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NĀMACĀRADĪPAKA

INTRODUCTION

The *Nāmacāradīpaka* (The Action of Mind)¹ was traditionally attributed to the thera 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 Aggavāṇsa in 1154 A.D. He was accompanied by his pupil, Chapāṭa, a young novice (*sāmaṇera*). After sourjourn in Sīhaladīpa, Uttarājīva left the Mahāvihāra for Burma; but Chapaṭa remained there from 1170 to 1180 A.D. learning the *Tiṭṭakā* 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*, *Pātimokkhavisodhanī*, *Vinayagūlhaṭṭhadīpanī*, *Sīmālāṅkarasaṅgahatīkā*, *Mātikatthadīpanī*, *Paṭṭhānagāṇanānaya*, *Abhidhammattha-*

¹ Also known in Burma as *Nāmacāradīpa* or *Nāmacāradīpanī*; Forchhammer, *Essay*, p. 35; *Piṭakatthamain*, 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 *Abhidhammatthavibhavīnī-ṭīkā*, ed. H. Saddhātissa, Pali Text Society, 1989, p. xiii foll.

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

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

⁷ *Sāsanavāṇsa*, 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.

saṅgahaśaṅkhepavāṇṇanā and was a specialist in grammar, rhetoric and prosody. Despite the erudite authorship displayed in his other works the language of the *Nāmacāradīpaka* 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 *Sāsanavāṇsa* also does not include the *Nāmacāradīpaka* 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-sabbaññūdhātu-unhīsacetiya* 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-ṭṭhānavibhāgo*), V. The Division of Objects (*Ārammanavibhāgo*), 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 *Nāmacāradīpaka* 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.

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

³ K.R. Norman *Pali 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 CHAPĀTA

Edited By Hammalawa Saddhātissa

NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO ARAHATO SAMMĀSAMBUDDHASSA

Ganthārambhakathā¹

1. Namassitvāna Sambuddham bhūmijātānamaddinam vijānantuttamam dhammam saṅghañ² ca guṇasāgaram.
2. Racayissam samāsena Nāmacārassa dīpakaṁ Paṭṭhananayagāham tam³ tam suṇātha samāhitā.

I

Catuparamatthā⁴

3. Kāmādibhūmibhedena hoti cittam catubbidham kāmarūpa-arūpāvacaram lokuttaram cittam.
4. Tesu kāmacittam tāva jātibhedena catudhā rūpārūpam tidhā cittam dvidhā anuttaram matam.
5. Kusalākusalam 'pākam kiriyāti catubbidham atthadhā tesu kusalam dvādasākusalam 'pākam.
6. Tevīsatī kriyācittam ekādasāti viññeyyam rūpārūpam tidhā cittam kusalam 'pākakiriyā.
7. Tesu rūpam pannarasa arūpam dvādasatthitam kusala 'pākavasena atthavidham anuttaram.
8. Catupaññāsadhdā kāmam rūpam pannarasīraye aruppam dvādasa cittam atthadhā 'nuttaram matam.
9. Apāye sattatiṁseva kāmasugatiyam⁵ pi hi pañcasatthi ca satthi ca pañcasatthi dvayam rūpam.
10. Kamenārūpabhūmīsu titālisekatālīsam⁶ ekūnatālīsam sattatiṁsa ñeyyam bhūmijātam.

Bhūmi-uddeso

¹Be omits

²saṅghañ

³Paṭṭhananayagāhantam

⁴Be omits

⁵-gatiyā

⁶titālisekatālīsam and so below

11. Jātiyāpabhedena¹ hoti cittam catubbidham kusalākusalam 'pākam kiriyaṭi niddesato.
12. Uddese pana tividham jātibhedenā kusalam akusalam² avyākataṁ³ vuttam eva mahesinā.
13. Kusalam ekavīsatī dvādasākusalā matam 'pākam chattimṣakam neyyam vīsati-kiriyaṭitam.
14. Uddesanaye kusalākusalāñ ca vuttanayam kiriya 'pākabhedenā avyākataṁ dvidhā matam.
15. Kusala 'pākam kāmādi pabhedenā catubbidham kāmabhūmī⁴ va 'kusalam kiriya hoti tividhā.

Jāti-uddeso

16. Saṅkhepena mayā vuttam saṅkhepanayakāmānam vitthārena pavakkhāmi tam suṇātha samāhitā.
17. Somanassamatiyuttam asaṅkhāram anekam⁵ ca sasaṅkhāra manañ c' ekam tathā hīnamatidvayam.
18. Tato 'pekkhāmatiyuttam matihīnan ti atthadhā kāmāvacarapuññettha bhijjate vedanādito.
19. Somanassa-kudiṭṭhihi yuttam ekam asaṅkhāram sasaṅkhāramanañ c' ekam hīnadiṭṭhidvayam tathā.
20. Upekkhā-ditṭhiyuttam pi tathā ditṭhiviyuttakam vedanā ditṭhi-ādihi lobhamūlevam atthadhā.
21. Sadukkhadosāsaṅkhāra-sanhitam⁶ dosamūlakam mohamūlam pi sopekkham kaṅkhuddhacca yutam dvidhā.
22. Duvidhā kāmapākāni puññapākādito tahiṁ puññapākā dvidhā ahetū⁷ ca⁸ sahetūti dvidhā ṭhitam.⁹
23. Ahetu-pañca viññāṇam gahaṇam tīraṇācubho kāyaviññāṇam¹⁰ sukhī tathā¹¹ somanassādi-tīraṇam.

¹ Jātiyāpabhedena

⁷ dvidhāhetū

² akusalam

⁸ Be omits

³ abyākataṁ and so below

⁹ dviratṭhakā.

⁴ kāmabhūmī

¹⁰ kāyaññam

⁵ anekakam

¹¹ tattha

⁶ sañhitam

24. Sopekkhāmi¹ cha sesāni sapuññām 'va sahetukam.
25. Pāpajām pañcaviññānām gahañām tīrañām ekam
kāyaviññānām² dukkhī tattha sopekkhāva cha ca³ sesakā.
26. Kāme tevīsa-pākāni puññapākādibhedato
kāmikakiriyā⁴ dvidhā hotāhetusahetuto.
27. Ahetu tividhā kathañ sopekkhāvajjanadvayam
sukhavā-hasitam aṭṭha sapuññām 'va sahetukā.
28. Vitakkavicārapīti-sukhekaggayutam mañam⁵
ādicārādi pītyādi⁶ sukhādīhi param⁷ tayam.
29. Upekkhekaggatāyuttam rūpam pañce 'va jhānato⁸
pañcadhā sakapuññām 'va vipākakiriyā matā.
30. Nabham tammana tassuñña tam⁹ citta-catugocare
kamenātikkamārappā¹⁰-puññām hoti catubbidham.
31. Ākāsānañcāyatanañ Viññānañcāyatanañ ca
Ākiñcaññāyatanañ ca Nevasaññānāsaññāyatanañ
Catudhā saka-puññām 'va vipākakiriyā matā.
32. Maggacittam anuttaram catukicca yuttatā
Catudhāpādakajjhāna bhedato puna vīsatī
tappākattā catudhāphalam¹¹ ñeyyam evam sarūpato
33. Duggatiyam sattatimsa bhavanti hasitam vinā
ahetukā sattarasa puññāpuññāni vīsatī.
34. Kāmasugatiyāsīti sabbāni kāmacittāni
'pākavajjam mahaggatam aṭṭha-lokuttarāni ca.
35. Rūpe ekūnasattati kriyācittāni vīsatī
ekavīsatī puññāni cakkhusotañ ca tīrañām.
36. Paticchanām dasavajjam¹² phalam 'pākam bhūmikkamām
pañcasatthi ca satthi ca pañcasatthi dvibhūmikā.

¹ Sopekkhāni

⁷ paran

² kāyañānām

⁸ Be ends pañce mañgato

³ Be omits

⁹ tañ

⁴ kāmikākiriyā

¹⁰ kamenātikkamārappa-

⁵ mañam

¹¹ tidhāphalam

⁶ pitādi

¹² dosavajjam

37. Aruppe¹ cha-cattālīsa kāmapuññam dasapāpam
Kāme nava kriyārūpam cittam satta-maggaphalam.
38. Sabbabhūmikam² hetthāvajjanam³ titālīsekatālīsam
ekūnatālīsasattatiṁsa neyyam bhūmādinā.

**Iti Nāmacāradīpake Bhūmijātivibhāgo nāma
Pathamo paricchedo**

II

39. Sekkhāsekkhaputhujana-bhedenā pañcadhā bhave
asekkhe niyatam cittam hoti ekūnavisati.
40. Sattasekkhesu niyatam honti pañca puthujjane
catuvīsati niyatam hoti sekkhaputhujjane.
41. Catuttiṁse⁴ 'va cittāni sekkhāsekkhaputhujjane
yathāraham uppajjanti pañcadhā puggalabhedā.
42. Kāme dvādasapuggalā sekkhānam catutālīsam
anāgāmīnatthātālīsam⁵ dvisekkhānañ ca paññāsam.
43. Maggaṭṭhānam⁶ ekam ekam catunnam catupaññāsam
dvayañ ca ekatālīsam sattatiṁsañ ca kamato.
44. Rūpesu nava-puggalā kamato catubhūminam⁷
asekkhānam ekatiṁsam⁸ dvattiṁsekatatiṁsadvayam.
45. Tisekkhānam pañcatatiṁsam chatatiṁsadve⁹-pañcatatiṁsam
maggaṭṭhānam¹⁰ ekam ekam rāgīnam catubhūminam¹¹
ekūnatālīsam¹² tālīsam ekūnatālīsadvayam.
46. Āruppe atthapuggalā tattha sekkhānam kamato
pannarasa cuddasā pi terasa dvādasa pi¹³ ca.

¹ Arūpe

⁸ ekatiṁsa

² Sambhūmikam

⁹ chattitiṁsadve

³ hetthāvajjam

¹⁰ maggaṭṭhānam

⁴ Catuttiṁse

¹¹ catubhūminam

⁵ anāgāmīnam 'tthātālīsam

¹² kūnatālīsa

⁶ Maggaṭṭhānam

¹³ dvi

⁷ catubhūminam

47. Bhūmikkamam hi sekkhānam vīsamekūna¹ vīsañ² ca atīthārasa sattarasa maggañthānam³ ekam ekam.
48. Sesānam puthujjanānam catuvīsañ ca tevīsam bāvīsam⁴ ekavīsañ ca hoti cittam bhūmikkamam.

Puggalika-uddeso

49. Sañkhepena mayā vuttam sañkhepanayakāminam⁵ vitthārena pavakkhāmi tam suñātha samāhitā.
50. Asekkhe niyatam cittam hoti ekūnavīsati kāmajavanakiriyā mahaggatakriyāphalam.
51. Sattasekkhesu niyatam catumaggaphalattayam puthujjanesu niyatam diññiyuttam vicikicchā.
52. Sekkhaputhujjane hoti catuvīsati niyatam diññiyuttam uddhaccam sadosam sāsavam puññam
53. Catuttimseva cittāni sekkhāsekkhaputhujjane niyatāvajjana-dvayam bāttimśasāsavam 'pākam.
54. Kāme dvādasapuggalā sattasekkhā khīñāsavā tihetukādipuggalā cattāro ca puthujjanā.
55. Asekkhānam catucattālīsacittāni uddise kāme tevīsa 'pākāni kiriyā visatiphalam.
56. Pāpam hīnadiññhuddhaccam sattarasa⁶ puññam kāmapākam saphalam kiriyādvayam anāgāmīnatīthātālisam.⁷
57. Dviphalatīthānam paññāsam kañkhādiññhi yuttam⁸ cajam tipuññam kāmavipākam saphalam kiriyādvayam.
58. Tihetūnañ⁹ catupaññāsam bhavati dvādasāsubham kāme tevīsa 'pākāni tidhā puññam kriyādvayam.
59. Duhetukāhetukānam ekatālīsam¹⁰ apuññam nāñayuttavajjapākam kāmapuññadvayāvajjanam.¹¹

¹vīsa ekūna

⁷anāgāmīnam 'tīthātālisam.

²vīsam

⁸yutam

³maggatīthānam

⁹Tihetūnam

⁴bāvīsa

¹⁰ekatālīsam

⁵sañkhepanayakāmīnam

¹¹kāmapuññadvayāvajjam.

⁶tidhā

60. Ahetuka-duggatīnam sattatiṁsadvayāvajjanam¹
ahetukavipākāni puññāpuññāni visati.
61. Rūpesu nava puggalā sekkhāsekkhā tihetukā
tesvā sekkhānādibhūme ekatiṁsa siyum katham.
62. Dvicakkhusotaviññānam santīraṇam paṭicchanam
kriyāvīsatī sāpākam aggaphalam² ime siyum.
63. Tīsu bhūmīsu dvattīmsa ekatiṁsa-dvayam kamam
saheva³ dvekapākehi tisekkhānam sakam phalam.
64. Diṭṭhiviyuttam uddhaccam dvicakkhusotaviññānam
paṭicchanasantīraṇam tibhūmipuññādvāvajjanam.⁴
65. Savipākā⁵ bhūmikkamam pañcatiṁsachattīmsañ ca
puna pañcatiṁsadvayam maggaṭṭhānam⁶ ekam ekam
66. Rāgīnam catubhūmīnam lobhamohamūlam pāpam
dvicakkhusotaviññānam paṭicchanasantīraṇam.
67. Tibhūmipuññādvāvajjanam⁷ sapākam⁸ evam ekūna-
tālīsam tālīsekūnatālīsānam dvayam kamam.
68. Āruppe aṭṭhapuggalā te svāsekkhāna 'saphalam⁹
āvajjanam mahākriyā sapākam catukriyā.
69. Bhūmikam eva hetṭhimam kriyam hitvā pannarasa
cuddasa terasā cā pi honti dvādasa cittāni.
70. Tinnam¹⁰ sekkhānam saphalam diṭṭhiviyuttam uddhaccam
āvajjanam mahāpuññam sapākārūpakuṣalam
71. Bhūmikkamena hetṭhimam puññam hitvā visekūna¹¹
vīsa-aṭṭhāra¹² sattarasa ekam¹³ maggaṭṭhānam
72. Rāgīnam dvidasapāpam¹⁴ āvajjanam kāmapuññam
sapākārūpakuṣalam bhūmikam eva hetṭhimam

¹ sattatiṁsadvayāvajjam

⁸ sapākam

² aggapphalam

⁹ 'sapphalam

³ sahasa-

¹⁰ Tinnam

⁴ -dvāvajjam.

¹¹ vīsekūna

⁵ Savipākam

¹² -aṭṭhāra

⁶ maggaṭṭhānam

¹³ sattarasekekaṁ

⁷ -dvāvajjam

¹⁴ pi dasapāpam

73. Puññam hitvā catuvīsa honti tevīsa bāvīsa
ekavīsatī cittāni ñeyyam evam puggalikam.

**Iti Nāmacāradīpake Puggalavibhāgo nāma
Dutiyo¹ paricchedo**

III

74. Ito param pavakkhāmi pubbāparaniyāmitam
Nāmacāram samāsena tam suñātha samāhitā.

75. Dvayacatukkākusalā dve pubbā bhavanti 'parā
tepaññāsekavīsañ ca tettīmsañ ca ekavīsam.

76. Lobhamohamūlā pubbañ dvayam param ekavīsam
dosasahagatāpubbā² dve bhavanti satta 'parā.

77. Kiriya manodhātumhā pubbakāni pannarasa
parāni dasacittāni manodvārāvajjanamhā
pubbakā ekavīsatī param pañca cattālīsa.

78. Hasituppādato pubbañ dvayam parā tu terasa
puriññakriyāpubbāñ dvayam parā pañcavīsa.

79. Duhetusukhamhā pubbañ dvayam parā sattarasa
tihetupekkhato pubbañ dvayam parā catuvīsa
duhetupekkhato pubbañ dvayam parā atthārasa.

80. Pañca viññānato ekam pubbam param pañcchanā
pañca pubbā param dvayam sukhatīrañato pubbā

81. Pañcavīsa parā honti dvādasopekkhatīrañā
sattatiñsa pubbā honti parā dvādasa viññeyyā.

82. Nāñasukhavipākehi pubbikā satta tu 'pekkhā
pubbā dve sattati honti tehi parā ekavīsa.

83. Duhetusukhapākamhā tālīsapubbakam matam
duhetu 'pekkhapākamhā ekatālīsapubbakam
tehi catūhi 'pākehi bhavanti dvādasāparā.

84. Sukhōpekkhasahagatā rūpakusalato pubbā
tayo tayo parā dasa bhavanti dvivedanīyā.

¹Dutiyo and so always

²dosassahagatāpubbā

85. Rūpe kiriyasukhamhā pubbā tayo parā dasa
rūpe kiriyapekkhamhā¹ pubbā tayo parā dasa
rūpākā pubbe 'kūna saṭṭhi parā 'kūna vīsam.

