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NĀMACĀRADĪPAKA

INTRODUCTION

The *Nāmacāradīpa* (The Action of Mind)¹ was traditionally attributed to the therā Chapaṭa² also later known as *Saddhammajoti-pāla*³ who lived in Arimaddanapura (Pagan) in Burma. This is one of the nine *Abhidhamma* manuals entitled in Burmese 'Let-than' or 'Little finger summaries'.⁴ In the beginning of Parākramabāhu's reign (1165 A.D.) Thera Uttarājīva left Pagan for Mahāvihāra,⁵ Anurādhapura, taking with him as a gift to the Sinhalese monks a copy of *Saddanīti*, a comprehensive Pali grammar⁶ written by Aggavaṃsa in 1154 A.D. He was accompanied by his pupil, Chapaṭa, a young novice (*sāmaṇera*). After sojourn in Sīhaladīpa, Uttarājīva left the Mahāvihāra for Burma; but Chapaṭa remained there from 1170 to 1180 A.D. learning the *Tipiṭaka* and he received his *Upasampadā* at the hands of the Sīhalasaṅgha. Chapaṭa wished to confer it on his brethren of Pagan and establish a fraternity in Burma. For this purpose he brought with him four theras of great learning and piety. Five is the minimum required number for ordination according to the *Vinaya*. They were Rāhula, born in Sri Lanka; Ānanda, born in Kañcipura; Sīvalī, born in the sea-port of Tāmralipti, India; and Tāmalinda, a Cambodian prince.⁷ The nucleus of the Sīhalasaṅgha was formed during the reign of Narapati-Si-Thu (1174-1211).⁸

Chapaṭa was the reputed author of *Vinayasamuṭṭhānadīpanī*, *Pātimokkhasiddhanī*, *Vinayagūḥhatthadīpanī*, *Sīmālaṅkarasaṅgaha-ṭīkā*, *Mātikatthadīpanī*, *Paṭṭhānagaṇanānaya*, *Abhidhammattha-*

¹ Also known in Burma as *Nāmacāradīpa* or *Nāmacāradīpanī*; Forchhammer, Essay, p. 35; *Ṭīkatthamain*, Rangoon, 1906, p. 45.

² Sometimes pronounced as Chappaṭa or Chapada, the name of the village where he was born.

³ Honorific title given by the king Narapati.

⁴ See Introduction of *Abhidhammatthavibhavinī-ṭīkā*, ed. H. Saddhātissa, Pali Text Society, 1989, p. xiii foll.

⁵ This was founded by the king of Sīhaladīpa, Devānampiya Tissa, for the Arahant Mahinda, Aśoka's son.

⁶ See M. Bode, *Early Pali Grammarians in Burma*, JPTS 1908; *Saddanīti*, ed. Helmer Smith, Lund, 1928-66.

⁷ *Sāsanaṃsa*, ed. M. Bode, PTS, p. 65. See *Pali Literature of Burma*, reprint, London 1966, p. 18.

⁸ Professor Hall, *History of South East Asia*, Macmillan, 1964, p. 143.

saṅgahasāṅkhepavaṇṇanā and was a specialist in grammar, rhetoric and prosody. Despite the erudite authorship displayed in his other works the language of the *Nāmacārādīpaka* is not elegant and the metre of many verses is not meticulous. His verses in *Anuṣṭubh*¹ metre are not always of eight syllables in each *pāda*, and in many verses one can notice some violation of metre (*Vṛttabhaṅga*). The *Sāsanavaṃsa* also does not include the *Nāmacārādīpaka* among the works attributed to him.² Presumably, Chapaṭa brought this work from somewhere and introduced it to his students rather than being the author of it himself. I fully agree with the same suggestion made by K.R. Norman.³ However, the colophon says that it was written by Chapaṭa while he was residing in a Vihāra named *Tilokanayana-sabbāññūdhātu-unhīśacetiya* to the east of Arimaddana. I am of the opinion that one of his pupils must have added the colophon assuming that it was his teacher's work.

This work contains seven chapters or divisions (*vibhāgo*): I. The Division of Realms (*Bhūmivibhāgo*), II. The Division of Individuals (*Puggalavibhāgo*), III. The Division of Previous and Following (Births) (*Pubbāparavibhāgo*), IV. The Division of Functions (*Kicca-tthānavibhāgo*), V. The Division of Objects (*Ārammaṇavibhāgo*), VI. The Description of Matter (*Rūpaniddeso*), and VII. The Division of Conditions (*Paccayavibhāgo*).

As I was unable to obtain any other manuscript this edition is based on the printed Burmese copy (=Be) of the *Nāmacārādīpaka* in the India Office Library, London edited by Saya Maung Lin, published by Ma E Me, Rangoon, 31st May 1911. I have stated in the footnotes where this edition differs from Be.

London

† Hammalawa Saddhātissa

¹*Anuṣṭubh* is a kind of metre consisting of four *Pādas* or quarter-verses of eight syllables each.

²See M. Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, reprint 1966, p.18.

³K.R. Norman *Pāli Literature, A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. VII, Fasc. 2, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1983, p. 153.

†[We regret to have to inform readers that Ven. Dr. H. Saddhātissa died on 13 February 1990 (Ed.)]

NĀMACĀRADĪPAKA OF CHAPAṬA

Edited By Hammalawa Saddhātissa

NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO ARAHATO SAMMĀSAMBUDDHASSA

Ganthārambhakathā¹

1. Namassitvāna Sambuddhaṃ bhūmijātānamaddinaṃ
vijānantuttamaṃ dhammaṃ saṅghaṃ² ca guṇasāgaraṃ.
2. Racayissaṃ samāsenā Nāmacārassa dīpakam
Paṭṭhānanayagāhaṃ taṃ³ taṃ suṇātha samāhitā.

I

Catuparamatthā⁴

3. Kāmādibhūmibhedena hoti cittaṃ catubbidham
kāmarūpa-arūpāvacaraṃ lokuttaraṃ cittaṃ.
4. Tesu kāmaccittaṃ tāva jātibhedena catudhā
rūpārūpaṃ tidhā cittaṃ dvidhā anuttaraṃ mataṃ.
5. Kusalākusalaṃ 'pākaṃ kiriyāti catubbidham
atṭhadhā tesu kusalaṃ dvādasākusalaṃ 'pākaṃ.
6. Tevīsati kriyācittaṃ ekādasāti viññeayaṃ
rūpārūpaṃ tidhā cittaṃ kusalaṃ 'pākakiriyā.
7. Tesu rūpaṃ pannarasa arūpaṃ dvādasatṭhitaṃ
kusala 'pākavasena atṭhavidham anuttaraṃ.
8. Catupaññāsadhā kāmāṃ rūpaṃ pannarasīraye
ārūpaṃ dvādasā cittaṃ atṭhadhā 'nuttaraṃ mataṃ.
9. Apāye sattatimseva kāmasugatiyaṃ⁵ pi hi
pañcasatṭhi ca satṭhi ca pañcasatṭhi dvayaṃ rūpaṃ.
10. Kamenārūpabhūmīsu titālīsekātālīsaṃ⁶
ekūnatālīsaṃ sattatimsa ñeayaṃ bhūmijātaṃ.

Bhūmi-uddeso

¹Be omits

²saṅghaṃ

³Paṭṭhānanayagāhantaṃ

⁴Be omits

⁵-gatiyā

⁶titālīsekātālīsaṃ and so below

11. Jātiyāpabhedena¹ hoti cittaṃ catubbidhaṃ kusalākusalaṃ 'pākaṃ kiriyāti niddesato.
12. Uddese pana tividhaṃ jātibhedena kusalaṃ akusalaṃ² avyākataṃ³ vuttaṃ eva mahesinā.
13. Kusalaṃ ekavīsati dvādasākusalā matam 'pākaṃ chattiṃsakaṃ ñeyyaṃ vīsati-kiriyacittaṃ.
14. Uddesanaye kusalākusalañ ca vuttanayaṃ kiriyā 'pākabhedena avyākataṃ dvidhā matam.
15. Kusala 'pākaṃ kāmādi pabhedena catubbidhaṃ kāmabhūmi⁴ va 'kusalaṃ kiriyā hoti tividhā.

Jāti-uddeso

16. Saṅkhepena mayā vuttaṃ saṅkhepanayakāmānaṃ vitthārena pavakkhāmi taṃ suñātha samāhitā.
17. Somanassamatiyuttam asaṅkhāram anekaṃ⁵ ca sasaṅkhāra manañ c' ekaṃ tathā hīnamatidvayaṃ.
18. Tato 'pekkhāmatiyuttam matihīnaṃ ti atthadhā kāmāvacarapuññettha bhijjate vedanādito.
19. Somanassa-kudittihīni yuttam ekaṃ asaṅkhāram sasaṅkhāramanañ c' ekaṃ hīnadiṭṭhidvayaṃ tathā.
20. Upekkhā-diṭṭhiyuttam pi tathā diṭṭhiviyuttakaṃ vedanā diṭṭhi-ādihi lobhamūlevam atthadhā.
21. Sadukkhaḍḍosaṅkhāra-saṅhitam⁶ dosamūlakaṃ mohamūlam pi sopekkhaṃ kaṅkhuddhacca yutaṃ dvidhā.
22. Duvidhā kāmāpākāni puññāpākādito taḥim puññāpākā dvidhā ahetū⁷ ca⁸ sahetūti dvidhā tthitaṃ.⁹
23. Ahetu-paṇca viññāṇaṃ gahaṇaṃ tīraṇācubho kāyaviññāṇaṃ¹⁰ sukhī tathā¹¹ somanassādi-tīraṇaṃ.

¹ Jātiyāhapabhedena

² akusalaṃ

³ avyākataṃ *and so below*

⁴ kāmabhūmi

⁵ anekakaṃ

⁶ saṅhitam

⁷ dvidhāhetū

⁸ *Be omits*

⁹ dviraṭṭhakā.

¹⁰ kāyāñāṇaṃ

¹¹ tattha

24. Sopekkhāmi¹ cha sesāni sapuññaṃ 'va sahetukaṃ.
25. Pāpajam pañcaviññānaṃ gahaṇaṃ tīraṇaṃ ekaṃ
kāyaviññānaṃ² dukkhī tattha sopekkhāva cha ca³ sesakā.
26. Kāme tevīsa-pākāni puññapākādiḥhedato
kāmikakiriya⁴ dvidhā hotāhetusaḥetuto.
27. Ahetu tividhā kathaṃ sopekkhāvajjanadvayaṃ
sukhavā-hasitaṃ attha sapuññaṃ 'va sahetukā.
28. Vitakkavicārapīti-sukhekaggayutaṃ maṇaṃ⁵
ādicārādi pītyādi⁶ sukhādihi paraṃ⁷ tayaṃ.
29. Upekkhekaggatāyuttaṃ rūpaṃ pañce 'va jhānato⁸
pañcadhā sakapuññaṃ 'va vipākakiriya matā.
30. Nabhaṃ tammana tassuñña taṃ⁹ citta-catugocare
kamenātikkamārūppā¹⁰-puññaṃ hoti catubbidhaṃ.
31. Ākāsānañcāyatanam Viññānañcāyatanañ ca
Ākiñcaññāyatanam ca Nevasaññānāsaññāyatanam
Catudhā saka-puññaṃ 'va vipākakiriya matā.
32. Maggacittaṃ anuttaraṃ catukiccena yuttatā
Catudhāpādaḥkajjhāna bhedato puna vīsati
tappākattā catudhāphalaṃ¹¹ ñeyyaṃ evaṃ sarūpato
33. Duggatiyaṃ sattatimsa bhavanti hasitaṃ vinā
ahetukā sattarasa puññāpuññāni vīsati.
34. Kāmasugatiyāsīti sabbāni kāmaccittāni
'pākavajjaṃ mahaggataṃ attha-lokuttarāni ca.
35. Rūpe ekūnasattati kriyācittāni vīsati
ekavīsati puññāni cakkhusotañ ca tīraṇaṃ.
36. Paṭicchanam dasavajjaṃ¹² phalaṃ 'pākaṃ bhūmikkamaṃ
pañcasatthi ca satthi ca pañcasatthi dvibhūmikā.

¹ Sopekkhāni² kāyañāṇaṃ³ Be omīs⁴ kāmikakiriya⁵ maṇaṃ⁶ pitādi⁷ paraṃ⁸ Be ends pañce maṇgato⁹ tañ¹⁰ kamenātikkamārūppa-¹¹ tidhāphalaṃ¹² dosavajjaṃ

37. Aruppe¹ cha-cattālīsa kāmapuññaṃ dasapāpaṃ
Kāme nava kriyārūpaṃ cittaṃ satta-maggaphalaṃ.
38. Sabbabhūmikaṃ² heṭṭhāvajjanaṃ³ titālīsekataālīsaṃ
ekūnatālīsasattatiṃsa ñeyyaṃ bhūmadinā.

**Iti Nāmacāradipake Bhūmijātivibhāgo nāma
Pathamo paricchedo**

II

39. Sekkhāsekkhaputhujjana-bhedena pañcadhā bhava
asekkhe niyataṃ cittaṃ hoti ekūnavāsati.
40. Sattasekkhesu niyataṃ honti pañca puthujjane
catuvāsati niyataṃ hoti sekkhaputhujjane.
41. Catuttiṃse⁴ 'va cittāni sekkhāsekkhaputhujjane
yathārahaṃ uppajjanti pañcadhā puggalabhedā.
42. Kāme dvādasapuggalā sekkhānaṃ catutālīsaṃ
anāgāmīnatṭhatālīsaṃ⁵ dvisekkhānaṃ ca paññāsaṃ.
43. Maggaṭṭhānaṃ⁶ ekam ekam catunnaṃ catupaññāsaṃ
dvayaṃ ca ekatālīsaṃ sattatiṃsaṃ ca kamato.
44. Rūpesu nava-puggalā kamato catubhūmināṃ⁷
asekkhānaṃ ekatiṃsaṃ⁸ dvattiṃsekatitiṃsadvayaṃ.
45. Tisekkhānaṃ pañcatitiṃsaṃ chatitiṃsadve⁹-pañcatitiṃsaṃ
maggatṭhānaṃ¹⁰ ekam ekam rāgīnaṃ catubhūmināṃ¹¹
ekūnatālīsaṃ¹² tālīsaṃ ekūnatālīsadvayaṃ.
46. Āruppe atṭhapuggalā tattha sekkhānaṃ kamato
pannarasa cuddasā pi terasa dvādasa pi¹³ ca.

¹ Arūpe

² Sambhūmikaṃ

³ heṭṭhāvajjaṃ

⁴ Catuttiṃse

⁵ anāgāmīnaṃ 'ṭṭhatālīsaṃ

⁶ Maggaṭṭhānaṃ

⁷ catubhūmināṃ

⁸ ekatiṃsa

⁹ chatitiṃsadve

¹⁰ maggaṭṭhānaṃ

¹¹ catubhūmināṃ

¹² kūnatālīsa

¹³ dvi

47. Bhūmikkamaṃ hi sekkhānaṃ viśamekūna¹ vīsaṇ² ca atthārāsa sattarāsa maggaṭṭhānaṃ³ ekam ekam.
48. Sesānaṃ puthujjanānaṃ catuvīsaṇ ca tevīsaṃ bāvīsaṃ⁴ ekavīsaṇ ca hoti cittaṃ bhūmikkamaṃ.

Puggalika-uddeso

49. Saṅkhepena mayā vuttaṃ saṅkhepanayakāminam⁵ vitthārena pavakkhāmi taṃ suṇātha samāhitā.
50. Asekkhe niyataṃ cittaṃ hoti ekūnavīsati kāmajavanakiriyā mahaggatakriyāphalaṃ.
51. Sattasekkhesu niyataṃ catumaggaphalattayaṃ puthujjanesu niyataṃ diṭṭhiyuttaṃ vicikicchā.
52. Sekkhaputhujjane hoti catuvīsati niyataṃ diṭṭhiviyuttaṃ uddhaccaṃ sadosaṃ sāsavaṃ puññaṃ
53. Catuttimseva cittāni sekkhāsekkhaputhujjane niyatāvajjana-dvayaṃ bāttimsasāsavaṃ 'pākam.
54. Kāme dvādasapuggalā sattasekkhā khīṇāsavaṃ tihetukādipuggalā cattāro ca puthujjanā.
55. Asekkhānaṃ catucattālīsacittāni uddise kāme tevīsa 'pākāni kiriyā vīsati-phalaṃ.
56. Pāpaṃ hīnadiṭṭhuddhaccaṃ sattarāsa⁶ puññaṃ kāmāpākam saphalaṃ kiriyādvayaṃ anāgāmīnatthattālīsaṃ.⁷
57. Dviphalatthānaṃ paññāsaṃ kaṅkhādīṭṭhi yuttaṃ⁸ cajaṃ tipuññaṃ kāmavipākam saphalaṃ kiriyādvayaṃ.
58. Tīhetūnaṃ⁹ catupaññāsaṃ bhavati dvādasāsūbhaṃ kāme tevīsa 'pākāni tidhā puññaṃ kriyādvayaṃ.
59. Duhetukāhetukānaṃ ekatālīsaṃ¹⁰ apuññaṃ ṇṇāyuttavajjapākam kāmāpuññadvayāvajjanaṃ.¹¹

¹ vīsa ekūna

² vīsaṃ

³ maggaṭṭhānaṃ

⁴ bāvīsa

⁵ saṅkhepanayakāminam

⁶ tidhā

⁷ anāgāmīnaṃ 'tthattālīsaṃ.

⁸ yuttaṃ

⁹ Tīhetūnaṃ

¹⁰ ekatālīsaṃ

¹¹ kāmāpuññadvayāvajjanaṃ.

60. Ahetuka-duggatīnaṃ sattatiṃsadvayāvajjanaṃ¹
ahetukavipākāni puññāpuññāni vīsati.
61. Rūpesu nava puggalā sekkhāsekkhā tihetukā
tesvā sekkhānādibhūme ekatiṃsa siyumaṃ kathaṃ.
62. Dvicakkhusotaviññānaṃ santīraṇaṃ paṭicchanaṃ
kriyāvīsati sāpākaṃ aggaphalaṃ² ime siyumaṃ.
63. Tīsu bhūmīsu dvatiṃsa ekatiṃsa-dvayaṃ kamaṃ
saheva³ dvekapākehi tisekkhānaṃ sakaṃ phalaṃ.
64. Dittḥiviyuttam uddhaccaṃ dvicakkhusotaviññānaṃ
paṭicchanasantīraṇaṃ tibhūmipuññādvāvajjanaṃ.⁴
65. Savipakā⁵ bhūmikkamaṃ pañcatiṃsachattiṃsaṃ ca
puna pañcatiṃsadvayaṃ maggaṭṭhānaṃ⁶ ekam ekaṃ
66. Rāgīnaṃ catubhūmīnaṃ lobhamohamūlaṃ pāpaṃ
dvicakkhusotaviññānaṃ paṭicchanasantīraṇaṃ.
67. Tibhūmipuññādvāvajjanaṃ⁷ sapaṅkaṃ⁸ evam ekūna-
tālisaṃ tālīsekūnatālīsānaṃ dvayaṃ kamaṃ.
68. Āruppe atṭhapuggalā te svāsekkhāna 'saphalaṃ⁹
āvajjanaṃ mahākriyā sapaṅkaṃ catukriyā.
69. Bhūmikaṃ eva hetṭhimaṃ kriyaṃ hitvā pannarasa
cuddasa terasā cā pi honti dvādasa cittāni.
70. Tinnaṃ¹⁰ sekkhānaṃ saphalaṃ dittḥiviyuttam uddhaccaṃ
āvajjanaṃ mahāpuññaṃ sapaṅkārūpakusalaṃ
71. Bhūmikkamena hetṭhimaṃ puññaṃ hitvā vīsekūna¹¹
vīsa-atṭhāra¹² sattarasa ekaṃ¹³ maggaṭṭhānaṃ
72. Rāgīnaṃ dvidasapāpaṃ¹⁴ āvajjanaṃ kāmipuññaṃ
sapaṅkārūpakusalaṃ bhūmikaṃ eva hetṭhimaṃ

¹ sattatiṃsadvayāvajjanaṃ

² aggapphalaṃ

³ sahasa-

⁴ -dvāvajjanaṃ.

⁵ Savipakāṃ

⁶ maggaṭṭhānaṃ

⁷ -dvāvajjanaṃ

⁸ sapaṅkaṃ

⁹ 'sapphalaṃ

¹⁰ Tinnaṃ

¹¹ vīsekūna

¹² -atṭhārasa

¹³ sattarasekkaṃ

¹⁴ pi dasapāpaṃ

73. Puññaṃ hitvā catuvīsa honti tevīsa bāvīsa
ekavīsati cittāni ñeyyaṃ evaṃ puggalikam.

**Iti Nāmacāradīpake Puggalavibhāgo nāma
Dutiyo¹ paricchedo**

III

74. Ito paraṃ pavakkhāmi pubbāparaniyāmitaṃ
Nāmacāraṃ samāsenā taṃ suñātha samāhitā.
75. Dvayacatukkākusalā dve pubbā bhavanti 'parā
tepaññāsekavīsaṃ ca tettiṃsaṃ ca ekavīsaṃ.
76. Lobhamohamūlā pubbā dvayaṃ paraṃ ekavīsaṃ
dosasahagatāpubbā² dve bhavanti satta 'parā.
77. Kiriyaṃ manodhātumhā pubbakāni pannarasa
parāni dasacittāni manodvārāvajjanamhā
pubbakā ekavīsati paraṃ pañca cattāḷisa.
78. Hasituppādato pubbā dvayaṃ parā tu terasa
puriññānakriyāpubbā dvayaṃ parā pañcavīsa.
79. Duhetusukhamhā pubbā dvayaṃ parā sattarasa
tihetupekkhato pubbā dvayaṃ parā catuvīsa
duhetupekkhato pubbā dvayaṃ parā aṭṭhārasa.
80. Pañca viññānato ekaṃ pubbā paraṃ pañcānā
pañca pubbā paraṃ dvayaṃ sukhātīraṇato pubbā
81. Pañcavīsa parā honti dvādasopekkhatīraṇā
sattatiṃsa pubbā honti parā dvādasā viññeyyā.
82. Nāṇasukhavipākehi pubbakā satta tu 'pekkhā
pubbā dve sattati honti tehi parā ekavīsa.
83. Duhetusukhapākamhā tāḷisapubbakam matam
duhetu 'pekkhapākamhā ekatāḷisapubbakam
tehi catūhi 'pākehi bhavanti dvādasāparā.
84. Sukhopekkhasahagatā rūpakusalato pubbā
tayo tayo parā dasa bhavanti dvivedanīyā.

¹Dutiyo and so always

²dosasahagatāpubbā

85. Rūpe kiriyasukhamhā pubbā tayo parā dasa rūpe kiriyupekkhamhā¹ pubbā tayo parā dasa rūpapākā pubbe 'kūna saṭṭhi parā 'kūna vīsaṃ.
86. Āruppakusalā pubbā tayo parā ekādasa dvādasaterasa c' eva pannarasā pi kamato.
87. Āruppakriyato pubbā tayo parā ekādasa dvādasa terasa honti pannarasā pi kamato.
88. Āruppa catupākehi pubbaṃ aṭṭha cattālīsaṃ sattacca pañcatālīsaṃ parā nava 'tṭha satta cha.
89. Kusalānuttarā pubbā cattāro saphalaṃ paraṃ catukkaphalato pubbā kammaṃ² 'va cha satta satta.
90. Saṅkhepena mayā vuttaṃ saṅkhepanayakāmināṃ³ vitthārena pavakkhāmi taṃ suṇātha samāhitā.
91. Dvayādikusalā pubbaṃ dvitṭhānikāṃ voṭṭhapanāṃ⁴ sayaṇ ca pubbakāṃ cittaṃ honti parā tepaññāsa.
92. Sayāṃ cattāri rūpāni aṭṭhavīsa lokuttarā ekādasa tadālambaṇāṃ⁵ mahaggata nava 'pākāṃ.
93. Tatiya⁶ catutthā pubbaṃ sayāṃ dukicca voṭṭhapanāṃ⁷ honti parā ekavīsaṃ appanā dvattimsa vajjitā.
94. Pañcamachattṭhato pubbaṃ sayāṃ dukicca voṭṭhapanāṃ parā tetṭimsa sayaṇ ca dvādasa pañcam appanā ekādasa tadālambaṇāṃ⁸ mahaggata nava 'pākāṃ.
95. Sattapaṭhamato pubbaṃ sayāṃ dukicca voṭṭhapanāṃ honti parā ekavīsa appanā dvādasavajjitā.
96. Lobhamohamūlā⁹ pubbaṃ sayāṃ dukiccavoṭṭhapanāṃ parekavīsadutiyaṃ bhavaṅge 'kūnavisaṇ¹⁰ ca.
97. Dosasahagatā¹¹ pubbaṃ sayāṃ dukicca voṭṭhapanāṃ honti parā satta sayāṃ upekkhā kāmabhavaṅgaṃ.

¹ kiriyapekkhamhā² kammaṃ³ saṅkhepanayakāmināṃ.⁴ voṭṭhabbanāṃ⁵ tadālambaṇāṃ⁶ Tatiya and so always⁷ voṭṭhabbaṃ and so below⁸ tadālambaṇāṃ⁹ Lobhamuhamūlā¹⁰ 'kūnavisaṇ¹¹ Dosassahagatā

98. Kiriyāmanodhātumhā pubbakāni pannarasa
kāmarūpabhavaṅgāni paraṇ ca dasa viññāṇaṃ.
99. Manodvārāvajjanamhā pubbakā ekavīsati
ekūnavīsabhavaṅgaṃ sayam¹ pi sukhatīraṇaṃ.
100. Paraṃ pañca cattālīsaṃ kāmāvacarajavanaṃ
kāmarūpabhavaṅgāni sayam² pi ca pacchimakaṃ.
101. Hasituppādato pubbaṃ dvikiccāvajjanaṃ sayam
parā terasa sutīraṇaṃ³ kāmarūpañña 'pākaṃ
aññāṇasukhapākāni sayam nāma idam⁴ pi ca.
102. Somanassaññāyutta-kiriyā dvayato pubbaṃ
dvikiccāvajjanaṃ sayam pañcavīsaṃ parā sayam.
103. Tebhūmakam⁵ matiyuttaṃ bhavaṅgaṃ sukhatīraṇaṃ
ññāyuttaṃ sukhapākaṃ sukhārūpakriyā mahaggataṃ.⁶
104. Duhetusukhadvayamhā pubbaṃ āvajjanaṃ sayam
dviṭṭhānikaṃ parā sattarasa sayam sukhatīraṇaṃ⁷
tibhūmiññābhavaṅgaṃ ññāhīnasukhapākaṃ.
105. Upekkhāññāyuttehi pubbaṃ sadukiccāvajjanaṃ
honti parā catuvīsa ññāyuttaṇ ca bhavaṅgaṃ.
106. Sopekkhapañcamaphalaṃ catupekkhatadālambanaṃ⁸
pañcupekkhāsahagatā mahaggatakriyā sayam.
107. Duhetupekkhadvayamhā pubbaṃ sadukiccavajjanaṃ
honti parā aṭṭhārasa tibhūmiññābhavaṅgaṃ
pacchimañca sayam yesaṃ catupekkhatadālambanaṃ.⁹
108. Sukhaññānavipākehi¹⁰ pubbakā sattatividhā
voṭṭhapanam¹¹ dosavajjāni tibhūmijavanāni ca
catuphalaṃ sukhatīraṇaṃ¹² bhavaṅgekūnavīsati.

¹ sayam² sayam³ sutīraṇaṃ⁴ idam⁵ Tebhūmikaṃ⁶ rahattaṃ⁷ sukhatīraṇaṃ⁸ -tadālambanaṃ⁹ -tadālambanaṃ¹⁰ Sukhiññānavipākehi¹¹ voṭṭhabbaṃ¹² sukhatīraṇaṃ

109. Upekkhāñāyuttehi dosamūlaṃ pakkhipiya
pubbā dvesattati hoti parā tehi ekavīsa
āvajjanadvayaṃ cā pi bhavaṅgekūnavīsati.
110. Duhetusukhapākamhā pubbaṃ tālīsavotthapanam¹
akusalā dosavajjā kāmapiṇṇāsukhakriyā
ekādasa tadālambanam² cutikiccaṃ rūpapākam.
111. Duhetupekkhapākamhā ekatālīsapubbakam
votthapanam³ dvādasāpuṇṇam kāmapiṇṇopekkhakriyā
ekādasatadālambanam⁴ cutikiccaṃ rūpapākam.
112. Tehi catūhipākehi bhavanti dvādasā parā
dasakāmbhavaṅgaṃ ca āvajjanadvayam⁵ pi ca.
113. Pañca viññānakusalapākehi pubbāvajjanam
param paṭicchanam cittaṃ tāni pubbāni imamhā.
114. Hoti param santīraṇa dvayaṃ ca sukhopekkhā⁶ vā
tesu sukhatīraṇam⁷ pubbā pañcavīsā honti sayam.
115. Kāmapiṇṇāsukhakriyā dosavajjam paṭicchanam
parā dvādasā votthapanam⁸ sayāṃ ca kāma bhavaṅgam.
116. Pubbopekkhā tīraṇa⁹ sattatiṃsa santīraṇavotthapanam¹⁰
kāmapiṇṇā puṇṇopekkhā kriyābhavaṅgam paṭicchanam
parā dvādasāvajjana dvayaṃ ca kāma bhavaṅgam.
117. Sukhopekkhāsahagataṃ¹¹ rūpākusalato¹² pubbā
sukhopekkhāmatiyuttam¹³ dvayam sayam tato tato.¹⁴
118. Parā dasakāma-rūpa-ñānarūpam bhavaṅgaṃ ca
sukhopekkhāsahagataṃ¹⁵ rūpakiriyato pubbā.
119. Sukhopekkhāmatiyuttam¹⁶ dvayam sayam tato tato¹⁷
parā dasakāmarūpam tihetubhavaṅgam sayam.

¹-votthabbam

²tadālambam

³votthabbam

⁴-tadālambam

⁵āvajjanadvayam

⁶sukhopekkha

⁷sukhitīrā

⁸votthabbam

⁹tīrā

¹⁰satīravotthabbam

¹¹Sukhopekkhasahagataṃ

¹²rūpakusalato

¹³sukhopekkhamatiyuttam

¹⁴tayo.

¹⁵sukhopekkhasahagataṃ

¹⁶Sukhopekkhamatiyuttam

¹⁷tayo

120. Rūpapākāpubbekūna¹-saṭṭhivotṭhapanam² lobha-
mohamūlāpuññāni³ puññākriyā tibhūmikā.
121. Catupphalam mahāpāka-ñāṇayuttam navapākam
parekūnavisaṃ dvayāvajjanam⁴ lokiyapākam sahetukam.
122. Āruppakusalā pubbā tayopekkhā⁵ matiyuttā
tayo parā ekādasa dvādasaterasāpi ca
kāmarūpanavapākam vipākam heṭṭhimam sayam.
123. Catutthato pannarasa tatiyaphalasahitā
āruppakriyāto⁶ pubbā tayo 'pekkhā⁷ matiyuttā.
124. Tayo parā ekādasa dvādasaterasāpi ca
kāmarūpanavapākam vipākam heṭṭhimam sayam
Catutthato pannarasa catutthaphalasahitā.
125. Āruppacatupākehi pubbam atṭhacattālīsam
satta cha⁸ pañcatālīsam uddham pākavivajjitam
126. Dosavajjasahetukā⁹ kāmajavanamatipākam¹⁰
catupphalāruppajavana¹¹ sayam pākāñ ca heṭṭhimam.
127. Parā navatṭhasattacha¹² manodvārāvajjanañ ca
adhovajjāruppapakam mahāpakam matiyuttam.
128. Sukhopekkhāsahagatam¹³ puññālokuttarā pubbā
sukhopekkhamatipuññam dvayam paro sa pāko 'va.
129. Sukhopekkhāsahagato¹⁴ catukkaphalato pubbā
kamam 'va chasattasattadvidvipuññam sukhopekkhām.
130. Maggāsayam¹⁵ catutthārūpam parā bhavanti cuddasa
tīhetukam rūpārūpakāmapākam sayam¹⁶ pi ca.

**Iti Nāmacārādīpake Pubbāparavibhāgo nāma
Tatiyo paricchedo**

¹ Rūpapākāpubbekūna-

² -votṭhabbanam

³ kumohamūlāpuññāni

⁴ dvayāvajjam

⁵ tayopekkhā

⁶ āruppakriyato

⁷ 'pekkhā

⁸ sattacca

⁹ Dosavajjasahetukā

¹⁰ kāmajavāmatipākam

¹¹ catupphalāruppajavā

¹² navatṭhasattacca

¹³ Sukhopekkhāsahagatam

¹⁴ Sukhopekkhāsahagato

¹⁵ Maggāsayam

¹⁶ sayam

IV

131. Ito paraṃ pavakkhāmi kiccatthānaniyāmitaṃ
Nāmacāraṃ samāsenā taṃ suṇātha samāhitā.
132. Paṭisandhibhavaṅgaṇ ca āvajjanaṇ ca dassanaṃ
savaṇaṃ ghāyanaṃ kiccaṃ sāyanaṃ phusanaṃ tathā.
133. Paṭicchanaṃ santīraṇaṃ voṭṭhapaṇaṇ¹ ca javanaṃ
tadālambaṇaṃ² cutikiccaṃ bhedaṃ cuddasa viññeyyā.
134. Tena kiccappabhedena cittaṃ cuddasabhedakaṃ
bhavati pañcavidham pi ekakiccā dibhedato.
135. Sandhibhavaṅgakiccāni cuti c' ekūnavīsati
dve dve āvajjanādikaṃ paṭicchanaṇ tu kiccaṃ.
136. Tīṇi tīraṇakiccāni ekaṃ voṭṭhapanakiccaṃ³
javanaṃ pañcapaññāsa ekādasa tadālambaṇaṃ.⁴
137. Atthasatthi tathā dve ca navatthā dve yathākkamaṃ
ekadvitīcatupañca kiccaṇi viniddise.
138. Paṭisandhibhavaṅgaṇ ca āvajjanaṇ ca viññāṇaṃ
paṭicchana-santīraṇaṃ voṭṭhapaṇaṇ⁵ ca javanaṃ.
139. Tadālambaṇaṃ⁶ cuticittaṃ ititthānaṃ⁷ dasavidham
ekatthānā paṭisandhi bhavaṅgaṇ ca navatthānikaṃ.
140. Āvajjanaṃ dvitthānikaṃ viññāṇaṇ ca paṭicchanaṃ
tīraṇaṇ c' ekatthānikaṃ⁸ voṭṭhapaṇaṇ⁹ dvitthānikaṃ.
141. Chatthānikaṃ javanaṇ ca tadālambaṇaṃ¹⁰ dvitthānikaṃ
titthānikaṃ cuticittaṃ evaṃ¹¹ pi pañca vīsati.
142. Saṅkhepena mayā vuttaṃ saṅkhepanayakāmaṇaṃ¹²
vitthārena pavakkhāmi taṃ suṇātha samāhitā.

¹ voṭṭhabbaṇaṇ² tadālambaṇ³ voṭṭhabbanakiccaṃ⁴ tadālambaṇ.⁵ voṭṭhabbaṇaṇ⁶ Tadālambaṇ⁷ ititthānaṃ⁸ ekatthānikaṃ⁹ voṭṭhabbaṇaṃ¹⁰ tadālambaṇ¹¹ evaṃ¹² -kāmānaṃ

143. Sahetusāsavā 'pākā tīraṇā dve c' upekkhakā
paṭisandhādīkiccāni cittānekūnavīsati.
144. Dve dve āvajjanādīni āvajjanādīkiccakā
tīṇi tīraṇakiccāni voṭṭhapanakiccaṃ¹ manovajjanam.²
145. Kusalākusalam sabbam kriyāvajjanavajjitā
phalāni pañcapanñāsa cittāni javanakiccakā.³
146. Attha kāmamahāpākā tīṇi santīraṇāni ca
iccekādasacittāni tadālambaṇakiccakā.
147. Kusalākusalam sabbam kriyavoṭṭhapanavajjitā⁴
phalam dvipañcaviññānam manodhātekakiccakam.
148. Manodvārāvajjanam ca sukhatīraṇam⁵ dvikiccakam
mahaggatavipākāni nava tikiccakāni⁶ ca.
149. Attha kāmamahāpākā bhavanti catukiccakā
pañcakiccāni cittāni tīraṇā dve upekkhakā.
150. Cutibhavaṅgakiccānam sandhiṭṭhānam⁷ antaram
sandhijavanatadālamba⁸ voṭṭhapanāvajjanantaram.⁹
151. Javanatadālambacuti¹⁰ antaraṇ ca bhavaṅgassa
bhavaṅgapañcaviññāna javanantarāvajjanassa.¹¹
152. Āvajjanapaṭicchanaṇam¹² viññāṇaṭṭhānam antaram.
pañcaviññāṇatīraṇam paṭicchanaṭṭhānam¹³ antaram.
153. Tīraṇaṭṭhānam¹⁴ paṭicchana voṭṭhapanānam¹⁵ antaram
tīraṇajavanabhavaṅgānam¹⁶ voṭṭhapanatṭhānam¹⁷ antaram.
154. Voṭṭhapanā¹⁸ tadālamba bhavaṅgacuti nāvajja
tadālambaṇa bhavaṅga cūṭinaṇ ca javanaṭṭhānam.¹⁹

¹ voṭṭhakiccaṃ

² manovajjam

³ javakiccakā.

⁴ kriyāvotṭhabbavajjitā

⁵ sukhitīram

⁶ navattikiccakāni

⁷ sandhiyāṭṭhānam

⁸ sandhijavatadālamba

⁹ voṭṭhabbāvajjanantaram.

¹⁰ Javatadālambacuti

¹¹ javantarāvajjanassa.

¹² Āvajjapaṭicchanaṇam

¹³ paṭicchataṭṭhānam

¹⁴ Tīraṇaṭṭhānam

¹⁵ voṭṭhabbanaṇam

¹⁶ tīrajavabhavaṅgānam

¹⁷ voṭṭhabbatṭhānam

¹⁸ Voṭṭhabbana

¹⁹ javatṭhānam.

155. Tadālambaṇaṭṭhānan tu javanabhavaṅgacutīnaṃ¹
cutitṭhānaṃ javanataḍālamba² bhavaṅga sandhīnaṃ.

**Iti Nāmacāradīpake Kiccaṭṭhānavibhāgo nāma
Catuttho paricchedo**

V

156. Tāto paraṃ pavakkhāmi Nāmacāraṃ samāsato
ārammaṇappabhedena taṃ suṇātha samāhitā.
157. Chabbidhārammaṇaṃ nāma-rūpa-sadda-gandha-rasa-
phoṭṭhabba-dhammavasena vuttam evaṃ mahesinā.
158. Bhavati tividhaṃ cittaṃ ekārammaṇikādīnā
ekārammaṇikaṃ cittaṃ pañcātīrekatālīsaṃ.
159. Pañcārammaṇacittāni tīṇi honti titālīsaṃ
chalārammaṇikaṃ cittaṃ vuttam evaṃ mahesinā.
160. Pañcādhikacattālīsaṃ ekārammaṇikaṃ kathaṃ
amalaṃ pañcaviññāṇaṃ anabhiññāṃ mahaggataṃ.
161. Pañcārammaṇikaṃ kathaṃ manodhātuttayaṃ cittaṃ
chalārammaṇikaṃ cittaṃ sābhiññāṃ sesakāmajaṃ.
162. Parittaṇ ca mahaggataṃ appamaṇaṃ na vattabbaṃ
catudhārammaṇabbhedaṃ vuttam evaṃ mahesinā.
163. Pañcaviśa parittamhi kāme tevīsa pakāni
pañcadvārāvajjanaṇ ca bhavanti hasitaṃ cittaṃ.
164. Mahaggate ca āruppe³ dutiyacatutthadvayaṃ
ekavīsati vohāre sesārūpaṃ rūpacittaṃ.
165. Nibbāna⁴ amalā aṭṭha phalāmuttamhi⁵ vīsati
dvādasākusalā aṭṭha kāmajavanamatihīnā.⁶
166. Aggamaggaphalavajje bhavanti gocare pañca
kāmapuññaṃ matiyuttaṃ abhiññāṇaṇ ca kusalaṃ.

¹ javabhavaṅgacutīnaṃ

² javatadālamba

³ āruppa

⁴ Nibbāne

⁵ phalamuttamhi

⁶ kāmajavāmatihīnā.

167. Sabbālambe cha cittāni voṭṭhapanam¹ kriyābhiññam
kāmakriyāmatiyuttā sabbathāpi bhavanti ca.²
168. Sattadhā honti gocare chabbidham³ pi bhava ati-
mahantārammaṇādinā katham atimahantādi.
169. Ekātītam soḷasāyukam timahantam tidhātītam
pannarasacuddasāyukam mahantārammaṇam nāma.
170. Ca tādi nava-atītam terasādi aṭṭhāyukam
parittam nāma dasādi pannarasātītam tathā.
171. Sattādi dvāyukam ati-parittam nāma ekādi
pañcātīta-soḷasādi dvādasāyukam vibhūtam.
172. Chasatta-atītam ekā-dasadasāyukamattam
avibhūtam nāma gocaram cattāri-pañcadvārika⁴
vibhūtāvibhūtam pana manodvārikagocaram.
173. Tadālabapariyantam vibhūtā 'timahantikam
javanantam vīthi-cittam avibhūtamahantikam.
174. Voṭṭhapanantam⁵ vīthi-cittam parittārammaṇam jātam
natthādi-paritte vīthi-cittam kiñci pi gocare.
175. Tasmim ārammaṇāpātha⁶-gatehi vīthi-cittassa
hetubhūtam bhavaṅgassa dvikkhattum calanam bhava.
176. Tato pañcadvārāvajjanam⁷ bhavati pañcaviññānam
tamhā sakasakadvārā⁸ gocare gahaṇam tato.
177. Santīraṇam tato⁹ voṭṭhapanam¹⁰ sakim tato
sattakkhattum javā kāme chakkattum vā pavattati.
178. Tadālabanam¹¹ dvikkhattum¹² tamhā bhavaṅgātimahantake¹³
mahante¹⁴ tadālabanam¹⁵ paritte natthi javanam
voṭṭhapanam¹⁶ dvitikkhattum 'ti parittenetare manam.

¹ voṭṭhabbanam² Be omits sabbathāpi bhavanti ca³ chabbidham⁴ -pañcadvārikā⁵ Voṭṭhabbantam⁶ ārammaṇāpātha⁷ pañcadvārāvajjanam⁸ sakasakadvārā⁹ Be adds tamhā¹⁰ voṭṭhabbanam¹¹ tadālabam¹² dvikam¹³ -mahantari.¹⁴ Be adds tu¹⁵ tadālabam¹⁶ voṭṭhabbanam

179. Manodvāre bhavaṅgamhā manodvārāvajjanam¹ tato javanam² tamhā vibhūte tu tadālambaṇanetarā³ mahaggata-amalānam gocarō natthi tabbhedo.
180. Sandhibhavaṅgacutīnam tividho gocarō bhavē kammaṃ kammanimittāñ ca tathā gatinimittakam.
181. Cetanā 'va kammaṃ nāma manodvāre siyātītaṃ Chabbidham kammanimittam chadvāre 'tītapaccuppannam.
182. Manodvāre paccuppannam rūpaṃ 'va gatinimittam⁴ maraṇāsannasattānam kapparukkhādumattāhitam.
183. Dve dve pañca ca pañcaṭṭha dve bhavā sabbabhedato cutiyā tādīsā honti catuvīsati sandhaya.⁵
184. Visuddhimaggatthakathā ṭikākārena vuttam tam suto du-dve-duto su-dve-suto pañca surū arū.
185. Rūto surū arū pañca arūpāṭṭhāduto dubo⁶ iccevaṃ Dhammasirīnā vuttā tass' atthavaṇṇanā.
186. Suto du-dve-duto su-dve-suto pañca surū arū rūto c' evam⁷ arūpāṭṭha duto dve catu⁸vīsati iti subhūta bhadrena vuttā tass' atthavaṇṇanā.
187. Duto suto sudu dve dve dvekadvisudvāru suto ruto c' evam⁹ dve dve dvi arūhi ubho ubho.
188. Attano matiyā eva vuttā tass' atthavaṇṇanā. saṅkhepen' eva vuttattham saṅkhepanayakāmehi vitthārena pavakkhāmi tam suṇātha samāhitā.
189. Duto suto 'tīta-paccuppannālambaṇā susandhi dusuto 'va atītādilambaṇā dusandhi dve dve.
190. Suto 'tītapaccuppanna paññattātīta paññatti surū arū pañcasandhi tathā pañcasandhi rūto.

¹ manodvārāvajjam² javā³ tadālambaṇitarasmim⁴ gatinimittam⁵ sandhiyo.⁶ dubho⁷ evam⁸ cabhu *misprint?*⁹ *Be adds svāru*

191. Atītālambaṇāruhi svārusandhi duve duve
paññattālambaṇāruhi svāru sandhi duve duve.
192. Evaṃ sandhi catuvīsa tādīsā yeva cutiyā
bhavālambaṇabhedena vijānaṃ¹ tu pabhedato
dvādasasadaṣa satta ca evaṇ² ca paṭisandhayo.³
193. Etā bhavanti tividhā atītārammaṇādīhi
dvālambaṇehi duvidhā cutidvādasasatta ca
kāmarūpaṃ arūpaṃ⁴ ca cuti-eka dūlambaṇā.

**Iti Nāmacāradīpake Ārammaṇavibhāgo nāma
Pañcama paricchedo**

VI

194. Nāmacāraṃ vinā rūpaṃ yasmā na pañcavokāre
tato 'va tassa nissayaṃ rūpaṃ 'dāni viniddise.
195. Samuddesā vibhāgā ca samuṭṭhānā kalāpato
pavattikkamato ceti pañcadhā rūpaniddeso.
196. Sītādiruppanaṃ rūpaṃ atthavīsavidhaṃ bhave
paṭhavāpo⁵ ca vāyo ca tejo cakkhu soṭaṃ ghānaṃ.
197. Jivhā kāyo rūpaṃ saddo gandho rasojā itthittaṃ
pumattaṃ vatthu jīvitāṃ atthārasavidhaṃ tathā.
198. Ākāso⁶ santati jarā bhaṅgo rūpassa lahutā
mudukammaññatākāya-vacī⁷-viññatti dasadhā.

