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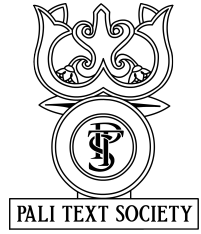

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Rupert Gethin

Petra Kieffer-Pülz

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- the study of individual texts or parts of texts,
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Sodo Mori 森祖道
1934–2025

Norihisa Baba

Professor Sodo Mori passed away on 12 March 2025. As a foremost scholar of Pali commentarial literature and Mahāyāna Buddhism in Sri Lanka, he played a leading role in Pali and Buddhist studies in Japan.

Born in Tokyo in 1934, Professor Mori was evacuated to Shizuoka Prefecture in 1944 as air raids intensified during World War II. He remained there until 1950, at which time he returned to Tokyo and graduated from Hibiya High School. He then ordained and entered Ryūsenji, a Zen training temple in Hamamatsu, Shizuoka Prefecture, where he trained under Gien Inoue Rōshi. He later moved to Sōjiji, the head temple of the Sōtō school. His Zen training took a total of five years.

After his Zen training, Mori enrolled in the Department of Zen Buddhist Studies in the Faculty of Buddhism at Komazawa University, a Sōtō-affiliated institution. He graduated in 1962, receiving the Chief Abbot's Prize, awarded to the university's top student. During his time at Komazawa, he met Professor Kogen Mizuno—then Japan's foremost Pali scholar—and began to study under him.

After completing his master's degree in Buddhist studies at the University of Tokyo in 1965, he entered the doctoral program. His supervisor during his graduate school years was Professor Hajime Nakamura. Between 1966 and 1968, while still a doctoral student, he worked in Sri Lanka at the editorial office of the *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* under Professor G. P. Malalasekara.

He completed his doctoral coursework in 1970. That same year, he began teaching in the Faculty of Economics at Jōsai University, where he served first as a full-time lecturer, then as associate professor and professor, until 1991. From 1991 to 2003, he was a professor in the Faculty and

Graduate School of Letters at Aichi Gakuin University. His research was highly regarded by the Japanese academic community, receiving the Eastern Study Prize in 1989, the Special Prize of the Society for the Study of Pali and Buddhist Culture in 2002, and the Suzuki Foundation for Academic Work's Special Prize (the Suzuki Prize) in 2016.

Professor Mori's work extended far beyond Japan. In 1975, he conducted research for four months at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. From 1985 to 1986, he was a visiting scholar at the University of Cambridge, and in 1990, he served as a visiting professor at the Postgraduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies, part of the University of Kelaniya. These experiences led him to greatly expand the international dimension of his academic career.

From 1990 to his final days, he held the position of Regional Representative of the Pali Text Society for Japan. Keeping in touch with European scholars such as Professor K. R. Norman and Dr Margaret Cone, he was passionate about making contributions to the Pali Text Society in Japan. From 1972 to 2012, Mori served as chief editor of *Bukkyō Kenkyū* (*Buddhist Studies*), overseeing all forty issues. The many scholarly articles published in this journal include works by Kogen Mizuno, Akira Hirakawa, P. V. Bapat, Heinz Bechert, K. R. Norman, and other eminent scholars. They will no doubt remain influential in the field of Buddhist studies.

A comprehensive list of Professor Mori's publications up to 2002 appeared in *Buddhist and Indian Studies in Honour of Professor Sodo Mori* (Hamamatsu: International Buddhist Association, 2002, xv–xxii). The present journal issue includes the list of his major works before 2002, along with his principal publications since 2002, with Japanese titles translated into English.

His early scholarship was consolidated into a monograph which offers a philological analysis of the entire Pali commentarial corpus (*Pāri Bukkyō chūshaku bunken no kenkyū*, 1984). While building faithfully on Adikaram's findings, Mori also introduces original contributions, including a reevaluation of source chronologies and the order in which the commentaries were composed. Although portions of this work appeared as English-language articles and as a self-published monograph, *Studies of the Pali Commentaries*, it remains invaluable for its systematic synthesis.

The fourth section of the book is particularly noteworthy for its sophisticated analysis of the doctrinal differences between the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagirivihāra traditions. Drawing on both Pali commentaries (*aṭṭha-*

kathā) and subcommentaries (*ṭīkā*), Mori clarifies the doctrines of the Abhayagirivihāra tradition and demonstrates how the differences between the two traditions align with distinctions between the *Visuddhimagga* and *Vimuttimagga*. Few other studies have treated Abhayagirivihāra thought so comprehensively, using both Pali commentaries and sub-commentaries as well as Chinese sources.[1]

Remarkably, in his eighties, Professor Mori published his magnum opus on Mahāyāna Buddhism in Sri Lanka (*Suriranka no Daijōbukkyō*, 2015). This work remains largely unknown outside Japan and I would therefore like to remedy this situation somewhat by introducing it here.

Research on Mahāyāna Buddhism in Sri Lanka advanced significantly in the second half of the twentieth century, especially through the works of Heinz Bechert (1932–2005), after which surveys and discoveries continued. In his book, Mori provides an exhaustive review of prior scholarship from Sri Lanka, the West, and Japan, as shown in Chapter 2 ('Research History') and the extensive bibliography. No comparable literature review exists in Sri Lanka or the West. What makes the book especially original is its use of Chinese-language sources—often inaccessible to scholars in Sri Lanka and the West—and its engagement with often-overlooked archaeological material, combining rich information with incisive analysis.

Part I, 'Maitreya Bodhisattva in Sri Lanka', examines references to Maitreya in Pali texts (Chapter 1) and identifies Mahāyāna representations of Maitreya (Chapter 2). While Chapter 1 finds no distinct Mahāyāna depiction of Maitreya in the Pali texts transmitted by the Mahāvihāra, it does reveal that a Maitreya story cited in the *Visuddhimagga* corresponds to one in the *Za piyu jing* [Taisho 204] (pp. 71–75). Chapter 2 identifies eight Mahāyāna Maitreya images by focusing on triadic statuary with one buddha and two bodhisattvas, determining that when Avalokiteśvara appears as one of the flanking attendants, the other Maitreya figure can be identified as the Mahāyāna Maitreya (pp. 118–125).

Part II, 'Avalokiteśvara in Sri Lanka', finds that Avalokiteśvara is absent from Pali texts and traces the introduction of Avalokiteśvara religious

1 Lance Cousins' much later study—'The Teachings of the Abhayagiri School' in Peter Skilling and others, ed., *How Theravāda is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2012), 67–127—covers some of the same ground, but appears to be unaware of Mori's earlier work; both Mori and Cousins independently argued that the *Vimuttimagga* should be regarded as a work of the Abhayagirivihāra. (Editors)

beliefs and practices to Sri Lanka via South Indian immigrant merchants, as shown by the Thiriyai rock inscription from around the eighth century (Chapter 1). Of the 144 major Mahāyāna statues, thirty-seven are Avalokiteśvara (Chapter 2). Even after Mahāyāna Buddhism declined in Sri Lanka, Avalokiteśvara survived as the local deity Nātha, and his imagery thus found continued usage.

Part III, 'Esoteric Buddhism in Sri Lanka', is as long as Parts I and II combined and forms the book's centerpiece. Chapter 2 surveys esoteric texts criticized in Pali and Sinhala sources. Chapter 3 identifies fifty-one esoteric statues, including Vajrasattva and Tārā. Chapter 4 examines Chinese accounts of the visits of the China-based esoteric Buddhism teachers Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra to Sri Lanka. Examining the biographies of Vajrabodhi, such as Lü Xiang's *Jingangzhi sanzang xingji* (T 2157), the chapter emphasizes their value as a historical source for Sri Lanka during that time. Mori supports the view that Amoghavajra was born in Sri Lanka and went to China by sea, based on Yuanzhao's *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao lu* (T 2157) (pp. 243–250), and identifies the Sri Lankan king he met as Aggabodhi VI (r. 717–756) (pp. 257–258).

In the first part of the conclusion, Mori argues that the sort of Mahāyāna he identifies as having been adopted in Sri Lankan Theravāda aligns with the findings of the latest research on the relationship between monastic groups (*nikāya*s) and Mahāyāna in South Asia (pp. 307–309). The second chapter contends that the survival of Avalokiteśvara statues and esoteric Buddhism in altered forms, that is, after the disappearance of Mahāyāna in Sri Lanka, was due in part to King Parākramabāhu I's Buddhist reforms, which targeted the monastic community while excluding laypeople (pp. 310–329). The book's enduring value lies in Mori's thorough integration of textual and archaeological sources.

Professor Mori was also deeply dedicated to teaching. I first met him in 2000 as a graduate student at the University of Tokyo. After then, he regularly led a Pali study group for me and other students. Since 2010, when I joined the University of Tokyo as an associate professor, Mori formed the 'Aṭṭhakathā Club', in which he continued to regularly engage in collaborative research together with me and Professor Takatsugu Hayashi (Hōsen College of Childhood Education).

Throughout his life, Professor Mori devoted himself passionately to research. His disciplined approach prioritized empirical rigor above all. The intellectual intensity with which he engaged both in Japanese and in-

ternational scholarship, and his steadfast commitment to writing for the most discerning readers rather than catering to popular tastes are the qualities that have come to define his work.

Although Professor Mori underwent Zen training in the Sōtō school and remained a licensed priest until his death, he never donned vestments. He had a charming family, grew out his hair, and worked at the University as a professor in the appearance of a lay believer. He never incorporated his experience of Zen practice into the interpretation of the Pali texts he studied. On the contrary, Mori openly disdained scholarship that brought personal religious beliefs into textual research. He deeply respected Professor Kogen Mizuno, who, like him, was a Zen priest and yet engaged in rigorous philological study of Pali texts. Mori firmly believed that research must be empirical and maintained a lifelong commitment to forming evidence-based arguments.

Following a Zen tradition that priests leave behind a death verse, Professor Mori chose the following poem by Ryōkan (1758–1831), a Japanese Sōtō Zen priest, as his death verse:

> 裏を見せ表を見せて散る紅葉
> *Ura o mise, omote o misete, chiru momiji*
> Showing its back and front, a maple leaf flutters down.

Like many other Japanese poems, these brief lines contain a wealth of layered meanings. The 'back' of the maple leaf is open to many interpretations, but the 'front' seems to evoke Professor Mori's life as a scholar. Most of all, the image of a vibrant red maple leaf drifting to the ground alludes to his own passing and expresses the Buddhist teaching of impermanence.

Sodo Mori: Bibliography

Abbreviations

BK	*Bukkyō kenkyū* 仏教研究
IBK	*Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究
JJK	*Jōsai jinbun kenkyū* 城西人文研究
JDKKK	*Jōsai daigaku kyōyō kankei kiyō* 城西大学教養関係紀要
JPTS	*Journal of the Pali Text Society*
PBB	*Pārigaku Bukkyōbunkagaku* パーリ学仏教文化学

A. Books in English

1. *Studies of the Pali Commentaries* (Tokyo: Sodō Mori [self publication], 1989).
2. Co-editor with Y. Karunadasa and Endo Toshiichi, *Pāli Aṭṭhakathā Correspondence Table* (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1994).
3. *Mahāyāna Buddhism in Sri Lanka* (Nisshin-shi: Sodō Mori (self publication), 1999).

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'For the Sake of the Prosperity and Splendour of the Most Excellent Teaching'

The Burmese *Saṃgharāja* Ñāṇābhivaṃsa's Letter to the Monastic Community of Lanka

Jens W. Borgland

1. Introduction[1]

The *Sandesakathā* ('Letter account') of Ñāṇābhivaṃsa Dhammasenāpati (1753–1833), at the time the *saṃgharāja* or 'chief of religious affairs' (Bur. *Sāsanā puiṅ*, သာသနာပိုင်)[2] of Burma under king Bodawphaya (r. 1781–1819), is a key document regarding the establishment of the Amarapura *nikāya* in Sri Lanka. As is well known, this effectively marked the end of the Syāma (also Siyam) *nikāya*'s monopoly on *bhikkhu* ordination on the island, which was at the time refused to people of low castes, performed only in Kandy, and was mostly reserved for members of the leading Goyigama caste.[3] Thus, '[t]he driving force behind the Amarapura groups was the

1 I would very much like to thank Petra Kieffer-Pülz for her many valuable comments, suggestions, and corrections, all of which greatly improved this paper. I am very grateful also to D. Christian Lammerts for reviewing the paper, double checking the converted dates using Yi Yi's *Burmese-English Calendar*, supplying Burmese terms, and helping me with references to the *Sāsanālaṅkāra* and Kelāsa's *Mandalay Sāsanavaṃsa* (*Mantaleḥ sāsanāvaṅ*). Thanks also to Martin Straube for his very useful comments. Whatever errors and shortcomings remain are entirely my own.

2 See Sās 134.12–14; Charney 2006: 18.

3 See Malalgoda 1976: 88. Although ordination procedures for low-caste novices had been performed prior to the establishment of the Amarapura *nikāya*, the first such procedure having been carried out in 1772 at the Toṭagami Vihāra, the controversial status of these ordinations prompted Aṁbagahapiṭiyē Ñāṇavimala (see Sand-k § 14 and n. 138) to depart for Burma in 1799 (Malalgoda 1976: 97), thus setting in motion the events relayed in the *Sandesakathā*. Note that the Syāma *nikāya* only came to be referred to by this term after the establishment of the Amarapura *nikāya* to distinguish it from the latter (Malalgoda 1976: 98).

desire of Low Country caste groups to open the monkhood to their own kind',[4] although it was also couched in terms of 'monastic reform'.

The letter, dated ≈ Thursday 23 April 1801[5] and addressed to the Mahāthera Moratoṭa Dhammakkhandha (1735–1811), a leading monk in the Kandyan monastic establishment who had been tutor to king Rājādhirājasiṃha (r. 1782–1798)[6] and was a staunch opponent of earlier ordinations performed for members of the Salāgama caste,[7] as well as to an elder monk named Dhammarakkhita—possibly Agalakaḍa Dhammarakkhita—in the Rohaṇa district,[8] and the Sinhalese *saṃgha* in general,[9] was sent to Lanka with the Sinhalese monks who were ordained by Ñāṇābhivaṃsa in Amarapura and who came to form the Amarapura *nikāya*.[10]

Ñāṇābhivaṃsa was a prolific author[11] and one of the central figures of Burma's political and monastic establishment during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, not only as *saṃgharāja* and one of the key figures in the Sudhamma reformation,[12] but later also as a minister with the

4 Kemper 1980: 29.

5 Sand-k § 23. On the conversion of the dates as given in the text, see section 5.2 below, p. 32. See also von Hinüber 1996: 204.

6 'Moratoṭa Dhammakkhandha (1735–1811) … was Anu Nāyaka [Deputy Supreme Chief Monk; see Malalgoda 1976: 68] of Malvatta Vihāre and *rājaguru* (tutor) to the new king, Rājadhi Rājasiṃha' (Malalgoda 1976: 85).

7 Malalgoda 1976: 97, n. 74. See also n. 3.

8 The identity of the elder Dhammarakkhita is not certain, but Agalakaḍa Dhammarakkhita is a good candidate. He lived in the Aggabodhi temple near Veligama and was appointed 'chief prelate of the low country' by king Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha (Wachissara 1961: 414), and passed away 'in the noon of the first quarter before the Full Moon of the month Vesakha of the Saka Era 1724' (Gooneratne 1908: 278), i.e., ≈ the first half of April 1802 (not 1791, as converted by Gooneratne). In addition to the Rohaṇa district, the letter also mentions the village Vālutara. It is unclear whether this is miswritten for Kalutara, or whether it stands for the place Vālitara (in Balapiṭiya, also known as Vālitoṭa), 'the main centre of Salāgama power' (Malalgoda 1976: 96). and the place in which the Aṁbagahapiṭiya monastery or Ambarukkhārama was located (Kieffer-Pülz 2023b: 77, n. 1).

9 Sand-k § 2; see also Malalgoda 1976: 97; 263. Kitsudo states that the letter was addressed also to 'the Ceylon government' (1974: 31), which is not supported by the *Sandesakathā*. Note, however, that Mahādhammasaṅkraṃ's *Sāsanālaṅkāra* (1956: 203–204) does appear to state that the letter sent with the monks back to Sri Lanka was for 'King Rājādhirājasiha [of] Sirīvaḍḍhana (i.e., Kandy) in Sihāḷa Island' and further makes reference to '*sandesakathā* letters', in the plural. What to make of this is at present not clear to me.

10 Regarding the evolution of the Amarapura *nikāya*, see Kemper 1980: 32–33.

11 Bode 1909: 78; Langham-Carter 1940: 336–337; von Hinüber 1996: 176; Kitsudo 2002: 163–164, n. 28. See also Lammerts 2018: 152–155, 172–173, 192.

12 Charney 2006: 18.

title Mahādhammasaṅkraṃ (မဟာဓမ္မသင်္ကြံ).[13] He, moreover, came to have a significant impact on the study of the history of Buddhism in Burma by authoring the treatise *Sāsanālaṅkāra* (1831),[14] which was later used as the basis for Paññāsāmi's *Sāsanavaṃsa* (*History of the Teaching*), composed in Pāli in 1861 in order to make its contents accessible also to monks from Lanka, who did not know Burmese.[15]

Ñāṇābhivaṃsa is thus an interesting figure, and the *Sandesakathā* an interesting historical document, for many reasons. Parts of the letter have been studied for facts regarding the ordinations performed for low caste novices and laymen who in 1799 left Lanka for Burma for that very purpose, and the letter's function as proof and testimony of the ordinations having taken place has previously been highlighted.[16] In what follows, I am interested instead in how Ñāṇābhivaṃsa presents and frames not only his ordination of, and support for, the Sinhalese novices who came to Amarapura seeking ordination, but also his reason for composing and sending the *Sandesakathā* to the Sinhalese *saṃgha*, based on a study of the letter as a whole. As I show, rather than matters of caste or testimony, the central issue of the letter is presented as having to do with establishing the correct interpretation of *vinaya* rules regarding novice dress, thus spreading to the island of Sīhaḷa what had in Burma come to be established as the 'correct' view regarding rules of dress for novices, following the almost century-long Burmese 'robe wearing controversy', officially settled in 1784.[17] The letter, moreover, offers a glimpse into the legal side of the issue by presenting a

13 Langham-Carter 1940: 337; Charney 2006: 19; 106. Although later defrocked, he remained an influential figure at court until his death, largely due to his textual learning and Sanskrit expertise (Charney 2006: 106), which was also a major factor in his appointment to *saṃgharāja* at a relatively young age in 1788 (Charney 2006: 43–46, 100).

14 Mahādhammasaṅkraṃ 1956. The fuller title as given in the authorial colophon to the printed edition is *Sāsanavaṃsa cā tamḥ sāsanālaṅkāra kyamḥ* (သာသနဝံသစာတမ်းသာသနာလင်္ကာရကျမ်း), 'Treatise on the adornment of the Teaching [comprising] a record of the history of the Teaching'. The 1956 edition bears the title *Sāsanālaṅkāra cā tamḥ* (သာသနာလင်္ကာရစာတမ်း), 'Record of the adornment of the Teaching'.

15 See Lieberman 1976: 139–141. Paññāsāmi added material for the period 1831–1861, which makes up approximately 20% of the work. For the remainder, Lieberman estimates that the text is approximately 40% translation and 40% close paraphrase of Mahādhammasaṅkraṃ's *Sāsanālaṅkāra*. See also Leider 2004: 101–102. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* was edited and published by Bode 1897 and translated into English by B. C. Law 1952.

16 See Kitsudo 1974: 31; 2002: 153, Malalgoda 1976: 97–98, and von Hinüber 1996: 204. Von Hinüber, who briefly characterises the *Sandesakathā* in his handbook of Pāli literature, not a study of the letter or its context, also notes the Pāli texts it mentions and the mention of the 'one shoulder' controversy.

17 Von Hinüber 1995: 38–40; Charney 2006: 34–38.

legal argument pertaining to the robe debate. An English translation of the *Sandesakathā*[18] is included in section 5.3.

2. 'For the sake of the prosperity and splendour of the most excellent Teaching'

Although it is clear that parts of the *Sandesakathā* lend themselves as proof of the ordination of the monks whose lineage was the first among the five lineages that later came to form the Amarapura *nikāya*, and probably intentionally so,[19] and the letter may have been used in this way in Lanka, Ñāṇābhivaṃsa does not identify this as the purpose of his letter. In describing the *Sandesakathā*, he refers to it only as 'having to do with the Conqueror's Teaching' (§§ 2, 32)[20] and 'connected with the *dhamma*' (§ 32),[21] thus identifying the Teaching (*sāsana*) and the *dhamma*, rather than the ordinations as such, as the main subject of the letter.

Ñāṇābhivaṃsa addresses his reasons for ordaining and supporting the Sinhalese more directly in § 22, where he begins by stating that it was *not* done 'on account of seeking gain, honour or fame', presumably alluding to the prestige and influence resulting from being the preceptor of a lineage of monks to be established in Lanka.[22] As for why it was done, he lists four reasons, among which the main cause is stated to be 'wishing

18 The translation is made one the basis of Minayeff's edition (1885b). References to the *Sandesakathā* (Sand-k) with paragraph numbers (e.g., § 2) are to my translation. References to page and line number(s), e.g. Sand-k 27.32–34, are to Minayeff's edition. In general, I refer to the English translation for matters of content (the reader will find references to the Pāli text for each paragraph) and directly to Minayeff's edition for specific Pāli terms.

19 See, for instance, the level of detail provided regarding each ordination (Sand-k §§ 14–21). The considerable attention devoted to the king's sponsorship of the ordination (§§ 12–13), mostly by describing the array of royal regalia, the size of the entourage, and so on, attending the kings pouring of the 'donation water' (*dakkhiṇodaka*) on the ordinands' hands in connection with his donation of bowls and robes for the procedure, presenting it as a grand occasion marked with all the bells and whistles (see also Kitsudo 2002: 159), with strong royal support and performed with royal patronage (see also n. 127), would no doubt also provide legitimacy.

20 *jinasāsanasaṃyuttā* (Sand-k 18.32); *jinasāsanapatisaññuttā* (Sand-k 28.18).

21 *dhammapaṭisaṃyutta-* (27.28–29).

22 See, for instance, the *Sāsanavaṃsa*'s closing remarks regarding this period, and thus on Ñāṇābhivaṃsa, where he is described as *saṃgharājā mahāthero Sīhaḷadīpe Amarapura-nikāyānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ ādibhūto ācariyo bahūpakāro* (Sās 142.27–28); 'chief of religious affairs, a great elder, the first of the monks of the Amarapura *nikāya* on the island of Sīhaḷa, a very helpful teacher' (cf. Law 1952: 144).

for the splendour and increase of the most excellent Teaching, so difficult to obtain, of the Teacher, the instructor of the whole world'. To this he adds three supporting causes or motivations, namely his high regard and respect for the Mahāvihāravāsins of old, who were 'Lamps of the lineage of Elders' (*theravaṃsappadīpa*);[23] wishing to make an effort for the present day Mahāvihāravāsins, who speak what is *dhamma*, and who are virtuous; and the desire that the Mahādhammarāja (in Kandy), as well as his whole court, retinue and the people of Lanka see the *dhamma* and that which pertains to the 'other world'.

This framing of the *Sandesakathā* and the ordinations as having to do with the Teaching, and specifically its well-being—or rather, survival—is clear already at the beginning of the letter, where, after the long introductory paragraph identifying the sender and recipients (§ 2), Ñāṇābhivaṃsa first recounts the establishment of the Teaching in Sīhaḷa by emperor Asoka at the time of king Devānampiyatissa (§§ 3–4), followed by a brief account of three occasions when the monks' ordination had to be reintroduced to Lanka. The first under king Vijayabāhu (r. 1055–1110),[24] when the ordination was reintroduced from Anuruddha in Rāmañña (§ 5); the second under kings Vimaladhammasuriya I and II (r. 1592–1604 and 1687–1707),[25] when the Teaching was reintroduced from Dhaññavatī in Rakkhaṅga (§ 6); and the third under king Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha (r. 1747–1782), when the ordination was reintroduced from Siam (modern day Thailand; § 7). In all three cases Ñāṇābhivaṃsa identifies the cause of the 'destruction of the Teaching' in Lanka as 'due to the calamity of the enemy consisting in erroneous views' (*micchādiṭṭhāribhayena*). Although the wrong view in question is not specified for Vijayabāhu's reign, the ordination was reintroduced after defeating the Śaiva Coḷas. Regarding Vimaladhammasuriya's and Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha's reigns, the threat is identified as 'the enemy consisting in the erroneous view named *Paraṅgi*' (*Paraṅgi-nāmaka-micchādiṭṭhāri*),[26] and here stated as the reason for the 'destruc-

23 Regarding the term *theravaṃsa* and the phrase *theravaṃsappadīpa*, see Gethin 2012: 16, 19.

24 Bechert 1970: 764.

25 Sand-k reads only *Vimaladhammasuriya-mahādhammarājakāle* (19.21–22). The ordination was reintroduced from Arakan during both reigns (Bechert 1970: 767, n. 21).

26 See Rhys-Davids' note in Minayeff 1885b: 19, n. 4. Regarding the term *paraṅgi*, see the similar term *phāraṅga* in the letter sent by the Aggamahāsenāpati of Siam to the royal court in Kandy in 1756 (Bangchang 1988: 208, § 69). Bangchang understands it to mean 'European' (1988: 186)—cf. the modern Thai *farang*—although the occurrence

tion of the Teaching' resulting in the extinction of the *bhikkhu* ordination in earlier times.

It is with the backdrop of this historical overview and the repeated 'disappearance of the Teaching' from Lanka that Ñāṇābhivaṃsa then introduces his worry for the *dhamma* and the Teaching during the present time (§ 8).[27] The implication is that the Teaching in Lanka is, *once more*, threatened by 'erroneous views', and therefore must be saved. With this in mind, Ñāṇābhivaṃsa has constantly pondered:

> When could I, by whatever means,
> become a support for serving the Teaching in Tambapaṇṇi[28]
> (= Lanka)?

And so, with the arrival of the Sinhalese party on the full moon day of the month of Vesākha in the year 1162 of the Burmese era, i.e. ≈ Wednesday 7 May 1800[29] (§ 9), seeking ordination, the right time for serving the Teaching in Lanka appears to have presented itself.

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of *vilanta*, i.e., 'Dutch' (1988: 186; cf. Persian *Volandis*, 'Holland', Sefatgol 2015: 359) elsewhere in the same letter (1988: 203, § 44) indicates that *phārarṅga* probably means specifically 'Portuguese'. The same is the case in the *Sandesakathā*, where Ñāṇābhivaṃsa, when listing different peoples present in Amarapura, includes *parariṅgi*, *velanta*, and *arṅglissi* side by side (Sand-k § 2). *Arṅglissi* no doubt means 'English', while *velanta* refers to the Dutch (cf. *vilanta* and Persian *Volandis* above). *Parariṅgi* thus seems to refer specifically to the Portuguese. The history of the term *phārarṅga/parariṅgi* in South-East Asia is not entirely clear to me, but it appears to go back to Arabic *al-Ifranja* (alt. *al-Faranja/al-Firanj*, 'Frank'), a designation that, following the Crusades, became the most common Arabic word for 'European' (Lane 1863–1893: 2389; Hermes 2012: 9; Sokolov 2024), via Persian, in which *farang* and *farangi* were common terms for 'Europe' and 'European', respectively (Sefatgol 2015), presumably through India—note also Indian language forms such as Hindi *firaṅgi* (McGregor 1993, s.v.) and Marathi *phiraṅgī* (Molesworth 1857, s.v.), which in British India came to 'denote any European' (Roberts, et al [1989] 2011: 567). The term *parangi* remained in use in Sri Lanka, where it appears to have denoted specifically the Portuguese, but seems also to have been expanded, at least in some contexts, to 'Whites' (*suddho*) more generally as well as Burghers (Roberts, et al [1989] 2011: 567). When used with regard to a 'view' (*diṭṭhi*), the Pāli term *parariṅgi* presumably refers to Christianity. See also Malalgoda 1976: 107–108).

27 Malalgoda's characterization of the letter as 'recapitulating the history of religious contacts between Burma and Ceylon' (1976: 98) does not seem to recognise the function of these paragraphs in the letter.

28 See DPPN, s.v., Tambapaṇṇi. See also Cousins 2013 and Tournier 2018.

29 On the conversion of the dates as given in the text and some of the difficulties in determining the exact date, see section 5.2, below, p. 32.

How, then, does the arrival of the Sinhalese novices[30] offer an opportunity for Ñāṇābhivamsa to serve the Teaching in Lanka? Central to furthering 'the splendour and increase of the most excellent Teaching', and so avoiding its destruction, is Ñāṇābhivaṃsa instructing and training these novices in the correct observance of monastic discipline,[31] specifically the rules regarding monastic dress (§ 23). This forms the subject of a sizable part of the letter (§§ 23–31), which, although it may at first sight give the impression of being an excursus centered around a legal argument (§§ 23–27) regarding the correct monastic discipline for novices, is presented as containing the core message of the *Sandesakathā*.[32]

3. Novices and monastic (dress) codes

The question of how novices ought to dress was far from a peripheral concern, having been the central issue in the well-known 'robe-wearing controversy', often referred to as the *ekāṃsika-pārupaṇa*, or 'one shoulder' vs 'covered', controversy, which 'had kept the kings of Burma busy for about a century'[33] before being settled in favour of the so called 'covered' party (*pārupaṇagaṇa*; Bur. *aruṃ guiṇḥ*, အရုံဝိုဏ်း) by king Bodawphaya in 1784.[34] Ñāṇābhivaṃsa, already then an influential figure at the Burmese court, was even at that time involved on the side of the 'covered' party,[35] and would continue to champion its cause for the remainder of his life, not least through his already mentioned *Sāsanālaṅkāra*, the central theme of which is 'to separate the "scrupulous" monks from the unorthodox, "shameless" *thera*s, and to demonstrate the former's lineal connection with the Buddha's

30 According to the *Sandesakathā* the Sinhalese party consisted of six novices and three lay followers (*upāsaka*), one of which expressed the wish to ordain and so was, in time, given the novice initiation and then, later, ordained. Thus, a total of seven monks were ordained.

31 See also Sand-k § 11, where Ñāṇābhivaṃsa explains the training the novices and the layman who wanted to be ordained received during the rainy season preceding the ordinations.

32 See also Sand-k § 32, discussed below.

33 Von Hinüber 1995: 39.

34 See von Hinüber 1995: 40, n. 92 for references also to royal orders to this effect. The controversy did briefly resurface in 1799 (see Charney 2006: 98), and the practice continued even after this in some monasteries (Kirichenko 2011: 224). Regarding the *Sandesakathā*, von Hinüber (1996: 204) correctly notes that the controversy is *mentioned* in Sand-k 26.20–27.26, although the legal discussion preceding 26.20 is clearly directly tied to the controversy, which is explicitly mentioned only later.

35 See Charney 2006: 95.

first disciple Upāli',[36] in part by giving a biased presentation of the controversy from the point of view of the 'covered' party.[37]

The history of this controversy was long known to European scholars only through the *Sāsanavaṃsa*[38] and Burmese histories written from the point of view of the, in the end victorious, 'covered' party, supplemented by royal orders.[39] More recently, the controversy has also been examined on the basis of sources from the so called 'one shoulder' party (*ekāṃsikagaṇa*; Bur. *ataṅ guiṇḥ*, အတင်ဂိုဏ်း).[40] It is far beyond the scope of this article to attempt to provide a full and balanced history of the controversy, if that is even possible. However, some key points of the dispute are essential in order to understand the issue at stake, as well as Ñāṇābhivaṃsa's arguments in the *Sandesakathā*, examined below.

The practice against which the Burmese 'covered' party argued throughout the eighteenth century is described by Kirichenko as 'what seems to be one of the most common practices of novices at that time, i.e. wearing the upper robe in a manner that leaves the right shoulder bare and the left hand completely wrapped. The right shoulder was then covered with an undersized robe called *dukot* [i.e., a *saṃghāṭī* or outer robe][41] ... *Dukot*, in its turn, was secured in place by binding the chest'.[42] This practice was based on custom or tradition, rather than any clear scriptural in-

36 Lieberman 1976: 143.

37 Leider estimates that the events of the 'robe wearing controversy' make up about a quarter of what the *Sāsanālaṅkāra* 'has to say with regard to Bodawphaya's policy in the field of religion' (Leider 2004: 103), and about two thirds of what the *Sāsanavaṃsa* has to say about the same.

38 See Sās 117.9–142.25; Law 1952: 122–144.

39 Bode 1909: 65–76; Ray 1946: 217–236; von Hinüber 1995: 39–42; Charney 2006: 34–38, 97–98.

40 Kirichenko 2011.

41 Pronounced *dukot*, but written ခုတ္ထိ (*dukuṭ*) or ခုတ်တ် (*dukut*).

42 Kirichenko 2011: 198. According to the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, the dispute originally revolved around only the 'one shoulder' practice, portrayed as having been introduced by an elder named Guṇābhilaṃkāra (Sās 118.3–4; see also Law 1952: 123) during the reign of king Sirimahāsīhasūra Sudhammarāja, who was made king ≈ Sunday 9 October 1698 (Sās 117.30–32). The practice of the chest cover is said to have been introduced later by an elder named Atula on the basis of a text referred to as *Cūḷaganṭhipada* (regarding which, see von Hinüber 1995: 40–42), which is said to have contained the injuction 'a fold of the robe has to be bound as a chest cover above the outer robe (*saṃghāṭī*)' (von Hinüber 1995: 40; transl. Sās 135.25–26: *cīvarapaṭalaṃ uparisaṃghāṭiṃ urabandhanavatthaṃ bandhitabban ti*; see also 140.32–141.1). Based on this injunction, Atula is said to have maintained that 'at the time of entering a village, novices should enter only after having arranged [their] upper robe over one shoulder and having bound a chest cover' (*sāmaṇerānaṃ gāmapavesanakāle ekaṃsaṃ uttarāsaṃgaṃ katvā urabandhanavat-*

junction,[43] and served to distinguish novices from monks, who wore the robe over both shoulders. The contention of the 'covered' party was that this was against the *vinaya*, since, in this matter, 'novices should follow the same discipline as the monks',[44] and should thus adhere to the second *Sekhiya* rule, 'I shall put on [the outer garment] even all around',[45] which was understood to prescribe wearing 'the upper robe so that it would cover both shoulders and abstain[ing] from wearing the *dukot-nge* and chest binding'.[46] That this was the correct way for *monks* to wear their robes does not appear to have been contested in Burma.[47]

What seems clear is that, contrary to how the conflict is presented in sources composed by the 'covered' party, the so called 'one shoulder' practice, of which leaving one shoulder uncovered by the outer robe appears only to have been one part, was not a late 17th–early 18th century innovation by one Burmese elder monk, but rather a common practice which the 'covered' party sought to reform.[48] Thus the 'one shoulder' practice can be dubbed 'traditional', and the 'covered' party's view 'reformist'. The debate on this issue was no doubt 'fueled by inter-monastic competition and provided rallying points for different networks or groupings of monks'.[49] Read more charitably, it can, at the same time, be seen to reflect a view of the centrality of textual authority and the notion that the correct observance of *vinaya* regulations is central to preserving not only the *saṃgha* but, by extension, also the Teaching. This, at least, is how Ñāṇābhivaṃsa presents it.

Ñāṇābivaṃsa's exposition of the issue in Sand-k §§ 23–31 is twofold. In the first part (§§ 23–27), he explains the instructions he has imparted

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thaṃ bandhitvā yeva pavisitabban ti; Sās 135.26–28; see also Law 1952: 138; von Hinüber 1995: 40.

43 Cf. *amhākaṃ cārittam pāḷiādīsu na diṭṭhapubbaṃ. atha kho pana ācariyapaveṇivasena eva carimhā ti* (Sās 130.12–14); 'Our conduct is not previously seen in the canonical text, and so on (i.e., the commentary and sub-commentaries), but rather, we conduct ourselves according to the tradition of [our] teachers.' See also Law 1952: 133; Charney 2006: 27, 43. While this assertion is no doubt polemical (Pranke 2008: 11–12, n. 26), it is also, as far as I know, correct, since there is no *vinaya* prescription corresponding to this 'traditionalist' custom of novice dress.

44 Kirichenko 2011: 200.

45 See Sās 129.28–31; Law 1952: 133. Vin IV 185.27: *parimaṇḍalaṃ pārupissāmi*. Translation from Norman, et al. 2018: 513; see also BD III 121 and Pruitt and Norman 2001: 89.

46 Kirichenko 2011: 199.

47 Kirichenko 2011: 197, n. 15.

48 Kirichenko 2011: 197–199.

49 Kirichenko 2011: 190.

on the novices. These instructions are presented in the form of a legal argument, which I examine in detail below. In the second part (§§ 28–31), Ñāṇābhivaṃsa turns to the customs in Siam and Lanka.

A legal argument

The part of the letter made up of §§ 23–27 is composed in a style resembling classical scholastic discussion or debate, making a legal assertion (§ 23) which is then defended by refuting a series of objections (§§ 24–27).[50] The argument is particularly interesting, since neither the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, nor, it seems, the Burmese text on which it is based, present any legal arguments set forth in support of the 'reformist' position except one reference to the second *Sekhiya* rule.[51] In fact, Paññāsāmi explicitly states that the arguments have been deliberately omitted in his text,[52] focusing instead on the various elders involved on each side and the controversy's changing tides, with various kings ruling in favor of the one or the other party, or attempting to have the parties co-exist.

Dislodged from its context as part of a letter and read in light of what is known from other sources about the 'robe wearing controversy' in Burma, the argument, as I understand it, runs as follows:

(§ 23) Ñāṇābhivaṃsa begins by stating the basic 'reformist' position, which consists of a more general point, namely that novices (*sāmaṇera*) are to keep 'the observance of the training rules (*Sekhiya*) and the observance of the *Khandhaka*' (*Sekhiyavatta-Khandhakavatta*) in the same way as monks (*bhikkhu*), and a more specific point, namely that this then includes keeping the following monks' training rules: 'I shall put on [the outer garment] *even all around*' (*Sekhiya* 2, above, n. 45) and 'I shall *go well covered* among the

50 See Kieffer-Pülz 2019. See also *iti āśaṅkya* in Tubb and Bose 2007: 244.

51 According to Lieberman (1976: 143) Paññāsāmi has not significantly abbreviated the *Sāsanālaṅkāra* in this part, but rather added several 'elaborate metaphors'. See also Leider 2004: 104. Legal arguments may perhaps be found in other Burmese language texts, but to my knowledge none of the publications on this controversy in Burma have presented any such arguments.

52 See the closing remarks of the *Sāsanavaṃsa* on the section dealing with the controversy, 'This is told here in brief. If the account of the dispute, the questions and answers of those two parties which met together, were told in detail, it could not be finished in five or six chapters; and inasmuch as this *Sāsanavaṃsapadīpikā* would be too much prolonged, if all were narrated fully, therefore, let us overlook it, showing only what is intended here' (Sās 142.19–25 translated in Law 1952: 144).

houses (i.e. into a village)' (*Sekhiya* 3),[53] addressed also in the *Khandhaka*. No mention is made of the 'one shoulder' practice, possibly because, in the Burmese context, it is taken for granted that these monks' rules prescribe covering both shoulders with the robe.[54]

(§ 24) The first objection raised against this position focuses on the general point, maintaining that prescriptions (*paññatti*) apply only to monks, not to novices. This is refuted by quoting the *Samantapāsādikā* (Sp) commentary on Mahāvagga 1,[55] which states that a novice is to be instructed in the 'rules of proper behaviour' (*abhisamācārika*) with regard to the inner garment and the outer garment, which is here taken to correspond to *Sekhiya* 1 and 3.

(§ 25) Should this not be considered sufficient to prove the point, Ñāṇābhivaṃsa next quotes the explanations of the term 'rules of proper behavior' from three sub-commentaries (*ṭīkās*): the *Sāratthadīpanī*, the *Vimativinodanī*, and the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*.[56] Among these, the *Vimativinodanī* explicitly identifies 'rules of proper behavior' (*abhisamācārika*) as, among others, 'the observance of the training rules (*Sekhiya*) and observance of the *Khandhaka*'.[57]

(§ 26) The general position that novices are to observe the *Sekhiya* rules and the rules of the *Khandhaka* is thus granted, and the attention now shifts to the more specific point about *Sekhiya* 2. An objection is raised that in order to correctly observe the rule about 'putting on [the outer garment] even all around' (i.e., *Sekhiya* 2) a novice must wear a 'chest cover' (*urubandhanavattha*).[58] Again, no mention is made of the 'one shoulder' practice. In light of the above description of customs for novice dress, the intended argument of the objection should perhaps be understood as im-

53 Vin IV 186.7–8: *supaṭicchanno antaraghare gamissāmi.* Translation from Norman, et al. 2018: 514; emphasis added; see also BD III 121 and Pruitt and Norman 2001: 89.

54 Although written much later, the *Vinayamukha* of Vajirañāṇavarorasa, the *saṃgharāja* of Siam, is instructive in this regard. Commenting on *Sekhiya* 3 and 4, Vajirañāṇavarorasa merely states that 'this pair of training-rules proves that bhikkhus should cover both shoulders when entering a village or town' (1969: 205), without any further comment.

55 Sp V 970.28–971.3 on Vin I 22.21–22.

56 Regarding these sub-commentaries, see Kieffer-Pülz 2015: 434.

57 The *Sāratthadīpanī* and *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* also explicitly mention the training rules, as well as the 'duties toward a preceptor' (*upajjhāyavatta*), which is the first duty taught in the *Khandhaka* (Mahāvagga 1, Vin I 44.6–50.26).

58 Sand-k: *urubandhanavatta* (25.30–31, 26.1–2). Cf. *urubandhanavatthaṃ* (Sās 135.25; 136.4; 136.6; 141.1), with v.l. *-vatta* (ms. B) cited for 141.1. Presumably read *vattha* with Sās. See Kirichenko 2011: 198 quoted above.

plicitly stating that *Sekhiya* 2 does not invalidate the practice of covering only one shoulder with the outer robe *as such*, and that 'putting on even all around' can thus be achieved by instead binding a 'chest cover', presumably over the undersized *dukot* or outer robe.

The argument Ñāṇābhivaṃsa sets forth against this objection shows that this was more challenging to refute, and required some creativity. The *vinaya* does not appear to contain any reference to a 'chest cover', and so no rule against its use,[59] but the *Cullavagga* does contain a ruling making it an offense for a monk to wear a belt: 'Monks, a belt (*kaṭisuttaka*) is not to be worn. Whoever wears [a belt], there is an offense of wrong doing.'[60] A belt, however, is no chest cover, but according to the *Samantapāsādikā* commentary on this rule, ' "Belt" [means]: *anything* (*kiñci*) worn on the hips (*kaṭi*), even a mere string [or] thread.'[61] In order to connect this to the chest cover, Ñāṇābhivaṃsa then turns to the Sp commentary on the second *pārājika*, regarding theft, specifically its explanation of 'goods that are a load' or 'carried goods' (*bhāraṭṭha*),[62] listed in the *Suttavibhaṅga* among various kinds of goods (*aṭṭha*) that can possibly be stolen, and distinguished according to where on the body the load is carried as being of four kinds: a 'head load', 'shoulder load', 'hip (*kaṭi*) load' or 'hanging [load]'.[63] In this context, the Sp commentary on 'hip load' defines 'hip' very broadly, presumably in order to ensure that any load carried on any part of the body would be included in one of the four categories listed in the canonical text, thus leaving no loopholes: 'Beginning from the "heart-pit" (i.e. the indent between the breasts) all around [at the same level] in the middle of the back, until the toenail, this is the definition of "hip".'[64] Having thus found a definition

59 The term does not appear in the index to the *Vinayapiṭaka* (Ousaka, et al. 1996), and had there been any rule against it this would no doubt have been brought up by Ñāṇābhivaṃsa.