86. Ārūppakusalā pubbā tayo parā ekādasa
dvādasaterasa c' eva pannarasā pi kamato.

87. Ārūppakriyato pubbā tayo parā ekādasa
dvādasa terasa honti pannarasā pi kamato.

88. Ārūppa catupākehi pubbam aṭṭha cattālīsam
sattaccha pañcatālīsam parā nava 'tṭha satta cha.

89. Kusalānuttarā pubbā cattāro saphalam param
catukkaphalato pubbā kammam² 'va cha satta satta.

90. Saṅkhepena mayā vuttam saṅkhepanayakāminam³
vitthārena pavakkhāmi tam suṇātha samāhitā.

91. Dvayādikusalā pubbam dvīṭṭhānikam voṭṭhapanam⁴
sayañ ca pubbakam cittam honti parā tepaññāsa.

92. Sayam cattāri rūpāni aṭṭhavīsa lokuttarā
ekādasa tadālambanam⁵ mahaggata nava 'pākam.

93. Tatiya⁶ catutthā pubbam sayam dukicca voṭṭhapanam⁷
honti parā ekavīsam appanā dvattīmsa vajjītā.

94. Pañcamachaṭṭhato pubbam sayam dukicca voṭṭhapanam
parā tettīmsa sayañ ca dvādasa pañcam appanā
ekādasa tadālambanam⁸ mahaggata nava 'pākam.

95. Sattapaṭhamato pubbam sayam dukicca voṭṭhapanam
honti parā ekavīsa appanā dvādasavajjītā.

96. Lobhamohamūlā⁹ pubbam sayam dukicca voṭṭhapanam
parekavīsadutiyam bhavaṅge 'kūnavisañ¹⁰ ca.

97. Dosasahagatā¹¹ pubbam sayam dukicca voṭṭhapanam
honti parā satta sayam upekkhā kāmabhavaṅgam.

¹ kiriyapekkhamhā

⁷ voṭṭhabbam and so below

² kamam

⁸ tadālambam

³ saṅkhepanayakāminam.

⁹ Lobhamohamūlā

⁴ voṭṭhabbanam

¹⁰ 'kūnavisam

⁵ tadālambam

¹¹ Dosassahagatā

⁶ Tatiya and so always

98. Kiriyāmanodhātumhā pubbakāni pannarasa kāmarūpabhavaṅgāni parañ ca dasa viññāṇam.
99. Manodvārāvajjanamhā pubbakā ekavīsatī ekūnavīsabhavaṅgam sayam¹ pi sukhatīraṇam.
100. Param pañca cattālīsam kāmāvacarajavanam kāmarūpabhavaṅgāni sayam² pi ca pacchimakam.
101. Hasituppādato pubbam dvikiccāvajjanam sayam parā terasa sutīraṇam³ kāmarūpañāṇa 'pākam aññāṇasukhapākāni sayam nāma idam⁴ pi ca.
102. Somanassaññayutta-kiriyā dvayato pubbam dvikiccāvajjanam sayam pañcavīsam parā sayam.
103. Tebhūmakam⁵ matiyuttam bhavaṅgam sukhatīraṇam ñāṇayuttam sukhapākam sukhārūpākriyā mahaggatam.⁶
104. Duhetusukhadvayamhā pubbam āvajjanam sayam dvīṭṭhānikam parā sattarasa sayam sukhatīraṇam⁷ tibhūmiññāṇabhavaṅgam ñāṇahīnasukhapākam.
105. Upekkhāññayuttehi pubbam sadukiccāvajjanam honti parā catuvīsa ñāṇayuttañ ca bhavaṅgam.
106. Sopekkhapañcamaphalam catupekkhatadālambanam⁸ pañcupekkhāsaṅgatā mahaggatakriyā sayam.
107. Duhetupekkhadvayamhā pubbam sadukkiccavajjanam honti parā aṭṭhārasa tibhūmiññāṇabhavaṅgam pacchimañca sayam yesam catupekkhatadālambanam.⁹
108. Sukhaññavipākehi¹⁰ pubbakā sattatividhā votṭhapanam¹¹ dosavajjāni tibhūmijavanāni ca catuphalam sukhatīraṇam¹² bhavaṅgekūnavīsatī.

¹ sayam⁷ sukhatīram² sayam⁸ -tadālambam³ sutīram⁹ -tadālamba⁴ idam¹⁰ Sukhiññavipākehi⁵ Tebhūmikam¹¹ votṭhabbam⁶ rahattam¹² sukhitīram

109. Upēkkhāñāñayuttehi dosamūlam pakkhipiya
pubbā dvesattati hoti parā tehi ekavīsa
āvajjanadvayañ cā pi bhavañgekūnavīsatī.

110. Duhetusukhapākamhā pubbam tālīsavoñthapanam¹
akusalā dosavajjā kāmapuññasukhakriyā
ekādasa tadālambanam² cutikiccam³ rūpapākam.

111. Duhetupekkhapākamhā ekatālīsapubbakam
voñthapanam³ dvādasāpuññam kāmapuññopekkhakriyā
ekādasatadālambanam⁴ cutikiccam⁵ rūpapākam.

112. Tehi catūhipākehi bhavanti dvādasā parā
dasakāmabhavañgañ ca āvajjanadvayam⁵ pi ca.

113. Pañca viññāñakusalapākehi pubbāvajjanam
param pañcchanam⁶ cittam tāni pubbāni imamhā.

114. Hoti param santīrañā dvayañ ca sukhopekkhā⁶ vā
tesu sukhātīrañam⁷ pubbā pañcavīsā honti sayam.

115. Kāmapuññasukhakriyā dosavajjam pañcchanam
parā dvādasa voñthapanam⁸ sayañ ca kāma bhavañgam.

116. Pubbopekkhā tīrañā⁹ sattatimsa santīrañavovoñthapanam¹⁰
kāmapuññā puññopekkhā kriyābhavañgam pañcchanam
parā dvādasāvajjana dvayañ ca kāma bhavañgam.

117. Sukhopekkhāsahagatañ¹¹ rūpākusalato¹² pubbā
sukhopekkhāmatiyuttam¹³ dvayam sayam tato tato.¹⁴

118. Parā dasakāma-rūpa-ñāñarūpam bhavañgañ ca
sukhopekkhāsahagatañ¹⁵ rūpākiriyato pubbā.

119. Sukhopekkhāmatiyuttam¹⁶ dvayam sayam tato tato¹⁷
parā dasakāmarūpam tihetubhavañgam sayam.

¹ -voñthabbam

² tadālambam

³ voñthabbam

⁴ -tadālambam

⁵ āvajjanadvayam

⁶ sukhopekkha

⁷ sukhitīrā

⁸ voñthabbam

⁹ tīrā

¹⁰ satīravovoñthabbam

¹¹ Sukhopekkhāsahagatañ

¹² rūpākusalato

¹³ sukhopekkhāmatiyuttam

¹⁴ tayo.

¹⁵ sukhopekkhāsahagatañ

¹⁶ Sukhopekkhāmatiyuttam

¹⁷ tayo

120. Rūpapākāpubbekūna¹-saṭṭhivoṭṭhapanam² lobha-mohamūlāpuññāni³ puññakriyā tibhūmikā.

121. Catupphalam mahāpāka-ñānayuttam navapākam parekūnavīsam dvayāvajjanam⁴ lokiypākam sahetukam.

122. Ārappakusalā pubbā tayopekkhā⁵ matiyuttā tayo parā ekādasa dvādasaterasāpi ca kāmarūpanavapākam vipākam hetṭhimam sayam.

123. Catutthato pannarasa tatiyaphalasahitā ārappakriyāto⁶ pubbā tayo 'pekkhā⁷ matiyuttā.

124. Tayo parā ekādasa dvādasaterasāpi ca kāmarūpanavapākam vipākam hetṭhimam sayam Catutthato pannarasa catutthaphalasahitā.

125. Ārappacatupākehi pubbam aṭṭhacattālīsam satta cha⁸ pañcatālīsam uddham pākavivajjitaṁ

126. Dosavajjasahetukā⁹ kāmajavanamatipākam¹⁰ catupphalārappajavana¹¹ sayam pākañ ca hetṭhimam.

127. Parā navatṭhasattacha¹² manodvārāvajjanañ ca adhovajjārappapākam mahāpākam matiyuttam.

128. Sukhopekkhāsahagatam¹³ puññālokuttarā pubbā sukhopakkhamatipuññam dvayam paro sa pāko 'va.

129. Sukhopekkhāsahagato¹⁴ catukkaphalato pubbā kamam 'va chasattasattadvidvipuññam sukhopakkham.

130. Maggasayam¹⁵ catutthārūpam parā bhavanti cuddasa tihetukam rūpārūpākāmapākam sayam¹⁶ pi ca.

**Iti Nāmacāradīpake Pubbāparavibhāgo nāma
Tatiyo paricchedo**

¹ Rūpapākāpubbekūna-

⁹ Dosavajjāsahetukā

² -voṭṭhabbanam

¹⁰ kāmajavāmatipākam

³ kumohamūlāpuññāni

¹¹ catupphalārappajavañ

⁴ dvayāvajjam

¹² navatṭhasattaccha

⁵ tayopekkha

¹³ Sukhopekkhasahagatam

⁶ ārappakriyato

¹⁴ Sukhopekkhasahagato

⁷ 'pekkha

¹⁵ Maggasayam

⁸ sattaccha

¹⁶ sayam

IV

131. Ito param pavakkhāmi kiccaṭṭhānaniyāmitam
Nāmacāram samāsena tam suṇātha samāhitā.

132. Paṭisandhibhavaṅgañ ca āvajjanañ ca dassanam
savaṇam ghāyanam kiccam sāyanam phusanam tathā.

133. Paṭicchanam santīraṇam voṭṭhapanañ¹ ca javanam
tadālambanam² cutikiccam bhedā cuddasa viññeyyā.

134. Tena kiccappabheda cittam cuddasabhedakam
bhavati pañcavidham pi ekakiccādibhedato.

135. Sandhibhavaṅgakiccāni cuti c' ekūnavisati
dve dve āvajjanādikam paṭicchanan tu kiccakā.

136. Tīṇi tīraṇakiccāni ekam voṭṭapanakiccam³
javanam pañcapaṇṇāsa ekādasa tadālambanam.⁴

137. Atṭhasaṭṭhi tathā dve ca navatṭha dve yathākkamam
ekadviticatupañca kiccakāni viniddise.

138. Paṭisandhibhavaṅgañ ca āvajjanañ ca viññānam
paṭicchana-santīraṇam voṭṭhapanañ⁵ ca javanam.

139. Tadālambanam⁶ cuticittam itiṭṭhānam⁷ dasavidham
ekaṭṭhāna paṭisandhi bhavaṅgañ ca navatṭhānikam.

140. Āvajjanam dviṭṭhānikam viññānañ ca paṭicchanam
tīraṇañ c' ekaṭṭhānikam⁸ voṭṭapanam⁹ dviṭṭhānikam.

141. Chaṭṭhānikam javanañ ca tadālambanam¹⁰ dviṭṭhānikam
tiṭṭhānikam cuticittam evam¹¹ pi pañca visati.

142. Saṅkhepena mayā vuttam saṅkhepanayakāmanam¹²
vitthārena pavakkhāmi tam suṇātha samāhitā.

¹ voṭṭhabbanañ

⁷ itiṭṭhānam

² tadālambam

⁸ ekaṭṭhānikam

³ voṭṭhabbanakiccam

⁹ voṭṭhabbanam

⁴ tadālambam.

¹⁰ tadālambam

⁵ voṭṭhabbanañ

¹¹ evam

⁶ Tadālambam

¹² -kāmānam

143. Sahetusāsavā 'pākā tīraṇā dve c' upekkhakā
paṭisandhādikiccāni cittānekūnavisati.

144. Dve dve āvajjanādīni āvajjanādikiccā
tīṇi tīraṇakiccāni voṭṭhapanakiccām¹ manovajjanam².

145. Kusalākusalam sabbam kriyāvajjanavajjitā
phalāni pañcapaññāsa cittāni javanakiccakā.³

146. Aṭṭha kāmamahāpākā tīṇi santīraṇāni ca
iccekādasacittāni tadālambaṇakiccakā.

147. Kusalākusalam sabbam kriyavōṭṭhapanavajjitā⁴
phalam dvipañcavīññānam manodhātekakiccakam.

148. Manodvārāvajjanañ ca sukhatīraṇam⁵ dvikiccakam
mahaggatavipākāni nava tikiccaṅkāni⁶ ca.

149. Aṭṭha kāmamahāpākā bhavanti catukiccakā
pañcakiccāni cittāni tīraṇā dve upekkhakā.

150. Cutibhavaṅgakiccānam sandhiṭṭhānam⁷ antaram
sandhijavanatadālamba⁸ voṭṭhapanāvajjanantaram.⁹

151. Javanatadālambaṇacuti¹⁰ antarañ ca bhavaṅgassa
bhavaṅgapañcavīññāna javanantarāvajjanassa.¹¹

152. Āvajjanapāṭicchanānam¹² viññānatīṭṭhānam antaram
pañcavīññānatīrāṇam paṭicchanaṭṭhānam¹³ antaram.

153. Tīraṇaṭṭhānam¹⁴ paṭicchana voṭṭhapanānam¹⁵ antaram
tīraṇajavanabhavaṅgānam¹⁶ voṭṭhapanāṭṭhānam¹⁷ antaram.

154. Voṭṭhapanā¹⁸ tadālamba bhavaṅgacuti nāvajja
tadālambaṇa bhavaṅga cūtīnañ ca javanaṭṭhānam.¹⁹

¹ voṭṭhakiccām¹¹ javantarāvajjanassa.² manovajjam¹² Āvajjanapāṭicchanānam³ javakiccakā.¹³ paṭicchhaṭṭhānam⁴ kriyāvoṭṭhabbavajjitā¹⁴ Tīraṭṭhānam⁵ sukhitīram¹⁵ voṭṭhabbanānam⁶ navattikiccakāni¹⁶ tīrajanabhavaṅgānam⁷ sandhiyāṭṭhānam¹⁷ voṭṭhabbaṭṭhānam⁸ sandhijavatadālamba¹⁸ Voṭṭhabbana⁹ voṭṭhabbāvajjanantaram.¹⁹ javatīṭṭhānam.¹⁰ Javatadālambacuti

155. Tadālambaṇaṭṭhānan tu javanabhavaṅgacutīnam¹
cutiṭṭhānam javanatadālamba² bhavaṅga sandhīnam.

**Iti Nāmacāradīpake Kiccaṭṭhānavibhāgo nāma
Catuttho paricchedo**

V

156. Tato param pavakkhāmi Nāmacāram samāsato
ārammaṇappabhedena tam suṇātha samāhitā.

157. Chabbidhārammaṇam nāma-rūpa-sadda-gandha-rasa-
phoṭṭhabba-dhammavasena vuttam evam mahesinā.

158. Bhavati tividham cittam ekārammaṇikādinā
ekārammaṇikam cittam pañcātirekatālīsam.

159. Pañcārammaṇacittāni tīṇi honti titālīsam
chalārammaṇikam cittam vuttam evam mahesinā.

160. Pañcādhikacattālīsam ekārammaṇikam kathaṁ
amalam pañcavīññānam anabhiññām mahaggatam.

161. Pañcārammaṇikam kathaṁ manodhātuttayaṁ cittam
chalārammaṇikam cittam sābhiññām sesakāmajam.

162. Parittañ ca mahaggatam appamāṇam na vattabbam
catudhārammaṇabbhedam vuttam evam mahesinā.

163. Pañcavīsa parittamhi kāme tevīsa pākāni
pañcadvārāvajjanañ ca bhavanti hasitam cittam.

164. Mahaggate ca āruppe³ dutiyacatutthadvayam
ekavisati vohāre sesārūpam rūpacittam.

165. Nibbāna⁴ amalā aṭṭha phalāmuttamhi⁵ vīsatī
dvādasākusalā aṭṭha kāmajavanamatihīnā.⁶

166. Aggamaggaphalavajje bhavanti gocare pañca
kāmapuññām matiyuttam abhiññānañ ca kusalam.

¹javabhavaṅgacutīnam

²javatadālamba

³āruppa

⁴Nibbāne

⁵phalamuttamhi

⁶kāmajavāmatihīnā.

167. Sabbālambe cha cittāni voṭṭhabpanam¹ kriyābhiññam kāmakriyāmatiyuttā sabbathāpi bhavanti ca.²

168. Sattadhā honti gocare chabbidham³ pi bhave atimahantārammaṇādinā 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. Tadālambapariyantam vibhūtā 'timahantikam javanantam vīthi-cittam avibhūtamahantikam.