Rūpasamuddeso

199. Rūpaṃ⁸ avyākataṃ⁹ sabbāṃ rūpakkhando ahetukaṃ
anālambaṇaṃ¹⁰ parittādi iti ekavidhaṃ naye.
200. Duvidhanyādito pana bahudhā muninā vuttaṃ
paṭhavādīmahābhūtā¹¹ upādāya-rūpe 'taraṃ.¹²

¹ vijānaṃ

² evaṃ

³ paṭisandhiyo.

⁴ arūpaṃ

⁵ paṭhavāpo

⁶ Ācāyo

⁷ vaci

⁸ Rūpaṃ

⁹ avyākataṃ *and so below*

¹⁰ anālambaṇaṃ

¹¹ paṭhavādīmahābhūtā

¹² bharaṃ.

201. Cakkhādiijhattam¹ pasādā bāhirā pasāde 'taram
cakkhādiadayavattu vatthu-avattu itaram²
202. Cakkhādikam viññatti ca sattadvāram nāma netaram
cakkhādiabhāvavittam indriyam nāma netaram.
203. Suddhatthakāvinibbhogam vaṇṇagandharasojakam
bhūtam³ tato vinibbhogam itaran ti viniddise.
204. Phoṭṭhabbam⁴ āpavajjantu bhūtetaramaphoṭṭhabbam
catuvaṇṇādi phoṭṭhabbam gocaran tu na cetaram.
205. Pasādagocararūpo 'lārikam sukhumetaram
atthārasādito rūpam nipphannan tu na cetaram.
206. Kham rūpānam paricchedo netarā kāsasantati⁵
jarā bhaṅgo⁶ ca rūpan tu lakkhaṇam nāma netaram.
207. Lahutādi ca viññatti vikāro nāma netaram
kammajākammajam rūpam iccevaṃ duvidhā⁷ naye.
208. Pasādā kammajā vatthu kammajākammajītarām
vatthu kammajam⁸ pi atthi kammajā kammajītarām
209. Indriyam kammajam atthi kammajākammajītarām
pasādan tu oḷārikoḷārikam sukhumetaram.
210. Kammajākammajāneva kammanā kammato tidhā
cittāhārutujā tikavasena⁹ pi tidhā matā.
211. Kammajākammajā bhūta¹⁰ upādā pi tathā bheda
vatthudvāram advāraṇ¹¹ ca avattu pi tathā bhedaṃ.
212. Dvāram vatthu avattu ca advāram pi tathā bhedaṃ
gocaram bhūtopādā¹² ca agocaram tathā bhedaṃ.
213. Indriyaninindriyenā¹³ pi vatthāvatthūsu catudhā
iccevaṃ catubbidhāni¹⁴ bhājetabbo vibhāvinā.

¹ Cakkhādiijhattam

² itaram

³ bhūtan

⁴ Phoṭṭhabbam

⁵ cāyasantati

⁶ bhaṅgā

⁷ duvidham

⁸ kammajam

⁹ dikavasena

¹⁰ bhūta

¹¹ advāram

¹² bhūbhupādā

¹³ Indriyaninindriyenā

¹⁴ catubbidhāni

214. Iccevaṃ aṭṭhavīsati vidham pi ca vicakkhaṇā
mahābhūtādibhedena vibhajanti yathārahaṃ.

Ayam ettha Rūpavibhāgo

215. Kammacitto tu āhārā rūpassa samuṭṭhāpakā
kāmarūpaṃ pañcavīsa kusalākusalaṃ kammaṃ.
216. Satta-ajjhattasantāne rūpaṃ kammassamuṭṭhānaṃ
paṭisandhim upādāya pavatteti khaṇe khaṇe.
217. Pākāruppapañcaviññāṇā 'rahanta cutivajjaṃ
pañcasattavidhaṃ¹ cittaṃ samuṭṭhāpeti jāyantaṃ
rūpaṃ cittaṃsamuṭṭhānaṃ ādibhavaṅgupādāya.
218. Sītuṇhotu samaññātā ṭhitippattā² tejodhātu
janeti ajjhattabahiddhā rūpaṃ utusamuṭṭhānaṃ.
219. Ojā saṅkhāta-āhāro ṭhitippatto³ va ajjhatte
rūpāhārasamuṭṭhānaṃ samuṭṭhāpeti gilite.
220. Hadayindriyarūpāni kammajāni nava tattha
viññatti dvayaṃ cittaṃ saddo citto 'tujo bhavē.
221. Lahutādittayaṃ utu-cittāhārehi jāyati
vaṇṇo gandho raso ojā bhūtā ākāśadhātu ca.
222. Nava catūhi jāyanti lakkhaṇāni na kuto ci
jāyamānādi rūpaṇaṃ sabhāvattā hi kevalaṃ.
223. Aṭṭhārasa pannarasa terasa dvādasāpi ca
kamma cittotukāhārajāni honti yathākkamaṃ.
224. Tattheakajāhekādasa⁴ ekam eva dvidhā rūpaṃ
tīṇi tijāni rūpāni nava catūhi sambhūtā.

Ayam ettha Rūpasamuṭṭhānanayo

225. Ekuppādanīrodhānaṃ ekanissayavuttīnaṃ
rūpaṇaṃ piṇḍavasena bāvīsa rūpakalāpā.

¹pañcasattatidhaṃ

²ṭhitippattā

³ṭhitippatto

⁴Tattheakajānekādasa

226. Cattāro ca mahābhūtā vaṇṇagandharasojakaṃ
Suddhaṭṭhakaṃ sajjīvitāṃ jīvitāṃ navakaṃ matāṃ.
227. Tadeva bhāvaṃvattūhi sabhāvasakādīkā
Tathā cakkhudasakādi kalāpā nava kammajā.
228. Suddhaṭṭhakaṃ¹ kāyaviññatti navakaṃ saddanavakaṃ
vacīsaddadasakaṃ ca lahutādekādasakaṃ.
229. Taṃ kāyavacīsaddehi dvādasa-terasā pi ca
cittajā satta-kalāpā vacī vinā saddā nava
viññattirahito saddo atthi ti pana taṃ matāṃ.
230. Suddhaṭṭhakaṃ saddanavakaṃ lahutādekādasakaṃ
tad eva suddhasaddena dvādasa caturō 'tujā.
231. Suddhaṭṭhakaṃ lahutādekādasakāhārajā dvidhā
kammādi jā nava satta cattāro dve yathākkamaṃ.
232. Suddhaṭṭhakaṃ saddanavakaṃ dve utujā bahiddhā pi
sabbe pana avasesā ajjhataṃ yeva labbhare.
233. Kalāpānaṃ pariccheda lakkhaṇattā vicakkaṇā
na kalāpaṇaṃ² iccāhu ākāsaṃ lakkhaṇāni ca.

Ayam ettha Kalāpayojanā

234. Catudhā³ rūpakalāpā kāmaloce yathārahaṃ
sattānaṃ upalabbhanti anūnāni pavattiyāṃ.
235. Sandhiyaṃ pana sabhāva⁴ dasakā kāyavattukā
gabbhaseyyakasattānaṃ pātubhavanti kammajā.
236. Abhāvakassa nattheva sattassa bhāvasakāṃ
tato tthim upādāya upajāyanti utujā.
237. Duttiya cittam upādāya upajāyanti cittajā
atireka dvisattāhe upajāyanti 'hārajā.
238. Kamato satta-sattāhe dasakā pi cakkhādayo
andhabadhira-sattānaṃ na labbhanti yathārahaṃ.

¹Suddhaṭṭhakaṃ and so below

²kalāpaṇaṃ

³Catujā

⁴sabhāvaṃ

239. Opapātikasattānaṃ sandhiyaṃ sattadasakā
tesaṃ¹ pana omakānaṃ na labbhanti yathārahaṃ
240. Tato pi utujādīni vuttanayena jāyanti
iccevaṃ yāvatāyukaṃ abbocchinnā pavattanti.
241. Bhaṅgāsattarasuppāde jāyante kammajā na te
tad uddhaṃ jāyante tasmā takkhaṃ maraṇaṃ bhava.
242. Āyukammubhayesaṃ vā khayena maraṇaṃ bhava
upekkamena² vā kesaṇi³ upacchedaka-kammunā.
243. Puretaram uppannāni cutisamaṃ nirujjhanti
tato bhijjanti cittaṇi³ sesā 'va utujā.
244. Iccevaṃ matasattānaṃ⁴ punad eva bhavantare
paṭisandhim upādāya tathārūpaṃ pavattati.
245. Sandhiyaṃ rūpaloke pi cakkhusotavattudasakaṃ⁵
navakaṃ cāpi labbhati navakaṃ 'va asaṇṇinaṃ.
246. Tato paraṃ pavatte pi pavattanti cittotujā
utujasaddanavakaṃ asaṇṇinaṃ na cittaṃ.
247. Atthavīsati kāmesu honti tevīsa rūpīsu
sattarase vāsaṇṇinaṃ arūpe natthi kiñci pi.
248. Saddo vikāro jaratā maraṇaṃ copapattiyaṃ
na labbhati pavatte tu na kiñci pi na labbhati.

Ayam ettha Rūpapavattikkamo

249. Sattānaṃ āyu jīvitāṃ tasmā tassa paricchedaṃ
vakkhāmi nayaṃ ādāya taṃ taṃ gantesumāgataṃ.
250. Āpāyikānaṃ sattānaṃ manussānaṃ ca jīvitāṃ
pamāṇaṃ niyamaṃ natthi tesaṃ dukkha-bahūlato.
251. Chakāmāvacarādīnaṃ pamāṇaṃ jīvitāṃ atthi
sukhumojāhārattā ca mahāpuṇṇanibbattattā.

¹tesaṃ

²upakkamena

³cittannaṇi

⁴mattasattānaṃ

⁵-dasam

252. Yāni paññāsavassāni manussānaṃ dino tahiṃ
tiṃsarattidivo māso māsā dvādasam¹ vaccharam.
253. Tena samvaccharen' āyu dibbam pañcasatam matam
tato upari devānaṃ dviguṇā āyudighatā
divavassassa guṇena² āyu catuguṇam bhava.
254. Pañca ekam dvi³ ca catu atthasoḷasādho likhya⁴
ādo dvikam⁵ sese tikam⁶ dibbasanikhyā pakāsītā.
255. Manussagaṇanāya pana no chati catu catveke
so sapañ⁷ catukam⁸ tri dve soceko⁹ ca dve 'nodho¹⁰
cha cha suññaṃ¹¹ pakāsītā.
256. Cha ete kāmāvacarā sabbakāmasaṅgino¹²
sabbesaṃ ekasaṅkhāto āyu bhavati kittako.
257. Nesaṃ¹³ tiṃsa-sahassāni pannarasasatāni ca
ettakā āyupamāna¹⁴ vassaggena pakāsītā.
258. Dvādasakoṭisatāñ¹⁵ ca atthavīsāñ¹⁶ ca koṭiyo
paññāsasatasahassāni vassaggena pakāsītā.
259. Tato upari brahmānaṃ āyukappena gaṇanam
tesaṃ paṭhamabrahmānaṃ asaṅkheyyena gaṇanam.
260. Tato upari brahmānaṃ mahākappena gaṇanam
tesaṃ paṭhamabrahmānaṃ tatiyo upaddho eko.
261. Tato upari brahmānaṃ dutiye dve ca tvatthakam
tatiye soḷasakappam battiṃsa¹⁷ catusatthi ca.
262. Catutthe ādibrahmānaṃ pañcakappasatam matam
Tadaññesaṃ sahassekam dve catu atthasoḷasa.

¹ dvādasā² gaṇena³ dve⁴ atthasoḷasadhāthitā⁵ dvikham⁶ tikham⁷ sappañ⁸ catukham⁹ soca eko¹⁰ chidra¹¹ suññaṃ¹² -samaṅgino¹³ Netam¹⁴ āyupamāṇa¹⁵ -satā¹⁶ atthavīsā¹⁷ battiṃsa

263. Arūpīnañ ca brahmānaṃ vīsataḷīsa saṭṭhi ca caturāsīti sahaṣsaṃ kammato āyuppaṃāṇaṃ.
264. Manussā ca cha devā ca brahmabhūmi ca terasa bhūmiyo vīsati ekaṃ kappam uddham paṭiṭṭhitā.
265. Heṭṭhimā brahmalokamhā patitā mahatī silā ahorattena ekena oggaṭā aṭṭhataḷīsaṃ.
266. Yojanānaṃ sahaṣsāni catumāsehi bhūmigā evaṃ vuttappamāṇena sāyaṃ heṭṭhima-bhūmigā.
267. Ito sataśaṣṣāni sattapaññāsa cāparaṃ saṭṭhi c' eva sahaṣsāni ubbedhena pakāsītā.
268. Yojanesu pi vuttasu hitvā kāmapamāṇakaṃ sesāni vasavattīnaṃ pārisajjānaṃ antaraṃ.
269. Tato hi pañca paññāsa sataśaṣṣāni cāparaṃ aṭṭha c' eva sahaṣsāni yojanānaṃ pavuccare.
270. Ito parāsu sabbāsu brahmabhūmīsu yojanaṃ tappamāṇā 'va daṭṭhabbā nayagāhena¹ dhīmatā.
271. Bhūmito ābhavaggamhā sattakoṭi aṭṭhārasa lakkhāpañcanaḥutāni cha sahaṣsāni sabbadhi.

**Iti Nāmacārādīpake Rūpaniddeso nāma
Chaṭṭho paricchedo**

VII

272. Saṅkhātāni² nāmarūpāni paccayena vinā natthi tasmā paccayavibhāgaṃ pavakkhāmi samāsato.
273. Hetupaccayārammaṇa-adhipati³-anantaraṃ samantara⁴-sahajātāññamaññañ ca nissayaṃ.
274. Upanissayaṃ pure jātaṃ pacchājātaṃ āsevanaṃ kammavipākam āhāraṃ indriyaṃ jhānaṃ maggo ca.
275. Sampayuttaṃ vippayuttaṃ atthi natthi ca vigatā-vigatan ti catuvīsa vutā⁵ va paccayaññunā.

¹ nayaggāhena

⁴ samanantara

² Saṅkhataṃ

⁵ vuttā

³ Hetupaccayārammaṇamadhīpati

276. Cha hetū hetupaccayā lobhadosamohādayo
taṃsāmpayutta-khandhānaṃ kammaja-cittajānaṃ ca.
277. Chabbidhārammaṇadhammā nāmānaṃ yeva paccayo
adhipati¹ dvidhā bhedo saḥajātam ārammaṇaṃ
saḥajātettha chando ca cittaviriya² vīmaṃsā.
278. Saḥajātānaṃ nāmānaṃ cittajānaṃ ca paccayo
garukattam³ ārammaṇaṃ tathāpavattanāmānaṃ.
279. Niruddhānantarakhandhānaṃ pacchākkhandhāna paccayo
purimā samanantaraṃ nirujjhivāna paccayo.
280. Saḥajāto tidhā bhedo nāmaṃ bhūtā ca hadayaṃ
nāmakkhandhā aññaṃ aññaṃ saḥajātānaṃ⁴ ca rūpānaṃ.
281. Mahābhūtā aññaṃ aññaṃ upādānaṃ ca rūpānaṃ
hadayavatthu sandhiyaṃ vipākenam⁵ aññaṃ aññaṃ.
282. Aññaṃ aññaṃ tathā tidhā nāmaṃ bhūtā aññaṃ aññaṃ
vatthu saddhiṃ vipākena aññaṃ aññaṃ va paccayo.
283. Nissayo pi tidhā bhedo nāmaṃ bhūtā ca chavatthu
nāmakkhandhā aññaṃ aññaṃ saḥajānaṃ ca rūpānaṃ.
284. Mahābhūtā aññaṃ aññaṃ upādānaṃ ca rūpānaṃ
chavatthu tannissitānaṃ nissayattena paccayo.
285. Anantaraṃ pakato ca ārammaṇūpanissayo
tividho ettha vuttā dve pakato tannissitassa.
286. Ārammaṇaṃ chavatthu ca pure jāto dvidhā bhedo
jātass' ārammaṇaṃ rūpaṃ chavatthu tannissitānaṃ.
287. Pacchājātā catukkhandhā purejātassa kāyassa
javanāmalavajjitaṃ pacchimassa āsevanam.
288. Dvidhā kammaṃ saḥajātā nānākhaṇikā cetanā
saḥajātāsahajāta-nāmarūpāna paccayo.
289. Nānākhaṇikā cetanā kaṭattā rūpa-pākānaṃ
pākam saḥajarūpānaṃ nāmaṃ rūpaṃ dvidhāhāro.

¹adhippati²cittaviriya³garukattam⁴sahajānaṃ⁵vipākānam

290. Nāmāhāro phassādayo sahaajā nāmarūpanaṃ
rūpojā rūpakāyassa paccayāhāra sattiyā.
291. Nāmaṃ rūpindriyaṃ dvidhā nāmaṃ dvinnaṃ sahaajānaṃ.
cakkhādirūpaṃ jīvitāṃ viññāṇānaṃ kaṭattānaṃ.
292. Jhānaṅgā sattapaccayo sahaajā nāmarūpānaṃ
maggā dvādasa paccayo sahaajā nāmarūpānaṃ.
293. Sampayuttā catukkhandhā aññaṃ aññaṃ 'va paccayo
vippayutto dvidhā nāma chavatthu ca tattha nāmaṃ
pure jātaṃ sahaajātaṃ cha vatthu tannisitānaṃ.
294. Atthā vigata-paccayā sahaajātaṃ pure jātaṃ
pacchājātaṃ ca āhāro pañcadhā rūpajīvitāṃ.
295. Natthi vigata-paccayā anantarena sadisā
sattimattavisesaṇ¹ ca vuttaṃ² ādiccabandhunā.
296. Sappaccayā vijātiyaṃ kadāci pi na vijjati
jātiyā vitadhammānaṃ ajāti pi saṃvijjati.
297. Ajāti nāma nibbānaṃ khandhanimmita-nissataṃ
asaṅkhatāṃ appaccayaṃ maggaphalāna 'lambaṇaṃ.
298. Sabhāvato ekavidhaṃ upādisesabhedinā
duvidhaṃ hoti suññatāṃ³ animittādinā tidhā.
299. Padam accutam accantaṃ asaṅkhatam anuttaraṃ
nibbānam iti bhāsanti vānamuttā mahesayo.

**Iti Nāmacārādīpake Paccayavibhāgo nāma
Sattamo paricchedo**

¹ -visesaṃ

² vuttaṃ

³ suññatāṃ

Nigamana

Paramavicittanayakovida-paññājavana-samannāgatena suvisuddha-buddhi-viriya¹-sīlācāra-guṇasamannāgatena² aparimitapāramitāsambhūta-paññānubhāvajanita-tiṭṭhakadharena Arimaddana-nagara-gocaragāma-pācīnadisābhāgaṭṭhita³-tiloka-nayana-sabbaññudhātu-uñhīsacetiyaṃ nissāya vasantena diṭṭhadhammikasamparāyika-hitatthānusāsaka-satthuno sāsanahitakāmena Laṅkāḍīpa-paradīpavāsīnaṃ sotujanānaṃ pariyattim pariyāpuṇantena suvisuddha-buddhi-viriya-sīlācāraguṇa-samannāgata-tiṭṭhakadharagarugahita-Saddhammajotipālo ti nāma vha-yena therena kato sotūnaṃ pītiyaḍḍhanako Nāmacāradīpako nāma niṭṭhito.

Saddhammahitakāmena Nāmacārapadīpakaṃ
karontena mayā pattaṃ yaṃ puññaṃ hitadāyakaṃ.

Tena puññaena ijjhantu sabbasattamanorathā
rājāno pi ca rakkhantu dhammena sāsanaṃ pajaṃ.

Labhāmahaṃ pattaḥhave araññaṃ
anantaraṃ āyubalaṃ ārogyaṃ
dadātu Metteyya-jino subuddho
tilokasantaṃ amataṃ avānaṃ.

Nāmacāradīpakaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ

¹ viriya and so below

² guṇasamaṅgitenā

³ pācīnadisābhāgaṭṭhitena

CATEGORIES OF SUTTA IN THE PĀLI NIKĀYAS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR APPRECIATION OF THE BUDDHIST TEACHING AND LITERATURE.*

ABSTRACT

Suttas in the Pāli Canon fall into distinct categories. The three largest of these, Sermons, Debates and Consultations, are analysed in this paper. These different categories can be clearly defined by means of their introductory and concluding formulas, and their internal structure. The problem of the authenticity of these categories is addressed. The theory is then put forward that the different types of sutta are not equally reliable with regard to the authenticity of the teaching they contain, and especially that the version of the Teaching contained in Sermons and Consultations may be more reliable than that presented in Debates. It is then argued that the ratios of these different types of sutta point to an original difference of purpose between DN and MN: the original purpose of DN being the attraction of converts, that of MN, the presentation of the leader, both as a real person and as an archetype (a Tathāgata), and the integration of new monks into the community and the practice. Some remarks are made about the usefulness of these categories to research into original Buddhism. Finally, a brief comparison is made between the period the Buddha lived in and our own.

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CATEGORIES OF SUTTA IN THE PĀLI NIKĀYAS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR APPRECIATION OF THE BUDDHIST TEACHING AND LITERATURE.¹

The various texts and collections of the Pāli Canon are often treated as if each of them had the same purpose and function. On a superficial level this is of course true: at least from the perspective of our time they are a collection of texts that preserve one school's version of the Buddha's Teaching. But at the very earliest time, in order to ensure the propagation of the new religion, different sorts of material would have been necessary. At the very least the new religion would have had to be made known in a way that would gain both the converts who would make possible its survival, and the lay-supporters who would make possible the survival of the converts. After that appropriate material would be required to integrate the converts into the values and standards of the new religion, and further material to teach them its principles and practices and to help them deepen their commitment and their knowledge. The requirement for different sorts of material for different purposes would from the beginning have spontaneously given rise to different types of collections, i.e. sets of suttas all serving the same function and remembered as a group. At a later time, and under different historical

¹ In this paper translations will be offered in the footnotes to enable comparison by scholars who are unfamiliar with Pāli and who study other oral literatures and related topics.

Textual variations such as name changes, changes in pronoun or in the number of the verbs (singular or plural) and so forth will not be noted as they are not relevant for the purposes of this paper.

Formulas will be numbered consecutively. They will be referred to thus: "1", "2".

DN 16, the *Mahā Parinibbāna Suttanta* will not be included in this study. Frauwallner (1956) has shown that it originally belonged to the *Skandhaka* of the Vinaya Piṭaka, and indeed it is too much an amalgam and too different from the other Dīgha suttas to warrant its inclusion here.

conditions, the original need which caused certain suttas to be grouped together would have been lost sight of, and other reasons for the grouping together of suttas invented. The explanation that Majjhima Nikāya and Dīgha Nikāya are simply the collection of the long suttas and the collection of the medium length suttas may come from just such a time, after their original functions had been forgotten.

The Majjhima and Dīgha Nikāyas contain little of the categorising of the Aṅguttara and Saṃyutta Nikāyas, few of the rules for the Order, as in Vinaya, and furthermore, they are rather coherent material. They offer an opportunity to study certain of the literary forms in which suttas are presented. A statistical analysis of the proportional representation of each of the main categories of sutta in these two collections suggests that originally each of them came about to serve a separate and distinct purpose. This has implications for our understanding of Buddhist literature and the Teaching it contains.

Suttas in the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas have been generally described as “sermons”, “dialogues”, “narratives”, “discourses”,² “prose dialogues, legends, pithy sayings, and verses”, “speeches”,³ or they may be studied as part of Indian kāvya literature.⁴ Categories of sutta in the Dīgha and the Majjhima Nikāyas can, however, be rather more precisely distinguished. The means for making distinctions among the suttas are the formulas which provide their structure: their introductory and concluding formulas, the formulas that occur regularly within certain categories of sutta only, the use of particular verbs and expressions and certain stylised literary features.

This article will provide the criteria for the categorisation of three types of sutta: Sermons, Debates, and Consultations. Most of the suttas in the Nikāyas can be categorised in one of these three ways. Those that cannot

² Winternitz, 1933, 34.

³ Law, 1933, 79, 80.

⁴ Warder, 1974, Chapter XII.

include *gāthās*, and some of the stories and myths. These categories will not be treated in detail here.

A Sermon is defined to be a discourse for the purpose of religious instruction containing exhortation and/or instruction. A Consultation is an occasion where someone, *bhikkhu* or otherwise, has recourse to the Buddha or to a senior monk for instruction or information, or where the Buddha or a senior monk initiates a particular kind of dialogue with a monk or someone belonging to another group or sect. A Debate is a formal intellectual confrontation in which one party challenges another in a contest of religious knowledge.

1. SERMONS.

Sermons can be distinguished by their introductory and concluding formulas and by their internal structure. They may comprise entire suttas, or they may be introduced within a sutta that begins as a Debate or Consultation. Entire suttas which through their opening and concluding formulas can be defined as Sermons are preached only to the monks. Sermons that are preached to persons who are not monks are contained only in Debates⁵ and Consultations.⁶ In these circumstances monks are always present as well.

1.1. The Standard Introductory Formulas for Sermons.

There are two formulas, one being an expansion of the other, which occur at the beginning of suttas and which define these suttas to be Sermons. These formulas appear only at the beginning of sermons. They therefore convey immediately to any audience the information that the

⁵ DN 1; 2; 4; 5; 6; 7; 13. MN 30; 36; 41; 94; 135.

⁶ MN 27; 105. There is one exceptional case, MN 53, where the Buddha instructs Ānanda to preach to the Sakyans.

the sutta about to be recited is a sermon. The introductory formulas follow the standard “*Evam me sutam*” and a brief statement of location.⁷

i. The simplest introductory formula.

This is:

- 1 “*Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi ‘Bhikkhavo’ ti. ‘Bhadante’ ti te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosum. Bhagavā etad avoca.*”⁸

The theme of the sermon is introduced in the opening sentence which follows the formula.

Instances:

DN suttas: 22; 26; 30; 33; 34.

Total = 5/34 = 14.7%.

MN suttas: 3; 5; 6; 7; 9; 10; 11; 15; 16; 19; 20; 25; 28; 33; 34; 39; 40; 45; 49; 64; 65; 70; 101; 102; 103; 106; 111; 112; 115; 116; 129; 130; 141.

Total = 33/152 = 21.71%.

ii. The expanded introductory formula.

This longer introductory formula is made up of three parts. It begins with the simplest introductory formula, “1” above. This is followed by the announcement of the theme in a standardised form, an

⁷ This is an important point as one contributing feature in the definition of debates is their longer, more elaborate description of the location.

⁸ “And there the Lord addressed the bhikkhus, saying ‘Bhikkhus’. ‘Revered Sir’, those bhikkhus acknowledged him. The Lord spoke thus.”

injunction to the bhikkhus to listen and the acknowledgement of this injunction. The full expanded introductory formula is:

- 2 “*Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi ‘Bhikkhavo’ ti. ‘Bhadante’ ti te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosum. Bhagavā etad avoca.*
 (Theme of sutta) *vo bhikkhave desessāmi ti. taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha, bhāsisāmi ti. Evam bhante ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosum. Bhagavā etad avoca.*”⁹

Instances:

DN suttas: none.

MN suttas: 1; 2; 17; 113; 114; 117; 120; 131; 137; 138; 139; 140¹⁰; 148; 149.

Total = 14/152 = 9.21%

1.2. Formulas that introduce Sermons in the middle of suttas.

Part of “2” occurs in the middle of suttas that have begun in some other way. It is the independent formula:

⁹ “And there the Lord addressed the bhikkhus, saying ‘Bhikkhus’. ‘Revered Sir’, those bhikkhus acknowledged him. The Lord spoke thus: ‘I will teach you, bhikkhus, (theme of sermon). Listen to it, apply your minds well. I will speak’. ‘Yes, Revered One’, these bhikkhus acknowledged the Lord. The Lord spoke thus:”

¹⁰ The formula is not completely standard here.

- 3 *tena hi (name) suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha, bhāsissāmī ti.
Evam bhante ti kho (te bhikkhū) Bhagavato paccassosum.
Bhagavā etad avoca:*¹¹

This formula therefore functions as a Sermon-marker, a cue in a sutta which indicates to the audience that what is about to follow will be a Sermon. “3” is preceded by certain standard formulas and expressions. These may be direct questions, or requests for teaching or for the expansion of a Sermon given in brief. “3” may also follow the announcement by the Buddha that he will teach. It may introduce a parable.

i. Direct Questions.

In some Debate Suttas, once the adversary has been reduced to asking the Buddha for an explanation,¹² “3” is a frequently used means of introducing the Buddha’s answer.

Instances.

DN suttas: 2 [i 62, § 39]; 4 [i 124, § 22]; 5 [i 134, § 9]; 6 [i 157, § 15]; 7 [i 159, § 1]; 13 [i 249, § 39]; 31 [iii 181 § 2].

MN suttas: 27; 54; 135.

¹¹ “Listen to it, apply your minds well. I will speak’. ‘Yes, Revered One’, these bhikkhus acknowledged the Lord. The Lord spoke thus:”

¹² See below for an analysis of this category of sutta and especially for the importance of this type of situation.

ii. Requests for teaching or for expansions of Sermons given in brief.

Requests for Sermons or expansions of Sermons in brief seem to have been becoming formulaic, but not to have been distilled by the *bhāṇakas* (reciters) or by the redactors into one standard formula. This movement towards formula can be seen in the stereotyped use of certain words and phrases. Certain expressions are used when resorting to the Buddha himself (MN 41; 42; 135: “4” below), a different expression is used when resorting to the senior monk Mahā-Kaccāna (MN 18; 133: “5” below), and yet another when resorting to the monk Udena (MN 94 [ii 161,17-19]). These expressions are then followed by formula “3”. They are frequently preceded by expressions of flattery directed towards the recipient of the request.¹³

The formula for addressing the Buddha is:

- 4 *Na kho mayaṃ imassa bhoto Gotamassa saṅkhittena bhāsitaṃ viṭṭhārena atthaṃ avibhattassa viṭṭhārena atthaṃ ājānāma; sādhu no bhavaṃ Gotamo tathā dhammaṃ desetu yathā mayaṃ imassa bhoto Gotamassa saṅkhittena bhāsitaṃ viṭṭhārena atthaṃ avibhattassa viṭṭhārena atthaṃ ājāneyyāma ti.*¹⁴

Udena is approached with a simple version of this formula,¹⁵ while Mahā-Kaccāna is addressed through the related formula:

¹³ These are an interesting category of formula in their own right. They deserve their own study, and will not be discussed or quoted here.

¹⁴ “We do not know the meaning in detail of what was said by the Lord Gotama in brief; we do not know the meaning in detail of what was not explained. Please let the Lord Gotama teach us that Teaching so that we may know the meaning in detail of what was spoken in brief by the Lord Gotama; so that we might know the meaning in detail of what was not explained.” MN 41; 42; 135.

¹⁵ MN 94 [ii 161,17-19].

- 5 *pahoti c' āyasmā Mahā-Kaccāno imassa Bhagavatā saṅkhittena uddesassa uddiṭṭhassa (vitthārena atthaṃ avibhattassa vitthārena) atthaṃ vibhajitum. Vibhajat' āyasmā Mahā-Kaccāno agarukarivā ti*¹⁶

Instances:

DN suttas: none.

MN 18; 41; 42; 94; 133; 135.

The further formula for addressing the Buddha:

- 6 *sādhū vata Bhagavantam yeva bho Gotamaṃ paṭibhātu etassa bhāsitassa attho, Bhagavato sutvā bhikkhū dhāressantī ti*,¹⁷

followed by “3”, also occurs.

Instances:

DN suttas: DN 4 [i 124].

MN suttas: 3; 9; 46; 47; 68; 122 [iii 115].

There is also the simple formula

- 7 *sādhū me ... desetu*¹⁸

¹⁶ “Mahā-Kaccāno is able to go into in detail regarding the meaning of the exposition set out by the Lord in brief; he is able to go into in detail regarding the meaning of what was not explained. Mahā-Kaccāno explains without being inconvenienced.” MN 18; 24-27; 133.

¹⁷ “Please, Sir, let the Lord explain the meaning of what was said. When they have heard (it) from the Lord the bhikkhus will remember (it).”

¹⁸ “Please teach me”

Instances:

DN suttas: 5 [i 134]; 13 [i 249].

MN suttas: 73.

There is also the non-standardised form,

Sādhū maṃ, bhante, Bhagavā saṃkhittena ovādena ovadatu
... ,¹⁹ MN 145.

The standard phrases in these sermon requests are particularly
sādhū no ... desetu “please teach us”

Instances:

DN suttas: 5 [i 134]; 13 [i 249].

MN suttas: 41; 42; 73; 94; 135.

and *sādhū paṭibhātu* “please let come to your mind”.

Instances:

DN suttas: 4 [i 124].

MN suttas: 3; 9; 46; 47; 68; 76 [i 514,24-28].

Further there is the expression of encouragement from the
monks to the Buddha which indicates their readiness to hear a Sermon:

8 *“Etassa Bhagavā kālo, etassa Sugata kālo, yaṃ bhagavā ...
dhammiṃ kathāṃ kareyya, Bhagavato sutvā bhikkhū
dhāressantī ti.”*²⁰

¹⁹ “Please let the Lord instruct me with brief instructions”

²⁰ “The Lord should teach dhamma. It is the appropriate time for this, Lord. It is the appropriate time for this, Well-come One. When the monks have heard the Lord, they will remember (his words).”

Instances:

DN suttas: 14.

MN suttas: 51; 64; 105; 136; 152.

iii. Instructions to preach.

Instructions to preach rather self-evidently introduce Sermons. The terminology used in these is similar to that used in requests for sermons. The verb *pāṭibhāti* is standard, and the expression *dhammī kathā* rather common.

9 *Paṭibhātu taṃ ...* ²¹

Instances:

DN: 33 [iii 209].

MN: 53 [i 354,21-26]; 123.

In the *Nandakovāda Sutta* no theme is introduced and the Buddha simply instructs Nandaka to give a sermon to the nuns in these words: *Ovāda, Nandaka, bhikkhuniyo. ... karohi tvam, brāhmaṇa, bhikkhunīnaṃ dhammikathan ti* (MN 146).²²

iv. Introducing a parable.

The formula “3” may also may be also used to introduce a simile or a parable in the middle of a sutta that is not a sermon.

²¹ “Let come to your mind,”

²² “Instruct the nuns, Nandaka. Provide them with a sermon.”

Instances:

DN suttas: none.

MN suttas: 27 (a Debate); 65 (a Consultation).

1.3. Expressions that may introduce Sermons.

Certain terms and expressions may introduce Sermons. Because their use is not consistent these cannot be considered invariably to be Sermon markers. Nevertheless they require mention here.

i. The question “What were you talking about?” as a Sermon marker.

A conventional means of introducing the Buddha to the main stage used in these suttas is to have him come up to a group of monks or religious practitioners of other persuasions and to ask them what they are talking about.

10 *Kāya nu' ttha bhikkhave etarahi kathāya sannisinnā, kā ca pana vo antarākathā vippakatā ti* (MN 26 [i 161]).²³

This is a challenging question. The type of sutta it introduces depends on the answer given. When the monks are thus addressed they answer with the subject of their discourse, and the Buddha immediately begins a Sermon. When others who are not monks (and who usually are *paribbājakas* of whatever kind) are thus addressed they evade the question and instead pose another, and the sutta develops into a Debate.²⁴

²³ “As you were sitting down just now, what was your talk about, monks? What was your talk that was interrupted?”

²⁴ See section on Debate below.

Instances where sermons are thus introduced:

DN suttas: 14

MN suttas: 26, 76, 119, 123.

ii. The expression “*dhammi kathā*” as a Sermon marker.

The expression *dhammi kathā* may be used when a sermon is requested (DN 33; MN 76 [i 514]; 146 [iii 270]). There are, however, no regular or formulaic connecting phrases. This expression is used generally for the Buddha’s discourse and occasionally for the discourse of monks too.

iii. The verb “*āmanteti*” as a Sermon marker.

The verb *āmanteti* occurs in both the simple and the extended introductory formulas. It is standard too when the Buddha speaks to the monks. The phrase:

11 *Atha kho Bhagavā ... bhikkhū/(name of bhikkhu) āmantesi*:²⁵

which forms part of both introductory formulas may on its own introduce a Sermon.

Instances:

DN suttas: 32 [iii. 206].

MN suttas: 21 [i 124]; 29; 48 [i 322,5]; 53 [i 354,31];
67 [i 459]; 69;

²⁵ “And then the Lord addressed the monk/(name of monk)”

This phrase appears also in the following variant form:

12 *Atha kho Bhagavā tuṇhibhūtaṃ tuṇhibhūtaṃ
bhikkhusaṃghaṃ anuviloketvā bhikkhū āmantesi.*²⁶

Instances:

DN suttas: none.

MN suttas: 110 [iii 21]; 118 [iii 79, 80].

1.4. The internal structure of a Sermon.

Sermons define themselves also by their internal structure, which is simple and unvarying. The subject of the Sermon will be proposed either as a statement or as a question. The Sermon will then be developed methodically either through the expansion of a series of statements or through the expositions to a series of rhetorical questions. Sermons are not usually interrupted. Where there are rhetorical questions within a Sermon it is extremely unusual for these to be answered by the monks. This is a feature that clearly distinguishes Sermons from Consultations²⁷: Sermons are most usually monologues, Consultations are most usually dialogues.

Instances of Sermons in which rhetorical questions are answered:

DN Sermons: none.

MN Sermons: 105; 106; 110; 119; 129

Total = 5/57 = 8.77%.

²⁶ "And then the Lord, surveying the completely silent community of monks, addressed the monks:"

²⁷ See below for the discussion of this category of sutta.

1.5. Concluding formulas.

i. The standard concluding formula.

The standard concluding formula is completely regular and unvarying except for the names it contains. These vary because sermons are not invariably given by the Buddha and the audience is not invariably, although most usually it is, “bhikkhus” in general.

The standard conclusion to a sermon is an acknowledgement by the monks or by one particular monk in the following form (the words in brackets being those that change):

- 13 *Idam avoca (Bhagavā). Attamanā (te bhikkhū) Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun ti.*²⁸

Instances:

DN suttas: 1; 14; 22; 26; 32; 33 and 34.

MN suttas: 1-3; 6; 9-11; 15-21; 25; 26; 28-30; 33; 39; 40; 45-48; 51; 53; 64; 65; 67; 68; 70; 101-103; 105; 106; 110-115; 117-120; 122; 123; 129; 131; 133; 134; 136-139; 141; 145; 146; 148; 149; 152.

A variation of this concluding formula with compounds of the verbs “bhāsati” and “abhinandati” is also found.

- 14 *Itiha te ubho mahānāgā aññamaññassa subhāsitaṃ samanumodimsū ti.*²⁹

²⁸ “Thus spoke the Lord. Delighted these monks rejoiced in what the Lord had said.” (tr. MLS I 8).

²⁹ “In this wise did each of these great beings rejoice together in what was well spoken by the other.” (tr. MLS I 40).

Instances:

DN suttas: none.

MN suttas: 5. (See also under Consultations.)

Occasionally a concluding formula is followed by a statement that a monk or a group of monks has attained a particular stage.

Instances:

DN suttas: none.

MN suttas: 147; 148.

ii. The Concluding formula when suttas end in verses.

When a sutta is concluded with verses, these are introduced by the following concluding formula:

15 *Idam avoca Bhagavā, idaṃ vatvā Sugato athāparam etad avoca Sathā:*³⁰

Instances:

DN suttas: none.

MN suttas: 34; 130; 142.

2. DEBATES.

A sutta can be defined as a Sermon on the grounds of its opening and closing formulas and its internal structure. The criteria that permit a sutta to be defined as a Debate include some formulas, but for the most part it is the features of certain suttas that permit their definition as Debates.

³⁰ "Thus spoke the Lord; the Well-farer having said this, the Teacher then spoke thus:" (tr. MLS I 279).

A sutta can be categorised as a Debate when it has at least the following features: two opponents, viz., the Buddha or a senior monk, and an adversary; a challenge; a refutation; and an admission of defeat.³¹ These may be regarded as the major features of the Debate suttas. Other features which may be regarded as minor, but which are not unimportant, are usually present and many of these are formularised. The formulas are often extremely long³² and so not all of them will be quoted below, nor, as these are minor features, will every location where a particular formula or feature appears be given.

There are three types of debate: (I) the dramatic debate: this is recounted as it goes along; (II) the reported debate: this is a debate that has taken place in the past and which the Buddha is recounting on a later occasion; (III) the debate with hypothetical opponents: here the views of certain general groups, “*samanas* and *brāhmaṇas*” are disputed. As a genre of literature the Dramatic Debate is, as the word suggests, a drama. It is the occasion when religious leaders put each others’ knowledge and prestige to the test in public. Everything is to be won or lost.³³ In the texts, individual speeches are recorded so that the development and the course of the argument can be followed verbatim. Sometimes the reaction of the audience is recorded and this serves to heighten the drama. Reported Debates have similar immediacy: the Buddha is recounting a previous Dramatic Debate. They are, however, less exciting. The element of contest in a Reported Debate is neither so pronounced nor so important as in a Dramatic Debate. Its outcome is already known. Debates with hypothetical opponents are occasions where wrong views are criticised and right views expounded by the Buddha. They serve a philosophical and didactic purpose.

³¹ See Witzel, 1987, for some comparisons between the rules of discussion, of challenge and of defeat in Vedic and in Pali literature.

³² for example the formula on brahman virtues in DN 4 [i 113 foll.].

³³ Witzel, 1987, 307.

The dramatic debate shows most clearly the sequence of features of the Debate suttas.

I. THE DRAMATIC DEBATE.

i. The description of the Location.

Where the introduction to a Sermon is a brief record of the place in which it was given, the description of the location in a Debate sutta is usually given more importance. It is more elaborate and details are specified. This is because its function is to set the scene and create the atmosphere for a drama. Thus if the Buddha's opponent is a rich brahman the beauty and wealth of his domain is described,³⁴ or we may be told that a location just happened to contain at that time a number of brahmans.³⁵ Where the opponent is another wanderer less importance is given to the location.

ii. The presentation of the opponents and their credentials.

As a Debate is a drama it is important in the presentation of the characters to establish the worth of the adversaries from the outset. Especially, as these Debates are recounted by the Buddhists, the Buddha's prestige and the importance of the debate that will follow are enhanced by the prestige and importance of his adversary. There are standard ways of introducing and demonstrating the prestige of the different types of adversaries and, equally, there are standard ways of showing that the Buddha's prestige equals their own. These standard ways are (a) to show the social status of the adversary, (b) to demonstrate his knowledge, (c)

³⁴ DN 3; 4; 5. MN 95.

³⁵ DN 6; 13. MN 98.

to describe the size of his following, (d) to show the respect with which he greets the Buddha.

a. The social status of the adversary.

The social status of the adversary is an important feature especially where the opponent is a brahman or a king (kṣatriya) and it is emphasised by the inclusion of many details. Where the adversary is an important brahman the richness of his domain and the importance of his king-patron is emphasised at the beginning of the account of the Debate, where this feature forms part of the scene-setting (Location). The elaborate procession in which this type of adversary may approach the Buddha is often described.³⁶

By promoting the high social status of the adversary the texts prove that the Buddha is held in high esteem by this class of people.

b. The knowledge and attainments of the adversaries.

The news of the Buddha's arrival in a particular area is announced in a formula that describes both the size of his following (see c. below) and the extent of his knowledge and attainments:

- 16 *“Taṃ kho pana bhavaṃtaṃ Gotamaṃ evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato: ‘Iti pi so Bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho vijjā-caraṇa-sampanno sugato loka-vidū anuttaro purisa-damma-sārathi satthā deva-manussānaṃ buddho bhagavā.’ So imaṃ lokam sadevakam samārakam sabrahmakam sassamaṇa-brāhmaṇiṃ pajam sadevamanussam sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti. So dhammaṃ deseti ādi-kalyāṇam majjhe kalyāṇam pariyosāna-kalyāṇam sūtham savyaṇṇanam, kevala-paripunnam*

³⁶ DN 2; 3. MN 84.

parisuddham brahmacariyaṃ pakāseti. Sādhū kho pana tathā-rūpānaṃ arahataṃ dassanaṃ hotī ti."³⁷

This formula occurs wherever the opponent is a brahman, although its use is not limited to these occasions³⁸, nor to the Debate situation. The response to this formula by the brahman to whose domain the Buddha has come is either that he decides to visit the Buddha, or that he sends a student (*antevāsī*).

There are two formulas for describing the highest state of brahman knowledge, a very long one³⁹ and a short one. I quote only the short one:

17 ... *ajjhāyako mantadharo tiṇṇaṃ vedānaṃ pāragū sanighaṇḍu-keṭubhānaṃ sakkharappabhedānaṃ itihāsa-pañcamānaṃ padako veyyākaraṇo lokāyata-mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇesu anavayo* ...⁴⁰

³⁷ "Now regarding that venerable Gotama, such is the high reputation that has been noised abroad : — That Blessed One is an Arahāt, a fully awakened one, abounding in wisdom and goodness, happy, with knowledge of the worlds, unsurpassed as a guide to mortals willing to be led, a teacher for gods and men, a Blessed One a Buddha. He, by himself, thoroughly knows and sees, as it were, face to face this universe, — including the worlds above of the gods, the Brahmas, and the māras, and the world below with its recluses and Brahmins, its princes and peoples, — and having known it, he makes his knowledge known to others. The truth, lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation, doth he proclaim both in the spirit and in the letter, the higher life doth he make known, in all its fullness and in all its purity. And good is it to pay visits to Arahats like that." (tr. DB I 109).

DN 2 [i 49] (abbreviated version); 3 [i 87]; 5 [i 127 foll.]. MN 41; 60; 75; 91; 92; 95.

³⁸ In the *Sela Sutta*, MN 92, this statement of attributes is communicated to Keṇiya, the matted-haired ascetic.

