although the references which it gives to the category-numbers of texts listed in the Bibliography of *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* are not included in this new catalogue, and are still valuable, as are the comments about the identity of some texts, e.g. "No. 34 Gambhīyatthadesanā". In this new catalogue a number of changes and corrections have been made to the earlier catalogue. The leaves of the manuscripts have all been put in correct order. A few texts had leaves scattered through different manuscripts, and these have now all been reunited. Many identifications of manuscripts have been added to or changed.

The catalogue of the Burmese-Pāli collection, which amounts to 121 manuscripts, has been made by William Pruitt, who has already published a catalogue and additions to the catalogue of Burmese manuscripts in the Library of Congress in earlier numbers of this Journal (*JPTS* XIII, 1989, pp. 1-31; XXIV, 1998, pp. 171-83). There are 27 Burmese manuscripts. They are catalogued by Roger Bischoff.

Almost half (55) of the Burmese-Pāli manuscripts contain *kammavācās* "verbal acts", the texts which were used for formal acts of the Saṅgha, e.g. the ordination of a monk. These individual acts are identified for each manuscript. Besides the *Kammavācās*, other

manuscripts contain Pāli canonical texts, commentaries, extra-canonical, and grammar texts. Many of the texts are incomplete. Many of the manuscripts are, or include, Pāli-Burmese nissayas.

The titles of texts or sections of texts as listed in the margins of the manuscripts are given, and also descriptions of the wrappers or covers (some of which are very ornate), the script, and any information given in the manuscripts about dates, authors, or copyists. Details about the re-arrangement of leaves are also given. Occasionally information is given about the publication of the texts contained in the manuscripts, *e.g.* “No. 54 the Burmese nissaya Vinayasāra”, or about their presence in other collections.

Where numbers of nipātas, etc., are given, then it is not difficult for those seeking manuscripts to find relevant page numbers in PTS editions. Descriptions such as “incomplete”, *e.g.* for “No. 90 Yamaka”, are less helpful, and could usefully have been augmented by saying which pages of the PTS editions are present or missing.

The author has not followed the usual practice of quoting the beginning and end of each text. Although this might be thought to be unnecessary in the case of texts which have been identified, it might have been helpful in the case of manuscripts which are unidentified, *e.g.* “No. 105 unidentified Abhidhamma text”.

The Burmese Buddhist manuscripts include a history of Buddhism, texts on Abhidhamma, texts on monks’ discipline, biographies of the Buddha’s disciples, and records of monastic courts. There is also a manuscript of Mālālāṅkāravatthu — a Burmese prose work. Those with secular subjects include: decisions on secular law; horoscopes; two royal edicts in cases; manuscripts on medicine (including a collection of medical recipes), astrology and magic; an incomplete life of the Buddha in three volumes; and a schoolbook that probably belonged to a prince. A wooden tablet describes a scene from the Vānarinda Jātaka, and is probably a gloss to an illustration.

To the catalogue is prefixed an Introduction giving a brief survey of the collection, and transliteration tables of the three Burmese scripts

used in the manuscripts. Two are early: (1) Tamarind-seed script written in black lacquer; (2) square Burmese script written in black lacquer or engraved with a stylus on palm leaf manuscripts. One is modern: (3) round Burmese script. Added to the catalogue is an Index of the fourteen Kammavācā texts which are found in total in the manuscripts, with their distribution among individual manuscripts.

There are also indexes of: II. Works; III. Authors; IV. Place names; V. Donors, owners and copyists; VI. Place of the works in canon and commentaries. There is also a List of Abbreviations.

The catalogue concludes with black and white plates and colour plates giving examples of the decoration often found on the first and last folios of manuscripts. One manuscript has leaves made from stiffened portions of silk robes belonging to King Mindon (reigned 1852–77). Another (the Burmese one mentioned above) contains three manuscripts of folded thick paper bound in leather and painted with scenes from Gotama Buddha's career.

The whole work is meticulously presented. Surprisingly, the misspelling (twice) of Niddesa on p. 121 has escaped the notice of the proofreaders.

In as much as the purpose of the Pali Text Society, as set out by the founder of the Society, is "to edit in Pali, and if possible to translate into English, such Pali books as still exist in manuscripts preserved in Europe or Asia, in order to render accessible to students the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature which are lying unedited and practically unused", it is not surprising that many of the early volumes of the Society's Journal contained lists of such manuscripts in libraries around the world.

The *JPTS* has continued to do this and, beside those by William Pruitt and Jacqueline Filliozat mentioned above, recent volumes have included lists of Pāli manuscripts of Sri Lanka in the Cambridge University Library by Jinadasa Liyanaratne (XVIII, pp. 131–47), and three further lists by Jacqueline Filliozat: commentaries to the Anāgata-vaṃsa in the Pāli manuscripts of the Paris collections (XIX, pp. 43–63);

Pāli manuscripts in Burmese and Siamese characters in the library of Vijayasundaramaya Asgiriya (XXI, pp. 135–91); and Pāli manuscripts from the Bodleian Library (XXIV, pp. 1–80).

Nevertheless lists, while of great value, are not sufficient in themselves, and it has been very gratifying to see the catalogues of Pāli manuscripts which have appeared in recent years, sometimes from sources where Western scholars, at least, might be forgiven for not knowing there were Pāli manuscripts, *e.g.* the Catalogue of the Otani Library palm leaf manuscripts (rev. K.R. Norman, *Buddhist Studies Review* 14, 1, 1997, pp. 63–64; Primoz Pecenko, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 41, 3, July 1998, pp. 301–304). It is to be hoped that such catalogues will continue to appear giving, perhaps, information about texts hitherto unknown or known only by name. Of particular importance will be information about the store of manuscripts at present being amassed in the Fragile Leaves Project in Bangkok. It may not be too much to hope to see, one day, a Catalogus Catalogorum of Pāli texts. Daunting though this task may be, using modern technology it should not be impossible to produce a computer file listing the names of all the Pāli texts at present known to us with information about the libraries and holdings where manuscripts of such texts are known to exist.

K.R. Norman

Index of Grammatical Points Discussed in the Notes to *Elders' Verses I*

A number of readers of Volume I of *Elders' Verses* have regretted that I did not provide an index of the grammatical points which I discussed in the notes, as I did for the later Volume II. Since I have made one for my own use, it may be useful to make it more widely available.

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