174. Voṭṭhabpanantam⁵ vīthi-cittam parittārammaṇam jātam natthādi-paritte vīthi-cittam kiñci pi gocare.

175. Tasmim ārammaṇāpāṭha⁶-gatehi vīthi-cittassa hetubhūtam bhavaṅgassa dvikkhattum calanam bhave.

176. Tato pañcadvārāvajjanam⁷ bhavati pañcaviññānam tamhā sakasakadvārā⁸ gocare gahaṇam tato.

177. Santīraṇam tato⁹ voṭṭhabpanam¹⁰ sakim tato sattakkhattum javā kāme chakkattum vā pavattati.

178. Tadālambanam¹¹ dvikkhattum¹² tamhā bhavaṅgātimahantake¹³ mahante¹⁴ tadālambanam¹⁵ paritte natthi javanam voṭṭhabpanam¹⁶ dvitikkhattum 'ti parittenetare manam.

¹voṭṭhabbanam⁹Be adds tamhā²Be omits sabbathāpi bhavanti ca¹⁰voṭṭhabbanam³chabbidham¹¹tadālambam⁴-pañcadvārikā¹²dvikam⁵Voṭṭhabbantam¹³-mahantari.⁶ārammaṇāpāṭha¹⁴Be adds tu⁷pañcadvārāvajjam¹⁵tadālambam⁸sakasakadvārā¹⁶voṭṭhabbanam

179. Manodvāre bhavaṅgamhā manodvārāvajjanam¹ tato javanam² tamhā vibhūte tu tadālambaṇanetarā³ mahaggata-amalānam gocaro natthi tabbhedo.

180. Sandhibhavaṅgacutīnam tividho gocaro bhave kammam kammanimittañ ca tathā gatinimittakam.

181. Cetanā 'va kammam nāma manodvāre siyātītam Chabbidham kammanimittam chadvāre 'tītapaccuppannam.

182. Manodvāre paccuppannam rūpam 'va gatinimittam⁴ maraṇāsannasattānam kapparukkhādumātthitam.

183. Dve dve pañca ca pañcaṭṭha dve bhavā sabbabhedato cutiyā tādisā honti catuvīsatī sandhayo.⁵

184. Visuddhimaggatthakathā tīkākārena vuttam tam suto du-dve-duto su-dve-suto pañca surū arū.

185. Rūto surū arū pañca arūpātthāduto dubo⁶ iccevam Dhammasirinā vuttā tass' athavaṇṇanā.

186. Suto du-dve-duto su-dve-suto pañca surū arū rūto c' evam⁷ arūpātthā duto dve catu⁸vīsatī iti subhūta bhadrena vuttā tass' athavaṇṇanā.

187. Duto suto sudu dve dve dvekadvisudvāru suto ruto c' evam⁹ dve dvi arūhi ubho ubho.

188. Attano matiyā eva vuttā tass' athavaṇṇanā. saṅkhepen' eva vuttattham saṅkhepanayakāmehi vitthārena pavakkhāmi tam suṇātha samāhitā.

189. Duto suto 'tīta-paccuppannālambaṇā susandhi dusuto 'va atītādilambaṇā dusandhi dve dve.

190. Suto 'tītapaccuppanna paññattatīta paññatti surū arū pañcasandhi tathā pañcasandhi rūto.

¹manodvārāvajjam

⁶dubho

²javā

⁷evam

³tadālambaṇitarasmiñ

⁸cabhu *misprint?*

⁴gatinimittam

⁹Be adds svāru

⁵sandhiyo.

191. Atītālambañāruhi svārusandhi duve duve
paññattālambañāruhi svāru sandhi duve duve.
192. Evam sandhi catuvīsa tādisā yeva cutiyā
bhavālambañabhedena vijānam¹ tu pabhedato
dvādasadasa satta ca evañ² ca pañisandhayo.³
193. Etā bhavanti tividhā atītārammañādīhi
dvālambañehi duvidhā cutidvādasasatta ca
kāmarūpam arūpañ⁴ ca cuti-eka dulambañā.

**Iti Nāmacāradīpake Ārammapavibhāgo nāma
Pañcamo paricchedo**

VI

194. Nāmacāram vinā rūpam yasmā na pañcavokāre
tato 'va tassa nissayañ rūpam 'dāni viniddise.
195. Samuddesā vibhāgā ca samuññhānā kalāpato
pavattikkamato ceti pañcadhā rūpaniddeso.
196. Sītādiruppanam rūpam aṭṭhavīsavidham bhave
paṭṭhavāpo⁵ ca vāyo ca tejo cakkhu sotam ghānam.
197. Jivhā kāyo rūpam saddo gandho rasoñā itthittam
pumattam vatthu jīvitam aṭṭhārasavidham tathā.
198. Ākāso⁶ santati jarā bhañgo rūpassa lahutā
mudukammaññatākāya-vaci⁷-viññatti dasadhā.

Rūpasamuddeso

199. Rūpam⁸ avyākatam⁹ sabbam rūpakkhando ahetukam
anālambanam¹⁰ parittādi iti ekavidham naye.
200. Duvidhanyādito pana bahudhā muninā vuttam
paṭṭhavādimahābhūtā¹¹ upādāya-rūpe 'taram.¹²

¹vijānan

⁷vaci

²evam

⁸Rūpam

³pañisandhiyo.

⁹abyākatañ and so below

⁴arūpam

¹⁰anālambam

⁵pathavāpo

¹¹pathavādimahābhūtā

⁶Acayo

¹²bharam.

201. Cakkhādijjhattam¹ pasādā bāhirā pasāde 'taram cakkhādihadayavatthu vatthu-avaithu ītaram²
202. Cakkhādikam viññatti ca sattadvāram nāma netaram cakkhādibhāvajīvitam indriyam nāma netaram.
203. Suddhaṭṭhakāvinibbhogam vanṇagandharasojakam bhūtam³ tato vinibbhogam itaran ti viniddise.
204. Phoṭṭhabbam⁴ āpavajjantu bhūtetaramaphoṭṭhabbam catuvanṇādi phoṭṭhabbam gocaran tu na cetaram.
205. Pasādagocararūpo 'lārikam sukhumetaram atṭhārasādito rūpam nippphanan tu na cetaram.
206. Kham rūpānam paricchedo netarā kāsasantati⁵ jarā bhaṅgā⁶ ca rūpan tu lakkhaṇam nāma netaram.
207. Lahutādi ca viññatti vikāro nāma netaram kammajākammajam rūpam iccevam duvidhā⁷ naye.
208. Pasādā kammajā vatthu kammajākammajītaram vatthu kammajam⁸ pi atthi kammajā kammajītaram
209. Indriyam kammajam atthi kammajākammajītaram pasādan tu olārikolārikam sukhumetaram.
210. Kammajākammajāneva kammanā kammato tidhā cittāhārutujā tikavasenā⁹ pi tidhā matā.
211. Kammajākammajā bhūta¹⁰ upādā pi tathā bhedā vatthudvāram advārañ¹¹ ca avatthu pi tathā bhedam.
212. Dvāram vatthu avatthu ca advāram pi tathā bhedam gocaram bhūtupādā¹² ca agocaram tathā bhedam.
213. Indriyaninindriyenā¹³ pi vatthāvatthūsu catudhā iccevam catubbidhāni¹⁴ bhājetabbo vibhāvinā.

¹ Cakkhādijjhattam

² ītaram

³ bhūtan

⁴ Phoṭṭhabbam

⁵ cayasantati

⁶ bhaṅgā

⁷ duvidham

⁸ kammajam

⁹ dikavasenā

¹⁰ bhūtā

¹¹ advāram

¹² bhūtupādā

¹³ Indriyaninindriyenā

¹⁴ catubbidhādi

214. Iccevam aṭṭhavīsati vidham pi ca vicakkhaṇā mahābhūtādibhedenā vibhajanti yathārahām.

Ayam ettha Rūpavibhāgo

215. Kammacitto tu āhārā rūpassa samuṭṭhāpakā kāmarūpam pañcavīsa kusalākusalām kammaṁ.

216. Satta-ajjhattasantāne rūpam kammaśamuṭṭhānam paṭisandhim upādāya pavatteti khaṇe khaṇe.

217. Pākāruppapañcavīññānā 'rahanta cutivajjam pañcasattavidham¹ cittam samuṭṭhāpeti jāyantam rūpam cittasamuṭṭhānam ādibhavaṅgupādaya.

218. Sītuṇhotu samaññātā ṛhitippattā² tejodhātu janeti ajjhattabahiddhā rūpam utusamuṭṭhānam.

219. Ojā saṅkhāta-āhāro ṛhitipatto³ va ajjhatte rūpāhārasamuṭṭhānam samuṭṭhāpeti gilite.

220. Hadayindriyarūpāni kammajāni nava tattha viññātti dvayaṁ cittajam saddo citto 'tujo bhave.

221. Lahutādittayam utu-cittāhārehi jāyati vanṇo gandho raso ojā bhūtā ākāsadadhātu ca.

222. Nava catūhi jāyanti lakkhaṇāni na kuto ci jāyamānādi rūpānam sabhāvattā hi kevalam.

223. Aṭṭhārasa pannarasa terasa dvādasāpi ca kamma cittotukāhārajāni honti yathākkamam.

224. Tatthekajāhekādasa⁴ ekam eva dvidhā rūpam tīṇi tijāni rūpāni nava catūhi sambhūtā.

Ayam ettha Rūpasamuṭṭhānanayo

225. Ekuppādanirodhānam ekanissayavuttīnam rūpānam piṇḍavasena bāvīsa rūpakalāpā.

¹pañcasattatidham

²ṛhitipattā

³ṛhitipatto

⁴Tatthekajānekādasa

226. Cattāro ca mahābhūtā vanṇagandharasojakam
Suddhaṭṭhakam sajīvitam jīvitam navakam matam.
227. Tadeva bhāvavatthūhi sabhāvadasakādikā
Tathā cakkhudasakādi kalāpā nava kammajā.
228. Suddhaṭṭhakam¹ kāyaviññatti navakam saddanavakam
vacīsaddadasakañ ca lahutādekādasakam.
229. Tam kāyavacīsaddhehi dvādasa-terasā pi ca
cittajā satta-kalāpā vacī vinā saddā nava
viññattirahito saddo athī ti pana tam matam.
230. Suddhaṭṭhakam saddanavakam lahutādekādasakam
tad eva suddhasaddena dvādasa caturo 'tujā.
231. Suddhaṭṭhakam lahutādekādasakāhārajā dvidhā
kammādijā nava satta cattāro dve yathākkamam.
232. Suddhaṭṭhakam saddanavakam dve utujā bahiddhā pi
sabbe pana avasesā aijhattam yeva labbhare.
233. Kalāpānam pariccheda lakkhaṇattā vicakkhaṇā
na kalāpañgam² iccāhu ākāsam lakkhaṇāni ca.

Ayam ettha Kalāpayojanā

234. Catudhā³ rūpakalāpā kāmaloke yathārahā
sattānam upalabbhanti anūnāni pavattiyam.
235. Sandhiyam pana sabhāvā⁴ dasakā kāyavatthukā
gabbhaseyyakasattānam pātubhavanti kammajā.
236. Abhāvakassa nattheva sattassa bhāvadasakam
tato ṭhitim upādāya upajāyanti utujā.
237. Dutiya cittam upādāya upajāyanti cittajā
atireka dvisattāhe upajāyanti 'hārajā.
238. Kamato sattasattāhe dasakā pi cakkhādayo
andhabadhira-sattānam na labbhanti yathārahā.

¹Suddhaṭṭham and so below

²kalāpañgam

³Cutujā

⁴sabhāvam

239. Opapātikasattānam sandhiyam sattadasakā tesam¹ pana omakānam na labbhanti yathārahām

240. Tato pi utujādīni vuttanayena jāyanti iccevam yāvatāyukam abbocchinnā pavattanti.

241. Bhaṅgāsattarasuppāde jāyante kammajā na te tad uddham jāyante tasmā takkhayā maraṇam bhave.

242. Āyukammubhayesam vā khayena maraṇam bhave upakkamena² vā kesañc' upacchedaka-kammunā.

243. Puretaram uppannāni cutisamam nirujjhanti tato bhijjanti cittajāni³ sesā 'va utujā.

244. Iccevam matasattānam⁴ punad eva bhavantare paṭisandhim upādāya tathārūpam pavattati.

245. Sandhiyam rūpaloke pi cakkhusotavatthudasakam⁵ navakañ cāpi labbhati navakam 'va asaññinam.

246. Tato param pavatte pi pavattanti cittotujā utujasaddanavakam asaññinam na cittajam.

247. Atthavīsatī kāmesu honti tevīsa rūpisu sattarase vāsaññinam arūpe natthi kiñci pi.

248. Saddo vikāro jaratā maranañ copapattiyam na labbhati pavatte tu na kiñci pi na labbhati.

Ayam ettha Rūpapavattikkamo

249. Sattānam āyu jīvitam tasmā tassa paricchedam vakkhāmi nayam ādāya tam tam ganthesumāgatam.

250. Āpāyikānam sattānam manussānañ ca jīvitam pamāṇam niyamam natthi tesam dukkha-bahūlato.

251. Chakāmāvacarādīnam pamāṇam jīvitam atthi sukhumojāhārattā ca mahāpuññanibbattattā.

¹tesam

²upakkamena

³cittannajāni

⁴mattasattānam

⁵-dasam

252. Yāni paññāsavassāni manussānam dino tahiṁ
timśarattidivo māso māsā dvādasam¹ vaccharam.

253. Tena saṁvaccharen' āyu dibbam pañcasatam matam
tato upari devānam dviguṇā āyudīghatā
divavassassa guṇena² āyu catuguṇam bhave.

254. Pañca ekam dvi³ ca catu atthasolāsādho likhya⁴
ādo dvikam⁵ sese tikam⁶ dibbasāñkhyā pakāsitā.

255. Manussagaṇanāya pana no chatri catu catveke
so sapañ⁷ catukam⁸ tri dve soceko⁹ ca dve 'nodho¹⁰
cha cha suññam¹¹ pakāsitam.

256. Cha ete kāmāvacarā sabbakāmasaṅgino¹²
sabbesam ekasañkhāto āyu bhavati kittako.

257. Nesam¹³ timsa-sahassāni pannarasasatāni ca
ettakā āyuppamāna¹⁴ vassaggena pakāsitā.

258. Dvādasakotisatañ¹⁵ ca atthavīsañ¹⁶ ca koṭiyo
paññāsasatasahassāni vassaggena pakāsitā.

259. Tato upari brahmānam āyukappena gaṇanam
tesam pañhamabrahmānam asaṅkheyrena gaṇanam.

260. Tato upari brahmānam mahākappena gaṇanam
tesam pañhamabrahmānam tatiyo upadḍho eko.

261. Tato upari brahmānam dutiye dve ca tvaṭṭhakam
tatiye solasakappam battimṣa¹⁷ catusatthi ca.

262. Catutthe ādibrahmānam pañcakappasatam matam
Tadaññesam sahassekam dve catu atthasolasa.

¹dvādasa

⁹soca eko

²gaṇena

¹⁰chidra

³dve

¹¹suññam

⁴atthasolāsādhañhitā

¹²-samaṅgino

⁵dvikam

¹³Netam

⁶tikam

¹⁴āyuppamāna

⁷sappañ

¹⁵-satā

⁸catukam

¹⁶atthavīsa

¹⁷bāttimṣa

263. Arūpīnañ ca brahmānañ vīsatālīsa sañhi ca caturāśīti sahassam̄ kammaṭo āyuppamāṇam̄.
264. Manussā ca cha devā ca brahmabhūmi ca terasa bhūmiyo vīsatī ekam̄ kappam̄ uddham̄ patiṭṭhitā.
265. Hetṭhimā brahmalokamhā patitā mahatī silā ahorattena ekena oggatā atṭhatālīsam̄.
266. Yojanānañ sahassāni catumāsehi bhūmigā evam̄ vuttappamāṇena sāyam̄ hetṭhima-bhūmigā.
267. Ito satasahassāni sattapaññāsa cāparam sañhi c' eva sahassāni ubbedhena pakāsitā.
268. Yojanesu pi vuttesu hitvā kāmapamāṇakam̄ sesāni vasavattīnam̄ pārisajjānam̄ antaram̄.
269. Tato hi pañca paññāsa satasahassāni cāparam atṭha c' eva sahassāni yojanānañ pavuccare.
270. Ito parāsu sabbāsu brahmabhūmīsu yojanānañ tappamāṇā 'va datṭhabbā nayagāhena¹ dhīmatā.
271. Bhūmito ābhavaggamhā sattakoṭi atṭhārasa lakkhāpaññicahutāni cha sahassāni sabbadhi.

**Iti Nāmacāradīpake Rūpaniddeso nāma
Chaṭṭho paricchedo**

VII

272. Saṅkhātāni² nāmarūpāni paccayena vinā natthi tasmā paccayavibhāgam̄ pavakkhāmi samāsato.
273. Hetupaccayārammaṇa-adhipati³-anantaram̄ samantara⁴-sahajātaññamaññāñ ca nissayam̄.
274. Upanissayam̄ pure jātam̄ pacchājātam̄ āsevanam̄ kammavipākam̄ āhāram̄ indriyam̄ jhānam̄ maggo ca.
275. Sampayuttam̄ vippayuttam̄ atthi natthi ca vigatā-vigatan̄ ti catuvīsa vutā⁵ va paccayaññunā.