60 As noted by Rhys-Davids (Minayeff 1885: 25, n. 3), this is presumably Cv v 2.1: ***na bhikkhave*** *vallikā dhāretabbā, na pāmaṅgo dh., na kaṇṭhasuttakaṃ dh., na* ***kaṭisuttakaṃ dh.****, na ovaṭṭikaṃ dh., na kāyuraṃ dh., na hatthābharaṇaṃ dh., na aṅgulimuddikā dhāretabbā.* ***yo dhāreyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā 'ti*** (Vin II 106.33–37; emphasis added). The reading *kaṭisuttaṃ* (Sand-k 25.33; for PTS *kaṭisuttakaṃ*) possibly represents a Burmese variant.

61 Sp VI 1200.18–19 commenting on Vin II 106.33–37 (Cv v 2.1).

62 Vin III 47.28.

63 *Bhāro nām sīsabhāro khandhabhāro kaṭibhāro olambako* (Vin III 49.26).

64 Sp II 336.27–29. Cf. the definition of 'shoulder load': *ubhosu passesu kaṇṇacūlikāhi paṭṭhāya heṭṭhā, kapparehi paṭṭhāya upari, piṭṭhigalāvattato ca galavāṭakato ca paṭṭhāya heṭṭhā, piṭṭhivemajjhāvattato ca upaparicchedamajjhe* (Sp B^{e} S^{e} and Vin-vn-ṭ: *uraparicchedamajjhe*; DoP, s.v., *upaparicchedamajjhe*, 'is wr for uraparicheda-') *hadayaāvāṭato ca*

of 'hip' that extends all the way up to the middle of the chest,[65] Ñāṇābhivaṃsa considers the practice of binding a 'chest cover' to be an offense of wrong doing (*dukkaṭa*) by violating the rule about wearing a belt in the *Cullavagga*. The objection is thus refuted.

(§ 27) Having thus established the 'reformist' position by means of the canonical *vinaya*, the commentary (Sp) and the sub-commentaries (*ṭīkā*s), Ñāṇābhivaṃsa considers one final objection, namely that the custom of teachers and preceptors is necessarily lawful (*dhammika*). This is the appeal to tradition ascribed to the 'traditionalist' party, justifying its practices not through reference to authoritative texts, but by the custom of one's teacher. Ñāṇābhivaṃsa refutes this by quoting the *Saṃgītikkhandhaka* and the Sp,[66] where it is stated that the customs of teachers and preceptors can be either lawful or unlawful. Thus, the position of the 'one shoulder' party is refuted, and the position of the 'covered party' (see § 23) is proved.[67]

The argument as presented in the *Sandesakathā* does not allow us to say anything definitive about the arguments raised during the almost century long controversy in Burma. However, it does give us access to Ñāṇābhivaṃsa's understanding of the legal issues, rules and arguments involved as presented by him to a learned monastic reader, and his construction of a legal argument, albeit possibly in hindsight. As already noted, that the 'one shoulder' practice is not at all addressed in the argument should presumably be understood in light of the common Burmese understanding of the relevant *Sekhiya* rules, which were understood by all parties as prescribing that monks wear their outer robe over both shoulders. Thus, by proving that novices are to follow the *Sekhiya* rules, the 'one shoulder' practice is thought to be automatically invalidated.

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paṭṭhāya upari ***khandho,*** *etthantare ṭhitabhāro* ***khandhabhāro*** *nāma* (Sp II 336.23–27); 'On both sides, beginning from the base of the ear downwards; beginning from the elbows upwards; beginning from the circumference of the neck (*piṭṭhigala*) and from the gullet of the throat/neck downwards; and beginning from the circumference of the centre of the back and from the "heart pit" in the middle of the extension of the breast upwards, is the 'shoulder'. A load that is present within this [area] is named a "shoulder load".'

65 The placement of the 'heart pit' (*hadayaāvāṭa*) is clearer in the definition of the shoulder; see n. 64.

66 Vin II 301.5–7 (Cv xii 1.10); BD v 417; and Sp VI 1299.29–30.

67 Although the practice of wearing the robe in a way leaving 'the left hand completely wrapped' is not addressed as part of the argument, this is indirectly addressed in Ñāṇābhivaṃsa's closing remark in this part of the letter where he quotes the *Samantapāsādikā* (Sp IV 890.23–24) stating, among other things, that the body should be 'covered as far as the wrist'. See Sand-k § 27.

Purifying the Teaching and the customs of Lanka

The second part of this section (§§ 28–31) should here be understood in light of the fact that the Burmese way for monks to wear their robes, i.e. over both shoulders, was not representative of Theravāda monks in general. On the contrary, monks in Siam, Cambodia and Lanka commonly wore their robes over one shoulder,[68] the 'two shoulder' manner seemingly being considered specifically 'Burmese'.[69]

Ñāṇābhivaṃsa begins by ascribing the erroneous practices addressed by his argument about correct novice dress to 'some Yonaka monks in the country of Siam, called Sāmindadesa',[70] who instruct novices in such a way (§ 28), i.e. to bind a chest cover. He later also briefly describes a 'one shoulder' way of dress (§ 31), but this time seemingly *for monks*, also this is ascribed to 'some Yonaka monks, inhabitants of the country of Yonaka, which is called Siyamadesa' who 'when entering a village, and so on, having first made one robe [cover only] one shoulder, after that [make] either one or two [additional] robes cover both [shoulders]'.[71] He also informs his readers that the Mahārāja, i.e. king Bodawphaya, has 'purified the Teaching' by making them give up these practices because they are 'contrary to the rule, contrary to the discipline'.[72]

To my knowledge, none of the Burmese histories dealing with the 'robe wearing controversy', which in these sources is always restricted to the question of novice dress, ever explicitly link either the 'one shoulder' or the chest binding practice with Siam, although apparently the latter was a 'monastic dress code that remained popular and acceptable in Thailand in

68 See Mendelson 1975: 60; Tambiah 1976: 210; Hansen 2007: 99–100; Kirichenko 2011: 190–191; Blackburn 2010: 90–103.

69 See Kirichenko 2011: 191. In Siam, the reformist *Dhammayuttika* movement initiated by Prince Mongkut (1804–1868) advocated, among other reforms, 'the Mon way of wearing robes' (Tambiah 1976: 210), i.e. covering both shoulders. See also Vajirañāṇavarorasa 1969: 204–205. These reforms later spread from Siam to Cambodia (see Hansen 2007: 99–100).

70 See also von Hinüber 1996: 204.

71 This latter part presumably refers to something along the lines of the 'undersized robe called *dukot*' (Kirichenko 2011: 198), see above, although here the practice is clearly ascribed to monks.

72 See Sand-k § 28 and § 31. Yonaka is considered, by Burmese authors, to be part of 'Imperial Burma' (Lieberman 1976: 141), and so would be seen as falling under the king's jurisdiction. Regarding the problem of enforcing such royal decrees, see Charney 2006: 36–37.

different historical circumstances',[73] and monks in Siam did not commonly cover both shoulders with their robe. The prevalence of these customs in Siam is thus clear, and it is possible that Ñāṇābhivaṃsa has some specific community of monks, or some specific incident in mind. However, given the present context, it is also possible that the relevance of linking these practices with Siam, specifically, is that this is the very place from which the Sinhalese *bhikkhu* ordination was restored under King Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha, after which the Syāma *nikāya* came to be named.

Ñāṇābhivaṃsa makes no explicit mention of the present-day robe wearing customs in Lanka. However, in connection with the erroneous view of novice dress refuted in §§ 23–27, he does quote excerpts from two medieval Sinhalese story collections, the *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa* and the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* (§§ 29–30),[74] as proof of there being a custom in Lanka 'for novices to put on [the outer garment] well covered all around, in accordance with the rule, in accordance with the discipline'. The important point in these excerpts seems to be simply that they feature a novice who goes out on an errand 'after having put on (*pārupitvā*) [his] robe'. This verb, often used in connection with the outer robe, specifically, is found in *Sekhiya* 2 and the *Khandhaka* passages quoted in Sand-k § 23, and so, or so the argument implies, proves that Sinhalese novices in previous times dressed in accordance with the correct interpretation of this rule. The correct adherence to these rules of dress—at least from the Burmese reform perspective—in Lanka since the days of Mahinda, moreover, appears to be foreshadowed already in the beginning of the letter, when Ñāṇābhivaṃsa describes the Teaching established in Lanka during the time of Siri Dhammasoka as 'well illuminated by the light of the yellowish-red [glow] of the inner garments and outer garments of the monks and nuns' (§ 3),[75] the terms 'inner garments and outer garments' (*nivāsanapārupana*), regularly used in the *vinaya*, being the very same terms that recur throughout the

73 Leider 2004: 110.

74 Regarding these collections, see von Hinüber 1996: 190–191, 192–193; §§ 410, 416–418. Von Hinüber lists two editions of the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* (1959 and 1991), neither of which are available to me. A new edition was published by Ver Eecke-Filliozat and Filliozat 2003. The printed version of this edition is unfortunately also unavailable to me, but is accessible as an e-text distributed as part of a CDRom with material by Jacqueline Filliozat (the e-text was made available to me by Petra Kieffer-Pülz). For translations of parts of this text on the basis of the 2003 edition, see Masefield 2021–2023, although these do not include the excerpt quoted in Sand-k. For the *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa* I use Ver Eecke 1980.

75 *Bhikkhubhikkhunīnaṃ … nivāsanapārupanakāsāvapajjotasujotaṃ* (Sand-k 19.4–5).

argument discussed above,[76] here said to illuminate the Teaching during the golden age of Buddhism in Lanka.

The larger implication here thus appears to be that while the Sinhalese *saṃgha* originally maintained the correct monastic discipline regarding dress, they do not do so anymore, possibly, if that is the intention above, due to influence by customs from Siam. Thus, while 'that [island of Tambapaṇṇi] … *was previously* a place [characterized by] the prosperity and splendour of the most excellent Teaching, the ford for entering the deathless, the great *nibbāna*' (§ 32), this is not the case at the present time. And so, it is precisely in this way (*evaṃ paṇa*) that both the ordination and training of the Sinhalese novices and the sending of the *Sandesakathā* is to be understood as 'for the sake of the prosperity and splendour of the most excellent Teaching that is exceedingly difficult to obtain, even in a billion aeons' (§ 32). That is, by ordaining and training these novices in the correct monastic discipline, which they will bring back with them to Lanka, and by explaining the correct monastic discipline in the *Sandesakathā*—not only through the argument made in §§ 23–27, but also by informing his readers about the king's purification of the Teaching and pointing out the Sinhalese custom—which these monks are to bring with them to the monks of the Sinhalese *saṃgha*, the 'most excellent island of Laṅkā' may again be a place characterized by the prosperity and splendour of the most excellent Teaching.

4. Concluding remarks

The perceived fragility of the Teaching, and hence the need to protect and restore it, is a common feature in Theravāda historiography and plays a major role in the historical writings of the Burmese Sudhamma faction, of which Ñāṇābhivaṃsa was a prominent member. The message of the *Sandesakathā* should be understood as an expression of the same reformist attitude. In this view, monastic education and correct monastic discipline is essential for the survival of the *saṃgha*, which is in turn essential for the survival of the Teaching, which is under constant threat of 'heresy' (*micchāvāda*).[77] The 'seemingly minor issues of monastic discipline'[78] on

76 Cf. *kāsāvapajjoto* (Sās 18.16; Law 1952: 21), without *nivāsanapārupana-*.

77 Pranke 2008: 12, 15–16. See the introduction to the *Sāsanālaṅkāra*, where the reason for composing the work is stated to be that '[t]he monastic lineage has now become broken, the Religion is waning, and there are people of heretical views in some places' (translated in Lieberman 1976: 141).

78 Kirichenko 2011: 190.

which the survival of the Teaching purportedly depends, such as the correct way for novices to wear their robes while entering a village, can be understood as constituting easily recognizable representations of whether monastic discipline is taken 'seriously', despite the fact that rules regarding monastic dress leave considerable room for different interpretations.[79] Thus, practices concerning monastic dress or the alms bowl presumably become the focal points of conflict in part because they are so easily *seen*. At the same time, such conflicts are also expressions of monastic rivalry and struggles for power and court recognition.[80]

According to Alexey Kirichenko, the development of the Burmese robe wearing debate 'was an important stage of scripturalization of monastic dress code in Theravāda communities while the spread of the "two-shoulder" manner beyond Burma was one of the early manifestations of inter-Theravādin monastic networking in the modern period'.[81] Ñāṇābhivaṃsa's *Sandesakathā* is interesting in both of these respects, containing not only a focused legal argument pertaining to the Burmese debate, albeit formulated, or at least communicated, in hindsight, as well as an intent to spread the 'correct' understanding of monastic discipline to Lanka.

It is beyond the scope of this brief study to pursue any larger effects Ñāṇābhivaṃsa's instructions and letter may have had. Still, it is interesting to note that the Sinhalese Amarapura *nikāya* did uphold the practice of wearing their robes over both shoulders, in line with Burmese manner.[82] And when, at the instigation of Hikkaḍuvē Sumaṅgala, a robe-wearing debate later erupted in Lanka in the 1880s—although there, as in Siam and Cambodia, focused on the correct way for *monks* to wear their robes[83]—this is said to have been 'due in part to the growing need to protect the disciplinary reputation of Hikkaḍuvē's Syāma Nikāya monks in the face of Amarapura and Rāmañña Nikāya pressures'.[84]

79 Blackburn 2010: 91; Ṭhānissaro 2013: 29.

80 Leider 2004: 93; Charney 2006: 9.

81 Kirichenko 2011: 191.

82 Blackburn 2010: 92; Kirichenko 2011: 190–191.

83 See n. 69. These debates would, by necessity, also include in some way the dress code for novices. Hansen quotes from a biography of the Cambodian monk Mās-Kaṅ, who adopted the Dhammayut robe regulations by 1901, in which, in addition to the robe customs of monks, the reform of novice robe customs is described as 'arrang[ing] the outer robe to conceal the body, to discontinue pleating the outer robe over the shoulder and wrapping the cloth around from the outside, as they were accustomed to doing in the past' (Mās-Kaṅ 2007: 99).

84 Blackburn 2010: 92.

5. English translation of the *Sandesakathā*

5.1 About the text and translation

The English translation is made on the basis of the edition of the *Sandesakathā* published in the *JPTS* by I. P. Minayeff (1885b). Regrettably, Minayeff gives no explicit information about the sources used for this edition.[85] Some information can be gleaned from his notes, where he records variant readings found in two manuscripts, labelled 'B' and 'C'. It is not clear whether this should be understood to imply a manuscript 'A'—in which case the notes would indicate that this manuscript was followed throughout without any emendations—or if 'B' and 'C' may stand for 'Burmese' and 'Ceylonese', respectively, and so only two manuscripts were used.[86] I have not identified any case in which a variant reading recorded in the notes seems preferrable to the printed text, but have on some occasions proposed improvements to the text.

In addition to Minayeff's text critical notes, the edition contains a total of six editorial notes signed Rhys-Davids, in which he provides identifications and/or dates for some of the mentioned kings, additional information and/or explanations, converts one date, and identifies a canonical quotation.[87] Another three notes, unsigned, identify the sources of canonical quotations, and so are presumably Minayeff's.[88]

My division of the text into numbered paragraphs largely follows Minayeff's paragraphs, although the latter have not been followed in all cases, and Minayeff's edition contains no paragraph numbers. The page and line number of Minayeff's edition is given for each paragraph.

5.2 Timeline of the letter and conversion of dates

I give an English translation of the dates as given in the text, providing converted dates in footnotes. The conversion is made with the help of the

85 Minayeff also published an edition of the *Cha-kesa-dhātu-vaṃsa* in the same issue of the JPTS (1885a), for which he gives information about the two manuscripts used and the relationship between them (1885a: 5). No such information is given for the edition of the *Sandesakathā*.

86 According to Kitsudo (1974: 31), the text of the *Sandesakathā* has, moreover, been inscribed on marble plaques at the Ambarukkhārāmaya, which was the residence of Aṁbagahapiṭiyē Ñāṇavimala (Malalgoda 1976: 97). It is not clear to me what Kitsudo bases this claim on, and as far as I am aware this has not been confirmed elsewhere.

87 See Minayeff 1885b: 18, n. 3; 19, nn. 3–5; 20, n. 1; and 25, n. 3.

88 See Minayeff 1885b: 24, n. 1; 25, n. 1; and 26, n. 1.

web application Myanmar Calendar[89] and should be considered approximate and tentative.

The text contains five dates. The first is the date on which the Sinhalese party is seen by Ñāṇābhivaṃsa in Amarapura (§ 9). The second is the date of the ordination of the first six novices and the novice initiation of one of the laymen (§ 14). The third is the date of the seventh and final ordination (§ 21). The fourth is the date the letter was finished (§ 33). The fifth is the date the letter was sent (§ 33).

All dates are given by stating the year according to the Buddhist era, the Śaka era (also referred to as *Khachapañca*) and the Burmese era (*Sakkarāja* or *Dodorasa*),[90] as well as the lunar month and the number of the day in the light or dark half. In two cases, 4) and 5), also the name of the weekday is provided. When converted on the basis of the Burmese era year given, the timeline of the letter is given as follows:

1) The Sinhalese party is seen by Ñāṇābhivaṃsa, in Amarapura on ≈ Wednesday 7 May 1800 (1162 Kason full moon).

2) The six novices are ordained, and one layman given novice initiation, on ≈ Thursday 30 October 1800 (1162 Tazaungmon waxing 14).

3) The seventh and final ordination is performed on ≈ Friday 24 April 1801 (1163 Kason waxing 13).

4) The letter is finished ≈ Thursday 23 April 1801 (1163 Kason waxing 12, *gurudina*).

5) The letter is sent ≈ Sunday 26 April 1801 (1163 Kason full moon, *ravidina*).

With the exception of one of the events described in the letter (i.e., 3) being given a date one day *after* the letter is said to have been finished (cf. 4), this timeline is reasonably clear, and the year of the arrival of the Sinhalese party in Amarapura, i.e. 1), is supported by the date given in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*.[91]

89 The application is freely accessible online at the following url: https://yan9a.github.io/mmcal/. These dates have also been checked against the conversions in the *Burmese-English Calendar: 1701–1820* (မြန်မာအင်္ဂလိပ်ပြက္ခဒိန် အေဒီ ၁၇၀၁ ခု ၁၈၂၀) by Yi Yi 1965.

90 See Taw Sein Ko 1884: 256–257; Eade 1995: 15–18. Note that the date given in Sand-k § 21 does not explicitly state the year, only that it was the year after the year as given in § 14.

91 Cf. *kaliyuge pana dvāsaṭṭhādhika vassasate sahasse ca sampatte* (Sās 135.6–7). Although note that the dates given in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* are not always reliable; see Lieberman 1976 and Kieffer-Pülz 2023a.

The Buddhist era years provided in the *Sandesakathā* for each of these dates indicate that the change of the Buddhist year as given in the letter is taken to be the same as that of the Burmese year.[92]

5.3 Translation of the Sandesakathā

18.1–11 § 1 Homage to the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Perfectly Awakened One! May he be victorious!

The greatly compassionate Lord, having reached every perfection,
accomplished the highest awakening, for the benefit of all living beings.
By this truth, may there always be well-being for you!

The greatly compassionate Lord, remaining [in this world] for forty-five years,
taught the *dhamma* for the benefit of all living beings.
By this truth, may there always be well-being for you!

The greatly compassionate Lord established the Teaching
[to last] even 5000 years, for the benefit of all living beings.
By this truth, may there always be well-being for you!

92 In present day Burma the new year of the Buddhist era begins on the first day after the full moon in the month Vesākha (Bur. Kason), while the first day of the new year in the Burmese era begins in the preceding month of Citra (Bur. Tagu). This is incorporated into the application Myanmar Calendar (see also Eade 1995: 19, 29), resulting in apparent discrepancies between the Burmese era years and Buddhist era years given in the letter for the dates in the month of Vesākha/Kason, i.e. 1), 3), 4), and 5)—i.e. every date except 2). Specifically, assuming the Buddhist era new year to occur after the Vesākha full moon results in a Buddhist era year that is higher by one than what would be expected from the date as given according to the Burmese era year. That this is the case for every date set in the month Vesākha, which are all before or on the Vesākha full moon, but not the one date set later in the year (2), rather indicates that the change of the Buddhist year as given in the letter is taken to be the same as that of the Burmese year, i.e. Citra/Tagu. Thus, Rhys-David's conversion of the date the Sinhalese party is seen by Ñāṇābhivaṃsa (Minayeff 1885b: 20, n. 1) as 1801, rather than 1800, is presumably based on the year as given according to the Buddhist era, which he incorrectly assumed to begin after the full moon in the month Vesākha.

§ 2 Greetings![93] This 'Letter account' (*Sandesakathā*), related to the Conqueror's Teaching, is sent to both the Great Elder named Dhammakkhandha,[94] a friend we have not seen [personally], instructor in both policy (*attha*) and religion (*dhamma*) to the great king, the glorious Rājādhirājasīha; and to the community of monks dwelling in the city of Saṃkanta,[95] called Sirivaḍḍhana (i.e. Kandy), and likewise to both the Elder Dhammarakkhita[96] and the community of monks dwelling in villages such as Vālutara in the Rohaṇa district, [all] on the Sīhaḷā island, called Tambapaṇṇi[97] and established as Laṅkā, by the Great Elder (*mahāthera*) named Ñāṇābhivaṃsa Dhammasenāpati, who is endowed with all the qualities (*aṅga*) of a preceptor (*upajjhāya*) and teacher (*ācariya*), such as knowing both *Vibhaṅga*s by heart; the great grammarian, author of many texts, such as a commentary on the *Netti*[*pakaraṇa*][98] and a commentary on the *Sīlakkhandha*;[99] who wishes for an increase of the Teaching everywhere; an inhabitant of many gilded *vihāra*s,[100] such as the Ratanabhummikitti Mahāvihāra;[101] ordained since 27 years; [and] instructor in both policy (*attha*) and religion (*dhamma*) to the Mahādhammarāja named Siripavara- 18.12–19.33

93 Sand-k: *Sotthipa-* (17.12), taking *sotthi* as part of the following compound. This very long sentence has a fairly simple basic structure, the core of which is simply that this letter is sent by the Mahāthera Ñāṇābhivaṃsa Dhammasenāpati to specific elder monks in Sri Lanka and the community of monks there. What makes the sentence so long is the inclusion of a lengthy description of Ñāṇābhivaṃsa, among which that he is instructor to the king, which in turn leads into a long list of descriptions of the king, as well as the localization of the king (or Ñāṇābhivaṃsa, or both) in the city of Amarapura, which is in turn described and located among the cities and kingdoms of Jambudīpa, the continent too being described by several compounds.

94 See n. 6.

95 Sand-k: *Saṃkanta* (18.27), adding in a note that Ms. B contains a marginal note *seṃkhandha* (Minayeff 1885: 18, n. 2). See also *Saṃkantanagare* (Sand-k 28.14). Cf. DPPN, s.v. Seṅkhaṇḍasela-Sirivaḍḍhanapura, 'The ancient name of modern Kandy, in Ceylon.'

96 See n. 8.

97 See n. 28.

98 Ñāṇābhivaṃsa wrote a commentary on the *Nettipakaraṇa* (regarding which, see von Hinüber 1996: 77–80) with the title *Peṭālaṃkāra* (Bode 1909: 78; Sās 134,30–31), marked as 'lost(?)' by von Hinüber 1996: 176.

99 See von Hinüber 1996: 176. According to the *Sāsanavaṃsa* he wrote a commentary on the *Dīghanikāya* with the title *Sādhujjanavilāsini* after being made *saṃgharāja* (Sās 134.32–33). The commentary is reportedly contained in the CD-ROM of the Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition (Petra Kieffer-Pülz, personal communication, October 2024).

100 Cf. *suvaṇṇavihāra* in Sās (106.7), 'the golden monastery' (Law 1952: 111).

101 According to the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, a five-storied monastery located south of the Mahāmuni shrine, which was dedicated to Ñāṇābhivaṃsa (see Sās 134.16–21). In Burmese this is known as Ratanā bhuṃ kyau Monastery (ရတနာဘုံကျော်ကျောင်း), see Mahādhammasaṅkraṃ 1956: 199–200; Kelāsa 1980–1986: I, 262–263.

vijayānantayasatribhavādityādhipatipaṇḍitamahādhammarājādhirāja[102]—who was born in the sun lineage of the royal Sakyan succession of unadulterated nobility (*khattiya*), from Mahāsammata, and so on; who is 'Lord of many white elephants',[103] chief among which are the Ratanakumuda and Añjanagiri of Inda, for many hundreds of neighbouring kings; the abode[104] of a host of qualities, such as the four dispositions, the five powers, the six good conducts of a leader, the seven that cause increase, the eight *uposatha*s, the nine incomparable, and the ten kingly virtues; whose principal object is continually and continuously the triad of jewels—in the great city named Amarapura, which is endowed with every constituent part and secondary constituent part [of a great city], such as gates, granaries, watch towers, pavilions, arched gateways, and moats; decked with many mansions and peak-roofed buildings, and so on, plastered with various precious stones, colours and gold; decorated with *cetiya*s, caves and residences adorned with parasols, super-parasols, flags and banners brilliant with the light of treasures such as gold, silver and crystal; home of various peoples, Yonaka, Siyama, Kasiya, Cīna, Rāmaññaka, Pāi, Paraṅgi, Velanta, Aṅglissi,[105] and so on, servants, and Maramma people; full of the four classes, named *khattiya*, *brāhmaṇa*, *vessa* and *sudda*, and clans; whose constant loud noise is such that the ten [kinds] of sound are not distinguished; the home of all splendour, like the heavenly city of Amaravatī; illuminating the supremely stainless, extensive and pure Teaching; similar in flag and crest to the many great cities, such as Sudhammapura, Haṃsāvatīpura, Dhaññavatīpura, Dvārāvatīpura, Navapura, Ketumatīpura, and Maṇipura, in the Maramma province, which is in what is called the country of Sūnāparanta[106] and the country of Tambadīpa,[107] considered chief and foremost among the many

102 Cf. the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, where the name is given as *Siripavaravijayānanta-Yasatribhavanādityādhipatipaṇḍitamahādhammarājā* (Sās 132.8–9).

103 Regarding the title 'Lord of many white elephants', see Leider 2011: 183. See also d'Hubert 2015.

104 Among the meanings listed in PTSD, DoP and CPD for Pāli *adhivāsa*, 'dwelling' and 'perfume' seem most fitting, but still not quite right for the present context. MW, s.v., *adhivāsa*, includes 'abode' and 'site', which seems to work better here.

105 The terms Paraṅgi, Velanta, and Aṅglissi refer to the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, respectively. See n. 26.

106 See Bode 1897: 9: 'the region lying west of the Upper Irawaddy'.

107 See Bode 1897: 14: 'According to the inscription translated by Col. Burney … Tambadīpa includes the districts of Pugān, Ava, Panyā, and Myenzain. In the *British Burma Gazetteer* (vol. ii. p. 746) Tambadīpa is described as the upper portion of the Thayet

great countries, such as the country of Suvaṇṇabhummi, the country of Ramañña, the country of Sirikhetta, the country of Jayavaḍḍhana, the country of Ayuddhaya, the country of Haribhuñja, the country of Khema, the country of Kamboja, the country of Sivi, the country of Cīna and the country of Mahāvihika, [all] on the great [continent] of Jambudīpa, which is the place of the enlightenment of the praised, excellent and noble Buddha and his disciples, which is decorated by the great Jambu tree, resembling an elephant with a hundred trunks, at the head, [and] has a retinue of five hundred small[er] islands.

§ 3 When the 236th year since the Perfectly Awakened One's *parinibbāna* had been reached, at the time of the great righteous king named Siri Dhammasoka, the Teaching—well illuminated by the light of the yellowish-red [glow] of the inner garments and outer garments of the monks and nuns, blown by the wind produced by the extending of hands,[108] and so on—was firmly established on the island of Sīhala, as if [that island of Sīhaḷa?] had arisen full of noble people,[109] relying on the Elder Mahāmahinda, who had been sent by the Elder Mahāmoggaliputtatissa. For, with reference to this matter, the Blessed One, having thrice gone to the island of Laṅkā, gave protection to the island, and made Sakka, lord of the gods, who had come [into his] presence on the occasion of [his] *parinibbāna* the 'island guardian'. 18.34–19.9

§ 4 Thus, beginning from the time of Devānaṃpiyatissa, the Teaching was established on the island of Sīhaḷa, for a long time, for king after king, teacher upon teacher, pupil after pupil. Just there, the great [persons] with cankers destroyed (i.e. Arhants) had the [Buddha's] instruction[s]—the three baskets—put into manuscripts, and the Elder Buddhaghosa, and so on, created commentaries on the *dhamma* and *Vinaya*, such as the *Aṭṭhakathā*s and *Ṭīkā*s. 19.10–15

district, in the east bank of the Irawaddy.' Tambadīpa is thus not to be confused with Tambapaṇṇi (DPPN, s.v.).

108 Sand-k 19.4: *hatthapasāraṇādijanitavātavāyitaṃ*. In the Jātakas, phrases such as *hatthaṃ pasāraṇa* and *hatthe pasāretvā* are used for stretching out the hand or hands in order to receive something (e.g., J II 380.22–23; 381.6; V 389.21; VI 485.13.15). In the present context it is not clear whose hands are extended and for what purpose.

109 Sand-k 19.3–4: *Sīhaladīpe sāsanam suppatiṭṭhitaṃ ariyajanaparipuṇṇam iva jātaṃ*. Presumably the latter part should qualify the island of Sīhala.

19.16–20 § 5 At a later time, however, at the time of the great king Vijayabāhu (r. 1055–1110 CE), because the Teaching was destroyed by the peril of the enemy, which consists in wrong views, [the king] did not find monks possessing morality (*sīlavanta*)—not enough even to make up a quorum. [So] the great king Vijayabāhu sent messengers to king Anuruddha, in the region of Rāmañña in Jambudīpa, and having had monks from Jambudīpa summoned he again established the Teaching.

19.21–25 § 6 At a later time, at the time of the great righteous king Vimaladhammasuriya (16th/17th c. CE),[110] since there were no monks due to the destruction of the Teaching on account of the peril of the 'enemy consisting in the erroneous view named *Parańgi*',[111] the great righteous king Vimaladhammasuriya sent messengers to the king of Dhañña̍vatī in the region of Rakkhańga, and having had monks summoned he again made the light of the Teaching [shine].

19.26–31 § 7 At an even later time, at the time of the great king Kittisirirājasīha (r. 1747–1782), since there was not even one ordained monk due to the destruction of the Teaching on account of that very same peril of the 'enemy consisting in the erroneous views', the great king Kittisirirājasīha sent messengers to the king in Ayuddhaya[112] in the country of Sāminda, known as the Siyama (Syāma) country, in Jambudīpa, and having had monks summoned, again established the Teaching.

20.1–9 § 8 With regard to the shining of the light of the threefold true *dhamma*,[113] which has thus in the past been practised by countless *arya* people, concerning the matter of the Teaching, I, having considered the repeated disappearance of the Teaching of the Teacher—instructor to the [whole] world, including the gods—even on the most excellent of islands, Tambapaṇṇi,[114] even though being occupied by the lord of the gods (Sakka) [and] protected on many occasions by the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Perfectly Awakened One—by force of fear for the *dhamma* and with a very compassionate mind, constantly pondered:

110 See p. 19.
111 See n. 26.
112 See Tambiah 1976: 132–158.
113 See Sp I 225.24–25.
114 Sand-k here *-ṇṇa-*, but elsewhere *-ṇṇi*.

When could I, by whatever means, become a support for serving the Teaching in Tambapaṇṇi?

§ 9 In the year 2344 of the Conqueror's Teaching (Buddhist Era) since the *parinibbāna* of the Perfectly Awakened One, in the [year] 1722 using the *Dvidvirasa*[115] (Saka era) [reckoning], in [the year] 1162 (Burmese Era) according to the glorious Sakkarāja, using the *Khachapañca* [reckoning],[116] on the full moon day of the month Vesākha, [I] saw six novices (*sāmaṇera*), together with three lay followers (*upāsaka*),[117] who, having come from the Sīhaḷa island, had reached the great city named Amarapura, the site of Jambusiri (= Jambudīpa). Having inquired about their names, kinship groups, teachers, teachers' teachers, and proper and improper actions, [and] having heard [their answers], I, having become extremely happy, received[118] [these] kindred people (*ñātijane*) who had come from afar as if [they] were a company (*saṃgha*) of [my] kinsmen. 20.10–18

§ 10 [I] told even our great righteous king, who is the abode[119] of many qualities, such as faith, [and] who was born in the succession of the lion of the Sakyas, of this trust-inspiring matter. [And] having informed [him], I treated them with kindness with proper requisites. I had them stay in the Padarikāvāsa, a shelter for visiting monks, in the Asokārāma, in a section to the north of the Ratanabhummikitti Mahāvihāra,[120] near the great shrine—120 *ratana*s tall—for the great image of the Buddha, named Mahāmuni (Great sage), which was made[121] in [his] presence while the Blessed one was alive and brought from the Rakkhaṅga district.'[122] 20.18–25

115 Expect *Dodorasa*; see section 5.2.

116 ≈ Wednesday 7 May 1800. See the discussion in section 5.2, p. 32. Cf. Sās 135.6–7.

117 Cf. Sās 135.9–11: *ime cha sāmaṇerā dasa dhātuyo dhammapaṇṇākāratthāya ānetvā Amarapuraṃ nāma mahārājaṭṭhānīnagaraṃ āgatā saddhiṃ ekena upāsakena*; 'These six novices [from the island of Sihaḷa], having brought ten relics (*dhātu*) for the sake of the gift of the *dhamma*, came to the great capital city named Amarapura, together with one lay disciple.'

118 See MW, s.v. *pari+grah*.

119 See n. 104.

120 See p. 35 and n. 101.

121 *Paṭisaṅkhata* (Skt. *prati+saṃ+skṛ*) is listed as meaning 'repaired', 'restored', with the meaning 'makes good' included under the present tense form (DoP, s.v. *paṭisaṅkharoti*). As I understand it the point here is not that it was *repaired*, but perhaps rather 'well made'. Alternatively, *paṭisaṅkhata* may refer to the fact that the statue had to be reassembled after having been brought to Burma from Arakan, since it was too big to transport in one piece. If so, a term meaning 'made' is missing: 'restored [after having been made] in the presence [of the Buddha] while the Blessed One was still alive

122 See Schober 1997: 260, 267–269.

20.26–21.2 § 11 In that very year, on the day of entering upon the rains, I granted the six novices once more the novice initiation (*pabbajjā*), by thoroughly making it (i.e. the recitation) pure on both sides.[123] I satisfied [them] with the help of requisites, such as cotton and silk robes, and with the help of the *dhamma*—instruction, admonition, and so on. Acting according to [their] desire for ordination during the three months of the rainy season, I got [them] to recite the *Pātimokkha* correctly. Acting in accordance with his desire for the novice initiation, I trained the lay follower named Nāda in the [outward] marks [of monastic life] (i.e. the robes),[124] 'punishment',[125] and the training (*sekhiya*) precepts (*sikkhāpada*). Moreover, at the time of having spent the rains, I informed the great righteous king—master of the white elephants, which are similar to the white water-lily, jasmine, and the autumn moonlight—that the six novices desiring ordination and the lay follower named Nāda desiring novice initiation were worthy of ordination and novice initiation.

21.3–29 § 12 And the great righteous king, inducing respect to the Teaching, devoted to the Teaching, like a stone parasol,[126] gave, to them, every requisite of a recluse, such as bowl and robe. And due to making them accept the mark of a householder (*gihiliṅga*),[127] he then caused them to

123 'Both sides' here refers to the novice and the *ācariya* who both have to recite the threefold refuge (*saraṇagamana*) properly, that is, without any fault regarding the pronunciation, the succession etc. This is discussed at some length in Sp v 969. For the relevant statement, see Sp v 969.17–18: *sāmaṇerapabbajjā pana ubhatosuddhiyā va vaṭṭati, no ekatosuddhiyā*. 'But the novice initiation is valid by means of purity on both sides alone, not by means of purity on one side.' See also Pāramī 2009: 113 and 153–154, n. 31

124 See Nolot 1999: 59 and 59, n. 8, s.v. *liṅganāsana*. Cf. *gihiliṅga* ('marks of a householder') in Sand-k § 12.

125 See Nolot 1999: 69–74.

126 Sand-k 21.3: *pāsānachattam iva*. So too in Sand-k 26.12. Presumably *pāsāna* = *pāsāṇa*, 'stone'. See, e.g., *garū ti garutthāniyo pāsāṇachattasadiso* (Vism-mht 1 30); 'Esteemed [means] "esteemed like a stone parasol".'

127 The description here and in the following paragraph indicates that the candidates temporarily became laypeople before once again receiving the novice initiation (*pabbajjā*) and then ordination (*upasampadā*). Cf. Pāramī, according to whom King Minyekyawdin (1673–1698) allowed candidates for monastic examination who were already bhikkhus or sāmaneras "to temporarily disrobe and receive their respective ordination immediately after their exams" (Pāramī 2008: 335), and that under King Bodawpaya, candidates for the *pazinlaung* level of examination were allowed to wear royal dress, including jewlery, and were carried on a palanquin with royal requisites, and, if successful in their examination, were sponsored for ordination by the king or other high ranking members of the royal family or the government (Pāramī 2008: 336). Temporarily returning to lay life prior to *upasampadā* ordination remains a custom in modern times, at least for candid-

take the dress of a *cakkavatti*-king, equal to the dress of the king of the gods, with many adornments, such as golden and jewel studs, crests, earrings, bracelets, pearl necklaces, decorative chains and golden garlands, and with the undergarment, a bodice, a royal garment. He then caused [them] to mount a golden palanquin, inlaid with ivory, fit for a king, lord of the earth [until] the end of the ocean, keeping, above [their] heads, golden parasols adorned with various ornaments, in pairs, like the disk of the newly risen sun. Having prepared the royal goods and bamboo parasols, decorated with ivory, gold and gems, and called 'Kryiṅ'[128] in the Maramma (= Myanmar) language, first; having beautified [himself] by displaying many hundreds of royal regalia; having caused [himself] to be surrounded with auspicious events such as music, speeches, songs, dance and acrobatics practised by families from various districts, and with a royal retinue with an entourage of ministers, such as generals and many [people] having obtained thousands of positions; by wandering main roads and side roads[129] in the city of Amarapura, which is like the divine city of Masakkasāra, he entered the royal home, which was adorned with 150 palaces with heaps of jewels, like the heavenly palace Vejayanta. In the golden house with a peaked roof, three storeys high, named Maṅgalachanāgāra ('House of festivities'), in that very [city], the Lord of the white elephants, the great righteous king—who is the abode[130] of a host of qualities, such as faith, morality, wisdom, and liberality; who was born into the royal Sakyan lineage, unbroken since Mahāsammata, and so on; [his] royal entourage [surrounding him] on all sides; seated, in the middle of the four assemblies, with the group of the royal harem, the queen, and so on, on [his] right, the group of the royal family, the great viceroy, and so on, the group of royal ministers, the great general, and so on, and the group of attendants, sword bearers, and so on—poured

ates who have been *sāmaneras* since young age, in order to allow them the opportunity to pay respect to their parents prior to ordaining (Pāramī 2008: 354).

128 It is not clear what this refers to. Ms. 'B'. (for 'Burmese'?) reads *kuṅ*, which might refer to an ornamental betel box (ကွမ်းထောင်, *kvamḥ thoṅ*, or ကွမ်းလောင်း, *kvam loṅḥ*) which figured among the royal regalia, although it is not clear how this should then be understood in connection with the bamboo parasols.

129 *vīthānuvīthi*°; cf. Mhv 67.20 *maggānumagge*.

130 See n. 104.

the 'donation water'[131] by means of a golden ceremonial vessel, which was similar to the trunk of the 'Six-tusked',[132] the king of elephants.[133]

21.30–22.2 § 13 Moreover, after that, having had them taken, together with all the mentioned help, to the golden great three storey hall named Sudhamma which stands within the city, in a part north-west of the royal residence,[134] resembling the Sudhammasālā in the city of the Thirty three gods—he handed [them] over to the monastic community, [ordering] 'You give these the novice initiation and ordination!'

22.3–17 § 14 Next, the community of monks, measuring 51 [monks], headed by the Great Elder Ñāṇābhivaṃsa Dhammasenāpati, assembled in the *sīmā*, connected with the threefold success,[135] overcoming the eleven faults,[136] named 'The Gilded Cave'—adorned with *cetiya*s named Hatthinatha and Suvaṇṇathūpa—situated near the Sudhamma hall.[137] And when the year 2344 of the Conqueror's Teaching (Buddhist Era) since the *parinibbāna* of the Perfectly Awakened One, the [year] 1722 using the *Dvidvirasa* (Saka Era) [reckoning], [and the year] 1162 (Burmese Era) according to the glorious Sakkarāja, using the *Khachapañca* [reckoning], had been reached, on the fourteenth day of the bright half of the month of Kattika,[138] when two *pahāra*s[139] and *velā*s[140] of the day had elapsed, at the measure of two

131 See DoP, s.v., *dakkhiṇodaka*, 'Water poured on the hands of the recipient of a gift.'

132 See DoP, s.v. *chaddanta*, 'one of the types of elephant (the most superior).' Etymology uncertain.

133 A vessel with the beak in the form of an elephant's trunk, identified as the water-pot from which the infant Bodhisattva received his first bath, is depicted in a relief in Nagarjunikonda (see plate XXV, Rao 1956: 85).

134 The Sudhamma hall (Thudama Zayat) is located near the entrance to the Sin Kyo Shwe Gu Pagoda, located in the northeastern corner of Amarapura (Kitsudo 2002: 158).

135 See Kkh, 8.12f.; Norman, et al. 2018: 18f. The term *sīmāsaṃpatti* is included in a list in Sp VI 1278.28.

136 Regarding the eleven *sīmā* faults, see Kieffer-Pülz 1992: 143–144.

137 According to Kitsudo, '[t]his *sīmā* is located in the southwestern corner of the temple precincts' (2002: 158; italics added). Its Burmese name is *Chaṅ kruiḥ rhve gū sīmā* (ဆင်ကြိုးရွှေဂူသီမ).

138 ≈ Thursday 30 October 1800. See the discussion in section 5.2.

139 Cf. MW, s.v., *prahāra*, 'an eighth part of the day, a watch'. According to Eade (1995: 92), the system of 'watches' divides the period from one dawn to the other into eight watches of the day and eight watches of the night. Thus one 'watch' is 90 minutes. According to Eade's (1995: 93) table of watches, which sets sunrise at 06:00 hrs, the second watch ends at 09:00.