³⁹ DN 4 [i 113 foll.]; 5 [i 137]. MN 95.

⁴⁰ "He was a repeater (of the sacred words) knowing the mystic verses by heart, one who had mastered the Three Vedas, with the indices, the ritual, the phonology, and the exegesis (as a fourth), and the legends as a fifth, learned in

The short formula is most usual when the brahman sends one of his student to see the Buddha on his behalf. When, however, the brahman leader decides to go on his own account, there is a dramatic turn of events. His followers warn him that should he do that his own glory (*yasas*) will be diminished and that of the Buddha enhanced. They advise him rather to let the Buddha call upon him. They support this advice with the recitation of a long description of all the features that makes this man such a true brahman and such an important religious leader, and which make it, therefore, in every way inappropriate that he should be the one to pay the visit. This gives the brahman the opportunity to defend his proposed action, and to say that indeed the Buddha himself also possesses all of these brahman virtues.⁴¹ This recognition that the Buddha receives from other religious leaders further serves in these texts to demonstrate the esteem in which he is held and his worthiness as an opponent.

c. The audience.

The description of the size of the following around each of the opponents is a frequent feature and its comportsment serves to enhance, or otherwise, the importance of each adversary. The nature of audience is also a point. The respectful silence and concentration of large groups of monks is frequently contrasted with noise and gossip among the followings of the various wanderers.⁴²

the idioms and the grammar, versed in Lokāyata sophistry, and in the theory of the signs on the body of a great man ... DN 3 [i 88]. MN 93 [ii 147].

⁴¹ DN 4; 5. MN 95.

⁴² e.g. DN 2; 9. MN 77; 79.

d. The formal greeting between adversaries.

In these dramatic accounts the formal greeting between the adversaries is the final element in the scene-setting before the action of the Debate is begun.

The first encounter between the adversaries is an important moment in an event where the status of each is at stake. There are three degrees of formal greeting in the suttas: simple, elaborate and very elaborate. The simplest greeting is the monks' way of initiating communication with the Buddha. This simply consists of making a salutation and sitting to one side.

18 *bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi.*⁴³

This does not occur in debates except as part of the ceremonious formal greeting (see below). Rather, in these are found either a formal greeting in which social pleasantries are indulged in, or a ceremonious formal greeting. The formal greeting which includes social pleasantries is expressed:

19 *Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodi sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi.*⁴⁴

The ceremonious formal greeting occurs when the adversary is an important brahmin. In this case some among his large group of followers will use one or other of the above formal greetings besides which greetings such as bowing with joined palms, announcing name and clan, or simply remaining silent will occur.⁴⁵

⁴³ "He saluted the Buddha and sat to one side." e.g. MN 8 [i 40]; etc.

⁴⁴ "He exchanged with the Blessed One the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and took his seat on one side." (DB I, p. 152). e.g. DN 3, § 9; § 16; 4, § 9; 5, § 8. MN 30; 36; 56; etc.

⁴⁵ DN 5, § 8. MN 41; 42; 60.

- 20 *Atha kho Sāleyyakā brāhmaṇagahapatikā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṅkamim̐su, upasaṅkamitvā app-ekacce Bhagavantam̐ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdim̐su, app-ekacce Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodim̐su sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇiyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdim̐su, app-ekacce yena Bhagavā ten' añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā ekamantaṃ nisīsīm̐su, app-ekacce Bhagavato santike nāmagottaṃ sāvetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdim̐su, app-ekacce tuṇhī-bhūtā ekamantaṃ nisīdim̐su.*⁴⁶

Departures from these formal greetings make a point in the unfolding of the drama. The King Ajātasattu remains standing for a while in the Buddha's presence, expressing his thoughts about his son:⁴⁷ reasons of his own history stand between him and spiritual attainment. Ambaṭṭha, a brahman youth, rudely stands around and fidgets:⁴⁸ it later turns out that his geneology is not as truly brahmanic as he claims. Kassapa, the naked ascetic, remains standing:⁴⁹ this less than usually polite beginning makes his eventual complete conversion more prestigious.

The formal greeting is a means the texts use to characterise the adversary. It is also a way in which they demonstrate the Buddha's prestige. The Buddha receives a greeting as his tribute from an adversary who approaches him. On the occasions where he approaches his

⁴⁶ MN 41 [i 285]. "Then the brahman householders of Sālā approached the Lord; some, having approached, having greeted the Lord, sat down at a respectful distance; some exchanged greetings with the Lord; having exchanged greetings of friendliness and courtesy, they sat down at a respectful distance; some, having saluted the Lord with joined palms, sat down at a respectful distance; some, having made known their names and clans in the Lord's presence, sat down at a respectful distance; some, becoming silent, sat down at a respectful distance." (tr. MLS I 343).

⁴⁷ DN 2, § 12.

⁴⁸ DN 3, § 9.

⁴⁹ DN 8, § 1.

adversary, there is no formal greeting. Instead the Buddha begins with the challenging question, "What were you talking about?"⁵⁰ In contrast to the monks who always answer this question and then receive a Sermon, the adversary and his group will avoid giving an answer, asking instead their own challenging question.⁵¹

iii. The challenge, the refutation and the defeat.

The challenge, the refutation and the defeat in the Buddhist debates conform to the same rules, allowing for the difference in situation, as that in the brahmanical debates.⁵²

a. The challenge.

The challenge comes in the form of a question. It starts the discussion.

The rules for the challenge are that "two or more persons ... challenge each other to answer certain questions of a ritual or spiritual nature; or one man is challenged by a group of others. This may occur in a private or in (a) public situation ...".⁵³ In the Buddhist scriptures usually the Buddha is challenged by an adversary but there are also frequent occasions where he issues the challenge himself.

The type of question that may be asked is also defined. "Normally only well-known — though technically complicated — questions are allowed ...", and in passages that do not involve a

⁵⁰ See "10" above.

⁵¹ e.g. DN 9; MN 77.

⁵² The way the Debates are conducted shows that certain "general rules of discussion, rules of challenge and defeat" existed. See Witzel, 1987, 373, 381 foll. In the Buddhist debates there were other specified standards to be kept to as well. See Manné, "The Dīgha Nikāya Debates: Debating practices at the time of the Buddha as demonstrated in the Pāli Canon" (forthcoming in *Buddhist Studies Review*).

⁵³ Witzel, 1987, 360.

brahmodya or ritual discussion, “... the questioning concerns the proper procedure or ritual and its secret, esoteric meaning ...”,⁵⁴ or there may be questions concerning other “esoteric, secret knowledge, be it *ātman*, *brahman* or about the *dhmma* (or simply a secret, as in the case of the origin of the clan of Ambaṭṭha which is known only to him and a few others).”⁵⁵

It would serve no purpose in this article to list all the challenges in the Buddhist Debate suttas. The example of Ambaṭṭha’s secret has already been given. Here are some others, chosen at random. In the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* (DN 5), the Buddha is asked how to perform a successful sacrifice. In the *Aggi-Vacchagotta Sutta* (MN 72), the Buddha’s views are challenged. In the *Gaṇaka Moggallāna Sutta* (MN 107), the Buddha’s training and its effects are queried. The first (DN 5) is an example of a question of a ritual nature; the others are challenges of a spiritual nature.

b. The refutation.

There are rules too regarding the refutation. It is especially the case that “mere brazen assertion does not suffice; one must be able to prove one’s knowledge”.⁵⁶

A contestant cannot avoid a challenge, “one must answer at the third time the question is put ... — one must answer completely, not only partially, — if one does not/cannot answer, death is imminent.”⁵⁷ The contestant must either answer or admit insufficient knowledge. If one of these conditions is not fulfilled the contestant suffers the ominous threat of death through the splitting of his head.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Witzel, 1987, 374.

⁵⁵ Witzel, 1987, 410.

⁵⁶ Witzel, 1987, 373.

⁵⁷ Witzel, 1987, 408. See also *ibid.* p. 371.

⁵⁸ Witzel, 1987, 375. Witzel provides further conditions under which this threat may arise.

These conditions point to just how daring the Buddha was to create and justify a category of questions that remained unexplained — *avyākata*.⁵⁹

In terms of literature, the refutations are very lively, containing many strategies, twists and turns which contribute to the drama of the situation.

c. The defeat.

The rule for the Vedic debates is that “in the course of the discussion participants who do not know the whole truth have to state this clearly, they must cease questioning ... and thus declare defeat, ... or they must become a pupil of the winner”⁶⁰ This rule is also followed in the Buddhist texts. The participant who is forced in the course of the debate to admit that he does not know the whole truth stops putting challenging questions and instead is reduced to asking the Buddha to explain the matter to him. In this way he acknowledges that he is defeated.

There is a consequence of conceding defeat: “conceding defeat in a discussion has, of course, the social effect of clearly stated and admitted superiority, of gaining and losing ‘face’ among one’s fellow brahmins and in the tribe at large”.⁶¹ This forms part of the drama in the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta*⁶² which makes much of Soṇadaṇḍa’s fears that the Buddha might put to him a challenging question that he would not be able to answer.⁶³

⁵⁹ See Warder, 137–50 for a discussion of the philosophical implications of such a category of questions.

⁶⁰ Witzel, 1987, 371. See also his discussion of the threat that the adversary’s head will burst.

⁶¹ Witzel, 1987, 373.

⁶² DN 4 [i 119, §§ 10–11].

⁶³ The situation in this sutta suggests that debates between religious leaders of different persuasions were inevitable when they met each other, and that they could not avoid such a meeting without losing their self-respect and the respect of their following.

There are two degrees of defeat in the Buddhist debate suttas. The first may be designated “formal” defeat. In this case the opponent acknowledges the Buddha’s superiority and asks to become a lay disciple. The second degree of defeat is total conversion: the opponent asks to become a bhikkhu. Both degrees of defeat are expressed in formulas. These formulas reflect the degree of commitment with regard to becoming a pupil. The formulas begin:

- 21 *“Abhikkantaṃ bho Gotama, abhikkantaṃ bho Gotama. Seyyathā pi bho Gotama nikkujjitaṃ vā ukkujjeyya, paṭicchannaṃ vā vivareyya, mūlhassa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya, andhakāre vā tela-pajjotaṃ dhāreyya: ‘cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhinti ti’, evam eva bhotā Gotamena aneka-pariyāyena dhammo pakāsito. Esāhaṃ Bhagavantaṃ Gotamaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ ca bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ ca, ...”*⁶⁴

The formula for “formal” defeat continues:

- 22 *upāsakaṃ maṃ bhavaṃ Gotamo dhāretu ajjatagge pāṇupetaṃ saraṇaṃ gataṃ.*⁶⁵

⁶⁴ “Most excellent, oh Gotama (are the words of thy mouth), most excellent ! Just as if a man were to set up that which has been thrown down, or were to reveal that which has been hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a light into the darkness so that those who had eyes could see external forms — just even so has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the venerable Gotama.” (tr. DB I 157).

⁶⁵ “May the venerable Gotama accept me as a lay-disciple, as one who, from this day forth and as long as I may live, has gone for refuge.”

Instances:

DN suttas: 2; 3; 4; 5; 10; 12; 13; 14; 23; 31.

MN suttas: 27; 41; 58; 60; 72; 73; 74; 80; 84; 85; 91;
92; 93 (brief: see fn. in translation); 94; 95; 96; 97; 99;
100; 102; 135; 150.

The formula that acknowledges total conversion including the request to be accepted as a monk is:

23 *Labheyyāhaṃ bhante Bhagavato santike pabbajjāṃ, labheyyāṃ
upasampadan ti.*⁶⁶

Instances:

DN suttas: 8; 9; 14.

MN suttas: 7; 75; 79; 92; 124.

These formulas close the Debate.

iv. The reward.

Two types of reward are concomitant upon winning the debate. The first, which is a consistent feature of the Debate suttas, is the acquisition of prestigious converts: the opponent and his following, whether as lay-disciples or as monks. It is expressed through the formulas above.

The second type of reward is a less consistent feature. Admissions of defeat are sometimes followed by an invitation to a meal. This is most usual when the adversary is a brahman, but occurs also when the adversary is a Jain.

⁶⁶ "And may I be permitted to go forth from the world under the Exalted One; may I receive admission into his Order." (tr. DB I 264).

Instances:

DN suttas: 3; 4; 5.

MN suttas: 35 — this invitation comes from a Jain;
91.

The importance of each type of reward to a group of religious who rely on the lay population for their bodily survival is rather evident.

Instances of Dramatic Debates.

DN suttas: 2 - 13; 23; 25; 31.

Total = 15 = 44.12%

MN suttas: 7; 27; 35; 36; 55; 56; 58; 60; 72-77; 79; 80;
82; 84; 90-96; 99; 100; 107; 108; 124; 152.

Total = 31 = 20.4%

II. THE REPORTED DEBATE.

The Reported Debate is an account of a Debate that has taken place in the past. It has the same major features as a Dramatic Debate: two opponents, a challenge, a refutation, and a defeat; but there are differences in their expression in the texts. With regard to the opponents in this type of Debate, one is always the Buddha:⁶⁷ in the Dramatic Debates the representative of the Buddhist position might be the Buddha himself or a senior monk. The challenges and their refutations in this type of Debate are reported in direct speech as in the Dramatic Debates and conform to the same requirements. The defeat in these Debates is related by the Buddha as part of the account rather than being expressed by the opponent directly through the formulas “21”, “22” and “23”. It is always

⁶⁷ There are many occasions where monks, having been involved in a debate, report the discussion to the Buddha to find out what they should have said, or whether they answered correctly. On these occasions it is the *consultation* of the Buddha by the monk that is the defining feature of the sutta, not the Debate. This type of sutta will be dealt with in the following section.

a defeat in terms of the argument of the refutation, and there is no conversion to the Buddha's Teaching.

Many of the minor features are omitted in these Debates. There is no presentation of the opponents and their credentials, no mention of their social status, their knowledge and attainments, the size of their following, or the formal greeting between them and the Buddha. There is also no mention of any reward.

A Reported Debate may form the basis of a Sermon.

Instances:

DN suttas: 24

MN suttas: 14 (recounted within a Consultation), 49,
101

III. THE DEBATE WITH POTENTIAL OPPONENTS.

A general feature of many suttas is a paragraph in which an idea or set of ideas of a group with which the Buddha disagrees in general or who may generally disagree with him, are set forth by him, and then the correct position, the Buddha's own, is given. Alternatively, the Buddha may simply contrast himself with these groups, for example, as in the *Bhayabherava Sutta*, MN 4. A few suttas, however, are entirely devoted to disputing a particular idea set forth in this way and these satisfy the criteria for Debate Suttas. In this type of Debate Sutta the Buddha provides both the opponents, the challenge and the refutation. The opponents may be regarded as potential adversaries. They comprise either the rather general group of "wanderers of other sects", *aññatitthiyā paribbājakā*, or that of "some *samaṇas* and *brāhmaṇas*", *eke samaṇabrāhmaṇā*; or the opponent is the *puṭhujjana*, the "Ordinary Man", i.e. the general representative of the group who have not undertaken any training. The challenge consists of the Buddha's exposition of beliefs which he attributes to a potential adversary. The refutation comprises the

Buddha's arguments against the position of the potential adversary as he has portrayed it.

This type of debate may be placed within Sermon introductory and concluding formulas, in which case it only contains the minimum of Debate features:

Instances:

DN sutta: 1.

MN sutta: 102,

or it may be set out as a Dramatic Debate, with several of the minor formulas, such as that expressing the Buddha's credentials, the elaborate greeting ceremony, and the conversion formula which acknowledges defeat:

Instances:

DN suttas: none.

MN suttas: 60, 150 (samaṇas and brāhmaṇas), 74 (a debate with a wanderer, but the argument is generally directed against samaṇas and brāhmaṇas).

IV. THE REFUSED DEBATE.

There are two occasions where a sutta begins as if it were going to be a Dramatic Debate, and then the Buddha (MN 30) or the monk concerned (MN 125) refuses to take up the challenge. In these cases the Buddha offers a Sermon instead. The monk, however, simply refuses to be questioned with regard to the explanation he has given or will give.

Instances:

DN suttas: 31.

MN suttas: 30; 125.

A challenge issued by the Buddha may also be refused. In the *Sigālovāda Sutta*, DN 31, the householder Sigāla does not respond to the Buddha's challenge with an assertion of his own position. Instead he asks for information and is rewarded with a Sermon. Although the question asked is typical of a Consultation the sutta ends with the Debate conversion formula for lay-discipleship. The internal structure of the sutta, however, shows that it is a Sermon as there are no interruptions.

V. SUTTAS THAT TEACH DEBATE AND REFUTATION.

Certain suttas teach strategies of debate and refutation. These suttas do not necessarily simply fall into the category of Debates, as the table of instances below shows. In the *Cūlasihanāda Sutta* (MN 11) and in the *Nagaravindeyya Sutta* (MN 150) the Buddha initiates these instructions. In the first case he is instructing his monks, and in the second some brahman householders on how to refute a challenge that wanderers of other sects (*aññatitthiyā paribbājakā*) might make. In the *Mahā-dukkhakkhandha Sutta* (MN 13) monks who had been challenged by other wanderers and who had been unable to answer the challenge go to the Buddha to have the matter explained.

Instances:

DN suttas: none.

MN suttas: 11 (a Sermon); 13 (a Debate); 150 (a Debate).

VI. THE DEBATES BETWEEN THE BUDDHA AND A MONK, OR BETWEEN MONKS.

There are occasions where the Buddha challenges the superlative claims a senior monk has made about the Buddha himself or about his

Teaching. In this kind of Debate it is the Buddha who is defeated. He then has to acknowledge that the monk's superlative claims were justified.

Instances:

DN suttas: 28 (Sāriputta)

MN suttas: none.

There is one occasion, the *Rathavinīta Sutta* (MN 24) where one senior monk, Sāriputta, challenges another, Puṇṇa, on a point of the Buddha's Teaching to check if the reputation of the other is warranted. This suggests that monks debated with each other to challenge each other's understanding of the Teaching, and perhaps also to enhance their own prestige.

3. CONSULTATIONS.

A sutta can be categorised as a Consultation when the Buddha or a senior monk is resorted to for information or advice. Most usually the person doing the consulting is a monk but there are also occasions where he is a member of a different sect or group. A sutta is also a Consultation when the Buddha himself, or a senior monk, initiates the conversation.

Consultations have features in common with both Sermons and Debates.

A Consultation may be introduced in the same way as a Sermon, with minimal scene-setting: just a simple statement of the location and the brief introduction by name and social group (monk, brahman, householder, etc.) of the person who is consulting the Buddha, or it may be introduced in the same way as a Debate, with elaborate scene-setting including the description of some event or the recounting of some anecdote.

The formal greeting in a Consultation is almost always the simplest.⁶⁸ It is made both by monks and by others (gahapati, MN 52; Licchavis, MN 105; etc.). The very few exceptions where the more elaborate formal greeting is used occur when the person making the Consultation is a brahman or an ascetic.

Instances:

DN suttas: none.

MN suttas: 4; 52; 57; 97; 98.

A Consultation begins with a question. When a monk consults the Buddha or the Buddha initiates some interaction with a monk, there is no problem with regard to categorising the sutta as a Consultation. Where, however, someone who is not a monk approaches the Buddha and asks him a question there are criteria through which this type of question and the question that forms the challenge of a Debate can be distinguished. One is, rather self-evidently, the nature of the question; another is the nature of the questioner's response to the Buddha's answer. In a Debate the Buddha's answer to the challenge is argued against as part of the debating procedure; in a Consultation, the Buddha's answer is invariably accepted. Further questions may be asked, but a different position is never put forward.

The procedure of a Consultation is that it may take the form of a dialogue, or the Buddha may respond with a Sermon. The Sermon may be introduced by the usual formula for the introduction of a Sermon in the middle of a sutta ("3"), or it may be evident because of the structure of the passage (see Internal Sermon Structure 1.5, above).

A Consultation ends most usually with the same closing formula as a Sermon. There are, however, instances where a Consultation ends with the concluding formula that acknowledges defeat

⁶⁸ See Section ii.d. under Dramatic Debates.

in a Debate (“21” and “22”, or “23”). Such occasions can only occur where the person consulting is not a monk, i.e. he is not already a convert. These instances suggest that however innocent the question may seem, one may always suspect some proximity to a Debate when the Buddha is consulted by someone who is not a monk, and when the sutta ends in a defeat formula. In this type of sutta there is often reference to potential adversaries, even when the reference is sudden and intrusive and unconnected with the main theme of the sutta (e.g. the *Bhayabherava Sutta*, MN 4).

Instances:

DN suttas: none.

MN suttas: 4 (*upāsaka*); 57 (*upāsaka, paribbājaka*); 73 (*upāsaka*); 98 (*upāsaka*).

Consultations fall into distinct categories. Where the Buddha, or a senior monk, is consulted these include requests for teaching, requests for guidance with the practice, requests for the approval of the Buddha for some other monk’s exposition of his Teaching. Where it is the Buddha, or senior monk, who initiates the interaction, this may be in order to check the progress of the other, to drill the other in the Teaching, or to reprimand the other.

3.1. In the following categories the Buddha is consulted.

i. Requests for clarification regarding the Teaching.

This is the largest category of Consultation.⁶⁹ In this type of Consultation a monk or a non-Buddhist (brahman, householder, etc.) goes

⁶⁹ As suttas frequently contain different types of Consultation, I am where necessary giving both page and line numbers in this section.

goes to the Buddha for information regarding the Teaching. This may be a simple request for general information⁷⁰ or it may be in order to attain clarity on a particular aspect of the teaching.⁷¹ Clarification might similarly be sought regarding the meaning of a parable,⁷² claims made about the Buddha's capacities and conduct,⁷³ or the relationship between the Buddha's qualities and those of other monks.⁷⁴ There is also a request for information about the consequences of attainments,⁷⁵ and a request for the Buddha's judgment on the best kind of monk.⁷⁶ Further, the Buddha is consulted on the authenticity of some monk's claims to high attainment.⁷⁷

Various people and beings — monks, non-monks, yakkhas — may ask each other if they remember a particular discourse.⁷⁸ They may request from each other expositions in detail of Sermons given in brief by the Buddha. In these cases, the consultation is simply the means to introduce a Sermon.⁷⁹

⁷⁰ E.g. the *Aṭṭhakanāgara Sutta*, MN 52; the *Anuruddha Sutta*, MN 127.

⁷¹ E.g. the *Cūḷatanhāsāṅkhaya Sutta*, MN 37; the *Mahāvedalla Sutta*, MN 43; the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta*, MN 44 [i 304,26]; the *Bahuvedanīya Sutta*, MN 59; the *Āṇaḥjasappāya Sutta*, MN 106 [This is a consultation based on a point made in a Sermon. The sutta therefore contains both a Sermon, and the ensuing discussion: a Consultation]; the *Mahāpunṇama Sutta*, MN 109; the *Bahudhātuka Sutta*, MN 115; the *Cūḷasuṇṇata Sutta*, MN 121; the *Mahākammavibhaṅga Sutta*, MN 136.

⁷² E.g. the *Vammika Sutta*, MN 23.

⁷³ E.g. the *Tevijja-Vacchagotta Sutta*, MN 71 [i 482]; the *Bāhitika Sutta*, MN 88.

⁷⁴ The *Gopakamoggallāna Sutta*, MN 108. This consultation becomes a debate.

⁷⁵ The *Tevijja-Vacchagotta Sutta*, MN 71 [i 483].

⁷⁶ The *Mahāgosiṅga Sutta*, MN 32.

⁷⁷ The *Sunakkhatta Sutta*, MN 105.

⁷⁸ The *Mahākannābhaddhakaratta Sutta*, MN 133 [iii 192]; the *Lomasakaṅgiya-bhaddhakaratta Sutta*, MN 134 [iii 199].

⁷⁹ E.g. the *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta*, MN 18; the *Mahākaccānabhaddhakaratta Sutta*, MN 133 [iii 194].

Instances:

DN suttas: none

MN suttas — monk: 18; 23; 32; 37; 43; 44; 59; 63; 81;
83; 104; 109; 115; 121; 133; 134; 136.

— other: 52; 57; 71; 73; 78; 88; 98; 105; 108; 127.

ii. Requests for guidance with the practice.

These rare suttas may perhaps offer authentic information regarding some of the problems encountered by those practising the Buddha's method. There are requests for guidance on practical problems, such as the problem of getting rid of particular ideas (the *Sallekha Sutta*, MN 8), or coping with the problem of personal greed (the *Cūladukkhakkhandha Sutta*, MN 14).

iii. Requests for confirmation that the Buddha agrees with some other monk's exposition of his Teaching.

The Buddha may be consulted as to whether or not he agrees with some other monk's exposition of his Teaching (the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta*, MN 44 [i 304], or a monk may himself check that he has correctly explained the Teaching (the *Bhūmija Sutta*, 46).

iv. A monk consults the Buddha on a challenge.

These are the occasions where a monk has been challenged but has been unable to respond and to enter a debate. The monk then consults the Buddha on the correct answer. In the *Mahāsīhanāda Sutta*, MN 12, the Buddha's response is the same type of bravura exposition as occurs in a dramatic Debate, including both an assertion of his attainments and a demonstration of his knowledge.

Instances

DN suttas: none.

MN suttas: 12; 13;⁸⁰ 78.

v. The Buddha's opinion is sought variously.

The Buddha's opinion is sought on various subjects: two ascetics ask about their likely fate after death (the *Kukkuravatika Sutta*, MN 57); the brahmins Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja ask the Buddha to settle their discussion on how one is a brahman (the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta*, MN 98); Ānanda asks how the order can be protected from breaking into disputes after the Buddha's death (the *Sāmagāma Sutta*, MN 104).

Instances

DN suttas: none.

MN suttas: 57; 98; 104.

3.2. In the following categories the Buddha initiates the consultation.

vi. Progress is checked.

This type of Consultation in which the Buddha personally checks a monk's progress presents an interesting aspect of his teaching activities. This sort of checking is not limited to junior monks: in the *Piṇḍapātapārisuddhi Sutta* (MN 151) the Buddha checks Sāriputta's progress; nor is it limited to monks: in the *Dhānañjāni Sutta* (MN 97), Sāriputta checks the practice and progress of the brahman Dhānañjāni.

⁸⁰ This sutta teaches Debate strategy. See Section V under Debates.

Instances.

DN suttas: none.

MN suttas: 31; 68; 97; 128 [iii 155];⁸¹ 151.

vii. The Buddha drills a monk (the monks) in the Teaching.

In this type of Consultation the Buddha drills a monk or a group of the monks to make sure that they have grasped an aspect of his Teaching. Here again it is not only the ordinary monks who are drilled. Sāriputta and Moggallāna too are subjected to this form of treatment (*Cātuma Sutta*, MN 67)

Instances

DN suttas: none.

MN suttas: 22 [i 133]; 38 [i 258]; 67.

viii. The Buddha reprimands a monk.

This type of sutta is introduced by a tale-telling episode. Some monk tells the Buddha that the behaviour of another is unsatisfactory or that another is holding and proclaiming a wrong view. The Buddha is also told that a group of monks has become quarrelsome and he attempts to sort them out (*Kosambiya Sutta*, MN 48).

Instances:

DN suttas: none.

MN suttas: 21; 22 [i 132]; 38 [i 258]; 48; 70; 128 [i 253].

⁸¹ The three suttas, MN 32, 68, 128 [iii 155], concern a group practising intensely together who are referred to collectively by the name of one of them as *Anuruddhas*.

ix. The Buddha teaches Rāhula.

It seems that the Buddha was particularly assiduous in his concern for Rāhula's progress. In three suttas (the *Ambalaṭṭhikā-Rāhulovāda Sutta*, MN 61; the *Mahā-Rāhulovāda Sutta*, MN 62; the *Cūḷarāhulovāda Sutta*, MN 147) he goes to find Rāhula especially to teach him. These episodes of teaching take the form of Consultations.

x. The Buddha checks that a particular discourse has been given.

The Buddha is depicted as being particularly concerned that the discourse of the Auspicious (*bhaddekaratta*) should have been given (MN 132).

xi. Social Consultations.

It seems that visits to sick monks or followers were regularly requested and carried out. In the *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda Sutta* (MN 143) the householder Anāthapiṇḍika who is ill asks Sāriputta to call on him. In the *Channovāda Sutta* (MN 144) Sāriputta and Cunda decide to call on the monk Channa who is ill. In both cases there is a discussion with the sick person regarding how he is coping with his illness, and he is offered Teaching on how to sustain himself.

DISCUSSION

In this section the following issues will be discussed: (1) the authenticity of these categories; (2) the implications of these categories for our understanding of the Buddhist Teaching; (3) the implications of these categories for our understanding of the different purposes of Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāya; (4) the contribution of these categories with regard

to distinguishing textual units; and the relationship of the Buddha's times to our own.

1. The authenticity of these categories.

How far are the categories "Sermon", "Debate" and "Consultation" authentic? Do these categories represent types of oral literature that go back to the time of the Buddha or must they be considered to be a convenient literary invention of the early monks and the redactors?

Common sense supports the reasonableness of the categories "Sermon" and "Consultation". It seems hard to doubt that the Buddha, in his role of religious leader, preached Sermons and gave Consultations. This statement makes no claim that the existing material is an historically accurate record of the exact words and themes of the Sermons the Buddha preached or the exact words and themes of the Consultations that he gave.⁸² It merely says that it is rather likely that he did both. This also means that it is difficult to suspect the redactors of having invented and created these forms. Whether or not they invented them, it is certain that they exploited them in the service of (their school of) the religion.⁸³

The authenticity of the Debate as an old Indian genre of oral literature is not in question,⁸⁴ and the Buddhists may have needed some of these types of texts in order to compete with their existence in the Vedic

⁸² I see no way of definitively distinguishing Buddha-style from *bhāṇaka*-style. Even a perfect collating back as far as possible using all the existing texts can never achieve this.

⁸³ Warder, who treats the different genres of literature in the Pali Canon according to the criteria of Sanskrit *kāvya* literature, says, "This canon, ... (includes) a substantial amount of poetry and some prose stories ... Though these are applied to propaganda purposes, they are clearly adaptations or applications of the techniques of the secular poetry and story-telling of their day ... " (§ 536). Warder (§ 608) includes in his category "story-telling" suttas that are here categorised as debates, e.g. the *Pāyāsi Sutta*, DN 23.

⁸⁴ Witzel, 1987, 385.

texts. They may have needed to present their religious leader the way that the brahman sages were represented: as a champion of debate in order to enhance his credibility.⁸⁵ Although the redactors of the Buddhist texts cannot be accredited with the invention of this genre the accounts of some of these Debates are such wonderful stories that one may suspect the improving tendencies of a series of good raconteurs.

A further fact that supports the authenticity of the categories Sermon, Consultation and Debate is their consistency throughout the Nikayas. This study has been based on DN and MN because these are the "story-tellers" collections. The formulas and literary features are clearest and most regularly complete in them. They appear consistently too, however, in the AN and also in the SN where, even though they occur in increasingly abbreviated form, they are nevertheless retained. Furthermore in this collection (the SN) the same Teaching will frequently be repeated in more than one of these three categories.⁸⁶

The above suggests two things. The first is that the categories were important and had to be respected and recorded by the early redactors. Had this not been the case the abbreviated style of the SN could easily have justified their omission. The second is that Teachings that appeared in different categories of sutta were differently regarded. Hence the importance of retaining the mode or modes in which a particular Teaching was presented.

⁸⁵ Cf. Frauwallner on the creation of "the lists of teachers of the Vinaya" being "on the pattern of and as a counterpart to the Vedic lists of teachers, in order to bestow on the own tradition an authority similar to the Vedic one". (1956, 62)

⁸⁶ e.g. SN iv 219, § 15 is a Consultation whose teaching is repeated in § 16 (p. 221) as a Sermon. SN v 70, § 4 (4) is a Sermon, § 5 (p. 72) is a Consultation, and § 6 (p. 73) is a Debate, all on the same subject. etc.

2. The implications of these categories for our understanding of the Teaching.

There are, in the Pāli Canon, suttas that factually and drily convey the Teaching, suttas which present it by means of drama or poetry, suttas that present it through discussion, and so forth. In our own culture we would rightly give different weight to information packaged in different ways. A factual, dry account contains a different quality of information: clearer, more precise, more categorical; compared with that presented as part of a theatrical production or a poetry recitation. We would accept more readily the impartial arguments of a good scholar to those put forward by politicians in debate: we would recognise the politician's purposes. Different genres of literature, therefore, arouse different expectations. Sermons may be expected to convey information most directly and clearly; Consultations show the problems that arose and how they were dealt with and solved. Both of these seem rather reliable forms for conveying information (although one can never exclude later manipulation by the redactors). Debates, however, are quite a different category. These are the records, slanted no doubt in the Buddha's favour, of public events. They are entertainments for the purpose of propaganda. They serve also to teach the monks how to refute challenges that were, presumably, regularly being made. It is therefore only right that we give the correct weighting to these distinct genres of literature from another culture.

At some point in the history of Buddhism, undoubtedly for good reasons and probably for historically authentic ones, different aspects of the Teaching were presented and communicated in different forms of (oral) literature. It is, however, a frequent custom in research to treat the contents of the Nikāyas and even of the entire Pāli canon as homogenous. In research of this type, occurrences of one particular idea or theme are collected no matter where they occur in the Canon, and an attempt is made to understand them as a single group, a coherent whole. This method treats this enormous body of different types of texts as if it were

all one and the same genre of literature, and therefore that all its various messages, no matter in what genre they be conveyed, have the same weight. This is not even the case in the very largest scale, as the discussions about the concept *atta* show.⁸⁷ Although this kind of work can be coherent, meaningful and very successful⁸⁸, more usually it is unclear and leads simply to an exposition of the writer(-believer)'s own interpretation of what Buddhism is. Looking, therefore, beyond this most general view, we can see that the establishment of these different categories of sutta (and the existence of others not treated in this paper) requires that each category be respected and given an appropriate weighting in future research.

3. The implications of these categories for our understanding of the different purposes of the MN and the DN.

The purposes of SN and AN have been described and accounted for thus:

“... the early existence of some kind of Abhidharma would explain the peculiar shape of the *Sūtrapiṭaka*, or rather of two sections of it, the *Samyuktāgama*/P. *Samyutta Nikāya* and the *Ekottarāgama*/P. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. The former arranges traditional utterances ascribed to the Buddha subject-wise; the latter follows a scheme determined by the number of subdivisions in the items discussed.”⁸⁹

The difference between these texts and the MN and DN is clear and incontrovertible. The question is whether this research into categories of sutta can give insight into the purposes of the DN and the MN, and

⁸⁷ See Oetke, 1988. See also Bronkhorst's review of Oetke (Bronkhorst, 1989a).

⁸⁸ e.g. Bronkhorst, 1986.

⁸⁹ Bronkhorst, 1985, 316.

especially whether it can enable a distinction to be made regarding the purpose of these two works. For instance, it makes sense that a straight sermon to the monks might be expected to contain the Teaching in its most essential form. A Consultation may be expected to show the Teaching spontaneously developing in response to a particular situation and a particular problem.⁹⁰ A Debate, however, may be regarded as an exercise in publicity. It is an opportunity for propaganda. Something is always at stake. Not only must the best question be asked, and the best answer be given, but converts must be won and lay support must be gained. Under these circumstances we may expect that, appropriate to the situation, a particular presentation of the Teaching is given. We may expect this to be religiously sound, but exaggerated, because the Debates were public competitive occasions. If the distribution of these different types of suttas between these two collections should show a clear distinction between them we may then be able to propose that each of the first four Nikāyas came about in order to serve a distinct need and purpose in the growing and developing Buddhist community, and we may also then be able to define the function of these two collections.

Statistics usefully show up the different characters of MN and DN.

The Statistics.

The statistics that this analysis supplies are rather surprising in their implications. For this reason I have been particularly stringent regarding which suttas should count for statistical purposes, and which should be omitted. Where I thought there was any room for doubt with regard to categorisation I did not include the sutta. I have indicated my criteria under each heading. Composite suttas, i.e. Debates that become Sermons, Sermons that become Consultations, and so forth, have been

⁹⁰ On the Buddha's teaching style see Kloppenborg, 1989.

systematically omitted. This means that the results here are systematically minimised, and therefore all the more convincing.

i. SERMONS.

A Sermon is here defined as a sutta which has both a standard introductory formula ("1" or "2") and a standard concluding formula, and the Sermon internal structure. This is the definition which will include the smallest number of suttas in this category.

DN Sermons: 1; 14; 22; 26; 30; 32; 33; 34.

Total: 8 / 34.

Percentage of suttas in DN: 23.53%.

MN Sermons: 1 - 3 (contains 2 such sermons); 6;
10; 11; 15 - 20; 25; 27; 33; 34; 39;
40; 45 - 47; 51; 53; 64; 67; 68; 102;
103; 105; 106; 110 - 113; 117; 118 -
120; 122; 123; 129; 130; 131 - 134;
136 - 141; 145; 146; 149; 152.

Total: 57 / 152.

Percentage of suttas in MN: 36.8%.

Result:

The percentage of Sermons in the MN is $1\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than that in the DN.

ii. CONSULTATIONS.

Only suttas in which a member of the Order consults the Buddha are included here. This is to avoid the need to justify at length the categorisation as Consultations rather than as Debates of those occasions where someone who is not a monk consults the Buddha.

DN Consultations: 29.

Total: 1 / 34.

Percentage: 2.94%.

MN Consultations: 8; 12; 13; 18; 21; 22; 23; 31; 32;
37; 38; 43; 44; 48; 59; 61; 62; 63; 65;
66; 67; 68; 70; 73; 78; 81; 83; 97;
104; 106; 109; 115; 121; 122; 125;
126; 128; 132; 133; 134; 136; 144;
146; 151.

Total: 44 / 152.

Percentage: 29.94%.

Result:

The percentage of Consultations in the MN is ten times greater than that in the DN.

iii. DEBATES.

The criteria for suttas to be included here as Debates are that there must be a clear challenge, the challenge must be disputed, and there must be an acknowledged defeat, or the Debate must be a reported Debate or a Debate with potential opponents. Debates between monks are excluded, as are those suttas that start as a Debate but finish in some other way, such as refused Debates.

DN Debates: 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 12; 13; 23;
24; 25; 28; 31.

Total: 18 / 34.

Percentage: 52.94%.

MN Debates: 7; 14; 27; 30; 35; 36; 56; 58; 60; 72;
74; 75; 76; 79; 80; 84; 90; 91; 92;
93; 94; 95; 96; 99; 100; 101; 102;
107; 124.

Total: 29 / 152.

Percentage: 19%.

Result:

The percentage of Debates in the DN is more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than that in the MN.

These statistics show that the MN contains proportionately a greater number of Sermons and Consultations than the DN and a proportionately fewer number of Debates. How can this be accounted for ?

The tradition holds that suttas were assigned to the MN and DN according to their length at the first council.⁹¹ If we accept this then all that these statistics show is that, because there are more Debates in the DN, Debates are usually longer than Sermons and Consultations. This is a possible explanation but it seems also rather superficial and arguments can be brought forward against it.

The legend of the first Council in the Pāli Vināya that holds that Ānanda recited the Sutta Piṭaka, and therefore each of the Nikāyas as we know them today, is generally held to be untenable.⁹² On this ground we may dismiss any idea that in an extraordinary feat of mental sorting Ānanda achieved this relationship at that time (or that he was purposefully and intentionally organising the suttas in this way as he memorised them in his position as the Buddha's chief attendant). In any case the practicalities of such a sorting in the absence of writing are

⁹¹ Norman, 1983, 30. See Horner, 1954, x for further discussion.

⁹² Lamotte, 1958, 141 foll.

unimaginable. Staal has produced a fantasy about how Pāṇini's grammar could have been composed orally. It imaginatively involves hordes of pupils who, acting as living note-books, memorise relevant portions of the work in progress.⁹³ As Bronkhorst has said, it is a charming invention, and an implausible speculation.⁹⁴ The monumental task of re-sorting orally-learned texts in the absence of writing makes it extremely unlikely that this legend contains a grain of truth.

The notion that texts were re-sorted orally brings with it further problems, not the least of which is the problem of attachment — so fundamental to human nature and so important in this literature. The Vinaya account of the first Council attests to the attachment of the monk Purāṇa to the version of the Teaching he had heard from the Buddha above that offered to him by the Council.⁹⁵ It is unlikely that Purāṇa stood alone. People do not so easily give up features of their religion or system of belief or accept a different version of it or make compromises. The differences between the Dīgha-*bhāṇakas* and the Majjhima-*bhāṇakas* regarding the constitution of the Khuddaka Nikāya testifies to this.⁹⁶

How, then, did the collections get their earliest form ? Norman describes the situation after the second council when the collections had begun to be formed and the schools were still in contact.

“The fact that one and the same *sutta* is sometimes found in more than one *nikāya* in the Pāli canon would seem to indicate that the *bhāṇakas* of the various *nikāyas* could not always agree about the allocation of *suttas*. The fact that the *sūtras* in each Sanskrit *āgama* do not coincide with their Pāli equivalents would seem to indicate that each school had its own *bhāṇakas* who while all agreeing in general with the other *bhāṇakas* of their

⁹³ Staal, 1986, 37 foll.

⁹⁴ Bronkhorst, 1989.

⁹⁵ Vin ii 289 foll.

⁹⁶ Norman, 1983, 31 foll.

own and other sects, nevertheless preferred to differ over the placing of some *sūtras*. This suggests that there was in early times a large collection of *suttas* which were remembered by heart, and the task of allocating them to the various *nikāyas/bhāṇakas* had not been finished or the allocation completely agreed, by the time the schools began to separate.”⁹⁷

It is thus more likely that originally *suttas* came to be remembered in different groups or sets rather spontaneously and naturally in response to the exigencies of particular situations and requirements, and that these groups form the cores of the different *Nikāyas* as we know them today.

What could those exigencies that brought about the form of the collections have been? The early Buddhists had two important and urgent purposes. One was to gain converts and lay support; the other was to ensure the survival of their religion. Without success in both of these their Teaching would die out. How were they to realise these purposes? Obviously a body of (oral) literature was necessary. To attract converts the early Buddhists first needed an audience. For that their initial communications had at least to be attractive and entertaining. Of the first four *Nikāyas* by far the most entertaining texts occur in the DN.⁹⁸ The most dramatic Debates are there, for example in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (DN 2), the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* (DN 3), and the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta* (DN 4); and the most philosophical debates, e.g. in the *Kassapa Sihanāda Sutta* (DN 9) and the *Paṇṇāpāda Sutta* (DN 9). The most magical and

⁹⁷ Norman, 1983, 31.

⁹⁸ Monks would, of course, not have been excluded from this entertainment. Without radio or TV, society at the time of the Buddha was dependent on locally generated entertainment. The *Brahmajāla Sutta* (DN 1) gives a rather full catalogue of what was available. But monks were excluded from or at least discouraged from participating in all of these forms. Only one form of entertainment was available to them: the hearing and reciting of *suttas*. The *Brahmajāla Sutta* leaves nothing over but this, I think.

inspirational legends are also found there, for instance that of the lives of Buddhas in the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* (DN 14); the legend of King Mahāvijita's sacrifice in the *Kūṭadanta Sutta* (DN 5); the legend of Brahmā's respect for the Buddha in the *Kevaddha Sutta* (DN 11); the history of the town Kusinārā in the *Mahāsudassana Sutta* (DN 17); the Buddha's encounter with the *gandhabba* Janavasabha, the claimed reincarnation of King Bimbisāra, with its tale of rebirth and life among the gods (DN 18); and so forth. My argument is that for the purposes of propaganda, to attract converts and lay-supporters to the new religion and to spread its message, it was necessary to have a particular type of communication. This would have had to be entertaining: viz., stories and accounts capable of spreading the fame of the founder, of giving some idea of his character and attainments, of providing enough of the Teaching to arouse interest and to inspire conversion, and, not the least, containing accounts of converts and supporters from many different areas of society to serve as examples to the present audience. The Dīgha Nikāya conforms to this requirement. This may be why the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta found its way into this collection.

There are further statistics which support this position. These concern a comparison between the target groups of the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas. The DN was not particularly a collection for the monks. Of the 34 DN suttas only 9, i.e. 26.4% are directed towards bhikkhus. The other 73.4% are directed towards brahmins (11 suttas = 32.3%), paribbājikas (5 suttas = 14.7%), and variously towards kings, kṣatriyas, acelas, Licchavis, gods, yakkhas and gandhabbas. By comparison, in the MN 92 of the 152 suttas, i.e. 60.5%, are directed only towards the monks.

The contents of the MN suggest that it had as its purpose the presentation of the Leader, both as a real person and as an archetype (a Tathāgata), and the integration of new monks into the community and into the practice. Most of the intimate biographical suttas appear in this

Nikāya⁹⁹ (MN 19, 26) as well as suttas about the Tathāgata and how to relate to him (how to study the Tathāgata, *Vimamsaka Sutta*, MN 47; the nature of the Tathāgata, *Naḷakapāna Sutta*, MN 68; the Tathāgata's wonderful qualities: *Acchariyabbhutamadhamma Sutta*, MN 123). There are suttas teaching the monks how to live together peacefully (*Kosambiya Sutta*, MN 48), how to settle disputes about what the Buddha taught (*Kinti Sutta*, MN 103), what the right eating habits are to follow (*Bhaddāli Sutta*, MN 66), and how forest monks should adjust their behaviour when they return to the community (*Gulissāni Sutta*, MN 69). There is a sutta on the way of the learner (*Sekha Sutta*, MN 53). There are suttas on the technicalities of the Teaching: how to practise (*Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, MN 10), how to control thoughts (*Dvedhāvitakka Sutta*, MN 19), how perception works (*Madhupindika Sutta*, MN 18), what hindrances are and how to get rid of them (*Cūḷa-Assapura Sutta*, MN 40), how to deal with the sense pleasures, (*Āṇaṇjasappāya Sutta*, MN 106), how to practise the Eightfold Path (*Mahācattārīsaka Sutta*, MN 117), how to train character (*Anumāna Sutta*, MN 15) and so forth. All of the technicalities of the Teaching appear here in detail, whether taught directly or within an account of a conversation, and especially with regard to what they are and how they are to be dealt with in practice. There are also Sermons on problems connected with the practice and its difficulty: on the problems of meditation in a forest and when to give it up (*Vanapattha Sutta*, MN 19), on pitfalls along the Path (*Mahāsāropama Sutta*, MN 29), on how to test whether one has truly attained the goal (*Chabbisodhana Sutta*, MN 112).