¹ nayaggāhena

² Saṅkhatañ

³ Hetupaccayārammaṇamadhippati

⁴ samanantara

⁵ vuttā

276. Cha hetū hetupaccayā lobhadosamohādayo
tamṣampayutta-khandhānam kammaja-cittajānañ ca.

277. Chabbidhārammañadhammā nāmānam yeva paccayo
adhipati¹ dvidhā bhedo sahajātām ārammañam
sahajātettha chando ca cittaviriya² vīmañsā.

278. Sahajātānam nāmānam cittajānañ ca paccayo
garukattam³ ārammañam tathāpavattanāmānam.

279. Niruddhānantarakhandhānam pacchākhandhāna paccayo
purimā samanantaram nirujjhitvāna paccayo.

280. Sahajāto tidhā bhedo nāmañ bhūtā ca hadayam
nāmakkhandhā aññam aññam sahajātānañ⁴ ca rūpānam.

281. Mahābhūtā aññam aññam upādānañ ca rūpānam
hadayavatthu sandhiyam vipākenam⁵ aññam aññam.

282. Aññam aññam tathā tidhā nāmañ bhūtā aññam aññam
vatthu saddhim vipākena aññam aññam va paccayo.

283. Nissayo pi tidhā bhedo nāmañ bhūtā ca chavatthu
nāmakkhandhā aññam aññam sahajānañ ca rūpānam.

284. Mahābhūtā aññam aññam upādānañ ca rūpānam
chavatthu tannissitānam nissayatena paccayo.

285. Anantaram pakato ca ārammañūpanissayo
tividho ettha vuttā dve pakato tannissitassa.

286. Ārammañam chavatthu ca pure jāto dvidhā bhedo
jātass' ārammañam rūpañ chavatthu tannissitānam.

287. Pacchājātā catukkhandhā purejātassa kāyassa
javanāmalavajjitañ pacchimassa āsevanam.

288. Dvidhā kammañ sahajātā nānākhaṇikā cetanā
sahajātāsahajātā-nāmarūpāna paccayo.

289. Nānākhaṇikā cetanā kaṭattā rūpa-pākānam
pākam sahajarūpānam nāmañ rūpañ dvidhāhāro.

¹ adhippati

⁴ sahajānañ

² cittaviriya

⁵ vipākānam

³ garukattam

290. Nāmāhāro phassādayo sahajā nāmarūpanam rūpojā rūpakāyassa paccayāhāra sattiyā.
291. Nāmam rūpindriyam dvidhā nāmam dvinnam sahajānam. cakkhādirūpam jīvitam viññāṇānam kaṭattānam.
292. Jhānaṅgā sattapaccayo sahajā nāmarūpānam maggā dvādasa paccayo sahajā nāmarūpānam.
293. Sampayuttā catukkhandhā aññam aññam 'va paccayo vippayutto dvidhā nāma chavatthu ca tattha nāmam pure jātam sahajātam cha vatthu tannissitānam.
294. Atthā vigata-paccayā sahajātam pure jātam pacchājātañ ca āhāro pañcadhā rūpajīvitam.
295. Natthi vigata-paccayā anantarena sadisā sattimattavisesañ¹ ca vuttam² ādiccabandhunā.
296. Sappaccayā vijātiyam kadāci pi na vijjati jātiyā vītadhammānam ajāti pi saṃvijjati.
297. Ajāti nāma nibbānam khandhanimmita-nissañtam asaṅkhatañ appaccayam maggaphalāna 'lambanam.
298. Sabhāvato ekavidham upādisesabhedinā duvidham hoti suññatam³ animittādinā tidhā.
299. Padam accutam accantam asaṅkhatañ anuttaram nibbānam iti bhāsanti vānamuttā mahesayo.

**Iti Nāmacāradīpake Paccayavibhāgo nāma
Sattamo paricchedo**

¹-visesam

²vuttam

³suññatam

Nigamana

Paramavicittanayakovida-paññājavana-samannāgatena suvisuddha-buddhi-viriya¹-sīlācāra-guṇasamannāgatena² aparimitapāramitāsambhūta-paññānubhāvajanita-tipiṭakadharena Arimaddana-nagara-gocaragāma-pācīnādisābhāgaṭṭhitā³-tiloka-nayana-sabbaññudhātu-uṇhīsacetiyaṁ nissāya vasantena diṭṭhadhammikasamparāyika-hitatthānusāsaka-satthuno sāsanahitakāmena Laṅkādīpa-paradīpavāsīnam sotujanānam pariyattim pariyāpuṇantena suvisuddha-buddhi-viriya-sīlācāraguṇa-samannāgata-tipiṭakadharagarugahita-Saddhammajotipālo ti nāmavhayena therena kato sotūnam pītivaddhanako Nāmacāradīpako nāma niṭṭhito.

Saddhammahitakāmena Nāmacārapadīpakaṁ
karontena mayā pattam yam puññam hitadāyakam.

Tena puññena ijjhantu sabbasattamanorathā
rājāno pi ca rakkhantu dhammena sāsanaṁ pajam.

Labhāmahaṁ patta bhave araññam
anantaram āyubalaṁ ārogyam
dadātu Metteyya-jino subuddho
tilokasantam amataṁ avānam.

Nāmacāradīpakaṁ niṭṭhitam

¹vīriya and so below

²guṇasamañgitena

³pācīnādisābhāgaṭṭhitena

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 Pitaka, 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 Āṅguttara 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 desessāmī ti. tam sunātha sādhukam manasikarotha, bhāsissāmī 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) sunātha sādhukam 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 mayaṁ imassa bhotō Gotamassa sañkhittena bhāsitassa
vitthārena attham̄ avibhattassa vitthārena attham̄ ājānāma; sādhu
no bhavaṁ Gotamo tathā dhammaṁ desetu yathā mayaṁ
imassa bhotō Gotamassa sañkhittena bhāsitassa vitthārena
attham̄ avibhattassa vitthārena attham̄ ājāneyyāmā 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 attham avibhattassa
vitthārena) attham vibhajitum. Vibhaja' āyasmā Mahā-Kaccāno
agarukaritvā 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 Gotamam paṭibhātū 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,

*Sādhu mām, bhante, Bhagavā saṃkhittena ovādena ovadatu ...*¹⁹ MN 145.

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

Instances:

DN suttas: 5 [i 134]; 13 [i 249].
MN suttas: 41; 42; 73; 94; 135.

and *sādhu 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, yam bhagavā ... dhammim kathām kareyya, Bhagavato sutvā bhikkhū dhāressanī 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 tam ...*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, bhikkhunīnam dhammikathan ti (MN 146).*²²

iv. Introducing a parable.

The formula “3” may also be 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 ... bhikkhūl/(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 tuñhibhūtam tuñhibhūtam bhikkhusamgham 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 bhāsitaṁ 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 subhāsitaṁ 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, idam vatvā Sugato athāparam etad avoca Satthā:*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 “*Tam* kho *pana bhavantam Gotamam evam kalyāno kittisaddo abbhuggato: ‘Iti pi so Bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho vijjā-carana-sampanno sugato loka-vidū anuttaro purisa-damma-sārathi satthā deva-manussānam buddho bhagavā.’ So imam lokam sadevakanam samārakanam sabrahmakam sassamāna-brāhmaṇīm pajam sadevamanussam sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti. So dhammam deseti ādi-kalyānam majjhe kalyānam pariyośāna-kalyānam sātthanam savyañjanam, kevala-paripunṇam*

³⁶ DN 2; 3. MN 84.

parisuddham brahmacariyam pakāseti. Sādhu kho pana tathā-rūpānam arahatam dassanam 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 (*antevāsi*).

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 tiṇṇam̄ vedānam̄ pāragū sanighandu-
keṭubhānam̄ sākkharappabhedānam̄ itihāsa-pañcamānam̄ 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 Arahat, 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 Brahma, and the māras, and the world below with its recluses and Brahmans, 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 Keniya, 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 comportment 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 ekamantam 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 saddhim sammodi sammodanīyam katham sārāniyam vītisāretvā ekamantam 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' upasaṅkamīsu, upasaṅkamitvā app-ekacce Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantam nisidīsu, app-ekacce Bhagavatā saddhim sammodīsu sammodaniyam katham sārāniyam vītisāretvā ekamantam nisidīsu, app-ekacce yena Bhagavā ten' añjalim panāmetvā ekamantam nisīsīsu, app-ekacce Bhagavato santike nāmagottam sāvetvā ekamantam nisidīsu, app-ekacce tuṇhi-bhūtā ekamantam nisidīsu.*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 Dīghanikāya 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 *dhamma* (or simply a secret, as in the case of the origin of the clan of Ambatṭha 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 Ambatṭha’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 *Ganaka 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 *Sonadanda Sutta*⁶² which makes much of Sonadanda’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 “*Abhikkantam bho Gotama, abhikkantam bho Gotama. Seyyathā pi bho Gotama nikkujjitam vā ukkuujjeyya, paṭicchannam vā vivareyya, mūlhassa vā maggam ācikkheyya, andhakāre vā tela-pajjotam dhāreyya: ‘cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhīntī ti’, evam eva bhotā Gotamena aneka-pariyāyena dhammo pakāsito. Esāham Bhagavantam Gotamam saranam gacchāmi dhammañ ca bhikkhu-saṅghañ ca, ...*”⁶⁴

The formula for “formal” defeat continues:

22 “*upāsakan māñ bhavam Gotamo dhāretu ajjatagge pāñupetam sarañam gatañ.*”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 *Labheyyāham bhante Bhagavato santike pabbajjam, labheyyam 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 religieux 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 *samanas* and *brāhmaṇas*", *eke samanabrahmanā*; or the opponent is the *puthujjana*, 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 *Cūlasīhanāda 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 *Rathavinita 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 *Cūlatañhāsaṅkhaya Sutta*, MN 37; the *Mahāvedalla Sutta*, MN 43; the *Cūlavedalla Sutta*, MN 44 [i 304,26]; the *Bahuvedanīya Sutta*, MN 59; the *Āṇaṅjasappāya 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 *Mahāpuṇṇama Sutta*, MN 109; the *Bahudhātuka Sutta*, MN 115; the *Cūlasuññata Sutta*, MN 121; the *Mahākammavibhaṅga Sutta*, MN 136.

⁷² E.g. the *Vammīka 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 *Mahākannānabhaddekaratta Sutta*, MN 133 [iii 192]; the *Lomasakaṅgiya-bhaddekaratta Sutta*, MN 134 [iii 199].

⁷⁹ E.g. the *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta*, MN 18; the *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta 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 *Cūlādukkha-khandha 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 *Cūlavedalla 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 brahmans 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 *Pindapātapārisuddhi 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 Rahula's progress. In three suttas (the *Ambalaññikā-Rāhulovāda Sutta*, MN 61; the *Mahā-Rāhulovāda Sutta*, MN 62; the *Cūlarāhulovāda 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 *bhānakā*-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 Pāli 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. *Ānguttara 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 *Ambarīṣha Sutta* (DN 3), and the *Sonadanda Sutta* (DN 4); and the most philosophical debates, e.g. in the *Kassapa Sīhanāda Sutta* (DN 9) and the *Poṭṭhapāda 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 brahmans (11 suttas = 32.3%), paribbājakas (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, *Vimāṇsaka Sutta*, MN 47; the nature of the Tathāgata, *Naṭakapāna Sutta*, MN 68; the Tathāgata's wonderful qualities: *Acchariyabhbhutadhamma 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 (*Madhupiṇḍika Sutta*, MN 18), what hindrances are and how to get rid of them (*Cūla-Assapura Sutta*, MN 40), how to deal with the sense pleasures, (*Ānañjasappāya 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 became 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 *Sonadānda 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 brahmans 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 (Horner, 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 legitimisation by the monks of the Mahāvihāra lineage in Ceylon in the early centuries of the first millennium 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-Āśokan 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 *atthakathā*, 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 *atthakathā* 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 *atthakathā*.⁹ *Pāli* and *attha* 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 *dhamma* 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 *tanti*). *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 *tatrāyañ pāli*, 'on this matter (there is) this text', (e.g. Sp 13, 395, Spk I 200, Th-a III 105); the term *pāli-vanñanā*, 'text-commentary', can be used in the same

way as *pada-vāññanā*, 'word-commentary' (Sv 771, 982, Mp II 306), both of which are complementary to *vinicchaya-kathā*, 'exegesis' or *attha-vāññanā*, '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 *pāliyam* (*an*)āgata (or (*an*)ārūḍha) 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. Winteritz (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 *samhitā* 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 *māṭika-dhara-s*, '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 bhasite 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 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 (*sakam paṭibhānam*) or the word of the Buddha (*Bhagavato vacanam*). 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’ (*yam kiñci subhāsitam sabban tam tassa Bhagavato vacanam … , tato upādāy’ upādāya mayañ c’ aññe ca bhanāma*). (The choice of *bhanati* here is not accidental: *bhāna* 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 Vattagāmaṇī, 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 Vaṭṭagāmīnī 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 millennium, 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 *Dīpavāmsa* (XX 20-1) and *Mahāvāmsa* (XXXIII 100-1) have exactly the same stanzas:

*piṭakattayapāliñ ca tassā aṭṭhakathāñ pi ca
mukhapāṭhena ānesum pubbe bhikkhū mahāmatī;
hāniñ disvāna sattānam tadā bhikkhū samāgatā
ciraṭṭhitattham dhammassa potthakesu likhāpayum.*

‘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 *Dīpavāmsa* account places these stanzas in the midst of what is more or less a list of kings, with minimal narrative embellishment. It mentions *Vatṭagāmanī*, 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 *Mahāvāmsa* places the stanzas immediately after its account of the secession of the monk *Mahātissa*, 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 *Mahāvāmsa* 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 *Mahāvāmsa* 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 *Cūlavamsa*, 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) (*nissāmsayaṁ sa Metteyyo*'); then when he had rendered their commentaries into Pali, they are said to have received them *pālim 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, *pālim 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 *vamsa* tradition.⁴⁵ The term *vamsa* (Sanskrit *vamśa*) 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 *vamsa* 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 *vamsa* 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 *vamśa* and *vamśānucarita*; the former term refers to a genealogy of gods, patriarchs, kings and great families, the latter to the deeds of such a *vamśa*. (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 *Vamśānucarita*, in the sense that they devote themselves to the history of some *Vamśa*, 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 *vamsa* 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 *vamsa* texts is that of the *dhammadīpa*, 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 *vamsa* sections, and there may have been at least one specifically Abhayagiri *vamsa*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 *vamsa* 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 *vamsa* genre may be seen together as members of the same class: the 'list'. The *vamsa* 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 millennium 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 *vamsa* 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 Tipitaka, 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.

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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 Chieng 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-pūrāṇī* may preserve a sense of 'line' or 'list'. The *Ānguttara* 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 *therapālivannā nijjhītā* (Mp I 337), (and similarly) *theripāli-* (381),

theripāli- (381), *upāsakapāli-* (401), *upāsikāpāli-* (458). (There are variant readings *therapāliyā*, *theripāliyā*, and *upāsikāpāliyā* (sic) *vannanā* 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 *theripāliyam pathame* (337), *upāsakapāliyam* (482 — *pathame* must have been accidentally omitted here; there is a v.l. *upāsakapāli-vannanāya pathame*), and *upāsikāpāliyam pathame* (401). *Pathame* cannot agree with *-pāliyam* (or *-vannanāya*); 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 *āthānapāliyam* (v.l. *-pāliyā*); at II 18 *āthānapālivannanā nīthitā* and, beginning the next section, *ekadhammapāliyam*.

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 *āthakathā* 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 *āthakathā*. (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 *pāṭha* (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 *atthakathā* came only to be used of commentaries on *pāli* texts, others being *tikā*. A number of texts are sometimes said to have been added to the Canon in Burma: The *Sutta-saṅgaha*, *Netti-pakarana*, *Peṭakopadesa*, *Milindapaṭha* (see Oldenberg (1882, p. 61); Bode (1909, p. 5); Duroiselle (1911, p. 121), who disagreed with Bode; Nāṇamoli (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 *Chatṭhasaṅgāyana* edition). The word *pāli* is used of the *Sutta-saṅgaha* in Burmese manuscripts (Oldenberg (op. cit., p. 80); Fausbøll (1896, p. 31)). The *Netti-pakarana*, 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 Nāṇamoli, op. cit., p. xi); and the commentary is classed as an *atthakathā* by the *Gandhavānsa* (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 *attha* 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-Āśokan) *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 *tipeṭakī* 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-paṭha* (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' (*sathu sāsanam*), then what he says (*tāni pada-vyaṭijanāni*) 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-pitakas*. 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 *pitakas*, 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-pakarana* (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' (*sathu 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 (*pāthamasarīgitiyam saṅgītaḥ ca asaṅgītaḥ 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 subhāsitam sarvam tadbuddhabhāsitam*. 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 *Upālipariprcchā-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 *Vimuttimagga* (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-mahāvānsa* at Mhv-t 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-pitaka* (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 *Gulha-vessantara*, *Gulha-ummagga*, *Gulha-vinaya*, and *vedalla-pitaka* 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 *tikā* on this passage see Cousins (1972, p. 160)) add to these names the *Vanna-pitaka*, *Āngulimāla-pitaka*, *Ratthapāla-gajjita*, and *Ālavaka-gajjita*. The *Nikāya-samgraha* (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 pitaka* 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-āṭṭhakathā* several times: see Geiger (1908, pp. 47 foll.); Malalasekera (1935, vol.1 pp. lxv-lxvii). The commentaries often discuss alternative views and interpretations, which may have been those of the Abhayagiri commentaries: see De Silva (1970, vol 1 p. lxvii 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-saṅgraha* (in Fernando (1908, p. 10-11)) and *Saddhamma-saṅgaha* (Chapter 6, JPTS (1890) pp. 46-50), written in the 14th.