140 The term *velā* is used with the general meaning 'time' (see PTSD and MW, s.v., *velā*) or 'period'. Possibly it is here somehow related to the *zata* (see Eade 1995: 78–80, 86) and

*ghaṭī*s,[141] at the time when the shadow [of the gnomon measured] six feet,[142] [the monastic community] ordained the 34 year old novice named Aṁbagahapitiya[143] with the elder Dhammasenāpati Ñāṇābhivaṃsa as preceptor, having given [him] the name Ambagahatissa.[144] The three reciters of the [ordination] formula—the elder residing in the Uttaradevīvihāra, the elder residing in the Pāsādavihāra, and the elder residing in the Soṇṇalekhāgāravihāra[145]—were the *ācariya*s for the ordination.

§ 15 On that very day, when two *pahāra*s and *velā*s of the day had elapsed, at the measure of four *ghaṭī*s, at the time when the shadow [of the gnomon measured] nine feet, [the monastic community] ordained the 28 year old novice named Mahādampa[146] with that very same preceptor, having given [him] the name Mahādampatissa. Those very same three reciters of the [ordination] formula were the *ācariya*s for the ordination. 22.17–22

§ 16 On that very day, when two *pahāra*s and *velā*s of the day had elapsed, at the measure of six *ghaṭī*s, at the time when the shadow [of the gnomon 22.23–29

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the indication of the time of day according to 'the zodiac that is lying on the eastern horizon at the moment chosen' (Eade 1995: 86).

141 See DoP, s.v., *ghaṭī*, 'a jar; a pot', and s.v., *ghaṭikā*, '3. A period of time, 24 minutes'. That the *ghaṭī* count resets at the beginning of a new watch is made clear below (§ 18).

142 See Eade 1995: 91–92. A precise estimation of the time based on the shadow cast by the gnomon requires knowledge of its exact length and will vary according to the time of the year. Assuming, with Eades table of 'watches', that the time of sunrise was 06:00, then based on the information given regarding the watch and *ghaṭī*s, the time of the first ordination should be some time around 10 o'clock.

143 Cf. Ambagahapatisso (Sās 135.7); Ampagahatissa in *Sāsanālaṅkāra* (Mahādhammasaṅkraṃ 1956: 203). Presumably this is Aṁbagahapiṭiyē Ñāṇavimala (see Malalgoda 1976: 97). Kelāsa (1980–1986: 1, 268) reports his name as Ñāṇavimalatissa and states that he was born in the village of Aṁbagahapiṭiya in Lanka. See Kieffer-Pülz 2023b: 77, n. 1: 'In Sinhalese monks' names, the first name either comes from the name of the monastery or the place of the monastery or the birth place of the monk given either in its basic form ending in *°a* or in the locative ending in *°ē*.' All monks of Aṁbagahapiṭiyē's lineage, or who received their ordination in the Balapiṭiya *sīmā*, have the ending *-tissa* as part of their monk's name. The ending may be written as part of the name or separately, and is sometimes omitted (Kieffer-Pülz 2023b: 77, n. 4).

144 Alternatively, Ambagahapiṭiyaṃ (Sand-k 22 n. 3), see also n. 139.

145 According to the *Sāsanālaṅkāra* (Mahādhammasaṅkraṃ 1965: 203–204), the Burmese names of these monasteries are Mrok nanḥ Monastery (မြောက်နန်းကျောင်း), Rhve reḥ choṅ Monastery (ရွှေရေးဆောင်ကျောင်း), and Prāsād Monastery (ပြာသာဒ်ကျောင်း). Kelāsa (1980–1986: 1, 268) gives the names of the three reciters as Kavindābhisaddhammadharadhajamahādhammarājaguru, Janindābhidhajamahādhammarājaguru, and Munindaghosamahādhammarājaguru.

146 So too in Sās 135.7 and *Sāsanālaṅkāra* (Mahādhammasaṅkraṃ 1956: 203).

measured] eleven feet, [the monastic community] ordained the twenty-five-year-old novice named Kocchagodha[147] with that very same preceptor, having given [him] the name Kocchagodhatissa. The three reciters of the [ordination] formula —the elder residing in the Jayabhummānubhavanavihāra, the elder residing in the Ratanabhummirammavihāra, and the elder residing in the Ravivaṃsakittisūrāmaccavihāra—were the *ācariya*s for the ordination.[148]

22.30–34 § 17 On that very day, when two *pahāra*s and *velā*s of the day had elapsed, at the measure of seven *ghaṭī*s, at the time when the shadow [of the gnomon measured] thirteen feet, [the monastic community] ordained the twenty-two-year-old novice named Brāhmaṇavaṭṭa[149] with that very same preceptor, having given [him] the name Brāhmaṇatissa. Those very same three reciters of the [ordination] formula were the *ācariya*s for the ordination.

22.35–23.6 § 18 On that very day, when three *pahāra*s and *velā*s of the day had elapsed, at the measure of one *ghaṭī*, at the time when the shadow [of the gnomon measured] fifteen feet, [the monastic community] ordained the twenty-year-old novice named Bogahavatta[150] with that very same preceptor, having given [him] the name Bogahatissa. The three reciters of the [ordination] formula—the elder residing in the Pāsānupassānavihāra, the elder residing in the Ratanabhummirammavihāra, and the elder residing in the Ravivaṃsakittisūrāmaccavihāra—were the *ācariya*s for the ordination.

23.7–11 § 19 On that very day, when three *pahāra*s and *velā*s of the day had elapsed, at the measure of three *ghaṭī*s, at the time when the shadow [of the gnomon measured] seventeen feet, [the monastic community]

147 So too in Sās 135.8 and *Sāsanālaṅkāra* (Mahādhammasaṅkraṃ 1956: 203).

148 The *Sāsanālaṅkāra* (Mahādhammasaṅkraṃ 1956: 203–204) does not name additional reciters. The Jayabhummānubhavanavihāra is likely a reference to Aoṅ mre bhuṃ kyau Monastery (အောင်မြေဘုံကျော်ကျောင်း), which was donated to Ñāṇābhivaṃsa. The Ratanabhummirammavihāra might refer to the Ratanabhummikitti (see Sās § 2 and n. 101 above). The Ravivaṃsakittisūrāmaccavihara is named after a minister (*amacca*) with the title Ne myuiḥ kyau sū (နေမျိုးကျော်သူ; Pāli: Ravivaṃsakittisūra).

149 Cf. Brāhmaṇavattha (Sās 135.8); *Sāsanālaṅkāra* reads Brāhmaṇavattha (Mahādhammasaṅkraṃ 1956: 203).

150 Cf. Boghavattha (Sās 135.8); Bhogahavattha (Mahādhammasaṅkraṃ 1956: 203).

ordained the twenty-year-old novice named Vāturagamma[151] with that very same preceptor, having given [him] the name Vāturatissa. Those very same three reciters of the [ordination] formula were the *ācariya*s for the ordination.

§ 20 On that very day, [the monastic community] had even the lay follower named Nāda 'go forth', with the elder Dhammasenāpati Ñāṇābhivaṃsa as preceptor. It was he who bestowed the precepts and was the *ācariya* for the 'going forth'. And at the conclusion of the 'going forth' he, within the partial boundary,[152] gave [him] the novice name Dhammatissa. 23.12–16

§ 21 Further, after that, when the year of the Conqueror's Teaching (Buddhist Era) and the Glorious Sakkarāja (Burmese Era) as declared, plus one, had been reached, on the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Vesākha,[153] when one *pahāra* and *velā* of the day had elapsed, at the measure of one *ghaṭī*, at the time when the shadow [of the gnomon measured] nine feet, [the monastic community] ordained that 36 year old novice, named Dhammatissa, with the elder Ñāṇābhivaṃsa Dhammasenāpati as preceptor. The two[154] reciters of the [ordination] formula—the elder residing in the Ratanabhummirammavihāra and the elder residing in the Soṇṇalekhāgāravihāra—were the (*ācariya*s) for the ordination. 23.17–24

§ 22 And in this way we accomplished the furthering of [both] the *dhamma* and material gain for the 'Lankans' with proper requisites, bowl, robe, and so on, by the 'going forth' and the ordination, by admonition and advice, by instruction and questioning, and by giving the names Ambagahatissa, and so on—endowed with auspiciousness and undying qualities, even in a dead body consisting of a mass of aggregates whose quality is death. And this was not [done] on account of seeking gain, honour or fame, but rather, due to having much high regard, honour, esteem and respect for the 'Lamps of the lineage of Elders' (*theravaṃsapadīpa*) such as the Great 23.25–24.7

151 So too in Sās 135.8–9 and *Sāsanālaṅkāra* (Mahādhammasaṅkraṃ 1956: 203).

152 *Sīmāmāḷaka*, a term used in the *Samantapāsādikā* for the *khaṇḍasīmā* (Kieffer-Pülz 1992: 194). Regarding the *khaṇḍasīmā*, see Kieffer-Pülz 1992: 192–194.

153 ≈ Friday 24 April 1801. See the discussion in section 5.2.

154 Expect three reciters, as in §§ 14–19 (see also Pāramī 2008: 243). Possibly the identity of one of the reciters was not recorded, or became lost in the transmision of the letter, and so the number was adjusted to two?

Mahinda and for the Mahāvihāravāsins, shining a light for the prosperity of the most excellent Teaching of the Blessed one, the Arhat, the Perfectly awakened one, who paved the way for the establishment of the Teaching on the island of Laṅka very long ago; with the wish to promote you—who are present in this very moment—who speak what is *dhamma*, and who are virtuous; and with the desire for benefits pertaining to the present existence and to a further state for the Mahādhammarāja, the Lord of the Sīhaḷa [island which is] divided into three parts, together with the royal family, together with [his] ministers, together with [his] retinue, together with towns people and country people;[155] [it] was indeed done due to wishing for the splendour and increase of the most excellent Teaching, so difficult to obtain, of the Teacher, the instructor of the whole world.

24.8–32 § 23 For it is as follows. Having, first of all, investigated the existence or non-existence of good intentions (or: dispositions?) in those novices and lay followers who had come here, [then] having truly and firmly known the existence of good intentions, [then] having explained the observances of the training [rules] (*Sekhiya*) and the observances of the *Khandhaka* according to the Pāli text, according to the meaning and according to the intention, due to wishing to perform counsel and instruction in accordance with the *dhamma* and in accordance with the *vinaya*, [then] having made them correctly understand the observance of the training [rules]—'I shall put on [the outer garment] even all around; this is a training to be practiced',[156] and so on, and 'I shall go well covered among the houses (i.e. into a village); [this] is a training to be practiced',[157] and so on—and the observance of the *Khandhaka*, such as:

> If the time is announced in a monastery, [a monk], having worn [the inner garment][158] even all around by covering the three circles,[159]

155 Minayeff here breaks up what seems to me to be a string of causes into two sentences (Sand-k 24.1).

156 *Sekhiya* 2 (Vin IV 185.27, see above, n. 45). Translation from Norman, et al. 2018: 513; see also BD III 121 and Pruitt and Norman 2001: 89.

157 *Sekhiya* 3 (Vin IV 186.7–8, see above, n. 53). Translation from Norman, et al. 2018: 514; see also BD III 121 and Pruitt and Norman 2001: 89.

158 See Norman, et al. 2018: 507, n. 4: 'The verb *nivāseti* is related to the garment called *nivāsana* (inner garment) which again is another term for the lower robe (*antara-vāsaka*).'

159 Cf. *Sekhiya* 1 (Vin IV 185.17). The commentary on this rule thus explains that 'all around' (*parimaṇḍala*) means covering the three circles, i.e. the navel and the knees (Sp IV 889.5f.; the parallel in Kkh 252.13–15 is translated in Norman, et al. 2018: 508).

> having tied the girdle, having made one bundle, having put on the outer robes, having fastened the block,[160] having washed, having taken a bowl, [he] should properly and unhurryingly enter a village. [He] should not go ahead of[161] monks who are elders by overtaking [them]. [He] should go well covered among the houses[162].[163]
>
> Monks, a monk who goes about for alms, [thinking] 'Now I will enter the village', should, having having worn [the inner garment] even all around by covering the three circles, having tied the girdle, having made one bundle, having put on the outer robes, having fastened the block, having washed, having taken a bowl, properly and unhurryingly enter the village. He should go well covered among the houses.[164]

Just as those who are ordained are to make the inner garment and the outer garment 'all around' and 'well covered', [respectively,][165] so too are novices. Thus I taught them the method for the inner garment and the outer garment that is in accordance with the *dhamma*, and in accordance with the *vinaya*.

§ 24 Moreover, should anyone, in this connection, have doubt, [thinking] 'the observance of the training [rules] and the observance of the *Khandhaka* are not to be trained in by novices, because [they] have been prescribed for monks', this passage from the commentary on the Mahāvagga should be recited for the sake of removing that [doubt]: 24.33–25.14

> Moreover, as long as he does not know the precepts in which he himself is to be trained, is not knowledgeable about keeping an outer robe, a bowl, and a robe, about standing and sitting, and so on, and about the rule concerning drink and food, and so on, so long he is not to be sent to the food hall, or the place for distributing tickets, or some other such place. He is, indeed, to be kept near [and] is to be watched over[166] as if a young child. All that is allowable and unallowable is to be made known to him. He is to be instructed in the

160 See Norman, et al. 2018: 515, n. 1.
161 Sand-k 24.21: *purato*; Vin II 213.18 (Cv VIII 4.3): *purato-purato*.
162 See *Sekhiya* 3, quoted above.
163 Vin II 213.13–19 (Cv VIII 4.3), BD V 299.
164 Vin II 215.32–216.1 (Cv VIII 5.2), BD V 302.
165 That is, referring to *Sekhiya* 1 and *Sekhiya* 3.
166 Sand-k 25.7: *pati-*; Sp V 970.32: *paṭi-*.

> rules of proper behavior[167]—with regard to the inner garment, outer garment, and so on. And he, perfecting the rules of proper behavior after having kept far away [from himself] the ten qualities [leading to] expulsion—later declared as follows: 'I authorize [you], monks, to expel a novice endowed with ten qualities'[168]—is to thoroughly train in the tenfold moral practice.[169]

For here [the commentary on the Mahāvagga] shows, by [the term] inner garment, outer garment, and so on', that novices are to thoroughly train in the observances of the training [rules] and the observances of the *Khandhaka*.

25.15–27 § 25 Should anyone have doubt even in this connection, [i.e. concerning] there being a basis for the 'observances of the training [rules] and observances of the *Khandhaka*' due to the term 'rules of proper behavior', this statement [as explained] in the triad of sub-commentaries (*ṭīkās*) [should be recited] for the sake of removing that [doubt]:

> By means of this [statement], 'He is to be instructed in the rules of proper behavior' (Sp v 970.34) he explains that he should perfect the moral practice of the rules of proper behavior, [namely] the training [rules], the duties towards a preceptor, and so on.[170] And, there, on not doing what is to be done and on doing that which is not to be done, one becomes liable to a *daṇḍakamma* procedure[171] (Sp-ṭ III 203.8–10). Thus is the statement [explained] in the *Sāratthadīpanī*.
>
> By means of this [statement], 'He is to be instructed in the rules of proper behavior' (Sp v 970.34), he shows that novices should train in 'the observance of the training [rules] and observance of the *Khandhaka*', as well as in other precepts (*sikkhāpada*) [that are classified as] faults according to common opinion (*lokavajja*),[172] such as the emission of semen (Saṅghādisesa 1). [He who] does not practice

167 Sand-k 25.8 (and throughout): *ābhi-*; Sp v 970.34: *abhi-* (Bp *ābhi-*).

168 Vin i 85.20–21 (Mv i 60); see BD iv 108.

169 Sp v 970.28–971.3, commenting on Vin i 22.21–22 (Mv i 12.4).

170 Although the *Khandhaka* as such is not mentioned, these duties are found in Mv i (see n. 57) and so represent the *Khandhaka* here.

171 Sand-k: *-āraho 'ti*; Sp-ṭ: *-āraho hotīti*.

172 All *Pātimokkha* rules are classified as either faults 'according to common opinion' (*lokavajja*) or as faults only 'according the rules of the Buddha' (*paṇṇattivajja*) (see, e.g., Kieffer-Pülz 2013: ii 1503, discussing Sp iv 861.29–30).

therein, is shameless, and liable to a *daṇḍakamma* procedure[173] (Vmv II 95.21–24). Thus is the statement [explained] in the *Vimativinodanī*.

On account of the statement, 'He is to be instructed in the rules of proper behavior' (Sp V 970.34), he explains that he should perfect the moral practice of the rules of proper behavior, [namely] the training [rules], the duties towards the preceptor, and so on. On not doing [that which should be] practiced and[174] on doing [that which should be] avoided, one[175] becomes liable to a *daṇḍakamma* procedure (Vjb 412.21–23). Thus is the statement [explained] in the *Vajirabuddhiṭīkā*. For this is the statement of the triad of subcommentaries.

§ 26 And should anyone have even such a doubt, 'If the term "rules of proper behavior" is the basis of "the observance of the training [rules] and observance of the *Khandhaka*", [then] a "chest cover"[176] is proper for the sake of properly observing the outer garment in accordance with the [*Pātimokkha*]*sutta*',[177] there is this text of the *Cūlavagga* for the sake of removing that [doubt]: 'Monks, a belt is not to be worn. Whoever wears [it], there is an offense of wrong doing.'[178] With regard to that [very passage], there is this commentary: ' "Belt" [means]: anything worn on the hips, even a mere string [or] thread.'[179] And the place which is to be bound by a 'chest cover' surely includes the hips. For thus it is declared in the commentary on the Pārājika section: 'Beginning from the circumference of the centre of the back and from the "heart-pit",[180] up to the toenail,[181] this is the definition/extension of "hip".'[182] 25.28–26.5

§ 27 [One might claim:] The custom of teachers and preceptors is only lawful, not unlawful[?][183] Therefore [Yasa] says, in the *Saṃgītikhandhaka*: 26.5–19

173 Sand-k: *-āraho 'ti*; Vmv: *-āraho ca hotīti*.
174 Sand-k: *vāritassa ca*; Vjb: omits *ca*.
175 Sand-k: *-āraho 'ti*; Vjb: *-āraho hotīti*.
176 See n. 42.
177 See *Sekhiya* 2 (above, n. 45), 'I shall put on [the outer garment] all around …'
178 As noted by Rhys-Davids (Minayeff 1885: 25, n. 3), this is presumably Cv V 2.1 (see n. 60).
179 Sp VI 1200.18–19 commenting on Vin II 106.33–37 (Cv V 2.1).
180 Sand-k: *piṭṭhi ve majjhāvaṭṭato* (26.3–4); Sp *piṭṭhivemajjhāvaṭṭato*.
181 Sand-k: *nakhasikhā* (26.4–5); Sp *pādanakhasikhā*.
182 Sp II 336.27–29. See 61.
183 This should be understood as a possible objection, but is not clearly marked as such. I take the immediately following *tenāha* to mark the reply. Regarding how objections are introduced in Pāli commentarial literature, see Kieffer-Pülz 2019: 35–36, 36 n. 7.

'Venerable sir! Is it suitable to conduct [oneself in a certain way, thinking] "This is habitually done by my preceptor, this is habitually done by my teacher?" [The elder Revata answers] "Venerable one! Some customary practice is suitable, some is not suitable".'[184] And even in the commentary on that [the commentator] says: ' "Some is suitable", is said with regard to custom being lawful.'[185]

Therefore, a striver—honouring the Conqueror's Teaching like a stone parasol;[186] conducting himself in accordance with the rule, in accordance with the discipline; a speaker of *dhamma*; modest; going on the straight path—should in this [matter] reach the conclusion: 'Even novices, just like those who are ordained, should make the inner garment and the outer garment in the way as is declared in the commentary on the *Pācittiya* [rules], 'Having fastened a block;[187] having covered the throat with the edge of the hem;[188] having drawn back [the robe] making both corners level; having covered [the body] as far as the wrist; [one] is to enter a house.'[189]

26.20–24 § 28 But on our continent, some Yonaka monks in the country of Siyama, called Sāmindadesa, not knowing the true meaning in the texts—the canonical texts, the commentaries, the sub-commentaries, and so on—have a custom of instructing novices in such a way (i.e., binding a chest cover). The Mahārāja purified the Teaching by having [them] give that up due to being contrary to the rule, contrary to the discipline.

26.25–35 § 29 Also on the island of Laṅkā, the shining [light] of the most excellent Teaching, there is a custom for novices to put on [the outer garment] well covered all around, in accordance with the rule, in accordance with the discipline, for elder monk after elder monk among the Mahāvihāravāsins, beginning with the great elder Mahinda, and so on.

And so with regard to the occasion when the novice named Cūḷanāga, a co-resident pupil [of Piyaṅgudīpavāsitissa], was sent to Cūḷagāma to get gruel because of the wind disease of the elder Piyaṅgudīpavāsitissa, the

184 Vin II 301.5–7 (Cv XII 1.10); BD V 417.

185 Sp VI 1299.29–30.

186 See n. 126.

187 See Norman, et al. 2018: 515, n. 1.

188 Sand-k 26.15: *anuvātantena*; Sp IV 890.24: *ubhato anuvātantena*; Kkh 256.2 does not include *ubhato*.

189 Sp IV 890.23–24. Cf. the parallel in the Kkh translated in Norman, et al. 2018: 515.

following is said in the *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa*[190]—in the part [marked by] the letter *ge* in a manuscript written in ten lines—with regard to the arrival of that novice, after having put on [his] robe, at the female lay disciple Cūḷī's home in that village:

> Having put on his outer robe (*saṃghāṭīṃ pārupitvāna*), bowl in hand, attentive, eyes cast down, mindful, [he] stood before Cūḷī. (Sīh XXXI.11)

§ 30 With regard to the occasion when a novice, a co-resident pupil, had been sent to a village to get oil because of the wind disease of an elder who was a resident of the Devagirivihāra on the island of Sīhaḷa, it is said in the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa*[191]—in the part [marked by] the letter *ṅa* in a manuscript written in five lines—with regard to the arrival of that novice, after having put on his robe: 26.35–27.18

> Now, at a later time, the wind disease of one monk in the Devagirivihāra troubled [him] for twelve years. That elder, having summoned[192] a novice of one day (i.e. had been a novice only one day), said [to him]: 'Novice! Having gone for alms, bring oil!' After that, the novice, having put on (*pārupitvā*) [his] robe, having gone through the entire village for alms [but] not having obtained any [oil], went away. Then a minister, having seen the novice, said: 'Venerable sir! What do you seek?' The novice told the minister the reason for this own coming [to the village]. Having heard that, the minister said, 'Well then, Venerable sir, wait here!' Having taken the bowl from [the novice's] hand, having entered inside, having fixed a dagger by the base, he caused oil, worth eight *kahāpana*s,[193] to fill the bowl, [and] gave [it] to the novice (Sah 146.1–8).

Therefore, having an affectionate intention towards the most excellent Teaching, as if to one's own life, honouring the training, wanting to avoid misconduct that is contrary to the rule, contrary to the discipline, one should oneself practice good conduct connected with the rule and the discipline and even admonish [and] instruct others [in the same].

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190 See n. 74.

191 See n. 74.

192 Sand-k 27.6: *pakkositvā*; Sah 146.2: *pakkosāpetvā*.

193 Sand-k 27.13: *-agghanakaṃ telaṃ thālakaṃ*; Sah 146.8: *-agghanikaṃ telathālakaṃ*.

27.19–26 § 31 Some Yonaka monks, inhabitants of the country of Yonaka, which is called Siyamadesa, who, knowing neither the Blessed one's collection of scriptures nor [his] intention, due to having run together (i.e. confused) one text with another text—the canonical text with the commentary, the commentary with the sub-commentary—have also another custom of clothing: when entering a village, and so on, having first made one robe [cover only] one shoulder, after that [make] either one or two [additional] robes cover both [shoulders].[194] The great king purified the Teaching by having [them] give up even that [custom], due to being contrary to the rule, contrary to the discipline.

27.27–28.19 § 32 In *this* way the furthering of [both] the *dhamma* and material gain for the Sinhalese monks who had come here to us, and the sending of [this] letter, connected with the *dhamma*, to you, should be properly considered [to be] 'for the sake of the prosperity and splendour of the most excellent Teaching that is exceedingly difficult to obtain, even in a billion eons'. For we should hope for the prosperity and splendour of the most excellent Teaching everywhere, especially on the most excellent island of Tambapaṇṇi. For that [island of Tambapaṇṇi]—arisen as if full of noble people—was previously a place [characterized by] the prosperity and splendour of the most excellent Teaching, the ford for entering the deathless, the great *nibbāna*.

Therefore, [thinking:]—

Thirty-two *yojana*s long, eighteen wide,
they call the most excellent island of Laṅkā, 'Tambapaṇṇi'.
Every day should we, with pure mind,
honour the Mahāmeghavana [monastery],
which is inhabited by the noble,
the tree of the great enlightenment, the Sirīpada,[195]
the Soṇṇamāli *cetiya*,[196] the Kalyāṇi *thūpa* monastery,[197]
and the 'sixteen [sacred] places'[198] there.

194 See p. 28.
195 That is, Adam's Peak.
196 That is, the Mahā Thūpa (see DPPN II, s.v., Mahā Thūpa).
197 See DPPN I, s.v., Kalyāṇi-cetiya and Kalyāṇi-(Kalyāṇika)-vihāra.
198 That is, the sixteen places in Sri Lanka said to have been visited by the Buddha.

—the great elder named Ñāṇābhivaṃsa Dhammasenāpati, the great commentator, resident of many great gilded[199] monasteries, the Asokārāma, the Ratanabhummikitti, and so on, who is worthy of being both preceptor and teacher and is the head of a great group [of monks], [and] who is highly prized by the great king named Siripavaravijayānantayasatribhavādityādhipatipaṇḍitamahādhammarājadhirāja[200]—in the great city named Amarapura, which is like [the heavenly] Amaranagara, on the great Jambudīpa [continent], which is the place of the enlightenment of the Buddha and his disciples—who is the ruler of many countries and the master of kings in various vassal polities,[201] the lord of many white elephants, which are similar to the white water-lily, jasmine, and the autumn moonlight, sent [this] *Sandesakathā*, having to do with the Conqueror's Teaching, to the great elder named Dhammakkhandha—in the city of Saṃkanta, called Sirivaḍḍhana (i.e. Kandy),[202] on the island of Sīhaḷa, the most excellent of islands—who is highly prized by the Mahādhammarāja, who has become the royal turban and diadem for many neighbouring [countries]; and to the elder Dhammarakkhita, a resident of the Rohaṇa district; and to monks other than those,[203] who are devoted to the Conqueror's Teaching, by giving it into the hands of the seven monks that had come from the Sīhaḷā island.

§ 33 Moreover, this *Sandesakathā* was leisurely finished on the twelfth [day] in the bright half of the month of Vesākha, a Thursday, when the year 2345 of the Conqueror's Teaching, since the *parinibbāna* of the Perfectly Awakened One, [the year] 1723 using the Dvidvirasa (i.e., *Śaka*) [reckoning], and [the year] 1163 *sirisakarāja* had been reached, at the time of the first watch of the day.[204] [It] was sent at the time of four *nāḷi*s[205] of the day on Sunday, the full moon day of that very month of Vesākha.[206] 28.20–26

199 See n. 100.

200 See n. 102.

201 See MW, s.v., *maṇḍala*, where among other meanings one finds 'province'. In the present context 'vassal polity' seems more precise. For this meaning, not well documented in dictionaries, see NWS s.v. (*mahā*)*maṇḍaleśvara*.

202 Sand-k 28.14: *saṃkantanagare Sirivaḍḍhanavhaye*. Cf. *Sirivaḍḍhanābhidhāne Saṃkantapure* (Sand-k 18.27) and nn. 95.

203 Sand-k 28.17: *tad aññesañ ca*, but read *tadaññesañ ca*.

204 ≈ Thursday 23 April 1881. See the discussion in section 5.2.

205 MW, s.v., *nāḍī*, identifies this as half a *muhūrta*, which is in turn explained as one thirtieth of a day, i.e. 48 minutes. Four *nāḍī* should thus correspond to two *muhūrta*s, i.e. 96 minutes.

206 ≈ Sunday 26 April 1881. See the discussion in section 5.2.

28.27–37 § 34 We give the *Abhidhammatthasaṃgaha*, composed by the elder Anuruddha on the island of Laṅkā; the sub-commentary named *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī*, composed by the elder Sumaṅgalasāmin in that very [same place, i.e. on the island of Laṅkā], and the sub-commentary named *Saṃkhepavaṇṇana*, composed by the elder Chapada in Arimaddanāpura, on [the continent of] Jambudīpa (i.e. Burma);[207] for the sake of an offering of *dhamma* by us to the community of Sīhaḷa monks.[208] You should have this triad of treatises, being the root of the Teaching, thoroughly read, [and] preserve [it]. When an envoy fit for a king is sent, the great king gives us every kind of text [in the] categories of *vinaya*, *abhidhamma*, and *suttanta*. We, too make the resolution: 'This statement having to do with the Teaching is to be continually kept in mind with the desire to benefit the Teaching.'

Abbreviations

BD	See Horner 1938–1966
B^{e}	Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Tipiṭaka Edition, see also CSCD.
BudSir	Buddhist Scriptures information retrieval (Bangkok, Thailand: Mahidol University Computing Center [1994]).
CPD	See Trenckner, et al. 1924–2011
CSCD	Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana CD-Rom, Version 4.0 (Igatpuri; Vipassana Research Institute). Accessed as e-text through tipitaka.org.
Cv	Cullavagga (= Vin II)
DoP	See Cone 2015–2021
DPPN	See Malalasekera 1974
J	*Jātaka*
Kkh	See Norman and Pruitt 2003
Kkh-nṭ	*Kaṅkhavitaraṇī-abhinavaṭīkā* of Buddhanāga (Yangon: Buddhasāsanasamiti, 1962). See CSCD
PTSD	See Rhys-Davids and Stede 2004
Minayeff	See Minayeff 1885b

207 Regarding these texts, see von Hinüber 1996: 161–162; §§ 344–346; 162, n. 559; see also 204; § 204.

208 Minayeff breaks this sentence up into three separate sentences (Sand-k 28.27–32).

Mv	Mahāvagga (= Vin 1)
MW	See Monier-Williams 2005
NWS	Nachtragswörterbuch des Sanskrit. Ein kumulatives Nachtragswörterbuch zu den Petersburger Wörterbüchern (pw) von Otto Böhtlingk und den Nachträgen von Richard Schmidt https://nws.uzi.uni-halle.de/
Sah	*Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* (e-text of Ver Eecke-Filliozat and Filliozat 2003)
Sās	*Sāsanavaṃsa*. See Bode 1897
Sand-k	*Sandesakathā*. See Minayeff 1885b; see also n. 18.
S^{e}	Siamese edition, see BudSir
Sih	*Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa*. See Ver Eecke 1980
Sp	*Samantapāsādikā*. See Takakusu and Nagai 1924–1947
Sp-ṭ	*Sāratthadīpaṇī* of Sāriputta, 3 vols (Yangoon: Buddhasāsanasamiti, 1960). See CSCD
Vin	*Vinaya piṭaka*. See Oldenberg 1879–1883
Vism-mhṭ	*Visuddhimagga-mahāṭīkā* of Dammapāla (Yangoon: Buddhasāsanasamiti, 1960). See CSCD
Vjb	*Vajirabuddhiṭīkā* (Yangoon: Buddhasāsanasamiti, 1960). See CSCD
Vmv	*Vimativinodanīṭīkā* of Coḷiya Kassapa, 2 vols (Yangon: Buddhasāsanasamiti, 1960). See CSCD

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Qualities of Distinction
A New Perspective on the *dhutaṅga*s in the Pāli Canon

Oliver Freiberger

This essay explores the so-called *dhutaṅga*s (or *dhutaguṇa*s), which are commonly understood as a group of optional ascetic practices for Buddhist monastics.[1] Richard Gombrich expresses a widely accepted scholarly consensus when he says that for monks 'of ascetic temperament' 'the *dhutaṅga* represent a limit to what the Theravādin tradition will sanction by way of mortifying the flesh'.[2] In this study I will argue that the *dhutaṅga*s, as they appear in the Pāli canonical texts, are more of a conundrum than scholarship normally assumes. Their individual meanings, their appearance in lists of various lengths, the unevenness and inconsistency of those lists, their relation to monastic law, and the contradictory statements about their value present challenges that are partly incompatible with the conventional understanding. I will address these challenges and propose a new interpretation that also invites the reader to reconsider parts of our notion of monastic life in early Buddhism.

This essay focuses on the Pāli canon, but the history of the *dhutaṅga*s has continued up to the present day. The list of thirteen practices that appears in the canonical texts became the standard in the Theravāda tradition and was commented on extensively. We find this list in post-canonical

1 I wish to thank Juan Wu, who invited me to present the initial version of this essay at Tsinghua University, Beijing, and Petra Kieffer-Pülz, Nicholas Witkowski, Amy Langenberg, Rupert Gethin, and the members of the Classical India Colloquium at The University of Texas at Austin, who read revised versions and provided most valuable suggestions. Thanks also to the two anonymous reviewers for their important comments and suggestions.

2 Gombrich 1988: 94–95. For a very similar, more recent description, see Strong 2015: 212–215. Gregory Schopen signals some caution when he points out that 'while this list of ascetic practices is well known, their role and place in the history of Indian Buddhism is not, and in fact we know very little for certain about them' (Schopen 2006: 327).

texts such as the second-century *Milindapañha*,[3] the *Vimuttimagga*,[4] and, most influentially, in Buddhaghosa's fifth-century *Visuddhimagga*,[5] where it occupies a prominent place as the final third of its first chapter on virtue (*sīla*). These post-canonical texts rearrange and systematise the list according to topic (clothing, food, dwelling place, and exertion). The *Visuddhimagga* explains each practice in great detail, including various grades of intensity (strict, medium, and mild) as well as the benefits one gains from it.[6] Modern Theravāda forest-monk traditions who practice the *dhutaṅgas* largely follow the *Visuddhimagga*.[7] Moreover, the practices were important in other Buddhist schools and in early Mahāyāna Buddhism as well. They appear, e.g., in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*,[8] the *Aṣṭasāhasrikaprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikaprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, the Chinese *Dvādaśadhutasūtra*, and then also in the *Dharmasaṃgraha* and the *Mahāvyutpatti*.[9]

While several scholars have studied the *dhutaṅga*s in a variety of ways,[10] none of these studies focuses exclusively on the Pāli canon. To explain statements in the canon, scholars frequently use later interpretations, which often results, as we shall see, in selective and sometimes anachronistic readings. By contrast, my focus in this study will be primarily on the Pāli canonical texts, which, as I hope to demonstrate, provide rich material for consideration. These texts were likely finalised in the first few centuries BCE, while some content may go back to the lifetime of the Buddha in the fifth century BCE. During their centuries-long oral transmission they were not only translated into Pāli but undoubtedly also subject to dynamic modification and expansion, making the existing canon 'the result of a lengthy and complicated development' (von Hinüber 1996: 5).

3 Mil 348–362, esp. 359.

4 Chapter 3. The *Vimuttimagga*, possibly composed by one Upatissa in the first or second century CE in South India, is not extant in Pāli but in its Chinese translation (translated into English in Ehara et al. 1961); the Tibetan translation of the *dhutaguṇa* chapter has been edited and translated too (Bapat 1964). Recently, both Chinese and Tibetan versions were freshly translated into English by Bhikkhu Nyanatusita (2021).

5 Vism 59–83.

6 Ray writes that Buddhaghosa's mild and medium variants 'represent a substantial softening and monasticizing of the ideal' (Ray 1994: 305).

7 See Carrithers 1983 and Tambiah 1984.

8 On *dhutaṅga*s/*dhutaguṇa*s in this Vinaya, see now the extensive study by Susan Roach (Roach 2020).

9 For a broader discussion of Mahāyāna interpretations, see Dantinne 1991: 39–47.

10 See, e.g., Bapat 1937; Dantinne 1991; Ray 1994: 293–323; Witkowski 2017; 2019; Roach 2020.

While some collections in the existing canon are clearly younger than others, for many texts it is practically impossible to determine when they were composed or finalised into the form we have today. It is reasonable to assume that many learned monastics were involved in shaping the texts over multiple generations. When we encounter tensions, controversies, or even contradictions in the Buddha's statements, rather than assuming that the Buddha often changed his mind or interpreting them away with the notion of the Buddha's skill-in-means, historically that diversity is more plausibly explained by assuming the works of many contributors who had different opinions about the correct interpretation of the Buddha's teachings. These opinions seeped into the literary presentation of the texts, affecting not only direct statements but also the setup of narratives and much more. Since the exact nature and extent of this work is largely untraceable, I will generically speak of 'the authors' to refer to those monastic editors of the oral texts, while acknowledging that several generations may have been involved in creating the respective text, including the historical Buddha himself. But the Buddha we encounter in the existing texts is, at the very least, *also* a literary figure, and it is reasonable to assume that the authors were able to put words in his mouth—or had, at least, some agency in how these words were phrased—to validate their interpretation of the Buddhist teachings.[11]

I preface the essay with these remarks because we will encounter broadly diverging opinions about the *dhutaṅga* practices, all of which are validated in the texts by the Buddha himself. To account for these obvious tensions, acknowledging the authors' interventions and studying their rhetorical labor seems essential. The study will also reveal that the practices themselves, as they appear in the canonical texts, are remarkably diverse in

11 In recent years, several scholars have proposed theories for understanding the oral transmission of early Buddhist texts (McGovern 2019; Allon 2021; Shulman 2021; Anālayo 2022; Gethin 2025). In this debate, one important focus lies on explaining the variants in parallels texts of multiple school traditions, but the scholars rarely address the question of how to explain content-related tensions that manifest in broader divergent tendencies over multiple collections within the canon, as we find them with the *dhutaṅga*s or also with other topics (see, e.g., institutional and individualist tendencies regarding the very notion of the *saṅgha*; see Freiberger 2000a: 232–242). My general assumption is that many different authors with divergent, at times contradictory, opinions or agendas have contributed to the creation of the texts that we have today. Future research may be able to identify broader 'schools of thought', such as 'institutionalists' and 'individualists', in the early Buddhist community whose views differed on a variety of topics (structurally similar to 'conservatives' and 'progressives' in modern politics).

multiple respects; that more than the standardised number of thirteen exist and that some of them are not 'practices' in the usual sense; that the scholarly qualifier 'ascetic' may be misleading; and that their form and function in the Pāli canon requires an entirely new perspective that differs from both later Theravāda interpretations and the assumptions made by modern scholarship.

To start off, let us take a fresh look at a familiar story.

Devadatta's ascetic manoeuvre

After failing to kill the Buddha by bribing mahouts to let a fierce elephant attack him and after being rebuked by the Buddha for eating in a group, Devadatta, the Buddha's evil adversary in the monastic community (*saṅgha*), conspires with his companions to split the *saṅgha*. This is their plan: Referring to the Buddha's general call for being content with little, they would ask him to establish the following rules for monks:

> It would be good, Lord, if the monks were lifelong wilderness-dwellers (*āraññaka*)—whoever should approach the neighbourhood of a village, fault would afflict him;[12] if they were lifelong alms-gatherers (*piṇḍapātika*)—whoever should accept an invitation, fault would afflict him; if they were lifelong rag-robe wearers (*paṃsukūlika*)—whoever should accept a robe offered by a lay follower, fault would afflict him; if they were lifelong tree-root dwellers (*rukkhamūlika*)—whoever enters a roofed place, fault would afflict him; if they did not eat fish and meat (*macchamaṃsaṃ na khādeyyum*)—whoever eats fish and meat, fault would afflict him.[13]

Expecting that the Buddha will reject these demands, Devadatta envisions winning people over, and his companions agree that this will likely split the *saṅgha*, for people trusted austerity (*lūkhappasanna*). When Devadatta follows through and confronts the Buddha with his demands, the latter has a nuanced response:

> Whoever wishes, may be a wilderness-dweller; whoever wishes, may live in the neighbourhood of a village. Whoever wishes, may be an alms-gatherer;

12 I. B. Horner translates, more elegantly, 'sin would besmirch him' (BD v 276). By rendering *vajja* as 'fault', I try to avoid the Christian terminology of sin. Compared to other legal terms for offenses (e.g., *āpatti* or *dukkaṭa*), *vajja* seems less formalised, as it can refer to offenses of varying severity. See Kieffer-Pülz 2013: 1, 322–323, n. 1.

13 Vin II 197.4–12.

> whoever wishes, may accept an invitation. Whoever wishes, may be a rag-robe-wearer; whoever wishes, may accept a robe offered by a lay follower. I permit dwelling at the root of a tree for eight months, Devadatta. Fish and meat are pure with regard to three points: if they are not seen, heard, or suspected (to have been prepared especially for feeding this monk).[14]

Devadatta joyfully interprets the Buddha's ruling as a rejection of his proposal, and upon learning about this, some people in Rājagaha side with him and call the Buddha a person who strives for abundance (*bāhulla*), while others criticise Devadatta for trying to split the *saṅgha*. The Buddha urges Devadatta not to pursue a schism, but the latter walks off with five hundred monks. The senior monks Sāriputta and Moggallāna follow the schismatics, and when Devadatta is momentarily inattentive, they convince those monks to return. When Devadatta realises his loss, he vomits hot blood.[15]

I am relating this well-known episode from the *Cullavagga* section of the Pāli *Vinaya Piṭaka* in some detail because it provides a useful entry-point for the discussion about the so-called *dhutaṅga* practices and about asceticism in early Pāli Buddhism more generally. As we shall see, the first four of the five mentioned practices appear in other, and much longer, lists as well, and sometimes these are collectively called *dhutaṅga*s or *dhutaguṇa*s. I will return to this designation later.

The story helps us to reflect upon some aspects of the *dhutaṅga*s. First, the primary reason for why Devadatta feels he has succeeded is that the Buddha refuses to declare them lifelong, mandatory practices for all monks. One dimension of the discussion, therefore, concerns the Vinaya, or monastic law. The Buddha's response makes the first three (wilderness-dwelling, alms-begging, rag-robe-wearing) optional and the fourth (tree-root dwelling) mostly optional—excluding only the rainy season by restricting it to eight months in a year. (I will address the fifth practice, vegetarianism, in a moment.) The story also mentions the respective alternative

14 Vin II 197.22–27. The final sentence has a verbatim parallel in Vin I 238.5–9, where the Buddha explains that it is prohibited for a monk to knowingly consume meat that was prepared (*kata*)—Horner translates 'killed'—especially for that monk. Only in this case can he reject it. See Kieffer-Pülz (2013: 1, 861–873) for further considerations of various related aspects in the Pāli legal tradition and Schmithausen (2020: 32–45) for an analysis of the parallels in other schools and a discussion about the relation of this rule to Buddhist ethics.

15 The here-summarised section of the episode is in Vin II 194–200. For a detailed discussion and the parallels in other Mainstream schools, see Mukherjee 1966: 87–86. See also Borgland 2018.

options for Buddhist monks: living in the proximity of a village, accepting invitations for meals, accepting robes gifted by lay followers, and living under a roof. Clearly, the *dhutaṅga*s represent a stricter, more ascetic lifestyle, and this story seems to suggest that making them optional is as far as the Buddha would go, when pressed.

Second, the general 'feel' for the *dhutaṅga*s one gets from this story is negative. First and foremost, they are associated with the evil monk Devadatta, a man who had just tried to murder the Buddha. Then, the Buddha almost appears cornered by Devadatta and pressed to accommodate his request, which he does by tolerating the *dhutaṅga*s as optional practices. (He does not particularly recommend or promote them.) Subsequently, the dispute about the *dhutaṅga*s even results in the first schism in the *saṅgha*. Since, as we shall see, the *dhutaṅga*s have none of these negative associations in some other canonical passages, we may be encouraged to look at the story again from a slightly different angle by exploring its composition a bit more and by speculating about the intentions of its authors.