These facts suggest a general pattern. DN and MN clearly have different and complementary characters. Without denying the inclusion of additional, later suttas over time, and perhaps also under a different system of categorisation, and, similarly, without denying some

⁹⁹ The intimate biographical suttas would have had the important function of introducing the monks to the personal side of the founder, so that they could get to know him personally or at least feel that they were doing that.

movement of texts from one to the other¹⁰⁰ and reduplication of each other's texts, the general trend suggests that indeed the collection now known as the Dīgha Nikāya derived from an original, probably spontaneously created, collection of publicity material for the early Buddhists, while the collection now known as the Majjhima Nikāya was the collection which arose to serve their need to introduce new converts to the character of the Leader, the Buddha, and the important disciples, to integrate new converts into their values and their way of life, and to provide them with the fundamentals of the Teaching and the Practice.¹⁰¹ We thus see that the first four Nikāyas reflect the need of the Early Buddhists to convey, study and systematise their Doctrine at increasingly deeper levels.

4. The contribution of these categories for distinguishing textual units.

The existence of these three distinct categories of sutta, each with own unique structure, needs to be taken into account in any attempt to define the original suttas that the Buddha taught. It has implications with regard to the scientific view of long suttas, of frequently occurring pericopes, and of the integrity of individual suttas.

The view that long suttas are late amalgams of authentic material has been expressed.¹⁰² This is in spite of the fact that suttas exist which testify to night-long marathons of Teaching, with Ānanda taking over when the Buddha had become weary.¹⁰³ Clearly a great deal of material can be united into a night-long sutta. If one accepts the antiquity of the category of Debate suttas then one must accept that long suttas are not necessarily amalgams of "bits" of the Teaching.

¹⁰⁰ Pande, 1974, 78.2

¹⁰¹ See Dutt, 1925, 114 foll. and 1970, 44 foll. for the early custom and practice of specialising in the memorisation of particular types of texts.

¹⁰² Pande, 1974; etc.

¹⁰³ e.g. *Sekha Sutta*, MN 53.

There is also the tendency to see the “bits” of the Teaching, or pericopes as “original Buddhism”. Once again the category of Debate sutta requires that this view be revised. It is on the contrary likely that the pericopes in these suttas are their original features, necessitated by their structure and function.

Finally, as the strict literary style of these suttas adheres consistently to the use of clearly categorisable formulas and clearly definable internal structures and uses these for demarcation, we may make some factually supported statements about insertions. We may say that, e.g. because the appearance of formula “1” or “2” in the middle of a sutta is so rare, the cases where it does occur may indicate that in the course of time two distinct Sermons have become merged.¹⁰⁴ We can, unfortunately, never be entirely certain that the suttas do not represent an occasion when the very two Sermons were given consecutively.

The case is very much clearer with regard to Debates because of their uniformity of structure and the formal exigencies of the debate situation. We may hypothesize with confidence, therefore, that two debates suttas, the *Mahāli Sutta* (DN 6) and the *Jāliya Sutta* (DN 7), have lost important parts. The *Mahāli Sutta* begins in a similar way to other debates with important brahmans. It begins with the information that there were many important brahmans in the area at that time,¹⁰⁵ and then continues with a statement of the Buddha’s credentials.¹⁰⁶ It then incorporates what could easily be the beginning of a different debate: the introduction of a different adversary, Oṭṭhadda, the Licchavi, with his followers. In the debate that follows, however, the brahmans are forgotten. Their role is never shown. Instead, the debate that is recorded is with Oṭṭhadda, the Licchavi. Then, in the middle of this debate, there is introduced rather suddenly a quite separate debate which is both thematically different and also a debate of a different type, namely, a

¹⁰⁴ E.g. the *Dhammadāyada Sutta*, MN 3.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. the *Tevijja Sutta*, DN 13.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. the *Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta*, DN 4; the *Kūṭadanta Sutta*, DN 5; etc.

Reported Debate. At the end of this debate, in conformity with the style of the Reported Debate, there is no formula acknowledging defeat (cf. formulas “21”, “22”, “23”), but instead the type of acknowledgement formula (“13”) that monks give at the end of a Sermon or Consultation. It appears here that either the Debate with the brahmins that the *Mahāli Sutta* leads us to expect has been lost in time, or a recitor/redactor has introduced this beginning without realising its implications, i.e. at a later time when the literary conventions and their implications had been forgotten. The *Jāliya Sutta*, DN 7, moreover, comprises just this Reported Debate, only given “live”, so to speak, i.e. not reported, but in the form of a Dramatic Debate. In this account, because it is a Dramatic Debate, one would expect the defeat formulas. The ascetics of DN 7, however, do not become converts. This is at odds with the formulaic and conforming nature of this genre of Debate.

Conclusion.

To study these texts is to be open to their qualities as literature: to their capacity to convey a Teaching convincingly; to their capacity to tell a story, and to their capacity to depict a culture. It is also to be curious, to wonder what sort of a society, what sort of times make the success of a Buddha possible?

In doing this work I could not but be struck by the way the Buddha is depicted to have lived his life and fulfilled his tasks as a religious leader: setting a convincing example, Teaching (in the form of Sermons), being available for Consultations, participating actively also in the society of his time as a Debater, and also taking time to maintain his own meditation and practice. I also found remarkable the depiction of the Buddha as a religious leader among other religious leaders — large numbers of them more or less successfully (the remaining literature shows which were the successful ones¹⁰⁷) — fulfilling this archetypal

¹⁰⁷ Basham, 1951.

role. And I wondered whether the great contemporary upsurge of interest in Buddhism, both experiential and scientific,¹⁰⁸ and in all other forms of personal growth and spiritual development, has not come about because the times we are living in right now and the times of the Buddha have indeed certain similarities. Some people call our times “the New Age”, meaning an age of increasing spiritual awareness emerging from a previous age of materialism and struggle for survival. Buddhism, Jainism, Ājivikas, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads — don’t these all suggest that Buddhism arose in similar times ?

La Conversion

Joy Manné

¹⁰⁸ See the *Journal of Transpersonal Psychology* for many articles on this subject.

ABBREVIATIONS

Texts as in Bechert, 1988.

DB = Dialogues of the Buddha (Rhys Davids, 1899)

MLS = Middle Length Sayings (Homer, 1954)

tr. = translation

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ON THE VERY IDEA OF THE PALI CANON

In memory of I.B. Horner¹

In this paper I address the issue of the formation and role of the Pali Canon² in Theravāda history and culture. My perspective is strictly that of an external observer wishing to make a contribution to historical scholarship, or at least to initiate an academic discussion of the issue: I mean to imply no evaluation whatsoever of any way in which the Canon has been or is seen by Theravāda Buddhists. From this perspective and for these purposes, I want to suggest that the role of the Canonical texts in Theravāda tradition has been misunderstood, and that the usual scholarly focus on the early period of Theravāda is misplaced. We must, I will suggest, reject the equation 'the Pali Canon = Early Buddhism',³ and move away from an outmoded and quixotic concern with origins to what I would see as a properly focussed and realistic historical perspective. Rather than pre-existing the Theravāda school, as the textual basis from which it arose and which it sought to preserve, the Pali Canon — by which I mean the closed list of scriptures with a special and specific authority as the avowed historical record of the Buddha's teaching — should be seen as a *product* of that school, as part of a strategy of legitimation by the monks of the Mahāvihāra lineage in Ceylon in the early centuries of the first millenium A.D.

It seems to me useful to divide Theravāda Buddhist history into three periods, according to the different kinds of evidence which are available to us.⁴ The first or 'early' period lasts from the time of the Buddha (whenever that was) to that of Aśoka. We have no evidence of any kind which can be securely dated before Aśoka; to describe, speculatively, pre-Aśokan Buddhism, we must make inferences from his inscriptions, from the texts (whose extant form is due to the later period) and perhaps also from the material remains of later times. From the time of Aśoka onwards, in the second or 'middle' period, in addition to an

increasing amount of textual materials we have inscriptions, coins, paintings, sculptures and other material remains to supplement and when necessary correct what the texts tell us. The third or 'modern' period refers to those recent centuries in which we have, in addition to material and textual primary sources, reports from western travellers, officials of imperial governments, anthropologists and others, as well as the modern records kept by indigenous rulers and bureaucracies. Much of the evidence for 'early', pre-Aśokan Buddhism is to be found in the Pali Canonical texts, or rather some of them; but in assessing the nature of this evidence we must be much more fully aware of their provenance in the 'traditional' Theravāda context than has hitherto been the case.⁵ In the first part of the paper, I shall outline two senses of the word 'canon', and then look for comparable terms in Pali. In the second, I shall sketch in broad brush-strokes what I see as the context in which the Pali Canon emerged; and in conclusion I shall ask briefly what role has in fact been played by this Canon, and — more significantly — by the idea of such a Canon, in those religious cultures we denote by the short-hand term, 'Theravāda'.

I

The word 'canon', in relation to textual materials, can usefully be taken in two ways⁶: first, in a general sense, as an equivalent to 'scripture' (oral or written). Used in this way, the term does not specify that the collection of texts so designated constitutes a closed list; it merely assigns a certain authority to them, without excluding the possibility that others could be, or may come to be included in the collection. In the second sense, however, the idea of a 'canon' contains precisely such an exclusivist specification that it is *this* closed list of texts, *and no others*, which are the 'foundational documents'. The existence of some sort of scriptural or canonical materials in the non-specific, inclusivist sense is surely a necessary condition for a religion to be or have what anthropologists used to call a 'Great Tradition'. But the existence of a canon in the second, exclusivist sense is, on the contrary, a

non-universal and contingent feature, dependent on the specific history of a given milieu which produces the selection and redaction of such a closed list. When compared with other extant collections of scriptures in Buddhism, I think the Pali Canon is unique in being an exclusive, closed list. Why did such a canon develop in traditional Theravāda Buddhism?

First, what Pali terms might correspond to 'canon'? There are three main candidates: the word *pāli* itself, the notion of the *tipiṭaka*, 'the three baskets' of tradition, and most importantly, the concept of *buddha-vacana*, 'the Buddha's Word(s)'.

(i) As is well-known, the word *pāli* was not originally the name of a language, but a term meaning firstly a line, bridge or causeway, and thence a 'text'.⁷ It is often found in apposition to *aṭṭhakathā*, which is usually translated 'commentary', and so some scholars have taken *pāli* to mean 'canon'.⁸ I would not want to disagree with this, if the term is used in the general and inclusivist sense of 'scripture' outlined above. But the primary use of the distinction between *pāli* and *aṭṭhakathā* is not to classify documents into different categories (although it did come to have that function: e.g. Sp 549, Sv 581), and still less to denote explicitly a closed list of texts, as the terms 'canon' and 'commentary' might imply; rather, it was to distinguish between the precise wording of a text, in the text-critical sense, and the more flexible task of 'saying what it means', which is the literal translation of *aṭṭhakathā*.⁹ *Pāli* and *aṭṭha* are regularly applied to texts in this way (e.g. Mp IV 187, Th-a II 135-6 et freq.); these terms are often given in commentarial exegesis of the pair *dhmma* and *attha* (e.g. Pj II 333, 604, Ja II 351, VI 223; compare the 'four-fold profundity' at Sp 22 and Sv 20, the former using *pāli*, the latter *taṇṇi*). *Pāli* can be used synonymously with *pāṭha*, 'text', in the sense of 'reading', often when discussing variants (e.g. Sv 49, Ud-a 105-6, Th-a II 203).¹⁰ Quotations can be introduced by phrases such as *tatrāyaṃ pāli*, 'on this matter (there is) this text', (e.g. Sp 13, 395, Spk I 200, Th-a III 105); the term *pāli-vaṇṇanā*, 'text-commentary', can be used in the same

way as *pada-vañṇanā*, 'word-commentary' (Sv 771, 982, Mp II 306), both of which are complementary to *vinicchaya-kathā*, 'exegesis' or *aṭṭha-vañṇanā*, 'explanation of the meaning' (Vibh-a 291, Vism 16, Pj I 123 foll.). *Pāli* can refer to the text of a specific individual work, as *Udāna-pāli* (Ud-a 4) or *Apadāna-pāli* (Th-a II 201, III 204). The phrases *pāliyaṃ (an)āgata* (or *(an)ārūḥha*) are used to mean '(not) handed down in a/the text', referring to textual passages, topics and names of people (e.g. Sp 466, 841, 1112, Sv 989, Mp I 272, IV 143, Th-a I 44, III 203); the term *pālimuttaka*, 'not found in a (the) text(s)' is used both of sermons by the Buddha not rehearsed at the Councils and thus not extant (Sv 539, Ud-a 419-20, cp. Sv 238, 636, Spk I 201) and of Disciplinary decisions and rulings in use by the monkhood but not found in the text of the Vinaya itself (Sp 294 et freq.). In none of these uses, however, does the term in itself imply that the texts so referred to are a closed list.¹¹

(ii) The term *piṭaka* is usually taken to mean 'basket'.¹² If this is in fact the same word as *piṭaka* meaning 'basket',¹³ then it is intriguing to speculate on what could be the metaphor underlying its use to mean 'tradition', given that one cannot literally put oral 'texts' in baskets: Trenckner (1908, pp. 119-121) held that just as in excavations or digging work in ancient India, baskets of earth were passed along a row of labourers, so the Buddhist tradition was passed along a line of transmission, in *piṭakas*, from teacher to pupil. Winternitz (1933, pp. 8-9 note 3) suggested that the idea is of 'receptacles in which gems, family treasures, were preserved from generation to generation'. In any case, we must agree, I think, with Rhys Davids (who accepted Trenckner's view, (1894), p. 28) that the term *tipiṭaka* refers to 'three bodies of oral tradition as handed down from teacher to pupil'. It is, perhaps, not necessary to see a metaphor underlying the term: just as the term *āgama*, in both Sanskrit and Pali, means colourlessly 'something which has come down', 'a text', and *saṃhitā* in Sanskrit means 'a putting together, a sequence, a collection (of words, ideas, etc.)' and hence 'a text', so *piṭaka* can simply mean 'a collection (of words, stories, etc.)' and hence 'a (part

of a) tradition'.¹⁴ The word is used in canonical texts to mean a 'tradition' or 'customary form' of religious teaching: but interestingly, in a pejorative sense, as a poor second-best to personal spiritual experience and knowledge.¹⁵ The earliest extant uses of the word *tipiṭaka* date from inscriptions and texts of the 1st century A.D.¹⁶ At this period, I think, it should be taken to denote not three closed lists of documents, but rather three different genres within the tradition; and to point to generic differences in style and content in the Disciplinary Rules (*Vinaya-piṭaka*), the Discourses (*Sutta-piṭaka*) and the 'Further Teachings' (*Abhidhamma-piṭaka*). This tripartite division continues another, said in the canon to have existed during the Buddha's lifetime: the division of labour between *vinaya*-, *sutta*-, and *māṇika-dhara*-, 'those who bear (in memory) the disciplinary rules, the teachings and the mnemonic lists'.¹⁷ Clearly during the Buddha's lifetime, there can have been no closed canon¹⁸: and I agree with Lamotte (58, p. 164), when he says that 'all that the classification of scripture into three baskets does is to attest to the existence within the religious community of three different specialisms, having for their objects the doctrine, the discipline and scholastic matters (*la scolastique*) respectively'. Eventually, of course, the term *tipiṭaka* did indeed come to have the sense of a closed and fixed Canon.¹⁹

(iii) Originally, then, neither *pāli* nor *tipiṭaka* referred to a closed canon. This is true also of the third term *buddha-vacana*, 'The Word of the Buddha'; but here we do begin to approach something like our ideas of a 'canon' and 'canonical authority'.²⁰ The term, and other words and phrases referring to 'what was said by the Buddha' can be found in the Canonical texts.²¹ One of Aśoka's inscriptions reads *e keci bhamte bhagavatā budhena bhaṣite save se subhāsite vā*, 'everything which was said by the Blessed One, the Buddha, was well-said'.²² The idea behind these terms can be, and has been taken in Buddhism in two crucially different ways. On the one hand it can be used, as it most commonly has been in the extant Mahāvihārin tradition of Theravāda, to mean the actual word(s) of the historical Buddha Gotama — despite the fact that it has

always been evident that the the collection of texts so designated includes many which cannot have been actually spoken by him (those spoken by other monks before and after his death, for example). For this reason and others, on the other hand, there is also an historically unspecific sense of the term, which refers in general to the — eternal and eternally renewable — salvific content of Buddhist Teaching: to use a phrase ubiquitous in the Canon, it refers to the ‘spirit’ (*attha*) rather than the mere ‘letter’ (*vyāñjana*) of the Buddha’s law (*dhamma*).

This non-historicist approach to scriptural authority, although not absent from Theravāda, is much more characteristic of Mahāyāna traditions, where the eternal truth of the Dharma may be revealed in texts of any and every historical provenance. The attitude is nicely captured in the phrase ‘whatever is well-spoken is spoken by the Buddha’.²³ A *sutta* from the Aṅguttara Nikāya (A IV 162-66), contains this phrase, and is worth looking at in more detail.²⁴ It describes a conversation between the monk Uttara and the king of the gods, Sakka (Indra). Indra is impressed with a talk he has been told of, given by Uttara to some monks; he descends from heaven and asks Uttara whether what he said was own inspiration (*sakaṃ paṭibhānaṃ*) or the word of the Buddha (*Bhagavato vacanaṃ*). Uttara replies with a simile: ‘it is just as if there were a great heap of grain near some village or town, and people were to take grain from it in buckets or baskets (*piṭakehi*), in their laps or hands. If one were to go up to these people and ask them “where are you bringing this grain from?”, how would they properly explain themselves?’ Indra replies that they would do so simply by saying that they got the grain from the heap. Uttara explains ‘in the same way, king of the gods, whatever is well-spoken is all the word of the Blessed One ... Whenever I or others preach, what we say is derived from there’ (*yaṃ kiñci subhāsitaṃ sabban taṃ tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ ... , tato upādāy’ upādāya mayaṃ c’ aññe ca bhaṇāma*). (The choice of *bhaṇati* here is not accidental: *bhāṇa* and other derivatives are regularly used both for sermons and for the recitation of passages from the canonical texts.) Clearly the point of the remark here is

simply that Uttara is saying that what he teaches comes from the Buddha; but grammatically there would be nothing wrong with interpreting his remark in the Mahāyānist sense. (In contrast, the inscription of Aśoka cited above is unambiguously *not* the Mahāyānist sentiment, since it serves as an introduction to his list of recommended texts (see below, and notes 22, 27): the logic of the edict is that ‘everything said by the Buddha was well-said, but these texts are especially good ...’.) Why then did what has become Theravāda ‘orthodoxy’ choose to emphasise an historicist and exclusivist idea of its ‘Canon’, ‘the Buddha’s Word(s)’?

II

For the sake of brevity, I will present my argument schematically. Before the 1st century B.C., all Buddhist texts are said to have been preserved orally²⁵; there is a large amount of evidence from a wide variety of sources, mutually contradictory for the most part, which suggests that a series of meetings were held, usually called ‘Councils’ in English but more precisely ‘Communal Recitations’ (*saṅgīti*), one of whose functions was for monks to recite together the scriptures, whatever they were.²⁶ Apart from Aśoka’s inscription which mentions by name some texts still extant,²⁷ however, we simply have no idea which texts in fact pre-date Aśoka, and which might have been thus recited. The traditional account has it that Pali texts were transmitted to Ceylon in the 3rd. century B.C., along with commentaries, and there again to have been preserved orally (the commentaries being translated into and elaborated in Sinhalese). Both texts and commentaries were then written down during the (second) reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, between 29 and 17 B.C.²⁸ (see below). The following two statements, both written by staunchly orthodox modern Theravādins, make it clear that we cannot know the relation between ‘the canon’ as we now have it and the canon as it was being transmitted at this time; still less can we know that this canon was thought of in the closed, exclusivist sense. Malalasekara writes, in his standard work *The Pali Literature of Ceylon* (1928, p. 44),

'how far the Tipiṭaka and its commentary reduced to writing at Ālu-vihāra resemble them as they have come down to us today no-one can say'. In fact, the earliest date to which we can assign the Canon in the specific and final form in which we now have it is the time of Buddhaghosa. As Walpola Rāhula observes in his *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (1956, p. xix):

'Although there is evidence to prove the growth of the Pali Scriptures during the early centuries of Buddhism in India and Ceylon, there is no reason to doubt that their growth was arrested and the text was finally fixed in the 5th century A.C. when the Sinhalese Commentaries on the Tipiṭaka were translated into Pali by Buddhaghosa'.²⁹

The Pali Canon, like most other religious Canons, was produced in a context of dispute, here sectarian monastic rivalries. King Vaṭṭagāmiṇī supported the rivals of the Mahāvihārin monks, those of the recently founded Abhayagiri monastery. (In the 4th century there arose a third sub-sect, the Jetavana group, but my focus here will be on the Mahāvihāra-Abhayagiri rivalry.³⁰) Both groups existed throughout the first millenium, up until king Parakkamabāhu I suppressed the others in favour of the Mahāvihāra in the 12th century (the extant Mahāvihārin texts call this his 'unification' of the monkhood); and at certain periods Abhayagiri was clearly the more numerous and dominant. With some disputed exceptions,³¹ no Abhayagiri texts survive, although texts and commentaries are ascribed to them (directly or indirectly) in extant Mahāvihārin works.³² We can trace, I think, a significant difference between Mahāvihārin texts written before Parakkamabāhu's 'reform' and those written after: that is, in the direction of an increasingly triumphalist re-writing of earlier history.

One area where this change is particularly evident is in accounts of the writing down of the canon: the earliest versions are remarkably

brief and restrained, giving little idea of the real reasons for this development, to us so significant.³³ The *Dīpavaṃsa* (XX 20-1) and *Mahāvaṃsa* (XXXIII 100-1) have exactly the same stanzas:

*piṭakattayapālīṇ ca tassā aṭṭhakathaṃ pi ca
mukhapāṭhena ānesuṃ pubbe bhikkhū mahāmaṭṭi;
hāniṃ disvāna sattānaṃ tadā bhikkhū samāgatā
ciraṭṭhitatthaṃ dhammassa potthakesu likhāpayuṃ.*

‘Previously, intelligent monks (had) preserved the text of the three piṭakas and its commentary orally; but (now) when the monks saw the *hāni* of beings they came together and had them³⁴ written in books, in order that the Teaching should endure for a long time.’

The word *hāni*, which I have left untranslated, means ‘loss’, ‘decay’, ‘diminution’, ‘abandonment’, etc. The issue here is how to take it in context. The *Dīpavaṃsa* account places these stanzas in the midst of what is more or less a list of kings, with minimal narrative embellishment. It mentions Vaṭṭagāmanī, but simply gives the bare details of his accessions to the throne (he was king twice), and the length of his reign. Oldenberg’s translation (1879, p. 211) has ‘decay’, Law’s (1959, p. 249) ‘loss’, neither of which attempts to interpret the term. The *Mahāvaṃsa* places the stanzas immediately after its account of the secession of the monk Mahāriṣṭha, and the subsequent split between the two monastic fraternities. Mindful of this perhaps, Geiger (1912, p. 237) translates *hāni* as ‘falling away (from religion)’. In modern secondary works, there has arisen a tendency to associate the writing of the texts most closely with conditions of war and famine, and so to translate *hāni* as ‘decrease (in numbers)’, or more generally ‘disastrous state’.³⁵ This seems first to have been suggested by Adikaram (1946, Chap. 4); Rāhula’s account (1956, pp. 81-2, 157-8) is very frequently cited in other secondary works. These authors recount stories concerning war between Sinhalese

and Tamil kings, and a famine associated with a brahmin turned bandit called Tissa.³⁶ The *Mahāvamsa* mentions Tissa briefly earlier in the Chapter (XXXIII, 37-41), but not the famine.

Although it is quite plausible to connect the decision to commit the texts to writing with the troubled conditions of the time, it is worth noticing that this is not given as a reason in any of the primary sources, early or late.³⁷ Adikaram himself suggests (pp. 115 foll.) that conditions in Rohaṇa, in the south of the island, may not have been as bad as in the north; and as Gunawardana (1982) has shown, it is anachronistic to think of the island at this period as a single state centred at Anurādhapura. I suggest, not necessarily a replacement for their account but perhaps as a complement to it, that we follow the *Mahāvamsa* and associate the writing of the texts and commentaries with the contemporary rivalry between the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri monasteries; and I would argue that at least one of the motives for the decision was the fixation, through writing, of a definitive list of scriptures, at a time when the position of the Mahāvihāra as sole legitimate custodians of Buddhism was under threat.³⁸ Certainly in the following centuries, one of the major themes in Mahāvihārin writing about its rivals concerns their use of 'heterodox' scriptures, in addition to the Pali texts shared by all three groups. It seems that at least from the 3rd century A.D., and perhaps before, the Abhayagiri monks used what we would now call Mahāyāna texts³⁹; it is revealing that this is standardly referred to by their Mahāvihārin opponents as their embracing the *vetulla-vāda*. The term *vetulla*, Sanskrit *vaitulya* or *vaipulya*, meaning 'extended' or 'enlarged', refers to the great extent of certain Mahāyāna scriptures.⁴⁰ Later triumphalist chronicles condemn with increasing vehemence the heresy of these unacceptable texts, and tell of repeated book-burnings by pro-Mahāvihārin kings.⁴¹

In the 5th century the great Indian monk Buddhaghosa spent some time in Ceylon at the Mahāvihāra, writing what are now the standard Pali commentarial works, on the basis of the earlier Sinhalese

texts.⁴² This also took place during the reign of a king who supported the Abhayagiri, Mahānāma (409-431). Thus Adikaram (1946, p. 94) aptly remarks:

'It is worthy of notice that the two most important events, namely, the writing down of the Pali texts at Āloka-vihāra and the translation of the Commentaries into Pali, both took place during the reigns of kings who were not favourably disposed towards the Mahāvihāra and who actively helped the opposing camp, the Abhayagirivihāra'.

The account in the *Cūlavam̐sa*, written after Parakkamabāhu I and in part as a panegyric on him, tells us that when Buddhaghosa had produced his digest of Theravāda scholasticism, the *Visuddhimagga*, the Mahāvihārin elders exclaimed 'assuredly, he is Metteyya (the future Buddha) (*nissam̐sayam̐ sa Metteyyo*); then when he had rendered their commentaries into Pali, they are said to have received them *pāliṃ viya*, literally 'just as (or 'as if they were') Canonical texts', or more loosely 'as the authoritative version'.⁴³ The parallelism is obvious: the Buddha Gotama produced the Texts (*pāli*) as *buddha-vacana*, 'the Buddha Metteyya' produces an authoritative redaction of the commentaries, *pāliṃ viya*!⁴⁴

Finally, I think we should see the writing and fixing of a closed canon in relation to the creation of historical chronicles in Ceylon: the *vam̐sa* tradition.⁴⁵ The term *vam̐sa* (Sanskrit *vam̐śa*) was used in India for a variety of forms of historical text, primarily genealogies, from the time of the Brāhmaṇas. Another meaning of the term is 'bamboo', and I think we may see some significance in this. Bamboo grows by sending out one, and only one, shoot: unlike our concept of a genealogical tree, therefore, a *vam̐śa* genealogy allows only one legitimate successor at a time. Thus the term not only describes a line of transmission, but at the same time ascribes to the members of the *vam̐śa* a specific status and authority as

legitimate heirs of that transmission. In the tradition of *purāṇa* writing, two of the traditional five characteristics (*pañcalakṣaṇa*) alleged to be present in any such text are *vaṃśa* and *vaṃśānucarita*; the former term refers to a genealogy of gods, patriarchs, kings and great families, the latter to the deeds of such a *vaṃśa*. (How far these five characteristics actually do apply to the extant *purāṇas* is a complex issue.) The texts in question here are not only the great compendia of mythology, theology, etc., concerning various great gods such as Viṣṇu and Śiva; they include also, amongst others, a little-studied genre of regional, caste *purāṇas*, about which Ludo Rocher says, in his recent book on the subject (1986, p. 72):

Even though this type of texts relate to single castes in limited areas of the subcontinent, they are again not fundamentally different from purāṇic literature generally ... [then, quoting another writer:] The caste-purāṇas may be considered to be the extension of *Vaṃśānucarita*, in the sense that they devote themselves to the history of some *Vaṃśa*, in the broad sense'.

I suggest that we see the Pali chronicles in this perspective as a part of the literary genre of the *purāṇa* in the widest sense, listing the genealogy and deeds of the lineage of the Buddha and his heritage. In addition, both by their very existence and by such details of their content as the stories of visits by the Buddha to the different Theravāda lands, the *vaṃsa* texts produced in Ceylon and later in mainland Southeast Asia served the *heilsgeschichtliche* purpose of connecting these areas with India. More specifically, as Heinz Bechert has argued (1978), the early examples in Ceylon may have served the political purpose of enhancing and encouraging Sinhalese nationalism. It has long been recognised that the ideology of these *vaṃsa* texts is that of the *dharmadīpa*, the island which the Buddha prophesied would be the historical vehicle of his saving truth.⁴⁶

It has often been noted that the dominant Theravāda attitude to its scriptures, unlike other Buddhist groups, is an historicist one; but it has not been noticed, I think, that this development coincides with the production by Theravāda monks of what Bechert calls the only 'historical literature in the strict sense of the word [in South Asia] prior to the period of the Muslim invasions'.⁴⁷ The earlier Sinhalese commentarial materials, shared by both Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri groups, contained *vaṃsa* sections, and there may have been at least one specifically Abhayagiri *vaṃsa*⁴⁸; but a particular characteristic of the development of the Mahāvihāra tradition is its rich and varied collection of these texts, usually called 'Chronicles' in English. There were probably many different reasons for their being produced, and it is true that earlier Sanskrit and Pali works with *vaṃsa* sections were preserved orally. Nonetheless I suggest that a revealing perspective on the issue can be gained from the comparative historical and anthropological study of literacy, where it is widely recognised that one of the earliest functions of writing was the making of lists.⁴⁹ I suggest that both the idea of a fixed and closed Canon and the *vaṃsa* genre may be seen together as members of the same class: the 'list'. The *vaṃsa* genre is descended from name-lists (genealogies) and event-lists (annals); the closed 'canon' is also descended from name-lists and word-lists, but adds to the simple idea of a list of texts (a librarian's concern, in itself) the crucial political element of closure: nothing can be added or taken away.

In brief, then, I argue that the following four developments in the Theravāda tradition, taking place over the first half of the first millenium A.D., are related, not only conceptually and historically, but also as connected parts of a strategy of self-definition and self-legitimation by the Mahāvihārin monks:

- (i) the writing down of the canon and commentaries;
- (ii) the production of a closed and historically specific canon of scripture;
- (iii) the standardisation of authoritative commentaries, and
- (iv) the development of the historiographical tradition of *vaṃsa* texts.

(Incidentally, not only might we explain the creation of a fixed Canon by this historicism; it may be that this form of religious legitimation was one reason for the birth, or at least the first real flourishing of historiography in South Asian culture at this place and time.)

There have been, of course, other forms of legitimation in Theravāda, notably the possession and control of relics and images.⁵⁰ But one of the most salient characteristics of the Mahāvihārin lineage has always been its conservative and/or reformist, text-oriented self-definition; this was significantly underlined and extended, both in Buddhism and in Buddhist scholarship, by the modern 'scripturalism' specific to the 19th and 20th centuries.⁵¹ It is well-known that Buddhism in South and Southeast Asia includes many more things than are described and prescribed in the Pali Canon; these are often seen as 'later developments', many of which are standardly but misleadingly referred to as 'Mahāyāna elements'. Rather than see things in this way, I suggest, we should take this wider Buddhist culture as the contemporary context in which the move to an historicist 'orthodoxy' was made. We know that the Mahāvihārin lineage became ultimately dominant in Ceylon; and throughout its spread across mainland Southeast Asia as 'Sinhala' Buddhism, it seems to have been perceived precisely as a 'reform' movement, and to have been supported by kings with this rhetoric against already-existing forms of Buddhism.⁵² Within established Theravāda cultures, again, periodic reform movements have taken place, with the same rhetoric; and this is one important ingredient in Buddhist modernism: 'back to the Canon!' (Something like this seems to be happening in the Theravāda revival in contemporary Nepal.⁵³)

III

But what role did the actual Canon play in all this? Did these and only these texts function as 'scripture', with no others having canonical authority in the first and more general sense I distinguished earlier? No.

We know that throughout Theravāda history, up to and including the modern world, many other texts, both written and in oral-ritual form, have been used.⁵⁴ The evidence suggests that both in so-called 'popular' practice and in the monastic world, even among virtuosos, only parts of the Canonical collection have ever been in wide currency, and that other texts have been known and used, sometimes very much more widely.⁵⁵ Keyes writes (1983, p. 272):

'The relevance of texts to religious dogma in the worldview of any people cannot be assumed simply because some set of texts have been recognized as belonging to a particular religious tradition. It is necessary, in every particular case, to identify those texts that can be shown to be the sources of dogmatic formulations that are being communicated to the people through some medium. There is no single integrated textual tradition based on a "canon" to the exclusion of all other texts The very size and complexity of a canon leads those who use it to give differential emphasis to its component texts. Moreover, even those for whom a defined set of scriptures exists will employ as sources of religious ideas many texts which do not belong to a canon. For example, the evidence from monastery libraries in Laos and Thailand ... reveals that what constitutes the Theravādin dhamma for people in these areas includes only a small portion of the total Tipiṭaka, some semi-canonical commentaries such as Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, a large number of pseudo-jātaka and other pseudo-canonical works, histories of shrines and other sacred histories, liturgical works, and popular commentaries. Moreover, for any particular temple-monastery in Thailand or Laos, the collection of texts available to the people in the associated community are not exactly the same as those found in another temple-monastery. In brief, the relevance of textual formulations to religious dogma in popular worldviews is problematic in each specific case'.⁵⁶

It might well be that the content of most smaller monastery libraries is in effect a 'ritual canon'; that is, it contains the texts, canonical or otherwise, which are in actual use in ritual life in the area concerned.⁵⁷ A monastic library with larger holdings may perhaps be compared to a modern academic library: for those few who happen to have access to it, it affords a seemingly obvious and straightforward resource, which provides and defines a cultural 'world'; but one which gives a wildly misleading picture of the actual experience (literate, cultural, religious and otherwise) of those communities without such access.

If we wish to delineate the actual 'canon' or 'canons' of scripture (in the wider sense) in use at different times and places of the Theravāda world, we need empirical research into each individual case, not a simple deduction from the existence of the closed *tipiṭaka* produced by the Mahāvihāra. We need more research, for example, historical and ethnographic, on the actual possession and use of texts, in monastery libraries and elsewhere, and on the content of sermons and festival presentations to laity, to establish more clearly than we currently can just what role has been played by the works included in the canonical list. The hypothesis I have sketched out here suggests that the actual importance of what we know as the Pali Canon has not lain in the specific texts collected in that list, but rather in the *idea* of such a collection, the idea that one lineage has the definitive list of *buddha-vacana*.⁵⁸ So the Pali Canon should be seen as just a 'canon' (in one sense of that word) in Pali, one amongst others.

NOTES

¹ In 1981, when I had the honour to be invited to serve on the Council of the Pali Text Society, my first task was to prepare for publication Miss I.B. Horner's last work, an unfinished translation of fifty stories originating from Chiang Mai in Thailand in the fifteenth century, and very closely modelled on the canonical Jātaka tales. She was working from the draft of the edition made by P.S. Jaini, which was subsequently published by the PTS as *Paññāsa Jātaka* (vol. 1, 1981; vol. 2, 1983). Professor Jaini also completed the translation. In choosing a title for the translation volumes, we followed a suggestion found in Miss Horner's notes for the work, where she referred to it as 'Apocryphal Birth Stories'; the volumes were published thus in 1985 (vol. 1) and 1986 (vol. 2). At that time Professor Jaini and I discussed, without coming to a clear conclusion, the issue of what is really meant in a Buddhist context by the opposition between 'canonical' and 'apocryphal' texts; at his instigation, I included in the brief preface to Volume 1 some notes on the background in Christian usage of the term 'apocryphal'. This paper is a preliminary result of the research inspired by those initial discussions. It was first given, under the present title, as the Second I.B. Horner Memorial Lecture for the PTS in London, September 1987. I am glad to be able to publish it here in memory of Miss Horner, whose contribution both to Pali studies in general and to the PTS in particular has been so great. My title is adapted from the philosophical paper by Donald Davison, 'On the Very Idea of a Conceptual Scheme' (reprinted in Davison 1984).

² References to Pāli texts use the abbreviations of the Critical Pāli Dictionary.

³ The general tenor of the re-evaluation I am recommending here is very much in line with the work being produced by Gregory Schopen, who has shown that for so many things either not found or not emphasised in the Canon, and usually seen as 'later' developments, there is in fact extensive evidence in the earliest archaeological and epigraphical remains: see, for example Schopen 1984, 1985 and 1989.

⁴ I have discussed this further in Collins (1990). The first two of my three periods are similar to those identified by Heinz Bechert (e.g. 1966, 1973, 1979, 1985) as 'early' and 'traditional'; but his criterion for division and designation is the relation of the monastic community to society, and my third, 'modern' period does not correspond to his third, 'modernist' one. (I am grateful to Prof. Bechert for clarifying this issue, in correspondence.)

⁵ I agree wholeheartedly with the suggestions made about the value of the commentaries in this regard by Bond (1980). Certain arguments from the content of the Canon do, I think, have force. For example, apart from a few *Suttas* which deal with the 'mythical' figure of the Universal Emperor, the *cakkavatti*,

the texts do not betray any knowledge of large-scale political units such as that of Aśoka. (I use the word 'mythical' here in the same way as Gombrich (1988, p. 82); cf. also pp. 20-21 on this subject.) Anachronism of various sorts is not usually a problem in Buddhist literature; and so it would seem likely that these texts, in general, do indeed come from pre-Aśokan times. But this kind of argumentation is very complex, and of course we cannot know that because something is not in the texts, it did not exist: the history of Hindu literature furnishes many counter-examples. (See further note 25 below.)

⁶ In the argument of this paragraph I have profited from articles by Sheppard (1987) and, especially, Olivelle (unpubl. ms.). Sheppard writes that 'on the one hand, [the term "canon"] can be used to refer to a rule, standard, ideal, norm, or authoritative office or literature, whether oral or written. On the other hand, it can signify a temporary or perpetual fixation, standardization, enumeration, listing, chronology, register, or catalog of exemplary or normative persons, places, or things [and, in our case, texts]. The former dimension emphasizes internal signs of an elevated status. The latter puts stress on the precise boundary, limits, or measure of what ... belongs within or falls outside of a specific "canon"'.

In proposing a closely related distinction, Olivelle argues that 'a canon, like an orthodoxy, may be exclusive or inclusive. An exclusive canon both lists the documents included in the scripture and implicitly or explicitly excludes all other documents; the canon is a closed list. An inclusive canon also has a list of documents contained in the scriptures. But it makes no claim to be exhaustive. The list merely has a positive function and it does not intend to exclude documents outside the list. In cases such as the [Indian] Veda, the tradition explicitly admits the possibility that there may exist other documents belonging to the Veda. Other traditions, such as most oral ones, may simply ignore the issue. In all cases of inclusive canons, however, the traditions do not feel the need to precisely demarcate the canonical boundaries'. McDermott (1984, p. 32) remarks aptly that 'the Mahāyāna *Sūtras* in India fit into a more Sanskritized concept of scripture and canon (or lack thereof) than does the Theravāda *Tipiṭaka*'.

⁷ The metaphor here, as in other words for texts meaning 'line', 'thread', etc. (e.g. *gantha*, *tanti*, and *sutta*, if this is indeed equivalent to Sanskrit *sūtra*), seems rarely if ever to remain alive in the use of the term. One use of the term in parts of the *Manoratha-pūraṇī* may preserve a sense of 'line' or 'list'. The *Aṅguttara* text names a series of monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen, each of whom is said to be 'pre-eminent' in some sphere. At the end of each commentarial section, the text states *therapāliyaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā* (Mp I 337), (and similarly) *theripāli-* (381),

theripāli- (381), *upāsakapāli*- (401), *upāsikāpāli*- (458). (There are variant readings *therapāliyā*, *theripāliyā*, and *upāsikāpāliyā* (sic) *vaṇṇanā* in the first three places.) This may be translated, taking the first example, 'the commentary on the list of elders is completed', instead of simply 'the commentary on the text of (or about) elders ...'. At the beginning of the commentaries on the last three 'lists', the text states *theripāliyaṃ pathame* (337), *upāsakapāliyaṃ* (482 — *pathame* must have been accidentally omitted here; there is a v.l. *upāsakapāli-vaṇṇanāya pathame*), and *upāsikāpāliyaṃ pathame* (401). *Pathame* cannot agree with *-pāliyaṃ* (or *-vaṇṇanāya*); there must be some appropriate masculine noun implied (such as *sutta*: see A I 23 note 3), so that we may translate 'in the first *sutta* in the list of (or text about) nuns (laymen, laywomen)'. The v.l. at 337, *theripāliyā*, which could be genitive, makes this rendering easier, 'in the first *sutta* of the list (text) of nuns'. (Cp. e.g. Mp II 34 *catutthavaggassa pathame*.) At Mp I 29 there is *rūpapāli*, at II 1 *aṭṭhānapāliyaṃ* (v.l. *-pāliyā*); at II 18 *aṭṭhānapāli-vaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā* and, beginning the next section, *ekadhammapāliyaṃ*.

Filliozat proposed that in the compounds *pāli-bhāsā* and its equivalent *tanti-bhāsā* (Sanskrit *tantra*) both first terms should be understood as referring literally to 'lines', i.e. lines of the text in manuscripts (1981, p. 108). This would be extremely important if it could be shown to be true; it would, for example, render problematic the whole tradition which says that both *pāli* and *aṭṭhakathā* were transmitted orally before the 1st century B.C. But I know of no evidence to support the hypothesis: Filliozat's brief discussion, *ibid.* note 21, is simply an argument from analogy. At one place in the *Jātaka*, VI 353, the term *pāli* is used of what is clearly an oral (and non-religious) 'text' (cf. von Hinüber (1977, p. 244)).

⁸ E.g. Norman (1983, p. 1), von Hinüber (1977, p. 243).

⁹ In this connexion, Frauwallner's speculations on the oral nature of the early tradition are suggestive (1956, pp. 172-177, 189). Although he does not mention this, it seems to me highly probable that the structure he describes, of fixed (though not yet written) 'memorial sentences' fleshed out with freely composed 'oral explanations ... given not in Pāli but in the local language' was what lay behind the distinction between *pāli* and *aṭṭhakathā*. (We have evidence for this structure in the modern period also: see Finot (1917, p. 41); Somadasa (1987, p. ix); Tambiah (1970, p. 166). This might also have helped to bring about the confusion between *pāli* as a word for 'text' and as the name of a language. (As I hope to show elsewhere, however, I remain quite unconvinced by the overall hypotheses of Frauwallner's work, not least because in the main body of the text he seems quite to forget the oral nature of the early tradition, in

arguing for a single text grandly and precisely conceived and organised by 'the author of the *Skandhaka*'.)

¹⁰ von Hinüber, (1978, p. 52), gives an example where alternative readings of a word are cited in different manuscripts of a text, one of which calls the alternative reading a *pāṭha*, the other a *pāli*. In two versions of the same commentarial exegesis discussing variant readings, one (Th-a III 201) reads *pāli*, the other *pāṭho* (Pj II 350).

¹¹ Of course, by the time of Buddhaghosa the list of texts had come to be fixed, though not without disagreements (see Norman (1983, p. 9)), and thence *de facto* the term *pāli* was restricted to that list, at least in Ceylon, just as the term *aṭṭhakathā* came only to be used of commentaries on *pāli* texts, others being *īkā*. A number of texts are sometimes said to have been added to the Canon in Burma: The *Sutta-saṅgaha*, *Netti-pakarāṇa*, *Peṭakopadesa*, *Milindapañha* (see Oldenberg (1882, p. 61); Bode (1909, p. 5); Duroiselle (1911, p. 121), who disagreed with Bode; Nānamoli (1962, p. xii); and Bollée (1969, p. 494), who says that King Mindon's stone edition of the *tipiṭaka* contains the last three of these texts, as does the modern *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana* edition). The word *pāli* is used of the *Sutta-saṅgaha* in Burmese manuscripts (Oldenberg (op. cit., p. 80); Fausbøll (1896, p. 31)). The *Netti-pakarāṇa*, which itself claims to have been composed by Mahākaccāna, praised by the Buddha and recited at the first Council (Nett 193), is called by its commentary a *pāli* (Nett, Intro. p. XI; see also Nānamoli, op. cit., p. xi); and the commentary is classed as an *aṭṭhakathā* by the *Gandhavaṃsa* (p. 60). For the use of *pāli* in relation to the complex issue of the 'canonical' verses of the Jātaka, in opposition to the non-canonical and commentarial prose passages, see, for example, the references given by Fausbøll in Ja VII p. III, and the comments of Bollée (1970) Preface. In the commentary to the *Nidāna-kathā*, a prose section is referred to as a *pāli*, and an account of its *artha* is given (Ja I 7).

¹² One philosopher of religion has recently referred to the ('Eastern') 'Religions of the Baskets', in opposition to the ('Western') 'Religions of the Book': see Clark (1986), p. 16, etc.

¹³ Tedesco, (1952, p. 209), suggests that it might not be.

¹⁴ At Sp 20-21 Buddhaghosa explains the term as meaning either 'learning' (*pariyatti*) or 'a container' (*bhājana*), and says that the two senses are to be taken together in understanding, e.g. the term *Vinaya-piṭaka*. For remarks on the use of *piṭaka* in the title of the (canonical but probably post-Aśokan) *Cariyā-piṭaka*, see Horner (1975) Cp Preface pp. iii foll.

¹⁵ *Piṭaka-sampadā* and *-sampadāna*, both meaning 'expertise in a tradition' are used in this way of the tradition of learning Vedic mantras (M II 169) and in a

general sense, as in the famous *Kālāma Sutta* (A I 189 foll.) and elsewhere (e.g. M I 520; A II 191 foll.).