³⁴ It seems natural to take both *piṭakattaya-pāliṁ* and *āṭṭhakathāṁ* as governed by *likhāpayum* as well as *āñesum*; 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 *hāṇīm* 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 parihiṇāyukasatīnām sati-buddhiparihāṇīm*.

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 Caṇḍālatissa but seems to be the same story. (See Malalasekara (1938) s.vv. *Caṇḍālatissa-mahābhaya* and *Brahmaṇatissa-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 *Mahāniddeśa*. The version of this story in the PTS edition of the *Samantapāsādikā* (695-96) indicates the time of the tale simply by saying

mahābhaya. 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 Nāṇamoli (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 (*atthakatham anuggahetvā*) announced that he would give a public discourse on the scriptures (*pañcanikāyamandale tīṇi piṭakāni parivattessāmi*; later he says *pariyattiṁ 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 ācariyuggaham*) 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 ?' (*idam padam kathaṇi vadanti*). Although the monk then gives the passage correctly, his Preceptor simply grunts (*hun ti*); he then gives it twice more, each time differently (*aññena aññena 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 ācariyamago, ācariyamukhato pana anuggahitattā evam ācariyā vadanti ti sañṭhātum 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 *vamsa* texts devoted wholly or in part to recounting the history of relics and their possession: e.g. the *Dāṭhavāmsa*, *Thūpavāmsa*, *Cha-kesa-dhātu-vāmsa*, *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 Samgha 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 legitimisation, 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-vāmsa* (pp. 56-65), for example, the legitimatory 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-vanssa* 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 *dhamma*: the latter is explained as their not being taught *pālim vā aṭṭhakathām vā dhammakathābandham vā guṭhaganthām 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 *ṭīkās* [sub-commentaries] or [narrative] works like the *Rasavāhini*'. It might also refer to books containing texts used in preaching, as in the modern Sinhalese *bana* 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). *Guṭhagantha* 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 *guṭha-* 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 *guṭha* in the title, and they seem 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 *guṭhagantha* as 'meditation-subject books dealing with the truths, the dependent origination, etc., which are profound and associated with voidness'. So it would seem that *guṭhagantha* 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-ṭīkās* 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 *vr̥ta* 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 cetiyaṅganavatta-bodhiyaṅganavatta-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 *cetiyaṅganavatta*, on which Schopen concentrates, nor about a *bodhiyaṅganavatta*, 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 *bhattachāra*(*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 *Samantapāśādikā*, 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-ṭ), 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-vattam āvāsika-gamika-anumodana-bhattachaga-pindacārika-āraññika-senāsana-jantāghara-vaccakuṭi-upajjhāya-saddhivihārika-ācariya-antevāsika-vattan ti imāni cuddasa vattāni. tato aññāni pana kadāci tajjanīyakammakatādikāle yeva caritabbāni dve-asīti mahāvattāni. na sabbāsu avatthāsu caritabbāni. tasmā cuddassa khandhakavattesu aganitāni. tāni pana “pārivāsikānam bhikkhūnam vattam paññāpessāmī” ti ārabhitvā “na upasampādetabbam. pa. na chamāyam cañkamante cañkame cañkamitabban” ti vuttāvasānāni chasaṭṭhi. tato pana “na bhikkhave pārivāsikena bhikkhunā pārivāsikavuddhatarena bhikkhunā saddhim, mūlāyapaṭikassanārahena, mānattārahena, mānattacārikena, abbhānārahena bhikkhunā saddhim 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 Sumaṅgalavilāsinī.

ādinā vuttavattāni pakatattacaritabbehi anaññattā visum aganetvā pārivāsikavuddhatarādisu puggalantaresu caritabbiā tesam vasena sampañdetvā ekekam katvā ganitāni pañcāhi ekasattati vattāni, ukkhepaniyakammakatavattesu vuttam “na pakatattassa bhikkhuno abhivādanam paccuṭṭhānam. pa. nahāne piṭṭhiparikammañ sāditabban” ti idam abhivādanādīnam asādiyanam ekañ, “na pakatatto bhikkhu sīlavipattiyā anuddhamsetabbo” ti-ādīni ca dasāhi evam etāni dvāsīti vattāni. etesv eva pana kadāci tajjaniyakammādivattāni, kadāci pārivāsikādivattāni aggahitaggahañena dvāsīti eva. aññattha pana aṭṭhakathāpadese appakam ūnam adhikam vā gananūpagam na hotī 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 *tajjaniyakamma*, 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 *Āṭṭhakathā* 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 *Vinayapiṭaka*, *cetiyāṅganavatta*, 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 *Āṭṭhakathā*:

*ekacco hi vattasampanno hoti: tassa dve-asīti
khuddaka(= Ne)vattāni; cuddasa mahāvattāni; cetiyāṅgana-bodhiyāṅgana-*

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

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

Here, *cetiyaṅganavatta*, etc., are clearly distinguished as a class of their own with no immediate connection to the Vinayapiṭaka. 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 Vinayapiṭaka 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 Vinayapiṭaka, which again shows that this is a well defined set of rules. In the Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayasaṅgaha (Pālim Be 1956, 233,2–4) only 11 rules are enumerated, and *anumodana*, *saddhivihārīka*, and *antevāsīka* 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 *cetiyas*, *bodhi* tree, etc.

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

cetiyaṅganavattādiasūtimahāvattapatiptipūraṇam, 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-asūti khuddakavattāni cuddasa vattāni* (sic !): here °*bodhiyaṅgaṇa*° is omitted as well; No. 59 Sammohavinodanī (undated, 16th century) fasc. (phūk) 14, folio *lam a 3*: *dve-asūti khuddakavattāni cetiy*°, where *cuḍḍasa mahāvattāni* is omitted.

it is said:

cetiyaṅganavattādī ti ādisaddena bodhiyaṅganavattādīni saṅganhāti. asītimahāvattapatiipūraṇan ti ... tattha mahāvattāni nāma vattakkhandhake vuttāni āgantukavattam, 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. *cetiyaṅgāna*, 2. *bodhiyaṅgāna*, 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 Dhp-a I 379,15-18, where *bodhiyaṅgāna* is missing, or:

tassa hi cetiyaṅganabodhiyaṅganavattam 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 upaṭṭhānam na gacchati, parinibbute cetiyaṭṭhānam bodhiṭṭhānam na gacchati, cetiyam vā bodhim vā na vandati cetiyaṅgane 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:

cetiyacārikam āhindantā ti tattha tattha cetiyaṅganam sammajjantā āsanāni dhovantā bodhimhi udakam āsiñcantā āhindanti, tesu vattabbam eva n' atthi. asukavihāre cetiyam 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 karanakammam paññāyati cetiyaṅganasammajjana-bodhiyaṅgana-sammajjana-abhikkamana-paṭikkamana-vattānuvatta-karan 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 cetiyaṅganavattādīni 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*: *sammajitum*, Vin I 118,5 “to sweep”, *āsanam paññāpetum*, Vin I 118,16 “to prepare a seat”, *padipam 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 Vattakkhandaka.

Although *bhojanasālāvatta* at a first glance may simply continue and replace the older technical term *bhattachagavatta* — *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 sammajjanīm gahetvā bhojanasālaṅganām vā uposathāgāraṅganām vā pariveṇadivāṭhāna-aggisālādīsu vā aññataram sammajjītvā dhovitvā puna sammajjanīmālakē thapetabbā, 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. tatrīdam vattam: majjhato paṭṭhāya pādaṭṭhānābhimukhā vālikā haritabbā, kacavaram hatthehi gahetvā bahi chaddetabbam*, Sp 773,28–31 “if he sweeps the sitting room, he must know the procedure. This is the procedure

included in the *bhattachagavatta*, 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 *gamikānam bhikkhūnam vattam*:

Vin II 211,21-31:

*dārubhaṇḍam mattikābhaṇḍam
paṭisāmetvā dvāravātapaṇānam
thaketvā senāsanam āpucchā
pakkamitabbam ...
sace vihāro ovassati sace ussahati
chādetabbo ussukam vā
kātabbam kin ti nu kho vihāro
chādiyethā ti.*

Sp 777,21-25:

*dārubhaṇḍam mattikābhaṇḍam
paṭisāmetvā dvāravātapaṇāni
pidahitvā gamiyavattam pūretvā
gantabbam.
sace pana senāsanam ovassati
chādanatthā ca tiṇam vā iṭṭhakā
vā ānītā honti sace ussahati
chādetabbam, etc.*

Here again words are changed such as *pidahitvā* in the commentary against *thaketvā* in the Vinayapiṭaka in the same way as *bhojanasālā* replaces *bhattachaga*, 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-vatthu*s relating to dwelling places during the rainy season found only in Sp 1226,1–1235,23, and thus expanding the Vassupāniyakkhandhaka, 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.:

Andhakaṭṭhakathāyam pana ... bhāsitam tam dubbhāsitam, Sp 697,17–19,

or:

Andhakaṭṭhakathāyam pana ... ti vuttam. tam n' eva aṭṭha-kathāyam na pāliyā vuttam, tasmā na gahetabbam, Sp 1069,19–22.

Going even beyond the Vinayapiṭaka was not altogether unacceptable as the principle of *pālimuttaka-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:

*ediso ahu ayam samussayo jajjaro bahudukhānam ālayo
so 'palepapatito jarāgharo saccavādivacanam 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 *bahubbihi*.

"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."

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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 *Vinayapiṭaka*”, *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: ... *āṅgana-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 (*samcayana*).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 *Ksudraka-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 millennium 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 sakunajātena bijam 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: *bijam āharitā ti bijam āharitvā* (399,12¹), 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 Epilogomena 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 *buddhavacanam 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 *tesam tesam samanabrahmanānam chandaso paṭiññāyamānam vohāramattam ev' etam* 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 methunam dhammanam 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 methunarāgapatiśāmyuttena chandena c' eva ruciyā ca, chande pana asati balakkārena padhamśitāya*

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 padesam chandaso paveseti*, 157,18.

The Sanskrit Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya⁷ also includes the word. It gives the rule in the form: *yā puna bhikṣuṇī chandaso maithunam grāmyam dharmam pratiṣeviyā antamasato tiryagyonyigata(gatena) pi sārdham iyam bhikṣuṇī pārājikā bhavaty asamvāsyāḥ(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 mukham*, Sn 568 (*vede sajjhāyante hi paṭhamam aijhetabbato savitti chandaso mukham*, Pj II 456,21 = Ps III 406,24). For other usages of *chanda* in the sense of metre, cf. *atītakālikānam pi hi chandasi vattamānavacanam akkharacintakā icchanti*, Pj II 16,24 (ad Sn 2 “*udacchidā*”); *chandavasena c’ ettha dīgham katvā ca-kāram āha, samsuddhacarāṇo ti attho*, Pj II 205,25 (ad Sn 162 “*-cāraṇo*”); *chando nidānam gāthānam*, S I 38,21 (glossed: *gāyatti-ādiko chando gāthānam nidānam*, Spk I 94,21–22); *chandavasena rassam 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 suṭṭhu pavattam paguṇam*

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

~am suvinicchitam, Sp 234,10 (~an ti vācāya uggatam; tattha nirantaram thitan ti attho, Vmv I 125,18); aṭṭhakathāsu pana pākaṭavohāram gahetvā °-vasena sabbacchannā nāma pañcahi chadanehi channā ti, 745,19; dve mātikā paguṇā ~ā katvā, 788,29; dve vibhaṅgā paguṇā ~ā kātabbā, 789,11; vattantī ti āgacchanti, paguṇā ~ā ti attho, 792,9; yassa sāṭṭhakatham vinayapiṭakam ~am pavattati, 983,30; suppavattinī ti °-vasena, 990,11 (°-vasenā ti paguṇavasena, Sp-ṭ III 7,12); dve pana akhanda suvisadā ~ā honti, 1060,3 (~ā ti purimass' eva vevacanam, Sp-ṭ III 39,27); pariyāpuṇitvā ti, uggaṇhitvā vā ~am vā katvā, Spk I 262,3; eken' eva uddesena tayo vedā hadayaṅgatā ~ā sūpadhāritā ... ahesuṁ, Mil 10,11; sajjhāyanti ca ~am parantā dhārenti ca, Sp-ṭ (Linasāratthadīpanī), p. 123; yāvatā ~ā pariyatti hoti, Ps III 78,15; divase divase ca chasahassa-vedapadāni ~ā honti, Bu-up 42,3; A bhidhamma-piṭakam uggaṇhitvā sāṭṭhakatham ~am katvā, Saddhamma-s 82,2 ≠ 82,6; ten' eva kata-kammena bhavantaram anāgate sāvijjattha katass' eva ~añ 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-intonated speech".¹¹

I suggest that *uggata* is a form of *ōggata* = *ogata* (< *avagata*) with the sense of "learnt, understood", which is 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* (*Duythagāminirāñño 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 pañkamajhe vyasanno*) and 399,8* (*evam p' aham kāmapaṇike vyasanno*). 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 pātho, tasmiṁ 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 *majhe*, *vy-* cannot make any difference to the scansion of the pāda. The editors of PED make no reference to the Ardha-Māgadhi equivalent of the Citta-Sambhūta-jātaka found in Uttarajjhāyana-sutta XIII. There we find: *nāgo jahā pañkajalāvasanno* (XIII.30).¹⁶ This enables us to postulate that an earlier version of the Pāli pāda ended with *pañkamajjhāvasanno*. When this became wrongly divided as *pañkamajjhā 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 *pañkamajjhāvasanno*, with the resultant belief that *vyasanno* was a word in its own right, followed by the replacement of the unintelligible *-majjhā* by *-majhe*. 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 Uttarādhayayanasūtra*, 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 *vyā-* 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-puṇṇo* (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-puṇṇo* and *vimhayam āpanno*, the word does not seem to be identical in meaning with *vimhita*. The occurrence of the gloss *bhīta* and the Be reading *vyathita-* suggests that

¹⁸ See PED, s.v. *vyamhita*.

we may be dealing with the verb *vyādheti* “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 *-am-*, 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. *gahitagahitam ... suvannabhājane pakkhittam iva sīhatelam avinassamānam dhārento* (Pj I 198,26) with *gahitagahitam pāsāne khatalekhā viya, suvanṇaghaṭe 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 suvannanālīm pūrento viya sakkaccam sotam odahitvā*, Ja I 98,4; *pāsāne lekham khananto viya kañcananāliyā ~am patīcchanto 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 vyādheti na bādheti*, Ja IV 166,21’ (ad 166,4* “na ... vyadheti”).

²⁰ For a similar alternation between long and nasalised short vowels (in **ud-āhati* and **ud-añhati*) 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”.

sakkaccaṁ subhāsitāni sunāti, Ja V 149,13'; *sakkaccaṁ pāsāne lekham* khanantā viya, *kañcananāliyā* ~ām paṭicchantā viya ca ohitasotā *savānam* karothā 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-pāti* 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 sannicitam silāya lekhā viya suvannaghaṭe pakkhitta-~ā viya ca tiṭṭhati*, Mp III 28,15 = Ps II 252,30 (ad “*suta-sannicaya*”); *gahitagahitam pāsāne khatalekhā viya, suvannaghaṭe 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 sunantānam* va *sāsanikajanassa dipam idam ~āya suvannabhājanam* viya *suriyaramsiyā samphullapadumam* viya *ca disvā*, Mhv-ṭ 50,24–26. In contrast to this, at Ja V 489,13 we find *mattikābhājanam* viya ~āya *abhājanam 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 kañcanapātiyā silālekheva* (for -*lekhā iva*; Att and Mhbv 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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²³ See PED, s.v. *Sugata*.

²⁴ Cf. *tattha sugatiggahenena 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).