In addition to the above-mentioned points about the *dhutaṅga*s, there are indications that the authors question the value of asceticism more generally. Throughout the story, Devadatta's primary goal is to split the *saṅgha* (*saṅghabheda*), and he uses the *dhutaṅga*s as a means to this end. Note that the issue is less about the actual practices—the Buddha permits them to a large degree—than about making them mandatory for all monks, which the Buddha refuses to do. Consequently, Devadatta is not angry or disappointed but joyful and elated (*haṭṭha udagga*) about the ruling. As the story tells us early on, it was his plan all along that the Buddha reject his demands, so that he can split the *saṅgha* to go off and lead his own community. He and his companions make the political calculation that if they can portray the Buddha as a teacher who rejects stricter asceticism, they would gain the support of followers, since 'people trust austerity' (*lūkhappasannā manussā*). Here ascetics appear as manipulative, and (blind) trust in them appears as misguided and naïve.[16] Later in the episode this plan comes to fruition: Some people in Rājagaha, who clearly value a strict life

16 PED glosses the term *lūkha* as 'coarse, rough, wretched' and *lūkhappasannā* as 'believing in shabbiness or mediocrity, having (bodily) wretchedness as one's faith'. In a different passage, *lūkhappasannā* and *lūkhappamāṇa*, likely here: 'having confidence in, and judging by, the shabbiness (= austerity) (of a teacher)', are grouped with having confidence in appearance (*rūpa*) and reputation (*ghosa*) and then juxtaposed to having confidence in the teachings (*dhamma*) of a teacher, which is presented as the correct attitude (AN II 71.10–23). Interestingly, as we will see below, in other passages wear-

for ascetics, respond negatively to the Buddha's ruling and accuse him of striving for abundance. The authors do not fail to point out that those people are actually 'without faith, without trust, and ignorant' (*assaddhā appasannā dubbuddhino*). And is it mere coincidence that Devadatta, right before he starts plotting his *dhutaṅga* scheme, violates a monastic rule by having a group meal with his friends among householders (and is rebuked by the Buddha for it)[17]—a practice that appears less ascetic and in stark contrast to the *piṇḍapātika* practice ('alms-gathering', i.e., begging for alms individually) that he later urges the Buddha to make mandatory for all monks?[18] Do the authors want to insinuate that Devadatta did not even practice the *dhutaṅga*s himself?

All this seems to indicate that the authors of this episode were critics of the *dhutaṅga*s and stricter ascetic life more generally. I suggested elsewhere that the story might reflect a tension between proponents and critics of asceticism within the *saṅgha*.[19] If this interpretation is correct, its authors or final redactors belonged in the camp of the critics who tried to defend a more moderate lifestyle. Employing the discussed narrative rhetoric, they were able to make the *dhutaṅga*s seem unappealing, but they could not outright prohibit them, possibly because, as we shall see, the practices were, in fact, quite popular among Buddhist monastics.

Before we move on from this story, let me add a note about the fifth practice mentioned by Devadatta, the refusal to eat fish and meat. In his response, the Buddha cites, verbatim, the rule about vegetarianism given elsewhere in the Vinaya.[20] In short, Buddhist monastics must not reject offered food, even fish and meat, unless the respective animal was prepared especially for the purpose of this offering. Thus, the Buddha rejects veget-

ing a coarse robe (*lūkhacīvaradhara*) is listed along with other *dhutaṅga*s as an admired practice.

17 The Buddha refers to the Vinaya rule Pācittiya 32 (Vin IV 74.24–27), where this conduct (*gaṇabhojana*) is an offense requiring expiation. For later legal discussions about this issue see Kieffer-Pülz 2013: II, 1367–1374.

18 Centuries later, in his *Visuddhimagga*, Buddhaghosa will make that general connection between the *dhutaṅga* practice and the Vinaya rule. He lists as one of the *piṇḍapātika* practice's benefits (*ānisaṃsa*) the fact that it prevents the person from violating this exact Vinaya rule about the group-meal (*gaṇabhojana*), among other rules (Vism 67.11–12). But the fact that Devadatta himself violated this rule in the story has not been given much attention; even Mukherjee's detailed discussion omits this part entirely (Mukherjee 1966: 74).

19 Freiberger 2006: 243–244.

20 See note 14 above.

arianism as a sustained practice and provides no other option here. This fifth practice is different also in its wording. While all others are compound terms ending in *-ka*, this one is spelled out with a finite verb: '(it were good) if they didn't eat fish and meat' (*macchamaṃsaṃ na khādeyyum*). This is the only passage I am aware of where this practice is grouped together with *dhutaṅga*s—it never shows up in any other *dhutaṅga* list, including the longest list of thirteen (see below). Its appearance is curious, and we can speculate, along the lines of the above discussion, about potential rhetorical reasons for including it. Since vegetarianism is a well-established practice for Jain ascetics, the authors may have wanted to make Devadatta's demands appear not only extreme but even un-Buddhistic. In any case, we will encounter this practice again in a different context.[21]

How do the *dhutaṅga*s appear in the Pāli canonical texts?

Before I discuss, in the next section, what the names of the individual *dhutaṅga*s might mean and how they are practised, I wish to provide a short survey of their appearances in the canonical texts. Considering that in Buddhist doctrinal history, lists tend to expand over time, one might be tempted to assume that the Devadatta episode with its four *dhutaṅga*s in the *Cullavagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* is an early account, and that more practices will be added in longer lists at later stages. While this assumption is generally plausible, we shall see that different, and also longer, lists appear in texts that are regarded as older, or at least not younger, than the *Cullavagga*, for example in the *Suttanipāta*, the *Udāna*, and the four major Nikāyas. A section of the Devadatta narrative also constitutes the introductory story of the Pātimokkha rule Saṅghādisesa 10 in the Vinaya, which regulates how to handle a monk who pursues a schism in the *saṅgha*.[22]

21 It should be noted here that, as Max Deeg has shown, the Chinese pilgrim Faxian reported the existence of a *saṅgha* of Devadatta in the early fifth century CE, and other sources confirm this too (Deeg 1999). In this rich and fascinating study, Deeg convincingly argues that this group, whose teachings were largely identical with those of Buddhist communities, did not actually go back to Devadatta's time but likely emerged only in the Kuṣāna period and was later folded back into the Buddhist *saṅgha*. The members of this group worshipped earlier Buddhas, but not Śākyamuni, and their ascetic practice corresponded to the practices of Devadatta as they are described in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya. These are, however, completely different from the above-mentioned practices appearing in the Pāli Vinaya and do not include any *dhutaṅga*s from the common lists. They do include the refusal to eat meat (Skt *māṃsa*) though. See also Borgland 2018.

22 Vin III 171–173. It has long been demonstrated that introductory stories in the *Suttavibhaṅga*, which describe the occasion for establishing a Pātimokkha rule, do not always

Four *dhutaṅga*s appear in the introductory story of the first Pārājika rule.[23] Here Sudinna, who has just received the lower and higher ordinations into Buddhist monkhood, takes on the following practices: living as a wilderness-dweller (*āraññaka*), an alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*), a rag-robe wearer (*paṃsukūlika*), and a without-interruption beggar (*sapadānacārika*). Several relevant points can be noted in this passage: First, the fourth practice differs from the one in the Devadatta episode, where it is tree-root dwelling;[24] second, the practices get explicitly labeled as *dhūtaguṇas*; and third, unlike in Devadatta's story, they seem entirely unproblematic.[25] Another list of four, in the (perhaps older) *Udāna*, includes the identical first three and three-robe wearer (*tecīvarika*) as the fourth.[26]

A longer list of nine *dhutaṅga*s is mentioned in the *Sappurisa-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, including the four of the Devadatta story—if in a different sequence—but not the respective fourth in the just-mentioned passages:

1. Wilderness-dweller (*āraññaka*)
2. Rag-robe wearer (*paṃsukūlika*)
3. Alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*)
4. Tree-root dweller (*rukkhamūlika*)
5. Charnel-ground dweller (*sosānika*)
6. Open-air dweller (*abbhokāsika*)
7. Continual sitter (*nesajjika*)

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match the rule, and it is generally assumed that those stories were added at a later stage, roughly contemporaneous to the drafting of the *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga*. While here, the story of Devadatta's plot for a schism does match the content of the rule, the (old) Pātimokkha rule itself does not contain any reference to that story, let alone to the *dhutaṅgas*. See for the layers already Schlingloff 1963; for a brief survey of the Pāli Vinaya's general development see von Hinüber 1996: 13–21.

23 Vin III 15.2–5.

24 The reason may be that Sudinna lives dependent on a certain village, as the text goes on to mention. It makes more sense that he would 'beg uninterruptedly' rather than 'live at the root of a tree', distant from villages, which is Devadatta's fourth practice.

25 The same list is found in MN I 30.20–22 (plus the different practices of *pantasenāsana* and *lūkhacīvaradhara*; see below).

26 Ud 42.31–33; MN I 214.1–17; identical in SN II 202.16–22. All these passages add five additional qualities: 'desiring little' (*appiccha*), 'being content' (*santuṭṭha*), 'being secluded' (*pavivitta*), 'not being in association (with other people)' (*asaṃsaṭṭha*), and 'being energetic' (*āraddhaviriya*). The list of four also appears in Vin I 253.5–6; Vin II 299.5–6; SN II 187.9–12. Only the first three of the list in Vin III 230.32–33; AN III 391.9–10. Another list of three in AN III 108–110: rag-robe wearer (*paṃsukūlika*), alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapāta*), and tree-root dweller (*rukkhamūlika*).

8. Any-rug user (*yathāsanthatika*)
9. One-time eater (*ekāsanika*).[27]

Another one of the four major Nikāyas, the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, lists ten, omitting alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*)[28] and adding two more at the end, the later-food refuser (*khalupacchābhattika*) and the bowl-food eater (*pattapiṇḍika*).[29] The *Parivāra*, the appendix and latest section of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, gives a list of thirteen practices, again in a slightly different sequence:

1. Wilderness-dweller (*āraññaka*)
2. Alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*)
3. Rag-robe wearer (*paṃsukūlika*)
4. Tree-root dweller (*rukkhamūlika*)
5. Charnel-ground dweller (*sosānika*)
6. Open-air dweller (*abbhokāsika*)
7. Three-robe wearer (*tecīvarika*)
8. Without-interruption beggar (*sapadānacārika*)
9. Continual sitter (*nesajjika*)
10. Any-rug user (*yathāsanthatika*)
11. One-time eater (*ekāsanika*)
12. Later-food refuser (*khalupacchābhattika*)
13. Bowl-food eater (*pattapiṇḍika*)[30]

On numerous occasions in the Pāli canonical texts, one or two of these are mentioned outside of longer lists.[31] Interestingly, none of the listed passages seem to associate *dhutaṅga*s with nuns. The *Therīgāthā* do mention

27 MN III 40–42. Another passage in the *Majjhima-nikāya* has six *dhutaṅga*s—the first four plus 'open-air dweller' (*abbhokāsika*) and 'without-interruption beggar' (*sapadānacārika*, see below)—and also some other practices that are not part of the regular lists (MN II 6.31–9.8). I will discuss this passage below. A verse in the Theragāthā has five: the first three of the list plus charnel-ground dweller (*sosānika*) and continual sitter (*nesajjika*) (Th 1120).

28 The editor notes that three of his manuscripts 'erroneously insert' *piṇḍapātika* between *paṃsukūlika* and *rukkhamūlika*—at the same location as in the list above.

29 AN III 219.4–221.10. A passage in the *Niddesa*, the canonical *Suttanipāta* commentary, lists eight practices in yet another combination under the name *dhutaṅga*: *āraññaka*, *piṇḍapātika*, *paṃsukūlika*, *tecīvarika*, *sapadānacārika*, *khalupacchābhattika*, *nesajjika*, and *yathāsanthatika* (Nidd I 66.21–24; same in Nidd I 147.19–22; 231.4–7; 238.33–35; 263.19–22; 349.28–31; 476.3–6).

30 Vin V 131.9–19; also in Vin V 193.17–21. The same list, but in a different order, in Th 842–865. Here, a few other items are added that do not otherwise appear as *dhutaṅga*s (as in Ud 42, see note 26).

31 Vin II 32.17–18: wilderness-dweller (*āraññaka*) and alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*) (the same in Th 1146–1147); MN I 281–282: tree-root dweller (*rukkhamūlika*) and open-air dweller (*abbhokāsika*). Sn 11.4: without-interruption beggar (*sapadānacārin*); Ud 30.15: alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*); AN III 187: rag-robe wearer (*paṃsukūlika*); Th 904: continual sitter (*nesajjika*); Th 1148–1149: tree-root dweller (*rukkhamūlika*).

at least two related practices: meditating at the root of a tree (*rukkhamūla*) and wearing rag robes (*paṃsukūla*),[32] but it is not clear whether, or how, they are related to the monks' *dhutaṅga*s.[33]

How are *dhutaṅga*s practised?

Even though the *dhutaṅga*s are mentioned in many canonical texts, individually or in lists, rarely do we encounter an explanation of how exactly they are practised and how this practice differs from that of a non-*dhutaṅga* Buddhist monk. The Devadatta episode provides a slightly clearer profile of the four mentioned *dhutaṅga*s, as these are contrasted with the respective alternative practices (see above). Some other *dhutaṅga*s are fairly self-explanatory, while yet others are less obvious. For the more obscure ones, I will consult the meaning suggested in the *Vimuttimagga*, with the caveat that this interpretation is from a later period (probably first or second century CE).[34] On this basis, let me briefly describe what each practice seems to entail.

1. A wilderness-dweller (*āraññaka*) lives in 'the wild' (*arañña*), i.e., in spaces that are outside the culturally defined sphere,[35] rather than in the neighbourhood of a village.

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32 *Rukkhamūla*: Thī 24; 75; 230; 362 (four individual nuns); *paṃsukūla*: Thī 329; 349 (two individual nuns).

33 Note that meditating at the root of a tree does not imply that one lives there permanently, as the *dhutaṅga* practice seems to suggest. Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* (fifth century CE) will declare that two of the thirteen *dhutaṅga*s are prohibited for nuns because of Vinaya rules (*sikkhāpada*): wilderness-dweller (*āraññaka*) and later-food refuser (*khalupacchābhattika*), and three are hard to observe: open-air dweller (*abbhokāsika*), tree-root dweller (*rukkhamūlika*), and charnel-ground dweller (*sosānika*), because a nun is not supposed to live alone, and if she would find a companion, it would defeat the purpose. Thus, according to Buddhaghosa, only eight of the thirteen *dhutaṅga*s are available to nuns (Vism 82.28–83.7). This question needs further investigation.

34 Ehara et al. 1961; Bapat 1964. Some interpreters also use the even further removed *Visuddhimagga* (fifth century) or other later texts to provide explanations, e.g., Dantinne 1991.

35 *Āraññaka* is often translated as 'forest-dweller', which is technically possible, but rather than positively identifying the forest as an actual location, *arañña* more likely refers to a space distant from the 'worldly' space of regular people, i.e., the village. Similar to the early Brāhmaṇical discourse, where *araṇya* is the space for the wandering ascetic and mendicant, while *vana* ('forest') is a—still culturally defined—space for retirees (*vanaprastha*) (see Olivelle 2006), Buddhist monastic law defines *arañña* essentially as any space outside the village (for nuns) or outside the vicinity (a stone-throw away) of the village (for monks). The old commentary says: 'Setting aside the village and the vicinity of the village, what remains is the *arañña*' (*ṭhapetvā gāmañ ca gāmupacārañ ca avasesaṃ araññaṃ nāma*) (Vin III 46.30–31). When a nun stays behind a group alone (*ekā gaṇambhā ohiyyeyyā*) in the *arañña*, which is not the village (*agāmaka arañña*), she

2. An alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*) relies only on food gathered with his begging bowl. He does not accept invitations to eat at a lay person's house.
3. A rag-robe wearer (*paṃsukūlika*) makes his monastic robe out of discarded cloth. He does not accept a robe offered by a householder.[36]
4. A tree-root dweller (*rukkhamūlika*), rather than staying under a roof, uses only the branches of a tree for cover.
5. A charnel-ground dweller (*sosānika*) lives on cremation grounds (*susāna*; Skt *śmaśāna*) amidst human remains and bones.[37]
6. An open-air dweller (*abbhokāsika*) has entirely abandoned dwelling in a covered place, including under trees.
7. A three-robe wearer (*tecīvarika*) refuses to use more than the three monastic robes.
8. A without-interruption beggar (*sapadānacārika*) does not skip houses during his alms-round.
9. A continual sitter (*nesajjika*) never lies down and even sleeps in a sitting position.
10. An any-rug user (*yathāsanthatika*) uses, literally, any rug (*santhata*) to sit on. The *Vimuttimagga* takes this metaphorically and explains that the monk is not attached to a place and rather lives in a place 'as found'.[38]
11. A one-time eater (*ekāsanika*) eats in only one sitting per day.[39]

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commits an offence (Vin IV 230.18–20). See for a discussion of the legal implications of this rule Kieffer-Pülz 2013: II, 1593; 1610–1611

36 See also Schopen 2006 and Witkowski 2017.

37 This practice is often explained as an opportunity for monks to meditate upon impermanence, e.g. in the *Vimuttimagga* (Ehara et al. 1961: 34). But see also Schopen 2006, who argues that later such monks were stigmatised as low-caste *cāṇḍālas* and, alternatively, Witkowski (2025), who argues that charnel-ground dwelling, along with rag-robe wearing (*paṃsukūlika*), may refer to a subaltern, low-caste (*caṇḍāla*) community within the *saṅgha* that lived on cremation grounds, having carved out a space of 'autonomous subaltern governmentality'.

38 In their translation of the *Vimuttimagga*, Ehara et al. translate the Chinese term as 'any chanced-upon place' (Ehara et al. 1961: 35); Bapat translates the Tibetan term as 'one who lives in a place as found' (Bapat 1964: 59); Nyanatusita translates 'user of any dwelling' (Nyanatusita 2021: 189–190). The Vinaya, however, defines *santhata* as a technical term for a rug or mat which, apparently, could also be used as a garment; see Horner's discussion in BD II xxi–xxiv and the Vinaya rules Nissaggiya 11–15. What *yathāsanthatika* exactly means in the canonical texts and how it is a *dhutaṅga* practice, still seems unclear. The term never appears outside of *dhutaṅga* lists and is never explained.

39 *Ekāsana* can mean both 'a single meal' (from the root Skt *aś*, 'to eat') or 'sitting alone' (from the root Skt *ās*, 'to sit'). Buddhist tradition has interpreted the *dhutaṅga* practice as the former, but it is unclear whether the term was originally meant to mean 'solitary dwelling' and was later reinterpreted, as Ray suggests (Ray 1994: 321–322, n. 43), following K. R. Norman's translation of *ekāsana* in Th 239 ('solitary retirement'). Petra Kieffer-Pülz refers to later commentaries that address entering the first *jhāna* (medit-

12. A later-food refuser (*khalupacchābhattika*) does not eat after he has finished his daily meal.
13. A bowl-food eater (*pattapiṇḍika*) eats only the amount of food that fits into his alms-bowl.

Considering these practices as a group, three curious aspects stand out. First, some *dhutaṅga*s are virtually identical to one another. The difference between a one-time eater (*ekāsanika*) and a later-food refuser (*khalupacchābhattika*) is hard to determine—when you eat only once a day, you do not eat food that becomes available later in the day and vice versa. Since the standardisation of the list is late, both may have existed parallel to each other, as essentially the same practice with two different names, before the list was codified.[40]

Second, some practices appear very similar, with one being just a little stricter than the other. Both tree-root dwellers (*rukkhamūlika*) and open-air dwellers (*abbhokāsika*) refuse to stay under a roof, but the latter also abandons trees for cover. Both alms-gatherers (*piṇḍapātika*) and without-interruption beggars (*sapadānacārika*) rely on food acquired during a begging round, but the latter also vows to beg at every single house, no matter what kind of food he might receive there, or what amount.

Third, when it comes to the intensity of asceticism, the list reflects a rather broad range. Located at one end are severe practices such as never lying down and sleeping in a sitting position; constantly staying in the open air, exposed to the heat of the sun and other weather conditions; or living among human remains in the charnel grounds. At the other end of the spectrum, some *dhutaṅga* practices appear to differ only slightly from what the Vinaya prescribes as regular conduct for all monks. For example, according to the Vinaya, monks are supposed to wear three robes (*ticīvara*).[41] The first version of the rule Nissaggiya 1 says: 'Whatever monk should keep an

ation state) 'in one sitting' (*ekāsana*) vs. 'in several sittings' (*nānāsana*) (Kieffer-Pülz 2013: 1, 640, n. 9, and 642). In a different passage, the Buddha declares that he 'eats in one sitting' (*ekāsanabhojanaṃ bhuñjāmi*) (MN I 437.19; also in MN I 124.9–10) and recommends this practice to the *bhikkhus*. It seems probable that both meanings merged in the *dhutaṅga* practice, as Margaret Cone's rendering implies (DoP, s.v.): 'the practice of eating only at one sitting each day'.

40 It should also be noted that *khalupacchābhattika* appears rarely in the canonical texts: in the list of ten *dhutaṅga*s in AN III 219.4–221.10; in the list of eight in the *Niddesa* (Nidd I 66.21–24; 147.19–22; 231.4–7; 238.33–35; 263.19–22; 349.28–31; 476.3–6); and in the list of thirteen in the Parivāra (Vin V 131.9–19 = Vin V 193.17–21).

41 The inner robe (*antaravāsaka*), the upper robe (*uttarāsaṅga*), and the outer cloak (*saṅghāṭi*). See for details Horner, BD II 1, n. 2.

extra robe, there is an offence of expiation involving forfeiture.'[42] The final version of the rule includes exceptions, in Horner's translation: 'When the robe-material is settled, when a monk's kaṭhina (privileges) have been removed, an extra robe may be kept for at most ten days. For him who exceeds that (period), there is an offence of expiation involving forfeiture'.[43] The *dhutaṅga* practice of a three-robe wearer (*tecīvarika*), then, merely implies that the monk rejects an allowed (temporary) exception but otherwise follows the Vinaya rule. However, the fact that *tecīvarika*, as a *dhutaṅga*, marks an extraordinary quality of the monk seems to suggest that most other monks did not follow that rule.[44] Still, being content with three robes, as the original rule stipulated, while certainly inconvenient, seems like a rather mild ascetic practice.

Another example is the Vinaya regulation that monks are not supposed to eat at the wrong time (*vikāle*), i.e., after noon until sunrise,[45] with the exception of the five 'medicines' (*bhesajjāni*; ghee, fresh butter, oil, honey, and molasses), which are allowed during that latter period.[46] As these can be viewed as a second meal, practicing the *dhutaṅga*s of one-time eater (*ekāsanika*) and later-food refuser (*khalupacchābhattika*) seems to mean that the monk forgoes their consumption. Again, the permitted accommodation has apparently become regular conduct, which makes its

42 Vin III 195.18–19. Horner translates *dhāreyya* as 'should wear' (BD II 3), but in the parallel rule Nissaggiya 21, which prohibits an extra bowl, the same word is used (and translated by Horner as 'keep'). It seems more likely that the offence here is to keep an extra robe than to *wear* it in addition to the other robes. I thank the anonymous reviewer who pointed this out.

43 Vin III 196.9–11; BD II 4–5. Again, I replaced 'worn' with 'kept'.

44 Petra Kieffer-Pülz notes that there is 'circumstantial evidence that already at the time of the Vinaya monks had more than one set of three robes at their disposal' (KiefferPülz 2007: 39–40). She also shows that, according to the Vinaya commentary *Samantapāsādikā*, a Vinaya expert in the first century BCE insisted that a monk may take possession of no more than three robes, only to be corrected by a majority of monks who declared that it was allowed to take formal possession of the robes not only as the 'set of three robes' (*ticīvaram*) but also as 'requisite cloth' (*parikkhāracoḷa*). This circumvents the problem because the latter is not limited by size or number. The *Samantapāsādikā* agrees with this interpretation, as do other commentaries (Kieffer-Pülz 2007: 41–45). The appearance of the *dhutaṅga* practice *tecīvaraka* in the Udāna (Ud 42.31–33) and other earlier texts supports her suggestion that many monks used more than three robes even long before the first century BCE.

45 Pācittiya 37; the old commentary (Padabhājaniya) gives the explanation for 'wrong time'. The same word (*vikāla*) is used (and explained in the same way) regarding the period during which monks are prohibited to enter a village for the begging round (Pācittiya 85).

46 Vin I 200.18–20.

refusal extraordinary. Still, these *dhutaṅga*s seem much less severe than others.

All these observations show that as a group, the *dhutaṅga*s are glaringly uneven. Not only do they appear in the texts individually, in pairs, and in lists of varying lengths, sequences, and contents; they also reflect a broad spectrum of ascetic practices, from mild and moderate to more severe. This unevenness and inconsistency stand in striking contrast to their stable nomenclature. There is no trace of terminological development—the names of the individual *dhutaṅga*s do not change in the extant literature, which may indicate that they were codified in an early period. All the more puzzling, then, is the fact that, with the exception of the four *dhutaṅga*s in the Devadatta episode, the canonical texts do not provide any explication of the practices that goes beyond the meaning of their names. Such explications we find only in post-canonical works, such as the *Vimuttimagga* and the *Visuddhimagga*. It appears that in the earlier period those practices were so common and well-known that no further explanation was necessary.[47] I will return to this question at the end of the essay.

That the authors of the canonical texts do not bother to explain the practices does not keep them from expressing distinct opinions about them. We can detect two general tendencies that I wish to discuss now. One view is critical, portraying them as problematic asceticism; the other is affirmative, celebrating them as beneficial practices for Buddhist monastics.

The *dhutaṅga*s as problematic ascetic practices

The earlier-discussed Devadatta episode in the *Cullavagga* is arguably the most obvious example of a critical framing for the *dhutaṅga*s. They are associated with the evil monk Devadatta, who uses them to cause dissent among the Buddha's followers and to bring about the first schism of the *saṅgha*. But other passages in the canonical texts equally indicate, if less blatantly, that their authors were critical or, at least, skeptical of those practices. In a *sutta* of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, for example, a householder

47 Nicholas Witkowski has argued that they would remain standard practices in Buddhist monasteries well into the middle period of Indian Buddhist history (Witkowski 2019). As Roach demonstrates, this is also reflected in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya*, which altogether 'maintains an approving attitude towards the *dhūtaguṇas* as a collective concept' (Roach 2020: 233–234).

tells the Buddha that he gives gifts to monks who, as wilderness-dwellers (*āraññaka*), alms-gatherers (*piṇḍapātika*), and rag-robe wearers (*paṃsukūlika*), are arahants or on the path to arahantship. The Buddha counters that it was difficult for this householder, who enjoys sensual pleasures (*gihin kāmabhogin*), to determine who an arahant or a prospective arahant is. He explains that a wilderness-dweller (*āraññaka*), an alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*), or a rag-robe wearer (*paṃsukūlika*) who is agitated, boisterous, ill-mannered, talkative, talking loosely, forgetful, inattentive, uncontrolled, confused, and undisciplined, is, in this respect, blameworthy. When they have the opposite qualities, they are praiseworthy. And the same was true for monks who followed the respective alternative practices, namely those who live in a village or the neighbourhood of a village (*gāmantavihārin*), who accept invitations (*nemantanika*) or wear a robe offered by a householder (*gahapaticīvaradhara*).[48]

The Buddha makes several points here. He seems to warn the householder that ascetic practices do not necessarily reflect spiritual accomplishments. Monks who observe those three *dhutaṅga*s can have blameworthy or praiseworthy features. Their 'worthiness' does not depend on the *dhutaṅga*s but on their inner qualities.[49] This is amplified by the note that monks who do not observe these *dhutaṅga*s (but rather the respective alternatives) can have the very same blameworthy or praiseworthy features. According to this *sutta*, the *dhutaṅga*s do not have any particular value for the path to arahantship, and householders must not mistake a monks' ascetic practice for spiritual accomplishment. The *sutta* ends with the Buddha encouraging the householder to give to the *saṅgha*, which will lead him to rebirth in a heavenly world. He seems to say that rather than relying on his own judgment about the spiritual quality of a gift-recipient, which can vary for individual monks, regardless of their ascetic practice, a householder should play it safe and give to the *saṅgha* as an institution, which guarantees extraordinary merit and heavenly rebirth.[50]

48 AN III 391.1–392.19.

49 By pointing out that individual ascetics can have different qualities, the authors might also express the concern that householders could fall for 'false ascetics'. While of a later time period in ancient India, the Hindu tradition expresses this—certainly pervasive—concern in many ways, as illustrated, for example, by the cases collected in Bloomfield 1924 and Doniger O'Flaherty 1971.

50 This approach, which I have called an 'institutional tendency' elsewhere, can often be found in the canonical texts, most pronounced in the notion of the *saṅgha* as the unsurpassable field of merit. The opposite, individualist tendency, which is common too,

The inner life of *dhutaṅga* practitioners is also discussed elsewhere in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*. Here, the Buddha lists five possible motives for observing these practices. The same five motives are given, respectively, for ten different *dhutaṅga*s:[51] One adopts the practice either (1) out of stupidity and foolishness; (2) because one has evil desires and is driven by desire; (3) because one is mad and mentally deranged; (4) because one thinks it is praised by the Buddha and the Buddha's followers; or (5) for the sake of desiring little, contentment, austerity, solitude, and not resting. The fifth motive, the Buddha asserts, is the most excellent.[52] Again, by pointing out four possible inferior motives, the authors cast doubt on *dhutaṅga* practitioners and allege that some of them are misguided or dubious. At the very least, the authors appear skeptical of the practices' value.[53]

In the *Cūḷa-Assapura-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, the Buddha addresses an ascetic's proper way of life (*samaṇasāmīcipaṭipadā*) and explains that it does not consist of particular ascetic practices but rather of the right inner attitude, meditation, and destruction of the *āsavas* (the 'intoxications' of greed, hatred, and delusion). The listed practices, whose observation alone does not make one a *samaṇa*, appear largely non-Buddhist: wearing an ascetic cloak (*saṅghāṭika*),[54] nakedness (*acelaka*), dwelling in dust and

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includes the idea that householders are capable of determining the spiritual advancement of a gift-recipient and that the amount of merit correlates with this individual accomplishment rather than with the quality of the *saṅgha* as an institution (Freiberger 2000a: 232–243; Freiberger 2000b).

51 Wilderness-dweller (*āraññaka*); rag-robe wearer (*paṃsukūlika*); tree-root dweller (*rukkhamūlika*); charnel-ground dweller (*sosānika*); open-air dweller (*abbhokāsika*); continual sitter (*nesajjika*); any-rug user (*yathāsanthatika*); one-time eater (*ekāsanika*); later-food refuser (*khalupacchābhattika*); and bowl-food eater (*pattapiṇḍika*) (AN III 219.4–221.10).

52 AN III 219.4–17. Rather than outright dismissing the first four motives, the Buddha draws a parallel. Just as milk comes from a cow, curd from milk, fresh butter from curd, ghee from fresh butter, and as the cream of the ghee comes from ghee and is known as the best, so the fifth motive is the best (AN III 219.18–25). While the first four in this list may be considered inferior of the fifth, they can hardly be dismissed as worthless. The Buddha seems to argue that while the practice itself may have positive effects, the motives of the practitioners can be problematic.

53 See a parallel passage in the *Parivāra* (Vin V 131.9–19 and 193.1–16), where all thirteen practices appear, but in a different order. Ray remarks: 'It is interesting that the deplorable reasons are listed first, suggesting that they were uppermost in the mind of the author, who seems more than ready to attribute one or another of these motives to some forest renunciants and to condemn them' (Ray 1994: 304). While I am not as confident about this reason for the order of the listed motives, I do agree with his second observation.

54 *Saṅghāti* is also the term for the outer robe of Buddhist monks (see above, note 41). This needs further investigation.

dirt (*rajojallika*), (ritual) bathing (*udakorohaka*), standing upright (*ubbhaṭṭhaka*), eating at regular intervals (*pariyāyabhattika*), studying (Vedic) mantras (*mantajjhāyaka*), having matted hair (*jaṭilaka*). But right in the middle of this list (as numbers 5 and 6), we also find tree-root dwelling (*rukkhamūlika*) and open-air dwelling (*abbhokāsika*), two of the *dhutaṅga*s.[55] While it is possible that these two were also practised by non-Buddhist ascetics, they appear here in a list that is contrary to the ascetic's 'proper way of life' from the Buddha's perspective. Again, the authors of this *sutta* do not seem particularly enthusiastic about these two practices.

Another stock list of non-Buddhist ascetic practices appears several times in the canonical texts.[56] This long list—too long to explore in detail here[57]—includes transgressions of polite conduct, various restrictions concerning the acceptance, the amount, and the types of food, restrictions regarding the types of clothes, and a few other bodily practices.[58] These practices are often criticised, for example in the *Kassapasīhanāda-* (or, *Mahāsīhanāda-*)*sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, where the Buddha states that 'true asceticism' (*sāmañña/brahmañña*, the ideal of *samaṇa-brāhmaṇas*) does not consist in the adoption of those practices, but rather in the—much harder—destruction of the *āsavas*, which is realised by ethics and awareness attained in meditation.[59] In another *sutta* in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, the *Udumbarikāsīhanāda-sutta*, the Buddha devalues the practices as well. They could easily result in bad attitudes for the ascetic, such as arrogance, dishonesty, and hypocrisy, while true asceticism (here: *tapojigucchā*) consisted of entirely different practices, namely ethical behaviour and meditation.[60]

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55 MN I 281.32–232.6.

56 For the following argument, see Freiberger 2006.

57 For a detailed discussion of each practice that takes parallels in other Buddhist and non-Buddhist texts, commentaries, and various Western translations into account, see Bollée 1971.

58 See, e.g. DN I 166.2–167.13; MN I 77.28–78.22.

59 DN I 168.13–169.38.

60 DN III 40.23–52.31. In the *Nivāpa-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (MN I 156.17–32), several practices of the list are said to result in a backslide into craving (in an allegory as a herd of deer that is captured by the deer-feeder, the evil Māra). In the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (MN I 238.12–35) the Jain Saccaka states that three (Ājīvaka) ascetics performed some of the practices but must admit that they had a copious meal from time to time. Again, the practices appear as inefficient or harmful, and the ascetics are mocked.

This list also appears in the context of the famous Buddhist notion of the Middle Way between the extremes of a life in luxury and self-mortification, where it serves to illustrate the latter extreme. In a passage from the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* the practices constitute the way of 'burning away' (*nijjhāma*), as opposed to the indulgence in sensual pleasures. The third way between these two is the middle way (*majjhimā paṭipadā*), which here consists in contemplating body, thoughts, feelings, and *dhammas*.[61] In the *Cūḷadhammasamādāna-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* the practices represent a kind of conduct that is both painful in the present and will have a painful effect in the future, namely rebirth in a state of suffering in hell (*apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ*). Whoever indulges in sense-pleasures—the other extreme—will suffer from the same fate. The better (middle) option is to enter the four meditations (*jhāna*) and then be born in a heavenly world, which represents conduct that is pleasant in the present and will have a pleasant effect in the future.[62]

These brief notes show that this stock list of ascetic practices is presented as non-Buddhist and considered to be problematic and harmful, even leading to rebirth in hell. It is relevant for the present discussion because that list overlaps considerably with Buddhist *dhutaṅga*s. When we compare the two lists, three practices are literally identical: rag-robe wearer (*paṃsukūlika*), open-air dweller (*abbhokāsika*), and any-rug user (*yathāsanthatika*).[63] One is semantically identical: one-time eater (*ekāsanika*) corresponds to the practice of 'taking food only once a day' (*ekāhikaṃ pi āhāraṃ āhāreti*). Three are very similar: alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*) and bowl-food eater (*pattapiṇḍika*) correspond to the statement 'he does not accept (food) offered or prepared for him, or an invitation' (*nābhihaṭaṃ na uddissakaṭaṃ na nimantaṇaṃ sādiyati*), and charnel-ground dweller (*sosānika*) is closely related to the practice of wearing cerements (*chavadussa*).

The fact that more than half of the *dhutaṅga*s in the standard list (seven out of thirteen) are also found in a stock list of abhorred non-

61 AN I 295.1–296.15; similar in AN I 296.17–297.17. Cf. AN II 205.24–211.29, where the authors attribute the practices to the self-tormentor (*attantapa*), in contrast to the 'tormentor of another', the 'tormentor both of self and another', and the 'tormentor neither of self nor of another'; the last one is the person who follows the moral precepts of the Buddha and attains liberation. See also DN III 232.22–233.2.

62 MN I 307.21–309.14.

63 It should be noted that the fifth practice demanded by Devadatta, but later not included in the standard *dhutaṅga* lists, strict vegetarianism (*na machaṃ, na maṃsaṃ*), appears in the stock list of non-Buddhist ascetic practices as well.

Buddhist practices whose observance takes you straight to hell, should tell us something. At the very least, it confirms, once again, that some authors of the Buddhist canonical texts had a low opinion of the *dhutaṅga*s and used various methods to make them appear problematic for Buddhist monks.[64]

The *dhutaṅga*s as celebrated practices for Buddhist monastics

In contrast to this critical view of the *dhutaṅga*s, the same corpus of canonical texts also includes more favorable statements. First, versions of some *dhutaṅga*s are already present in three of the four *nissayas* ('resources'). According to the Vinaya, a candidate for ordination must be informed that monastic life is based on these four *nissayas*: sustenance from small portions of food (*piṇḍiyālopabhojana*), robes made from rags (*paṃsukūlacīvara*), dwelling at the foot of a tree (*rukkhamūlasenāsana*), and cattle urine as medicine (*pūtimuttabhesajja*). The first three can be easily associated with three *dhutaṅga*s: alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*), rag-robe wearer (*paṃsukūlika*), and tree-root dweller (*rukkhamūlika*). The demand, immediately following each *nissaya*, that the candidate must make this effort as long as life lasts (*te yāvajīvaṃ ussaho karaṇiyo*), seems to directly contradict the Buddha's ruling in the Devadatta episode, where the latter's demand to establish them as mandatory lifelong practices is rejected. However, this passage immediately supplements each *nissaya* with several 'exceptions' (*atirekalābha*) that relax the strict practices or even render them void. It explains, for example, that it is also allowed to accept invitations, to use robes made of silk, and to live in buildings of several kinds.[65]

It is tempting to interpret this account as reflecting a historical development in which the more basic *nissayas* came first and were then qualified by options that weakened the stricter ideal. Regardless, it seems obvious that we hear two voices here, one more ascetic than the other, and that the more *dhutaṅga*-friendly voice is preserved in this passage, despite the relaxation provided by the exceptions. This equally applies to other Vinaya regulations that have *dhutaṅga* practices already built in, as a somewhat stricter conduct supplemented by exceptions. We noticed this earlier related to the *dhutaṅga* practice of a three-robe wearer (*tecīvarika*), who observes the

64 Ray argues that later texts, the *Milindapañha*, the *Vimuttimagga*, and the *Visuddhimagga*, displayed some critical aspects too (Ray 1994: 304–307).

65 Vin I 58.10–22.

original Vinaya practice and rejects the allowed (temporary) exception of an additional fourth robe. Similarly, the one-time eater (*ekāsanika*) and the later-food refuser (*khalupacchābhattika*) reject the accommodation of consuming 'medicine', as a second meal, later in the day. Practicing the *dhutaṅga* in these cases does not mean undertaking an additional, severe ascetic practice but simply observing the original variant of the respective Vinaya rule. All this seems perfectly in line with the Buddhist monastic ideal.

In the *Sappurisa-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* the *dhutaṅga*s appear as practices that monks seek to observe. Here the Buddha explains that praising oneself for one's characteristics or accomplishments and reviling others who lack them makes one a bad person (*asappurisa*). A number of such characteristics and accomplishments are mentioned individually: being from a high or wealthy family, being of renown, being successful in gaining monastic requisites, being learned (*bahussuta*), being an expert in the Vinaya (*vinayadhara*), being a Dhamma preacher (*dhammakathika*), being a wilderness-dweller (*āraññaka*), being a rag-robe wearer (*paṃsukūlika*)—plus seven more *dhutaṅga*s (see above)—and having attained various meditation stages.[66] Taking pride in any of them is considered bad, but as such, these characteristics and accomplishments are all positive. Since the nine *dhutaṅga*s are located here, comfortably and auspiciously, right in-between expertise in the Dhamma and the Vinaya and attaining the four *jhānas* (meditation states), they appear fully integrated into ideal Buddhist practice.

A similar set-up and message appear in the *Anaṅgana-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*. It explains that a monk will not be honored and revered by his spiritual companions if he has not abandoned evil unwholesome wishes, even when he practices *dhutaṅga*s[67]—and vice versa. Again, this is about the inner attitude of the monk; the *dhutaṅga*s are not criticised. Here, the list of *dhutaṅga*s includes two terms that are not part of the standard list (numbers 2 and 6 below):[68]

1. Wilderness-dweller (*āraññaka*)
2. **Remote-dweller (*pantasenāsana*)**[69]

66 MN III 37–45; the *dhutaṅga*s at MN III 40.23–42.18.

67 MN I 30.19–25.

68 MN I 30.20–22.

69 Aside from this account and the subsequently discussed passage in the *Mahāsakuludāyi-sutta*, the term *pantasenāsana* is found occasionally in the canonical texts. Except for

3. Alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*)
4. Without-interruption beggar (*sapadānacārin*)
5. Rag-robe wearer (*paṃsukūlika*)
6. **Coarse-robe wearer (*lūkhacīvaradhara*)**[70]

But later in the sutta, only three respective alternatives are listed: living in a village or the neighbourhood of a village (*gāmantavihārin*), accepting invitations (*nemantaṇika*), and wearing robes received from householders (*gahapaticīvaradhara*),[71] which suggests that the list above ought to be understood in pairs (1+2, 3+4, 5+6), each of which corresponds to one alternative.[72]

Those additional terms (*pantasenāsana* and *lūkhacīvaradhara*) also appear in the *Mahāsakuludāyi-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, where the pairing is more explicit. Aside from the above-listed three pairs, tree-root dweller (*rukkhamūlika*) and open-air dweller (*abbhokāsika*) form an additional pair, which confirms a link between these two *dhutaṅga*s that was

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Th 1168 and 1169, where it is a quality of a Buddhist sage (*muni*) who is saluted by Brahmā, it always appears together with *āraññaka*: in DN II 284.11 (as qualities of certain non-Buddhist ascetics, *samaṇa-brāhmaṇa*); AN III 121.15 (as qualities of a monk who 'penetrates the immovable', *akuppaṃ paṭivijjhati*); AN IV 291.20–21 (as qualities of a monk who is worthy of gifts and an unsurpassable field of merit); and AN V 10.14 and 11.22–23 (as qualities of a monk who is 'complete in all ways', *sabbākāraparipura*). These parallels support the interpretation that *āraññaka* and *pantasenāsana* form a pair here as well (see below). They are also further evidence of the positive value attached to these practices.