¹⁶ For inscriptions, see Lamotte (1958, pp. 163-64, 347-50), where the chronology is not clearly described (see Schopen (1985) pp. 10-11); the word *tipetākī* occurs in the *Parivāra* (Vin V 3), an 'appendix' to the *Vinaya* included in the canon but usually taken to have been produced in Ceylon in the 1st century A.D. The same date is often given for the occurrence of *tepiṭakam buddhavacanam* and *tepiṭako* in the *Milinda-paṭṭha* (pp. 18, 90), although the dating of this text is far from easy: see Horner (1963, pp. xxi foll.), Norman (1983, pp. 110-11).

¹⁷ See Norman (1983, pp. 96-97). Individuals could, of course, become expert in all three branches.

¹⁸ This is perhaps an appropriate place to deal with a well-known, but very problematic text, the passage of the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (D II 123 foll., found also as a separate *sutta* at A I 167 foll.), dealing with the 'Four Appeals to Authority' (*cattāro mahāpadesā*). Here the Buddha is made to say that if a monk claims to have 'heard' (*sutam*) and 'received' (*paṭiggahitam*) from himself, the Saṅgha, a group of monks or a single monk, that 'this is *dhamma*, this is *vinaya*, this is the Teacher's Doctrine' (*satthu sāsanaṃ*), then what he says (*tāni pada-vyañjanāni*) is to be compared with the *Sutta* and *Vinaya*. It is true that, coming at the end of his life, we might be expected to assume that most of these two bodies of Teaching had by then been given; but it strains credulity to imagine that what is in question here is a straightforward checking of one 'text' against a known and fixed body of such texts, collected as the *Sutta*- and *Vinaya-piṭakas*. There would be a logical problem here of self-reference: according to its own criterion, this text itself could not be accepted, since at the time of its utterance it could not yet have been included in such fixed *piṭakas*, as could not all the other texts, including the *Mahāparinibbāna* itself, said to have been composed after the Buddha's death. Perhaps more seriously, it is quite unclear, to me at least, exactly what is the force of the terms I have paraphrased as 'to be compared': *otāretabbāni* and *sandassetabbāni*. Perhaps the most obvious way to take them is in the sense of a general conceptual and practical agreement (in 'spirit' as opposed to 'letter'). This is the way the *Netti-pakarāṇa* (pp. 21-22) interprets the *Sutta*. As the Buddha says elsewhere, 'those things ('doctrines', 'states of mind', *dhamme*) which you know lead to ... *nibbāna* you may preserve (*dhāreyyāsi*) as the *dhamma*, the *vinaya*, the Teacher's Doctrine' (*satthu sāsana*) (A IV 143). (See MacQueen (1981, pp. 314-15) on these texts.) But this leads one immediately to a non-specific, non-historicist interpretation of what *dhamma* and *vinaya* are, which would argue very much against either the existence or the

desirability of a fixed collection of texts. (See further text below, and notes 22-24, discussing Aśoka's edict and A IV 162-66.)

¹⁹ For example, in Buddhaghosa's introduction to the *Samantapasādikā*; but note that he also says here that the *Vinaya-piṭaka* contains material not recited at the First Council (*pathamasāṅgītiyaṃ saṅgītaṃ ca asaṅgītaṃ ca* (Sp 18; cp. Sv 17); see also note 11 above). I suspect that the adjective *tipiṭakin*, when used in commentarial narratives not directly on the subject of the scriptures, often does not refer to those (presumably fairly rare) monks who had actually themselves memorised the entire corpus, but rather to that part of the Order whose allegiance was explicitly to the Mahāvihārin orthodoxy of the *Tipiṭaka*, as opposed both to those who used other texts, and to those ascetics and holy men in the yellow robe whose religious practice, and hence popular appeal, tended not to rely on books and the institutions which housed them, but on broader, less predictable and hence less controllable spiritual achievements. Arguing for this, however, must await another occasion.

²⁰ In writing of this term and its meaning, I have learned most from George Bond's rich and sympathetic treatments (e.g. 1975, 1982), and from MacQueen (1981) and McDermott (1984).

²¹ Examples: *buddhavacana* at Vin IV 54, Th 403 (these seem to be the earliest uses; cf. also Mil 17); *bhagavato vacana* at A IV 163, 164; *buddhabhāsita* at Vin IV 15; *buddhassa sāsana* at Thī 202 et freq., Th 639; *buddhasāsana* at Dh 368, 381; *satthu-sāsana* at Vin I 12, D I 110, etc.; *tathāgata-bhāsita* at S II 267, A I 72.

²² The Bhabrā inscription, cited from Bloch (1950, p. 154).

²³ The quotation is from the *Adhyāśayasamcodana Sūtra*, cited in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (I 15): *yatkimcinmaitreya subhāṣitaṃ sarvaṃ tadbuddhabhāṣitaṃ*. Gomez (87a, see also 87b) provides a lucid overview of the different Buddhist attitudes to 'the Buddha's word', making reference a number of times to the issue of historicist and non-historicist hermeneutical strategies.

²⁴ This is discussed by both MacQueen (1981, p. 314) and McDermott (1984, pp. 28-30).

²⁵ The argument first put forward by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg (1885, pp. xxxii-xxxvi) must, I think, still stand: the *Vinaya* texts give minutely detailed accounts of the daily life of the monkhood, but although writing is certainly known in them, we never read, even obliquely, of monks writing scriptures or reading manuscripts. It is true that, as Gregory Schopen showed in the last volume of this journal (Vol. XIII, 1989), we cannot be sure that because something is not in the Pāli *Vinaya*, it did not exist. All other extant *Vinayas* apart from the Pāli contain rules concerning *stūpas*; but his close reading of

passages from the *Vinaya* itself, as well as from later Pāli and Sinhalese texts, suggests the strong possibility that in fact it did originally contain such rules. In the case of writing, however, none of the extant *Vinayas* describes monks as writing the scriptures, and so despite the fact that the argument is one from silence, and although it was originally based on the Pāli *Vinaya* alone, it has been supported by the discovery of other traditions. Brough (1962, pp. 28-29, 218 foll.) argues for the likelihood of a manuscript tradition of the verses now known as the *Dharmapada* (*Dhammapada*) earlier than the redaction of the Pāli version; although individually the examples of textual relationships he cites to prove 'a very early written transmission' seem to me less than compelling, common sense would suggest that the transition from oral to written would be gradual and piecemeal, rather than sudden and dramatic as the Chronicles' accounts tell us.

²⁶ The most recent brief account is Prebish (1987), with bibliography.

²⁷ The Bhabrā inscription cited above mentions seven texts, of which some have been identified with sections of the last two vaggas of the *Sutta-Nipāta*. See Lamotte (1958, pp. 256-59).

²⁸ Norman (1983, pp. 7-11) is a succinct survey; for a lengthier consideration of the evidence see Norman (1978).

²⁹ This fact renders futile, in my opinion, the work of those scholars who imagine that anything found in the Canon must be grist for the mill of 'early Buddhism', while anything in the commentaries is 'later' and therefore to be ignored in our search for the 'original Buddhism'. The fact is that the same tradition, at the same time and in the same place, has simultaneously preserved for us both the canon as we have it and the commentaries. No doubt, as said earlier (note 5), some judgements of relative chronology can be made on the basis of the internal evidence of these texts; but such judgements are always risky and piecemeal.

³⁰ See Gunawardana (1979, pp. 7-37).

³¹ Three extant texts have been claimed to be Abhayagiri productions: the *Upāliparipucchā-sūtra*, which is said to have replaced the *Parivāra* of the Mahāvihārin *Vinaya* (see Stache-Rosen (1984), pp. 28 foll, with Bechert's Introduction pp. 11 foll., and Norman's review (1985)); and two later texts, the *Vimuttimaggā* (see Norman (1983, pp. 113-14)) and the *Saddhammopāyana* (see Saddhātissa (1965, pp. 32-33, 59-64); Bechert (1976, p. 29 note 2); Norman (1983, pp. 159-60)).

³² With the exception of a reference to an *Uttaravihāra-mahāvamsa* at Mhv-ṭ 134 (and assuming the Uttara-vihāra and the Abhayagiri-vihāra are identical), no texts are attributed directly to the Abhayagiri group in the commentaries. Other

works, including a *vetulla-piṭaka* (variously spelt: see text and note 40 below) are named in commentaries and said to be *abuddha-vacana*: at Sv 566 and Mp III 160 the *Guḷha-vessantara*, *Guḷha-ummagga*, *Guḷha-vinaya*, and *vedalla-piṭaka* are to be rejected since 'they do not conform with the Suttas' (*na sutte otaranti*, a phrase in the *Mahāpadesa Sutta*, here being commented on in both places). Sp 742 and Spk II 201-202 (for the *ṭīkā* on this passage see Cousins (1972, p. 160)) add to these names the *Vaṇṇa-piṭaka*, *Aṅgulimāla-piṭaka*, *Raṭṭhapāla-gajjita*, and *Ālavaka-gajjita*. The *Nikāya-saṃgraha* (Fernando (1908, pp. 9-10)) lists these texts and others, assigns their composition to various schools in India, and says that only some came to Ceylon; these included the *vaitulya piṭaka* which it later says was adopted by the Abhayagirivihāra-vāsins. Adikaram, (1946, pp. 98-100), discusses these texts, and attempts to find versions in Chinese. It may be, as Rāhula suggests (1956, p. 90), that in the later period the term *vaitulya* came to be used in a general way to refer to any 'dissenting views and new interpretations not acceptable to the Mahāvihāra'. The commentary on the *Mahāvamsa* mentions an *Uttaravihāra-aṭṭhakathā* several times: see Geiger (1908, pp. 47 foll.); Malalasekera (1935, vol. 1 pp. lxx-lxxvii). The commentaries often discuss alternative views and interpretations, which may have been those of the Abhayagiri commentaries: see De Silva (1970, vol 1 p. lxxvii foll.); Mori (1988).

³³ The change can be clearly seen by comparing the accounts in the *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa*, written in the 4th and 5th centuries, with those of the *Nikāya-saṃgraha* (in Fernando (1908, p. 10-11)) and *Saddhamma-saṃgaha* (Chapter 6, JPTS (1890) pp. 46-50), written in the 14th.

³⁴ It seems natural to take both *piṭakattayapāliṃ* and *aṭṭhakathāṃ* as governed by *likhāpayum* as well as *ānesum*; and so we have both 'Canon' and Commentary written down for the first time together.

³⁵ Gombrich (1988, p. 152). The commentary to the *Mahāvamsa* (Mhv-ṭ 623) rather surprisingly glosses *hāniṃ* as 'the decline in mindfulness and wisdom of beings whose length of life is diminished in the Kali-age' (or perhaps simply '(that) unlucky time') *kalikāle parihiṇāyukasattānaṃ sati-buddhiparihāniṃ*.

³⁶ The main texts used are Mv XXXIII 37 foll., Mp I 92-93, Vibh-a 445 foll.; the account at Mp I 92-93 uses the name Caṇḍālatisa but seems to be the same story. (See Malalasekera (1938) s.vv. Caṇḍālatisa-mahābhaya and Brahmanatissa-cora.)

³⁷ Both Adikaram and Rāhula give as an example of the threat posed 'during this period' by the famine the statement that only one monk was alive who knew the *Mahāniddesa*. The version of this story in the PTS edition of the *Samantapasādikā* (695-96) indicates the time of the tale simply by saying

mahābhaye. I do not see why this has to be read as 'in the Great Famine', referring specifically to this period; it could just mean 'in a famine' or more simply 'in (a time of) great danger'.

³⁸ The earlier accounts do not mention the place of the writing down of the texts; from the 13th and 14th centuries onward, in the *Pūjāvaliya* and *Nikāya-saṅgraha* (see Norman (1983, p. 11)) and the *Sāra-* or *Sārattha-saṅgaha* (see Jayawickrama (1968, pp. 82-83) and Norman (1983, 173)) arises the tradition, so often found in modern secondary works, that this took place far from the capital at Alu- or Āloka-vihāra near modern Matale in central Ceylon. If this was so, Adikaram (1946, p. 79) may be right to suggest that the location, and the fact that it took place under the patronage of a local chieftain rather than the king, afford further evidence that the development is to be seen in the light of Vattagāmini's patronage of the Abhayagiri monks. This idea is supported by the fact that the *Saddhamma-saṅgaha*, which re-writes the tale by giving the king a leading role in the story, has the 'Council', as it is there called, take place in a hall which he had built specially for the occasion in the Mahāvihāra itself at Anurādhapura (*Saddhamma-s* Chapter 6 p. 48).

³⁹ The *Nikāya-saṅgraha* (Fernando (1908, pp. 12-13)) tells us that in the reign of king Vohārikatissa (269-291) the Abhayagiri monks 'adopted the Vaitulyan Piṭaka' (on this term see text below), and that the king subsequently 'suppressed [this] heresy'. Bechert (1976, pp. 43 foll. and 1977, p. 364) has argued that Mahāyāna literature was written before this time, the only extant example being the *Buddhāpadāna*, written in the 1st or 2nd century and now included in the Pāli canonical text called the *Apadāna*; he does not suggest that this was specifically an Abhayagiri text, however. As was mentioned above (note 32), the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* describes *vaitulya* texts as coming to Ceylon long before the 3rd century.

⁴⁰ In his *Abhidharmasamuccaya* Asaṅga says that the terms *vaipulya*, *vaidalya* and *vaitulya* refer to the same thing, which he also calls the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* (p. 79, cited in Rāhula (1956, p. 89)). (On this term see also Winternitz (1933, pp. 283, 316)). It is unlikely, and unnecessary, that these terms, a number of variants of which occur in the Pāli sources, should have had any more precise denotation than does the general term 'Mahāyāna', which refers not to one or more specific Nikāyas in the Buddhist legal sense, but to a general tendency in Buddhist religion. The classic discussion of 'Mahāyānism in Ceylon' is Paranavitana's article with that title (1928); for recent discussion see Rāhula (1956, pp. 89-90), Norman (1978, pp. 40-41), Bechert (1976) and (1977).

⁴¹ This is perhaps most evident in the *Nikāya-saṅgraha*.

⁴² The best survey of the evidence for Buddhaghosa and his activity is Nānamoli (1975, pp. xv-xxvii).

⁴³ Chapter 37 verses 215-46. Buddhaghosa's own *Visuddhimagga* (p. 96) provides a remarkable story expressing the attitudes he encountered at the Mahāvihāra: a monk called Tipiṭaka-Cūlābhaya, who had not learnt the commentaries (*aṭṭhakathāṃ anuggahetvā*) announced that he would give a public discourse on the scriptures (*paṭṭhacanikāyamaṇḍale tiṇi piṭakāni parivattessāmi*; later he says *pariyattim parivattessāmi* — it is not clear to me whether this refers simply to a recitation of texts or to commentarial discourses on them, or both). The monks tell him that unless he does so according to the understanding of their own teachers (*attano ācariyuggaḥam*) they will not let him speak. He then goes to his Preceptor, who asks for an example: 'how do the teachers say (or 'explain') this passage?' (*idaṃ paḍaṃ kathāṃ vadanti*). Although the monk then gives the passage correctly, his Preceptor simply grunts (*hun ti*); he then gives it twice more, each time differently (*añṇena añṇena pariyāyena*), but his Preceptor merely grunts again, and then explains: 'your first version follows the way of the Teachers, but because you have not learnt it from them in person, you could not establish that it is their version' (*tayā paṭhamam kathito yeva ācariyamaggo, ācariyamukhato pana anuggahitattā evaṃ ācariyā vadanti ti saṇṭhātum nāsakkhi*).

⁴⁴ This parallelism has already been noted and discussed by McDermott (1984).

⁴⁵ Surveys of early historiography in India and Ceylon are found in chapters by Majumdar, Perera, Warder and Godakumbara in Philips (ed.) (1961), Pathak (1966) Chapter 1, Bechert (1969) and Warder (1972, Chapters 3-5).

⁴⁶ See Perera (op. cit. in previous note). Malalgoda (1970, pp. 431-32) has usefully compared this attitude to that of ancient Israel; while there are of course many disanalogies, I might add that this attitude has often been connected with the growth of an historical consciousness in Israel.

⁴⁷ Bechert (1978, p. 1).

⁴⁸ See Geiger (1908, Chapter 2), Norman (1983, pp. 114-18); and note 32 above.

⁴⁹ I am drawing specifically on Goody (1977) Chapter 4, 'What's in a list?', and especially Smith (1982) Chapter 3, 'Sacred Persistence: Toward a Redescription of Canon'. For interesting and relevant remarks on the Judaic and Christian 'canons' see Barr (1983), esp. Chapter 3, 'The concept of canon and its modern adventures'.

⁵⁰ It is not surprising that there are also a number of *vaṃsa* texts devoted wholly or in part to recounting the history of relics and their possession: e.g. the *Dāṭhavaṃsa*, *Thūpavaṃsa*, *Cha-kesa-dhātu-vaṃsa*, *Jina-kāla-māli*.

⁵¹ The term 'scripturalism' was first used in this way by Clifford Geertz (1968), and has been applied to Theravāda by Tambiah (1976) and Bond (1988). I think that this application is very fruitful, but less so when it is generalised to refer to the pre-modern period, as both Tambiah and Bond do. In Theravāda countries, as in the Islam of Indonesia and Morocco described by Geertz, it is most helpful to use the term to refer to a religious attitude arising as a reaction to a wide range of phenomena in the experience of colonialism and modernity: the downgrading of localised supernaturalism, the cultural prestige and practical power of western science, the centralization and bureaucratisation of power, the establishment of a 'secular' educational system, printing presses, and the resulting value placed on literacy. The search for indigenous resources to combat foreign dominance led, amongst other things, to an emphasis on the noble ideals of the early texts: their teachings are abstract and universal as opposed to localised, 'rational' and 'ethical' as opposed to magical, and fit better with the placing of cultural and political authority in the institutions of bureaucracy and education than do the personalised spiritual interactions of localism. This concatenation of phenomena is, of course, specific to the modern world; and the comparative insight which can be gained from using Geertz's term to describe the Buddhist case seems to me to be lost when it is generalised to become an overall category applicable to all historical periods.

⁵² Hence the recurring notion of the need for 'purification' of the Saṅgha by kings. For the influence of Ceylonese Theravāda, in its post-Parakkamabāhu 'unified' form, on mainland Southeast Asia see Keyes (1977, pp. 80-81; 1987, pp. 32-33). One example of the relevance, at least at the level of legend and ideological legitimation, of the possession of the Canon can be found in the story of the introduction of Theravāda to his kingdom by the Burmese King Anuruddha (1044-77). (This is, of course, before Parakkamabāhu I.) As Luce says (1969, pp. 18-19), although the Chronicles 'at first seem hopelessly confused', 'all are agreed that he was a champion of Buddhism, whose main purpose was to secure copies of the Tipiṭaka and Relics of the Buddha'. In the various versions of the story recounted by the *Sāsana-vamsa* (pp. 56-65), for example, the legitimacy knowledge and possession of the Buddha's 'true' teaching, as embodied in the canonical texts, is a central theme, and is opposed to the practices of 'false ascetics'. (This is probably a reference to the practices and influence of the Ari.) Thus the texts, and certain relics, become emblems of orthodoxy, as Bechert's recent summary of the story has it (1984, p. 148): 'The Burmese chronicles report that Anuruddha was converted by a Mon monk called Shin Arahan, but that there were no copies of the holy scriptures and no relics in Pagan. The Mon king refused the Burmese king's request for a copy of the holy

scriptures and some relics. It is unlikely that this was the real reason for war as the texts claim; Anuruddha at any rate conquered Thaton in 1057, took the Mon king captive, and brought him, his family and many monks and skilled workmen to his capital Pagan, together with manuscripts of the sacred scriptures of Theravāda Buddhism. With them Mon culture and Theravāda Buddhism reached the Burmese. The supremacy of the Tantric monks was now broken, and though their doctrine survived for a time, particularly in the border territories of Burma, their influence diminished steadily while orthodox thought soon prevailed in all parts of the country'. The *Sāsana-vamśa* informs us (p. 63) that the king had the relics installed in a jewelled basket and the texts kept in a jewelled palace. There has, naturally, been much discussion of the historical validity of the Chronicles' accounts: See Harvey (1925, pp. 23-34), Luce (1969, Chapter 2), Htin Aung (1970, Chapter 6). It is certain, however, that the Theravāda tradition gradually replaced what we now call 'Mahāyānist' forms of Buddhism: see, for example, Luce (1969, Chapter 10).

⁵³ See Bechert and Hartmann (1988), Kloppenborg (1977), Tiwari (1983).

⁵⁴ Much of this literature is called 'Mahāyānist', although again I doubt the usefulness of the term. To the references given in note 40 for the early phase, add also Mudiyanse (1967, Chapter 2) and Schopen (1982). J.S. Strong's forthcoming work on Upagupta will detail the extensive presence in Southeast Asian ritual and indigenous literature (and at least one text in Pāli: see Denis (1977)) of this figure derived from the Sanskrit Sarvāstivāda tradition. F. Bizot's striking reports from the 'unreformed' Mahānikay monasteries of Cambodia show texts and practices which can without much hesitation be called tantric: see Bizot (1976, 1979, 1981).

⁵⁵ Evidence for this in early 19th century Ceylon can be found in Upham (1833, vol. 3 pp. 167-215, 267), for early 20th century Laos in Finot (1917) (cf. Lafont (1962, p. 395 note 1)), and recently for Thailand by Tambiah (1968). Evidence from catalogues of manuscripts from Ceylon suggests that the contents of the *tipiṭaka* have circulated in the same way as, and alongside, a great deal of other literature; both canonical and non-canonical materials, for example, have often been written in the same manuscript. (See de Zoysa (1875, 1885), Wickremasinghe (1900), Gunasena (1901), de Silva (1938), Godakumbara (1980) Somadasa (1987, 1989)).

Evidence for earlier historical periods may be difficult to collect. But as an example of the kind of evidence we need, I cite a list of four kinds of text mentioned in the commentaries (Ps II 264, Mp V 96-97, identical passages commenting on the same *sutta*). It is said that when young monks do not show special respect for their elders, they do not receive help from them, either

materially, by not being provided with robes, bowl, etc., and not being nursed when weak or ill, or in relation to *dharmā*: the latter is explained as their not being taught *pāṇi vā aṭṭhakathaṃ vā dhammakathābandhaṃ vā guḥhaganthaṃ vā*. It is not certain what either of the latter two terms refers to. Adikaram (1946, p. 98) remarks of the former that 'perhaps it included books that formed the basis of the later *ṭīkā*s [sub-commentaries] or [narrative] works like the *Rasavāhini*'. It might also refer to books containing texts used in preaching, as in the modern Sinhalese *baṇa* books. If so, then like the latter, such compilations would have included canonical and non-canonical material (some of the most famous stories in the Buddhist world, such as that of Kisā-gotamī, being found in commentarial literature). *Guḥhagantha* seems to mean 'secret books'; not surprisingly, perhaps, it is not clear what they were. The lists of 'heretical', *Vaitulya* works cited earlier (note 32) contain titles with *guḥha-* as a prefix; but I think it is unlikely that in the contexts here being discussed, we are dealing with an 'esoteric' literature in the Tantric sense. In the later Pali tradition we find works with *guḥha* in the title, and they seem to be elucidations of difficult passages in the *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma* (see Malalasekera (1938, vol. 1 p. 781, vol. 2 p. 883); Bode (1909, pp. 18, 56)). The *Visuddhimagga* (pp. 115-16) contains a very similar passage, but does not mention *dhammakathābandha*; the commentary (cited in Nāṇamoli (1975, p. 119 note 35)) explains *guḥhagantha* as 'meditation-subject books dealing with the truths, the dependent origination, etc., which are profound and associated with voidness'. So it would seem that *guḥhagantha* in this case refers to a class of sophisticated and technical literature on specialist topics.

⁵⁶ Writing of 'traditional Buddhist culture' in Thailand, Keyes (1987, p. 179) has said that 'three texts — or, more properly, several versions of three texts — define for most Thai Buddhists today, as in traditional Siam, the basic parameters of a Theravadin view of the world': they are the 'Three Worlds according to Phra Ruang' (see Reynolds (1982)), the *Phra Mali* (a 15th century composition based on a Ceylonese story called the *Maleyya-Sutta*), and the *Vessantara-Jātaka*. Only the last of these has a canonical version. This generalisation, he says (p. 181), applies to both popular and elite traditions.

⁵⁷ Interestingly, one of the reasons for the frequent appearance of *Abhidhamma* texts in monasteries in Laos and Cambodia, where the *Vinaya*- and especially the *Sutta-piṭakas* are comparatively infrequent, is the fact that these texts are used for funeral recitation: the seven texts of the *Abhidhamma* collection correspond to the seven days of the week (J.S. Strong, personal communication; cf Bizot (1981, pp. 10 foll.)).

⁵⁸ Thus I think that what Bizot says of Cambodia is true of the whole Theravāda world: 'the term [*tipiṭaka*] refers less to a collection of texts than to an ideological concept' (1976, p. 21).

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KHANDHAKAVATTA

Loss of text in the Pāli Vinayapiṭaka ?

In a recent issue of this journal (*JPTS* XIII, 1989, pp. 83–100) G. Schopen has drawn attention again to the fact that no rules are prescribed in the Khandhaka of the Theravāda Vinaya regulating the veneration of *stūpas*. This has been pointed out earlier, as Schopen recalls, by A. Bareau in 1960 and again by G. Roth in 1980. The explanation given by both these scholars is that the Theravāda Vinaya reflects a very early stage of the development of Buddhist ecclesiastical law, when there was no need felt for the respective regulations, or, alternatively, that it had been the concern of laymen rather than monks to care for *stūpas*. In the end both interpretations may complement each other: for during the early times of Buddhism monks may have left matters of worship to laymen.

Now Schopen has traced two passages, one from the Visuddhimagga, the other from the Mahā-Parākramabāhu-Katikāvata formulated during the 12th century, where rules for the conduct towards *stūpas* are, in fact, mentioned. The word used for “conduct” here is *vatta* < Skt *vr̥tta* or < Skt *vrata* “duty”, as both words, which are semantically near to each other may have been confused in Pāli perhaps, also possibly due to the likely orthographic reform introducing double consonants.¹ At the same time the word *khandhakavatta* occurs in these very rules, which, consequently, seem to have been based on the Vattakkhandhaka, the eighth chapter of the Cullavagga, Vin II 207–235. This has been assumed universally by modern Pāli scholars, as Schopen correctly states.

¹ O.v. Hinüber: *Der Beginn der Schrift und frühe Schriftlichkeit in Indien*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1989, Nr. 11. Stuttgart 1989: chapter XIII. Die Orthographie der ersten Aufzeichnung des Theravāda-Kanons, pp. 63–66.

However, Schopen seems to be the first who has cared to compare the relevant text of the Visuddhimagga:

avasesāni pi cetiyaṅgaṇavatta-bodhiyaṅgaṇavatta-uposathāgāra-vatta-bhojana-sālā-jantāghara-ācariya-upajjhāya-āgantuka-gamikavattād-īni sabbāni khandhakavattāni pūretabbān' eva, Vism HOS VI § 60 = 153,27–31 = PTS 188,5–9.

to the corresponding Vinaya passage, where nothing is said about a *cetiyaṅgaṇavatta*, on which Schopen concentrates, nor about a *bodhiyaṅgaṇavatta*, as mentioned in passing by Schopen (JPTS XIII, 1989, p. 88 note 15), nor about *uposathāgāra* and *bhojanasālāvatta*, which are not discussed at all. This result makes Schopen argue with all necessary and very much commendable caution that there might be a gap in the Theravāda Vinaya as we read it today, because the rules concerning *stūpas*, etc., (pp. 94, 98) still known in 12th century Ceylon, could have dropped out in the course of the text tradition as did, of course, if this assumption is correct, those concerning the *bodhi* tree, the *uposatha* house, and the refectory (*bhojanasālā*), if one does not prefer to consider the latter word as simply replacing canonical *bhattacha(vatta)*, cf. Vin II 212,36–215,4.

If all this is correct, we have to reckon with a considerable loss of text at an early date, perhaps even before the composition of the Samantapāsādikā, where no such rules about *stūpas* are commented on in the Vattakkhandhaka (Sp 1280,35–1286,27), and not, as Schopen seems to be inclined to believe, although with reservations (p. 93), only after the 12th century. The far reaching consequences for the evaluation of the whole Theravāda tradition are so very obvious that a second look at the relevant Vinaya texts does not seem to be totally out of place. For, as far as my knowledge goes, the only gap traced so far in a text of the Theravāda tradition was observed long ago by H. Oldenberg in the

Aggaññasutta of the Dīghanikāya, where a few lines are missing.² This, however, is only of minor importance compared to the loss of a complete set of Vinaya rules.

The first crucial point duly discussed by Schopen is whether or not the *khandhakavatta* mentioned in the Visuddhimagga and in the Katikāvata really refer to the corresponding chapter in the Cullavagga. As Schopen emphasises, not only modern European scholars were of the opinion, but also the Sinhala Vinaya expert Sāriputta, author of the Sāratthadīpanī (Sp-ī), a 12th century subcommentary on the Samantapāsādikā, and contemporary with the Katikāvata referred to, “specifically identified” (p. 85) the *khandhakavatta* with those rules given in the Vinayapiṭaka. Although this is no doubt correct, it seems to be worth while having a look at what Sāriputta really has to say. As the respective text may not be easily available everywhere, the passage is quoted here in full and accompanied by a translation:

cuddasa khandhakavattāni nāma vattakkhandhake vuttāni āgantuka-vattaṃ āvāsika-gamika-anumodana-bhaddagga-piṇḍacārika-āraññika-senāsana-jantāghara-vaccakuṭi-upajjhāya-saddhivihārika-ācariya-antevāsika-vattaṃ ti imāni cuddasa vattāni. tato aññāni pana kadāci tajjanīyakammakatādikāle yeva caritabbāni dve-asīti mahāvattāni. na sabbāsu avatthāsu caritabbāni. tasmā cuddassa khandhakavattesu agañitāni. tāni pana “pārivāsikānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ vattaṃ paññāpessāmī” ti ārabhitvā “na upasampādetabbāṃ. pa. na chamāyaṃ caṅkamante caṅkame caṅkamitabbāṃ” ti vuttāvasānāni chasaṭṭhi. tato pana “na bhikkhave pārivāsikena bhikkhunā pārivāsikavuḍḍhatarena bhikkhunā saddhiṃ, mūlāyapaṭikassanārahena, mānattārahena, mānattacārikena, abbhānārahena bhikkhunā saddhiṃ ekacchanne āvāse vatthabban” ti-

² H. Oldenberg: *Studien zum Mahāvastu*, 1912 = *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden 1967, II 1037–68, p. 1045 (131) note 1. The gap traced by Oldenberg in Ee and Se is confirmed today also by Ce (1929) and Be (1956). As the text lost is not commented on (Sv 868,33–869,1), the gap may be older than the final redaction of the Sumaṅgalavilāsini.

ādinā vuttavattāni pakatattacaritabbehi anaññattā visum agañetvā pārivāsikavuḍḍhatarādīsū puggalantaresu caritabbattā tesam vasena sampiṇdetvā ekekaṃ katvā gaṇitāni pañcāhi ekasattati vattāni, ukkhepanīyakammakatavattesu vuttam “na pakatattassa bhikkhuno abhivādanam paccuṭṭhānam. pa. nahāne piṭṭhiparikammaṃ sādītabbam” ti idaṃ abhivādanādīnam asādiyanam ekaṃ, “na pakatatto bhikkhu sīlavipattiyā anuddhamsetabbo” ti-ādīni ca dasāhi evam etāni dvāsīti vattāni. etesv eva pana kadāci tajjanīyakammādivattāni, kadāci pārivāsikādivattāni aggahitaggahaṇena dvāsīti eva. aññattha pana aṭṭhakathāpadese appakaṃ ūnam adhikaṃ vā gaṇanūpagaṃ na hoti ti “asīti khandhakavattāni” ti vuttam, Sp-ṭ Be II 35,11–36,2 (on Sp 225,27) = Sp-ṭ Be II 198,22–199,13 (on Sp 415,27) ≠ Ps Be III 16,9–29 (on Ps III 30,12).³

“Fourteen *khandhakavatta* (Sp 225,27)”: Duties prescribed in the Vattakkhandhaka that is the duties concerning incoming monks, resident monks, leaving monks, thanks giving, the refectory, walking for alms food, living in the forest, lodgings, baths, privy, preceptors, companions, teachers, pupils. These are fourteen duties. In addition there are other “82 great duties” (Sp 225,28), which have to be observed occasionally, namely at the time, when a *tajjanīyakamma*, etc., has been committed. They must not be observed at all stages (of monkhood). Therefore they are not counted among the 14 *khandhaka*-duties. These, beginning with “I shall prescribe the duties for monks under probation” (Vin II 31,26), and ending with “He should not ordain (Vin II 32,2), etc., he should not pace up and down in a place for pacing up and down if he is pacing up and down on the ground” (Vin II 33,22), are 66; furthermore, “Monks, a monk under probation should not stay in residence under a common roof with a senior monk under probation, deserving to be sent

³ Older editions of Sp-ṭ are listed in: H. Smith: Epilegomena to V. Trenckner : A *Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Volume I, Copenhagen 1948, 1.2,12. An edition in Siamese characters was printed in Bangkok 1931/32.

back to the beginning, deserving *mānatta*, undergoing *mānatta*, deserving rehabilitation" (Vin II 33,22-27), etc. (These) duties prescribed (in the Vinaya) are not counted individually, because they are not different from those to be kept in respect to regular monks, (and) they have been combined and abbreviated in respect to different individuals, namely senior monks under probation etc. with whom they must be kept. If each is counted as one, they are five, (and altogether then) 71 (that is: 66 + 5) duties. Among the duties for those, who have committed an offence leading to suspension it is said: "He should not consent to a regular monk's greeting him, standing up before him, etc., treating his back by massage in a bath" (Vin II 22,20-23). This not consenting to greeting, etc., (is counted as) one. And: "He should not defame a regular monk with falling away from moral habit" (Vin II 20,23 foll.), etc., (are) 10. Thus there are 82 duties. Among these (82) sometimes the duties concerning *tajjanīyakamma*, etc., sometimes the duties concerning probationers, etc., (are to be followed). By apprehension of what is (implicitly) included there are exactly 82. Elsewhere in the *Aṭṭhakathā* it is said: "80 *khandhaka*-duties"⁴ with the intention that not even a little less or too much should be counted."

In spite of the long enumeration and thorough discussion of the *khandhakavatta* and their relation to the Vinayaṭṭhaka, *cetiyaṅgaṇavatta*, etc., are not referred to, and no room seems to be left to include them here in Sāriputta's reasoning by any means of interpretation.

This negative evidence is fully confirmed by passages from the *Aṭṭhakathā*:

ekacco hi vattasampanno hoti: tassa dve-asīti khuddaka(= Ne)vattāni; cuddasa mahāvattāni; cetiyaṅgaṇa-bodhiyaṅgaṇa-

⁴ This may refer to: *aggahitaggahanena ganiyamānāni asīti khandhakavattāni nāma honti*, Vjb Be 1956, 535,18 on the Vattakkhandhaka. Here, too, the 14 *khandhakavattas* are enumerated as in Sp-ṭ.

bodhiyaṅgaṇa-pāṇiyamāla-uposathāgāra-āgantuka-gamika-vattāni ca karontassa ..., Mp I 30,11–14 = Vibh-a 297,4–7.

Here, *cetiyaṅgaṇavatta*, etc., are clearly distinguished as a class of their own with no immediate connection to the Vinayaṭṭaka. In contrast to Sāriputta's reckoning quoted above, the 14 duties of the Vattakkhandhaka are called "great duties" here and at Sp 415,28, while elsewhere as at Sp 225,27 there are 84 *mahāvatta* in accordance with Sāriputta's opinion. If the duties prescribed in the Vinayaṭṭaka are the *mahāvatta*, then it makes good sense to change *khandhaka* into *khuddaka* as in Vibh-a and in part of the Mp-tradition.⁵

Further the Vinaya handbooks such as Vin-vn, verses 2914 foll., count 14 *khandhakavatta* in accordance with the Vinayaṭṭaka, which again shows that this is a well defined set of rules. In the Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayaśaṅgaha (Pālim Be 1956, 233,2–4) only 11 rules are enumerated, and *anumodana*, *saddhivihārika*, and *antevāsika* are left out. They are, however, duly supplied in the commentary (Pālim-ṭ Be 1977, II 1,11). All these texts do not mention any duties concerning *cetiya*s, *bodhi* tree, etc.

On the other hand the *cetiyaṅgaṇavatta*, etc., are clearly distinguished from those mentioned in the Vinayaṭṭaka. For, when commenting on:

cetiyaṅgaṇavattādiśītimahāvattapaṭipattipūraṇaṃ, Ps III 30,12,

⁵ The variant *khuddaka* is also found in two old Pāli manuscripts from North Thailand kept in the library of the Siam Society, Bangkok (cf. O. von Hinüber, *Journal of the Siam Society*, 75, 1987, pp. 9–74): No. 55 Manorathapūraṇī (copied AD 1531/1532) fasc. (*phūk*) 2, folio *gu* a 5: *dve-asīti khuddakavattāni cuddasa vattāni* (sic !): here °*bodhiyaṅgaṇa*° is omitted as well; No. 59 Sammohavinodanī (undated, 16th century) fasc. (*phūk*) 14, folio *laṃ* a 3: *dve-asīti khuddakavattāni cetiy*°, where *cuddasa mahāvattāni* is omitted.

it is said:

cetiyaṅgaṇavattādī ti ādisaddena bodhiyaṅgaṇavattādīni saṅgaṇhāti. asītimahāvattapaṭipūraṇaṇa ti ... tattha mahāvattāni nāma vattakkhandhake vuttāni āgantukavattaṃ, Ps-pt Be III 16,8–9,

which again shows that the canonical and the non-canonical sets of duties are kept well apart. Thus there can be hardly any doubt that from the time of Buddhaghosa and his Visuddhimagga, at the latest, onwards, the Theravāda tradition did not know of a canonical Vinaya text containing duties concerning *cetiya*s or *bodhi* trees, nor are there any traces of an opinion held by legal experts ascribing those rules to the Vinayapiṭaka. For the 14 *khandhakavatta* enumerated and defined in the commentaries always fully agree with the extant Vinayapiṭaka.

Still the fact remains that a set of duties going beyond the Vinayapiṭaka is found at the commentarial level. The list found in the Visuddhimagga and quoted by Schopen comprises the following 9 items: 1. *cetiyaṅgaṇa*, 2. *bodhiyaṅgaṇa*, 3. *uposathāgāra*, 4. *bhojanasālā*, 5. *jantāghara*, 6. *ācariya*, 7. *upajjhāya*, 8. *āgantuka*, 9. *gamika*. Thus this is the most comprehensive list of these *vattas* met with so far in the commentaries. Elsewhere similar lists occur without any fixed order or number of duties such as the one quoted above from the Manorathapūraṇī and the Sammohavinodanī (Vibh-a) with 6 items, a further list in Dh-p-a I 379,15–18, where *bodhiyaṅgaṇa* is missing, or:

tassa hi cetiyaṅgaṇabodhiyaṅgaṇavattaṃ katam eva hoti, upajjhāyavatta-ācariyavattādīni sabbavattāni pūreti, Sv 529,31–33.

These four duties arranged in the same order and followed by *jantāghara* and *uposathāgāra* are named in Sp 415,25–27.

As the duties concerning *cetiya* and *bodhi* tree, which usually stand side by side, are not defined in the Vinayapiṭaka, it is necessary to search in the commentaries to find out what they actually are. This is

stated *ex negativo* in a passage dealing with those who do not pay respect to a Buddha:

yo buddhe dharamāne upaṭṭhānaṃ na gacchati, parinibbute cetiyaṭṭhānaṃ bodhiṭṭhānaṃ na gacchati, cetiyaṃ vā bodhiṃ vā na vandati cetiyaṅgaṇe sacchatto sa-upāhano carati, Sp 1315,8–11.

“Who does not, while a Buddha is living, attend to him, and, when he has entered Nirvāṇa, does not visit a place where there is a *cetiya* or a *bodhi* tree (cf. DN II 140,17–30 = AN II 120,24–34), does not venerate a *cetiya* or a *bodhi* tree, walks in the courtyard of a *cetiya* holding an umbrella and wearing shoes.” Further details are found in the commentary on the passage from the Mahāparinibbānasutta (DN II 141,9) just mentioned:

cetiyaacārikaṃ āhiṇḍantā ti tattha tattha cetiyaṅgaṇaṃ sammajantā āsanāni dhovantā bodhimhi udakaṃ āsiṇcantā āhiṇḍanti, tesu vattabham eva n’ atthi. asukavihāre cetiyaṃ vandissāmā ti ..., Sv 582,20–23.

“Wandering about to visit *cetiyas* means: they walk around everywhere sweeping the courtyard of a *cetiya*, washing the seats and watering a *bodhi* tree; with them there is no fault. Thinking: ‘In that monastery we shall venerate a *cetiya*’”

Sweeping is indeed the usual duty referred to:

kāyena karaṇakammaṃ paññāyati cetiyaṅgaṇasammajjana-bodhiyaṅgaṇa-sammajjana-abhikkamana-paṭikkamana-vattānuvatta-karaṇan ti, Mp III 146,18–20.

“He knows the deed to be done by the body: all sorts of duties such as sweeping the courtyard of a *cetiya*, sweeping the courtyard of a

bodhi tree, or concerning the arrival and departure (from a monastery).” Again sweeping is mentioned at Ps I 259,9 = Pj II 57,16 or:

yassa pāto vuṭṭhāya cetiyaṅgaṇavattādīni sabbavattāni katān’ eva, Mp-ṭ Be II 325,3.

“By whom all duties such as the duty concerning the courtyard are done, after he has got up in the morning”, cf. also Ja I 449,21–25, where a more popular view on these duties is expressed. The duty to sweep a courtyard is also required as one of the four duties in respect to an *uposathāgāra*: *sammajjitum*, Vin I 118,5 “to sweep”, *āsanam paññāpetum*, Vin I 118,16 “to prepare a seat”, *padīpam kātum*, Vin I 118,26 “to provide a lamp”, *pāniyam paribhojaniyam upaṭṭhāpetum*, Vin I 119,1 “to supply drinking water”. These, however, are not included in any passage of the Vattakkhandhaka.

Although *bhojanasālāvatta* at a first glance may simply continue and replace the older technical term *bhattaggavatta* — *bhojanasālā* does not seem to occur in canonical Pāli as far as the lexicographical aids available can be trusted — a passage in the Samantapāsādikā shows that this is not necessarily so:

cetiyaṅgane sammajjaniṃ gahetvā bhojanasālaṅgaṇam vā uposathāgāraṅgaṇam vā pariveṇadivāṭhāna-aggisālādīsu vā aññataram sammajjitvā dhovitvā puna sammajjanimālake ṭhapetabbā, Sp 773,14–17.

“Having taken up a broom in the courtyard of a *cetiya*, having swept and scrubbed the courtyard of a *bhojanasālā*, an *uposathāgāra*, or a cell, a day-room or a fire-room, etc., respectively, it must be put back into the broom-cupboard.”⁶ In the Vinayapiṭaka itself, sweeping is not

⁶ This passage adds a further *vatta*: *āsanasālam sammajjantena vattam jānitabbam. tatridam vattam: majjhato paṭṭhāya pādattānābhimukhā vālikā haritabbā, kacavaram hatthehi gahetvā bhi chaddetabbam*, Sp 773,28–31 “if he sweeps the sitting room, he must know the procedure. This is the procedure

included in the *bhattaggavatta*, which only regulates the correct behaviour when participating in a meal, and it may have found its place within the duties in the *bhojanasālā* by expansion of those required in the *uposathāgāra*.

All this, the enlargement and the transformation of the list of *vattas*, comprising some of those also included in the *Vattakkhandhaka* and at the same time excluding others, clearly shows that the differences between what is said in the *Vinayapiṭaka* and in the commentaries are not due to a loss of text from the Theravāda Vinaya tradition, but to the development of ecclesiastical law during a period of certainly more than half a millennium. This may be observed very well when comparing the canonical and the post-canonical passages e.g. on *gamikānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ vattaṃ*:

Vin II 211,21–31:

*dārubhaṇḍaṃ mattikābhaṇḍaṃ
paṭisāmetvā dvāravātapānaṃ
thaketvā senāsanāṃ āpucchā
pakkamitabbaṃ ...*

*sace vihāro ovassati sace ussahati
chādetabbo ussukaṃ vā
kātabbaṃ kin ti nu kho vihāro
chādiyethā ti.*

Sp 777,21–25:

*dārubhaṇḍaṃ mattikābhaṇḍaṃ
paṭisāmetvā dvāravātapāṇāni
pidahitvā gamiyavattaṃ pūretvā
gantabbaṃ.*

*sace pana senāsanāṃ ovassati
chādanatthaṃ ca tiṇaṃ vā iṭṭhakā
vā ānītā honti sace ussahati
chādetabbaṃ, etc.*

Here again words are changed such as *pidahitvā* in the commentary against *thaketvā* in the *Vinayapiṭaka* in the same way as *bhojanasālā* replaces *bhattagga*, or *abhikkamana*: *paṭikkamana* stands for canonical *āgantuka*: *gamika* in Mp II 146 quoted above. Further the very basic rules

here: beginning in the middle he should collect the dust towards the skirting board and throw the rubbish out with his hands." This, at the same time, shows that it is not always easy to distinguish between *vatta* "duty" and "conduct, procedure".

for protecting furniture of a monastery given in the Vinayapiṭaka are expanded and explained in much greater detail meeting the needs of a more developed life style of Buddhist monks. Another example for the development of Vinaya rules are the very detailed *āgantuka-* and *āvāsika-vatthus* relating to dwelling places during the rainy season found only in Sp 1226,1–1235,23, and thus expanding the Vassupāṇiyakakkhandhaka, Vin I 137–156. In spite of this there is again no need at all to postulate any loss of text. For the ecclesiastical law continued to develop until present times, the Vinayapiṭaka being used only as a point of reference also for modern books such as Vajirañāṇavarorasa's "Entrance to the Vinaya (Vinayamukha)", which originally appeared between 1916 and 1921 in Bangkok, to name only one example.