TUNḌILOVĀDA: AN ALLEGEDLY NON-CANONICAL SUTTA

“The *Sutta* of the Advice to Tunḍila” 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 *Tunḍilovāda 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 Tunḍila and his wife. After perceiving Tunḍila’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 (*anisamsā*) 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, *A māvatura*, edited by Kodagoda Ānaloka 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

sīla 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 *dānam* 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 *Nidhikanḍa* *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 *Maraññāna 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 Sutraya*, 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 Millenialism.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 *Tundilovāda Sutta* convincing. It is easy to share this impression. The text begins with *evam 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, “Millenialism 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 Sutraya* 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 *tiikā*. 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 renascence 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 *Suttapiṭaka*.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 Sutraya*, 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 Sutravyā*. 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 *Tunḍilovāda 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 *Tunḍilovāda 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 *Tunḍilovāda 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 pūtiparipuṇṇagandupamā kāmā*).

The most elaborate simile in the *Tunḍilovāda 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 *Tunḍilovāda 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 (*attālaka*) 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 *Ānguttara Nikāya*, there is a serial simile about the 'rajab'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 (*attālaka*) is mindfulness; and in the *Milindapañha*, there is an exceptionally long simile of the city of *Dhamma* where *viriya* 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 änuma*. 20 folios (khr-g!). A nineteenth century copy.¹

C₁: British Library Or 6600(41) V. Text and *pada änuma*. 14 folios (khe-g!). 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 änuma*. 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

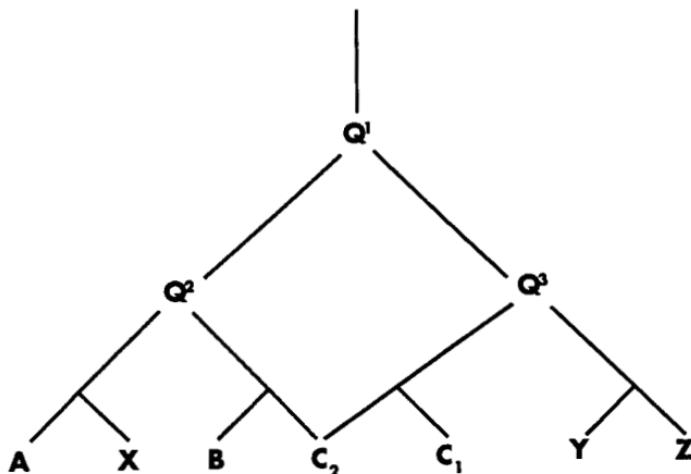
¹ This manuscript is also described in Somadasa, *Nevill Collection Catalogue*, I, p. 27.

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, "Samuddaghosajātaka — 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*,” “*ñ*,” “*l*,” and “*ɻ*,” 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 “*i*,” 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–xlv.

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 samayam Bhagavā Kapilavatthunagaram upanissāya Rohananadiyā tīre² Nigrodhārāme viharanto devamanussānam samgaham karaṇatthāya³ madhurassarena dhammam desento bahudevamanusse⁴ saggamokkhamagge patiṭṭhapento⁵ Nigrodhārāme paṭivasati. Tena kho pana samayena tasmin⁶ yeva Kapilavatthunagare Tuṇḍilo nāma gahapati paṭivasati. So⁷ gahapati mahāvibhavasampanno bahudāsadāsi ca gomahisādayo ca dhanadhañño suvaṇṇarajatādini⁸ bahutarā bahukoṭṭhāgārāni⁹ sampanno ahosi. Bhariyāpissa Irandatī hoti.¹⁰

¹ A [sutam]

² A nadītīre

³ A samgahakaraṇatthāya; Z (karatthāya)

⁴ C₁ C₂ (bahudevamanussesu)

⁵ AX [patiṭṭhanto]

⁶ Z [tasmin]

⁷ B omits so

⁸ BC₁C₂ svārṇarajatādini

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

¹⁰ Y ahosi

So gahapati ekadivasam¹ Bhagavato dhammadesanam sotukāmatāya dīpadhūpagandhamālādīnī gāhāpetvā yena Bhagavā tenupasamkami.² Upasamkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā dhammasabhāyam³ nisinno dhammam suṇati. So gahapati dhammadesanāya pasīditvā evam cintesi:⁴ Aham pubbesu dinnadānassa nissandena sucaritadhammena imasmim yeva attabhāve mahādhano mahābhogo jāto. Puna⁵ idāni dānam dātum⁶ vāttatīti cintetvā Bhagavato dhammadesanāya pariyośāne Bhagavantam vanditvā uṭṭhāyāsanā parivārehi saddhiṃ⁷ attano geham gantvā⁸ bhariyam pakkosāpetvā evam āha: Bhadde⁹ aham dānam dātukāmomhīti.¹⁰ Sā¹¹ tassa¹² vacanam sutvā, sādhu devā ti sampatićchi. Ubho pi jayampatikā dānassa vidhiṃ sajjetvā attano nivesanassa purato mahāmaṇḍapam kāretvā¹³ Buddhapamukhassa bhikkhusamghassa nimantetvā maṇḍapamajjhe nisidāpetvā nānākhādaniyābhojanādī hi¹⁴ sampinḍetvā mahādānam pavattesi.

¹ B *ekam divasam*; A [ekadivasan]

² A omits *upasamkami*

³ Y (*dhammasabhayan*)

⁴ A *cintetvāsi*

⁵ A *punā*

⁶ C₂Y (*dātun*)

⁷ Y (*saddhin*); C₂ omits *saddhim*

⁸ C₁ *gehagantvā*

⁹ BC₁YZ *bhaddenī*

¹⁰ X *dātukāmomha ti*

¹¹ X (*yā*)

¹² Z *sattavacanam*, 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 *sampinḍeti*, instead of reading an instrumental plural. Admittedly, the *hi*, attested in all manuscripts, then seems unnecessary in this context.

Atha kho¹ Bhagavā bhattakiccāvasāne Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa katadānasambhāram disvā esa gahapatiko² pubbe katadānasambharena³ ajeva tīsu⁴ parimodito bhavissati,⁵ idāni pana tassa⁶ Tuṇḍila-gahapatikassa pasādetum⁷ vattatīti cintetvā acchariyarūpam pāṭīhāriyam akāsi. Buddhānam sarīrato nīlapītalohitavadātamañjeṭṭhappabhassara-vasena⁸ tāni chabbaññaramsivāññāni vissajjesi. Tiriyabhāgena ananta-lokadhātum⁹ pakkhandimṣu. Adhobhāgena pāṭhaviyā¹⁰ udakapariyantam vinivijjhītvā yāva¹¹ hetṭhā avīcikā dhāvanti. Uparibhāgena uggantvā yāva bhavaggā dhāvanti. Ettakam panaṭṭhānam¹² yeva¹³ ajjhotaritam¹⁴ ahosi. Tadā Tuṇḍilagahapati¹⁵ īdisassa¹⁶ pāṭīhāriyavilāsam¹⁷ disvā acchariyabbhuto¹⁸ pana manasā pītipharitam¹⁹ hadayam ahosi.

¹ C₁ places *atha* *kho* after *bhattakiccāvasāne*

² C₂ *gahapati*

³ A [*sambhare*]; C₂ (*sambharam*)

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 [*pasādetun*]

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

⁹ Y (*lokadhātun*)

¹⁰ Z omits *pāṭhaviyā*

¹¹ X (yā)

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

¹³ B omits *yeva*

¹⁴ Emend to *ajjhottaritam* ?

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

¹⁶ B (*idissa*)

¹⁷ C₂ *pāṭīhāriyam*

¹⁸ B *acchariya abbhuto*

¹⁹ C₂YZ *pītipūritam*

Atha kho Bhagavā tassa ajjhāsayam īnatvā idāni assa dānam vanñitum¹ vattatiti cintetvā gahapatiṁ etad avoca, Bho gahapati, ajjadivase te ativiya mahantam dānam² dinnam. Dānam hi³ nāmetam porānakapañditānam paveniyān ti. Gahapati, aham pubbe bodhisattassa kāle aparipakkaññena⁴ bodhiññānam gavesanathāya caranto mahādānam adāsim⁵ yevāti. Tena phalena idāni buddho hutvā⁶ sabbaññutaññānam pañilabhisāmi.⁷ Thapetvā dānam, buddhaccekabuddhā arahantādini⁸ pañivijjhitum nāsakkhiṁsu.⁹ Tasmā dānam hi nāmetam mahapphalam mahānisam̄sam̄ hotīti vatvā Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa dānānisam̄sam̄ pakāsento Satthā imam̄ gātham āha:¹⁰

Dānam¹¹ issariyabbhutam¹² dānam bhogam upaññitam,
Dānam athānurakkhā ca dānam sukham¹³ pavaḍḍhittam.

Aggassa vattum dadatam aggam puññam¹⁴ pavaḍḍhati,
Aggo āyuñca vanño ca yaso kittisukham̄ balam̄.

¹ C₂ omits *vanñitum*

² Y *dhānam*

³ Y (*dānāhi*)

⁴ C₂ *aparipakkaññāto*

⁵ YZ [*āsi*]; BX (*adāsi*)

⁶ BC₂Z [*sutvā*]

⁷ The future would not normally be expected here.

⁸ C₁ *arahantādi*

⁹ Y (*nasakkinsu*)

¹⁰ C₂YZ [*gātham māha*]

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

¹² ABZ *issariya abbhutam*; Y *issariyamabbhutam*; C₁ (*isvaryyā abbhutam*); X (*issaya abbhutam*)

¹³ A *sukha-*

¹⁴ BY *aggapuññam*

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

Sabbakāmadadam² dānam yam³ icchām paripūrati,
Dānam⁴ nidhikumbhūpamam dānam kapparukkhopamam.⁵

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

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

Tasmā hi dānam dātābbam 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 kāmadadam*

³ A omits *yam*

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 *nirayamocanam*; 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 yam̄ attani¹ jīvitam̄ mahantam̄ issariyam̄² labhe,
 Mahādhanamahābhogānam̄³ yam̄⁴ iccham̄ labhate⁵ sadā.⁶

Rukkhagge⁷ pabbatagge vā antalikkhe vā⁸ sāgare,
 Yathā⁹ thitā¹⁰ paṭiṭṭhanti annam̄ pānañ ca¹¹ vatthukā.¹²
 Saddhāya dinnam̄ dānam̄¹³ yam̄ vadanti mahapphalam̄,¹⁴
 Saddhāpubbāngam̄¹⁵ dānam̄ appakiccam̄ pi yam̄ katam̄.

Pasannā tīsu kālesu labhanti tividham̄ sukham̄,
 Sukham̄¹⁶ deti manussesu saggesu paramam̄ sukham̄.

Tato ca¹⁷ nibbānasukham̄ sabbam̄ dānena¹⁸ labbhati,
 Padesarajjam̄¹⁹ issariyam̄ cakkavattissirim̄²⁰ 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 [*issariyam*]

³ YZ [*mahādhanam* *mahābhogā*]; C₂ omits *mahādhana*; C₂Z add *sadā* here

⁴ Y omits *yam*

⁵ AC₂X *labhati*

⁶ YZ omit *sadā*

⁷ C₂ adds *vā*

⁸ AC₁XYZ *ca*

⁹ Z *yatā*

¹⁰ BC₁C₂X (*thito*)

¹¹ AC₂ *pānam* *ca*

¹² C₁ *annapānavatthukā*

¹³ A *dinnam* *yam* *dānam*

¹⁴ C₁Z [*mahatphalam*]

¹⁵ ABC₂YZ *saddhāpubbāngamam*;

¹⁶ A *sabbam*

¹⁷ YZ omit *ca*

¹⁸ X *sabbadānena*

¹⁹ A [*padesarajja*]

²⁰ Y *cakkavattisirim*

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
Dānaī ca adhikām̄ katvā sambodhiñ ca labhanti⁶ te.

Evaṁ eva gahapati dānaṁ hi nāmetam̄ mahāguṇam̄
mahānisam̄san ti evaṁ Bhagavā Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa dānānisam̄sam̄
desesi.⁷ Dānakathānantaram̄ sīlānisam̄sam̄ kathetum̄ ārabhi.⁸

Silam̄ hi nāmetam̄ gahapati⁹ idhalokassa paralokassa¹⁰
sampattimūlam̄.¹¹ Sīlasadiso avassayo nāma natthi. Sīlasadiso aññō
patiññhā¹² nāma¹³ natthi.¹⁴ Sīlasamam̄ aññam̄ thānam̄¹⁵ natthi.¹⁶ Sīlasamam̄

¹ Z *devarajjam pi*

² X omits whole *gāthā*

³ C₁C₂ (*sampattiñ*)

⁴ XY *sabbadānena*

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

⁶ ABC₂XYZ [*labbanti*]

⁷ A omits preceding sentence.

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

⁹ BC₂ omit *gahapati*

¹⁰ YZ *idhalokaparalokassa*

¹¹ C₂ *sampattim mūlam*; this may be a contamination from the *pada* *ānuma*.

¹² B *patiññho*, 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 aññā patiññhā* ... ?

¹³ X (*nāmam*)

¹⁴ C₁ omits preceding sentence.

¹⁵ Emend to *tāṇam* ?

¹⁶ C₁X omit preceding sentence.

aññam ābharaṇam natthi.¹ Sīlasamo añño alaṅkāro² natthi. Sīlasamo³ añño gandho nāma natthi. Sīlasamam aññam kilesamalavisodhanam⁴ natthi. Sīlasamam aññam rūpataram⁵ natthi. Sīlasamam aññam saggārohaṇasopānam natthi. Nibbānanagarappavesanatthāya⁶ sīlasamam aññam dvāram nāma natthi.⁷ Sīlasamam aññam nagaram natthi.⁸ Atha kho⁹ Bhagavā Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa sīlānisaṁsaṁ dassento¹⁰ imam gātham āha:¹¹

Sīlam sukhānam paramam nidānam¹²
sīlena sīlin tidivam payāti,
Sīlam hi samsāram upāgatassa
tānañ ca lenañ ca parāyanāñ ca.

Yathā nabham tārāganābhipūritam¹³
visuddhakam candavinā na sobhati,¹⁴
Tathā naro rūpakulavibhājito
yasassi¹⁵ vā sīlavinā na sobhate.¹⁶

¹ X then inserts: *Sīlam sāmam dhānam natthi. Sīlasamam aññam parāyanam natthi.*

² B adds *nāma*; Z [alaṅkāro]

³ C₂ (*sīlasamam*)

⁴ Z [*klesamalavisodhanam*]

⁵ AX *abhirūpataram*

⁶ X *nibbānanagarassa pavesanatthāya*

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

*Sagārohaṇasopānam aññam sīlasamam kuto,
dvāram 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 *nidhānam*

¹³ Z *tārāganahi*

¹⁴ B *sobhate*

¹⁵ A *yasassa*; Z [*yasasvā*]

¹⁶ Z *sobhati*

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

Yathā kumāro mañimuttabhūsito³
 suvatthadhāro⁴ subhagandhavajjito,⁵
 Tathā naro dānavibhūsita mañđito⁶
 na sobhate sīlavilepanam vinā.⁷

Yathā vanam chappadapakkhisamguṇam⁸
 vasantakāle⁹ kusumehi mañđitam,
 Na sobhate¹⁰ kokilavajjita¹¹ vina
 yathā pi yo sīlavinā na sobhate.¹²

Yathā gharadārakumāravāsitam
 dhanālayam nātīganenam ākulam,¹³

¹ Z [sobhai]; emend to sobhante ?

² Z [sobhati]; emend to sobhante ?

³ C₁C₂ mañimuttavibhūsito

⁴ C₁C₂ (savatthadhāro)

⁵ Z [suṅgandhavajjito]

⁶ A [dānavisamañđito], perhaps this is an error for dānavilāsamamañđito, 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 sīlavibhūsimamañđito.

⁷ BC₁C₂Z add another [na sobhate] here.

⁸ C₁C₂ chappadapakkhim samguṇam

⁹ C₁ vasantakālesu

¹⁰ C₁C₂YZ omit na sobhate

¹¹ Some emendation seems necessary; perhaps kokilakūjita ?

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 *sila* does not shine.”

¹³ Emend to nātīganena ākulam or nātīganānam ākulam, “crowded with a host (or hosts) of relatives ?”

Vinā¹ tivuḍḍhena² na sobhate tathā
guṇo pi yo silavinā na sobhate.

Nagaram yathā naranārīhi pūritam³
hatthīhi assehi samaṅgibhūtam,
Etaṁ hi raññona⁴ 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 taṭṭakam¹³ udakena pūritam¹⁴
Haṁsagaṇānam sañcaritam¹⁵ tathā pi¹⁶
Na sobhate¹⁷ padumuppalam¹⁸ vinā,
Tathā naro rūpakulābhilaṁkato

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 (*purita*)

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 *sīlam*

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 *taṭṭakam*, from *taṭṭa*?

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 (*padumupphalam*)

Na sobhate sīlavivajjito.¹

Dibbehi vanṇehi samānarūpino
 Alāmkato² sabbavibhūsitehi
 Annam vinā so na vibhati rūpino,³
 Tathā naro dhanadhaññabhogino⁴
 Na sobhate⁵ sīlavivajjitenā.⁶

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

Khaṇena⁸ sīlam rakkheyya⁹ appameyyaphalam¹⁰ siyā,¹¹
 Anantagunāsamāyuttam¹² sabbabuddhehi vanṇitam.