70 Aside from this and the following passage, the exact term *lūkhacīvaradhara* appears only in AN I 25.16, where the monk Mogharāja is identified as chief among monks who wear coarse robes, and AN I 25.30, where Kisāgotamī is declared chief among coarse-robe wearing nuns. *Lūkhacīvara* ('coarse robe') appears several times in Mogharāja's *Apadāna* story (Ap 487.1–488.21). In another *Apadāna* story, Kisāgotamī says that the Buddha had placed her 'chief in the assemblies' (*aggamhi parisāsu*) for her coarse-robes-wearing (*lūkhacīvaradhāraṇa*) (Ap 564.20–567.13, esp. 567.7–8). In the Vinaya, *lūkhacīvara* is a robe that has turned shabby by neglect, and the rules issued prevent a monk from becoming 'badly dressed' (*duccola*) (Vin I 109.22–34; 298.4–32; Vin III 262.26–263.27, esp. 263.4). Here, wearing a *lūkhacīvara* is not intentional. In the other passages, it is a positive attribute.

71 MN I 31.6.

72 Rather than taking the two additional terms (2 and 6) as separate practices, it is tempting to regard them simply as qualifiers of 1 and 5, respectively, as I. B. Horner proposes in her translation: 'a forest-dweller whose lodgings are remote' and 'a rag-robe wearer who wears robes that are worn thin' (MLS I 37). Consequently, she also merges 3 and 4 into 'one who walks for almsfood on continuous almsround'. This, however, obscures the fact that these two (*piṇḍapātika* and *sapadānacārin*) are otherwise considered as two distinct practices that appear separately in the standardised list of thirteen (see below). The fact that these translations are possible and perfectly reasonable demonstrates a fluidity of the terms that I will address again at the end of this essay. In the passage discussed next, we encounter the same issue with yet other practices.

noted earlier. Aside from the four pairs, an additional unique practice appears here as the first in the list: eating a cupful or half-a-cupful of food (*kosakāhāra*; *aḍḍhakosakāhāra*) or a *bilva* fruit's or half-a-*bilva*-fruit's quantity of food (*beluvāhāra*; *aḍḍhabeluvāhāra*).[73] The *amount* of food is normally addressed in the *dhutaṅga* practice of bowl-food eater (*pattapiṇḍika*), which is not mentioned here.

In line with previous passages, the Buddha notes here that some of his followers (*sāvaka*) observe these practices, but that he (the Buddha) should not be praised for it, because he sometimes (*app ekadā*) also eats more, gets his robes from householders, accepts invitations, dwells under roofs, and is surrounded by people (rather than living remotely in the wild). While this seems to stress, once again, the optional nature of the *dhutaṅga*s, it also asserts that the Buddha himself observes them—not exclusively, but frequently.

While all these passages seem to portray the *dhutaṅga*s as widely observed and entirely legitimate practices,[74] others are explicit about the high value they attach to them. One *sutta* in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* warns about potential future perils and predicts that future monks will desire fine robes, fine alms-food, and fine lodgings, abandoning the lifestyle of rag-robe wearer (*paṃsukūlikatta*), of alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātikatta*), and of tree-root dweller (*rukkhamūlikatta*).[75] Then they will bond with nuns, female probationers, and novices, and become susceptible to committing offenses and returning to lay life. And they will bond with attendants and novices and become susceptible to storing goods and engaging in agriculture. The Buddha urges the monks to understand these perils and to strive to resist them.[76] Here, the three mentioned *dhutaṅga*s do not appear as optional, additional practices but as the present standard conduct that is at risk of being compromised in the future.

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73 MN II 6.31–7.9. To match the following pairs, one could interpret this as a pair as well—or as two pairs. This seems to be the only passage in the canonical texts where these terms appear.

74 Also, according to the Vinaya, a monk on probation (*pārivāsika*) is prohibited to undertake the practices of wilderness-dweller (*āraññaka*) and alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*) (Vin II 32.17–18), perhaps because neither in the wild nor in the village the *saṅgha* is able to control his behaviour. This indicates, once again, that these were regular practices for monks in good standing.

75 Note that each discussion of these three also predicts that future monks will abandon 'remote lodgings in the wild and in forest jungles' (*araññavanapatthāni pantāni senāsanāni*). This echoes the practices of the wilderness-dweller (*āraññaka*) and the remote-dweller (*pantasenāsana*), which form a pair in the above-discussed passages from the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

76 AN III 108.19–110.8.

The introductory story of the Vinaya rule Nissaggiya 15 relates how the Buddha goes into three months of seclusion and orders the monks not to allow anyone to approach him except the person who brings him alms-food. When the monk Upasena, who observes three *dhutaṅga*s, approaches him together with his followers, ignorant of the ruling, the Buddha makes a formal exception: When he is in seclusion, monks who are wilderness-dwellers (*āraññaka*), alms-gatherers (*piṇḍapātika*), and rag-robe wearers (*paṃsukūlika*) are permitted to approach him if they wish.[77] *Dhutaṅga* practitioners are afforded a special status that other monks do not have.

A major proponent of ascetic life and the *dhutaṅga*s is the eminent monk Mahākassapa.[78] The *Mahāgosiṅga-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* relates that when the Buddha's most renowned monks gather, Sāriputta asks them what kind of monk would 'illuminate the Gosiṅgasāla grove', the place where they are meeting. Each of them answers 'according to their own inspiration/intuition/understanding' (*yathā sakaṃ paṭibhānaṃ*) and highlights the quality with which he is widely associated. For Ānanda, that monk would be learned; Revata highlights solitary meditation; Anuruddha the divine eye; Mahākassapa ascetic life; Moggallāna discourse about the *dhamma*; and Sāriputta mastery over one's mind. Subsequently the Buddha praises each one of them equally. In his answer, Mahākassapa specifically mentions four practices: Wilderness-dweller (*āraññaka*), alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*), rag-robe wearer (*paṃsukūlika*), and three-robe wearer (*tecīvarika*).[79] Here the *dhutaṅga*s are not only endorsed by the Buddha; he also attaches the same high value to them as to all the other qualities.

A group of monks who observe exactly these four *dhutaṅga*s, the thirty monks of Pāva, appear several times in the texts. In the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya they are in a conversation with the Buddha after they got

77 Vin III 231.20–22.

78 In AN I 23.20 he is listed as foremost among the Buddha's followers and monks who speak of, or proclaim, the shaking-off (of defilements) (*dhutavāda*); a variant reading is *dhūtaṅgadhara*, 'observing the *dhūtaṅga*s' (see more on the terms *dhuta* and *dhutaṅga* below). In the *Udāna*, Mahākassapa is portrayed as an alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*) who also goes on a begging round without interruption (*sapadānaṃ piṇḍāya caramāna*), which corresponds to the *dhutaṅga* practice *sapadānacārika*. In the concluding verse, such a monk is praised as being an envy of the gods (Ud 29.7–30.16). The subsequent chapter has a similar verse about the *piṇḍapātika* (Ud 31.19–20). In the *Theragāthā*, Mahākassapa calls himself the most distinguished in the *dhutaguṇa*s except for the Buddha, mentioning this general term, but not listing individual practices (Th 1087). Equally, one verse in the *Buddhavaṃsa* highly praises him for the *dhutaguṇa*s, again mentioning only this term (Bv 5.21–22).

79 MN I 212–219; Mahākassapa's response in MN I 214.1–17.

stuck on their way due to the rainy season.[80] In the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, when the Buddha meets them, he realises that they are 'all still with fetters' (*sabbe sasaṃyojanā*) and delivers a *dhamma* talk, whereupon they lose their attachments, and their minds are released from the intoxicants (*āsava*), which means that they have attained liberation.[81] Apparently their *dhutaṅga* practice had prepared them so well that they only needed one more talk to enter *nibbāna*. In the *Cullavagga* of the Vinaya, they now appear as a group of sixty, and all are arahants.[82]

The *dhutaṅga*s are also popular in the *Theragāthā*, the collected verses ascribed to individual Buddhist monks. The elder Bhaddiya declares that he observed all thirteen *dhutaṅga*s of the standard list and had, over time, attained the extinction of all fetters (*sabbasaṃyojanakkhaya*),[83] which equals liberation. It is noteworthy that Bhaddiya adds to the thirteen *dhutaṅga*s five additional items that are presented in exactly the same way: desiring little (*appiccha*), being pleased (*santuṭṭha*), being secluded (*pavivitta*), not being in association (with other people) (*asaṃsaṭṭha*), and being energetic (*āraddhaviriya*). While the third and the fourth are broadly related to seclusion, the others seem to reflect inner attitudes rather than bodily practices. Still, the form of their presentation suggests that they were viewed as equal to the practices that are elsewhere standardised in the list of thirteen.[84]

Despite naming all thirteen practices (and more), Bhaddiya does not use the term *dhutaṅga*. This connection is tentatively made in one verse ascribed to the elder Tāḷapuṭa, where he says that his mind urged him to always delight in the 'shaking-off' (*dhuta*) by observing these practices: Wilderness-dweller (*āraññaka*), alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*), charnel-ground dweller (*sosānika*), rag-robe wearer (*paṃsukūlika*), and continual sitter (*nesajjika*).[85] Ascribed to the elder Mahāmoggallāna are vers-

80 Vin I 253.5–6. The text has *Pāṭheyyakā bhikkhū*, while the parallel reads *Pāveyyakā bhikkhū*. The city of Pāva is associated with the Mallas.

81 SN II 187.7–189.3.

82 Vin II 299.4–6. The text has *Pāṭheyyakā bhikkhū* as well.

83 Th 842–865.

84 These additional five are also included in Mahākassapa's above-mentioned response about the monk who would illuminate the Gosiṅgasāla grove. Here Mahākassapa adds yet more items: the monk abounds in virtue (*sīlasampanna*), concentration (*samādhisampanna*), wisdom (*paññāsampanna*), deliverance (*vimuttisampanna*), and the perfect knowledge of deliverance (*vimuttiñāṇadassanasampanna*); MN I 214.6–16. See also Ray 1994: 308–310, who discusses the *Theragāthā* list but does not mention the parallel account of Mahākassapa.

85 Th 1120.

es that celebrate three practices: Wilderness-dweller (*āraññaka*), alms-gatherer (*piṇḍapātika*), and tree-root dweller (*rukkhamūlika*).[86] And Anuruddha claims to have remained a continual sitter (*nesajjika*) for fifty-five years.[87]

Aside from all the passages in the canonical texts that praise the *dhutaṅga*s and the monks who observe them, this positive value also seems to be reflected in the category itself, to which I will now finally turn. The term *dhutaṅga* is a compound whose first member, *dhuta* (or, in some instances, *dhūta*) is a perfect participle of the root *dhu*, 'to shake, toss; to shake off, remove, destroy'. As K. R. Norman has noted, *dhuta* seems to function as an action noun, referring to the act of 'shaking-off',[88] and the objects of this shaking-off are traditionally understood to be defilements (*kilesa*).[89] The second member of the compound, *aṅga*, is often translated as 'practice', but its regular meanings are 'limb, part, factor, attribute, quality'.[90] This is also supported by the synonym *dhutaguṇa* (or *dhūtaguṇa*), which appears alternatively in the texts. The second member, *guṇa*, is glossed as 'element, quality, attribute'.[91] A literal translation of the compounds, then, would be 'attributes/elements of the shaking-off (of defilements)'. It seems fair to assert that when these terms are used in connection with the practices, they attach a positive value to them—shaking off defilements is a good thing.

To summarise, the survey of how the *dhutaṅga*s are viewed and evaluated in the canonical texts has yielded two general tendencies. Some authors regard them as problematic, suspicious, or even harmful ascetic practices, while others celebrate them as positive and beneficial for Buddhist monastics. We will return to this discourse in a moment.

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86 Th 1146–1148.

87 Th 904. He adds that sluggishness has been removed for twenty-five years.

88 Norman 1969: 129, n. 36. For the phenomenon of perfect passive participles functioning as action nouns, he refers to Hendriksen 1944: 15–19. In his *Theragāthā* translation, he translates *sadā dhute rato* as 'always delighting in shaking-off' (Th 1120, Norman 1969: 102) and *dhutaguṇe visiṭṭho 'haṃ* as 'I am outstanding in the qualities of shaking-off' (Th 1087; Norman 1969: 99).

89 DoP lists many passages in the *Visuddhimagga* and commentaries that make this connection but also one in the *Therīgāthā*, where two nuns are said to have shaken off defilements (*dhutakilesa*) (Thī 401). Note that here *dhuta* does not seem to be an action noun but a regular participle. The syntactic functions of *dhuta* in the canonical texts and its connection to *kilesa* need a more comprehensive investigation.

90 DoP, s.v. Avoiding a semantic discussion, I. B. Horner simply states that *aṅga* was 'a technical term covering these various modes of scrupulous living' (BD II 86, n. 2).

91 DoP, s.v.

Is *dhutaṅga/dhutaguṇa* a useful scholarly category?

The observations so far suggest that the practices we call *dhutaṅga*s were well established at the time of the canonical texts' composition. Their individual names are stable across all texts, and most of them are not described or explained beyond what their names say, nor do we ever encounter uncertainty or disagreement about how they are practised. Whether or not they are of pre-Buddhist or non-Buddhist origin, as Dantinne claims,[92] could be explored further, but this study has shown that, at the very least, in all these canonical texts they appear firmly Buddhist.

While their individual names are stable, as a group they are wildly uneven. Some seem identical or extremely similar to one another, others differ only in their respective level of intensity. They show up individually, in pairs, or in groups of varying lengths, in diverse combinations and varied orders, and some passages plausibly pair them up thematically, related to dwelling place, alms-gathering, and clothing, respectively. They reflect a wide spectrum of ascetic intensity, from slightly stricter Vinaya conduct to severe austerities, such as remaining permanently exposed to the sun or never lying down. Some passages include practices that are presented alongside, and in exactly the same way as, *dhutaṅga*s but do not show up elsewhere or in the standardised list of thirteen:[93]

- Remote-dweller (*pantasenāsana*)
- Coarse-robe wearer (*lūkhacīvaradhara*)
- A-cupful or half-a-cupful-of-food eater (*kosakāhāra*; *aḍḍhakosakāhāra*)
- A *bilva* fruit's or half a *bilva* fruit's quantity of food eater (*beluvāhāra*; *aḍḍhabeluvāhāra*)
- Devadatta's rejection of fish and meat (*macchamaṃsaṃ na khādeyyum*)

Yet other passages add items to lists of regular *dhutaṅga*s that partly reflect inner attitudes rather than bodily practices:[94]

- Desiring little (*appiccha*)
- Being content (*santuṭṭha*)
- Being secluded (*pavivitta*)
- Not being in association (with other people) (*asaṃsaṭṭha*)
- Being energetic (*āraddhaviriya*)

92 Dantinne 1991: 27. Unfortunately, he provides little evidence for this suggestion.

93 MN I 30.20–22; MN II 6.31–7.9; Vin II 197.4–12. See the discussions in previous sections.

94 Ud 42.31–33; MN I 214.1–17; SN II 202.16–22; Th 857–861. In MN I 214.6–16, Mahākassapa adds yet another five inner accomplishments (see above, note 84).

All this raises the question of how we should understand and address these practices in the canonical texts. I have cumulatively employed the term *dhutaṅga/dhutaguṇa* here, as it has been the custom in scholarship, undoubtedly because post-canonical works such as the *Vimuttimagga* and the *Visuddhimagga* grouped thirteen practices under this name. But when we check the canonical texts themselves for these very terms, the result is rather sobering. If my survey is correct, the word *dhutaṅga/dhūtaṅga* appears merely two times in the entire canon,[95] while the word *dhutaguṇa/dhūtaguṇa* appears merely three times.[96]

Scholarship has used the terms as a convenient shortcut to refer to any or all of the thirteen practices, but the present discussion has made this seem rather anachronistic. Most importantly, looking through the lens of a later standardisation that includes exactly thirteen *dhutaṅga* practices has obstructed our view and prevented us from acknowledging the additional practices and attitudes mentioned above. As a pragmatic alternative and in lieu of a better term, I propose to speak of '*dhutaṅga*(-like)' practices in the canonical literature. We find more than thirteen *dhutaṅga*(-like) practices in the canon, and, even more importantly, its authors seem to have generally no interest in determining an exact number. While they tend to group the practices together in various ways, the lists are diverse in length and fluid in composition. As I will argue below, acknowledging this fluidity helps us get a better sense of their original nature.

Are the *dhutaṅga*(-like) practices 'ascetic' practices?

Turning from nomenclature to content, a scholarly term that dictionaries and other scholarship regularly use to describe *dhutaṅga/dhutaguṇa* is 'ascetic', and at first glance, the definition 'optional ascetic practices for Buddhist monastics' seems to work quite well. But my study suggests that

95 Once in the *Parivāra*, the appendix to the Vinaya (Vin v 193.16: *dhutaṅgavagga*), where it labels the summary of an earlier section on the thirteen practices (in which the term does not appear); and once in the canonical *Suttanipāta* commentary *Niddesa*, which classifies eight of the practices as *vatta* ('observance') but not *sīla* ('moral conduct') (Nidd I 66.21–24). While not technically a canonical text, it may be noted that the term also appears in the (commentarial) prose section of the *Vātamigajātaka*, where a recently ordained monk takes on the 'thirteen *dhutaṅga*s' (Ja I 156.16).

96 In the introductory story to the Vinaya rule Pārājika 1, where the monk Sudinna undertakes four of the practices (Vin III 15.2–5) and in the *Theragāthā* and the *Buddhavaṃsa*, where Mahākassapa is generally praised for practicing the *dhutaguṇa*s (Th 1087; Bv 5.21–22).

the term 'ascetic' may be slightly misleading. If we use any standard substantive definition of 'asceticism', such as the *Oxford English Dictionary*'s 'rigorous self-discipline, severe abstinence, austerity', classifying practices that are very similar to Vinaya rules, such as the three-robe wearer (*tecīvarika*), creates analytical problems. There are two equally unsatisfactory options: Either we consider the Vinaya rule of wearing three robes as the regular, non-ascetic custom for Buddhist monks, in which case 'ascetic' practice would mean something more rigorous, and *tecīvarika* would not be 'ascetic'. Or we define wearing three robes as 'ascetic'—in contrast to using more robes, as many monks seem to have done—in which case the Vinaya rule must equally be classified as 'ascetic'. In this context, it would defeat the term's purpose of distinguishing *dhutaṅga*s from 'regular' monastic life. Either way, *tecīvarika* could hardly be called an 'optional ascetic practice', let alone one that is related to 'mortifying the flesh'.[97]

In scholarship on early Buddhism the term 'ascetic' often has the connotation of irregular, extreme, or even non-Buddhist, none of which would be appropriate for this example. In addition, we encountered differing opinions about the value of *dhutaṅga*(-like) practices in the canonical texts. While some authors do view them critically and associate them with one of the two hell-bound extremes in the concept of the Middle Way, the ascetic extreme, others embrace them as part of the ideal Buddhist path to liberation. For the former, 'ascetic' practices are those that are problematic or even detrimental for Buddhist monastics—they are observed by non-Buddhists and should be avoided. For the latter, the practices are 'ascetic' only in the sense that the ideal life of Buddhist monks and nuns is ascetic.[98]

Recognising this discourse about asceticism[99] reminds us that while *dhutaṅga*(-like) practices may contain a certain degree of physical rigor,

97 Gombrich 1988: 94; as quoted in the beginning of this essay.

98 Clearly, this is but a simple sketch of two general tendencies. The variety of accounts and lists in the discussed passages suggest that the discourse is more differentiated, and taking a closer look at certain passages, perhaps also including parallels in other Mainstream schools and non-Buddhist literature, such as Jain and Brāhmaṇical, might produce further insights. Nicholas Witkowski has recently published substantial studies on two practices, rag-robe wearing (*paṃsukūlika*) and charnel-ground dwelling (*sosānika*), that demonstrate that the asceticism discourse continued far into the so-called middle period of Indian Buddhism (Witkowski 2017 and 2019; see also Witkowski 2025). Highlighting this discourse helps to recognise multiple voices in the canonical texts.

99 For general reflections on discourses about asceticism, including a discursive definition, see Freiberger 2010: 189–190; see also Freiberger, forthcoming.

many authors of the canonical texts viewed this rigor as admirable, or even ideal, Buddhist practice, while other authors had a lower opinion of the practices and regarded them as one 'extreme' in the Middle Way doctrine. Embracing this interpretation of the Middle Way, scholars have tended to side with the latter when they labeled the practices 'ascetic'. In this portrayal, they became irregular, optional (and rather suspicious) practices for 'monks of ascetic temperament'—marginal rather than standard; problematic rather than optimal. This study has shown that *both* perspectives are attested in the canonical texts. And that the authors invoke the literary presence of the Buddha to promote either one.

Are they 'optional'? Are they 'practices'?

One question remains: How do we explain the curious tension between the practices' individual terminological stability and the striking instability and inconsistency of the practices as a group? As discussed above, the scholarly classification of the practices as 'ascetic' has (mis)led us to perceive them as extreme and marginal. We may want to reconsider the other two components of the phrase 'optional ascetic practices' as well.

First, calling them 'optional' stresses their relation to Buddhist monastic law. But as far as I can see, the Devadatta episode is the only account in which four of them are regulated by the Vinaya—and only in the sense that the Buddha refuses to make them mandatory. Although only four practices are officially declared optional in the Devadatta episode, scholars have silently extended this regulation to any practice that they identified as a *dhutaṅga*. But the authors of the Vinaya never bother to regulate any of the others.[100] When a practice's value is subject to controversy in the texts, the issue is not its legality but rather its positive or negative effects or the monk's motivations. Our use of the qualifier 'optional' seems to overemphasise the legal dimension and, at the same time, imply that they are rare exceptions. Rather, some are mentioned often and all over the canonical texts, which seems to indicate that they were quite common and widespread in the early Buddhist community.

100 The simple fact that the Vinaya makes only four of thirteen (or more) *dhutaṅga*s explicitly optional has rarely, if ever, been pointed out. As discussed above, some *dhutaṅga*s are mentioned in narrative passages of the Vinaya, but their optional status is never discussed anywhere else. This also applies to the list of thirteen that appears in the *Parivāra* (Vin v 131.9–19 = Vin v 193.17–21), where the authors merely list five reasons for observing them.

Second, calling them 'practices' emphasises the physical effort associated with them. While this is an important aspect, I propose that they may better be understood as *qualities* ascribed to individual monks. The term 'quality' has occasionally been associated with the *dhutaṅgas/dhutaguṇas* but generally without further discussion.[101] I argue that individual monks expressed these qualities through their effort and commitment, thus distinguishing themselves from other monastics. Mostly these qualities comprise the monk's physical efforts, but some of them, mentioned alongside the others in some lists, are inner attitudes: desiring little (*appiccha*); being content (*santuṭṭha*); being energetic (*āraddhaviriya*); etc. Again, the fact that Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*—solely concerned, as it is, with the list of thirteen—, glosses the word *aṅga* in *dhutaṅga* as *paṭipatti*, 'practice, conduct',[102] may have contributed to the scholarly focus on the physical effort. By contrast, this study has shown that some canonical authors felt the need to include other qualities as well, which suggests a certain degree of fluidity in talking about the qualities. If the primary purpose of these terms was to highlight distinctive qualities of individual monks, there may have been no reason to restrict them to physical feats. Nor would it have made much sense to envision these diverse qualities as a stable group with a uniform character.

Conclusion

All these observations may help us to reconsider the original nature of the *dhutaṅga*(-like) qualities in the Pāli canon. If they referred to distinct and widely recognised features of individual monks, sufficiently defined by their name, their conceptualisation as a group was likely secondary, which would explain the unevenness. Similar practices may have had slightly

101 Here are some examples from scholarship: As mentioned above, 'quality' is listed as one meaning of both *aṅga* and *guṇa* in Margaret Cone's DoP; Norman translates *dutaguṇe* as 'qualities of shaking-off' (Norman 1969: 99), as does Ray (1994: 295); Edgerton translates it as 'qualities of the purified man' (BHSD, s.v.); according to Roach (2020: 11), Tibetan translators rendered it as *sbyangs pa'i yon tan*, with *yon tan* (Skt *guṇa*) being glossed as 'good qualities, excellence' by multiple Tibetan dictionaries (see Steinert, s.v.); the title of Dantinne's book is *Les qualités de l'ascète (Dhutaguṇa)* (Dantinne 1991); Boucher translates *dhutaguṇa*s as 'qualities of purification (Boucher 2008: 43); and the title of Roach's dissertation is ' "The Qualities of the Purified": Attitudes Towards the *dhūtaguṇas* in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*' (but she also states that 'the MSV usually portrays the *dhūtaguṇas* as practices, not as qualities', Roach 2020: 10).

102 Vism 80.9.

different names in different regions, and some recognised qualities were physically more demanding than others. We encountered various ways of grouping these qualities that eventually resulted in a standardised (but incomplete) list of thirteen. Why practices that sometimes appear alongside those on this standardised list—even physical ones such as remote-dweller (*pantasenāsana*), coarse-robe wearer (*lūkhacīvaradhara*), and others—were not included in that list, is unknown but can probably be explained by its general fluidity and overlaps. An intentional exclusion seems rather unlikely.

An analogy might help to illustrate how we could envision the early Buddhist use of the terms. I propose that they resemble the ways professors today identify and highlight certain qualities in students. For the purpose of a light comparison, I created a random list of such qualities:

1. Rigorous note-taker (a student who takes extensive notes on all readings)
2. Theory buff (a student who is particularly interested in and knowledgeable about theories)
3. Night-worker (a student who studies until deep into the night)
4. All-nighter-puller (a student who works all through the night ahead of a deadline)
5. Continual attendant (a student who never misses a class)
6. Outside the box-thinker (a student who regularly challenges themselves by exploring unfamiliar academic terrain)
7. Diligent reader (a student who has an eye for details)
8. Citation master (a student who knows multiple manuals of style and creates perfectly crafted bibliographies)

Some of these qualities are more intense than others; some are similar, with one being a bit more rigorous than the other (e.g., the night-worker and the all-nighter-puller); some are slightly more attitudinal than practice-related (the theory buff and the outside the box-thinker); and quite surely, more such qualities exist that are not listed here. Teachers may have different opinions—affirmative or critical—about the value of these qualities. They could employ the respective term not only as a compliment but also as a critique or even a light mockery. For example, some teachers may critically note that pulling an all-nighter is not praiseworthy at all, because the student should have worked on the assignment earlier and more regularly. Or they may mock a student as a 'citation master' who is able to create perfect bibliographical references but has no original thoughts. And I suspect it would be easy to find different opinions among professors—that is, a discourse or controversy—on the value of being a theory buff.

Since the items on this list are not formally required by university rules and regulations (compared here to the Vinaya), they could be called 'optional' for students. But this seems to be somewhat beside the point, since most professors would probably hope that students come with many of these features, at least to some degree, and certainly with the dedication that underlies them. Some, such as continual attendant or diligent reader, barely differ from regularly expected conduct, even though such students might still stand out (sadly) and be recognised for it. And disapproving or admiring an 'all-nighter-puller' student is hardly based on whether this practice is permitted by university rules. Thus, it seems much more apt to view the listed features as distinctive qualities that teachers ascribe to individual students. Since those qualities are widely recognised and any instructor will likely understand the meaning of the terms with no difficulty—even though I just made them up for this purpose—there is no need for a detailed description or definition. They are generally not intended to be precise technical terms.

If this (rather playful) analogy holds up, it helps to perceive the early Buddhist *dhutaṅga*(-like) qualities in a new light. I propose that the terms were originally meant to acknowledge outstanding features of individual monks. These qualities of distinction could include physical efforts, severe or less severe, as well as recognised inner attitudes such as 'desiring little' (*appiccha*). The diversity within the list was not an issue because there was no list—or defining category—that they had to fit into. Unlike other monastic practices that are minutely described and regulated by the Vinaya, they are never defined or theorised in any way, nor do the canonical texts ever teach monastics how to pursue them (the *Visuddhimagga w*ould do that much later). Considering the complete lack of explanation, all terms must have been self-explanatory at the time—like the qualities of students given in my analogy—even though later generations may have no longer fully understood some of them.

While all this would have to be checked against parallels in other traditions than the Pāli, the fact that the Buddhist *dhutaṅga*(-like) qualities appear all over the canonical texts suggests that they were widely recognised and quite common. That their value is discussed controversially may, by itself, support this assumption—truly marginal practices would likely not receive this amount of praise or criticism. Unregulated by the Vinaya, they may give us an interesting peek into the practice of Buddhist monasticism in the early period. Apparently, individual monks lived in the wilderness, under trees, or entirely exposed to the climate in the open air; ate only what

fit in their bowl or only once a day; dressed in rag robes; and refused meal invitations or new robe material from lay followers. Some lived in charnel grounds or even refused to ever lie down. It may be tempting to view this as an early, more ascetic and less institutionalised phase of Buddhist monasticism, but the evidence shows that the lists of *dhutaṅga*(-like) qualities only expanded over time. Thirteen practices became standardised and affirmed in the *Visuddhimagga*, there enriched with much more detail, and they are still being undertaken today. Rather than assuming that with increasing institutionalisation, Buddhist monasticism lost its early ascetic edge and became increasingly more moderate, we may need to reckon with a continual presence of a stricter lifestyle that did not appear as marginal, extreme, or subversive, but as a regular and common variant of monastic life.

Abbreviations

AN	*Aṅguttara-nikāya*, ed. by R. Morris and E. Hardy, 5 vols (London: Pali Text Society, 1885–1900).
Ap	*Apadāna. The Apadāna of the Khuddaka Nikāya*, ed. by Mary E. Lilley (London: Pali Text Society, 1925–1927).
BD	*The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya Piṭaka)*, trans. by I. B. Horner, 6 vols (London: Pali Text Society, 1938–1966).
BHSD	Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*: Volume II: Dictionary (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).
Bv	*Buddhavamsa*, in *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, ed. by N. A. Jayawickrama (London: Pali Text Society, 1974).
DN	*Dīgha Nikāya*, ed. by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, 3 vols (London: Pali Text Society, 1890–1911).
DoP	*A Dictionary of Pāli*, by Margaret Cone, 3 vols (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2001–2020).
Mil	*The Milindapañho: Being Dialogues between King Milinda and the Buddhist Sage Nāgasena*, ed. by V. Trenckner (London: Pali Text Society, 1890).
MLS	*The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima-Nikāya)*, trans. by I. B. Horner, 3 vols (London: Pāli Text Society, 1954–1959).

MN	*Majjhima-nikāya*, ed. by V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers, 2 vols (London: Pali Text Society, 1888–1899).
Nidd I	*Mahāniddesa*, ed. by L. de la Vallée Poussin and E. J. Thomas (London: Pali Text Society 1916).
PED	*The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, by Thomas William Rhys Davids and William Stede (London: Pali Text Society, 1921–1925).
Sn	*Suttanipāta*, ed. by Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith (London: Pali Text Society, 1913).
SN	*Saṃyutta-nikāya*, ed. by L. Feer, 5 vols (London: Pali Text Society, 1884–1898).
Th/Thī	*Thera- and Therīgāthā*, ed. by Hermann Oldenberg and Richard Pischel, 2nd edition with Appendices by K. R. Norman and L. Alsdorf (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1990 [1966; '1883]).
Vin	*Vinaya Piṭaka*, ed. by Hermann Oldenberg, 5 vols (London: Pali Text Society, 1879–1883).
Vism	*Visuddhimagga* by Buddhaghosa, ed. by C. A. F. Rhys Davids, 2 vols (London: Pali Text Society, 1920–1921).

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Conceptualising the World in Pali Literature[1]

Nineteenth I. B. Horner Memorial Lecture, 2022

Alastair Gornall

I say, monks, that you cannot know, see or reach the world's end by travelling there. And yet, without reaching the world's end you cannot put an end to pain.

This seemingly paradoxical statement appears in the *Loka Sutta* in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*.[2] The monks who first heard it were thoroughly confused. How can we transcend the world and end human suffering when we cannot physically escape it? The Buddha left it to his attendant, Ānanda, to explain to the bemused monks what he meant. Ānanda discloses that while physical transcendence may be impossible, the ending of suffering still depends on transcending a different kind of world, the sensory world of human experience. The Buddha of the Pali canon frequently uses such wordplays to redirect his followers' attention away from the external world and instead to their interior lives as the ground for spiritual liberation. Consequently, Richard Gombrich, Sue Hamilton, and others have favoured interpreting references to other spatio-temporal worlds in the Buddha's discourses as primarily figurative rather than literal.[3]

Rupert Gethin challenged such interpretations as a false dichotomy in his article 'Cosmology and Meditation' (1997). He described how early Buddhist thought assimilated subjective experience to the external world and gave the former priority in explaining reality. However, he also argued

1 The research for this article has been supported by a Singapore Ministry of Education Academic Research Fund Tier 2 grant (MOE-T2EP40221-0006).

2 SN IV 93: *nāhaṃ bhikkhave gamanena lokassa antaṃ ñāteyyaṃ daṭṭheyyaṃ patteyyan ti vadāmi. na ca panāhaṃ bhikkhave appatvā lokassa antaṃ dukkhassa antakiriyaṃ vadāmī ti*. Compare also SN I 41; 98; II 73; IV 52; V 175; 435; AN II 23; Ud 32; It 121.

3 See, for instance, Gombrich 2006: 80–89; Hamilton 1999, esp. 82: 'My view is … that the metaphor should be taken as the "norm" and that passages which apparently refer to cosmological levels in spacial terms should be interpreted metaphorically and not literally as the Theravāda tradition later did.'

that this need not imply that the Buddha's references to heavens, hells, or other cosmological processes should be interpreted only in metaphorical terms. Unfortunately, attempts to explain away later cosmological speculation as a misreading of the historical Buddha's original intentions have a long history in our field and continue to persist. It is noteworthy that after almost two centuries, there are still hardly any studies of Theravada cosmology in European languages.[4] The neglect is particularly unfortunate for Pali studies, as cosmology developed into an important genre of monastic writing in the second millennium.

The full extent of this cosmological literature also remains relatively little known in European language scholarship. The earliest surveys of Pali literature hardly mentioned cosmological texts, and the little information they did give was often inaccurate and incomplete.[5] The situation improved with later studies such as K. R. Norman's *Pāli Literature* (1983) and Oskar von Hinüber's *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (1996).[6] The descriptions of the six cosmological works listed in the latter remain the most detailed English-language source we have on this genre of monastic writing. My lecture today builds on this foundational empirical work and provides a complete overview of all known Pali cosmological texts.[7] In addition, I provide some intellectual shape to this bibliography by tracing the history of this literature through the development of the different schemas scholar-monks used to think about the cosmos.

1. From cosmos to cosmology

The Pali textual tradition is a densely interwoven cultural system. As such, a history of the formal development of Pali cosmology must necessarily begin with the earliest threads of the tradition's thinking about the world

4 Scholars have long relied upon Kirfel 1920. More recently, Punnadhammo (2018) has substantially enhanced our understanding of canonical and commentarial cosmology.

5 Two works are described in Geiger 1916 (*Lokadīpakasāra*, *Pañcagatidīpanī*), one in Law 1933 (*Pañcagatidīpanī*), and three in Norman 1983 (*Pañcagatidīpanī*, *Lokapaññatti*, *Cakkavāḷadīpanī*). Bode 1909, relying mainly on Forchhammer 1882, mentioned at least five cosmological works by name (*Chagatidīpanī*, *Aruṇavatisūtra*, *Lokapaññatti*, *Lokuppatti* and *Lokadīpakasāra*) but without giving much or any detail about their genre or contents.

6 Peter Skilling has also done much to shed light on the Pali cosmological texts that have circulated in Southeast Asia. See, for instance, Skilling 1990; 2009 (esp. chs. 1, 4); 2018.

7 I base my research on available manuscripts, editions, and secondary studies, but there will likely be more Pali cosmological texts that come to light.

or *loka*. While some may have gone too far in claiming that the Buddha held no beliefs about the external world, the discourses preserved in the *nikāya*s indeed offer us no systematic cosmology. It is not that the cosmos is peripheral to the *nikāya*s. On the contrary, the Buddha's teachings place at centre stage a parade of beings and their realms, including gods, demons, nature spirits, dragons, and ghosts. It is just that the Buddha never provides a structured and coherent overview of this cosmos as an ordered whole, as we find in the Dharmagupta *Dīrghāgama*, for instance.[8] Instead, the most frequent schema encountered is simply a dichotomous one distinguishing between this world and the next (*ayaṃ loko*, *paro loko*). What is 'next' is open-ended and stands for any possible realm of rebirth.[9]

Nevertheless, I would argue that the Buddha's teachings presented his early followers with a paradigm that stimulated the intellectual development of more complex cosmologies. At a fundamental level, the idea of nirvana as something transcending the world provided categorical limits through which the world could be thought about and analysed. For instance, in early descriptions of meditation, the *nikāya*s developed hierarchical models of consciousness and the psycho-moral qualities that accompanied different mental states. Similarly, the canonical theories of karma and rebirth introduced the idea that living beings are organised against a moral scale. However, these early maps of meditation and rebirth were not always consistent and comprehensive, and it was up to later monks to even out the details. Some of this systematisation began even during the compilation of the *nikāya*s. For instance, the redactors of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* arranged a series of *sutta*s on rebirth according to a typology of five destinies (*pañcagati*): the hells and realms of animals, ghosts, humans, and gods.[10]

This systematisation of the world became more comprehensive in the Abhidhamma. Within it, we find the first attempts at constructing a formal cosmology out of the different world orders emerging from the *nikāya*s.[11] For instance, the *Vibhaṅga* ends with a chapter entitled 'analysing the teaching's heart' (*dhammahadayavibhaṅga*). It contains a detailed description of the cosmos in terms of thirty-one realms within three worlds, the *kāmaloka*

8 *Dīrghāgama* 30 (T. vol. 1, no. 1). See also Anālayo 2014.

9 On the idea of the *loka* in the Pali canon, see Hashimoto 1980; 1982; 1983; 1985 and, most recently, Divino 2023.

10 SN v 474–477. On the connection between the organisational methods of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and the early Abhidhamma, see Gethin 2020.

11 Dhs 223–4; Paṭis i 83–84; Vibh 401–36.

(desire world), *rūpaloka* (form world), and *arūpaloka* (formless world). Furthermore, it uses hierarchies of different mental states as a framework to order the various realms of living beings and the types of consciousness they can experience. At the level of the *kāmaloka*, for instance, we find distinguished, according to their psychological states, four lower realms (hell beings, animals, ghosts, and *asura*s 'jealous gods') and seven higher realms (human beings and six types of gods). The Abhidhamma thus integrated the nascent maps of mental states and rebirth realms found in the *nikāya*s to construct a unified, psychologically-grounded cosmology.

However, the Pali Abhidhamma's description of this three-world cosmos primarily in terms of the different mental states experienceable in each realm is still less detailed when compared with the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma. There are no systematic descriptions of the world's spatial and temporal structure comparable with those that were likely articulated in the *Prajñaptiśāstra*, for instance.[12] Nevertheless, the material was, of course, there in the canon to construct such an image of the cosmos. In it we find the rudiments of the belief in a physical world dominated by Mount Sineru with four great continents and oceans. The canon also contains complex theories that the world goes through cycles of de- and regeneration and that human society follows similar patterns in its moral development.[13] However, the Abhidhamma's earliest three-world model did not incorporate these spatial and temporal elements. Instead, it was up to later commentators to theorise how these aspects related to its worldview.

2. Expanding the Buddha's mind

There is no simple answer as to why the Pali canon has a less developed cosmology than other Indian Buddhist scriptural traditions. But one factor could be that the early Pali tradition held different views on the scope of the Buddha's power and knowledge.[14] There is perhaps a connection in

12 I say 'likely' as our understanding of the contents of the *Lokaprajñapti* section of the *Prajñaptiśāstra* depend on a later Tibetan translation (Peking Tanjur 5587–5589). However, there are extant Sanskrit fragments of the *Lokaprajñapti* (Yuyama 1987). On the *Lokaprajñaptiśāstra*, see de la Vallée Poussin 1914–18: 295–326; Willemen *et al.* 1998: 70–71; 189–97, and the references therein.

13 See Kirfel 1920: 178–207 for an overview of the various cosmological details given in the Pali canon.

14 On the connections between the development of the Abhidharma and changing conceptions of the Buddha's omniscience, see Anālayo 2014: 91– 127.

Buddhist intellectual history between increasingly lofty conceptions of the Buddha and the ever-more detailed cosmologies associated with his wisdom. For instance, Vincent Tournier has argued that Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin ideas about the Buddha's supramundane status informed the composition of the *Mahāvastu*'s long cosmological discourse in its first part.[15] Similarly, Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣika views about the Buddha's understanding of anything knowable, whether conventional or absolute, are consonant with the broader scope of the *Prajñaptiśāstra*'s cosmology.[16] However, it is unclear whether the *nikāya*s and early Abhidhamma viewed the Buddha as omniscient in a similarly broad sense.[17] And by the time later Abhidhamma works and the commentaries explicitly developed similar ideas, the canon may well have been closed to the introduction of new cosmological material.

There are inklings that the tradition had changed its thinking about the scope of the Buddha's knowledge in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*, specifically, his discussion of the Buddha's status as a 'knower of worlds' (*lokavidū*).[18] There, Buddhaghosa begins by defining the Buddha's knowledge of the *loka* in familiar terms as his understanding of conscious experience. But he then pivots and describes the Buddha's knowledge as encompassing a new three-world model: the *saṅkhāraloka* (world of formations, conditioned phenomena analysed in terms of dhammas), the *sattaloka* (world of living beings), and the *okāsaloka* (world of space, the insentient physical world). It is noteworthy that in an equivalent passage in the Chinese translation of the *Vimuttimagga*, a source possibly known to Buddhaghosa, the Buddha's knowledge is defined only in terms of the *saṅkhāra-* and *satta-loka*s.[19] While Buddhaghosa cites canonical passages to justify his schema, he introduces a good deal of new material, especially in his description of the *cakkavāḷa*'s or world sphere's physical features. For example, he describes Mount Sineru, Jambudīpa, and its Jambu tree as follows:

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15 Tournier 2017: 225–33.

16 Dhammajoti 2015: 273–322, esp. 290–92, citing *Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra* (T. vol. 27, no. 1545, 382c–383a; 887b). See also Guang Xing 2005: 44–45; McClintok 2010: 32–33.

17 Endo 2002: 58–79; Anālayo 2006: 1–20; Anālayo 2014: 91– 127; Heim 2018: 33–59.

18 Vism 7.168–70, §§ 36–45 ≈ Sp I, 117–20.

19 *Vimuttimagga* (T. vol. 32, no. 1648, 427a), trans. Ehara *et al.* 1961: 143. See also Sasaki 2018: 161.