Already at the time when the Samantapāsādikā was composed, there was, and most probably had been for centuries, a lively discussion on Vinaya rules within the Theravāda tradition with different views being accepted or rejected, e.g.:

Andhakaṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana ... bhāsitaṃ taṃ dubbhāsitaṃ, Sp 697,17–19,

or:

Andhakaṭṭhakathāyaṃ pana ... ti vuttaṃ. taṃ n' eva aṭṭha-kathāyaṃ na pāḷiyā vuttaṃ, tasmā na gahetabbam, Sp 1069,19–22.

Going even beyond the Vinayapiṭaka was not altogether unacceptable as the principle of *pāḷimuttaka-vinicchaya*, Sp VIII 1591a, 17 foll., shows.

Therefore there is no reason to doubt the completeness of the text as read in the Theravāda Vinaya, if slightly different opinions or even modified, if not entirely new, rules not traceable in any canonical text surface only in the commentaries. These are problems concerning exclusively the vast and largely unexplored field of the development of

Buddhist law, and not the text tradition. Consequently the astonishing fact pointed out again by Schopen remains that not much is found in the Theravāda Vinaya about duties in respect of *cetiyas*, in complete contradistinction to the Vinayas of other schools. Whatever the ultimate explanation of this evidence may be, there is certainly no loss of text involved, and the doubts and reservations expressed by Schopen himself against his own views, proffered only tentatively, prove to be fully justified.

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A NOTE ON AMBAPĀLĪ'S WIT

The *Therīgāthā* contains a justly famous poem attributed to Ambapālī, verses 252–70. The former courtesan describes the wrack of her beauty in old age; each of the nineteen verses in turn describes the decay of a physical feature, moving down from the hair of her head in the first verse to her feet in the eighteenth.

The last verse (270) reads:

*edisō ahu ayaṃ samussayo jajjaro bahudukkhānam ālayo
so 'palepapatito jarāgharo saccavādivacanāṃ anaññathā.*

It seems to have escaped the attention of commentators and translators that this contains an excellent pun. Her body, which used to have all the beauties described at the beginning of each of the previous verses, is now compared in its entirety to a house in ruinous condition, “with its plaster fallen off”, as Norman translates. He discusses the phrase and cites the commentary in his note on the verse.¹ There is some doubt about the text of the commentary itself, but it is clear both that the commentary saw two ways of construing the phrase and that it took the metaphor of plaster as referring to *abhisamkhāra*, which I understand to mean the store of good *kamma*: the commentator is saying that Ambapālī's luck has run out. I may have misunderstood *abhisamkhāra*; but certainly the commentator has not seen the pun I am about to point out, and that is probably because he did not understand the *p/v* alternation. Norman in his note refers to that alternation and sees that *apalepa* is a phonetic variant for *avalepa*, but draws no conclusion from that fact.

Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* gives for *avalepa* a meaning “pride, haughtiness” — such as a woman might have in her beauty. So *apalepa-patito* means “pride-fallen”. The primary meaning, I suggest, is that her beauty has fallen *from* its proud condition, but the

¹ K.R. Norman, *Elders' Verses* II, London 1971, p. 119.

compound leaves open the implication that it has also fallen *because* of pride; the ambiguity is richly poetic. This pun may also explain why in the metaphor the house is said to be *apalepa-patito* rather than *patitâpalepo*, as one might expect in a *bahubbîhi*.

“Such was this body. A crumbling home of many sufferings, it is a decayed mansion shedding the pride of its plaster. Unfailing is the word of the Truthful.”

Oxford

Richard Gombrich

MAKING MOUNTAINS WITHOUT MOLEHILLS: THE CASE OF THE MISSING STŪPA

Those who share my admiration for the contribution that Professor Gregory Schopen has been making in recent years to the study of early Buddhist history will have shared also my excitement at seeing that he had contributed an article to a recent number of this journal. *The Stūpa cult and the extant Pāli Vinaya* (JPTS XIII, 83–100) tells an exciting tale of doctored texts, perhaps monastic censorship. But alas, it turns out to be much ado about nothing.

The article begins: “One of the more curious things about the Pāli *Vinaya* as we have it is that it contains no rules governing the behaviour of monks in regard to *stūpas*.” One of the more curious things about the article (as we have it) is that it goes on to cite several passages in the *Vibhaṅga* section of the Pāli *Vinaya* which do refer to stupas, including a reference to their worship (p. 92). What Schopen means, it soon turns out, is that there are no references to the construction and cult of stupas in the other main part of the Pāli *Vinaya*, the *Khandhaka*. As Bareau pointed out,¹ all the parallel versions of this part of the *Vinaya* which are preserved in other languages do contain such details.

Schopen bases his exciting hypothesis on the claim that a twelfth-century Sinhala inscription, the *Mahā-Parākramabāhu katikāvata*, says that a monk’s duties towards stupas are mentioned in the *Khandhaka* — but they are not. This is the molehill which he elevates to the mountain of systematic monastic censorship. But there is not even such a molehill: unfortunately his case rests on a simple mis-translation. The inscription describes daily monastic routine and says that each morning monks should perform two sets of duties: “both the duties towards stupa,

¹ André Bareau, “La construction et le culte des stūpa d’après les *Vinaya-piṭaka*”, *Bulletin de l’école française d’extrême orient*, L, 1962 (not 1960 as cited by Schopen), 229–74.

towards stupa, great Bo tree and courtyard and the *Khandhaka* duties such as those towards teachers, elders, the sick and lodgings." This makes it clear precisely that the first set of duties is *not* specified in the *Khandhaka*. The translators Schopen relies on have missed the word *du* "and" (derived from Sanskrit *ca*), which occurs twice in the passage: ... *āṅgaṇa-vatu-du* ... *kandu-vatu-du*.

We are thus spared the problem of guessing why all references to the stupa have gone missing from the text of the *Khandhaka* between the twelfth century and modern times. Schopen says that "any discomfiture with monastic participation in *stūpa* or relic cult activity is distinctly modern" (p. 96); I have not come across such discomfiture. Similarly, I am not aware that Buddhists have ever understood the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* to prohibit monastic participation in the cult of stupas. Schopen refers (p. 95) to a "purported prohibition" but does not say who has purported. Schopen's claim that some people have attributed an anti-stupa ideology to Theravāda Buddhism seems to be based on an article by Gustav Roth (cited on p. 83); maybe he is also referring to remarks in the cited article by Bareau.

Schopen and I would agree that such an anti-stupa ideology would be extremely odd. Small stupas (closer to molehills than to mountains) cover the ashes of monks in Sri Lanka to this day. I have always assumed that this practice must go back to the very beginnings of Buddhism; that the stupa originates as a tumulus over the ashes of a monk or nun, in direct continuation of Vedic burial practices (*saṃcayana*).²

I would therefore more or less agree with Bareau's suggestion, which Schopen sets out to refute, that the absence from the Pali *Khandhaka* of some things which are in parallel texts "results from the relatively early date of the 'closing' of its compilation" (p. 83). The fact

² This idea is hardly new, but I have been hoping to find the time to explore it a bit further in collaboration with Dr Gillian Evison, whose D.Phil. thesis (Oxford 1989) on Hindu death rituals includes thought-provoking material on Vedic funeral customs and their later development.

that these details about stupa construction and worship occur in the miscellaneous section of the text, the *Kṣudraka-vastu*, which is the most diverse between versions and evidently the most open to accretion, strengthens this hypothesis.

I do not however entirely agree with the conclusions to Bareau's learned and informative article. As already mentioned, I agree with Schopen in seeing no need to posit a lay origin for the stupa cult. But there is a further point. Bareau says that most of the descriptions he has cited "refer to a state of affairs in the last two or three centuries B.C." (p. 268) (my translation). But so far as I can discover (and I am no expert on Chinese Buddhism) the earliest date we have for any of the *Vinaya* texts he uses is the early 5th century A.D., the date of translations into Chinese. So the texts could well be describing developments in India after the turn of the Christian era. The Pali *Vinaya*, on the other hand, is plausibly recorded to have been written down in Sri Lanka in the first century B.C. — nearly half a millenium before those Chinese translations. One does not have to posit that it received no further additions after the first century B.C., merely that the Pali tradition had left the mainstream and naturally failed to record later developments on the Indian mainland.

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SEVEN PĀLI ETYMOLOGIES

Here is another random collection of words which are either omitted from PED,² or given an incorrect meaning or etymology there.

1. *āharitā* "having brought"
2. *chandaso* "willingly"
3. *vāc'-uggata* "learnt orally"
4. *vyasanna* "sunk down"
5. *vyamhita* "frightened"
6. *sīhavasā* "lion's oil"
7. *Sugata/Tathāgata* "Buddha"

1. *āharitā* "having brought"

At Ja III 399,2* Be and Ee read *iminā sakuṇajātena bījam āharitā hatā* "[The trees] are destroyed by birds which have brought a seed". Ce and Se read *āharitvā*, which is unmetrical in the cadence of a śloka pāda. The cty states: *bījam āharitā ti bījaṃ āharitvā* (399,12'), and the reading of Ce and Se is probably the gloss which has been taken over into the text by scribes who did not understand the reading.

¹ See K.R. Norman, "Pāli Lexicographical Studies VII", in *JPTS*, XIV, pp. 219–25.

² Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenckner: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924–48 (= CPD). In addition: Be = Burmese edition; Ce = Sinhalese edition; Ee = European (i.e. PTS, unless otherwise stated) edition; Se = Siamese edition; PTS = Pali Text Society; PED = PTS's *Pali-English Dictionary*; BD = *Book of the Discipline*; cty = commentary; Ms. = manuscript.

CPD (s.v. *āharati*) suggests reading *āhariyā*, which would represent the absolutive *āhariya* with lengthening of the final *-a* to *-ā*. There is, however, no obvious reason for such a lengthening, since it is not required metri causa. Moreover, CPD's suggestion seems to be a conjecture with no authority in any of the manuscript traditions. In view of the existence of absolutives in *-tā* metri causa,³ it seems very likely that we should accept the reading *-tā*, and surmise that this represents a simplification of the geminate consonant *-tt-* in the old pre-Pāli absolutive ending *-ttā*, to produce a short *-i-* where the metre requires it.

2. *chandaso* "willingly"

When dealing with the phrase *buddhavacanaṃ chandaso āropema* (Vin II 139,8) elsewhere,⁴ I suggested that *chandaso* did not mean "into verse, into metre, into Vedic" as had been proposed by other scholars, but should rather be connected with the word *chanda* "will, desire". I could not quote a canonical usage of the word in this sense, but I quoted the sentence *tesaṃ tesaṃ samaṇabrāhmaṇānaṃ chandaso paṭiññāyamānaṃ vohāramattaṃ ev' etaṃ* from Thī-a 64,24 (ad Thī 57).

In Bhikkhunīpātimokkha (Pārājikā dhammā I.1) No. 1,⁵ which is quoted at Sp 1302,32–34, we find: *yā pana bhikkhunī chandaso methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭiseveyya antamaso tiracchānagatāya pi, pārājikā hoti asaṃvāsā*. As Miss Horner points out,⁶ this is the same as the first pārājika rule for bhikkhus, except that the bhikkhus' rule (Vin III 22,33) omits the word *chandaso*. The word is explained in the cty on the Bhikkhunīpātimokkha: *tattha chandaso ti methunarāgapatiṣaṃyuttena chandena c' eva ruciya ca, chande pana asati balakkārena padhaṃsitāya*

³ See K.R. Norman, "Pāli Lexicographical Studies III", *JPTS* X, 1985, pp. 32–35.

⁴ K.R. Norman, "MIA Studies VIII", *JOI(B)* XX, 1971, pp. 329–36.

⁵ See R.D. Vadekar, *Pātimokkha*, Poona 1939, p. 27.

⁶ See I.B. Horner, *BD*, VI p. 3 n. 4.

anāpatti, Kkh 157,10–12. It also occurs in the exegesis of this explanation: *tilaphalamattam pi padesaṃ chandaso paveseti*, 157,18.

The Sanskrit Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya⁷ also includes the word. It gives the rule in the form: *yā puna bhikṣuṇī chandaso maithunaṃ grāmyaṃ dharmam pratiṣeviyā antamasato tiryagyonigata(gatena) pi sārdaṃ iyaṃ bhikṣuṇī pārājikā bhavaty asaṃvāsyāḥ(syā)* (§ 114).

As I explained in my earlier article, *chandaso* would then be an example of the suffix *-so < -śas* added to the word *chanda*, and is not to be confused with *chandaso* = gen. sg. of *chanda(s)* “metre”, e.g. *savitti chandaso mukhaṃ*, Sn 568 (*vede sajjhāyante hi paṭhamam ajjhetabbato savitti chandaso mukhaṃ*, Pj II 456,21 = Ps III 406,24). For other usages of *chanda* in the sense of metre, cf. *atītakālikānam pi hi chandasi vattamānavacanaṃ akkharacintakā icchanti*, Pj II 16,24 (ad Sn 2 “*udacchidā*”); *chandavasena c’ ettha dīghaṃ katvā ca-kāram āha, samsuddhacaraṇo ti attho*, Pj II 205,25 (ad Sn 162 “*cāraṇo*”); *chando nidānaṃ gāthānaṃ*, S I 38,21 (glossed: *gāyattī-ādiko chando gāthānaṃ nidānaṃ*, Spk I 94,21–22); *chandavasena rassaṃ katvā*, Pj II 402,27 (ad Sn 455 “*manta*”). At Vv-a 265,14 *chandoviciti* is used specifically of one of the six *vedāṅgas* (= Sanskrit *chandoviciti*); in the corresponding list at Pv-a 97,28 it appears as *chanda*. If, therefore, we reject the suggestion that *chandaso* is to be taken from *chanda* “will”, then it would appear from the Pāli uses of *chanda* that it means “metre” rather than “Vedic language”.

3. *vāc’-uggata* “learnt orally”

This compound occurs in a number of places in the commentarial and later literature: *suppavattī ti sutṭhu pavattaṃ paguṇaṃ*

⁷ G. Roth, *Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya: Manual of discipline for Buddhist nuns*, Patna 1970.

~am suvinicchitam, Sp 234,10 (~an ti vācāya uggatam; tattha nirantaram
 ʔhitan ti attho, Vmv I 125,18); aṭṭhakathāsu pana pākāṭavohāram gahetvā
 °-vasena sabbacchannā nāma pañcahi chadanehi channā ti, 745,19; dve
 mātikā paguṇā ~ā katvā, 788,29; dve vibhaṅgā paguṇā ~ā kātābbā, 789,11;
 vattanti ti āgacchanti, paguṇā ~ā ti attho, 792,9; yassa sāṭṭhakatham
 vinayapiṭakam ~am pavattati, 983,30; suppvattinī ti °-vasena, 990,11
 (°-vasenā ti paguṇavasena, Sp-ṭ III 7,12); dve pana akhaṇḍā suvisadā ~ā
 honti, 1060,3 (~ā ti purimass' eva vevacanam, Sp-ṭ III 39,27);
 pariyāpunitvā ti, uggaṇhitvā vā ~am vā katvā, Spk I 262,3; eken' eva
 uddesena tayo vedā hadayaṅgatā ~ā sūpadhāritā ... ahesum, Mil 10,11;
 sajjhāyanti ca ~am parantā dhārenti ca, Sp-ṭ (Līnasāratthadīpanī), p. 123;
 yāvatā ~ā pariyatti hoti, Ps III 78,15; divase divase ca chasahassa-
 vedapadāni ~ā honti, Bu-up 42,3; Abhidhamma-piṭakam uggaṇhitvā
 sāṭṭhakatham ~am katvā, Saddhamma-s 82,2 ≠ 82,6; ten' eva kata-
 kamma bhavantaram anāgate sāvijjattha katass' eva ~aṇ ca tantiyā,
 82,13-14.

I am uncertain about the last of these, but in all the other passages the compound refers to the doctrine, or teachings, or sermons. It is not clear how the meaning "with well-intoned speech", which is given in PED, is to be construed. In his translation of Mil 10,11 Rhys Davids changes the construction of the sentence and translates "Could intone them correctly",⁸ which leaves undecided the question of whether he understood the compound correctly. Miss Horner's translation of the same phrase "[the three vedas] were properly intoned in voice"⁹ is grammatically possible. Gray changes the construction and translates as though the verb were active "[he] got off [presumably "by heart"] 6000 pādas daily".¹⁰ I do not understand B.C. Law's "... learnt the Abhidhamma-piṭaka and the commentary thereon with their well-intoned

⁸ T.W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, Vol. I, Sacred Books of the East Vol. XXXV, London 1890, p. 17.

⁹ I.B. Horner, *Milinda's Questions*, Vol. I, London 1963, p. 14.

¹⁰ J. Gray, *Buddhaghosuppatti* (ed. and trsl.), London 1892, Part 2, p. 8.

speech”, or his “He who ... comes nearer to one who has mastered a well-intoned speech”.¹¹

I suggest that *uggata* is a form of *ōggata* = *ogata* (< *avagata*) with the sense of “learnt, understood”, which not usual in Pāli, although *avagata* sometimes occurs with the meaning “understood”.¹² The compound would therefore mean something like “learnt orally”, referring to the recitation procedure.

Although in all these references the word seems to be used of the texts, there are several references in later texts where the word seems to be used of people (*sabbe pi te bhikkhū ... sabbe ~ā honti*, Gv¹³ 77,12; cf. Gv 77,14,17,18,24,27,30), or even *kāla* (*Duṭṭhagāminīrañño ca kālo ~o dhuvam*, Gv 77,18). If these are correct usages, and the fact that they occur only in Ms. M, which is said to be “full of clerical errors”,¹⁴ gives reason for some doubt about this, then they presumably reflect a later semantic development, perhaps taking *uggata* in an active sense “those who have learnt (texts) orally”. This, however, is hardly applicable to *kāla*.

4. *vyasanna* “sunk down”

This word occurs in the Citta-Sambhūta-jātaka at Ja IV 399,6* (*nāgo yathā paṅkamajjhe vyananno*) and 399,8* (*evam p’ ahaṃ kāmapaṅke vyananno*). In both places Fausbøll lists the v.ll. *vyasanto* (in Ms. C^k) and *byasanno* (in Ms. B^d). It is glossed: *vyasanno* (C^{ks} *vyasanto*, B^d *byasanno*) *ti visanno* (C^k *visante*, C^s *visanne*, B^d *visannova*), 399,17’–18’. The word also occurs in the Kumbha-jātaka at Ja V 16,15* (*sammakkhito vantagato*

¹¹ B.C. Law, *A manual of Buddhist historical traditions (Saddhamma-saṅgaha)*, Calcutta 1941, p. 122.

¹² See CPD, Vol. I, s.v. *avagata*.

¹³ JPTS 1886, pp. 54–80.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 55.

vyasanno, without v.l. It is glossed: *vyasanno* (C^{ks} *vyaccannā*) *ti* *vyasanāpanno*, *visanno* (B^d *vipphanno*, C^k *visatto*) *ti pi pāṭho, tasmim vante osanno* (C^{ks} *osanto*) *ti attho* (19,1'-2').

PED explains *vyasanna* as metric (diaeretic) for *visanna*,¹⁵ but does not explain how reading *vya-* instead of *vi-* affects the metre. Preceded by the final *-e* of *majjhe*, *vy-* cannot make any difference to the scansion of the pāda. The editors of PED make no reference to the Ardha-Māgadhī equivalent of the Citta-Sambhūta-jātaka found in Uttarajjhāya-sutta XIII. There we find: *nāgo jahā paṅkajalāvasanno* (XIII.30).¹⁶ This enables us to postulate that an earlier version of the Pāli pāda ended with *paṅkamajjhāvasanno*. When this became wrongly divided as *paṅkamajjhā vasanno*, perhaps at a time when long vowels were not written, the ending of *-majjhā* was changed to the locative *-e*, and the initial *v-* of *vasanno* was changed to *vy-* by a scribe who knew that initial *v-* was often derived from *vy-*.¹⁷ We might deduce that this change was made before the time of the composition of the cty on Ja, since the explanation *vyasanāpanno* would seem to reflect a word beginning with *vy-*. It is, on the other hand, possible that *vyasanāpanna* is simply intended as a gloss upon the whole compound, in which case we might suspect that the presence of *vy-* in *vyasana* led to the insertion of *-vy-* into *paṅkamajjhāvasanno*, with the resultant belief that *vyasanno* was a word in its own right, followed by the replacement of the unintelligible *-majjhā* by *-majjhe*. At Ja V 16,15* we might assume that an earlier version of the pāda ended with the words *vantagato 'vasanno*, and here the reading *avasanno* is supported by the gloss *osanno*.

¹⁵ See PED, s.v. *vyasanna*.

¹⁶ J. Charpentier, *The Uttarādhyāyanasūtra*, Uppsala 1922, p. 118.

¹⁷ Cf. *vyappatha* < **vappatha*. See K.R. Norman, "Two Pali etymologies", *BSOAS* XLII, 1979, pp. 321-28 (p. 326).

5. *vyamhita* "frightened"

The conclusion that initial *vy-* has been restored incorrectly in *vyasanna* suggests that we might look at other words beginning with *vy-* to see if the ligature can be explained as a non-historic restoration of the same kind. It is possible that the word *vyamhita* is another example, since here too *vya-* is explained by PED as being metrical for *vi-*.¹⁸ The word occurs at Ja V 69,4*: *avaca* (C^k *avañca*) *vyamhito* (B^d *by-*) *rājā*. The word is glossed: *vyamhito* (B^d *byamitto*) *ti bhīto vimhaya-puñño* (B^d *vimhayam āpanno*) *vā*, 69,21'-22'. Here *vy-* could be regarded as *metri causa*, since the conjunct consonant lengthens the preceding *-a* and consequently changes the scansion of the opening of the *pāda* to ~ ~ ~ . This avoids the opening ~ ~ ~ , which is irregular by classical standards, although it can certainly be paralleled elsewhere in Pāli. If, however, a redactor had a feeling for metre and wished to avoid this opening, it would have been simple to gain the same result by lengthening the final vowel of *avaca* and reading *avacā*.

In the other occurrences of the word the importance of its form in relation to metre is not obvious. We find: *rājā vyamhitamānaso*, Ja VI 243,10* where Be reads *byathita-mānaso*. It is glossed: *vyamhita-mānaso* (Be *byathita-*) *ti bhītacitto*. Here, after the final *-ā* of *rājā*, it makes no difference metrically whether *vyamhita-* or *vimhita-* occurs. Nor is it *metri causa* at the beginning of a *pāda* at Ja VI 314,26*: *vyamhito nābhivādeti*, glossed: *vyamhito ti bhīto*, 314,27'. Nor in the opening of a *śloka pāda* with the *pathyā* cadence at 315,1*: *na c' amhi vyamhito* (Be *byamhito*) *nāga*, where *bhīto* occurs in the exegesis.

Despite the glosses *vimhaya-puñño* and *vimhayam āpanno*, the word does not seem to be identical in meaning with *vimhita*. The occurrence of the gloss *bhīto* and the Be reading *vyathita-* suggests that

¹⁸ See PED, s.v. *vyamhita*.

we may be dealing with the verb *vyādhethi* “to frighten” which, as is well known, takes over the meanings of the root *vyath-* in Pāli. If this is so, then the correct reading at Ja VI 243,10* could be *vyādhita-mānasa*. There must, however, be some doubt about this, because in an earlier form the verb was probably **vādhita-*, which could equally well be derived from the root *bādh-*.¹⁹ With the development of **vādhita-* to **vāhita-*, and the replacement of the long syllable *-ā-* by a nasalised short vowel *-am-*, via *-aṃ-*, we would get **vamhita-*.²⁰ The restoration of *vy-* at the beginning of the word was due to a scribe or redactor who, rightly or wrongly, thought that initial *v-* was derived from *vy-*.

6. *sīhavasā* “lion’s oil”

The translation “lion’s oil” for *sīhavasā* depends on the recognition that here the word *vasā* has the sense of “oil”; cf. *vas’ odissam*, Sp 717,27 (“oil as an object of specification or stipulation”).²¹ The compound *sīhavasā* has much the same meaning as *sīhatela* “lion’s oil” = “a valuable oil or perfume”. Cf. *gahitagahitaṃ ... suvaṇṇabhājane pakkhittam iva sīhatelaṃ avinassamānaṃ dhārento* (Pj I 198,26) with *gahitagahitaṃ pāsāne khatalekhā viya, suvaṇṇaghaṭe pakkhitta-sīhavasā viya ca gahitākāren’ eva tiṭṭhati* (Ps II 336,34).

It is used in a simile for doing something attentively or carefully (because the oil is valuable and must not be spilled), e.g. *~āya suvaṇṇanāliṃ pūrento viya sakkaccaṃ sotaṃ odahitvā*, Ja I 98,4; *pāsāne lekhaṃ khaṇanto viya kaṭṭhanāliyā ~aṃ paṭicchanto viya ohitasoto*,

¹⁹ For the confusion between *bā(d)h-* and *vā(d)h-*, see K.R. Norman, “Middle Indo-Aryan Studies XIV”, *JOI(B)* XXIX, pp. 37–41 (p. 37). Cf. the gloss *na vyādhethi na bādhethi*, Ja IV 166,21’ (ad 166,4* “*na ... vyadhethi*”).

²⁰ For a similar alternation between long and nasalised short vowels (in **ud-āhati* and **ud-aṇhati*) see O. von Hinüber, *Die Sprachgeschichte des Pāli im Spiegel der südostasiatischen Handschriftenüberlieferung*, Mainz 1988, p. 26.

²¹ PED (s.v. *vasā*) gives the meanings “fat, tallow, grease”.

sakkaccaṃ subhāsītāni suṇāti, Ja V 149,13'; *sakkaccaṃ pāsāṇe lekhaṃ khaṇantā viya, kañcana-nāliya ~aṃ paṭicchantā viya ca ohitasotā savaṇaṃ karoṭhā ti attho*, Mhv-ṭ 6,24–25.

It is also used as an illustration of something remaining unchanged and not disappearing. The two words *kañcana-pāṭi* and *kañcana-nāli* which frequently occur with *sīhavasā* both refer to containers ("bowl" and "tube") in which the valuable oil is kept, so that it is not lost (because it is in a golden container, and not an earthenware one, through the walls of which seepage might take place), e.g. *yassa hi sutam hadayamañjūsāya sannicitaṃ silāya lekhā viya suvaṇṇaghaṭe pakkhitta--ā viya ca tiṭṭhati*, Mp III 28,15 = Ps II 252,30 (ad "*suta-sannicaya*"); *gahitagahitaṃ pāsāṇe khatalekhā viya, suvaṇṇaghaṭe pakkhitta--ā viya ca gahitākāren' eva tiṭṭhati*, Ps II 336,34

Its container is used as an illustration of something which is useful and valuable. We find *tadadhikāram pi suṇantānaṃ va sāsānikajanassa dīpaṃ idaṃ ~āya suvaṇṇabhājanaṃ viya suriyaraṃsiyā samphullapadumaṃ viya ca disvā*, Mhv-ṭ 50,24–26. In contrast to this, at Ja V 489,13 we find *mattikābhājanaṃ viya ~āya abhājanaṃ tvam dhammassa* "You are useless as a container for the dhamma, just as a clay container is useless for ...".

The compound is very appropriate to the work of authors and scribes, who hope that their work will not disappear, just as something inscribed on stone, or valuable oil kept safe in a permanent, leak-proof, container is not lost, but remains unchanged. The compound is found (dissolved into *vasā* and *sīhassa*) in a verse which occurs in the colophons of the Jātaka (Ja VI 595,3–4), Att (34,1–2), and Mhbv²²: *vasā sīhassa pakkhittā* (Ja reads the first two words as one; Att reads all three words

²² Cited in the preface to Strong's edition, p. v.

as one) *yathā kañcanapāṭiyā silālekheva* (for *-lekhā iva*; Att and Mhvb read *silālekhe va*) *me niccam sabbam sutam na nāsaye*.

7. *Sugata/Tathāgata* “Buddha”

PED translates *Sugata* as “faring well, happy, having a happy life after death”,²³ but if that were correct, then all those born in a *sugati*, which includes all men,²⁴ would be called *sugata*. I regard the word *Sugata* as having the same relationship to *sugati* as *duggata* has to *duggati*, i.e. the implied *-gati* is not being used in its technical sense of “(category of) rebirth”. So *duggata* is used in a general sense “(one who is) in a bad way” = “poor”, whereas *Sugata* is used in a very specialised sense “(one who is) in a (particularly) good way” = “Buddha”.

The same applies to the word *Tathāgata*. PED states that its derivation is uncertain.²⁵ It was long ago pointed out that it occurs in the Prakrit form *tahāgaya* in Jain literature, although Thomas hinted that the word was possible not of Aryan origin, because “in its use in the scriptures there is no trace of the Sanskrit meaning contained in *tathā* and *gata*”.²⁶ If, however, we assume that *-gata* is used in the same way as in *sugata* and *duggata*, then we can see that it means “(one who is) in that sort of (= very good) way”. For the force of the demonstrative, we can compare *tādi(n)* “of such a kind = excellent”.²⁷

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K.R. Norman

²³ See PED, s.v. *Sugata*.

²⁴ Cf. *tattha sugatiggahanena manussagati pi saṅgayhati*, Vism 427,28.

²⁵ See PED, s.v. *tathāgata*.

²⁶ See E.J. Thomas, “Tathāgata and tahāgaya”, *BSOS*, VIII, 1936, pp. 781-88 (p. 787).

²⁷ See K.R. Norman, *Elders' Verses* I, p. 131 (ad Th 41).

TUṆḌILOVĀDA: AN ALLEGEDLY NON-CANONICAL SUTTA

"The *Sutta* of the Advice to Tuṇḍila" is a short Pali text in both prose and verse. Although by title it is a *sutta* and the narrative attributes its contents to the Buddha, it is not included in the Pali Text Society's edition of the Pali Canon. This is not to say that its contents are markedly different from other discourses in the Pali canon. On the contrary, the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* provides a concise illustration, albeit an inspirational illustration, of the logic and structure of traditional Theravāda Buddhist practice.

The occasion for the discourse is a *dāna* given by the layman Tuṇḍila and his wife. After perceiving Tuṇḍila's spiritual potential, but before delivering the discourse proper, the Buddha sends forth his six bodily rays. This is reminiscent of narratives in medieval Sinhala Buddhist literature where the Buddha is also sometimes said to use two means to convert beings, his manner of preaching and the performance of miracles.¹ The discourse then begins appropriately with an exposition of the benefits (*anisaṃsā*) which accrue to those who practice *dāna*. Significantly, the giving of *dāna* is portrayed here as an integral component of the attainment of *nibbāna*. An account of how *sīla* is always a necessary complement to *dāna* then follows. The exposition of the benefits of practicing *sīla* provides an occasion for an enumeration of first, the five precepts, and then the ten precepts. There is some incongruity in discussing all ten precepts in a discourse addressed to a layman, although this portion of the text may be more narrowly addressed only to the monks in the audience.² The benefits of guarding

¹ See, for example, Gurulugomi, *Amāvatura*, edited by Kodagoda Ñānaloka Thera (Colombo: Gunasena, 1967), p. 49.

² The repeated use of the vocative *bhikkhave* in this portion of the text may be taken in more than one way. It can be read as a limitation of the relevance of the

śīla extend, of course, to future births, including births in heavens, and the text then describes the length of life and pleasures found in various divine states. In a crucial turning point, the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* says that such pleasurable courses of life are to be both desired and renounced. The text then refers to the inevitable suffering that comes from desire, and from the life of a householder in general. As is the case with life in a heavenly state, household life is to be both desired and despised. The benefits of renunciation are then extolled. The text ends with an extended simile of the city of *nibbāna*, in which the city's gate, for example, is identified with perfect generosity (*dānapāramī*).

The *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* as a whole thus illustrates a traditional Theravādin understanding of "the gradual path," to use George Bond's phrase for "the hierarchy of means and ends necessary to relate the dhamma to a variety of people and yet to maintain the belief in one ultimate goal and one ultimate meaning of the dhamma."¹

As the above summary suggests, the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* is scarcely noteworthy because of its contents. Rather, it deserves scholarly attention because it is "an allegedly non-canonical sutta."² Its significance to the student of the Theravāda was first recognized by Hugh Nevill, who collected three manuscripts containing the text during his government service in Sri Lanka at the end of the nineteenth century, and his own comments are worth extended quotation:

immediate comments to different implied audiences. It also can be taken as evidence that this portion of the text has in fact an origin in another text.

¹ George D. Bond, "The Gradual Path as a Hermeneutical Approach to the Dhamma," in *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, edited by Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), p. 34.

² This description is K.D. Somadasa's and is found in his *Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Library*, Volume I (London: The British Library, and Henley-on-Thames: Pali Text Society, 1987), p. 27. It is a pleasure for me to acknowledge that the edition presented below is a small fruit of this learned scholar's valuable work.

This is a very important work to the student of Buddhism, as it evidently forms like the *Kusala sutta*, a portion of the heretical works of one of the schisms, once so powerful in Ceylon. There is nothing in the contents which can be pronounced unorthodox, beyond the fact that the sutta does not occur in the *Nikāyas*. The materials are an elegant and masterly compilation of the doctrine from the *Sutta piṭaka*, composed in a simple and earnest spirit. *Gāthas* occur at intervals and those relating to *dānaṃ* or alms struck my friend Dr. Neuman, when read to him by my pundit, as very similar in general style to the *Mahādāna* of the *Jātaka*. Other *gāthas* remind me of the *Nidhikaṇḍa sutta* of the *Khuddakapāṭha*, in much of which I recognize great antiquity, though my opinion is really of no value. Dr. Neuman's remark however, though made casually, strikes me on consideration, as very important. There is a primitive simplicity in such stanzas as 'Sabbam dhammena¹ labbhati.'²

I would set aside Nevill's speculations about the institutional or sectarian affiliation of the text, for which there is little independent evidence. Likewise, I am wary of Nevill's estimation of the text's date, since he sometimes had a predilection to date those texts he judged important as also early. More important to me is Nevill's recognition that there are other texts like *Tuṇḍilovāda*, in so far as they are *suttas* which are not found in the generally acknowledged Pali Canon. Nevill mentions the *Kusala Sutta*, but other examples include the *Sāra Sutta*, the *Brāhmaṇapañha Sutta*, the *Maraṇāñāna Sutta*, and the *Devadūta Sutta*, all of which are found in Nevill's manuscript collection. Another text with some similarities to these *suttas*, but also with important differences, is the Sinhala-language *Sumana Sutrāya*, described by

¹ Sic. The manuscripts in the Nevill collection actually read *dānena*.

² Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, pp. 27–28

Malalgoda in his article on Buddhist Millennialism.¹ These texts — and one must wonder if there are more — have received little scholarly attention, and at this point, it is impossible even to say whether they form a single class of texts, much less to generalize about their collective character. It is equally impossible to say at this point whether these texts, all found in Sri Lanka, share anything with the “apocryphal” Buddhist literature of Southeast Asia, such as the *Paññāsa Jātaka*, the *Malleyyatherasutta*, and the *Jambupatisutta*.² All the same, their very existence raises a number of questions, and I hope that this edition will be but a step to the further study they deserve. Whether or not such texts form a distinct body of Pali literature that deserves a name like “deutero-canonical,” they may at least assist us in our continuing inquiries about the nature and role of the Pali Canon in the Theravāda.

The comments of Nevill quoted above suggest that he found the canonical guise of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* convincing. It is easy to share this impression. The text begins with *evaṃ me sutam*, the standard phrase which introduces all canonical discourses, and a conventional account of the circumstances in which the discourse was preached by the Buddha. As Nevill says, “there is nothing in the contents which can be pronounced unorthodox.” I too see nothing that would make it fail the most general test of scriptural authenticity accepted in the Theravāda: “[w]hen anyone claims to have an authentic text, its authenticity is to be judged simply by seeing whether it harmonizes with the texts (sutta and

¹ Kitsiri Malalgoda, “Millennialism in Relation to Buddhism,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 42 (1970), pp. 424–41. I would like to thank Professor Malalgoda for bringing the *Sumana Sutrāya* to my attention.

² *Paññāsa-Jātaka*, edited by Padmanabh S. Jaini (London: Pali Text Society, 1981–83). For a brief description of the last two texts, see H. Saddhatissa, “Pāli Literature of Thailand,” in *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, edited by L. Cousins, A. Kunst, and K.R. Norman (Boston/Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1974), pp. 215, 219.

vinaya) already current in the Sangha.”¹ Moreover, the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* also has some commentarial works attached to it, although significantly not *atthakathā* or *ṭīkā*. The manuscripts found in London, and utilized in this edition, include Sinhala-language *sannayas* and Pali-language *pada ānumas*, both commentarial genres popular during the Buddhist renaissance which began in Sri Lanka during the Kandyan period. It is not possible to say, in any definitive way, whether such commentaries represent attempts to give the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* more of the appearance of canonical authority, or instead are evidence that the text was indeed received as canonical. K.D. Somadasa’s survey of the holdings of Sri Lankan temple libraries, which lists 44 manuscripts distributed all over that island, at least would suggest that the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* had some currency as a valued text;² I have, however, found nothing that would indicate that it was known outside Sri Lanka.

The full significance of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* can only be measured against a historical background that includes a closed Pali Canon, an idea which has long played a complicated role in the heritage of the Theravāda.³ This closed canon was at least nominally restricted to those works said to be “recited” at the first Buddhist councils, and especially the first *sangīti* held at Rājagaha. In a way that is reminiscent of commentarial justifications of the canonical status of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*, one manuscript in London (given the siglum C below) includes a Sinhala-language *nidānapāṭhavistaraya* which says that

¹ R.F. Gombrich, “How the Mahāyāna Began,” in *The Buddhist Forum*, Vol. I (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1990), p. 26. On the well-known four *mahāpadesa*, see Étienne Lamotte, “La critique d’authenticité dans le Bouddhisme,” *India Antiqua* (Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1947), pp. 213–22.

² K.D. Somadasa, *Lankāvē Puskola Pot Nāmāvaliya* (Colombo: Cultural Department, 1959), I. 34; II. 26.

³ See Steven Collins, “On the Very Idea of the Pali Canon,” pp. 89–126 above.

the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* was recited at the first council by Ānanda after he had recited the five *nikāyas* of the *Suttaṭṭakā*.¹

We may immediately ask why a text like the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* would be written. To answer this we first need to have some idea of the time of its origin, and here we have little concrete evidence. Nevill implied that the text might be early because of perceived similarities between the language and style of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* and other Buddhist literature, such as the *Jātaka* verses, which are generally accepted as dating to the earliest strata of Buddhist literature. Such similarities, of course, may owe much to "the eye of the beholder," and one could also note that there are similarities between the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* and the *Kosala-bimba-Vaṇṇanā*, which Malalasekera dates to medieval Sri Lanka.² Even when such similarities can be extensively established, they may still not be a sure guide for dating a text, as we know from the archaism of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.³

My own suspicion is that the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* dates from the Kandyan period. This, however, is little more than an educated guess based on the inference that a text that had canonical status or authority in an earlier period would also have the kinds of commentaries typical of the time, such as *ṭīkā*. Informing my suspicion is the *Sumana Sūtraya*, which from its contents can definitely be dated to the Kandyan period. Finally, I find it reasonable that a period that was characterized by both a low standard in Pali and indeed Buddhist learning, and a desire to effect a

¹ See Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, p. 99.

² On the latter text, see Richard F. Gombrich, "Kosala-Bimba-Vaṇṇanā," in *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries*, edited by Heinz Bechert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1978), p. 283.

³ See J.A.B. van Buitenen, "On the Archaism of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa," in *Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes*, edited by Milton Singer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 23–40.

revival of Buddhist thought and practice could provide a fertile context for the acceptance of a work like the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*. As happened with “apocryphal” Buddhist literature in other contexts, “suspicions concerning the authenticity of a text (may have) paled as its value in explicating Buddhist doctrine and practice became recognized.”¹

It is sometimes said that generally Buddhist “apocrypha” were the products of local religious concerns; thus Chinese Buddhist apocrypha “typically reflect their domestic author’s own religious interests and social concerns, which were not directly addressed in translated Indian texts.”² This provides a plausible motivation for contravening the limits of a closed canon, and is helpful for understanding a text like the *Sumana Sutrāya*. Similarly, the corpus of Mahāyāna literature, containing distinctive and new teachings, suggests another plausible motivation for extending the limits of a closed canon. Neither of these motivations seems immediately applicable to the composition of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*. If nothing new was said, why was a new text needed or desired?

Perhaps that question itself is skewed by our common assumption that a closed canon had a rigid and inviolable force in the Theravāda. Steven Collins, in the article cited above, has gone some way to identify the historical background to the ‘fixing’ of the Pali Canon as a closed list of texts. At the same time, he has questioned whether this closed list has always been co-extensive with the body of functionally authoritative literature accepted in the tradition; Collins, to use his own terminology, raises questions whether we should take Canon 2 as simply

¹ Robert E. Buswell, “Introduction,” in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, edited by Robert E. Buswell (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1990), p. 13. This volume was to include, but now omits, an article on “The Apocryphal Jātakas of Southeast Asian Buddhism,” by P.S. Jaini, as announced by Steven Collins, “Preface,” in *Apocryphal Birth Stories* (Paññāsa-Jātaka), Vol. I (London: Pali Text Society, 1985), p. vii.

² Buswell, p. 1.

equivalent to Canon 1. Frequent references to later monastic teachers in Buddhist literature as “masters of the *Tipiṭaka*” raise similar questions; does such a title imply that they had memorized the whole canon, or, as seems more likely to me, that they were judged to be in command of its contents. In these two instances and in others,¹ we are beginning to discern a spectrum of ideas about the *tipiṭaka* in the Theravāda tradition, and it may be that when judged against such a spectrum, texts like the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* will not appear so anomalous.

We can perhaps be more specific about the probable sociology of knowledge necessary for the acceptance of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*. In a general sense, the same conditions — especially a widespread use of writing for recording scriptures — which Richard Gombrich suggested were necessary for the rise of the Mahāyāna,² were necessary here too. In addition, as one can see with only a glance at K.D. Somadasa’s catalogue of the Nevill manuscript collection, the written *Suttapiṭaka* was frequently transmitted not as a whole or even in the five *nikāyas*, but as individual *suttas*, either separately or as part of ad hoc anthologies. It is easy to see that a new *sutta* could more readily gain acceptance in a context where the canon circulated and was known more in parts than as a whole. This acceptance may also have been facilitated by the fact that there is a *Tuṇḍila Jātaka* and the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* may have been assumed to be a portion of that text.³

The text of the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* contains a number of solecisms, although all are generally intelligible without emendation.

¹ The work of the anthropologists François Bizot and Charles Keyes is especially relevant in this regard; relevant references may be found in Steven Collins’ paper (pp. 89–126 above).

² Gombrich, “How the Mahāyāna Began,” pp. 21–30.

³ An apparent example of such a perception can be found in G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (London: Pali Text Society, 1960), s.v. *Tuṇḍila*.

Even though the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* is often written in poor Pali, it is not without literary merit. I agree with Nevill's judgement that at times it has a "primitive simplicity," and I confess that I find the simplicity and vigor of its style pleasing.

The *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* frequently uses similes, although this is not simply another part of its literary style. As is well known, analogies, similes, and metaphors are a common feature of Theravādin homiletics. Indeed, analogy and simile were apparently considered very effective teaching tools, appropriate for even the dullest student. In the *Naṅgalīsa Jātaka*,¹ for example, the Bodhisatta uses analogy as a teaching method of last resort with a dullard, thinking that "making comparisons and giving reasons, and the continuous practice of comparing and reasoning on his part will enable me to impart learning to him."² This method is particularly visible in the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* in a sequence about *kāmā*; to take one example: "desires are like a boil filled with pus because both have a stinking nature" (*duggandhabhāvena pūtiparipunṇagandupamā kāmā*).

The most elaborate simile in the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta* concerns the city of *nibbāna*. The basic idea of the city of *nibbāna* is quite common in the Buddhist literature of medieval Sri Lanka, but the term also seems to be a conventional form of reference rather than a live metaphor. The *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*'s long application of the parts of a city, standard in poetic imagination, to *nibbāna* is thus of some interest. I am not sure, however, that the serial simile is intended as a device for extending understanding through the process of "comparing and reasoning" referred to in the *Naṅgalīsa Jātaka*. I find it hard to comprehend how the watchtower (*aṭṭalaka*) of the city is similar to *samādhi*: should we really

¹ J I 446–49.

² *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, Vol. I, translated by Robert Chalmers (London: Pali Text Society, 1969), p. 272.

try to reason and infer so much that enstasy is perceived as similar to the place where one expects the guards to keep their eyes open ? But the long serial simile of the city of *nibbāna* is not without precedent in Pali literature. In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, there is a serial simile about the 'rajah's citadel',¹ where the gate-keeper is appropriately said to be mindfulness; in the *Apadāna*, there is a serial simile about the city of *Dhamma*, where the watchtower (*aṭṭālaka*) is mindfulness; and in the *Milindapañha*, there is an exceptionally long simile of the city of *Dhamma* where *virīya* is the watchtower.² Although these three examples seem to have more synthetic coherence than the simile in the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*, none of them have much immediate force, whether for persuasion or for clarification, even when they are compared with some of the well-worn metaphors used in connection with *kāmā*. For me, the rhetorical purpose of these serial similes remains unclear. While this is not the place to begin a comparative study of their logic and force, we can at least see that such a comparison will contribute to our understanding of the varied roles of metaphors and images in Buddhist homiletic literature.

The edition presented here is based on seven direct witnesses found in six manuscripts. All of the manuscripts are located in London, and thus the sigla assigned to the witnesses are largely arbitrary, and only group the manuscripts according the libraries where they are found:

A: British Library Or 6599(21). Text only. 17 folios (ka-kha). A nineteenth century copy.³

¹ *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, translated by E.M. Hare (London: Pali Text Society, 1978), p. 73.

² A IV 105–11; Ap 44; Miln 330–45.

³ This manuscript is described in K.D. Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, pp. 27–28.

B: British Library Or 6599(20). Text and *pada ānuma*. 20 folios (khr-gl). A nineteenth century copy.¹

C₁: British Library Or 6600(41) V. Text and *pada ānuma*. 14 folios (khe-gl). A nineteenth century copy.