Hīnena brahmacariyena¹³ khattiye upapajjati,¹⁴
 Majjhimena ca¹⁵ devattam 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 [alāmkata]

³ Z [*rūpino sīlavivajjitenā 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 *nibbānasampattiyā*

⁸ A [khaṇne]

⁹ Z [*rakkheyam*]; C₂ (*rakkhayya*)

¹⁰ AB [omit *phalam*]

¹¹ AB [add *sīlam*]

¹² C₁C₂ (*anantagunāsamāyuktam*)

¹³ Y (*brahmacariyehi*)

¹⁴ C₁ (*uppajjiti*)

¹⁵ X omits *ca*

¹⁶ X (*uttame*)

Pāṇātipātā veramaṇiyā sabbaṅgehi pūritā,¹
Rūpavā sukhasampanno dīghāyuko arogino.

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

Kāmesu micchācārā³ veramaṇiyā itthibhāvā pamuccitā,⁴
Sabbaṅgehi sampanno abhayā sukhavīhārino.⁵

Musāvādā veramaṇiyā puthupaññā visāradā,⁶
Mukho⁷ ca gandhasampanno amusāmadhurabhāsītā.

Surāpānā veramaṇiyā na ummattā⁸ amohadā,
Hiri ottappasampanno saccavādasurūpitā.⁹

Evam eva gahapati sīlam hi nāmetam mahāguṇam mahānisamṣan¹⁰ ti evam eva gahapati Bhagavā Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa sīlānisamṣam kathesi. Puna Bhagavā etad avoca: Yo hi koci purisapuggalo itthī vā puriso vā khattiyo vā khattiyyā¹¹ vā brāhmaṇo vā brāhmaṇī vā

¹ A [pūritam]

² C₂ Y pahūtadhanadhaññō

³ A micchācāriyā, Y micchācāraveramaṇiyā

⁴ ABX pamuccitā

⁵ Y sukhasampanno

⁶ Z [puthupamñā visāradu]

⁷ X mukhe

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

⁹ A saccavādīsurūpitā; C₁ surūpito; C₂ sabbavādasurūpitā

¹⁰ C₁ mahāguṇamahānisamṣati; XY mahānisamṣam ti

¹¹ BC₁C₂YZ [khattiyyāni]

gahapatiko vā gahapatānī¹ vā daliddo vā² daliddī vā,³ ekaṁ bhikkhave⁴ rakkhitabbam. Katamam ekaṁ rakkhitabbam? Pāṇātipātā paṭivirato⁵ hoti, Pubbavidehānam rājāno⁶ hoti mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Dutiyam pi bhikkhave sīlam⁷ rakkhitabbam. Katamam dutiyam sīlam rakkhitabbam?⁸ Adinnādānam pahāya adinnādānapaṭivirato hoti, Aparagoyāne manussānām rājāno hoti⁹ mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Tatiyam pi bhikkhave sīlam¹⁰ rakkhitabbam. Katamam¹¹ tatiyam sīlam rakkhitabbam? Abrahmacariyam pahāya abrahmacariyā paṭivirato hoti, Uttarakurudīpassa rājāno hoti¹² mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Bhikkhave catuttham pi sīlam¹³ rakkhitabbam. Katamam catuttham sīlam rakkhitabbam? Musāvādām¹⁴ pahāya¹⁵ musāvādā veramaṇiyā paṭivirato¹⁶ hoti, sakalajambudīpamanussānām rājāno honti¹⁷ cakkavattirajjasirīm paṭilabhati mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Bhikkhave pañcamam pi¹⁸ sīlam rakkhitabbam. Katamam? Surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānam¹⁹

¹ AC₂ [*gahapatini*]

² C₁ omits *daliddo* vā

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

⁴ BC₁C₂Y *Bhikkhave ekam*; X *ekam sīlam bhikkhave*

⁵ A [*paṭivira*]

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

⁷ C₁C₂Y *Bhikkhave dutiyam pi sīlam*

⁸ X omits *dutiyam sīlam rakkhitabbam*

⁹ C₂X *honti*

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

¹¹ ABZ add *sīlam* here

¹² AC₁C₂ *honti*

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

¹⁴ B (*Musāvādā*)

¹⁵ AX omit *musāvādām 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 [*pañcamādaṭṭha*]

pahāya surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānā paṭivirato hoti, cātummahā-
rājikānam devānam rājāno hoti¹ tattha mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo
devaputto hoti.

Bhikkhave chaṭṭham pi² sīlam rakkhitabbam. Katamam
chaṭṭham³ sīlam rakkhitabbam? Vikālabhojanam⁴ pahāya vikālabhojanā
paṭivirato hoti, Tāvatiṁsānam devānam rājāno honti mahiddhiko
mahānubhāvo devaputto hoti. Bhikkhave sattam pi⁵ sīlam rakkhitabbam.
Katamam sattamam pi⁶ bhikkhave sīlam rakkhitabbam? Naccagīta-
vāditam⁷ pahāya naccagītavāditā⁸ paṭivirato hoti, Yāmānam devānam⁹
rājāno honti¹⁰ mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti.¹¹ Bhikkhave aṭṭhamam¹² pi¹³
sīlam rakkhitabbam.¹⁴ Mālāgandhavilepanam pahāya mālāgandhavilepanā¹⁵
paṭivirato hoti, Tusitānam devānam rājāno honti mahiddhiko
mahānubhāvo hoti. Bhikkhave navamam¹⁶ pi¹⁷ sīlam rakkhitabbam.
Bhikkhave katamam¹⁸ navamam sīlam rakkhitabbam? Uccāsayanam¹⁹

¹ X *honti*

² AX *Chattham 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 AXYZ [naccagītavādita]

⁹ Y *Yāmādevānam*

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 *katamam* 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 [mālāgandhavilepanam]

¹⁶ C₂Y (*navam pi*)

¹⁷ ABX *Navamam pi bhikkhave*

¹⁸ ABX *Katamam bhikkhave*

¹⁹ A *uccāsayanamahāsayanam*; C₂ *uccāsayanamahāsayanānam*

pahāya uccāsayanamahāsayanā paṭivirato hoti, Nimmānaratīnam¹ devānam rājāno² honti mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Bhikkhave dasamam³ sīlam⁴ rakkhitabbam⁵. Bhikkhave katamam⁶ dasasīlam⁷ rakkhitabbam⁸? Jātarūparajatapaṭiggahaṇam⁹ pahāya⁹ jātarūparajata- paṭiggahanā paṭivirato hoti, Paranimmittavasavattinam devānam rājāno honti mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo hoti. Bhikkhave imāni dasasīlāni¹⁰ rakkhitabbam, iti imam Satthā¹¹ gātham āha:¹²

Satam̄ hatthī satam̄ assā satam̄ assasarīrathā¹³
 Satam̄ kaññā sahassāni¹⁴ āmuttamaṇikuṇḍalā
 Ekassa padavītihārassa kalam̄ nāggħanti solasim.

Dveme kule uppajjanti khattiye cāpi¹⁵ brāhmaṇe
 Hīne kule¹⁶ na¹⁷ jāyanti sīlam̄ rakkhayidam phalam.

¹ A *Nimmānam ratīnam*; X *Nimmākaratīnam*; Y *Nibbānaratīnam*

² A *rājā*

³ A *Dasasīlam bhikkhave*

⁴ C₂ *dasasīlam*

⁵ Y *silarakkhitabbam*

⁶ ABXY *Katamam bhikkhave*

⁷ Emend to *dasamam sīlam*?

⁸ B *Jātarūparajatapaṭiggahanā*; C₁C₂ °*patiggahānam*

⁹ X omits *jātarūparajatapaṭiggahanam 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 *sahassāni*

¹⁵ Z *vāpi*; Y *ca*

¹⁶ C₁ *Hinakule*

¹⁷ AY omit *na*

Anantabhogasampannam anantabalavāhanam
Nārīvaraganākiṇṇam sīlam rakkhayidam¹ phalam.²

Hathī assārathā pattī senā hi³ caturaṅginī
Samantā parivārenti sīlam rakkhayidam⁴ phalam.⁵
Kaye candanagandho ca mukhe vāyanti uppalam
Sattayojanam⁶ vāyanti sīlam rakkhayidam⁷ phalam.

Mahāpuññā mahātejā mahāpaññā mahāyasā⁸
Mahābalā mahāthamā sīlam rakkhayidam⁹ phalam.

Sīlam ābharaṇam settham sīlābharaṇam uttamam
Sīlam apāyabhāyajananam¹⁰ sīlam rakkhayidam¹¹ phalam.

¹ B *rakkha idam*; C₁C₂ *rakkham idam*

² A omits this verse.

³ BZ *senāya*; C₁X omit *hi*

⁴ BY *rakkha idam*; C₁ *rakkheyya idam phalam*; C₂ *rakkham*

⁵ AX then add:

*Hemavanto surūpo ca piyā[†] ca manvaddhati
Pañcakalyānasampanno susaññatanumajjhima[†]
Lābhino* sabbahogānam sīlam rakkhayidam phalam*

[†] 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 idam*

⁸ A omits *mahāyasā*

⁹ BC₁C₂ *rakkham*; Y *rakkha idam*

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

¹¹ BYZ *rakkha idam*; C₁C₂ *rakkham idam*

Candanam tagaram cāpi¹ uppalam attha vassiki²
 Etesam gandhajatānam sīlagandho anuttaro.

Dasasilānisam̄sam̄³ sīlakathānantaram saggakathā kathetum⁴ ārabhi. Sacco hi nāmetam gahapati Indo manāpo ekantasukho niccam Sinerumathake⁵ Tāvatisabhadavane dibbayasena abhiramanti. Niccam dibbasampattim⁶ abhiramitvā⁷ dibbehi rūpehi⁸ samannāgato dibbehi vatthālamkārehi samannāgato⁹ patimanḍitā dibbamālāgandhavilepanehi vibhusitā¹⁰ dibbehi pañcaṅgikaturiyehi sadā pappoṭhitā¹¹ dibbehi naccagītavāditehi nanditā niccam dibbasampattim¹² abhiramanti.

Cātummahārājikānam¹³ devānam āyuppamānam navutivassasatasahassāni ettakan̄ pana kālam dibbasampattisukkham anubhavanti. Tāvatisme¹⁴ devānam pana āyuppamānam pana tisso¹⁵ ca vassakoṭiyo saddhiñ ca vassasatasahassāni honti. Ettakāni¹⁶ āyuppamānāni dibbasampattim¹⁷ anubhavitā abhiramīnsu.¹⁸ Yāmānam devānam āyuppamānam

¹ X vāpi

² BC₁XYZ [vassikhi]

³ Y silānisam̄sam̄; C₂ dasasilānisam̄sam̄ ti

⁴ A saggakathetum; C₁ saggakathānukathetum

⁵ AZ [Sinerumathāke]

⁶ C₂Y (dibbasampatti)

⁷ Y anubhavitvā

⁸ BC₁C₂YZ [omit rūpehi]

⁹ A samannāgatā

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

¹¹ A pappoyitā; C₁C₂ (pappoṭhitā); X (pappothitā)

¹² AC₁ dibbasampatti

¹³ AY [Cātummahārājikā]

¹⁴ C₂ Tāvatisānam; A [Tāvatiso]

¹⁵ Emend to timsā?

¹⁶ Z [ethakāni]

¹⁷ C₁ dibbasampatti; B adds sukhāṇ

¹⁸ Z [abhiramīnsu]

cuddasakoṭiyo¹ ca cattālīsavassasatasahassāni honti. Ettakām pana kālam dibbasampattim anubhavitvā abhiramissanti. Tusitānam² devānam āyuppamānam sattapaññāsavassakoṭiyo saddhiñ ca vassasatasahassāni honti. Ettakām³ pana kālam⁴ āyūni dibbasukham dibbasampattim⁵ anubhavitvā⁶ abhiramissanti.⁷ Nimmānaratīnam⁸ devānam āyuppamānam dvevassakoṭiyo satāni tiṁsañ ca vassakoṭiyo cattālīsañ ca vassasatasahassāni honti. Ettakāni⁹ pana āyūni dibbasukham dibbasampattim anubhavitvā abhiramim̄su.¹⁰ Paranimmittavasavattīnam devānam āyuppamānam navavassakoṭiyo satāni¹¹ tiṁsañ ca vassakoṭiyo¹² saddhiñ ca vassasatasahassāni honti. Ettakāni pana āyūni dibbasukham dibbasampattim anubhavitvā abhiramim̄su. Tattha uppajjītvā dīgharattam¹³ abhiramim̄su.

Sakkassa devānam Indassa pāsādo¹⁴ pākārehi parikkhittam¹⁵ sāvīthiyā¹⁶ uyyānam sāpokkharanī¹⁷ sākapparukkham¹⁸ sāhatthiyānam

¹ AC₂X [*chuddasa-*]

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

³ X *Ettakāni*

⁴ X omits *kālam*

⁵ C₁C₂ *dibbañ sampatīm*; Z *dibbasampatti*

⁶ A then adds *abhiramitvā*

⁷ X *abhiramim̄su*

⁸ A then adds *pana*

⁹ Z [*ettakām*]

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 [*sāpokkaranīm̄*]; emend *sā* throughout sentence to *sa*?

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

sāassayānam sārathayānam. Tasmīm¹ yeva pokkharāṇīye² padumuppalam³ puṇḍarīkañ⁴ ca tale ṭhitam⁵ nānā pupphāni anuvātam pativātam vāyanti. Pañcaṅgikaturiyāni niccam ramaniyām karonti. Devehi sabbaturiyāni vādenti⁶ madhurassarena gītasaddena gīyanti⁷ naccan⁸ tā rattim divā pabodhenti.

Tādisam Sakkasukkham pi puññakammañ⁹ akarantehi na laddham. Imasmīm yeva loke ye keci kammañ karā¹⁰ vā mātāpituposakā dānam dadantā sīlam rakkhantā bhavitā Buddhassa vā Dhammassa vā Samghassa vā ye keci sakkārañ karonto¹¹ pūjanīyyānam¹² pūjantā vandanitā¹³ puññakammesu appammattāko¹⁴ te sabbe janā tādisam dibbasukhañ dibbasampattim paṭilabhitvā dīgharattam¹⁵ abhiramiñsu.

¹ X (*tasmin*)

² Y (*pokkarāṇīyiye*); emend to *pokkharāṇīyā*

³ BC₂ (*upphalam*)

⁴ XY (*upphalapuṇḍarīkañca*)

⁵ C₁C₂Z *taleññhitam*

⁶ Vādenti, 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 *gitayanti*; in both cases a denominative verb form is used instead of the more standard *gāyanti*.

⁸ B *naccam*

⁹ X *puññam kammañ*

¹⁰ X *kammakarā*

¹¹ Emend to *karontā*?

¹² YZ *pūjaneyyanam*

¹³ X *vandanīyānam vandanta*

¹⁴ Emend to *appamattā*?

¹⁵ BC₂ (*dīgharattim*)

Evam Bhagavā saggaguṇapaṭisamyuttam¹ dhammadesanam
Tunḍilassa gahapatiputtassa² desesi.

Puna ayam saggo anicco addhuvo. Sabbe³ pi devā tathā yāvataṁ sukhamaṇi thatvā puna puññakkhayā ramanīyyasaggato cavitvā pana puññajātiyam uppajjanti. Tasmā gahapati ayam saggo nāma anicco addhuvo sabbasamkharesu jigucchikātum yuttam⁴ na hetṭhāchandarāgo kātabbo. Alām piyāyitum alām tussitum alām vivajjituṁ vimuḍitum.⁵

Evam Bhagavā saggakathānantaram kāmesu dosam dassetum⁶ ārabhi. Bho gahapati kāme⁷ hi nāmetam mahantam ghorataram dukkham paṭivadeti. Kāmaṇi nissāya bahusoko bahūpāyaso bahūpaddavo dukkhena sayati dukkhena na parimuccati. Niccam uppekkhaggacitto hoti,⁸ niccam dummukho hoti, niccam soko hoti, niccam dasito hoti,⁹ niccam aññehi pīlito hoti, niccam bahudukkho hoti. Kāmena icchā nāma na ciram tiṭṭhanti.¹⁰ Padumupattato¹¹ galita udakam viya hoti khaṇe neva muccati vinassati yevati, asaccabhāvena¹² supinakkupamā kāmā,¹³ attano issariyabhāvena araññam dahanam tiṇakkupamā kāmā,¹⁴ aticcaphala-

¹ C₁C₂ saggaguṇam; X saggaguṇā; C₁C₂YZ [paṭisamyuktam]

² B Tunḍilagahapatiputtassa

³ AX then add samkharesu jigucchiyakatum

⁴ BC₁C₂Z [yuktam]; emend to yutto?