> Sineru, the largest of all mountains, plunges beneath the sea
> for eighty-four thousand *yojana*s and rises out the same in height.
> Next comes a series of vast ranges, divine and spotted with gems.
> Each in height and depth measures half the size of the one before.
> They are named Yugandhara, Īsadhara, Karavīka,
> Sudassana, Nemindhara, Vinataka, and Assakaṇṇa.
> These seven great mountain rings surrounding Sineru
> are home to the four great kings and are visited by gods and Yakkhas.
> The lofty Himālaya is five hundred *yojana*s in height
> is three thousand *yojana*s in length and width,
> and is adorned with eighty-four thousand peaks.
> There is a tree called 'Naga' with a trunk fifteen *yojana*s in circumference.
> In length, its trunk measures fifty *yojana*s, and so too its branches on all sides.
> Thus, the tree shades a hundred *yojana*s and rises the same in height.
> Jambu Island is so known due to the magnificence of that Jambu tree.[20]

Buddhaghosa likely borrowed from outside the Mahāvihāran tradition when adding the *okāsaloka* to his schema. A distinction between a world of sentient beings (*sattvaloka*) and the physical world (*bhājanaloka*, lit. 'container world') structures the third chapter of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, for instance, and becomes relatively standard in subsequent Buddhist Sanskrit cosmological works.[21] Buddhaghosa and the early commentators also share a similar numerology with other Indian Buddhist traditions that governs the dimensions of the different aspects of the physical world. At every opportunity, they expand upon passing references in the canon to the features of the world. They precisely calculate their relative size and treat this knowledge as something the Buddha implicitly knew. It is unclear where this complex numerological system originated. However,

20 Vism 7.170, § 42 ≈ Sp 1, 119; As 298: *caturāsīti sahassāni ajjhogāḷho mahaṇṇave | accuggato tāvad eva sineru pabbatuttamo || tato upaḍḍhupaḍḍhena pamāṇena yathākkamaṃ | ajjhogāḷhuggatā dibbā nānāratanacittitā || yugandharo īsadharo karavīko sudassano | nemindharo vinatako assakaṇṇo giri brahā || ete satta mahāselā sinerussa samantato | mahārājānam āvāsā devayakkhanisevitā || yojanānaṃ satān' ucco himavā pañca pabbato | yojanānaṃ sahassāni tīṇi āyatavitthato | caturāsītisahassehi kūṭehi paṭimaṇḍito || tipañcayojanakkhandhaparikkhepā nagavhayā | paññāsayojanakkhandhasākhāyāmā samantato | satayojanavitthiṇṇā tāvad eva ca uggatā | jambu yass' ānubhāvena jambudīpo pakāsito ||*

21 *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, ch. 3; *Dharmasaṅgraha*, § 89; *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* (T. vol. 25, no. 1509, 546c1); *Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā*, ch. 5.

the overlap in some details between Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jain traditions may indicate an early convergence among religions about the nature of the universe and what an omniscient being should know.[22]

The Pali commentators sometimes explore the precise relationship between the spatial, *cakkavāḷa* cosmology and the three-world schema systematised in the Abhidhamma, especially the realms of the *kāmaloka*. For instance, the *Vibhaṅga* commentary describes how the heavens of the four great kings (*cātumahārājika*) and the thirty-three gods (*tāvatiṃsā*) are partially situated on different parts of Mount Sineru. While the mountain forms the physical center of the heavens, the realms extend horizontally from the mountain into space until they reach the rock face at the edge of the *cakkavāḷa* or world sphere. The sun and moon deities, and the constellations, also form a part of the heaven of the four great kings.[23] Similarly, we find sporadic references to the spatial locations of the other realms of the *kāmaloka* throughout the *nikāya* commentaries.[24] Again, while this marks a new development in the Pali tradition, it is comparable with what we find in Sanskrit works, such as the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.[25]

Likewise, Buddhaghosa's theory of cosmic time shares much with other Buddhist traditions. While he ignores the issue of time when formulating his new three-world model, he addresses it in the *Visuddhimagga* when discussing knowledge of past lives.[26] He frames his analysis of time using the *Kappa Sutta*'s description of the four phases of de- and regeneration that the universe cycles through in a great eon (*mahākappa*).[27] He situates within this framework canonical material about the world's decline and renewal (mainly from the *Aggañña* and *Sattasuriya Sutta*s). In doing so, he more explicitly centers these narratives on the *cakkavāḷa* to-

22 For an overview of these basic similarities and differences, see Kirfel 1920: 1–28.

23 Vibh-a 519. The *Sammohavinodanī* does not specifically mention the deities of the constellations (*nakkhatta*). However, their inclusion is described in *Atthasālinī* (318) and *Sāratthappakāsinī* (1 295).

24 The recent work by Punnadhammo (2018) gathers a number of these references. For instance, the *asura*s reside at the bottom of Mount Sineru under the ocean (Spk 1 338; Pj II 11 485) and the Avīci hell is located beneath the surface of the *cakkavāḷa* (*Paramatthamañjūsā* 1 243).

25 See also the *Lokaprajñaptiśāstra* (summary in de la Vallée Poussin 1914–18: 295–326) and the *Lokaprajñapti* (T. vol. 32, no. 1644).

26 Vism 13.346–357, §§ 13–71.

27 *Kappa Sutta*, AN 11 , 142. See also Hiltebeitel 2011: 246–260. The four phases consist of a *saṃvaṭṭa-kappa* (aeon of degeneration), a *saṃvaṭṭaṭṭhāyi-kappa*, where a degenerated state persists, a *vivaṭṭa-kappa* (aeon of regeneration), and a *vivaṭṭaṭṭhāyi-kappa*, where a regenerated state persists

pography and how it changes over time. Buddhaghosa also systematically defines the spatial breadth of these changes in terms of the three fields (*khetta*) of a buddha's power: his field of birth (10,000 *cakkavāḷa*s in extent); his field of authority (100,000 *koṭi*s of *cakkavāḷa*s in extent); and the field of his knowledge's immeasurable scope.[28] Finally, he also defines the spatial height of cosmic flux in terms of the earlier three-world, thirty-one realm schema. He describes how the universe's destruction begins at the bottom hells, extends gradually through the *kāmaloka*, and ends partway through the *rūpaloka*, sparing those in the highest realms.[29]

3. The Buddha speaks again

The complex contribution of the first-millennium Pali commentaries to cosmological thought certainly deserves a more detailed analysis. Nevertheless, for now it may be enough to highlight that one of the main contributions of these works was to take the canon's various perspectives on the world—whether in terms of ultimate *dhamma*s, hierarchies of living beings, the *cakkavāḷa* topography, or the universe's temporal order—and to draw connections between them. Particularly crucial, as mentioned, was Buddhaghosa's redefinition of the scope of the Buddha's omniscience in terms of a new three-world schema comprising the *saṅkhāra*, *satta*, and *okāsa* worlds. While the Pali canon contains the primary threads of this cosmology, the commentators added information and organisational frameworks not found in their scriptures.

This development meant that now, the commentaries, not the canon, solely preserved crucial aspects of the Buddha's thought. However, by the beginning of the second millennium, scholar monks began to translate into Pali other traditions' cosmological texts that the Buddha had apparently taught. The *Lokapaññatti* is perhaps the earliest instance of the incorporation and translation of a Sanskrit (or possibly Prakrit) cosmological work in the Pali tradition. The *Lokapaññatti*'s now lost primary source, the *Lokaprajñapti*, was likely the oldest cosmological work of the

28 His field of birth (*jātikhetta*) comprises the 10,000 *cakkavāḷa*s that tremble at his conception, birth, enlightenment, first sermon, decision to pass away, and death. His field of authority (*āṇakhetta*) comprises the 100,000 *koṭi*s of *cakkavāḷa*s where *paritta* texts are efficacious. His field of scope (*visayakhetta*) refers to the extent of his knowledge, which is immeasurable.

29 For a detailed discussion of this topic and related ideas in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, see Gethin 1997: 195–201.

Sāṃmitīya school.[30] The Indian monk Paramārtha translated a version of it into Chinese in 559, and it is this text that Paul Mus first used to ascertain the work that the *Lokapaññatti*'s author used as a model.[31] Like its Sanskrit counterpart, the *Lokapaññatti* takes the form of a *sutta* that the Buddha supposedly spoke at the Jetavana *ārāma* in Sāvatthi.

The lack of internal information about the origin of the Pali work or the scholar-monk who composed it means it is challenging to historicise. In his dissertation, Eugène Denis assessed previous claims about the work's date and place of composition. Based on the evidence of the text's reception and style, he suggested that it was composed in Burma/Myanmar in the eleventh or twelfth century. Still, he doubts the often repeated but uncorroborated claim that a certain Saddhammaghosa composed the *Lokapaññatti* and another Pali cosmological text, the *Chagatidīpanī*.[32] The earliest known work possibly to mention the *Lokapaññatti* was, until now, the Thai *Traibhūmikathā* composed in 1345. However, I recently found quotations from the text in the *Jinālaṅkāravaṇṇanā*.[33] This work claims to be the auto-commentary of Buddharakkhita, who authored the *Jinālaṅkāra* in southern Sri Lanka in 1156. In this regard, it is also noteworthy that the *Piṭakat-tō-sa-muiṅḥ* states that the *Lokapaññatti* was composed in Anurādhapura.[34] Even so, the *Lokapaññatti*'s provenance will likely remain uncertain.

While their common authorship is doubtful, the *Lokapaññatti* and *Chagatidīpanī* are closely associated and circulated together in Myanmar.[35] The *Chagatidīpanī* describes the six realms of rebirth in the *kāmaloka*. A later Thai recension of the Pali work subsumes the *asura* realm within the *peta* and *deva* realms to make it more consistent with the orthodox Theravada view that there are only five *gati*s.[36] The *Chagatidīpanī* is a trans-

30 On the sectarian affiliation of the *Lokaprajñapti*, see Okano 1998a; 1998b, 55–60; 2009. Other works sharing parallel passages with the *Lokapaññatti* include the *Mahāvastu* and *Divyāvadāna* (Denis 1977 I: xxix–xlix).

31 Mus 1939: 117–133.

32 Denis 1977 I: i–x. The attribution of the *Lokapaññatti* and *Chagatidīpanī* to a 'Saddhammaghosa of Thaton' originates in Forchhammer 1882: xxvi. It was then amplified in Bode 1909: 104 and Mus 1939: 33–65.

33 *Jinālaṅkāravaṇṇanā* 49–50.

34 Nyunt 2012: 75.

35 Both works, for instance, are mentioned together (nos. 114, 118) in a 1442 CE inscription listing texts held in a newly established royal monastery in Pagan. See Luce and Tin Htway 1976.

36 Mus 1939: 18–32; Hazlewood 1987.

lation of the *Ṣaḍgatikārikā*, a second to fourth-century Sanskrit work that was also translated into Tibetan in the early ninth century (at the latest) and twice into Chinese at the turn of the eleventh century.[37] The Sanskrit text is ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa in the Chinese tradition and Dharmasubhūtighoṣa in the Tibetan. The *Chagatidīpanī* has an anonymous Pali commentary with extensive passages in common with the *Lokapaññatti*, as both draw from the same Sāṃmitīya recension of the *Lokaprajñapti* as a source.[38] The *Chagatidīpanī* commentary occasionally incorporates Pali commentarial material as well, and this may suggest a later date for the work (certainly after the twelfth century) when Sīhaḷa lineages took hold in the region (Akita 2022: 176). In its preamble, the commentary states that an 'Assaghosa' composed the Sanskrit *Ṣaḍgatikārikā* as an abridgment for the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna Sūtra* (T. vol. 17, no. 721) and that a monk translated it into Pali for the sake of those with a weak understanding (*mudupaññā*).[39]

The *Lokapaññatti*, *Chagatidīpanī*, and the *Chagatidīpanī* commentary adopt similar visions of the world. They all feature the *gati*s of the *kāmaloka* prominently and largely ignore the *rūpa-* and *arūpaloka*s of the older three-world, thirty-one realm system. As Paul Mus noted, the Pali *Lokapaññatti* appears to have been revised to treat the *gati*s more systematically. While in its first half, the work describes somewhat randomly various realms in the *cakkavāḷa*, its second half includes a more extended analysis of the six *gati*s from the hells onwards not found in its Chinese parallel.[40] As noted, the *Chagatidīpanī* commentary has many passages in common with the *Lokapaññatti* and arranges this material more systematically according to the six-*gati* schema. As such, Mus regarded this commentary as continuing and culminating a process of reordering cosmological information that the *Lokapaññatti* started. For Mus, this reorganisation marked a move-

37 For a detailed study, edition, and translation of the *Ṣaḍgatikārikā*, see Okano 2018.

38 Denis 1977 I: xl–xlix; Mus 1939: 33–65. I am currently editing and translating this commentary with David Wharton.

39 BnF Pali manuscript 347, *kā* recto. I am greatly indebted to David Wharton who transcribed this manuscript and a manuscript of the *Mahākappalokasaṇṭhānapaññatti* for me. Von Hinüber 1996: 182 (§ 394) wrongly states that the commentary attributes the Pali *Chagatidīpanī* to Aśvaghoṣa. Mus (1939: 36) attributes the *Chagatidīpanī* to a 'Saddhammaghosa', though Denis (1977 I: iv–v) contends (rightly, I think) that the association of 'Saddhammaghosa' with the *Chagatidīpanī* may well stem from a misunderstanding concerning 'Aśvaghoṣa' as the author of the Sanskrit *Ṣaḍgatikārikā*.

40 For a useful comparison of the *Lokapaññatti* and Chinese translation of the *Lokaprajñapti*, see Denis 1977 II: 253–88.

ment away from a 'descriptive cosmology' focused on Mount Sineru and its topography towards an 'interpretative' one centered on an ideal moral order.[41]

Early in the *Lokapaññatti*, the work briefly refers to the story of the monk Abhibhū, a disciple of the former Buddha Sikhī, who gave a sermon in the Brahma realm that was audible across thousands of worlds. Ānanda asks the Buddha how his powers compare and, after some reticence, the Buddha describes his far vaster cosmological reach.[42] The Pali canon also contains the Abhibhū narrative in the *Aruṇavati Sutta*, and we also find an almost identical discourse on how the Buddha's powers compare with Abhibhū's in the *Cūḷanikā Sutta*.[43] In his commentary on the latter, Buddhaghosa retells with new details the backstory about Abhibhū before elaborating on the *sutta*'s cosmological details in relation to the Buddha's power.[44] The use of a composite Abhibhū narrative as a frame story for detailed descriptions of the Buddha's cosmological knowledge continues in the *Jinālaṅkāravaṇṇanā*.[45] In a lengthy opening, it retells the entire Abhibhū narrative from the *Aruṇavati* and *Cūḷanikā Sutta*s and introduces the material as the '*Aruṇavatiya Suttanta Desanā*'. What follows is an extensive description of the *cakkavāḷa*, Jambudīpa, and five, rather than six, realms of rebirth in the *kāmaloka*.[46]

The reference to this material in the *Jinālaṅkāravaṇṇanā* as a singular teaching connected with the *Aruṇavati Sutta* suggests that it was developing an independent status. This process crystallised in a compilation of cosmological material forming a stand-alone Pali *sutta*, the *Aruṇavati Sūtra*.[47] This anonymous work has circulated mainly within the Thai tradition. While manuscripts refer to it as the *Aruṇavati Sūtra*, the work opens with a benedictory verse where its author names it the *Aruṇavati-saṅgaha*. However, the text does adopt a *sutta*-like style in its narrative structure. In terms of content, it begins by calculating the relative physical power or *kāyabala* of all beings in the universe. It then describes, in turn, the *cakkavāḷa*, the lifespans of divine beings, the universe's destruction and

41 Mus 1939: 33–65, esp. 56–57.
42 *Lokapaññatti* 4–7.
43 SN I 154; AN I 226.
44 Mp II 336–345. See also Paṭis-a III 663–666.
45 *Jinālaṅkāravaṇṇanā* 46–49.
46 *Jinālaṅkāravaṇṇanā* 46–89.
47 For editions of the *Aruṇavati Sūtra*, see Saengmani 1980; National Library, Fine Arts Department, 1990.

reemergence, Jambudīpa's cities and countries, the hells, Jambudīpa's topography, the solar and lunar orbits, and the three fields (*khetta*) of a buddha's power. The *Aruṇavati Sūtra* thus contains both descriptive and interpretative elements (to adopt Paul Mus's analytical distinction). For instance, it uniquely organises livings beings in the cosmos around the central idea of the Buddha's physical power (calculated as equivalent to the power of 9,900,000 bodhisattvas in their last birth). However, like the first half of the *Lokapaññatti*, the work focuses on the world's spatial order centered on Mount Sineru as a descriptive framework. It situates its analysis following a discussion of cosmic time, a theme that the *Lokapaññatti* had also given greater prominence when revising the *Lokaprajñapti*.[48]

The sources of the *Aruṇavati Sūtra* identified so far include the *nikāya* commentaries, the *Visuddhimagga*, the *Jinālaṅkāravaṇṇanā*, and possibly the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*.[49] However, the final third of the text, beginning with the topography of Jambudīpa, overlaps with another anonymous cosmological *sutta*, the *Mahākappalokasaṇṭhānapaññatti*.[50] This work combines narrative elements from the *Sattasuriya Sutta* (AN IV 100–106), *Aggañña Sutta* (DN III 80–98), commentaries and *Visuddhimagga* to describe the world's destruction and restoration before giving a rich portrait of the physical *cakkavāḷa*, the solar and lunar orbits, and the three fields (*khetta*) of a buddha's power, which it shares with the *Aruṇavati Sūtra*. The direction of influence between the *Aruṇavati Sūtra* and the *Mahākappalokasaṇṭhānapaññatti* is unclear. Both works likely date before 1345 since the *Traibhūmikathā* may name them as sources, as the 'Aruṇavatī' and 'Mahākappa', respectively.[51] They also must date after the twelfth century as they share a verse relating to the world's destruction that is first

48 See Denis 1977 II: 285–287.

49 Piromnukul 2006.

50 *Mahākappalokasaṇṭhānapaññatti* fol. 18[1]b–35[1]b ≈ *Aruṇavati Sūtra*, Saengmani 1980: 46–61; National Library, Fine Arts Department 1990: 57–64. Here, I have consulted a manuscript of the *Mahākappalokasaṇṭhānapaññatti* (Pali 51) held in the library of the École française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris. There are also nine manuscripts of the work listed in the National Library of Thailand online inventory, all Pali in *khom* script, with the following catalogue numbers: 2251/ง/1; 4597/ค/9; 4599/ช/9; 6093/ค/1; 6586/ช/1; 6762/ค/1; 6770/ค/1; 6806/ก/1; 8759/ช/1. A romanised transcription of one of these manuscripts made for Sylvain Lévi is held in Chulalongkorn University Library ([RA] 293.312 M214M). There is also one manuscript in the Royal Library of Denmark: PA (Camb.) 38 (Tuxen, VII). I am currently editing and translating this work with David Wharton and Samantha Rajapaksha.

51 Reynolds and Reynolds 1982: 46.

cited in Pali in twelfth-century Sri Lanka in Sāriputta's *sannaya* on the *Abhidhammaṭṭhasaṅgaha*.[52]

4. The other three worlds

These new *sutta*s helped authorise commentarial cosmological knowledge and that of other Buddhist traditions by presenting it in Pali as *buddhavacana*. However, in the long run, this aim seems not to have met with complete success in scholarly circles. For instance, monastic bibliographies do not categorise the *Lokapaññatti* as *buddhavacana* and sometimes speculate on the monk who may have written the text.[53] These new cosmological *sutta*s also served an exegetical purpose in that, like the commentaries, they often brought together disparate cosmological material to present a singular worldview. However, they differed from the early commentaries in unifying this knowledge in one place, even if the informational synthesis given was often uneven. In a parallel development, other scholar-monks at the time also worked on unified cosmological systems and began composing the first Pali handbooks on the topic.

Unlike the *sutta* texts, these works have explicit authors and continue the cosmological enquiries of the Pali commentarial tradition. For instance, all Pali cosmological handbooks base their studies on Buddhaghosa's three-world model: the worlds of formations (*saṅkhāra*), living beings (*satta*), and space (*okāsa*). In fact, the only manual from this era following the earlier *kāma*, *rūpa*, and *arūpa* three-world schema is the Thai *Traibhūmikathā*. Therefore, structurally, the *Traibhūmikathā* is not as representative of this era's worldview as is often thought. The handbooks weave information from the canon and commentaries into a consistent whole, though they sometimes incorporate material from outside the tradition. This process of compilation began even in the second-millennium subcommentaries. For instance, in Sri Lanka, the twelfth-century scholar Sāriputta compiled from commentarial material a definitive account of the *saṅkhāra*, *satta*, and

52 *Abhidharmārthasaṅgraha-sannaya* 125–126: s*attasattagginā vārā aṭṭhame aṭṭhamodakā | catusaṭṭhi yadā puṇṇā eko vāyuvaro siyā || aggināhassarā heṭṭhā āpena subhakiṇhato | vehapphalato vātena evaṃ loko vinassati* || This verse is also cited in *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* 335; Abhidh-s-(mh)ṭ 129; *Lokadīpakasāra* 172; *Suttasaṅgaha-aṭṭhakathā* 64–65.

53 See, for instance, Gv 62 and *Piṭakat-tō-sa-muiṅḥ* (Nyunt 2012: 75) on the *Lokapaññatti*. Denis (1977 1: liv) also notes how, in 1830, the monastic editors of the Burmese *Mahāyāzawin-gyī*, written by U Kala in 1714, excluded material from the *Lokapaññatti* on the basis that it was not authoritative.

okāsa world schema in his *Sāratthadīpanī*.[54] This practice of compilation eventually resulted in increasingly dense, systematic presentations of traditional cosmology such that it became a bounded knowledge discipline in its own right.

While most cosmological handbooks were composed in Southeast Asia, we find signs of the sub-genre's emergence in the Sri Lankan tradition too. Increasing interest in cosmological matters is evident in the Anāgatavaṃsa commentary, the *Jinālaṅkāravaṇṇanā*, and Sāriputta's *Vinaya* subcommentary, as mentioned.[55] However, the closest we get to a cosmological handbook from Sri Lanka is Siddhattha's late-thirteenth-century *Sārasaṅgaha*.[56] In this work, Siddhattha compiled passages from the canon and commentaries that he deemed essential (*sāra*). While G. P. Malalasekera saw this work as 'jumbled together anyhow, with no attempt at arrangement', I have argued that the *Sārasaṅgaha* has quite a clear organisational structure.[57] In particular, chapters sixteen to twenty-four describe different types of karma, chapters twenty-five to thirty-four categorise various living beings, and the final six chapters deal with the life cycle and physical attributes of the universe. These three sections correspond roughly with the *saṅkhāra*, *satta*, and *okāsa* worlds, and Siddhattha uses the terms *satta-* and *okāsaloka* when introducing the latter two.

As Sīhaḷa monastic lineages took hold in Southeast Asia in the second millennium, Sri Lankan scholarship became an essential resource for those in the region writing the first cosmological handbooks. One such work was Medhaṅkara's *Lokadīpakasāra*. According to its colophon, Medhaṅkara wrote the work in Martaban, Myanmar, during the reign of king Li Thai (Lidaya) of Sukhothai (r. 1347–61). Medhaṅkara also belonged to a Sīhaḷa forest-monk lineage and became the *saṅgharāja* (head of the Saṅgha) and preceptor to the king.[58] The *Lokadīpakasāra* consists of eight chapters. The first chapter describes the *saṅkhāraloka*. Chapters two to six cover the *sattaloka* and comprise analyses of the five *gati*s of the *kāmaloka*. Chapter seven gives a detailed account of the *okāsaloka* before a final chapter covers miscellaneous cosmological information. The unusual style of the work—a mix of

54 Sp-ṭ I 239–90.

55 There is also a long cosmological discourse on the realms of rebirth, according to the *kāma*, *rūpa* and *arūpa* world schema, in the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* (ch. 7).

56 See Sasaki 1992 for an edition of the work.

57 Malalasekera 1994: 230; Gornall 2020: 123.

58 *Lokadīpakasāra* 231. See also Griswold and Nagara 1973 and von Hinüber 1996: 183–4. For a more critical assessment of this dating, see Blackburn 2024: 99, n. 106.

verse and prose—betrays its composite character. The prose chapter on the *saṅkhāraloka*, for instance, is lifted wholesale from Sāriputta's *Vinaya* subcommentary.[59] The other mainly prose chapter on the *okāsaloka* too consists of passages from Sāriputta's work, the *Jinālaṅkāravaṇṇanā*, and the *Sārasaṅgaha*.[60] The other chapters are entirely in verse, and their sources are unknown.

The collation of cosmological information in these works, using the *saṅkhāra*, *satta*, and *okāsa* world schema as a framework, led to a more systematically integrated worldview. Scholar-monks strengthened and developed the discursive connections between cosmological ideas first forged in the commentaries. In doing so, they amplified explanations about how the universe works and how the causal connections between the *saṅkhāra*, *satta*, and *okāsa* worlds condition its change. Another early second-millennium work, the *Lokuppatti*, represents an ideal example of this kind of synthesis. According to its colophon, this treatise on the *saṅkhāra*, *satta*, and *okāsa* worlds was composed by a certain Samantabhaddapaṇḍita. He was a pupil of the Aggamahāpaṇḍita, the 'principal great scholar', who was also named Samantabhadda.[61] Confusion about the common name shared by both teacher and pupil is likely why the seventeenth-century *Gandhavaṃsa* wrongly ascribes the *Lokuppatti* to an Aggapaṇḍita.[62] Sompong Preechajindawut dates the work to twelfth-century Pagan, and it must have been composed before 1442 as a Pagan inscription of king Narapati (r. 1413–68) mentions it.[63]

As its title suggests, the *Lokuppatti* primarily focuses on the temporal order of the *saṅkhāra*, *satta*, and *okāsa* worlds and how they change over time. Its first half treats the development of each world in turn while also making explanatory connections between these different levels of reality. It begins, for instance, by describing the *saṅkhāraloka* via the *khandha*s, and distinguishes between the *khandha*s of living and non-living things. When it turns to the *sattaloka*, it does not provide a taxonomy of the different realms of living beings like other works. Instead, it focuses on how the concept of a living thing develops from these *khandha*s and how karma determines a living being's birth, life, and death. The work then similarly

59 Compare *Lokadīpakasāra* 1–9 and Sp-ṭ I 241–48.
60 See Phrachatpong 2009.
61 *Lokuppatti* 183.
62 Gv 64.
63 Luce and Tin Htway 1976.

focuses on the life-cycle of the physical universe and the causal mechanisms that sustain it, including living beings' karma. However, the second half of the *okāsaloka* discussion shifts into a more conventional description of the *cakkavāḷa* with its mountains and continents. Particularly noteworthy is the attention the work gives to the movements of the sun, moon, and constellations, a topic that becomes increasingly important among works in later centuries.

5. The world of space

The greater attention given to the *okāsaloka* in the *Lokuppatti* relative to the *saṅkhāra* and *satta* worlds in some ways pre-empts the final schematic development in Pali cosmological writing. From the mid-fourteenth century, scholar monks in Southeast Asia continued to write cosmological handbooks based on the *saṅkhāra*, *satta*, and *okāsa* world model. However, instead of focusing on all three worlds, they evoke the schema to isolate the *okāsaloka* as the primary and sometimes only object of analysis. As a result, these works offer an unprecedentedly detailed account of the spatial world but lose some of the capaciousness of earlier works based on the complete three-world model. Moreover, they say little about why they focus primarily on the spatial world, and more work is needed to explain this development.

The largest and most influential work of this era is the *Cakkavāḷadīpanī*. A prolific scholar-monk, Sirimaṅgala, composed the text in Lanna in 1520. According to the work's colophon, he lived in a monastery known in Thai as Suan Khwan (สวนขวัญ) southeast of the Sīhaḷārāma during the reign of Phra Mueang Kaew (r. 1495–1526) (whom he refers to as 'the great-grandson of king Laka', i.e., Tilokarāja, r. 1441/2–1487).[64] In an excellent article on Sirimaṅgala, Gregory Kourilsky has addressed the debate about the location of Suan Khwan. He has argued that the monastery lay within the city walls of Chiang Mai right next to the Sīhaḷārāma or Phra Singh monastery. The Phra Singh monastery still houses a *Cakkavāḷadīpanī* manuscript that dates to 1538, only eighteen years after the original work was composed. At Suan Khwan, Sirimaṅgala also wrote the *Vessantaradīpanī* (a commentary on the *Vessantara Jātaka*) in 1517 and the *Saṅkhyāpakāsakaṭīkā* (a commentary on a work concerning weights and measures) in 1520.[65]

64 *Cakkavāḷadīpanī* VI 98. See also Saddhātissa 1974: 217.

65 Kourilsky 2021. Javier Schnake is currently editing the *Saṅkhyāpakāsakaṭīkā*.

Scholars have often assumed that Sirimaṅgala belonged to one of the Sīhaḷa monastic lineages that became prominent in Lanna from the late fourteenth century,[66] not least because of his ties to the Sīhaḷārāma in Chiang Mai. Indeed, his *Cakkavāḷadīpanī* reveals a strong influence from works associated with Sīhaḷa lineages, particularly the *Lokadīpakasāra*, *Jinālaṅkāravaṇṇanā*, and the *Sāratthadīpanī*. The *Lokadīpakasāra* is by far the *Cakkavāḷadīpanī*'s most significant source, and its systematic treatment of the *okāsaloka* in its third chapter appears to have formed the blueprint for the arrangement of Sirimaṅgala's work.[67] Like the *Lokadīpakasāra*, the *Cakkavāḷadīpanī* begins with a chapter on the nature of the *cakkavāḷa*, followed by chapters on the world's mountains, its water bodies, and continents. However, the work deviates from the *Lokadīpakasāra* with a spatial treatment of the hells and heavens before ending similarly with a chapter on miscellaneous cosmological issues. Sirimaṅgala's fidelity to the *Lokadīpakasāra* was likely due to more than simply the work's availability, for he had to hand other sources, such as the *Lokapaññatti* and *Lokuppatti*, but generally chose to ignore them.

Another cosmological text from the Thai region related to the *Cakkavāḷadīpanī* in both form and content is the *Lokasaṇṭhānajotaratanagaṇṭhi*. This is the title most commonly used among the extant manuscripts of the work. However, the anonymous author names his composition the *Lokajotikā* at the work's beginning and the *Jotaratanasatthavaṇṇanā* in his final colophon.[68] This cosmological handbook was composed after the *Cakkavāḷadīpanī* but before 1747, the date of the oldest known manuscript.[69] It consists of six chapters. After an initial chapter on time and the *kappa* system, the work turns to an account of the *cakkavāḷa* and Mount Sineru followed by a description of the world's continents and mountain ranges. It departs thematically from the *Cakkavāḷadīpanī* by discussing the lunar and solar orbits in its fourth chapter. However, it concludes similarly with a brief discussion of the realms of rebirth within the *cakkavāḷa* topography (194–254), borrowing extensively from the commentary on the *Chagatidīpanī*, and a final chapter on miscellaneous cosmological matters.

66 I am grateful to Martin Straube for also pointing out that, in his *Vessantaradīpanī*, Sirimaṅgala cites variants from Sinhala manuscripts, which he designates as *sīhaḷapoṭṭhaka*.

67 Katapunyo 2018.

68 *Lokasaṇṭhānajotaratanagaṇṭhi* 74; 254.

69 Katapunyo 2018: 277.

The *Lokasaṇṭhānajotaratanaganṭhi*'s inclusion of astronomical knowledge within the domain of cosmology has some precedent in several of the works discussed so far, such as the *Lokapaññatti*, *Lokuppatti*, and *Lokadīpakasāra*. However, in Sri Lanka, in particular, astronomy was often kept separate from the main thrust of cosmological enquiry. In thirteenth-century Sri Lanka, for instance, a Mahāvihāran scholar-monk Anomadassi composed South Asia's first ever astronomical anthology, the *Daivajñakāmadhenu*.[70] However, he wrote the work in Sanskrit and, despite interest in Buddhist cosmological matters at the time, he never attempts to integrate his astronomical knowledge with the Pali tradition he undoubtedly knew.

The accommodation of astronomical material in works like the *Lokuppatti* led some to write about the *okāsaloka* while focusing systematically on astronomy. The first such work is the *Candasuriyagatidīpanī* or *Candasuriyagativinicchaya*. The work's postscript names the author Tipiṭakamahāthera, 'an expert in the three Vedas' (*tīsu vedesu kovidena*), who was also given the name Uttamaṅga. It states he was a teacher of two famous kings in a certain Tambarā- or Tammara-desa. Elsewhere, the author indicates he wrote his work in Marammadesa or Myanmar.[71] In his opening and colophon, Uttamaṅga states he used the canon, commentaries, three Vedas, and Sanskrit *jyotiḥśāstra* as sources. The work must date after the *Sāratthadīpanī*, which it cites, but before 1520 as it is quoted in the *Cakkavāḷadīpanī*.[72] In its opening, Uttamaṅga explicitly criticises the *Lokuppatti*, apparently for misunderstanding the *Vinaya* subcommentary (and its astronomical content?). There, he also praises his teacher Udumbara Mahāthera. It is tempting to connect this figure with an Udumbara Mahāsāmi from Martaban, mentioned in Thai chronicles as sending a disciple to Chiang Mai during the reign of king Kuena (r. 1355–85).[73]

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70 See the edition of Seelakkhandha 1906. On the use of Sanskrit for astrological and astronomical works in Sri Lanka, see Bechert 1978.

71 von Hinüber 1996: 185. I am grateful to Oskar von Hinüber for sending me a transcription of a manuscript of this work by U Bokay. I have also consulted a digitised manuscript in the University of Toronto's Myanmar Manuscript Digital Library (UPT 538.3F).

72 See Kourilsky 2021: 112. I thank Ujjwal Kumar for pointing out some of the work's references to the *Sāratthadīpanī*.

73 *Jinakālamālī* 84. See also Griswold and Nagara 1973 for a critical assessment of the possibility that we should identify Udumbara Mahāsāmi with Medhaṅkara, author of the *Lokadīpakasāra*.

Another Pali cosmological work that was perhaps contemporary with the *Candasuriyagatidīpanī* and that focuses on astronomy is the *Okāsalokadīpanī*. A manuscript of the work I have consulted contains no opening verses or colophon, and it nowhere identifies its author.[74] However, the *Piṭakat-tō-sa-muiṅḥ* claims that it was composed by a certain Pitu Saṅgharāja.[75] This scholar-monk was named after his village, Pitu, in the Sagaing region of Myanmar, and was a teacher of the Ava kings Thado Minbya (r. 1345–67) and Mohnyin Thado (r. 1426–39).[76] The *Piṭakat-tō-sa-muiṅḥ* also attributes to Pitu another longer Pali work, the *Lokadīpanī*, which, according to an available manuscript, describes the world system (*lokadhātu*), the movements of the sun and moon, and the calculation of intercalary months (*adhimāsa*).[77] The *Okāsalokadīpanī* shares several topics with the *Candasuriyagatidīpanī* and describes lunar and solar movements (*gati*), the divisions of the elliptic (*vīthi*), and changes in the moon and sun's light (*āloka*). It seems to be mainly in verse and shares passages with the *Lokadīpakasāra*. Both the *Okāsalokadīpanī* and *Candasuriyagatidīpanī* reconcile astronomical information transmitted in *jyotiḥśāstra* with the Pali tradition's *cakkavāḷa* cosmology. The *Okāsalokadīpanī* does this a little more systematically than the *Candasuriyagatidīpanī* and bookends its three chapters on the sky with spatial descriptions of the *cakkavāḷa* and the higher heavenly realms.

6. Conclusion

This short survey of Pali cosmological texts and the schemas they used to analyse the world reveals that this genre of writing is more extensive than thought. The genre includes at least thirteen monolingual Pali texts, including the *Aruṇavati-sūtra* or *-saṅgaha*, *Lokadīpanī*, *Lokasaṇṭhānajotaratanaganṭhi*, *Lokuppatti*, *Mahākappalokasaṇṭhānapaññatti*, and the *Okāsalokadīpanī*, and we can expect this number to grow as manuscript collections are catalogued and digitised. I have suggested too that we can differentiate this genre into two sub-types: works that take the form of new

74 The manuscript is held in the Royal Library of Denmark (PA [Camb.] 37 [Tuxen VI]). See also Godakumbura 1983: 53.

75 Nyunt 2012: 75.

76 Mo Mo Thant 2017.

77 The digitised manuscript can be found in the University of Toronto's Myanmar Manuscript Digital Library (UPT509.8). I thank Bhikkhu Gansanta and David Wharton for transcribing this manuscript.

*sutta*s, such as the *Aruṇavati Sūtra* and *Lokapaññatti*, and those that condense cosmological information from the commentaries and other sources in the form of handbooks and anthologies, such as the *Cakkavāḷadīpanī* and *Lokadīpakasāra*.

The worldviews these works disclose also reveal an interesting array of cosmological schemas. We can see the scope of cosmological enquiry steadily expanding from the canon's emphasis on subjective experience, to hierarchies of living beings, and, finally, to the order of the spatial world. Like the commentaries, the earliest second-millennium Pali cosmological works mediate between and integrate these different perspectives. The handbooks, in particular, take up Buddhaghosa's more expansive definition of the Buddha's omniscience and use his three-world schema—the *saṅkhāra*, *satta*, and *okāsa-loka*s—as the basis for their analysis. However, from the middle of the fourteenth century the scope of enquiry again narrows in an opposite direction and scholar-monks turned their attention primarily to the spatial world.

Significantly, the ways in which nearly all second-millennium Pali works viewed the universe contrast with the most commonly encountered descriptions of Theravada cosmology in introductory European-language textbooks. There, Theravada cosmology is usually described only in terms of the earlier *kāma*, *rūpa*, and *arūpa* world model. So, it is noteworthy that, while this model remained relevant (especially in the Thai-language Traiphum cosmological works) no second-millennium cosmologist writing in Pali used the schema as his main interpretative framework. There is an opportunity, then, through these works and their worldviews to build a much more thorough and accurate understanding of Theravada cosmology and to acknowledge the diverse ways scholar monks in history have made sense of the world around them.

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An Early Religious and Historical Tradition of Laos
The *Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpanidāna* of Ariyavaṃsa[78]

Javier Schnake

I. Introduction

Lao religious history has traditionally been viewed through the prism of some of its traditional chronicles, mixing legendary tales and real facts. These chronicles form a set of various historiographic families which can be distributed according to their antiquity and geographical origin.[1] The Northern ones preserve a relatively old memory (the earliest versions can be dated to the sixteenth century). They were composed essentially in Luang Prabang, revealing two distinct traditions of texts (the *Nithān Khun Borom* and the *Phongsāvadān*), literary developments that benefited from the strengthened cultural relations with the Lanna kingdom enjoyed from the fifteenth century, a time when Buddhist studies flourished, and texts were propagated.

In substance, these chronicles give a prominent place to Fā Ngum (1316–1373 CE), the first Lao sovereign of the Lān Xāng kingdom whose historicity we can recognize. The peregrinations of the Phra Bang Buddha image, protector of Laos, are closely associated with his story and have deeply informed it (Lorrillard 2021a: 48). A Pali text seems to be one of the most ancient versions of the Phra Bang story, if not the first. This is the *Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpanidāna*[2] ('Account of the Buddha image [made

78 We sincerely thank Nalini Balbir for her invaluable help in preparing this work and Michel Lorrillard (EFEO Vientiane) for giving us access to some primary sources (in particular the lao glosses of the *nissaya* for the historical part), remarks, and information shared with us. We are also grateful to Rupert Gethin and Martin Straube for their insightful observations, which have helped refine our understanding of the Pali text, and Gregory Kourilsky for clarifying certain points.

1 Cf. Lorrillard 1995, 1999, 2021a, and 2022.

2 The Pali text itself does not include an explicit title; however, manuscript sources commonly refer to it as *Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpanidāna* (cf. 'Sources and Manuscripts Used').

of different] shares of wealth') (Abn) composed by Ariyavaṃsa. Although it has been forgotten until now, this text is of fundamental importance for knowledge of the ancient history of Lān Xāng: it opens ways of study for historians because it may represent the core of all Lao historiographical traditions. It is also an essential piece of Pali literature, in Laos and in general, as it helps to shed light on the Pali literary works from Tai countries that are often overlooked.

II. The *Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpanidāna*

1. State of the art

The Abn is a hitherto forgotten text. Manuscripts are rare and even absent in their place of origin. The only examples we found are preserved in collections of Pali manuscripts kept in Thailand and written in Khom script. Mention of this text in secondary sources dealing with the description of Pali literature is also rare.[3] George Cœdès's princeps article 'Note sur les ouvrages pâlis composés en pays thaï' (Cœdès 1915: 46) mentions the Abn among other Pali works recounting stories about Buddha images from ancient Siam, only pointing to its existence and its author, Ariyavaṃsa, who also composed another chronicle (the *Amarakaṭabuddharūpanidāna*). RobPhraert Lingat provided more details regarding the nature of the Abn in a discussion of the Emerald Buddha and a set of texts describing other Buddha images—'*le cycle des statues itinérantes*'[4] (Lingat 1932: 528; 1934: 28–29)—drawing their inspiration from similar facts and the same background of local beliefs. The Aḍḍhabhāga Buddha is one of these statues, celebrated as the Phra Bang image (see below, p. 129). Finally, after some ninety years of silence, a significant step forward concerning this Pali chronicle was made very recently. We paid serious attention to a copy of the Abn—from a manuscript stored at the Vajirañāṇa library in Bangkok by George Cœdès in 1915—and preserved at the EFEO library in Paris (see below). We presented a report of our research to Michel Lorrillard, who made the connection with vernacular chronicles. These allow us to contextualize the contents of the Abn and assert its central role in the formation of Lao chronicles and, more generally, in the history of Lao Buddhism.

3 Cf. Hinüber 1996: § 427; Skilling & Pakdeekham 2002: § 2.2; Saddhatissa 2004: 66.

4 Lingat refers here to the stories of the *Suvaṇṇasucibuddha* image (Phra Cek Kham), the *Candanabuddha* image, the Phra Sihing image, and the Phra Sikhī image.

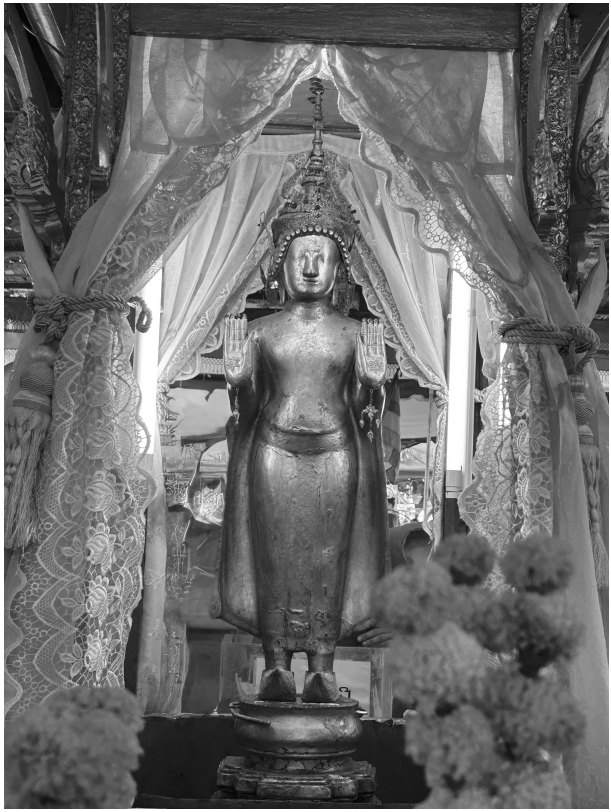

Figure 1: The Aḍḍhabhāgabuddha, Phra Bang image, Vat Mai, Luang Prabang, 17 April 2023 (Photograph courtesy Michel Lorrillard)

2. Elements of context

Nothing is known about Ariyavaṃsa and the place of composition of the Abn. The text also does not indicate the date of its elaboration, ending with the death of King Vixun (P. Vijjulla), which Lao chronicles date 1520–1521 CE. However, data from the other Ariyavaṃsa chronicle, the *Amarakaṭabuddharūpanidāna*,[5] allow us to bring forward the date of composition, as this account finishes around 1570 CE. It is unlikely that Ariyavaṃsa composed the *Amarakaṭabuddharūpanidāna* fifty years after the *Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpanidāna*, especially since they have a similar narrative structure.