C₂: British Library Or 6600(41) I. Text and *sannaya*. 21 folios (sva-khī). A nineteenth century copy.²

X: Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London 43736. Text only. 6 folios (kai-ga). Probably a nineteenth century copy.

Y: Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 43737. Text and *sannaya*. 21 folios (ka-khu). Probably a nineteenth century copy.

Z: Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 43738 Text and *sannaya*. 31 folios (ku-ghi). Probably a nineteenth century copy.³

The witnesses naturally fall into three groups, according to whether they represent the text alone, or with either a *sannaya* or a *pada ānuma*. One might suspect that a grouping based on what are really different genres would exclude the possibility of contamination, but this has not been the case. Beyond this, the witnesses may be divided into two groups, according to relationships based on similarities of readings. Finally, I suspect that all manuscripts are copies of a single exemplar, which was not the original archetype. All manuscripts share a common, and a surprisingly obvious, error in the last *gāthā* of the text. It is this error which suggests a common source for all manuscripts, although admittedly it is a rather slim basis for such a judgement. I should note

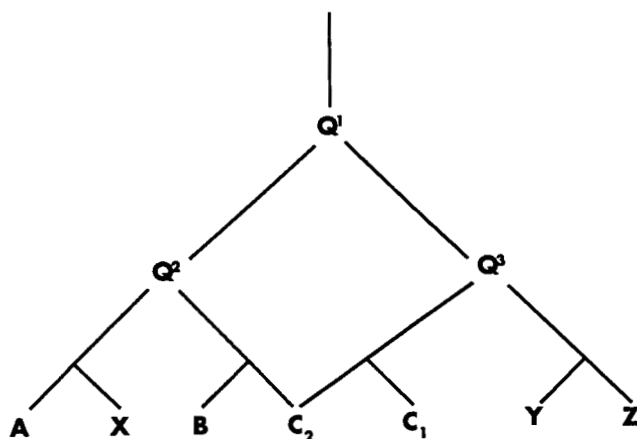
¹ This manuscript is also described in Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, p. 27.

² Both witnesses found in manuscript C are described in Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, pp. 98–100.

³ The *sannayas* found with witnesses C₂YZ are often substantially different from each other.

this instance is the only place where I have emended the text against the authority of all the manuscripts.

The following chart shows the approximate relationship among the different witnesses, with Q standing for "*quelle*," hypothetical source; the divisions do not imply a lack of contamination:



This chart simply represents affinities among manuscripts, not a stemma. Since this distinction was fundamental to the methods employed in making this edition, it deserves some explanation.

The editing of Pali texts is entering a new era. Earlier editions were quite frankly provisional, working tools meant to get the study of Pali literature underway.¹ We are now at a point where a re-examination

¹ See, for example, the "Foreword" by C.A.F. Rhys Davids to *The Visuddhimagga*, edited by C.A.F. Rhys Davids (London: Pali Text Society, 1920), p. viii.

of these provisional editions seems required, but this means, as K.R. Norman has said, "[w]e must then face the question: 'What is an accurate edition of a Pāli text?'"¹ In answering this question, we may have to admit that accurate editions can be produced according to different editing methods, and that various methods may be more appropriate to different kinds of texts.

I have not attempted an edition based on a stemma here. This is not to imply, though, that I have decided that the difficulties inherent in the stemma method cannot be overcome sufficiently for the reconstruction of the originals of early Pali literature,² or that the stemma method cannot be helpful for reconstructing the history of Indian texts.³ Without addressing such questions, I have only decided that the stemma method is not appropriate for editing the *Tuṇḍilovāda Sutta*. This decision reflects my suspicion of contamination in the limited number of manuscripts available to me, but more importantly, it is based on a doubt about whether the stemma method is appropriate for any late Pali text from Sri Lanka or Southeast Asia. Success in reconstructing a stemma depends on the recognition of shared errors and variants, by which the historical relationships among witnesses is defined. This recognition, however, is only possible when the editor can establish a relatively uniform standard of language against which mistakes can be

¹ K.R. Norman "Pāli Philology and the Study of Buddhism," in *The Buddhist Forum*, Vol. I (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1990), p. 34.

² For a useful survey of criticisms of the stemma method in another field, see Alfred Foulet and Mary Blakely Speer, *On Editing Old French Texts* (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1979), pp. 1–41.

³ See, for a valuable discussion of this question, Oskar von Hinüber, "Remarks on the Problems of Textual Criticism in Editing Anonymous Sanskrit Literature," in *Proceedings of the First Symposium of Nepali and German Sanskritists 1978* (Kathmandu: Nepal Research Centre, 1980), pp. 28–40.

recognized, and such a clear standard is still lacking for the Pali of the late Theravāda.¹

Thus, to avoid creating a text that is simply a patchwork of readings that no Buddhist reader ever knew, this edition was prepared using a base model method. I hope that this at least gives a reasonably good text, such as could have been available to a reader in nineteenth century Sri Lanka. Z was selected as the basic manuscript for the edition, because I found it consistently to have the best readings in places where other manuscripts had obvious errors. This is not to say that Z is completely free of mistakes, and the other manuscripts thus have served as controllers for the reading of Z, as well as sources of true variants. I have found that A, while having many more mistakes than Z, is often a source for such variants, which is not surprising given the affinities of the manuscripts noted in the chart above. It has thus been singled out as a kind of secondary basic manuscript. Thus both Z and A could, if one were so inclined, be completely reconstructed (except for the routine changes in orthography to be noted below) from the critical apparatus provided in the notes. Rejected readings of these two manuscripts, usually errors in spelling, are contained in brackets [] in the notes. XBC₁C₂Y are controllers; their rejected readings are included only out a desire for completeness and are contained in parentheses () in the notes. Except for the single instance noted above, no emendation has been made in the edition against the authority of the manuscripts. I have noted places where emendation does seem necessary and have also suggested some plausible emendations in the critical apparatus.

¹ For a very useful introduction to the linguistic variety found in Southeast Asian Pali, see G. Terral, "Samuddagghosajātaka — Conte Pāli tiré du *Paññāsajātaka*," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, XLVIII (1954), pp. 249–350.

I have routinely made some corrections in orthography in the edition without any acknowledgement in the critical apparatus. After the sixteenth century, the tradition of orthography in Sinhala, with respect to the letters “n,” “ṇ,” “l,” and “ḷ,” became confused, and these letters were used indiscriminately. This affected the transmission of texts both in Sinhala and Pali.¹ This confusion was not completely corrected until the twentieth century, and it is very apparent in all the manuscripts used in the edition. Similarly, the Pali “e” was pronounced as a Sinhala “ē”, and the latter mode of representation is sometimes found in the manuscripts. All of these variations could have occurred to different copyists at similar points. Thus, these polygenetic “errors” have no value for constructing an edition, and there seems little reason to add to the number of notes by their scrupulous citation. The copyists of some of the manuscripts had a predilection always to write a long “ī,” even where an “i” would be expected. The nature of Sinhala script also means that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish “u” and “ū”; I have often been guided by expectations of standard Pali.² In these cases there is some consistency, but still little value in their notation; their occurrence has not been included in the critical apparatus. The spelling of *nagara* has also been standardized; I have ignored the inconsistent use of the half-nasal, although this has long been noted as a frequent variation.³ It strikes me that this is also a polygenetic variation, with little value for establishing a text.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge that the collation of manuscripts for this edition was done in London while I was on a research leave funded by the American Council of Learned Societies and

¹ See Julius De Lanerolle, “Orthography,” in *A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language*, Vol. I, Part I (Colombo: Royal Asiatic Society — Ceylon Branch, 1935), pp. xxxix–xliv.

² On the confusions of these vowels in Southeast Asian Pali, see Terral, p. 310.

³ See Oscar Frankfurter, *A Handbook of Pāli* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1883), p. 7. Frankfurter calls this half-nasal “a mistake of the Sinhalese copyists.”

Loyola University of Chicago. The generosity and assistance of Dr. Tadeusz Skorupski, Steven Bunes, and Patti Schor made the final machine-readable production of this edition possible. My friend, Dr. M.W. Wimal Wijeratna, both assisted and encouraged me in the collation; his help was indispensable in more ways than can ever be specified. My teacher, Professor G.D. Wijayawardhana, went over a draft of the edition with me, and made many suggestions for improvements, too numerous for individual citation in the notes. As with so much of my work, this edition would not have been possible without his help. To each of these institutions and individuals, I offer my sincere thanks.

NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO SAMMĀSAMBUDDHASSA

Evam me sutam.¹ Ekam samayaṃ Bhagavā Kapilavatthunagaraṃ upanissāya Rohananadiyā tīre² Nigrodhārāme viharanto devamanussānaṃ saṃgahaṃ karaṇatthāya³ madhurassarena dhammaṃ desento bahudevamanusse⁴ saggamokkhamagge patiṭṭhapento⁵ Nigrodhārāme paṭivasati. Tena kho pana samayena tasmim⁶ yeva Kapilavatthunagare Tuṇḍilo nāma gahapati paṭivasati. So⁷ gahapati mahāvibhavasampanno bahudāsadāsī ca gomahisādayo ca dhanadhañño svaṇṇarajatādinī⁸ bahutarā bahukoṭṭhāgārāni⁹ sampanno ahosi. Bhariyāpissa Irandatī hoti.¹⁰

¹ A [*sutam*]

² A *nadītīre*

³ A *saṃgahakaraṇatthāya*; Z (*karaṇatthāya*)

⁴ C₁ C₂ (*bahudevamanussesu*)

⁵ AX [*patiṭṭhanto*]

⁶ Z [*tasmim*]

⁷ B omits *so*

⁸ BC₁C₂ *svaṇṇarajatādinī*

⁹ The plural instrumental would usually be expected here, e.g. *bahukoṭṭhāgārehi*.

¹⁰ Y *ahosi*

So gahapati ekadivasaṃ¹ Bhagavato dhammadesanaṃ sotukāmatāya dīpadhūpagandhamālādini gāhāpetvā yena Bhagavā tenupasaṃkami.² Upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā dhammasabhāyaṃ³ nisinno dhammaṃ suṇati. So gahapati dhammadesanāya pasīditvā evaṃ cintesi:⁴ Ahaṃ pubbesu dinnadānassa nissandena sucaritadhammena imasmiṃ yeva attabhāve mahādhano mahābhogo jāto. Puna⁵ idāni dānaṃ dātum⁶ vaṭṭatīti cintetvā Bhagavato dhammadesanāya pariyosāne Bhagavantaṃ vanditvā utthāyāsanaṃ parivārehi saddhiṃ⁷ attano gehaṃ gantvā⁸ bhariyaṃ pakkosāpetvā evaṃ āha: Bhadde⁹ ahaṃ dānaṃ dātukāmomhīti.¹⁰ Sā¹¹ tassa¹² vacanaṃ sutvā, sādhu devā ti sampañcchi. Ubho pi jayampatikā dānassa vidhiṃ sajjetvā attano nivesanassa purato mahāmaṇḍapaṃ kāretvā¹³ Buddhapamukhassa bhikkhusaṃghassa nimantetvā maṇḍapamajjhe nisīdāpetvā nānā-khādaniyābhojanādī hi¹⁴ sampiṇḍetvā mahādānaṃ pavattesi.

¹ B *ekaṃ divasaṃ*; A [*ekadivasaṃ*]

² A omits *upasaṃkami*

³ Y (*dhammasabhāyaṃ*)

⁴ A *cintetvāsi*

⁵ A *punā*

⁶ C₂ Y (*dātun*)

⁷ Y (*saddhiṃ*); C₂ omits *saddhiṃ*

⁸ C₁ *gehagantvā*

⁹ BC₁ YZ *bhaddenī*

¹⁰ X *dātukāmomha ti*

¹¹ X (*yā*)

¹² Z *sattavacanaṃ*, although the *sannaya* glosses as if reading *tassa*.

¹³ C₂ *kārāpetvā*

¹⁴ My word division here is based on an expectation of an accusative plural, with *sampiṇḍeti*, instead of reading an instrumental plural. Admittedly, the *hi*, attested in all manuscripts, then seems unnecessary in this context.

Atha kho¹ Bhagavā bhattakiccāvasāne Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa katadānasambhāraṃ disvā esa gahapatiko² pubbe katadānasambharena³ ajjeva tīsu⁴ parimodito bhavissati,⁵ idāni pana tassa⁶ Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa pasādetuṃ⁷ vaṭṭatīti cintetvā acchariyarūpaṃ pāṭihāriyaṃ akāsi. Buddhānaṃ sarīrato nīlapītalohitavadātamañjeṭṭhappabhassarasena⁸ tāni chabbaṇnaraṃsivaṇṇāni vissajjesi. Tiriyaḥbhāgena anantalokadhātuṃ⁹ pakkhandiṃsu. Adhobhāgena paṭhaviyā¹⁰ udakapariyantaṃ vinivijjhivā yāva¹¹ heṭṭhā avīcikā dhāvanti. Uparibhāgena uggantvā yāva bhavaggā dhāvanti. Ettakaṃ panaṭṭhānaṃ¹² yeva¹³ ajjhotaritaṃ¹⁴ ahosi. Tadā Tuṇḍilagahapati¹⁵ idissassa¹⁶ pāṭihāriyavilāsaṃ¹⁷ disvā acchariyabbhuto¹⁸ pana manasā pītipharitaṃ¹⁹ hadayaṃ ahosi.

¹ C₁ places *atha kho* after *bhattakiccāvasāne*

² C₂ *gahapati*

³ A [*sambhare*]; C₂ (*sambharaṃ*)

⁴ A then inserts *manesu*

⁵ The meaning here is not immediately obvious. I would suggest that the Buddha is thinking that because of the fruit of *dāna* done previously, Tuṇḍila today will be thoroughly happy in three “places,” that is, he will be happy about his past, present, and future.

⁶ C₁ omits *tassa*

⁷ A [*pasādetuṃ*]

⁸ A omits *avadāta*; AXZ [°*mañjeṭṭhappabhassara-*]

⁹ Y (*lokadhātun*)

¹⁰ Z omits *paṭhaviyā*

¹¹ X (*yā*)

¹² Non-standard *sandhi* for *pana ṭhānaṃ* ?

¹³ B omits *yeva*

¹⁴ Emend to *ajjhottharitaṃ* ?

¹⁵ AB *gahapatino*; C₂ *gahapatiko*; Y *gahapatiputto*

¹⁶ B (*idissa*)

¹⁷ C₂ *pāṭihāriyaṃ*

¹⁸ B *acchariya abbhuto*

¹⁹ C₂YZ *pītipūritaṃ*

Atha kho Bhagavā tassa ajjhāsayam nātvā idāni assa dānaṃ vaṇṇitum¹ vaṭṭatīti cintetvā gahapatiṃ etad avoca, Bho gahapati, ajjadivase te ativiya mahantaṃ dānaṃ² dinnaṃ. Dānaṃ hi³ nāmetaṃ porānakapaṇḍitānaṃ paveṇiyan ti. Gahapati, ahaṃ pubbe bodhisattassa kāle aparipakkaññāna⁴ bodhiññānaṃ gavesanattāya caranto mahādānaṃ adāsim⁵ yevāti. Tena phalena idāni buddho hutvā⁶ sabbaññutaññānaṃ paṭilabhissāmi.⁷ Ṭhapetvā dānaṃ, buddhapaccekabuddhā arahantādi⁸ paṭivijjhitaṃ nāsakkhiṃsu.⁹ Tasmā dānaṃ hi nāmetaṃ mahapphalaṃ mahānisamsaṃ hotīti vatvā Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa dānānisamsaṃ pakāseṇto Satthā imaṃ gātham āha:¹⁰

Dānaṃ¹¹ issariyabbhutaṃ¹² dānaṃ bhogaṃ upaṭṭhitaṃ,
Dānaṃ atthānurakkhā ca dānaṃ sukhaṃ¹³ pavaḍḍhitaṃ.

Aggassa vattum dadataṃ aggaṃ puññaṃ¹⁴ pavaḍḍhati,
Aggo āyuṇca vaṇṇo ca yaso kittisukhaṃ balaṃ.

¹ C₂ omits *vaṇṇitum*

² Y *dhānaṃ*

³ Y (*dānañhi*)

⁴ C₂ *aparipakkaññāto*

⁵ YZ [*āsi*]; BX (*adāsi*)

⁶ BC₂Z [*survā*]

⁷ The future would not normally be expected here.

⁸ C₁ *arahantādi*

⁹ Y (*nasakkinsu*)

¹⁰ C₂YZ [*gātham māha*]

¹¹ *Dānaṃ* is preceded by *loke* in BC₁XYZ, which, however, disrupts the metre of the *gāthā*.

¹² ABZ *issariya abbhutaṃ*; Y *issariyamabbhutaṃ*; C₁ (*isvaryā abbhutaṃ*); X (*issaya abbhutaṃ*)

¹³ A *sukha-*

¹⁴ BY *aggapuññaṃ*

Aggassa vatthum dadatam aggadhammasamāhito,¹
Devabhūto manusso vā aggam sukham pamodati.

Sabbakāmadadam² dānam yaṃ³ iccham paripūrati,
Dānam⁴ nidhikumbhūpamam dānam kapparukkhopamam.⁵

Yathā vārivāho puro sabbakālam na khīyati,
Evaṃ dānam dadantassa sabbabhogā na khīyati.

Rājāno ca⁶ corā ca aggaṃ udakam eva ca
Appiyā ca ime pañca na ca bhogā⁷ haranti tam.

Tasmā hi dānam dātābham dānam daliddabhāriyam,
Dānam tānam⁸ manussassa dānam⁹ nirayamocanam.¹⁰

Dānam saggassa sopānam dānam mokkhapatham varam,
Pavesanāya nibbānam dānam¹¹ dvārasamam matam.

Dānam pavaḍḍhitā bhogā dānam bhogassa dhārayo,
Dānam bhogāni¹² rakkhanti¹³ dānam rakkhanti jīvitam.

¹ AC₂X aggo dhammo samāhito; C₁ aggadhammo samāhito

² C₂YZ sabbadā kāmadaṃ

³ A omits yaṃ

⁴ A omits dānam

⁵ X kapparukkhupamam

⁶ ABC₂ ceva; C₁ omits ca

⁷ Bhoga is apparently being declined like a feminine noun, here in the accusative plural.

⁸ C₁C₂YZ omit dānam tānam

⁹ Z adds tānam

¹⁰ A nirayapamocanam; C₂ (nirayavacanam)

¹¹ Z omits dānam

¹² Z bhogā

¹³ Here bhoga is apparently taken as a neuter noun. If, as suggested by Z, it is taken as a nominative, in agreement with the plural verb, the line reads "Material

Yo yaṃ attani¹ jīvitaṃ mahantaṃ issariyaṃ² labhe,
Mahādhana mahābhogaṇaṃ³ yaṃ⁴ icchaṃ labhate⁵ sadā.⁶

Rukkhagge⁷ pabbatagge vā antalikkhe vā⁸ sāgare,
Yathā⁹ thitā¹⁰ paṭiṭṭhanti annaṃ pānaṃ ca¹¹ vatthukā.¹²
Saddhāya dinnāṃ dānaṃ¹³ yaṃ vadanti mahapphalaṃ,¹⁴
Saddhāpubbaṅgamaṃ¹⁵ dānaṃ appakiccaṃ pi yaṃ kataṃ.

Pasannā tīsu kālesu labhanti tividhaṃ sukhaṃ,
Sukhaṃ¹⁶ deti manussesu saggesu paramaṃ sukhaṃ.

Tato ca¹⁷ nibbānasukhaṃ sabbaṃ dānena¹⁸ labbhati,
Padesarajjaṃ¹⁹ issariyaṃ cakkavattissirimaṃ²⁰ pi ca,

goods protect *dāna*.” While grammatically correct, the more expected meaning would be “*Dāna* protects material goods.” The second foot of the line illustrates a similar confusion about verbal agreement.

¹ Y omits *attani*

² Z [*iscariyaṃ*]

³ YZ [*mahādhanaṃ mahābhogaṇaṃ*]; C₂ omits *mahādhana*, C₂Z add *sadā* here

⁴ Y omits *yaṃ*

⁵ AC₂X *labhati*

⁶ YZ omit *sadā*

⁷ C₂ adds *vā*

⁸ AC₁XYZ *ca*

⁹ Z *yatā*

¹⁰ BC₁C₂X (*thito*)

¹¹ AC₂ *pānaṃ ca*

¹² C₁ *annapānavatthukā*

¹³ A *dinnaṃ yaṃ dānaṃ*

¹⁴ C₁Z [*mahapphalaṃ*]

¹⁵ ABC₂YZ *saddhāpubbaṅgamaṃ*;

¹⁶ A *sabbaṃ*

¹⁷ YZ omit *ca*

¹⁸ X *sabbadānena*

¹⁹ A [*padesarajja*]

²⁰ Y *cakkavattissirimaṃ*

Devarajjam¹ pi saggesu sabbam dānena labbhati.²

Yā manussesu sampatti³ devalokesu yā rati,

Yā ca nibbānasampatti sabbam dānena labbhati.

Yā ca sāvakabodhi ca paccekamunibodhi yā,

Tathāgatassa bodhi yā sabbam dānena⁴ labbhati.

Ye ca buddhā atītesu samudde vālukupamā,⁵

Dānañ ca adhikaṃ katvā sambodhiñ ca labhanti⁶ te.

Evaṃ eva gahapati dānaṃ hi nāmetaṃ mahāguṇaṃ
mahānisamsaṃ ti evaṃ Bhagavā Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa dānānisamsaṃ
desesi.⁷ Dānakathānantaraṃ sīlānisamsaṃ kathetuṃ ārabhi.⁸

Sīlaṃ hi nāmetaṃ gahapati⁹ idhalokassa paralokassa¹⁰
sampattimūlaṃ.¹¹ Sīlasadisō avassayo nāma natthi. Sīlasadisō añño
patiṭṭhā¹² nāma¹³ natthi.¹⁴ Sīlasamaṃ aññaṃ tṭhānaṃ¹⁵ natthi.¹⁶ Sīlasamaṃ

¹ Z *devarajjam pi*

² X omits whole *gāthā*

³ C₁C₂ (*sampattim*)

⁴ XY *sabbadānena*

⁵ *Vālukupamā* would be expected according to more standard *sandhi*. ABC₂Z
vatthukupamā

⁶ ABC₂XYZ [*labbanti*]

⁷ A omits preceding sentence.

⁸ Z *sīlānisamsaṃkathetuṃ*; Y (*kathetun*)

⁹ BC₂ omit *gahapati*

¹⁰ YZ *idhalokaparalokassa*

¹¹ C₂ *sampattim mūlaṃ*; this may be a contamination from the *pada ānūma*.

¹² B *patiṭṭho*, a feminine noun apparently taken as a masculine, but an obvious attempt to create some agreement between the noun and adjectives. Emend line to *Sīlasadisā añña patiṭṭhā ... ?*

¹³ X (*nāmaṃ*)

¹⁴ C₁ omits preceding sentence.

¹⁵ Emend to *tānaṃ ?*

¹⁶ C₁X omit preceding sentence.

aññaṃ ābharaṇaṃ natthi.¹ Silasamo añño alaṅkāro² natthi. Silasamo³ añño gandho nāma natthi. Silasamaṃ aññaṃ kilesamalavisodhanaṃ⁴ natthi. Silasamaṃ aññaṃ rūpataraṃ⁵ natthi. Silasamaṃ aññaṃ saggārohaṇasopānaṃ natthi. Nibbānanagarappavesanattāya⁶ silasamaṃ aññaṃ dvāraṃ nāma natthi.⁷ Silasamaṃ aññaṃ nagaraṃ natthi.⁸ Atha kho⁹ Bhagavā Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa sīlānisamsaṃ dassento¹⁰ imaṃ gātham āha:¹¹

Sīlaṃ sukhānaṃ paramaṃ nidānaṃ¹²
 sīlena silin tidivaṃ payāti,
 Sīlaṃ hi samsāraṃ upāgatassa
 tāṇaṃ ca lenaṃ ca parāyanaṃ ca.

Yathā nabhaṃ tārāgaṇābhipūritaṃ¹³
 visuddhakaṃ candavinā na sobhati,¹⁴
 Tathā naro rūpakulavibhājito
 yasassi¹⁵ vā sīlavinā na sobhate.¹⁶

¹ X then inserts: *Sīlaṃ sāmaṃ dhānaṃ natthi. Silasamaṃ aññaṃ parāyanaṃ natthi.*

² B adds *nāma*; Z [*alaṅkāro*]

³ C₂ (*silasamaṃ*)

⁴ Z [*kilesamalavisodhanaṃ*]

⁵ AX *abhirūpataraṃ*

⁶ X *nibbānanagarassa pavesanattāya*

⁷ The preceding two sentences may be compared to Vism 10:

*Saggārohaṇasopānaṃ aññaṃ silasamaṃ kuto,
 dvāraṃ vā pana nibbāna-nagarassa pavesane ?*

⁸ AC₁W omit preceding two sentences.

⁹ Z [*khe*]; A omits *kho*

¹⁰ C₁ *desento*; Z [*dassente*]

¹¹ C₁C₂YZ [*gātham māha*]

¹² Z *nidhānaṃ*

¹³ Z *tārāgarahi*

¹⁴ B *sobhate*

¹⁵ A *yasassa*; Z [*yasavā*]

¹⁶ Z *sobhati*

Suddhammake accharadevatā yathā
 alaṃkatā tattha vasanti tā sadā,
 Purindadevena vinā na sobhate¹
 saññātikā sīlavinā na sobhate.²

Yathā kumāro maṇimuttabhūsito³
 suvatthadhāro⁴ subhagandhavajjito,⁵
 Tathā naro dānavibhūsitamaṇḍito⁶
 na sobhate sīlavilepanaṃ vinā.⁷

Yathā vanaṃ chappadapakkhisamaṃṇaṃ⁸
 vasantakāle⁹ kusumehi maṇḍitaṃ,
 Na sobhate¹⁰ kokilavajjitaṃ¹¹ vinā
 yathā pi yo sīlavinā na sobhate.¹²

Yathā gharadārakumāravāsitaṃ
 dhanālayaṃ ñātigaṇena ākulaṃ,¹³

¹ Z [sobhati]; emend to *sobhante* ?

² Z [sobhati]; emend to *sobhante* ?

³ C₁C₂ maṇimuttavibhūsito

⁴ C₁C₂ (savatthadhāro)

⁵ Z [suṅgandhavajjito]

⁶ A [dānavisamaṇḍito], perhaps this is an error for *dānavilāsamaṇḍito*, which would be less redundant and fit the metre better; Z *vibhūsi*, a variant of *vibhūsā* ?; Z also includes in the *sannaya* a correction to *sīlavibhūsimāṇḍito*.

⁷ BC₁C₂Z add another [na sobhate] here.

⁸ C₁C₂ chappadapakkhim samaṃṇaṃ

⁹ C₁ vasantakālesu

¹⁰ C₁C₂YZ omit na sobhate

¹¹ Some emendation seems necessary; perhaps *kokilakūjitaṃ* ?

¹² C₁Z [omit na]. As it stands, the last foot comes close to being a *locus desperatus*. Perhaps this incomplete line should be emended to *tathā pi so sīlavinā na sobhate*, which while still awkward, could be read, “so, indeed, he who is without *sīla* does not shine.”

¹³ Emend to *ñātigaṇena ākulaṃ* or *ñātigaṇānaṃ ākulaṃ*, “crowded with a host (or hosts) of relatives ?”

Vinā¹ tivuddhena² na sobhate tathā
guṇo pi yo silavinā na sobhate.

Nagaraṃ yathā naranārīhi pūritaṃ³
hatthīhi assehi samaṅgibhūtaṃ,
Etaṃ hi rañña⁴ vinā na sobhate⁵
sa bhogavā sīlavinā na sobhate.
Yathā nāgo⁶ balavo⁷ mahanto
Gajuttamo sabba aṅgehi pūrito
Dantena vinā so nāgo⁸ na sobhate
Tathā hi so⁹ surūpino¹⁰ sīlavinā¹¹ na sobhate.¹²

Yathā taḷākam¹³ udakena pūritaṃ¹⁴
Haṃsagaṇānaṃ sañcaritaṃ¹⁵ tathā pi¹⁶
Na sobhate¹⁷ padumuppalaṃ¹⁸ vinā,
Tathā naro rūpakulābhilaṃkato

¹ C₁YZ [add *tathā*] before *vinā*; C₂ (adds *yathā*)

² YZ *uddena*; for the three kinds of elder, see PTSD, s.v. *vaddha*.

³ AC₁C₂XZ [*puritā*]; B (*pūrita*)

⁴ Apparently from *rājā*, but it is unclear just what case is intended.

⁵ A *visobhate*

⁶ A *nāgo yathā*

⁷ Emend to *balavā*?

⁸ C₁C₂YZ omit *so nāgo*

⁹ Z omits *so*

¹⁰ X *rūpino*

¹¹ AB *silam*

¹² C₁ omits the difficult last foot of this verse; to accommodate the requirements of metre, the last foot might be emended to: *tathā hi so surūpino sīlavinā*, leaving *na sobhate* implied by syntactical parallels.

¹³ B *taḷākam*, from *taṭa*?

¹⁴ YZ add [*tathā pi*]; C₂ adds (*yathā pi*)

¹⁵ AB [*sañcaritā*]

¹⁶ YZ omit *tathā pi*

¹⁷ ABC₁C₂X add *sā*, a feminine demonstrative pronoun used in place of a neuter?

¹⁸ BC₁C₂X (*padumuppalaṃ*)

Na sobhate sīlavivajjito.¹

Dibbehi vaṇṇehi samānarūpino
 Alaṃkato² sabbavibhūsitehi
 Annaṃ vinā so na vibhati rūpino,³
 Tathā naro dhanadhaññabhogino⁴
 Na sobhate⁵ sīlavivajjitena.⁶

Ye keci sīlaṃ rakkhanti sabbadukkhā pamuccare,
 Yathā dīghāyukā honti yāva nibbānapattiyā.⁷

Khaṇeṇa⁸ sīlaṃ rakkheyya⁹ appameyyaphalaṃ¹⁰ siyā,¹¹
 Anantaḡaṇasaṃyuttaṃ¹² sabbabuddhehi vaṇṇitaṃ.

Hīnena brahmacariyena¹³ khattiye upapajjati,¹⁴
 Majjhimena ca¹⁵ devattaṃ uttamena¹⁶ visujjhati.

¹ C₁ *sīlavajjito*; AB then add *naro*; Y adds *na sobhate*; C₁C₂ add *naro na sobhate*; all of these additions may be attempts to restore some semblance of a metre to this either poorly written or poorly transmitted verse.

² ABX [*alaṃkata*]

³ Z [*rūpino sīlavivajjitena na sobhate*]; X (*rūpinā*)

⁴ B *dhanabhogino*; C₁C₂Y omit *tathā naro dhanadhaññabhogino*

⁵ C₂Y omit *na sobhate*

⁶ Y then adds *na sobhate*

⁷ C₁Z *nibbānasampattiya*

⁸ A [*khaṇe*]

⁹ Z [*rakkheyyaṃ*]; C₂ (*rakkhaya*)

¹⁰ AB [omit *phalaṃ*]

¹¹ AB [add *sīlaṃ*]

¹² C₁C₂ (*anantaḡaṇasaṃyuttaṃ*)

¹³ Y (*brahmacariyehi*)

¹⁴ C₁ (*uppajjiti*)

¹⁵ X omits *ca*

¹⁶ X (*uttame*)

Pāṇātipātā veramaṇiyā sabbaṅgehi pūritā,¹
Rūpavā sukkasampanno dīghāyuko aroginō.

Adinnādānā veramaṇiyā pahūtadhanadhaññavā,²
Rājāno ceva corā ca aggiṃ udakam eva ca
Appiyā vā ime pañca asādhāraṇabhogavā.

Kāmesu micchācārā³ veramaṇiyā itthibhāvā pamuccitā,⁴
Sabbāṅgehi sampanno abhayā sukhavihārino.⁵

Musāvādā veramaṇiyā puthupaññā visāradā,⁶
Mukho⁷ ca gandhasampanno amusāmadhurabhāsītā.

Surāpānā veramaṇiyā na ummattā⁸ amohadā,
Hiri ottappasampanno saccavādasurūpitā.⁹

Evam eva gahapati sīlaṃ hi nāmetaṃ mahāguṇaṃ
mahānisaṃsaṃ¹⁰ ti evam eva gahapati Bhagavā Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa
sīlānisaṃsaṃ kathesi. Puna Bhagavā etad avoca: Yo hi koci purisapuggalo
itthi vā puriso vā khattiyo vā khattiyā¹¹ vā brāhmaṇo vā brāhmaṇi vā

¹ A [pūritam]

² C₂Y pahūtadhanadhañño

³ A micchācāriyā, Y micchācāraveramaṇiyā

⁴ ABX pamuccitā

⁵ Y sukkasampanno

⁶ Z [puthupaññā visāradu]

⁷ X mukhe

⁸ Take na ummattā as a crude way of creating the antonym of ummattā ? or as a mistake for anumattā ?

⁹ A saccāvādisurūpitā; C₁ surūpito; C₂ sabbavādasurūpitā

¹⁰ C₁ mahāguṇamahānisaṃsati; XY mahānisaṃsaṃ ti

¹¹ BC₁C₂YZ [khattiyāni]

gahapatiko vā gahapatānī¹ vā daliddo vā² daliddī vā,³ ekaṃ bhikkhave⁴ rakkhitabbaṃ. Katamaṃ ekaṃ rakkhitabbaṃ ? Pāṇātipātā paṭivirato⁵ hoti, Pubbavidehānaṃ rājāno⁶ hoti mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Dutiyam pi bhikkhave sīlaṃ⁷ rakkhitabbaṃ. Katamaṃ dutiyam sīlaṃ rakkhitabbaṃ ?⁸ Adinnādānaṃ pahāya adinnādānapaṭivirato hoti, Aparagoyāne manussānaṃ rājāno hoti⁹ mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Tatiyam pi bhikkhave sīlaṃ¹⁰ rakkhitabbaṃ. Katamaṃ¹¹ tatiyam sīlaṃ rakkhitabbaṃ ? Abrahmacariyaṃ pahāya abrahmacariyā paṭivirato hoti, Uttarakurudīpassa rājāno hoti¹² mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Bhikkhave catuttham pi sīlaṃ¹³ rakkhitabbaṃ. Katamaṃ catuttham sīlaṃ rakkhitabbaṃ ? Musāvādaṃ¹⁴ pahāya¹⁵ musāvādā veramaṇiyaṃ paṭivirato¹⁶ hoti, sakalajambudīpamanussānaṃ rājāno honti¹⁷ cakkavattirajjasirīṃ paṭilabhati mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Bhikkhave pañcamam pi¹⁸ sīlaṃ rakkhitabbaṃ. Katamaṃ ? Surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānaṃ¹⁹

¹ AC₂ [*gahapatinī*]

² C₁ omits *daliddo vā*

³ Y omits from *gahapatiko* to *daliddī vā*

⁴ BC₁C₂Y *Bhikkhave ekaṃ*; X *ekaṃ sīlaṃ bhikkhave*

⁵ A [*paṭivira*]

⁶ A plural form used for the singular ?; similar solecisms are found below.

⁷ C₁C₂Y *Bhikkhave dutiyam pi sīlaṃ*

⁸ X omits *dutiyam sīlaṃ rakkhitabbaṃ*

⁹ C₂X *honti*

¹⁰ YZ *Bhikkhave tatiyam sīlaṃ*; C₁C₂ *Bhikkhave tatiyam pi sīlaṃ*

¹¹ ABZ add *sīlaṃ* here

¹² AC₁C₂ *honti*

¹³ A *Catuttham pi sīlaṃ bhikkhave sīlaṃ*; X *Catuttham pi sīlaṃ bhikkhave*

¹⁴ B (*Musāvādā*)

¹⁵ AX omit *musāvādaṃ pahāya*

¹⁶ Y (*paṭivīraso*); there is an obvious confusion in the clause as it stands, since it says the opposite of what must be intended.

¹⁷ BY *hoti*

¹⁸ AY *Pañcamam pi bhikkhave*; X (*pañcam pi bhikkhave*); C₁C₂ (*Bhikkhave pañcam pi*)

¹⁹ A [*°pamādaṭṭha*]

pahāya surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānā paṭivirato hoti, cātummahārājikānaṃ devānaṃ rājāno hoti¹ tattha mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo devaputto hoti.

Bhikkhave chaṭṭham pi² sīlaṃ rakkhitabbaṃ. Katamaṃ chaṭṭham³ sīlaṃ rakkhitabbaṃ ? Vikālabhojanaṃ⁴ pahāya vikālabhojanā paṭivirato hoti, Tāvatiṃsānaṃ devānaṃ rājāno honti mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo devaputto hoti. Bhikkhave sattam pi⁵ sīlaṃ rakkhitabbaṃ. Katamaṃ sattamam pi⁶ bhikkhave sīlaṃ rakkhitabbaṃ ? Naccagītavāditam⁷ pahāya naccagītavāditā⁸ paṭivirato hoti, Yāmānaṃ devānaṃ⁹ rājāno honti¹⁰ mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti.¹¹ Bhikkhave aṭṭhamam¹² pi¹³ sīlaṃ rakkhitabbaṃ.¹⁴ Mālāgandhavilepanaṃ pahāya mālāgandhavilepanā¹⁵ paṭivirato hoti, Tusitānaṃ devānaṃ rājāno honti mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Bhikkhave navamam¹⁶ pi¹⁷ sīlaṃ rakkhitabbaṃ. Bhikkhave katamaṃ¹⁸ navamaṃ sīlaṃ rakkhitabbaṃ ? Uccāsayanam¹⁹

¹ X honti

² AX Chaṭṭham pi bhikkhave

³ C₂ chaṭṭham pi

⁴ A [Vikālabhojanā]

⁵ AC₂X Sāttam pi bhikkhave; *sattamam* would normally be expected.

⁶ BC₁C₂ sattam pi

⁷ A [naccagītavāditam]

⁸ XYZ [naccagītavādita]

⁹ Y Yāmādevānaṃ

¹⁰ B hoti

¹¹ Y (honti)

¹² BC₁C₂Y aṭṭham

¹³ ABC₁C₂X Aṭṭhamam pi (or Aṭṭham pi, as in previous note) bhikkhave

¹⁴ According to the previous syntactical pattern, a phrase using *katamaṃ* would be expected here. Since the text makes sense without the phrase, however, it is not possible to infer that there is a gap or lacuna here.

¹⁵ AC₁C₂Y [mālāgandhavilepanaṃ]

¹⁶ C₂Y (navam pi)

¹⁷ ABX Navamam pi bhikkhave

¹⁸ ABX Katamaṃ bhikkhave

¹⁹ A uccāsayanamahāsayanam; C₂ uccāsayanamahāsayanānaṃ

pahāya uccāsayanamahāsayanā paṭivirato hoti, Nimmānaratīnaṃ¹ devānaṃ rājāno² honti mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Bhikkhave dasamaṃ³ sīlaṃ⁴ rakkhitabbaṃ.⁵ Bhikkhave katamaṃ⁶ dasasīlaṃ⁷ rakkhitabbaṃ? Jātarūparajatapaṭiggahaṇaṃ⁸ pahāya⁹ jātarūparajata-paṭiggahanā paṭivirato hoti, Paranimittavasavattīnaṃ devānaṃ rājāno honti mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Bhikkhave imāni dasasīlāni¹⁰ rakkhitabbaṃ, iti imaṃ Satthā¹¹ gātham āha:¹²

Sataṃ hatthi sataṃ assā sataṃ assasarīrathā¹³
 Sataṃ kaññā sahaṣṣāni¹⁴ āmuttamaṇikuṇḍalā
 Ekassa padavītiḥārassa kalamā nāgghanti soḷasiṃ.

Dveme kule uppajjanti khattiye cāpi¹⁵ brāhmaṇe
 Hīne kule¹⁶ na¹⁷ jāyanti sīlaṃ rakkhayidaṃ phalaṃ.

¹ A *Nimmānaṃ ratīnaṃ*; X *Nimmākaratīnaṃ*; Y *Nibbānaratīnaṃ*

² A *rājā*

³ A *Dasasīlaṃ bhikkhave*

⁴ C₂ *dasasīlaṃ*

⁵ Y *sīlarakkhitabbaṃ*

⁶ ABXY *Katamaṃ bhikkhave*

⁷ Emend to *dasamaṃ sīlaṃ* ?

⁸ B *Jātarūparajatapaṭiggahanā*; C₁C₂ °*paṭiggahānaṃ*

⁹ X omits *jātarūparajatapaṭiggahaṇaṃ pahāya*

¹⁰ ABC₁C₂X *Imāni dasasīlāni bhikkhave*

¹¹ Y (*Sattham*)

¹² Z *evam āha*; perhaps this variant is an instance of contamination from a *pada ānuma*, since it agrees with a gloss found in C₂.

¹³ BC₂Z [*assasarīrathā*]; emend to *assatarīrathā* ?

¹⁴ Y omits *sahaṣṣāni*

¹⁵ Z *vāpi*; Y *ca*

¹⁶ C₁ *Hīnakule*

¹⁷ AY omit *na*

Anantabhogasampannaṃ anantabalavāhanaṃ
Nārivaragaṇākiṇṇaṃ sīlaṃ rakkhayidaṃ¹ phalaṃ.²

Hatthi assārathā patti senā hi³ caturaṅgini
Samantā parivārenti sīlaṃ rakkhayidaṃ⁴ phalaṃ.⁵
Kaye candanagandho ca mukhe vāyanti uppalaṃ
Sattayojanaṃ⁶ vāyanti sīlaṃ rakkhayidaṃ⁷ phalaṃ.

Mahāpuññā mahātejā mahāpaññā mahāyasā⁸
Mahābalā mahāthamā sīlaṃ rakkhayidaṃ⁹ phalaṃ.

Sīlaṃ ābharaṇaṃ setthaṃ sīlābharaṇaṃ uttamaṃ
Sīlaṃ apāyabhāyajananaṃ¹⁰ sīlaṃ rakkhayidaṃ¹¹ phalaṃ.

¹ B *rakkha idaṃ*; C₁C₂ *rakkhaṃ idaṃ*

² A omits this verse.

³ BZ *senāya*; C₁X omit *hi*

⁴ BY *rakkha idaṃ*; C₁ *rakkheyya idaṃ phalaṃ*; C₂ *rakkhaṃ*

⁵ AX then add:

Hemavanto surūpo ca piyā[†] ca manvaḍḍhati
Pañcakalyāṇasampanno susaṅghatanumajjhima[†]
Lābhino^{} sabbabhogānaṃ sīlaṃ rakkhayidaṃ phalaṃ*

[†] Emend to *piyo* or take as an accusative plural ?

[†] The meaning of this pada is unclear — perhaps “because of being (even) moderately well-restrained”.

^{*} Nominative plural used for *lābhī* ?

⁶ A *sattayojana*

⁷ BC₁YZ *rakkha idaṃ*

⁸ A omits *mahāyasā*

⁹ BC₁C₂ *rakkhaṃ*; Y *rakkha idaṃ*

¹⁰ There is an apparent violation of metre here. A possible emendation which would restore the metre might be *abhayaajananaṃ*: “*sīla* produces a lack of fear (about hell)”, rather than “*sīla* produces fear about hell.”

¹¹ BYZ *rakkha idaṃ*; C₁C₂ *rakkhaṃ idaṃ*

Candanaṃ tagaraṃ cāpi¹ uppalaṃ attha vassikī²

Etesaṃ gandhajātānaṃ sīlagandho anuttaro.

Dasasīlānisamsaṃ³ silakathānantaraṃ saggakathā kathetum⁴ ārabhi. Sakko hi nāmetaṃ gahapati Indo manāpo ekantasukho niccaṃ Sinerumatthake⁵ Tāvatiṃsabhavane dibbayasena abhiramanti. Niccaṃ dibbasampattiṃ⁶ abhiramitvā⁷ dibbehi rūpehi⁸ samannāgato dibbehi vatthālaṃkārehi samannāgato⁹ patimaṇḍitā dibbamālāgandhavilepanehi vibhusitā¹⁰ dibbehi pañcaṅgikaturiyehi sadā pappoṭhitā¹¹ dibbehi naccagītavāditehi nanditā niccaṃ dibbasampattiṃ¹² abhiramanti.

Cātummahārājikānaṃ¹³ devānaṃ āyuppaṃānaṃ navutivassasatasahassāni ettakaṃ pana kālaṃ dibbasampattisukkhānubhavanti. Tāvatiṃse¹⁴ devānaṃ pana āyuppaṃānaṃ pana tisso¹⁵ ca vassakoṭṭiyo saddhiṃ ca vassasatasahassāni honti. Ettakāni¹⁶ āyuppaṃānāni dibbasampattiṃ¹⁷ anubhavitā abhiramiṃsu.¹⁸ Yāmānaṃ devānaṃ āyuppaṃānaṃ

¹ X vāpi

² BC₁XYZ [vassikhī]

³ Y sīlānisamsaṃ; C₂ dasasīlānisamsaṃ ti

⁴ A saggakathetum; C₁ saggakathānukathetum

⁵ AZ [Sinerumatthake]

⁶ C₂Y (dibbasampatti)

⁷ Y anubhavitvā

⁸ BC₁C₂YZ [omit rūpehi]

⁹ A samannāgatā

¹⁰ All manuscripts indicate a full stop here, using a *kuṇḍiliya*, although this leaves a sentence with only an implied verb.

¹¹ A pappoyitā, C₁C₂ (pappoṭhitā); X (papphoṭhitā)

¹² AC₁ dibbasampatti

¹³ AY [Cātummahārājikā]

¹⁴ C₂ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ; A [Tāvatiṃso]

¹⁵ Emend to tiṃsā ?