⁵ C₂ vimucchitum

⁶ C₁ desetum

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 *niccam dasito hoti*.

¹⁰ BX tiṭṭhati

¹¹ A padumapattakonā

¹² A [accabhāvesu]

¹³ A then adds tāpana

¹⁴ A omits kāmā

bhāvena¹ sappisirupamā² kāmā, pajjalitabhāvena tiṇakkupamā kāmā, tāpanabhāvena³ aṅgārakāsupamā⁴ kāmā, jīvitaharaṇaṭṭhena halāhalavisupamā⁵ kāmā, vilīnabhāvena⁶ naccalohupamā⁷ kāmā, pajjalitabhāvena ayogulupamā⁸ kāmā, atekicchabhāvena makkhiganā parivāritavaṇūpamā⁹ kāmā, tathā dukkham eva kevalam.

Duggandhabhāvena¹⁰ pūtiparipuṇṇagaṇḍupamā kāmā, gūthārāsimhi nimuggapuriso viya kāmā, pūtikuṇapesu hatthapavesanapuriso¹¹ viya kāmā, aṅgārakapallesu¹² aṅgulipakkhittapuriso¹³ viya¹⁴ kāmā, evam kāmanissāya¹⁵ imasmīm loke¹⁶ yeva ativiyaghoraṭaram¹⁷ dukkhañ¹⁸ ca mahantañ ca vināsam paṭisamvēdenti.¹⁹ Puna tato²⁰ idhalokadukkhan²¹ 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 *sirā*) of ghee.”

³ Y omits *tiṇakkupamā kāmā, tāpanabhāvena*

⁴ B omits *aṅgārakāsupamā*

⁵ C₁C₂ *halāhalavisūpamā*

⁶ B *vilīnabhāvena*

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 [aṅgārakaphallesu]

¹³ Z [aṅguliparikkhīna]; perhaps *parikhīna* was intended?

¹⁴ Y then adds *puna*

¹⁵ BX *kāmam nissāya*; A [kāmānissāya]

¹⁶ X omits *loke*

¹⁷ Y *ativiyaghoraṭam*

¹⁸ C₁ *dukkhañ ca*

¹⁹ XY *paṭivedenti*; C₂ *patisamvēdenti*

²⁰ A *tatho*

²¹ C₂ *idhaloke dukkhan ca*

paṭivedetvā¹ puna paraloke mahānirayesu uppajjanti. Tasmiṁ yeva mahāniraye tippakharā kaṭukā vedanā paṭivedenti.

Evaṁ Bhagavā kāmesu dosaṁ dassetvā,² nikkhamme ānisamṣam kathetum ārabhi. Bho gahapati gharāvāso nāma bahudukkho bahūpāyāso bahupalibodho bahukicchā³ bahukaraṇyo bahucintā bahu icchā. Imasmim⁴ yeva gharāvāsesu dukkham eva kevalam, nirayam yeva santikam upanenti,⁵ nibbānamaggassa dūrabhāvam karoti. Tasmā gahapati gharāvāso nāma jegucchiyam⁶ kātum yuttam,⁷ na tattha chandarāgo kātabbo. Alām nanditum alām piyātum alām virajjituṁ⁸ alām vimuccitum. Yo koci puggalo kāmesu ādīnavāñ ca gharāvāsesu dosañ ca disvā puttadarassa⁹ rañjanam chaḍḍetvā gehato nikkhamitvā Himavantam pavisitvā¹⁰ brahmacariyam carissati. So puggalo mahantam nibbāna-sukham¹¹ paṭilabhisati.

Evaṁ Bhagavā gharāvāsesu¹² dosañ ca nikkhamme ānisamṣañ ca dassetvā nibbānassānisamṣam pakāsento: Bho gahapati nibbāyati etam¹³ tasmā nibbānan ti vuccati. Jātijarāvyādhimaraṇadukkham etesam catunnam dukkham nibbāpetīti¹⁴ nibbānam nāma, rāgadosamohamānam

¹ A [paṭivedeti vā ca]

² C₁ desetvā

³ A [bahukicco]

⁴ Emend to imesu ? or perhaps understand as imasmim loke ?

⁵ Emend to upaneti ?

⁶ X jeguccchikātum; BC₁C₂Z [jecchiyam]; emend to jiguccchi- ?

⁷ C₁C₂Z [yuktam]; emend to yutto ?

⁸ X (virāṇsitum)

⁹ B then adds chandam

¹⁰ A [paṭisitvā]

¹¹ Z nibbānasukhā

¹² B gharāvāse

¹³ BX (etam nibbānam)

¹⁴ B nibbānam peti; C₂ nibbānapeti; C₁ (nibbāpeni)

natthi¹ atthi etesam̄ pañcannam̄² dosānam̄ nibbānapetīti nibbānam̄ nāma³ tiuccati.⁴ Tasmīm̄⁵ nibbāne ajātīm̄ ajaram̄ abyadhim̄⁶ amaram̄⁷ nibbhayaṁ⁸ na upaddavam̄.⁹

Sattappavaram̄¹⁰ ramanīyyatañāñ¹¹ ca nibbānamahānagaram̄ sapākāram̄ sadvāram̄ sāttalakam̄ saparikkhittam̄ savīthi saantarāpanam̄ sakappam̄ sapāsādam̄¹² satambham̄ sasayanam̄ sapallañkam̄¹³ sadīpapajjalitam̄¹⁴ samālāgandhavilepanam̄ sapokkharañiyam̄ sajalaparipuññam̄ savālukam̄¹⁵ tasmiṁ yeva¹⁶ pokkharañiye¹⁷ sapadumuppalakumuda-puññārīkam̄¹⁸ sabhamaram̄ sauyyānam̄¹⁹ saham̄sacakkavākam̄²⁰ satalākam̄

¹ C₂ *rāgadosanohamānanatthi*; emend *natthi* to *diñthi* ? or take *natthi* as referring to the view of nihilism, which is generally rejected as a wrong view.

² Emend to *pañcānam* ?

³ X adds *sokadukkhaparidevadomanassa upāyāsādī hi atthi etesā* (emend to *etesam* ?) *dukkhānam̄ nibbānam̄ peti nibbānam̄ nāma*

⁴ A *vuccati*

⁵ B adds *yeva*

⁶ BYZ [*ovyādhim*]; C₁ (*auvyādhim*)

⁷ C₂ *anaranam*; A [*amanam*]

⁸ ABC₁Z [*nibbhaya*]

⁹ B omits *na upaddavam*; emend to *anupaddavam* ?

¹⁰ B (*sattapaddavaram*)

¹¹ Perhaps *ramanīyatāñāñ ca* is intended ?; AC₁C₂XY *ramanīyanan*

¹² C₁C₂Z [*sapāsādham*]

¹³ A [*sapallakam*]

¹⁴ AXY *sadīpajjalitam*

¹⁵ BC₂Z *savātthukam*

¹⁶ C₂ *ye*; X (*ye so*)

¹⁷ X (*pokkharañi*)

¹⁸ BC₁C₂ (°*upphala-*); AB [°*kumudu-*]

¹⁹ A [*uyyāyanam*]; C₂ (*uyānam*)

²⁰ B *hamsacakkavālam*

jīvarṇjivakasamghā naccāhakokilasuvapotakā¹ madhurakoñcādī sakuna-
gañehi² sevitam, evam³ nibbānamahānagarassa⁴ sampattiyo honti.⁵

Tathā nibbānamahānagare⁶ kiṁ tam pākāram? Khantipāramī pākārasadisam. Kiṁ tam sadvāram? Dānapāramī dvārasadisam.⁷ Kiṁ tam saaṭṭālakam? Samādhi aṭṭālasadisam. Kiṁ tam saparikkhittam? Mettāpāramī⁸ parikkhittapākārāsadisam.⁹ Kiṁ tam savīthi? Catuvīsati-
samantapadhānam. Kiṁ tam saantarāpanam? Sattatiṁsabodhipakkhiyam
antarāpanasadisam.¹⁰ Kiṁ tam sapāsādām?¹¹ Dasapāramī pāsādasadisam. Kiṁ tam satambham? Abhidhammasattappakaraṇatambhasadisam.¹²
Kiṁ tam sayanam? Nekkhammapāramī sayanasadisam. Kiṁ tam pallañkam?
Vimuttiñāṇapallañkasadisam.¹³ Kiṁ tam sapadipā-
pajjalitam?¹⁴ Nāṇapadipāpajjalitasadisam.¹⁵ Kiṁ tam mālāgandha-
vilepanam? Saccapāramī mālāgandhavilepanasadisam. Kiṁ tam sapokkharāṇiyam?¹⁶ Bhāvanā pokkharāṇisadisam. Kiṁ tam jal-
paripuṇṇam? Kāruṇā sītalajalaparipuṇṇasadisam.¹⁷ Kiṁ tam

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 dvāram 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 pallañkam sadisam*; emend to *Vimuttiñāṇam
pallañkasadisam*?

¹⁴ B *sampadipāpajjalitam*

¹⁵ Emend to *Nāṇam padipāpajjalitasadisam*?

¹⁶ AC₂ [*pokkharāṇiyā*]

¹⁷ AB *kāruṇāsītalajalaparipuṇṇam sadisam*

sapadumuppalakumudapuṇḍarīkam¹ Silam.² Kim tam sabhamaram? Aggasāvakam³ bhamaragaṇasadisam. Kim tam⁴ uyyānam? Viriyam⁵ uyyānasadisam. Kim tam haṁsacakkavākam⁶ Jātikilesamalavijahitam arahantam haṁsacakkavākadijagaṇasadisam.⁷ Kim tam jivamjivakādi-sakuṇagaṇehi sevitaṁ? Nibbānataṭākasadisam.⁸ Tasmiṁ yeva nibbāna-nagare sattappakaraṇehi saṁvitthāravā⁹ hoti ti.

Saccam ekantasukkham eva hoti. Tādisam saggasukkham¹⁰ akatapuññehi na laddham. Kim arīga pana tathā nibbānanagaram gantum vā pāpunitum vā pavisitum na sakkā¹¹ laddhum. Yena kenaci janā dānenā pi yadā puññakammesu pi ratā, te pi janā niyatam eva nibbāna-mahānagaram gantum vā pāpuṇitum vā pavisitum vā passitum vā labhissanti. Atha Satthā nibbānamahānagaram vanṇento āha:

Santam panitam amalam sivam abhayaṁ maccutam¹²
Ajaram amataṁ khemam¹³ nibbānam nāma īdisan ti

¹ B *padumuppalakumudapuṇḍarikam*

² BC₂ omit *sīlam*; A then adds [*padumuppalakumudupuṇḍ 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 *viriya*

⁶ B (*haṁsacakkavākākam*)

⁷ BC₁ omit *arahantam haṁsacakkavākadijagaṇasadisam*

⁸ Emend to *nibbānam taṭākasadisam*?

⁹ Read as *saṁvitthārā vā*?; or emend to *saṁvitthāravā*?

¹⁰ X *saggamukham*

¹¹ A [*sakko*]

¹² Emend to *maccutaram*?; or, to keep metre, to *madhuram*?

¹³ All manuscripts then add [*evam Bhagavā*]

Evam Bhagavā anekaguṇasamyuttam¹ dhammadesanam Tuṇḍilagahapatikassa desesi. Gahapatiko pi ime acchariyabbhutam² dhammadesanam sutvā Irandatī nāma bhariyāya³ saddhiṁ dhammarasam pivitvā pītivegena ubho pi jayampatikā arahattam pāpuniṁsu. Aññe pi janā bahusotāpattiphalādīni pāpuniṁsu.

Tuṇḍilovādasuttam.⁴

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¹ BZ [anekaguṇasamyuktam]

² A acchariyabbhutam; C₂ acchariyam abbhutam; Y acchariya abbhutam

³ A [bhariyā]; Z [bharyyā]

⁴ X adds *nitthitam*; A adds a scribe's colophon: *ito cutoham vara jambudīpe mālāye* (emend to *Himālāye*?) *hemamayampi kūte, kappāyuko devapatiča hutvā meteyyanāthassa sunomi dhammam*; B lapses into Sinhala in its ending: *Siddhir astu, subham astu, arogyam astu. Tuṇḍilovādasuttam nitthitam. 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 inadvertently 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 [*Dhammapotthakalekhinam*], 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 a 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 *Vattakhandaka* 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-vattam āvāsika-gamika-anumodana-bhattacharita-piṇḍa-
cārika-āraññaka-senāsana-jantāghara-vaccakuṭi-upajjhāya-
saddhivihārika-ācariya-antevāsikavattan ti imāni cuddasa
vattāni. Tato aññāni pana kadāci tajjanīyakammakatādikāle yeva
caritabbāni dve-asīti mahāvattāni. na sabbāsu avatthāsu
caritabbāni. tasmā cuddasakkhandakavattesu aganitāni.*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 *saddhammathitthiyā*.

² Sāriputta, *Sāratthadīpanī nāma Vinayaṭikāya* (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-bhattacharṇa-piṇḍacārik’-āraññaka-*

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 sabbesam bhikkhūnam sabbadā ca yathārahā caritabbāni. dve-asīti mahāvattāni pana tajjaniyakammatādikāle yeva caritabbāni, na sabbadā, tasmā visum 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: Bhumibalo Bhikkhu Foundation Press, 1980), Vol. 2, p. 393. See as well the twelfth century Sinhala glossary, the *Jātaka Aṭuva Gātāpadaya*, edited by Ven. Māda uyangoda Vimalakirti (Colombo: Gunasena, 1961), p. 114: *cuddasa mahāvattesu, āgantuka vata āvāsika vata bhaktāgra vata senāsana vata jantāghara vata vaccakuṭi vata upadhyāya vata anumodanā vata pindapāti vata āraññaka vata saddhivihārika vata antevāsika vata yanādi vutudus mahāvahida; asūikhandakavattesu ca, tajjaniyādi tīkarma kāla kālayehida parivāsādi kālayehida paryayutuvū devisi kanduvat ādīvū asūmaha kanduvatehida*. This last explanation clearly echoes Sāriputta's comment on the eighty-two *mahāvattāni* translated above.

² Coliya Kassapa, *Vimativinodani*, edited by Beratduwe 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 *Heranasiikhavinisa*, 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 uyangoda Vimalakirti (Colombo: Gunasena, 1970), p. 157.

² Ratnapala apparently also misconstrued *dahagab māṁbo aṅgana-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 specifically 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 unwieldly 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*, *Heranasiikha*, 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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Charles Hallisey

A NOTE ON DHAMMAPĀLA(S)

Of the works ascribed by tradition¹ to Dhammapāla, the *Paramatthamañjūsā* (*Visuddhimagga-mahā-ṭīkā*, abbr. *Vism-mhṭ*) and the *ṭīkās* on the first three *nikāyas* (that on the *Āṅguttara* 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 *Gandhavaṇsa* is correct in stating that the *ṭīkās* 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 panāyam Visuddhimagga-kathā vatthu-pubbikā āraddhā, na Satthu-thomanāpabbikā?” ti. vuccate “visum asaṁvaṇṇanādibhāvato”: Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-ādayo viya hi Dīghanikāy'-ādīnām nāyam visum samvaṇṇanā, na pakaraṇantaram vā Abhidhammāvatāra-Sumatāvatār'-ādi viya;

¹ E.g. *Gandhavaṇsa*, 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 Hīnayāna 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.

tāsañ yeva pana Sumaṅgalavilāsinī-ādīnam visesabhūtā; ten' ev' āha "majhe Visuddhimaggo" ti ādi.⁴ atha vā thomanāpubbikā pi cāyam kathā na vatthupubbikā vāti daṭṭhabbam; sāsane hi vatthukittanam na loke viya kevalam hoti, sāsanasampattikittanattā pana Satthu-aviparītadhammadesanābhāvavibhāvanena Satthu-guṇasamkittanam ullīngantam 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 *Majhe Visuddhimaggo esa catunnam pi āgamānam hi Thatvā pakāsayissati tattha yathā bhāsitarūpāttham* (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 tīkās*, which have no such opening (the same is true of the *Netti tīkā* and the *anuṭīkā*).

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.), *Upāsakajanālānkāra*, PTS, 1965, Introduction, pp. 28 foll.;
 Dr (Mrs) Lily de Silva (ed.), *Dīghanikāya atthakathātīkā*, PTS, 1970, vol. I, Introduction, pp. xli–lv;
 L. S. Cousins, "Dhammapāla and the tīkā literature" [review article on the above], *Religion* 2 (1972), pp. 159–65;
 Aloysius Pieris S.J., "The colophon to the Paramatthamañjusā 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.

AN INDEX TO JPTS VOLUMES IX-XV

An Index to The Journals of the Pali Text Society (1882-1927 = Volumes I-VIII), compiled by P.D. Ratnatunga (Mudaliyar) and revised with Appendix and arranged by S.S. Davidson, was published by the Society in 1973. This index lists, by author, the articles published in the Journal since it was revived in 1981.

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