5 The critical edition and translation are in preparation.

Around 1570 CE could then be the possible date of composition of these two texts.[6]

III. Form and contents

The Abn belongs to the *vaṃsa* ('history' or 'chronicle') genre that was also well-developed in Tai countries in texts such as the *Cāmadevīvaṃsa*, *Vaṃsamālinī*, *Jinakālamālinī*, *Ratanabimbavaṃsa*, *Saṅgītiyavaṃsa*, etc., which, however, did not circulate much, if at all, outside. This Phra Bang image's account has probably been influenced, in its structure and contents, by some Lanna's compositions—for instance, the accounts of the Phra Sihing image (Notton 1933a; Pakdeekham 2022) and Emerald Buddha image (Notton 1933b; Pakdeekham 2022)—which present the same constituents in their narratives: the mythical making of the statues in Laṅkā, their remarkable material, their sending to Indapatha (Cambodia), their offering to a foreign prince, and the circulation of the images in different places. Furthermore, these Buddha images are animated by formidable powers that make their conquest and possession uncertain for the rulers, the manifestations of their powers being as numerous as they are unexpected (Lingat 1934: 28–31).

Recounted in prose, the Abn presents two distinct parts developing the origin and peregrination of the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga image: the first section evokes its mythical manufacture on the island of Laṅkā, the statue being made from different precious metals and wealth. A Thera named Cūḷanāga was the initiator of this enterprise two hundred thirty-six years after the Buddha's Parinibbāna, to perpetuate the Sāsana for the five thousand years to come. Under a king named Supinna, in 218 CS (856 CE), the statue was sent to his friend King Siricunda of Indapatha (the Khmer capital), where it remained.

The second part focuses on the journey of the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga from Indapatha to its final destination in Sīsatanāganahuta[7] ('the glorious [city] of million elephants', i.e. Luang Prabang) at the end of the fifteenth century. This, in the first place, provides the opportunity to expound the

6 This shifts the supposed date of composition, previously placed in the course of the fifteenth century (cf. Hinüber 1996: § 427).

7 Manuscripts are not homogeneous, writing *si°* or *sī°*, which is the truncated form of *sirī* (Skt. *śrī*). To be consistent on this point throughout the text, we have kept the form *sī°*.

genealogy of the succession of kings in the Lān Xāng kingdom; the account of the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga image serves the prestige of the royal lineage. A substantial account, starting in 1316 CE, is devoted to the founder of Lān Xāng and the character presented as introducing Buddhism to the region, King Pabbhāradeva (i.e. King Fa Ngum): his arrival at Indapatha, the prophecy concerning him, his conquest of the different city-states extending the limit of the Dasasatasahassagajenda kingdom ('[kingdom of] the lord of million elephants', i.e. Luang Prabang), the arrival of the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga in a first Lao city, his exile in 1373 CE, and his death. This chapter continues with different episodes well-known from the *Phongsavadan* (of the elephant, the image falling into the river, the statue appearing in dreams, etc.), illustrating the powers of the Buddha image in the different places where he stayed, and his relationship with the different succeeding owners. The Abn ends with a short account of King Vijjulla (i.e. King Vixun), and the final settling down of the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga in the Sīsatanāganahuta's Vijjullamahāvihāra.

IV. The critical edition and translation

1. Sources and manuscripts used

B1. *Bra Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpaṃ nidānaparipuṇṇā.* no. 2315/gha/1, Khom script, National Library of Thailand (Bangkok, Thailand).

B2. *Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpanidānaṃ.* no. 2321/cha/1, Khom script, National Library of Thailand (Bangkok, Thailand).

B3. *Braḥ Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpanidānaṃ paripuṇṇ'.* no. 4387/kha/1, Khom script, National Library of Thailand (Bangkok, Thailand).

B4. *Bra Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpanidānaparipuṇṇā.* no. 5700/gha/1, Khom script, National Library of Thailand (Bangkok, Thailand).

B5. *Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ nitthītaṃ.* 6296/ṭha/1, Khom script, National Library of Thailand (Bangkok, Thailand).

P1. *Praḥ Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpanidāna.* Transcription of the EFEO PALI 137 in Latin script, 14 pages, EFEO PALI 128, École française d'Extrême-Orient library (Paris, France).[8]

P2. *Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpanidāna* included in a collection of texts, MEP 30, Khom script, Asian library of the Missions Étrangère de Paris (MEP) (Paris, France).

8 We sometimes compared both documents to be sure of what was written.

Braḥ Aḍḥabhāgabuddharūpanidāna. EFEO PALI 137, facsimile of a manuscript copied at the request of George Cœdès from a manuscript present at the Vajirañāṇa (Bangkok) (March 1915), 24 pages, Khom script, École française d'Extrême-Orient library (Paris, France).

Nithan Phra Bang Chao [*Aḍḍḥabhābgabuddharūpanidāna's nissaya*]. PLMP 06011413025_04_0486, Tham script, Vat Mai library (Luang Prabang, Laos).

2. Methodology

We aim to produce a text as close as possible to the original, entirely usable and intelligible to the reader. This critical edition puts different sources collated earlier into perspective and compares them by bringing to bear all the information and variants relevant to the text's understanding. To this end, we added a critical apparatus.

All the sources consulted contain many syntactic and orthographical errors due to the copying process, as well as the local pronunciation of Pali. So as not to overload the critical apparatus, we have not systematically included all this information, omitting variations which do not add significant information and are due to:

- the copying process, such as line breaks, returns of the line, all kinds of omissions (of letters, words, phrases, stanzas, portions of text), additions, modifications, inversions, repetition of sentences/words/syllables, etc.;
- the vocalic quantity, which is very little respected, *ī* and *ū* becoming respectively *i* and *u*, (the length of *ā* is less affected);
- the confusion of certain vowels probably linked to pronunciation, for example *sādhakan* for *sādhukan*, *devase* for *divase*, etc.; some of these confusions are systematic, such as *acchiriya*° for *acchariya*°, or *issiriya*° for *issariya*°;
- graphical similarities between characters in the Khom script: *ārocācesi* for *ārocāpesi* (*ca* and *pa*), *dīma*° for *dīpa*° or *pahiddhikānubhāvaṃ* for *mahiddhikānubhāvaṃ* or *mahāya* for *pahāya* (*ma* and *pa*), °*cańkophake* for °*cańkoṭake* (*pha* and *ṭa*), etc.; the confusion of certain subscripted consonants, such as *ñja*, for example °*pijjhāni* for *piñjāni*, etc.

The pronunciation of the text by copyists also generates various errors due to:

- the treatment of consonants which very frequently gives rise to geminations: *āsiñcitte* for *āsiñcite*, *nāttha°* for *nātha°*, etc.; some are moreover systematic, such as *uppathambhetvā* for *upathambhetvā*, *supinna°* for *supina°*, or even *manorammaṃ* for *manoramaṃ*; conversely the copyists delete one of the two twin consonants: *pakosāpetvā* for *pakkosāpetvā*, *palaṅkaṃ* for *pallaṅkaṃ*, *kapivase* for *kapivasse*, etc.

- the quasi-systematic dentalization of *ṭha* into *tha*: for example, *thapeti* for *ṭhapeti*, etc.

- the cerebral *ṭa*, which often becomes dentalized: *patthāya* for *paṭṭhāya*, *nātakesu* for *nāṭakesu*, etc.

- difficulties in the aspiration of consonants, *Indādirāja°* for *Indādhirāja°*, *pūjāsakkhārena* for *pūjāsakkārena*, *saddho* for *saddo*, etc.; or suppression of this aspiration, such as *Indapata°* for *Indapatha°*, etc. and more consistently *yujjati* for *yujjhati* or *vijjitvā* for *vijjhitvā*.

- the cerebral *ṇa*, which sometimes becomes *na*, such as *hanuke* for *haṇuke* or even *°dharani* for *°dharaṇi*.

- the liquid *ḷa* occasionally transforming into *la*, as in *nalāte* for *naḷāte*.

- the regular omission of the *niggahīta* (*aṃ*) at the end of the word: *ta* for *taṃ*, *Buddha* for *buddhaṃ*, etc.

- and finally transformations which betray more clearly the speech of the copyist: the *ra* which is labialized in *la*, for example *vihālapālako* for *vihārapālako*; the *ya* transformed in *ña* such as *°paṭiñattena* for *°paṭiyattena*, the guttural *ga* for *ka*, like *aṅgusa°* for *aṅkusa°* or *pallaṅge* for *pallaṅke*, the semi-vowel *va* which is labialized in *ba*, systematically applied for *cakkavatti* written as *cakkabatti*.

Furthermore, the transmission of this text through time altered vocabulary, notably some of the proper names and titles; a small number of passages are sometimes missing. In all these cases of uncertainty, we have emended the terms concerned, giving the wrong versions in footnotes so that the

reader can appreciate the nature of the change. For example, *osīdati* written *osijjati* or *osijjhati*, or *cullasakkarāje* constantly misspelt *culasaṅkarāje*, *cullasakkarājje*, etc. We have also relied, where necessary, on the *nissaya* of the Abn, the *Nithan Phra Bang*.[9] This Pali-Lao gloss is very reliable in preserving ancient versions of the text and supplying crucial information that clarifies certain passages of the Abn. Consequently, some proper names have been reconstructed, for example, *Vijjula* (*Vijula*, *Vijulla*, etc.), *Kaṇṭhakaveḷu* (*Kaṇḍakaveḷu*, *Kaṇthakavelu*, *Kaṇḍakavelu*, *Kaṇṭhakaveḷa*), etc.; and we have added in square brackets [ ] words and phrases required by the context and dropped out in the course of transmision. Moreover, we also rely on this *nissaya* in giving in the footnotes the Lao proper names of places and people, when possible, so that Laos specialists can locate the information which seems opportune to them.

3. Note on translation

In translating a narrative text such as this, some adjustments are preferable to make for more fluid reading and to avoid repetitiveness and stiltedness. For instance, the Abn uses strings of absolutive forms; in the translation, these have been reorganized, and sentences have been shortened in different ways for the sake of readability. We also reduce the systematic repetition of words proper to Ariyavaṃsa's style, notably the repetition of proper names and common nouns, verbs that recall the action that just preceded (for instance, 'having said', 'having thought', etc.), as well as coordinating conjunctions which are systematic at the beginning of paragraphs (*tadā*, *atha*, *pana*, etc.).

Furthermore, the Pali text does not always have the flow of the great *vaṃsa* texts. The narration is very concise and expressed with a minimum of ideas. Very often, events follow one another without transition, giving the impression that some events recorded in the text refer to something well-known to the readers. In such cases, we have introduced some words in brackets or used coordinating conjunctions to aid the proper understanding of the whole. Finally, the meaning of the words chosen by Ariyavaṃsa sometimes needs to be deduced or stretched; the translation allows some elasticity to the vocabulary to convey the particular nuances. For example, the verb *āsiñcati* (§ 1.1), meaning 'to sprinkle', translated successively as 'to cast' in the context of the manufacture of the statue.

9 Cf. ms. *Nithan Phra Bang Chao*.

V. Pali text

namatthu ratanattayaṃ[1]

nāthasambuddhaṃ pavaraṃ sasaddhammagaṇuttamaṃ
Ariyavaṃso[2] nāmāhaṃ[3] abhivandiya racissaṃ
yathābalaṃ samāsato Aḍḍhabhāganāmakassa
Buddharūpassa nidānaṃ taṃ suṇatha sādhukan ti.

1.

[1.1] amhākaṃ pana Bhagavato nibbānato chatiṃsavassādhikānaṃ[4] dvinnaṃ vassasatānaṃ accayena sīlācārasamannāgato Cūḷanāgo[5] nāma eko khīṇāsavo va thero Laṅkādīpe paṭivasati. so pana tipiṭakadharo mahiddhiko sāsanajotanādhippāyo[6] 'ken' upāyena[7] Buddhasāsanaṃ yāva pañcavassasahassāni jotayissāmī' ti cintetvā 'mahiddhibuddhabimbakārena[8] buddhasāsanaṃ yāva pañcavassasahassāni jotayissāmī' ti aññāsi.

ñatvā ca pana thero Laṅkādīparājapamukhānaṃ[9] Laṅkādīpamanussānaṃ Indādhirājapamukhānaṃ devagaṇānaṃ samaṇabrāhmaṇānañ ca buddhabimbakaraṇaṃ samaggībhāvatthāya[10] ārocāpesi. tadā sabbe devamanussā ca samaṇabrāhmaṇā ca samāgatā samaggā Cūḷanāgatherassa[11] vacanaṃ abhinandiṃsu.[12] tato pana thero khetta-udakagahaṇakāraṇā[13] yujjhanatthāya balanikāye ādāya nikkhamantā[14] Kapilavatthukoḷiyavāsino manusse buddhañātiyo[15] nivāraṇahatthukkhipanabuddhasadisaṃ madhukiyena suvicittaṃ buddharūpaṃ cittakāraṃ kārāpeti.

kāretvā āsiñcite pi 'sati sabbe devamanussā nandayantā[16] pathavītalato[17] yāva chakāmāvacaradevalokā sādhukāraṃ pavattetvā ekacce suvaṇṇaṃ ekacce hiraññaṃ ekacce kaṅsaṃ[18] āharitvā: 'aḍḍhabhāgaṃ mama dhanaṃ bhante pakkhipithā' ti vadanti. thero devamanussānaṃ dhanaṃ suvaṇṇaṃ hiraññaṃ kaṅsaṃ thokaṃ thokaṃ[19] saṃharitvā ukkāmukhe pa-

[1] B2 n. m. B5 *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.* [2] All sources read *Ariyavaṅso.* [3] P *nāmākaṃ.* [4] B1, B2 *chattiṃsa°.* [5] B5 *Culla°.* All the other sources indicate *Cuḷa°.* We emend it into *Cūḷa°* here and after. [6] B2 *sāsane jotanādhippāyo.* B3, P2 *sāsanaṃ jotanādhi ppāyo.* [7] All the sources read *uppāyena.* [8] P2 *mahiddhibuddhakārena.* [9] B1 *°ppamukhānaṃ.* [10] B1, B4, P *buddhabimbakaraṇasamaggībhāvatthāya.* B2 *°samaggi°.* [11] B5 *culla°.* [12] B3, P2 *abhinandisuṃ.* [13] B2 *khettaṃ udakagahaṇakāraṇā.* [14] B2, B3, B5, P2 *nikkhantāyo.* P *nikkhamanto.* [15] B3, P2 *buddhassa ñātiyo.* [16] B1, B4, B5, P1, P2 *nandiyantā.* [17] B3, B4, B5, P2 *pathavi°.* [18] B2, B5 *kaṃsaṃ.* [19] The sequence *dhanaṃ suvaṇṇaṃ hiraññaṃ kaṅsaṃ thokaṃ* is B1, B4 *dhanaṃ suvaṇṇaṃ hiraññakaṅsathokaṃ.* B2, B5 *dhanasuvaṇṇahiraññakaṅsaṃ thokaṃ thokaṃ.* B3 *dhanaṃ suvaṇṇaṃ hiraññaṃ kaṅsaṃ thokaṃ thokaṃ.* P2 *dhanasuvaṇṇahiraññakaṃsaṃ thokaṃ thokaṃ.*

kkhipitvā cittakāraṃ buddharūpaṃ āsiñcāpesi. āsiñcanakāle devamanussā mahantāni pūjāsakkārāni karitvā sādhukārasahassāni pavattayiṃsu.[1]

tadā ekakolāhalasādhukārasaddo[2] pathavītalato yāva chakāmāvacaradevalokā[3] abbhuggacchi. āsiñcitvā ca pana sodhetvā Cūḷanāgapamukhā[4] devamanussā tena aḍḍhabhāgavohāranimittena 'Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpo' ti buddharūpassa nāmaṃ kariṃsu.[5] aḍḍhabhāgavohāro pana Laṅkādīpamanussānaṃ vohāro hoti.

[1.2] tadā Cūḷanāgatherādayo[6] khīṇāsavabhikkhū ca Vāsavādayo[7] devagaṇā ca Laṅkādīparājādayo manussagaṇā ca ativiya nandayantā aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpaṃ pāsādavare pavarāsane[8] patiṭṭhāpetvā mahantena pūjāsakkārena subhamaṅgalanakkhattayutte puṇṇamīdivase buddhābhisekaṃ kariṃsu.[9] Buddhābhisekadivase thero pañcasatthusarīradhātuyo ratanacaṅkoṭake pakkhipitvā taṃ[10] suvaṇṇapāṭiyaṃ ṭhapetvā Buddharūpassa purato ṭhapetvā

'sace ayaṃ Buddharūpo yāva pañcavassasahassāni devamanussānaṃ hitatthāya patiṭṭhahissati imā dhātuyo imassa Buddharūpassa sarīre pavisantū' ti adhiṭṭhāsi.

tato adhiṭṭhānasamanantaram eva ekā dhātu naḷāte pavisati ekā dhātu haṇuke ekā dhātu uramajjhe ekā dhātu dakkhiṇahatthe ekā dhātu vāmahatthe[11] pavisati. tasmiṃ khaṇe yeva Aḍḍhabhāgabuddho acchariyāni anekāni[12] pāṭihāriyāni akāsi. sabbe devamanussā tāni pāṭihāriyāni disvā abhinanditvā satta rattindivāni[13] mahāsādhukāraṃ[14] kariṃsu.[15] tato paṭṭhāya Aḍḍhabhāgabuddho devamanussānaṃ icchitaṃ paṭṭhitaṃ samijjhāpetvā Buddhaparinibbānato catunavutivassādhikāni[16] vassasahassāni atītasāsanāni Laṅkādīpe patiṭṭhāti. ye pana manussā puttakāmā Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa madhudīpehi pūjaṃ katvā paṭṭhenti te bahuputte[17] labhanti. ye ca arogakāmā Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa byādhisarīrapamāṇamadhudīpena pūjaṃ katvā paṭṭhenti te arogā honti.

[1.3] tato paṭṭhāya[18] aṭṭhārasavassādhikāni dvesata lokacūḷasakarājāni[19] nāma honti. Laṅkādīpe Supinno[20] nāma eko rājā rajjaṃ kāresi. atha Indapathamahānagare Siricundo nāma eko rajjaṃ kāresi. te ubho khattiyā kalyāṇamittena aññamaññaṃ siniddhasnehabhāvaṃ gacchanti. tesu Siri-

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[1] B3, P2 *pavattayisuṃ*. [2] B5 *ekakolāhalajāto sādhurārasaddo*. [3] B3, B5 °*loke*. [4] B1 *Culanāgabhimukhā*. B4 *Culanāgābhimukhā* B5 *Culanāga*°. [5] B3, P2 *karisuṃ*. [6] B5 *Culla*°. [7] B5 *indādayo*. [8] B2, B5, P2 *pavara-āsane*. [9] B3, P2 *karisuṃ*. [10] B5 n. m. [11] P2 *vāmahatthe ca*. [13] P, B5 °*divā*. [14] B2 *mahāsādhukiḷitaṃ*. B3, B5, P2 *mahāsādhu*. [15] B2 *kiḷiṃsu*. B3 *karisuṃ*. B5 *kiḷiṃsu*. P2 *kirisuṃ*. [16] B3 *catunavutivassādhikā*. [17] B1, B2, P *bahuputtā*. B3, B4, B5, P2 *bahūputtā*. [18] B2, B3, B5, P2 n. m. [19] All sources read *lokacūla*°. [20] B2, B5 *supino*.

cundo rājā Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa mahiddhikānubhāvaṃ sutvā pītisomanassajāto upaṭṭhātukāmo Supinnassa Laṅkādīparājassa 'ahaṃ mahārāja Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ yācāmi. sahāyo rājā mayhaṃ Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ detuṃ[1] mama hitasukhāyā' ti sāsanaṃ pesesi.

tadā Laṅkādīparājā taṃ rājasāsanaṃ sutvā pītisomanassajāto mahantena pūjāsakkārena suvaṇṇasivikāya Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ āropetvā Laṅkādīpā nikkhamāpetvā nāvātitthaṃ pāpeti.[2]

Laṅkādīparājā saparivāro suvaṇṇarajataṃaṇināvaṃ Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ āropetvā samuddaṃ uyyojesi. tadā Aḍḍhabhāgabuddho Jambudīpe Indapathanagaraṃ patto ahosi. tato Siricundādayo Indapathanagaravāsino ativiya nandayantā mahantena parivārena Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ paccugantvā suvaṇṇasivikāyaṃ Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ āropetvā alaṅkatapaṭiyattena mahāmaggena ānetvā Indapathanagaramajjhe mahāvihāre sammā ṭhapenti.

Indapatharājā sakalanagare bheriñ cārapetvā satta rattindivā mahā sādhuṃ[3] kīḷapesi. atha turiyavādikā sabbāni[4] turiyāni paggayhiṃsu.[5] mahāsamuddakucchiyaṃ meghagajjitanighoso viya turiyanighoso mahā ahosi. sabbe manussā nirantarāni pūjāsakkārāni āharitvā Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa pūjenti. anekāni lābhasakkārāni Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa uppajjanti. Aḍḍhabhāgabuddho acchariyāni anekāni pāṭihāriyāni akāsi.

tato paṭṭhāya Aḍḍhabhāgabuddho Indapathanagaravāsīnaṃ icchitaṃ paṭṭhitaṃ samijjhāpetvā Indapathanagaravāsīnaṃ hitasukhāya Indapathanagare tiṭṭhati. iti Aḍḍhabhāgabuddho Indapathanagaraṃ āgato.

Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa pubbanidānaṃ[6] samattaṃ.

2.

tato paraṃ Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa [paṇḍitena] aparaṃ[7] nidānaṃ veditabbaṃ.

[2.1] tadā aṭṭhasattativassādhikāni vassachasata[8] cullasakarājāni[9] ahesuṃ. eko rājā Cuṇṇasuvaṇṇo nāma Sīsatanāganahutamahānagare [uttamapurīrājādhāniyā] rajjaṃ kāresi. tassa putto Yakkhadevo nāma ahosi. Yakkhadevo Pabbhāradevakumāraṃ nāma puttaṃ[10] paṭilabhati. Yakkhadevo pituno Cuṇṇasuvaṇṇarañño nāṭakesu micchācāraṃ carati. Cuṇṇasu-

[1]All sources read *detu*. We emend it. [2]B2, B5 *pāpetī ti*. P *pāpesi*. [3]B1 *sādhū*. B2 *sādhukiḷāni*. B3, B4, B5, P2 *sādhu*. B5 *sādhukillani*. [4]B5 *sabbā*. [5]B3, P2 *paggayhisuṃ*. [6]B3 *nidānaṃ*. [7]B4 °*paraṃ*. P2 *apara*°. [8]B2 *vassasata*. B3, B5, P2 *chasata*. [9]B1 *culasaṅgarājāni*. B2, B3, B4, P *culasaṅkarājāni*. P2 *culasakarājāni*. [10]B1, B4, P *kumāraputtaṃ*.

vaṇṇarājā Yakkhadevaṃ pabbājeti.[1] Pabbhāradevo attano pitaraṃ pabbājitasāsanaṃ sutvā pitarā saddhiṃ gacchati. te ubho gacchantā Indapathanagaraṃ pāpuṇitvā ekassa therassa kuṭiyaṃ nipajjanti. Pabbhāradevassa ghānasaddo turiyasaddo viya ahosi. thero tassa ghānasaddaṃ sutvā byākāsi: 'ayaṃ kumāro pākaṭarājā mahānubhāvo bhavissatī' ti. taṃ byākaraṇaṃ Indapathanagare pākaṭaṃ ahosi.

tadā Indapathanagararājā taṃ Pabbhāradevaṃ pakkosāpetvā attānaṃ upaṭṭhāpetvā anusāsitvā[2] tassa attano dhītaraṃ adāsi. rājā pabbhāradevaṃ āha: 'tāta kumāra ahaṃ[3] taṃ mahāpitunagara-Sīsatanāganahutanagare rajjaṃ kārāpessāmi. tvaṃ attano mahāpitunagare rajjaṃ kāretuṃ sakkhissasī' ti. Pabbhāradevo [āha: 'tumhe detha balanikāye yodhā mayhaṃ. ahaṃ sakkhissāmi'. tadā Indapatharājā datvā bhārayha(?)[4] patvā] balanikāye ādāya hatthiṃ[5] āruyhitvā Sīsatanāganahutanagarasīmaṃ patvā sabbakkhaṇḍasīmūpacāresu[6] khandhakanagaresu[7] sāsanaṃ pesesi:[8]

'tātā mātula cullapituyo[9] ahaṃ Sīsatanāganahutanagare khattiyarājavaṃso[10] evaṃ gantvā[11] mahāpituno Cuṇṇasuvannarañño[12] rajjaṃ gahetvā rajjam kāressāmi. tumhe attano balanikāye ādāya mayā saddhiṃ āgacchathā' ti.

[tadā] khaṇḍasīmakhuddakarājāno[13] āhaṃsu:

'tāta Pabbhāradeva tuyhaṃ mahāpitubhūmipālo Cuṇṇasuvaṇṇarājā atthi. kiṃ tvaṃ rajjaṃ gahessasi tena mayaṃ tayā saddhiṃ na samaggamhā' ti.

Pabbhāradevo hatthiṃ[14] āruyhitvā Kaṇṭakaveḷunagaraṃ[15] patvā sāsanaṃ pesesi. Kaṇṭhakaveḷurājā tena saddhim na samaggo hoti.

[2.2] tadā Ukkhitasuvaṇṇo nāma eko kumāro Udeyyanagararañño putto pituno nāṭakesu micchācāraṃ caritvā palāyitvā Kaṇṭakaveḷunagararañño[16] santike vasati. Pabbhāradevo ca Ukkhitasuvaṇṇo ca ubho va samaggā[17] sahāyabhāvaṃ gacchanti. Ukkhitasuvaṇṇo āha:

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[1] B2, B4, B5 *pabbājesi*. [2] B5 inserts *attānaṃ uppaṭṭhāpetvā anussāsitvā*. [3] B3 *ahan*. [4] This portion of text is unclear in the *nissaya*. [5] B2, B5 n. m. [6] B1 *sabbakkhandhasimam upacāresu*. B2, B3 *sabbakhandhasimūpacāresu*. B4 °*simupacāresu*. B5 *sabbakhandasimupacāresu*. P2 *sabbakkhandasimupacāresu*. [7] B2, P *Khaṇḍakanagaresu*. [8] B1, P2 *peseti*. [9] B2, B3, P2 *culaº*. [10] B5 *khattiyavaṃso*. Other mss. read °*vaṅso*. [11] B5 *āgantvā*. [12] B1 *Cuṇṇarañño*. [13] B1, B4 *khandhasimakhudakaº*. B2 *khandaº*. B3 *khandhasimaº*. B5 *khandhasimakhuddhakaº*. P *khaṇḍasīmakhuddakaº*. P2 *khandasimakhuddhakaº*. [14] B2, B3, B5, P2 n. m. [15] B5 *Kaṇṭhakavelu*°. P2 *Kaṇḍaka*°. [16] P2 *Kaṇḍaka*°. [17] B1 n. m.

'samma tvaṃ maṃ[1] upatthambhetvā Udeyyanagare rajjaṃ kārāpessasi.[2] ahaṃ[3] ca[4] Udeyyanagare balanikāye ādāya taṃ upatthambhetvā Sīsatanāganahutamahānagare rajjaṃ kārāpessāmi' ti.

te ubho samaggā gantvā Udeyyanagaraṃ yujjhitvā Udeyyarājaṃ jayanti.[5] Pabbhāradevo Ukkhitasuvaṇṇaṃ rajje patiṭṭhāpesi. te ubho Udeyyanagare balanikāye ādāya Sīsatanāganahutanagaraṃ gacchanti.

tadā Cuṇṇasuvaṇṇarājā Pabbhāradevassa āgamanaṃ sutvā balanikāye yujjhāpetuṃ pesesi. te balanikāyā[6] gantvā Pabbhāradevaṃ yujjhituṃ asakkontā palāyanti. Cuṇṇasuvaṇṇarājā ativiya lajjanto ṇhāna-udake attano gīvaṃ bandhitvā marati. amaccā Pabbhāradevassa Cuṇṇasuvaṇṇarañño matabhāvaṃ ārocetvā Pabbhāradevaṃ nimantitvā[7] nagaraṃ pavisāpetvā rajje[8] abhisiñcitvā 'Pabbhāradevadharaṇī-Sīsatanāganahutanagarādhipatī' ti rājanāmaṃ kariṃsu.[9]

Pabbhāradevarājā aṭṭhārasavassādhikasattasata[10] cūḷasakkarājakāle[11] tīṇi vassāni rajjaṃ kāretvā attanā saddhiṃ asamaggabhāvena khuddakarājūnaṃ[12] dosaṃ ārabhitvā balanikāye ādāya gantvā yujjhitvā candasīlanagarādayo[13] hatthagate katvā Kaṇṭakaveḷunagaraṃ[14] yujjhitvā kaṇṭakaparikkhittattā[15] taṃ nagaraṃ pavisituṃ na sakkosi.[16] so [rājā] pana suvaṇṇamayāni sarapiñjāni karetvā Kaṇṭakaveḷunagare[17] suvaṇṇasarapiñjāni[18] vissajjāpetvā aññaṃ nagaraṃ yujjhati. tato paraṃ Kaṇṭakaveḷunagaravāsino[19] manussā kaṇṭakaveḷūni[20] paharitvā[21] suvaṇṇasarapiñjāni gaṇhanti. tadā Pabbhāradevarājā kaṇṭakaveḷupaharaṇabhāvaṃ[22] sutvā āgantvā aggiṃ dāpetvā kaṇṭhakaveḷūni[23] uṇhāpetvā[24] hatthikhandhavaragato[25] pāvisi. Bo[26] nāma Kaṇṭakaveḷunagararājā[27] hatthikhandhavaragato[28] nikkhami. te ubho yujjhitvā aṅkusadaṇḍakena aññamaññaṃ paharitvā paharituṃ asakkontā aññamaññaṃ āhaṃsu:

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[1] B1, P n. m. [2] B5 *kāressasi*. P2 *kārāpessati*. [3] B2, B3 *ahañ*. [4] B5 n. m. [5] B2 *Udeyyarājaṃ jeyyanti* is *Udeyyanagaraṃ rājaṃ jayanti*. [6] B1, B4 *balanikāyaṃ*. [7] B2 *nimantetvā*. [9] B3 *karisuṃ*. [10] B5 °*vassādhikā sattasata*. [11] P, B3 *culasaṅka*°. B1, B4 *culasaṃrājakāle*. B2 °*saṅka*°. P2 °*saka*°. [12] B3, B4, B5, P2 *khuddhaka*°. [13] The compound is not clear in the sources consulted (P *Candasīgha*°. B1 *caṇṭhasigha*°. B2, B5 *candasīha*°. B3, B4, P2 *caṇḍasigha*°. We prefer here the alternative proposed by the *nissaya* which makes more sense with the story. [14] B3, B4, P2 *Kaṇḍaka*°. [15] B2 *kaṇṭhakaparikkhittattānaṃ*. B3 *kaṇḍaka*°. B5 *caṇḍasihanagarādayo cātthagate katvā kaṇḍakavalunagaraṃ yujjitvā kaṇḍakaparikkhittatā*. P2 *kaṇḍakaparikkhittattā*. [16] B2 *sakkoti*. [17] B3, B2 *Kaṇḍakaveḷu*°. B5 *Kaṇḍakavelu*°. [18] B2, P2 *suvaṇṇapiñjasarāni*. [19] B3, P2 *Kaṇḍakaveḷu*°. B5 *Kaṇḍakavelu*°. [20] B3, P2 *kaṇḍaka*°. B5 *kaṇḍaka*°. [21] *haritvā* except in B3 and B5. [22] B2 *Kaṇḍaka*°. B5 *Kaṇḍakavelu*°. [23] B3, P2, B5 *Kaṇḍaka*°. [24] B3 *ḍayhāpetvā*. [25] All sources read *hatthī*°. We emended it. [26] B4, P *Bho*. B1 *Go* or *To*. B5 *Ko*. [27] B3, P2, B5 *Kaṇḍaka*°. [28] All sources read *hatthī*°. We emended it.

'ubho mayaṃ[1] ekasadisaguṇā ekasadisapuññānubhāvā vivādaṃ akatvā samaggā sammodamānā bhavissāmā' ti.

te ubho evaṃ[2] paṭiññaṃ datvā hatthikhandhā[3] orohitvā ekāsane nisīditvā samaggā ahesuṃ. tato paṭṭhāya tena suvaṇṇasarapiñjāni-nimittena taṃ[4] nagaraṃ[5] 'Suvaṇṇanagaran' ti paññāyati.[6]

[2.3] atha Pabbhāradevarājā balanikāye ādāya gantvā sabbabahinagarāni yujjhati. taṃ sutvā Indapathanagārarājā Pabbhāradevassa sāsanaṃ pesesi:[7]

'mama puttarājā sabbabahinagarāni yujjhati. mama puttarājā acchatu. ahaṃ pana sabbabahinagarāni gahetvā te dassāmī' ti.

atha Pabbhāradevarājā Indapathanagaraṃ gantvā bhariyapiturājaṃ vanditvā aṭṭhāsi. Indapathanagararājā āha:

'tāta puttarāja sace tvaṃ mama ovādavacanaṃ karissasi ahaṃ te Sīsatanāganahutanagaraṃ gantuṃ dassāmi. sace mama ovādavacanaṃ na karissasi ahaṃ te gantuṃ na dassāmī' ti.[8]

atha Pabbhāradevarājā 'deva tumhākaṃ ovādavacanaṃ karissāmi' ti paṭiññaṃ adāsi.

Indapathanagararājā Pabbhāradevarājaṃ Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa[9] ārāmaṃ ānetvā Laṅkādīpāgataṃ Pākhamantaṃ[10] nāma mahātheraṃ Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa sammukhato Pabbhāradevarājassa ovādāni pañcasīlāni[11] ca dāpetvā Sīsatanāganahutamahānagaraṃ Pabbhāradevarājaṃ uyyojesi. Pabbhāradevarājā mahānagararājaṃ Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ Pākhamantatheraṃ[12] ca[13] yāci. mahānagararājā Pabbhāradevassa Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhañ ca[14] Pākhamantatheraṃ[15] deti.

Pabbhāradevarājā catūhi bhikkhūhi tīhi sāmaṇerehi tīhi paṇḍaraṅgehi ca saddhiṃ Pākhamantatheraṃ[16] nimantetvā Laṅkādīpāgatabodhirukkhaṃ[17] ca mahāpākhamantatheraṃ ca nāvāya āgacchāpetvā suvaṇṇasivikāya[18] Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ āropetvā thalamaggena attano purato harāpeti sayaṃ balanikāye ādāya Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa pacchato āgantvā Suvaṇṇanagaraṃ pāpuṇi. atha Borājā[19] Suvaṇṇanagarabhūmipālo[20] vandana-

[1] B4 *ahaṃ*. [2] B1, P2 *eva*. [3] B2 *hatthī*°. [4] P n. m. [5] P the sequence *suvaṇṇasarapiñjāni nimittena taṃ nagaraṃ* is n. m. [6] B3, B5, P2 *paññāyi*. [7] B1 *peseti*. [8] B5 the phrase is n. m. [9] B2 *Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhass'*. [10] B5 *Pāmanaṃ*. [11] B1, P *paññasīlāni*. [12] B2 °*therañ*. P °*ttheraṃ*. B3, P2 *Pākhamantaṃ theraṃ*. B5 *Pāmanta*°. [13] B5 n. m. [14] P2 *Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ ca*. [15] P °*ttheraṃ*. B5 *Pāmanta*°. [16] P2 *Pākhamantaṃ theraṃ*. [17] B1, B4, P *Laṅkādīpāgataṃ bodhirukkhaṃ*. B2 °*rukkhañ*. [18] P2 °*sivikāyaṃ*. [19] B5 *Ko*°. [20] B4 *Suvaṇṇanagaraṃ bhūmipālo*.

tthāya[1] Pabbhāradevarājaṃ Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ yācati. Pabbhāradevarājā Borājassa[2] Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ datvā attano balanikāye ādāya [gantvā] Jāvanagaraṃ patvā rajjaṃ kāresi.

mahāpākhamantathero[3] pana nāvāya āgacchamāno Jāvanagaraṃ patvā Ropamukhamattikāya uttarapavese[4] vihāraṃ kārapetvā. Laṅkādīpāgataṃ[5] bodhirukkhaṃ ropāpetvā viharitvā Pabbhāradevarājaṃ patvā pañcasīlarakkhanena[6] anusāsati. atha Pabbhāradevo tīṇi vassāni rajjaṃ kāretvā therassa ovādaṃ pañcasīlāni ca pahāya balanikāye[7] ādāya Aruṇanagaraṃ[8] ca[9] Phaḍeyyanagaraṃ[10] ca Piṅgalanagaraṃ[11] Mothipittha-uni[12] ca yujjhitvā attano hatthagate[13] karoti. tato paṭṭhāya Dasasatasahassagajendanagaraṃ Yakkhāvaraṇato yāva Phaḍeyyabyāmena[14] navutisahassādhikaṃ aṭṭhasatasahassayāmaṃ Yodheyyanagarasīmato[15] yāva Kapilanagarasihibyāmena[16] asītitisahassādhikaṃ catusatasahassavitthāraṃ hoti.

[2.4] tato paṭṭhāya Suvaṇṇanagarasāmiko Borājā[17] divase sāyaṃ pātaṃ Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ upaṭṭhāti. ekadivasaṃ Borañño[18] eko mattavāraṇo muñcitvā Aḍḍhabhāgavihāraṃ[19] bhinditvā Buddhapallaṅkaṃ vijjhitvā Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ pallaṅkā pāteti, Buddharūpassa vāmahatthaṃ thokaṃ onāmesi. so pana nāgo vihārā nikkhamitvā vanaṃ pāvisi. eko mattavāraṇo tattha vane vasanto vane taṃ nāgaṃ samāgantvā taṃ vijjhitvā papāte pātetvā māresi.[20] tassa sandiṭṭhikammaṃ[21] ahosi.

tadā sabbe Dasasatasahassagajendanagaravāsino manussā Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhasambhāraṃ[22] disvā acchariyāni samuṭṭhāpesuṃ. tato paraṃ Pabbhāradevarājā vitthārāni bahunagarasīmāni[23] labhitvāna atimānaṃ samuṭṭhāpetvā amaccasenāpatibhariyāsu micchācāraṃ caritvā nagaravāsīnam atipamānaṃ baliṃ gaṇhāti. tadā amaccasenādayo[24] sabbe nagaravāsino samaggā samāgatā[25] [khīyanti, ‘ayaṃ rājā a-dasarājadhammo. mayaṃ imaṃ

[1]We rely on the *nissaya*, Pali sources offering unclear possibilities: B2, B4 *ṭhapituṃ*. B3 *vandanaṃ thapituṃ*. B5 *vandanathapituṃ*. P2 *vandhanathapitu*. B1, P *vandanatthapituṃ*. [2]B2 *Pabbhāradevarājā Borājassa* is *Pabbhāradevarājassa*. B5 *Ko°*. [3]B4 *°Pātamanta°*. [4]B3, B5 *°padese*. [5]B2, B3, P2 *Laṅkādīpāgatagata°*. [6]B1, B4, B5, P1, P2 *sīlarakkhanena*. [7]B1, P *mahābalanikāye*. [8]B1, B3, B4, P *Aruṇṇa°*. [9]P2 n. m. [10]B5 *Phateyya°*. [11]B2 *ca Piṅgalanagaraṃ* is n. m. B5 *Pīgala°*. [12]B2 *Mothimithani*. B3 *Mothimitha-uni*. B4 *Mothipitha-uni*. B5 n. m. [13]P2 *hatthagato*. [14]B5 *Phateyya°*. [15]B5 *Yodeyya°*. [16]B1, B4, P *Kapilanarasihibyāmena*. B2, B3, P2 *Kappilanagarasimābyāmena*. B4 *Kapilanagarasihabyāmena*. B5 *Kappilanagarasimābyāmena*. [17]B5 *Ko°*. [18]B5 *Ko°*. [19]B2 *°gharaṃ*. [20]B2, B5, P2 *māreti*. [21]One should read the compound as *sandiṭṭhikakammaṃ* here and after. [22]B2 *Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa sambhāraṃ*. [23]B3 *nagarasimāni*. [24]In this compound, the author seems to interpret *senā* as *senāpati*, as mentioned in the previous sentence. This truncated form appears elsewhere in the text, in this same compound, but also an alternative form (*senāmaccādāyo*). [25]B2 *sahagatā*.

rājaṃ pabbājema!'] Pabbhāradevarājaṃ pabbājenti. Pabbhāradevarājā [Tira]nagarasāmikassa[1] Suvaṇṇakhandharañño[2] santikaṃ gantvā vasati. tadā pañcatiṃsādhikāni[3] sattasatāni[4] cūḷasakarājāni[5] ahesuṃ.

[2.5] amaccasenādayo sabbe manussā Pabbhāradevarañño puttaṃ Ghara-uṇhakakumāraṃ abhisiñcitvā rajje ṭhapesuṃ. Ghara-uṇhakumāro pana dhammena rajjaṃ kāretvā issariyadhanakule sabbe nagaravāsī manusse gaṇāpeti. gaṇanāto tisatasahassāni issariyadhanakulāni ahesuṃ. tena senāmaccādayo nagaravāsino manussā' Tisatasahassa-issariyakulatyebhuvanādhipatī'[6] ti tassa rājābhisekarājanāmaṃ kariṃsu.[7] Tisatasahassa-issariyakularājā[8] dānādīni puññāni katvā tīṇi cattāḷisa[9] vassāni[10] dhammena rajjaṃ kāresi. tassa rañño āyu jātito satthi vasso hoti. so rājā aniccataṃ patvā devalokaṃ gato.

tadanantaraṃ Tisatasahassa-issariyakularañño putto Rattasuvaṇṇadasasatasahassakumāro[11] pitu accayena ekādasa vassāni rajjaṃ kāretvā yathākammaṃ gato.[12]

tadanantaraṃ Rattasuvaṇṇadasasatasahassarañño[13] putto Brahmadattakumāro[14] dasa māsāni pitu accayena rajjaṃ kāretvā yathākammaṃ gato.

atha Tisatasahassa-issariyakularañño putto Mukharājā pañca māsāni rajjaṃ kāretvā yathākammaṃ gato.

atha Tisatasahassa-issariyakularañño putto Dasasatasahassajeyyarājā[15] dasa[16] māsani rajjaṃ kāretvā yathākammaṃ gato.

atha Varadevassa[17] putto Teyyarājā Tisasatasahassa-issariyakularañño putto Yugarakumāro aṭṭha māsāni rajjaṃ kāretvā yathākammaṃ gato.

atha anantaraṃ Jatasuvaṇṇakumāro[18] tīṇi saṃvaccharāni[19] rajjaṃ kāretvā yathākammaṃ gato.

[atha Jayyasākumāro putto tisatasahassa-issariyakularañño tīṇi vassāni rajjaṃ kāresi yathākammaṃ gato.

atha Yugarakumāro putto Rattasuvaṇṇadasasahassarañño aṭṭha māsāni rajjaṃ kāretvā yathākammaṃ gato.]