¹⁶ Z [etthakāni]

¹⁷ C₁ dibbasampatti; B adds sukhaṃ

¹⁸ Z [abhiramiṃsu]

cuddasakoṭiyo¹ ca cattālīsavassasahasassāni honti. Ettakaṃ pana kālaṃ dibbasampattiṃ anubhavitvā abhiramissanti. Tusitānaṃ² devānaṃ āyupamānaṃ sattapaññāsavassakoṭiyo saddhiṃ ca vassasahasassāni honti. Ettakaṃ³ pana kālaṃ⁴ āyūni dibbasukhaṃ dibbasampattiṃ⁵ anubhavitvā⁶ abhiramissanti.⁷ Nimmānaratīnaṃ⁸ devānaṃ āyupamānaṃ dvevassakoṭiyo satāni tiṃsaṃ ca vassakoṭiyo cattālīsaṃ ca vassasahasassāni honti. Ettakāni⁹ pana āyūni dibbasukhaṃ dibbasampattiṃ anubhavitvā abhiramiṃsu.¹⁰ Paranimittavasavattīnaṃ devānaṃ āyupamānaṃ navavassakoṭiyo satāni¹¹ tiṃsaṃ ca vassakoṭiyo¹² saddhiṃ ca vassasahasassāni honti. Ettakāni pana āyūni dibbasukhaṃ dibbasampattiṃ anubhavitvā abhiramiṃsu. Tattha uppajjitvā dīgharattaṃ¹³ abhiramiṃsu.

Sakkassa devānaṃ Indassa pāsādo¹⁴ pākārehi parikkhittaṃ¹⁵ sāvīthiyā¹⁶ uyyānaṃ sāpokkharāṇi¹⁷ sākapparukkhaṃ¹⁸ sāhatthiyānaṃ

¹ AC₂X [chuddasa-]

² X *Tuḥitānaṃ*; an example of the influence of Sinhala phonology on Pali orthography ?

³ X *Ettakāni*

⁴ X omits *kālaṃ*

⁵ C₁C₂ *dibbaṃ sampattiṃ*; Z *dibbasampatti*

⁶ A then adds *abhiramivā*

⁷ X *abhiramiṃsu*

⁸ A then adds *pana*

⁹ Z [*ettakaṃ*]

¹⁰ X omits preceding two sentences.

¹¹ A *navavassakoṭisatāni*

¹² A then adds [*satāyo*]; C₂ adds *satānitim*

¹³ BC₂ (*dīgharattim*)

¹⁴ Y then adds *hoti*

¹⁵ Emend to *parikkhito* ?

¹⁶ A *sāvīthi*

¹⁷ Z [*sāpokkharāṇim*]; emend *sā* throughout sentence to *sa* ?

¹⁸ ABY (*sākapparukkha*); C₂ (*sākapparukkha*)

sāassayānaṃ sārathayānaṃ. Tasmim¹ yeva pokkharāṇiye² padumuppalaṃ³ puṇḍarīkaṇ⁴ ca tale t̥hitam⁵ nānā pupphāni anuvātaṃ paṭivātaṃ vāyanti. Pañcaṅgikaturiyāni niccaṃ ramanīyaṃ karonti. Devehi sabbaturiyāni vāḍenti⁶ madhurassarena gītasaddena gīyanti⁷ naccan⁸ tā rattiṃ divā pabodhenti.

Tādisaṃ Sakkasukkhā pi puññakammaṃ⁹ akarantehi na laddhaṃ. Imasmim yeva loke ye keci kammaṃ karā¹⁰ vā mātāpituposakā dānaṃ dadantā sīlaṃ rakkhantā bhavitā Buddhassa vā Dhammassa vā Saṃghassa vā ye keci sakkāraṃ karonto¹¹ pūjanīyyānaṃ¹² pūjantā vandantā¹³ puññakammesu appammattāko¹⁴ te sabbe janā tādisaṃ dibbasukhaṃ dibbasampattiṃ paṭilabbhitvā dīgharattaṃ¹⁵ abhiraṃsiṃsu.

¹ X (*tasmin*)

² Y (*pokkharāṇiye*); emend to *pokkharāṇiyā*

³ BC₂ (*upphalaṃ*)

⁴ XY (*upphalapuṇḍarīkaṇca*)

⁵ C₁C₂Z *talet̥hitam*

⁶ *Vāḍenti*, a causative, is apparently being used as a passive, or perhaps *devehi* should be taken as *deve hi*, with an accusative plural used as a nominative. Some emendation would thus seem appropriate here.

⁷ A *gīyanti*; in both cases a denominative verb form is used instead of the more standard *gāyanti*.

⁸ B *naccan*

⁹ X *puññaṃ kammaṃ*

¹⁰ X *kammakarā*

¹¹ Emend to *karontā* ?

¹² YZ *pūjaneyyanaṃ*

¹³ X *vandanīyānaṃ vandantā*

¹⁴ Emend to *appammattā* ?

¹⁵ BC₂ (*dīgharattiṃ*)

Evam Bhagavā saggaṇapaṭisaṃyuttaṃ¹ dhammadesanaṃ
Tuṇḍilassa gahapatiputtassa² desesi.

Puna ayaṃ saggo anicco addhuvo. Sabbe³ pi devā tathā yāvataṃ
sukhaṃ tathā puna puññakkhayaṃ ramanīyyasaggato cavitvā pana
puññajātiyaṃ uppajjanti. Tasmā gahapati ayaṃ saggo nāma anicco
addhuvo sabbasamkhāresu jigucchikātuṃ yuttaṃ⁴ na heṭṭhāchandarāgo
kātabbo. Alaṃ piyāyituṃ alaṃ tussituṃ alaṃ vivajjituṃ vimuḍdituṃ.⁵

Evam Bhagavā saggakathānantaraṃ kāmesu dosaṃ dassetuṃ⁶
ārabhi. Bho gahapati kāme⁷ hi nāmetam mahantaṃ ghorataraṃ dukkhaṃ
paṭivadeti. Kāmaṃ nissāya bahusoko bahūpāyaso bahūpaddavo dukkhena
sayati dukkhena na parimuccati. Niccaṃ uppekkhaggacitto hoti,⁸ niccaṃ
dummukho hoti, niccaṃ soko hoti, niccaṃ ḍasito hoti,⁹ niccaṃ aññehi
pīlito hoti, niccaṃ bahudukkho hoti. Kāmena icchā nāma na ciraṃ
tiṭṭhanti.¹⁰ Padumupattato¹¹ galita udakaṃ viya hoti khaṇe neva muccati
vinassati yevati, asaccabhāvena¹² supinakkupamā kāmā,¹³ attano
issariyabhāvena araṇṇaṃ dahanam tiṇakkupamā kāmā,¹⁴ aticcaphala-

¹ C₁C₂ *saggagunam*; X *saggagunā*; C₁C₂YZ [*paṭisaṃyuttaṃ*]

² B *Tuṇḍilagahapatiputtassa*

³ AX then add *samkhāresu jigucchiyakatuṃ*

⁴ BC₁C₂Z [*yuttaṃ*]; emend to *yutto* ?

⁵ C₂ *vimucchituṃ*

⁶ C₁ *desetuṃ*

⁷ ABC₂Y *kāmesu*

⁸ The meaning here is not immediately obvious. I take this clause to mean that *upekkhā* is the best mental state possible in this world, that is, happiness — true happiness — is not possible.

⁹ A omits *niccaṃ ḍasito hoti*.

¹⁰ BX *tiṭṭhanti*

¹¹ A *padumapattakoṇā*

¹² A [*accabhāvesu*]

¹³ A then adds *tāpana*

¹⁴ A omits *kāmā*

bhāvena¹ sappisirupamā² kāmā, pajjalitabhāvena tiṇakkupamā kāmā, tāpanabhāvena³ aṅārakāsupamā⁴ kāmā, jīvitaharaṇaṭṭhena halāhalavisupamā⁵ kāmā, vilīnabhāvena⁶ naccalohupamā⁷ kāmā, pajjalitabhāvena ayogulupamā⁸ kāmā, atekicchabhāvena makkhiganā parivāritavaṇūpamā⁹ kāmā, tathā dukkham eva kevaḷam.

Duggandhabhāvena¹⁰ pūtiparipunṇagaṇḍupamā kāmā, gūtharāsīmhi nimuggapuriso viya kāmā, pūtikunapesu hatthapavesanapuriso¹¹ viya kāmā, aṅārakapallesu¹² aṅgulipakkhittapuriso¹³ viya¹⁴ kāmā, evaṃ kāmānissāya¹⁵ imasmiṃ loke¹⁶ yeva ativiyaḥhorataram¹⁷ dukkhaṇ¹⁸ ca mahantaṇ ca vināsaṃ paṭisaṃvedenti.¹⁹ Puna tato²⁰ idhalokadukkhaṇ²¹ ca

¹ Z omits *aticcaphalabhāvena*; XY *aniccaphalabhāvena*

² Z omits *sappisirupamā*; the compound can be read as “like a lump (Pali: *sira*) of ghee” or perhaps as “like a stream (borrowing Sanskrit *śirā*) of ghee.”

³ Y omits *tiṇakkupamā kāmā, tāpanabhāvena*

⁴ B omits *aṅārakāsupamā*

⁵ C₁C₂ *halāhalavisūpamā*

⁶ B *vinīlabbhāvena*

⁷ C₂X *tambalohupamā*. The exact significance of the simile is obscure to me, largely because of the difficulty of *nacca*. Perhaps it should be understood as “like quivering — that is, molten (as is suggested by the variant in C₂X) — metal.”

⁸ AZ [*ayogutthupamā*]

⁹ B *parivāritanupamā*; Y *parivāritā*; Z *parivāritam*

¹⁰ A [*duggandho bhāvena*]

¹¹ X *hattham pavesanapuriso*

¹² ABC₁XYZ [*aṅārakaphallesu*]

¹³ Z [*aṅguliparikkhinna*]; perhaps *parikhīṇa* was intended?

¹⁴ Y then adds *puna*

¹⁵ BX *kāmaṇ nissāya*; A [*kāmānissāya*]

¹⁶ X omits *loke*

¹⁷ Y *ativiyaḥhoram*

¹⁸ C₁ *dukkham ca*

¹⁹ XY *paṭivedenti*; C₂ *paṭisaṃvedenti*

²⁰ A *tathā*

²¹ C₂ *idhaloke dukkhaṇ ca*

paṭivedetvā¹ puna paraloke mahānirayesu uppajjanti. Tasmim̐ yeva mahāniraye tippakharā kaṭukā vedanā paṭivedenti.

Evam̐ Bhagavā kāmesu dosaṃ dassetvā,² nikkhamme ānisaṃsaṃ kathetum̐ ārabhi. Bho gahapati gharāvāso nāma bahudukkho bahūpāyāso bahupalibodho bahukicchā³ bahukaraṇiyo bahucintā bahu icchā. Imasmim̐⁴ yeva gharāvāsesu dukkham̐ eva kevalam̐, nirayam̐ yeva santikam̐ upanenti,⁵ nibbānamaggassa dūrabhāvaṃ karoti. Tasmā gahapati gharāvāso nāma jegucchiyaṃ⁶ kātum̐ yuttam̐,⁷ na tattha chandarāgo kātabbo. Alam̐ nanditum̐ alam̐ piyātum̐ alam̐ virajjitum̐⁸ alam̐ vimuccitum̐. Yo koci puggalo kāmesu ādīnavañ ca gharāvāsesu dosañ ca disvā puttadarassa⁹ rañjanam̐ chaḍḍetvā gehato nikkhamitvā Himavantam̐ pavisitvā¹⁰ brahmacariyaṃ carissati. So puggalo mahantam̐ nibbāna-sukham̐¹¹ paṭilabhissati.

Evam̐ Bhagavā gharāvāsesu¹² dosañ ca nikkhamme ānisaṃsañ ca dassetvā nibbānassānisaṃsaṃ pakāseto: Bho gahapati nibbāyati etaṃ¹³ tasmā nibbānan ti vuccati. Jātijarāvyādhimaraṇadukkham̐ etesaṃ catunnam̐ dukkham̐ nibbāpeti¹⁴ nibbānam̐ nāma, rāgadosamohamānam̐

¹ A [paṭivedeti vā ca]

² C₁ desetvā

³ A [bahukicco]

⁴ Emend to *imesu* ? or perhaps understand as *imasmim̐ loka* ?

⁵ Emend to *upaneti* ?

⁶ X *jegucchikātum̐*; BC₁C₂Z [*jecchiyaṃ*]; emend to *jigucchi* - ?

⁷ C₁C₂Z [*yuttam̐*]; emend to *yutto* ?

⁸ X (*viram̐situm̐*)

⁹ B then adds *chandaṃ*

¹⁰ A [*paṭisitvā*]

¹¹ Z *nibbānasukhā*

¹² B *gharāvāse*

¹³ BX (*etaṃ nibbānam̐*)

¹⁴ B *nibbānam̐ peti*; C₂ *nibbānapeti*; C₁ (*nibbāpeni*)

natthi¹ atthi etesaṃ pañcannaṃ² dosānaṃ nibbānapetīti nibbānaṃ nāma³
ti uccati.⁴ Tasmim⁵ nibbāne ajātiṃ ajaraṃ abyadhiṃ⁶ amaraṃ⁷
nibbhayaṃ⁸ na upaddavaṃ.⁹

Sattappavaraṃ¹⁰ ramaṇiyyataṇaṇ¹¹ ca nibbānamahānagaraṃ
sapākāraṃ sadvāraṃ sāttālakāṃ saparikkhitaṃ savīthi saantarāpanaṃ
sakappaṃ sapāsādaṃ¹² satambhaṃ sasayanaṃ sapallaṅkaṃ¹³ sadīpa-
pajjalitaṃ¹⁴ samālāgandhavilepanaṃ sapokkharāṇiyaṃ sajalaparipuṇṇaṃ
savāluṅkaṃ¹⁵ tasmim¹⁶ yeva¹⁶ pokkharāṇiye¹⁷ sapadumuppalakumuda-
pūṇḍarikaṃ¹⁸ sabhamaraṃ sauyyānaṃ¹⁹ sahaṃsacakkavākaṃ²⁰ satalākaṃ

¹ C₂ *rāgadosamohamānana*atthi; emend *natthi* to *diṭṭhi* ? or take *natthi* as referring to the view of nihilism, which is generally rejected as a wrong view.

² Emend to *pañcānaṃ* ?

³ X adds *sokadukkha*paridevadomanassa upāyāsādī hi atthi etesā (emend to *etesaṃ* ?) *dukkhānaṃ nibbānaṃ peti nibbānaṃ nāma*

⁴ A *vuccati*

⁵ B adds *yeva*

⁶ BYZ [*ovyādhiṃ*]; C₁ (*auvyādhiṃ*)

⁷ C₂ *amaraṇaṃ*; A [*amaṇaṃ*]

⁸ ABC₁Z [*nibbhayaṃ*]

⁹ B omits *na upaddavaṃ*; emend to *anupaddavaṃ* ?

¹⁰ B (*sattappaddavaraṃ*)

¹¹ Perhaps *ramaṇiyyatāṇaṇ* ca is intended ?; AC₁C₂XY *ramaṇiyyanaṇ*

¹² C₁C₂Z [*sapāsādhamaṃ*]

¹³ A [*sapallakaṃ*]

¹⁴ AXY *sadīpajjalitaṃ*

¹⁵ BC₂Z *savāṭṭhukaṃ*

¹⁶ C₂ *ye*; X (*ye so*)

¹⁷ X (*pokkharāṇi*)

¹⁸ BC₁C₂ (*°upphala-*); AB [*°kumudu-*]

¹⁹ A [*uyyāyanaṃ*]; C₂ (*uyyānaṃ*)

²⁰ B *haṃsacakkavālaṃ*

jīvaṃjīvakasaṃghā naccāhakokilasuvapotakā¹ madhurakoṇicādī sakuna-
gaṇehi² sevitaṃ, evaṃ³ nibbānamahānagarassa⁴ sampattiyo honti.⁵

Tathā nibbānamahānagare⁶ kiṃ taṃ pākāraṃ ? Khantipāramī
pākārasadisam. Kiṃ taṃ sadvāraṃ ? Dānapāramī dvārasadisam.⁷ Kiṃ taṃ
saattālakam ? Samādhi attālasadisam. Kiṃ taṃ saparikkhittam ?
Mettāpāramī⁸ parikkhittapākārāsadisam.⁹ Kiṃ taṃ savīthi ? Catuvīsati-
samantapadhānam. Kiṃ taṃ saantarāpanam ? Sattatimsabodhipakkhiyam
antarāpanasadisam.¹⁰ Kiṃ taṃ sapāsādam ?¹¹ Dasapāramī pāsādasadisam.
Kiṃ taṃ satambham ? Abhidhammasattappakaraṇatambhasadisam.¹²
Kiṃ taṃ sayanam ? Nekkhammapāramī sayanasadisam. Kiṃ taṃ
pallaṅkam ? Vimuttiñāṇapallaṅkasadisam.¹³ Kiṃ taṃ sapadīpa-
pajjalitam ?¹⁴ Nānapadīpajjalitasadisam.¹⁵ Kiṃ taṃ mālāgandha-
vilepanam ? Saccapāramī mālāgandhavilepanasadisam. Kiṃ taṃ
sapokkharāṇiyyam ?¹⁶ Bhāvanā pokkharāṇisadisam. Kiṃ taṃ jala-
paripuṇṇam ? Kāruṇā sītalajalaparipuṇṇasadisam.¹⁷ Kiṃ taṃ

¹ BC₁ naccākokilasuvapotakā

² A [sakunagahane vinam hi]

³ C₂ (ekam)

⁴ C₁C₂ nibbānassa mahānagarassa

⁵ Y (hoti)

⁶ B nibbānam mahānagare

⁷ AZC₁C₂XY dānapāramī dvāraṃ sadisam

⁸ C₂ mettāya pāramī; I suspect that this variant is an instance of contamination by a pada ānuma.

⁹ Z parikkhittam pākārasadisam; BC₁C₂XY parikkhittam sadisam

¹⁰ B antarāpanam sadisam

¹¹ BZ omit sa

¹² Emend to Abhidhammasattappakaraṇam tambhasadisam ?

¹³ C₂ vimuttiñāṇam pallaṅkam sadisam; emend to Vimuttiñāṇam pallaṅkasadisam ?

¹⁴ B sampadīpajjalitam

¹⁵ Emend to Nānam padīpajjalitasadisam ?

¹⁶ AC₂ [pokkharāṇiyyā]

¹⁷ AB kāruṇāsītalajalaparipuṇṇam sadisam

sapadumuppalakumudapundarikam ?¹ Sīlam.² Kiṃ tam sabhamaram ? Aggasāvakam³ bhamaragaṇasadisam. Kiṃ tam⁴ uyyānam ? Viriyam⁵ uyyānasadisam. Kiṃ tam haṃsacakkavākam⁶ Jātikilesamalavijahitam arahantam haṃsacakkavākadijagaṇasadisam.⁷ Kiṃ tam jīvamjīvakādisakunaṇaṇehi sevitam ? Nibbānataḷākasadisam.⁸ Tasmim yeva nibbānagare sattappakaraṇehi samvitthārāvā⁹ hoti ti.

Saccam ekantasukkham eva hoti. Tādisam saggasukkham¹⁰ akatapuññehi na laddham. Kiṃ aṅga pana tathā nibbānanagaram gantum vā pāpunitum vā pavisitum na sakkā¹¹ laddhum. Yena kenaci janā dānena pi yadā puññakammesu pi ratā, te pi janā niyatam eva nibbānamahānagaram gantum vā pāpunitum vā pavisitum vā passitum vā labhissanti. Atha Satthā nibbānamahānagaram vaṇṇento āha:

Santam paṇitam amalam sivaṃ abhayaṃ maccutam¹²
Ajaram amataṃ khemaṃ¹³ nibbānam nāma īdisan ti

¹ B *padumuppalakumudapundarikam*

² BC₂ omit *sīlam*; A then adds [*padumuppalakumudapund sadisam*], obviously a copyist's error, but one which suggests that the usual pattern in the simile was expected here too.

³ A *agge sāvakam*; B *aggasāvakā*

⁴ A then adds *sa*

⁵ AC₂ *virīya*

⁶ B (*haṃsacakkavākam*)

⁷ BC₁ omit *arahantam haṃsacakkavākadijagaṇasadisam*

⁸ Emend to *nibbānam taḷākasadisam* ?

⁹ Read as *samvitthārā vā* ?; or emend to *samvitthārāvā* ?

¹⁰ X *saggamukham*

¹¹ A [*sakko*]

¹² Emend to *maccutaram* ?; or, to keep metre, to *madhuram* ?

¹³ All manuscripts then add [*evam Bhagavā*]

Evaṃ Bhagavā anekaguṇasaṃyuttaṃ¹ dhammadesanaṃ Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa desesi. Gahapatiko pi ime acchariyabbhutaṃ² dhammadesanaṃ sutvā Irandatī nāma bhariyāya³ saddhiṃ dhammarasaṃ pivitvā pītivegena ubho pi jayampatikā arahattaṃ pāpuniṃsu. Aññe pi janā bahusotāpattiphalādini pāpuniṃsu.

Tuṇḍilovādasuttaṃ.⁴

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¹ BZ [*anekaguṇasaṃyuttaṃ*]

² A *acchariyabbhutaṃ*; C₂ *acchariyaṃ abbhutaṃ*; Y *acchariya abbhutaṃ*

³ A [*bhariyā*]; Z [*bharyyā*]

⁴ X adds *nitthitaṃ*; A adds a scribe's colophon: *ito cutoham vara jambudīpe mālaye* (emend to *Himālaye* ?) *hemamayampi kūte, kappāyuko devapatīca hutvā meteyyanāthassa sunomi dhammaṃ*; B lapses into Sinhala in its ending: *Siddhir astu, subham astu, arogyam astu. Tuṇḍilovādasuttaṃ nitthitaṃ. Sadhusadhubuduvemivā.*

APROPOS THE PĀLI VINAYA AS A HISTORICAL DOCUMENT: A REPLY TO GREGORY SCHOPEN

In an article on “The Stūpa Cult and the Extant Pāli Vinaya,”¹ Gregory Schopen argues that Theravādins once knew a *Vinaya* text different from that now available to us. The difference suggested by Schopen is not minor: his hypothesis is that the Pāli *Vinaya* once had rules regarding *stūpas*, just as the *Vinayas* of other Buddhist schools do. Obviously, if this provocative hypothesis is correct, it would have wide ramifications for our understanding of the Theravāda as a historical tradition. It could be the keystone for a new vision of the the social structure and practice of ancient Buddhist communities.

I have a great deal of sympathy with the promise of that new vision, and like Gregory Schopen, I feel that it has been too long in coming. However, I also find Schopen’s specific suggestion about the Pāli *Vinaya* to be untenable. Before giving reasons for this judgement, I would first like to acknowledge the continuing value of this paper for a student of Buddhism. Schopen’s article on the Pāli *Vinaya*, like so much of his work, combines a scepticism towards received ideas in scholarship and a keen ability to see new connections between scattered details. This is an exemplary combination that more often than not leads to a better understanding of the history of the Buddhist traditions. Moreover, this article offers, in the course of supporting the main suggestion about the “extant Pāli *Vinaya*,” many particular insights and recommendations for future research; these on their own make the article a valuable contribution to Buddhist historiography.

¹ Gregory Schopen, “The Stūpa Cult and the Extant Pāli Vinaya,” *JPTS*, XIII (1989), pp. 83–100.

I

Schopen's argument that the Pāli *Vinaya* once contained rules regarding *stūpas* rests ultimately on the interpretation of a few passages in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* and the twelfth century monastic code (*katikāvata*) of Parākramabāhu I. Other important information documenting monastic participation in the *stūpa* cult as a matter of some ordinariness is offered as corroboration for the key textual interpretations, and indeed much of the article is devoted to this supporting material. All of this supporting material is relatively well-established,¹ in large part because of Gregory Schopen's own research, published elsewhere, and there is nothing about it that I would wish to gainsay. Valuable as this material is, it is still "circumstantial evidence" and alone it cannot confirm Schopen's hypothesis about the history of the *Vinaya* text.

In a curious way, however, some of Schopen's supporting material seems to turn on the main hypothesis itself, so much so that, in my view, the determinant interpretation of the different passages in the *Visuddhimagga* and the *katikāvata* consequently appears less credible. This subversion of the argument begins when Schopen notes that "if — as the *Mahā-Parākramabāhu Katikāvata*, the *Visuddhimagga*, and the *Sutta-Vibhaṅga* seem to suggest — the Pāli *Vinaya* originally contained such rules [regarding *stūpas*], then the fact that they are no longer found in the *Vinaya* known to us could, apparently, only be explained by

¹ See especially Gregory Schopen, "Burial 'ad sanctos' and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism: A Study in the Archeology of Religions," *Religion*, 17 (1987), pp. 207–25; Gregory Schopen, "Two Problems in the History of Indian Buddhism: The Layman/Monk Distinction and the Doctrines of the Transference of Merit," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 10 (1985), pp. 9–47; and Gregory Schopen, "On Monks, Nuns and 'Vulgar' Practices: The Introduction of the Image Cult into Indian Buddhism," *Artibus Asiae*, XLIX (1988–89), pp. 153–68.

assuming that either they had inadvertantly dropped out of the manuscripts or, perhaps, were intentionally written out.”¹ But having said this, Schopen then only gives reasons why neither of these assumptions can be seriously entertained.

By Schopen’s own admission, the possibility that rules regarding *stūpas* were lost due to interruptions in textual transmission is unlikely. It is just too good to be true that all such rules, which we might best assume were scattered throughout the canonical text as is the case with other *Vinayas*, could have been lost by reason of accident alone.² Other evidence can be added to Schopen’s reasoning about this unlikelihood. We should recall that the use of writing for the preservation of texts was a well-established feature of Theravādin monastic life by the time of Parākramabāhu’s *katikāvata*. The *Mahāvamsa* records some occasions when kings sponsored the writing of canonical texts and then donated these copies to monasteries around Sri Lanka. Bhuvanekabāhu, for example, “caused all the three *Piṭakas* to be written by learned scribes of the Scriptures [*Dhammapoṭṭhakalekhinaṃ*], rewarded them liberally and placed the copies in the diverse Vihāras of Laṅkā, and thus spread the Pāli scriptures throughout the land.”³ It strains all credibility even to consider that multiple “accidents of transmission” could afflict manuscripts scattered “throughout the land” so similarly, when even a single occurrence of such an accident is admitted to be unlikely. Moreover, it seems reasonable to expect that in a context where one collection of manuscripts was extensively damaged, some process of “textual

¹ Schopen, “Extant Pāli Vinaya,” p. 93.

² Schopen, “Extant Pāli Vinaya,” p. 95: “it would be easy enough to see how some of these scattered rules could have been lost through accidents of transmission, but that all such rules would have been lost in this way seems very unlikely.”

³ Mhv 90:37–38, translation quoted from G.P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, (London: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1928), p. 228. See also Mhv 45:3–4.

criticism" would correct whatever gaps had occurred, thus restoring at least a semblance of the original.

Schopen's alternative assumption — that the rules regarding *stūpas* were systematically removed — seems no more likely. Schopen himself provides abundant evidence that there could not have been any serious prohibition of monastic participation in the *stūpa* cult in the Buddhist communities of India and Sri Lanka before Buddhaghosa. There is also no evidence to indicate that this monastic participation was proscribed in the medieval period. Finally, we can add the fact of the numbers of *Vinaya* manuscripts and also manuscripts of the extensive commentarial literature associated with the *Vinaya*. To suggest that references to the rules regarding *stūpas* were systematically removed from so many duplicate manuscripts is to posit a preposterous conspiracy theory.¹ Conspiracies are notoriously difficult to establish, in courts of law and in scholarship; all too frequently the charge owes more to the preceptions of the accuser than to the facts themselves.

Thus both "explanations" of the hypothetical loss of rules regarding *stūpas* "raise many more questions than answers."² For me, then, Schopen's own support for his argument about the Pāli *Vinaya*

¹ Schopen seems to think that a careful examination of the *Samantapāsādikā* might confirm his hypothesis about an original Pāli *Vinaya*. I gather that he has in mind the possibility that the commentarial literature might display gaps in the *Vinaya* itself by preserving glosses and discussions of material now missing; see Schopen, "Extant Pāli Vinaya," p. 86, n. 9. My own cursory use of this commentarial literature makes me doubt that a discrepancy between text and commentary will be found to any degree more marked than with other commentaries. If such gaps were preserved in the *Vinaya* commentaries, I would expect Theravādin literature to address their source, in a manner analogous to Jaina acknowledgement of the loss of their original scriptures; the lack of such an acknowledgement is of course not conclusive, but merely contrasting "circumstantial evidence."

² Schopen, "Extant Pāli Vinaya," p. 95.

provides sufficient reason to reconsider whether his interpretation of the passages from the *Visuddhimagga* and Parākramabāhu's *katikāvata* is indeed correct.

II

If Schopen's argument about the Pāli *Vinaya* depends in the end on his interpretation of a limited number of passages, his interpretation of these passages depends on his understanding of an single term, *khandakavatta*. These passages associate, by juxtaposition at the very least, duties (*vattāni*) pertaining to *stūpas* and *bodhi* trees with other specific observances called collectively *khandakavattāni*. On the crucial point of this term's reference, Schopen is somewhat tentative, admitting that his interpretation depends on the correctness of other scholars' work.

Following the lead of standard dictionaries and translations, Schopen glosses *khandakavattāni* as "duties specified in the *Khandaka*," with the further possibility that they refer to the observances enumerated in the *Vattakkhandaka* portion of the *Vinaya*.¹ Impressively, this gloss is said to agree with that of the great *ṭīkācariya* Sāriputta, although Sāriputta's own interpretation comes at second-hand from a footnote in Ratnapala's translation of the *Mahā-Parākramabāhu Katikāvata*.

While this translation of *khandakavatta* is obviously plausible for lexical purposes, it is still too general to bear the weight it must, if it is to be the *sine qua non* of Schopen's hypothesis.

Some further specificity is provided by Sāriputta himself, in a discussion of *khandakavattāni* found in his *Vinaya ṭīkā*, the *Sāratthadīpanī*. The textual occasion for this discussion is Buddhaghosa's

¹ Schopen, "Extant Pāli Vinaya," p. 85.

reference to fourteen *khandakavattāni* and eighty-two *mahāvattāni* in the *Samantapāsādikā*; significantly Buddhaghosa is not commenting on any monastic practices at this point, but is elaborating the means by which the *saddhamma* may be preserved¹; it may be that in such a context Sāriputta would have been guided more by scriptural precedent than by the patterns of practice of his day and this discussion may then be a good reflection of the *Vinaya* he knew. The *Sāratthadīpanī* passage reads:

*cuddasa khandakavattāni nāma vattakkhandake vuttāni āgantuka-vattaṃ āvāsika-gamika-anumodana-bhattacha-piṇḍa-cārika-ārañṇaka-senāsana-jantāghara-vaccakuṭi-upajjhāya-saddhivihārika-ācariya-antevāsikavattan ti imāni cuddasa vattāni. Tato aññāni pana kadāci tajjanīyakammakatādīkāle yeva caritabbāni dve-asīti mahāvattāni. na sabbāsu avatthāsu caritabbāni. tasmā cuddasakkhandakavattesu gaṇitāni.*²

This may be translated:

“The fourteen *khandakavattāni* are those fourteen observances described in the *Vattakkhandaka* such as the observance pertaining to guest monks, to resident monks, and to monks going away, pertaining to giving thanks, to the refectory, to the collecting of alms, to the forest-dwellers, and to the lodging place, to the bathroom and to the latrine, to the preceptor, the co-resident, the teacher, and the pupil. Then the other eighty-two *mahāvattāni* are those which are to be practiced only at the appropriate time, as, for example, the act of censure was done, and are not to be practiced in all stages of life. Therefore they are not counted in the fourteen *khandakavattāni*.”

¹ Sp 225, glossing *saddhammatṭhitiyā*.

² Sāriputta, *Sāratthadīpanī nāma Vinayaṭīkāya* (Bangkok: Mahamakuta Rajavidyalaya, B. E. 2513), Vol. 2, p. 54.

This single passage provides sufficient evidence to doubt that Buddhaghosa and Sāriputta knew a *Vinaya* markedly different from the one we now have. First, Sāriputta employs conventional numbers in discussing the monastic observances. The idea of fourteen *vattāni* goes back to the *Vinaya* itself, as does the identification of each specific observance.¹ It should be noted that this enumeration and identification are found in a “key” at the end of the *Vattakkhandaka*, and it could be argued that this section itself is a late addition to the *Vinaya* text. Buddhaghosa does not comment on this key, but the idea of fourteen *vattāni* was certainly known to him, as he employs it at various places in his commentaries.² A reference to fourteen *vattāni* is also found in the *Jātaka*.³

It is significant that the number of *vattāni* appears conventionally fixed, while the collective name for these observances is not. In the *Samantapāsādikā*, Buddhaghosa speaks of fourteen *khandakavattāni* and eighty-two *mahāvattāni* as well as eighty-two *khandakavattāni* and fourteen *mahāvattāni*.⁴ In his *Vibhaṅga* commentary, Buddhaghosa speaks of fourteen *mahāvattāni* and eighty-two *khuddakavattāni*,⁵ a usage which is directly consonant with Ratnapala’s identification of major and minor duties in the *Khandaka*. This numerical consistency and terminological interchangeability continued in Sāriputta’s time. For example, another *ṭīkā* on the *Vinaya*, the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*, contemporary with the *Sāratthadīpanī*, glosses a reference to the fourteen *mahāvattāni* as *āgantuk’-āvāsika-gamik’-ānumodana-bhattagga-piṇḍacārik’-ārañṇaka-*

¹ Vin II 231. A glance at the Devanāgarī edition of the *Cullavagga* indicates that on this point there are no variants among the Roman, Burmese, and Sinhalese editions; see *Cullavagga*, edited by Bhikkhu J. Kashyap (Nalanda: Devanagari Pali Series, 1956), p. 362.

² See Sp 225, 874, 1378; Vbh-a 297.

³ Ja I 449.

⁴ Compare Sp 225 with Sp 415.

⁵ Vbh-a 297.

senāsana-jantāghara-vaccakuṭi-upajjh’-ācariyasaddhi-vihārik’-antevāsika-vattāni, an identification that is the same as Sāriputta’s for the *khandakavattāni*.¹ This deserves emphasis. Both the idea of fourteen *vattāni* and the identification of specific observances is consistent, and in this conventional list of fourteen there is no room for practices connected with *cetiyas* or *bodhi* trees.

The latter practices cannot be included among the eighty-two other observances noted by Sāriputta. The eighty-two *mahāvattāni* are not done daily, but only as circumstances demand. This contrast is made very clear in yet another *Vinaya ṭīkā* from the same period, the *Vimativinodani*:

etāni (i.e. *imāni cuddasavattāni*) *ca sabbesaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ sabbadā ca yathārahaṃ caritabbāni. dve-asīti mahāvattāni pana tajjanīyakammaṭṭadikāle yeva caritabbāni, na sabbadā, tasmā viṣuṃ gaṇitāni ...*²

“These are to be done by all monks every day as is appropriate. The eighty-two *mahāvattāni* are to be done at the proper time, as for example the act of censure was done, not every day, and therefore they are taken individually ... ”

¹ *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (Bangkok: Bhumbalo Bhikkhu Foundation Press, 1980), Vol. 2, p. 393. See as well the twelfth century Sinhala glossary, the *Jātaka Aṭṭva Gūṭapadaya*, edited by Ven. Māda uyangoḍa Vimalakirti (Colombo: Gunasena, 1961), p. 114: *cuddasa mahāvattesu, āgantuka vata āvāsika vata bhaktāgra vata senāsana vata jantāghara vata vaccakuṭi vata upadhyāya vata anumodanā vata piṇḍapāti vata ārañṇaka vata saddhivihārika vata antevāsika vata yanādi vutudus mahāvathida; asūtikhandakavattesu ca, tajjanīyādi ṭī karma kaḷa kālayehida parivāsādi kālayehida paryiayutuvū devisi kanduvat ādivū asūmaha kanduvatehida*. This last explanation clearly echoes Sāriputta’s comment on the eighty-two *mahāvattāni* translated above.

² Coliya Kassapa, *Vimativinodanī*, edited by Beratuduwe Dhammadhara Tissa Thero (Colombo: H. Gabriel de Silva, 1935), p. 89.

We have evidence that the observances for *cetiyas* and *bodhi* trees were counted among those to be done daily,¹ which might also explain why they were juxtaposed with the fourteen *vattāni*. It hardly seems plausible that they would be grouped with the other eighty-two *vattāni*, since they do not fit within the definition of those observances, even though the larger number would make their inclusion easier. It thus seems more than likely that Buddhaghosa, Sāriputta, and the other *ṭīkācariyas* did not include the observances concerning *stūpas* and *bodhi* trees among the observances specified in the *Vinaya* itself.

The individual passages discussed by Schopen require some further comment. It may be that Ratnapala's translation of a key line in the *Mahā-Parākramabāhu Katikāvata*, while in general correct, is misleading in a crucial respect. Schopen gives emphasis to the line in question when he quotes the passage: "the duties specified in the *Khandaka* such as the duties pertaining to *Stūpas*, . . . the teachers . . .," etc. Ratnapala, however, omitted in his translation a *du*, "also" which, if included would give: "the duties specified in the *Khandaka*, such as the duties pertaining to teachers, etc., as well as the duties pertaining to *stūpas* and the shrines of the *bodhi* tree."² This would seem to be a clear example of juxtaposition, rather than inclusion in a fixed list.

¹ For example, the *Heranāsikhavinisa*, a twelfth century commentary to a handbook of *Vinaya* rules for novices referred to in the *Mahā-Parākramabāhu Katikāvata* (see Ratnapala, pp. 130, and 192, n. 8.1) explicitly says that these observances are to be done every day; an edition of this work is found in *Sikhavalanda hā Sikhavalanda Vinisa*, edited by Māda uyangoḍa Vimalakirti (Colombo: Gunasena, 1970), p. 157.

² Ratnapala apparently also misconstrued *dahagab māṃbo aṅgaṇa-vatu-du* as three observances, rather than two, as is suggested by the *Visuddhimagga* passages discussed by Schopen. I know of no other reference where observances specically focused on "temple terraces" are specified.

The *Visuddhimagga* passages are more difficult to explain. My only suggestion is that *Khandakavattāni*, which we have already seen is not strictly a technical term, may have had an even broader field of reference. Perhaps it grouped a range of practices according to their family resemblances, rather than by their common origin in specific parts of the *Vinaya*.

III

At the end of his article, Schopen seems to anticipate alternative interpretations of *khandakavattāni*, and he offers another implication of his research and discussion:

“If this interpretation is not correct, and if the Pāli *Vinaya* did not contain rules, then it either could not have been the *Vinaya* which governed early Buddhist monastic communities in India, or it presents a very incomplete picture of early and actual monastic behaviour and has — therefore — little historical value as a witness for what we know actually occurred on a large scale at all of the earliest monastic sites in India that we have some knowledge of.”¹

These comments raise questions of a completely different order about the Pāli *Vinaya* as a historical document and I would like to conclude this reply with a response to them.

We are all well aware that there is a vast and intimidating literature associated with the *Vinaya*. This literature does, however, make it clear that Theravādins found the *Vinaya* both too little and too much. They found it too little in so far as the canonical text required elucidation and clarification, and as a result, massive commentaries and

¹ Schopen, “Extant Pāli Vinaya,” p. 100.

glossaries were written on it; we have been using some of these in the course of this discussion. They found it too much in so far as the size of the canonical *Vinaya* made it unwieldy and they consequently wrote diverse summaries and compendiums, including Buddhadatta's *Vinaya-vinicchaya* and Sāriputta's *Muttaka-Vinaya-vinicchaya*. Such works were written to present the *Vinaya*'s practical message in a more manageable fashion. In a similar vein, handbooks like the *Khuddasikha*, *Mulasikha*, *Heranāsikha*, and indeed the *katikāvatas* themselves were written to provide even more practical guidance. This associated literature makes relating the canonical *Vinaya* to actual practice in diverse contexts more complex than has generally been admitted by students of Buddhism.

The supporting evidence concerning the routine participation of monks in the *stūpa* cult, which Schopen considers in the course of developing his main hypothesis, clearly indicates that the *Vinaya* does not address every aspect of Buddhist monastic life.¹ This does not mean, however, that it consequently has little historical value.

Schopen may be right, I think, to suggest that the canonical *Vinaya* text is not as useful as once thought as a ready source for extracting usable historical data. For this, archeological evidence and the evidence found in the different monastic handbooks may give more accurate answers to our questions. Even so, reconstructing the general historical context of early Buddhist monasticism may ultimately depend on the extent to which we can penetrate the thought-world of the larger texts, and especially the canonical *Vinaya*.

¹ Schopen ("Extant Pāli Vinaya," p. 98) holds T.W. Rhys Davids up for criticism for saying that the Pāli *Vinaya* "enters at so great length in all (Schopen's emphasis) the details of the daily life of the recluses." Perhaps we may excuse Rhys Davids' hyperbole; he was, after all, describing a text which contains rules against building a fire to smoke out those who take too long in the latrine.

An important historical value of the canonical *Vinaya* lies in its being a coherent expression of a particular Buddhist *mentalité*. It will only be after we have learned how to combine our interest in “what really happened” with a sensitivity to the changing thought-worlds of the Therāvada that we will begin to discern the historical reality behind the literary and archeological traces of ancient Buddhist monasticism.

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A NOTE ON DHAMMAPĀLA(S)

Of the works ascribed by tradition¹ to Dhammapāla, the *Paramatthamañjūsā* (*Visuddhimagga-mahā-ṭīkā*, abbr. *Vism-mhṭ*) and the *ṭīkā*s on the first three *nikāyas* (that on the *Aṅguttara* having presumably disappeared by the time of Sāriputta in the twelfth century) are usually assumed to be by the same author, referred to as Dhammapāla II: e.g., Mr Norman writes:²

“In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it seems reasonable to assume that the Gandhavaṃsa is correct in stating that the *ṭīkā*s to the *Visuddhimagga* and the four *nikāyas* are by the same person.”

Some authors follow tradition in identifying this author with the author of the *Paramatthadīpanī*, referred to by others as Dhammapāla I.

Near the beginning of *Vism-mhṭ* occurs the following passage:³

etth' āha “kasmā panāyaṃ Visuddhimagga-kathā vatthu-pubbikā āraddhā, na Satthu-thomanāpubbikā?” ti. vuccate “visuṃ asaṃvaṇṇanādhāvato”: Sumaṅgalavilāsini-ādayo viya hi Dīghanikāy'-ādīnaṃ nāyaṃ visuṃ saṃvaṇṇanā, na pakaraṇantaraṃ vā Abhidhammāvatāra-Sumatāvatār'-ādi viya;

¹ E.g. *Gandhavaṃsa*, ed. J. Minayeff, *JPTS* 1886.

² *A History of Indian Literature*, ed. Jan Gonda, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, vol. VII *Buddhist and Jaina Literature*, fasc. 2 *Pali Literature, including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all Hinayāna Schools of Buddhism*, K. R. Norman, 1983, p. 149.

³ Buddhaghosācariya's *Visuddhimaggo* with *Paramatthamañjūsāṭīkā* of Bhadantācariya Dhammapāla, ed. [in Nāgarī] Dr Rewatadhamma, vol. I, 1969, *Pāli-Granthamālā* 3, Varanasi, p. 2.

*tāsaṃ yeva pana Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-ādīnaṃ visesabhūtā; ten' ev' āha "majjhe Visuddhimaggo" ti ādi.*⁴ *attha vā thomaṇāpubbikā pi cāyaṃ kathā na vatthupubbikā vāti daṭṭhabbaṃ; sāsane hi vatthukittanaṃ na loke viya kevalaṃ hoti, sāsanasampattikittanattā pana Satthu-aviparītadhammadeśanābhāva-vibhāvanena Satthu-guṇasaṃkittanaṃ ullīngantaṃ eva pavattati.*

'Here [someone] says, "But why is this *Visuddhimagga* exposition started with its subject preceding, not with praise of the Teacher preceding?" It is said [in reply], "Because separately it is not a commentary etc."; for it is not separately a commentary as the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* and so on are on the *Dīghanikāya* and so on, nor another treatise like the *Abhidhammāvatāra*, *Sumatāvatāra* and so on; but it is the superior part [?] of just those, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* and so on; in just this sense [Buddhaghosa] said, "[For this] *Visuddhimagga*, [having stood] in the midst [also of the four *āgamas*, will illuminate the meaning as it is spoken there]." Or else, it should be seen that this exposition does also have praise preceding, not only the subject preceding; for, in the Teaching, praise of the subject is not exclusive, as in secular usage, but indeed from the praise of the excellency of the Teaching it proceeds exhibiting the praise of the Teacher's qualities by making clear the Teacher's nature of having his teaching of the Dhamma infallible.'

The author "doth protest too much, methinks".⁵ He clearly seems to feel that texts ought to start with verses of praise, and

⁴ *Majjhe Visuddhimaggo esa catunnam pi āgamānaṃ hi*
Ṭhatvā pakāṣayissati tattha yathā bhāsitam aṭṭham (Sv 2,6-7, etc.).

⁵ Hamlet III ii.

therefore has to think up explanations for their absence in the *Visuddhimagga*. I find it hard to believe that he could have written the *nikāya ṭikās*, which have no such opening (the same is true of the *Netti ṭikā* and the *anuṭikā*).

Where do we go from here ? Do we now have yet another Dhammapāla ? The colophons and the close similarity of the opening and closing verses, and according to Father Pieris matters of thought and style as well, suggest Vism-mhṭ was written by Dhammapāla I, but objections have been raised on chronological grounds; the matter clearly requires further research.⁶

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⁶ For a discussion of chronological and other questions see the following:

Ven. Dr H. Saddhatissa (ed.), *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*, PTS, 1965, Introduction, pp. 28 foll.;

Dr (Mrs) Lily de Silva (ed.), *Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāṭikā*, PTS, 1970, vol. I, Introduction, pp. xli-lv;

L. S. Cousins, "Dhammapāla and the ṭikā literature" [review article on the above], *Religion* 2 (1972), pp. 159-65;

Aloysius Pieris S.J., "The colophon to the Paramatthamañjūsā and the discussion on the date of Ācariya Dhammapāla" in *Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries* (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, I), Report on a Symposium in Göttingen, ed. Heinz Bechert, *Abh. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Dritte Folge* Nr. 108, 1978, pp. 61-77;

A. K. Warder, "Some problems of the later Pali literature", *JPTS* 1981, pp. 198-207.

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