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[1]B5 °*sāmissa*. [2]B1, B4, B5 *Suvaṇṇakhandarañño* [3]B2, B5 *pañcatiṃsavassādhikāni*. [4]B5 n. m. [5]B1, B2, B3, B4, P *cuḷasaṅkarājāni*. B5 *cullasakkarājani*. [6]B2 °*issiriya*°. B3, B4, P2 °*isiriya*°. B4 °*bhuvanādhipati*. B5 °*isiriyakulatyebhūvanādhipatī*. [7]B3, P2 *karisuṃ*. [8]B2 *issariyakularājā*. [9]B1, B4, P *cattāri*. [10]B5 *vassā*. [11]B3, P *Kattasuvaṇṇa*°. [12]B3 the two last phrases are n. m. [13]P *Kattasuvaṇṇa*°. B5 *Rataṇasuvaṇṇa*°. [14]B3, P2 *Brahmadasa*°. [15]B2, B5, P2 *Dasasahassajeyyarājā*. [16]B5 *cha*°. [17]B2 *Racadevassa*. B3, B5, P2 *Raradevassa*. [18]B1, B2 *Jātasuvaṇṇa*°. [19]B2 *vassāni*.

[2.6] atha Tisatasahassa-issariyakularañño putto Jeyyapākaṭakumāro[1] sattasattativassādhike sattasata[2] cullasakkarāje[3] meṇḍavasse[4] jāto tevisāyuko[5] rajjaṃ kāresi.[6] senāmaccādayo nāgarā 'Bra Jeyyacakkavattipattasādheyyo' ti tassa rājābhisekaṃ kariṃsu. so pana dvācattāḷīsa[7] vassāni rajjaṃ kāretvā jātito pañcasaṭṭhivassāyuko hoti.

tadā so rajjaṃ kārento Suvaṇṇanagarato Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ nimantāpetvā āharāpeti[8] Jāvanagare manussānaṃ pūjāsakkāraṃ vandituṃ. rājadūto pana Suvaṇṇanagaraṃ gantvā Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa pūjāsakkārāni karitvā[9] [nadītitthaṃ netvā suvaṇṇasivikāya] nāvāya[10] Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ āropetvā udakamaggena ārohitvā Caṇḍasīghaṃ[11] sotaṃ pāpuṇiṃsu.[12] Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhanāvā[13] tattha osīdati.[14] manussā [maraṇabhayabhītā][15] ārohitvā Bra Jeyyacakkavattirañño Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhanāvāya siñjanabhāvaṃ[16] ārocesuṃ. rājā taṃ sutvā domanassapatto ahosi.

'ahaṃ aho appapuñño Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ vandituṃ upaṭṭhātuṃ[17] vā na labhāmī' ti. Jeyyacakkavattirājā Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhanāvaṃ[18] siñjantānaṃ[19] manussānaṃ bhayadosabhūtaṃ na deti. atha devatāyo udakā Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ uddharitvā Suvaṇṇanagare Buddhavihāre sayāpetvā tasmiṃ yeva[20] rattibhāge vihārapālakassa supinaṃ dassesum. vihārapālako evaṃ supinaṃ passati 'Aḍḍhabhāgabuddho mama yathā supino vata āgacchatī' ti.

punadivase vihārapālako sarīrakiccaṃ katvā vihāraṃ gantvā pallaṅke seyyaṃ Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ disvā kuṭiyaṃ mahātherassa[21] ārocetvā gantvā Suvaṇṇanagararañño āroceti.[22] rājādayo sabbe nāgarā acchariyabhūtacittajātā anekehi pūjāsakkārehi karitvā Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ ukkhipitvā ṭhapenti. tadā Sīsatanāganahuttamahānagaravāsino sabbe mahājanā Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa sambhāraṃ sutvā ativiya acchariyabhūtacittajātā nandayantā anekasādhukārasahassāni pavattayiṃsu.[23]

tato paṭihāriyakatabuddhakālato tīṇi vassāni atikkamiṃsu.[24] tadā sūkaravasse ekacattāḷīsavassādhikāni aṭṭhasata cullasakkarājāni[25] ahesuṃ. tas-

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[1]B2 *Ayyapākaṭa°*. B3 *Jayyakaṭa°*. B5 *Ayapākaṭa°*. P2 *Jayyapākaṭa°*. [2]P, B4 *satta*. B2 *satavassa*. [3]B1, B2, B3, B4, P *culasaṅkarāje*. P2 *culasaṃkarāje*. [4]B2 °*vasso*. [5]P, P2, B1, B3, B4 *tevisādhiko*. B5 *tevissāyuko*. [6]P2 kāreti. [7]B1, B3, B4, P2 *dvācattāri*. B5 *dvācattārissa*. [8]B1 *āharāpesi*. [9]P2 *katvā*. [10]P2 *nāvāyaṃ*. [11]B1, B2, B4 *candāsiṅghaṃ*. B3, B5, P2 *caṇḍasiṃgha°*. [12]B3, B5, P2 *pāpuṇisuṃ*. [13]B2 °nāvaṃ. [14]B1, B2, B3, B4, B5 *osijjati*. P2 *osijjhati*. [15]The *nissaya* reads *maraṇabhayajitā*. We emend it. [16]All sources read *sijjana°*. We emend it. [17]B2 n. m. [18]B1 *Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ nāvaṃ*. B3 *Aḍḍhabhāganāvaṃ*. [19]All sources read *sijjantānaṃ*. We emend it. [20]B2 *tasmiṃ yeva* is *tasmiñ ceva*. [21]All sources read *kuṭiyamahātherassa*. We emend it. [22]B3, B5 *ārocesi*. [23]B3, P2 *pavattayisuṃ*. [24]P2 *atikkamisuṃ*. [25]B1, B2, B3, B4, P *culasaṅkarājāni*. P2 *culasakaṃrājāni*.

miṃ sūkaravasse Kapilavatthuvāsino sākyarājāno balanikāye ādāya āgantvā Jāvanagaraṃ bhinditvā attano nagaraṃ gacchanti. atha Jeyyacakkavatti[1] gantvā Jayyagganagare[2] vasitvā aciraṃ aniccataṃ gato.

[2.7] [atha Suvaṇṇapallaṅkakumāro rajjaṃ pitu accayena kāresi. gantvā Jeyyavannājayatāmbanagare vasitvā satta vassāni thatvā aniccataṃ patvā yathākammaṃ gato][3].

atha Suvaṇṇo Klesasatasahassapacchimo kumāro jeṭṭhabhātu accayena rajjaṃ kāretvā Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa mahiddhikānubhāvaṃ sutvā amacce pesetvā mahantena pūjāsakkārena Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ ārādhanāpeti.[4] tadā amaccādayo sabbe rājaparisā gantvā suvaṇṇasivikāya[5] Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ āropetvā alaṅkatena thalamaggena ānetvā Jāvanagaraṃ pāpuniṃsu.[6] Klesatasahassapacchimarājā Jeyyacakkavattirājadhitāya Siveyyakaññāya aṭṭhipaccupaṭṭhāne ca majjhimārāme[7] Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ patiṭṭhapeti. puna Klesatasahassapacchimarājā Manoramaṃ nāma ekaṃ[8] vihāraṃ katvā[9] Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ ārādhanāpetvā attano rammavihāre patiṭṭhāpeti Klesatasahassapacchimarājā pana pañcadasa vassāni rajjaṃ kāretvā[10] aniccataṃ patvā devalokaṃ gato.

atha Klesatasahassapacchimarañño putto Jambūkumāro pitu accayena rajjaṃ kārento pañca vassāni ṭhatvā yathākammaṃ gato.

tato paraṃ Jeyyacakkavattirañño putto Siribejjakumāro jātito catutiṃsavassāyuko rajjaṃ kāresi. atha kho senāmaccādayo nagaravāsino manussā rājābhisekakāle ākāsavijjullaphullapharitattā[11] ca ākāse indadhanutiriyaṭṭhitattā ca 'Bra Vijjullaphullapharitākāsasīsatanāganahutāvisuddharatanarājadhānidhipatī'[12] ti siddhikaranāmakararājābhisekaṃ[13] kariṃsu.[14]

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[1]All sources read *Jeyyacakkabatti*. [2]B3 *Jeyyagga°*. B5 *Jeyya°*. [3]The *nissaya* omits *gato* for this formula already encountered in the text. [4]B1 *ārādhanāpesi*. [5]B5, P2 *sivikāyaṃ*. [6]B3 *pāpuṇisuṃ*. [7]B1, B3, B4, P2 *yamajjhimārāme*. [8]B1, B4 *eka°*. [9]The section *katvā aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ ārādhanāpetvā attano rammavihāre patiṭṭhāpeti* (*kale* in B5*) klesatasahassapacchimarājā pana pañcadasavassāni rajjaṃ kāretvā* is only in B2, B5. [10]P2 the sequence *ārādhanāpetvā attano rammavihāre patiṭṭhāpeti* (*kale* in B5) *Klesatasahassapacchimarājā pana pañcadasavassāni rajjaṃ kāretvā* is n. m. [11]B1, P *Ākāsavijjullophullaphāritattā*. B2, P2 *Ākāsavijullaphulladhāritattā*. B3 *Ākāsavijullaphulladhāritattā*. B4 *Ākāsavijjullaphulladhāratattā*. B5 *Ākāsavijullaphulladāritattā*. Here and after, the author used *°vijjulla°* as a truncated form of *vijjullatā*. [12]B1 *Vijjullaphulladharita°*. B2 *Vijuladhāritvākāsasisatanāganahuttavisuddharatanarājadhāṇīdhipatī*. B3, P2 *Vijullaphulladharitākāsasisatanāganahuttāvisuddharatanarājadhāṇīdhipatī*. B4 *Vijulaphulladhāritākāsasisatanāganahuttāvisuddharatanarājadhāṇipati*. B5 *BraVijukkaphulla?āritattāsisatanāganahuttavisuddharattanarājadhāṇidhipatī*. P *Vijullaphullapharitākāsasisatanāganahutāvisuddharatanarājadhāṇīpatī*. [13]B1, B3, B4, P2 *siddhibrakararājābhisekaṃ*. B2 *siddhibrabararanāmakararājābhisekaṃ*. B5 *siddhibrajaranāmakararājābhisekaṃ*. P *siddhibrajararājābhisekaṃ*. We rely on the *nissaya* whose meaning seems plausible. [14]B3, P2 *karisuṃ*.

so pana[1] Bra[2] Vijjullarājā ativiya acchariyabhūtaṃ Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhasambhāraṃ cintayanto[3] abhippasanno catusattativassādhike[4] aṭṭhasata cullasakkarāje[5] kapivasse visākhajuṇhapakkhadvādasame[6] pubbaphaggunīnakkhattayutte[7] aruṇuggamanayāme ca nānālatākammapupphakammavicittehi[8] dabbasambhārehi ekaṃ vihāraṃ kāresi.[9] so pana vihāro ativiya sobhamāno asadiso hoti. so[10] Bra Vijjullarājā attano nāmena Vijjullamahāvihāro tveva vihārassa nāmaṃ akāsi. vihāraṃ kāretvā ca pana so Manoramavihārato mahantena yasaparivārena Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ arādhāpetvā[11] Vijjullamahāvihāre ṭhapetvā nānāratanasuvaṇṇarajaṭamayāni pūjāsakkārāni kāretvā yāva pañcavassasahassāni Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa pūjanatthāya ṭhapesi. Vijjullarājā pana vīsativassāni rajjaṃ kārento jātito catupaññāsavassāyuko aniccataṃ patvā devalokaṃ gato.

tato paṭṭhāya yāva ajjatanā Aḍḍhabhāgabuddho Sīsatanāganahutanagaravāsīnaṃ manussānaṃ icchitaṃ paṭṭhitaṃ samijjhāpetvā Buddhasāsanaṃ joteti. yo pana arogakāmo[12] vā āyukāmo vā abhayakāmo vā sampattikāmo vā āyuyuttadīpehi[13] vā kāyapamāṇadīpehi[14] vā Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa pūjaṃ karoti, so yathākāmā yathāpaṭṭhanā samijjhati.

Iti Laṅkādīpāgatassa Sīsatanāganahutavisuddharatanarājadhāniy'[15] eva[16] Vijjullamahāvihāre patiṭṭhitassa Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa dutiyā aparā nidānakathā samattā.

tassa Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhassa dīghapamāṇaṃ pādatalato paṭṭhāya yāva nalātato[17] kesapariyantam catuvidatthipamāṇaṃ tato kesapariyantato yāva moḷiraṃsiyā satta-aṅgulipamāṇaṃ[18] hoti.[19] pañcasatādhikā[20] catusahassādhikāni cattāri nahutāni garukā[21] honti.[22]

Aḍḍhabhāgabuddhaṃ nitthitaṃ.[23]

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[1]B2 *ca*. [2]B1, B3, B5, P n. m. [3]B3, P2 *disvā cintayanto*. [4]B1, B2, B4, P *catusatta*. B3, P2 *catusata°*. [5]B1, B2, B3, B4, P *cuḷasaṅkarāje*. B5 *cullasakkarājje*. P2 *cuḷasaṃkarāje*. [6]B1, B4, P B2, B3, B5 *Visākhajuṇṇa°*. [7]B2 *Pubbaphagaṇi°*. B3, P2 *Pubbaphalaṇi°*. B5 *Pubbaphallaguṇi°*. [8]B2, B4 *nānālatākammavicittehi*. [9]B5, P2 *kareti*. [10]B2 n. m. [11]All sources read *arādhanāpetvā*. We emend it. [12]B4, B5 *arogātukāmo*. [13]P, B1 *āyuyatta°*. B2 *āyatta°*. B5 none. B4 *āyutta°*. [14]B2 *kāyuppamāṇadīpehi*. P2 *kāyupamānaṇadipehi*. B5 *āyuyattadīpehi vā kāyapamāṇadīpehi* is n. m.: [15]B *°visuddharattarājadhāṇiy'*. B3, P2 *°rājadhāṇiye*. [16]B3, P2 n. m. [17]P, B1, B2, B4 *nalātato tato*. [18]P *sattāṅguli°*. B5 *sattaṃguli°*. [19]B1 *hosi*. [20]B5, P2 *pañcasatādhika°*. P *pañcasatādhikāni*. [21]B2, P *garukāni*. [22]B1, B3, B4, P2 *hoti*. [23]Only in B5.

Colophons

B1 nibbānapaccayo hositu me.
B2 *none.*
B3 nibbānapaccayo hotu me anāgate / (*in Thai*) cpaṃ paripuṇṇā / buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dutiyam pa buddhaṃ.
B4 nibbānapaccayo hotu me.
B5 nibbānapaccayyo hoti.
P2 *none.*

VI. Translation

Homage to the three jewels!

After paying homage to the excellent Protector, the Enlightened One,
To his true Dhamma and the best of assemblies,
I, Ariyavaṃsa by name, will compose according to my abilities the brief account of the Buddha image called Aḍḍhabhāga. Listen to it well!

1.

[1.1] Two hundred and thirty-six years after the Nibbāna of our Blessed One (i.e. 307 BCE), a Thera named Cūḷanāga, who had destroyed all impurities, endowed with good conduct and virtue, resided on the Laṅkā island. He mastered the Three Baskets and had great powers. Eager to make the doctrine manifest, he wondered, 'By what means shall I make the doctrine clear for the five thousand years [to come]?' And he knew, 'I will make the doctrine clear for five thousand years by making a Buddha image with great powers.'

The Thera realized [that and] organized the making of the Buddha image by having the men of the Laṅkā island headed by the Laṅkā kings, the assemblies of god headed by the supreme King Inda, the Brahmins and renunciants, cooperate. Gathered and reunited, all gods and men, Brahmins and renunciants, then rejoiced at the words of the Thera Cūḷanāga.

Thereafter, the Thera had the sculptor make a beautiful Buddha [image] out of wax.[1] It was similar to the Buddha who, by raising his hands, prevented his relatives—residents of Kapilavatthu and Koliya—together with their armies, who departed to fight for water and land.[2]

After [the artist] had make [the wax form], but when [the statue] was not yet cast,[3] all gods and men, satisfied, applauded from the surface of the earth to the six divine worlds of the sensual sphere. Some brought gold, others silver, others bronze, and they said:

'Venerable, put our riches [made of different] shares of wealth [into the crucible]!'[4]

The Thera mixed a small amount of wealth—gold, silver, and bronze—from each gods and men, put [them] into a crucible and had the Buddha image cast[5] by the artist.[6] During the casting, men and gods paid great homage with many offerings and gave thousandfold applause.

Then, in a single rumble, the sound of applause rose from the earth's surface to the six divine worlds of the sensual sphere. Gods and men, with Cūḷanāga at their head, having cast and cleaned [the statue], called it 'the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga image' on account of the procedure of the [different] shares of wealth (*aḍḍha-bhāga*). Moreover, the procedure regarding the [different] shares of wealth is the one that is in use among the people of the Laṅkā island.

[1.2] At this time, the monks who had destroyed the impurities, headed by the Thera Cūḷanāga and others, the assembly of gods, headed

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1 The *nissaya* understands *madhu* as being wax, not honey in this context.

2 This refers to an episode evoking a quarrel between inhabitants of Kapilavatthu and Koliya cities concerning the right to the waters of the Rohinī, which irrigated the land on both sides. The bloodbath due to the conflict could thus only be prevented by the intervention of the Master (cf. Ja v 412ff; Sv II 672ff; Dhp-a III 254ff).

3 Ariyavaṃsa uses the verb *āsiñcati* twice to describe the process of making the statue. Pali dictionaries translated this term as relating to pouring something liquid. PED = 'to sprinkle, besprinkle', DoP = '1. pours on or into; showers over; besprinkles, wets'; '2. (intrans.) pours on or into; drips', CPD = '1. (trans.) to sprinkle, drip or pour into or on, 2. (intrans.) to be dripping'. However, we replaced it with a term that seemed to us to be more in line with the process described.

4 We understand the compound *aḍḍha-bhāga* as referring to the different contributions of precious goods (gold, silver, bronze) made by the various donors. Thus, all the goods collected are composed of different portions/shares (*bhāga*) of individual wealth (*aḍḍha*).

5 Idem.

6 The PED gives *cittakāra* as 'a painter, a decorator' (PED s.v. *citta/citra*), the DoP mentions *cittakāraka* as 'a painter' (DoP s.v. *citta*). We prefer to stay more general to fit the context of making the statue.

by Vāsava,[7] and the assembly of men, headed by the king of the Laṅkā island, rejoiced greatly. They had the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga image erected on an exquisite pedestal in a choice palace, on a noble throne. On full moon day, when the stars were auspicious and propitious, they consecrated the Buddha [image] with grand ceremony and honour. The day of the consecration, the Thera placed five relics of the Master's body in a jeweled box. He placed it in a golden bowl, placed [this] in front of the Buddha image, and formulated the following resolution:

'Let these relics enter the body of the Buddha statue, so this Buddha image will last for the next five thousand years for the good of men and gods!'

Then, immediately after [this] resolution, a relic entered the forehead, a relic the jaw, a relic the chest, a relic the right hand, and a relic the left hand. Just then, the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga performed many marvelous wonders. All gods and men who saw these miracles rejoiced and applauded greatly for seven days and nights. From then on, the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga, after fulfilling the desired wishes of gods and men, established the teachings that had disappeared on the Laṅkā island for 1094 years (i.e. until 787 CE) from the Buddha's Parinibbāna. Men who desired sons paid homage to the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga with candles made of wax,[8] made wishes and had many sons; and those who desired good health paid homage to the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga with a candle made of wax the size of the sick body and gained good health.[9]

[1.3] From there, we were in the year 218 of the Lesser Era (i.e. 856 CE). On the Laṅkā island, there reigned a king named Supinna. And a king named Siricunda ruled over the great city of Indapatha.[10] These two Khattiyas maintained reciprocal affection and attachment, with a sincere friendship. Of them, King Siricunda heard of the great magical powers of the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga. Joyful and satisfied, eager to worship, he sent this message to Supinna, the king of the Laṅkā island:

'Majesty, I ask for the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga! May the king help me by offering the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga for my happiness and welfare!'

Then, when he heard this message of the king, the king of the Laṅkā island, joyful and satisfied, placed the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga on a golden

7 i.e. Sakka.

8 These *madhudīpa* must surely be wax candles for the propitiatory rites.

9 This Lao rite is still in use. (Information given by Michel Lorrillard)

10 i.e. Angkor Thom in Cambodia.

palanquin with great pomp, and had him transported to the port for departure from the Laṅkā island.

The Laṅkā king, accompanied by his escort, put the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga on a ship [made] of gold, silver, and jewels, and put him to sea. The Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga thus arrived at the city of Indapatha in Jambudīpa. There, Indapatha's inhabitants, headed by Siricunda, being delighted, went out to meet the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga accompanied by a large procession. They put the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga on the golden palanquin, led him through the main street, which was adorned and decorated, and installed him suitably in the great monastery [located] in Indapatha's heart.

The Indapatha's king ordered drumming throughout the city to vigorously enjoy festivities for a week. The musicians then played all the musical instruments: there was a loud noise of instruments like the noise of thunder in the basin of the great ocean. All the people paid homage and celebrated continuously, making offerings to the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga. This resulted in many gains and honors for the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga. He performed many marvelous wonders. From then on, he carried out the desire wishes of Indapatha's inhabitants and settled there for their happiness and welfare. This is how the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga arrived in the city of Indapatha.

The first account of the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga is complete.

2.

Following this, here is how the later account concerning the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga is to be known [by the sage]:

[2.1] At this time, we were in the year 678 of the Lesser Era (i.e. 1316 CE). A king named Cuṇṇasuvaṇṇa[11] reigned in the great city of Sīsatanāganahuta,[12] [the prosperous royal capital]. He had a son named Yakkhadeva,[13] who himself had a son named Prince Pabbhāradeva.[14] Yakkhadeva had inappropriate sexual behavior towards the concubines[15] of his father King

11 i.e. Phraya Kham Phong.
12 i.e. Luang Prabang.
13 i.e. Phi Fa.
14 i.e. Fa Ngum.
15 The *Phongsāvadān* tradition evokes an incestuous relationship and adultery with one of the wives of the Luang Prabang's king (Lorrillard 1999: 220).

Cuṇṇasuvaṇṇa, who banished him. Pabbhāradeva learned of the exile order concerning his father and went with him. During their journey, they reached the city of Indapatha and slept in the *kuṭi* of a Thera. The sound of Pabbhāradeva's snoring was similar to that of musical instruments. Hearing the sound of his snore, the Thera predicted:

'This prince will be a famous king; he will have great powers!'

This prophecy spread through the city of Indapatha. Then, the Indapatha's king asked this Pabbhāradeva to come. He let [him] attend him, educated him, and gave him his daughter. The king said to Pabbhāradeva:

'My dear Prince! I will make you reign over Sīsatanāganahuta, which is the city of your grandfather. You will be able to rule over the city of your grandfather!'

Pabbhāradeva [said:

'Give me armies and soldiers, and I will be able (to reign there)!'

So, the king of Indapatha gave (him) and (?)[16].] Accompanied by the armies, [Pabbhāradeva] mounted his elephant, reached the limits of the city of Sīsatanāganahuta, and sent a message to all the neighboring and bordering cities:

'My dear maternal and paternal uncles![17] I, Khattiya of the royal line in the city of Sīsatanāganahuta, have come to take the kingdom of my grandfather King Cuṇṇasuvaṇṇa, and I will reign [there]! Come together with your armies with me!'

The petty kings at the borders said:

'Dear Pabbhāradeva! King Cuṇṇasuvaṇṇa is the king and your grandfather. Why are you going to take the kingdom? We disagree with you on this!'

Pabbhāradeva [then] mounted his elephant, reached the city of Kaṇṭakaveḷu[18] and sent a message. The king of Kaṇṭakaveḷu disagreed with him.

[2.2] At this time, a prince named Ukkhitasuvaṇṇa[19]—son of the king of the city of Udeyya[20]—had inappropriate sexual behavior towards his father's concubines. He escaped and resided [henceforth] with the king of

16 The text of the *nissaya* is unclear on this point.

17 It is surely in the literal sense: the guardians of the borders are the relatives of the king.

18 i.e. Muang Phai Nam.

19 i.e. Kham Yo.

20 i.e. Muang Xieng Khuang.

the city of Kaṇṭakaveḷu. Both Pabbhāradeva and Ukkhitasuvaṇṇa got along well and assisted each other. Ukkhitasuvaṇṇa said:

'My dear! You will support me and make me reign over the city of Udeyya! Then, I will take the armies that are in Udeyya, support you, and make you reign over the great city of Sīsatanāganahuta!'

Together they both went to fight the city of Udeyya and brought its king to submission. Pabbhāradeva established Ukkhitasuvaṇṇa in [this] kingdom. Both took the armies that were at Udeyya and set out for Sīsatanāganahuta.

At this time, King Cuṇṇasuvaṇṇa learned of Pabbhāradeva's arrival and sent armies to fight [him]. These armies went there [but] unable to fight Pabbhāradeva, they fled. King Cuṇṇasuvaṇṇa feeling particularly ashamed strangled himself in his bath water and died. The advisers announced the King Cuṇṇasuvaṇṇa's death to Pabbhāradeva, invited him to the city, crowned him king, and gave [him] as regnal name 'Pabbhāradevadharaṇī-Sīsatanāganahutanagarādhipati'.[21]

In the year 718 (i.e. 1356 CE), Pabbhāradeva had been reigning for three years [when] he commenced hostilities against the minor kings because they were in conflict with him. He took his armies, left, fought, and took possession of the cities starting with those which were of uncontrollable nature. He attacked the city of Kaṇṭakaveḷu [but] could not enter it because it was completely surrounded by bamboo sticks [erected all around the ramparts].[22]

However, [the king] had arrows made with feathers of gold, which he let fly against [the walls of] the city of Kaṇṭakaveḷu, [and then went] to wage war on another city. Then, the people of Kaṇṭakaveḷu threw the bamboo sticks out and kept the gold feathers from the arrows. King Pabbhāradeva learned that the bamboo sticks have been thrown out, came, set the bamboo stick on fire, scorched them, and entered the city on the back of a royal elephant. The king of Kaṇṭakaveḷu, named Bo,[23] came out riding on the back of an elephant. The two clashed, attacked each other with goads, [but] were unable to hit each other. [They said]:

'We both have similar qualities; the power of our merit is similar. Instead of arguing, let us come to an agreement on good terms!'

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21 Literally 'Pabbhāradeva, ruler on earth and the glorious city of million elephants'.

22 The *nissaya* precises that thorny bamboos surrounded the city.

23 i.e. Bo or Ko. The *nissaya* mentions Pho or Ko.

Having in this way made a commitment, they both got down from [their] elephants, sat down on the same seat, and sealed their agreement. From that time on, this city was known as Suvaṇṇanagara,[24] because of the incident of the arrows' feathers which were made of gold (*suvaṇṇa*).

[2.3] Then, King Pabbhāradeva took his armies and went to war against all the outlying cities. The Indapatha's king learned of this and sent a message to Pabbhāradeva:

'My princely son makes war on all the outlying cities. Let my princely son come here! I will take them and give them to you!'

King Pabbhāradeva [listened to him and] went to the city of Indapatha. He paid homage to his wife and her father the king and stayed there. The Indapatha's king told [him]:

'My dear prince, follow my advice and I will let you go to Sīsatanāganahuta. If you do not follow my advice, I won't let you go!'

King Pabbhāradeva then gave [his] consent:

'King, I will follow your advice.'

The Indapatha's king led King Pabbhāradeva to the park [where] the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga was. [There,] he requested the Mahāthera named Pākhamanta,[25] who came from the Laṅkā island, to give King Pabbhāradeva instructions and the five precepts in front of the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga. He [then] let him leave for the great city of Sīsatanāganahuta. King Pabbhāradeva asked the king of the great city for the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga and for the Thera Pākhamanta. The king of the great city offered him these.

King Pabbhāradeva invited the Thera Pākhamanta with four monks, three novices and three *paṇḍaraṅga*s.[26] He had the venerable Thera Pākhamanta and the Bodhi tree which came from the Laṅkā island depart by boat, had the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga put on a palanquin of gold, and had it carried ashore in front of himself. He took his armies and following behind reached the city of Suvaṇṇa. There, King Bo, the Suvaṇṇa ruler, asked King Pabbhāradeva for the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga in order to worship

24 i.e. Vieng Kham, 'the city of gold'.

25 i.e. Pakhaman.

26 The DPPN (s.v. *paṇḍaraṅga*) evokes a sect of Brahmin ascetics, even if we cannot be sure they refer to these in this context. The *nissaya* refers to white fabrics, which surely corresponds to *paṇḍu-raṅga*, either a variant reading or an attempt to make sense to that expression.

him. King Pabbhāradeva offered him the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga, took his armies, [departed] and reached the city of Jāva[27] [where] he reigned.

The venerable Thera Pākhamanta, on his part, reached the city of Jāva by ship. He had the *vihāra* built at the northern area of the marsh at the mouth of the Ropa[28] brook, had the Bodhi tree from the Laṅkā island planted, and resided there. He joined King Pabbhāradeva and instructed him in the observance of the five precepts. King Pabbhāradeva, after three years of reign, rejected the councils and the five precepts of the Thera and took his armies: he made war on the city of Aruṇa,[29] the city of Phaḍeyya,[30] the city of Piṅgala,[31] and Mothipittha-uni,[32] which he took possession of. From that time, the kingdom of Dasasatasahassagajenda[33] extended in length 890,000 fathoms from Yakkhāvaraṇa[34] to Phaḍeyya,[35] and 480,000 fathoms from the boundary of the city of Yodheyya[36] to Kapilanarasihi.[37]

[2.4] From then on, King Bo, the ruler of the city of Suvaṇṇa, worshiped the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga morning and evening, each day. One day, a rutting elephant belonging to the king escaped. He destroyed the *vihāra* [where] the Aḍḍhabhāga was, struck the throne of the Buddha, and made him fall from it, [and he] slightly bent the Buddha statue's left hand. Then the elephant ran away from the *vihāra* and entered the forest. There, he encountered a rutting elephant which pierced him [with his tusks] and threw him into a precipice, killing him. This was the directly visible result of his [deeds].

At that time, all those inhabiting in the Dasasatasahassagajenda kingdom saw the power[38] of the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga and elicited [exclama-

27 i.e. Muang Java. It is the oldest name for Luang Prabang, still in use in the 17th century.

28 i.e. the Hop brook.

29 i.e. Muang Arun.

30 i.e. Muang Pha Dai.

31 i.e. Muang Hlik Phing.

32 i.e. probably Muang Kha Kao.

33 i.e. Muang Lang Xang (= Luang Prabang), '[kingdom of] the lord of million elephants'. Another reading of the compound is possible, considering otherwise the word *inda*, '[kingdom of] the million mighty elephants'. The author generally considers *nagara* to be a city, but here, it is a kingdom.

34 i.e. Li Phi. 890,000 *byāma*s ('fathoms') corresponds to approximately 1600 km (cf. Lorrillard 2021b: 43).

35 i.e. Pha Dai.

36 i.e. Muang Ayuthya.

37 i.e. Muang Kapilavasthunakhon and Muang Phuan (= it corresponds to the Vietnamese country). 480,000 *byāma*s ('fathoms') corresponds to approximately 864 km (cf. Lorrillard 2021b: 43).

38 The word *sambhāra* is here unclear. None of the attested meanings seem to fit the context (cf. PED *s.v. sambhāra*). We rely on the *nissaya* which understands it as 'power'.

tions of] astonishment. Following this, King Pabbhāradeva took over extensive lands bordering many city-states. He was arrogant, had inappropriate sexual behavior towards the wives of his generals and advisers, and collected too many taxes from the city's inhabitants. All the inhabitants, headed by the advisers and generals, assembled and gathered then [in anger, and said:

'This king does not possess the ten royal virtues.[39] Let's banish him!']

And they banished him. Pabbhāradeva went to King Suvaṇṇakhandha,[40] ruler of the city [of Tira],[41] and resided there. We were then in 735 of the Lesser Era (i.e. 1373 CE).

[2.5] All the men, headed by the advisers and generals, consecrated Prince Ghara-uṇhaka,[42] son of King Pabbhāradeva, and established him in the kingdom. Prince Ghara-uṇhaka reigned righteously and had counted all those who resided in the city and who belonged to wealthy families. The number of wealthy families amounted to 300,000. For that reason, people who resided in the city, headed by the generals and advisers, named him during his coronation 'Tisatasahassa-issariyakulatyebhuvanādhipati'.[43] King Tisatasahassa-issariyakula made meritorious deeds such as giving and so on, and ruled righteously for forty-three years. He reached the age of sixty years. Experiencing impermanence, the king went to the world of gods.

After him was Prince Rattasuvaṇṇadasatasahassa,[44] son of King Tisatasahassa-issariyakula, who reigned for eleven years after his father. He had a destiny [after death] in accordance with his deeds.

After him was Prince Brahmadatta,[45] son of King Rattasuvaṇṇadasatasahassa, who reigned for ten months after his father. He had a destiny [after death] in accordance with his deeds.

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39 These ten are enumerated in certain *Jātaka*s (cf. PED *s.v. rājā -dhamma*): alms-giving (*dāna*, morality (*sīla*), liberality (*pariccāga*), straightness (*ajjava*), gentleness (*maddava*), self-restriction (*tapo*), non-anger (*akkodha*), non-hurtfulness (*avihiṃsā*), forbearance (*khanti*), and non-opposition (*avirodhana*).

40 i.e. Phraya Khamton.

41 i.e. Muang Nan.

42 i.e. Thao Un Huan.

43 The *tye* is doubtful. We suppose the compound means 'ruler over the three worlds and the three hundred thousand wealthy families', i.e. Phaya Sam Saen Thai.

44 i.e. Thao Lan Kham Daeng.

45 i.e. Thao Phromathat.

Then was King Mukha,[46] son of King Tisatasahassa-issariyakula, who reigned for five months. He had a destiny [after death] in accordance with his deeds.

Next was King Dasatasahassajeyya,[47] son of King Tisatasahassa-issariyakula, who reigned for ten months.[48] He had a destiny [after death] in accordance with his deeds.

Just then was King Teyya,[49] son of Varadeva,[50] and Prince Yugara, son of King Tisatasahassa-issariyakula,[51] who reigned for eight months.[52] They had a destiny [after death] in accordance with their deeds.

Immediately after was Prince Jatasuvaṇṇa,[53] who reigned for three years. He had a destiny [after death] in accordance with his deeds.

[Next was Prince Jayyasā,[54] son of King Tisatasahassa-issariyakula, who reigned for three years. He had a destiny (after death) in accordance with his deeds.

Next was Prince Yugara,[55] son of King Rattasuvaṇṇadasatasahassa, who reigned for eight months. He had a destiny (after death) in accordance with his deeds.]

[2.6] Next, was Prince Jeyyapākaṭa,[56] son of King Tisasahassa-issariyakula, born in 777 of the Lesser Era (i.e. 1415 CE), the Year of the Ram, who reigned at the age of twenty-three. The city, headed by the generals and advisers, consecrated him as 'Bra Jeyyacakkavattipattasādheyya'[57]. He reigned for forty-two years and was sixty-five years old [when he died] (i.e. in 842 CS/1480 CE).

During his reign, he invited the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga and had him brought from the city of Suvaṇṇa, so that people could greet him and pay homage with offerings in the city of Jāva. The royal emissary left for the city of Suvaṇṇa, paid homage with offerings to the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga,

46 i.e. Phraya Pak.
47 i.e. Phraya Meun Sai.
48 Manuscript B5 and the *nissaya* instead evoke six months.
49 i.e. Phraya Khai.
50 i.e. Phraya Fa Kheun.
51 The *nissaya* mentions that Prince Yugara would be rather the grandson of Tisatasahassa-issariyakula.
52 The *nissaya* instead evokes three years.
53 i.e. Thao Kham Keut.
54 i.e. Thao Chiang Sa.
55 i.e. Thao Yukhon.
56 i.e. Thao Lu Say.
57 i.e. Phraya Chakkaphat Phaen Phaeo.

[led him to the port], had him put [on a golden palanquin, and then] on a boat. They traveled by water and reached the fast Caṇḍa stream.[58] The ship on which the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga [had been embarked] sank there. The men [who had been afraid of death] came up [on dry land] and informed King Bra Jeyyacakkavatti that the boat on which the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga was had sunk. The king learned of this and was seized with distress:

'Oh! I have acquired little merit; I will not have the chance of approaching him in order to worship him!'

King Jeyyacakkavatti did not punish those who had sunk the boat on which the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga was. Then, the divinities brought the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga up from the water, deposited him in the *vihāra* [provided for] him in the city of Suvaṇṇa, and during the night they made [the image appear] to the *vihāra* keeper in a dream. So he saw [him in] his dream, [and woke up thinking,] 'It is certain! Just like this dream, the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga [will] come to me!'

The next day, after seeing to his bodily care, the keeper went to the *vihāra*. He saw the excellent Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga on a throne, informed the Mahāthera who was in his *kuṭi*, and went to inform the Suvaṇṇa's king. All the citizen, headed by the king, were all amazed. They paid homages with various offerings, raised the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga [on his throne and] installed him. At that time, all the people residing in the great city of Sīsatanāganahuta learned of the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga's power. Particularly delighted and amazed, they approved with thousandfold applause.

Three years passed since the time when the Buddha [image] performed this miracle. We were then in the year 841 of the Lesser Era (i.e. 1479 CE), the Year of the Pig. In this Year of the Pig, the Sākyan kings,[59] inhabitants of Kapilavatthu,[60] took their armies, destroyed the city of Jāva and returned to their city. Jeyyacakkavatti then departed, resided in the city of Jayyagga,[61] and died soon after.

[2.7] [Then, Prince Suvaṇṇapallaṅka[62] reigned after his father. He departed and resided in the city of Jeyyavannājayatāmba,[63] and stayed (there)

58 Here, they went up the Mekong and arrived at the Keng Chan stream.

59 It is the name given here to the Vietnamese rulers (cf. Lorrillard 2021b: 44).

60 i.e. Muang Kapilavastu (= in this context it corresponds to the Vietnamese country).

61 i.e. Muang Chiang Khan.

62 i.e. Thao Thaen Kham/Phraya Suvannabalang.

63 i.e. Muang Xieng Dong Xieng Thong. This is a new name for Luang Prabang, related to its upstream and downstream boundaries.

for seven years. Experiencing impermanence, he had a destiny (after death) in accordance with his deeds].

Next, Prince Suvaṇṇa Klesasatasahassapacchima[64] reigned after his elder brother. He heard of the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga's great powers, dispatched advisers, and had him worship with many tributes and offerings. Then all the royal retinue, headed by the advisers, departed, placed the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga on a golden palanquin, brought [him] by land along a decorated road, and reached the city of Jāva. King Klesasatasahassapacchima[65] had the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga erected in the monastery which was in the middle [of the city],[66] where the bones of the young Siveyyā,[67] daughter of the great King Jeyyacakkavatti, were present. In addition, King Klesasatasahassapacchima built a *vihāra* named Manorama,[68] had worship the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga [whom he] had placed in his beautiful *vihāra*. Thus, King Klesasatasahassapacchima reigned for fifteen years, and, experiencing impermanence, went to the world of gods.

Next, Prince Jambū,[69] son of King Klesasatasahassapacchima, reigned after his father for five years, and had a destiny [after death] in accordance with his deeds.

After that, Prince Siribejja,[70] son of King Jeyyacakkavatti, reigned at the age of thirty-four. At the moment of the royal consecration, lightning flashed and there was the line of a rainbow in the sky, [so] the people inhabiting the city, headed by the generals and advisers, consecrated him by giving him a name causing success 'Bra VijjullaphullapharitākāsaSīsatanāganahutāvisuddharatanarājadhānidhipati'.[71]

Then, King Vijjulla,[72] thinking of the truly extraordinary power of the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga, felt devoted and constructed a *vihāra* out of wood ornamented with various [patterns] of creepers and flowers. It was in the year 874 of the Lesser Era (i.e. 1512 CE), the year of the Monkey, in the month of Visākha, on the twelfth day of the light fortnight, in the lunar mansion

64 i.e. Thao La Saen Tai.
65 i.e. Phraya La Saen Tai.
66 i.e. in the Vat Sieng Kang.
67 i.e. Nang Sivay.
68 i.e. the Vat Manorom.
69 i.e. Thao Sumphu.
70 i.e. Thao Siri Phet.
71 Literally, 'ruler of the royal city [made] of pure jewels that is the city of a million elephants where lightning brightly flashed and crossed the sky'.
72 i.e. Phraya Vixun.

Pubbaphaggunī at sunrise. The *vihāra* was particularly resplendent, incomparable. King Bra Vijjulla called the *vihāra* 'Vijjullamahāvihāra'[73] after his own name. After having built the *vihāra*, he had the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga ceremoniously brought with his illustrious and great retinue from the Manorama Monastery. He installed him in the Vijjullamahāvihāra, had homages paid and offerings of various jewels, gold, silver made, and set him up to honor him for five thousand years. Thus, King Vijjulla reigned for twenty years, died at fifty-four. Experiencing impermanence, he went to the world of gods.[74]

Since then until today, the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga has fulfilled the desire wishes of the people living in the city of Sīsatanāganahuta: he has made the teachings of the Buddha shine. If one desires health, long life, safety, or success, he devoutly offers to the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga candles related to a long life[75] or candles the size of the body, one is successful according to his wishes, according to his desires.

Thus ended the second story concerning the establishment of the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga, coming from the Laṅkā island, in the Vijjullamahāvihāra—in the royal city [made] of pure jewels that is Sīsatanāganahuta.

The height of the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga, starting from the sole of the foot to the hairline above the forehead, is four spans.[76] From the hairline to the halo of light, it is seven fingers.[77] It is 44,500 [grams] in weight.[78]

The [account of] the Buddha Aḍḍhabhāga is finished.

73 i.e. the Vat Vixun Maha Vihan.

74 According to the *Phongsavadan*, he died around 1521 CE.

75 *āyuyuttadīpa* are twisted candles used in 'life-prolonging' ceremonies. They symbolise the individual's body that will be ritually 'consumed'. (Information Gregory Kourilsky)

76 One *vidatthi* ('span') is twelve *aṅguli*s.

77 One *aṅguli* ('finger') is approximately 2 cm.

78 The *nissaya* mentions 42,500 kg.

Abbreviations

References to Pali texts are to those of the Pali Text Society.

CE	Common Era
CS	*Cullasakarāja* (Lesser Era)
DoP	Margaret Cone, *A Dictionary of Pāli*, Part I: *A–Kh* (Oxford, The Pali Text Society, 2001); Part II: *G–N* (Bristol, Pali Text Society, 2010); Part III: p–bh (Bristol, Pali Text Society, 2020).
DPPN	Malalasekera, Gunapala Piyasena, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Volumes I–II (A–Dh and N–H) (London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1937–1938).
n. m.	not mentioned
PED	T. W. Rhys Davids et William Stede, *Pali-English Dictionary* (Chipsread, Surrey: Pali Text Society, 1921–1925) [reprint with corrections Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2004]
CPD	V. Trenckner and others, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, 3 vols (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Science and Letters, Bristol: Pali Text Society, 1924–2011).

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List of Proper Names

People

Bo (king)
Brahmadatta (prince, king
Cūḷanāga (Thera)
Cuṇṇasuvaṇṇa (king)
Dasasatasahassajeyya (king)
Ghara-uṇhaka = Tisatasahassa-issariya-kulatyebhuvanādhipati = Tisatasahassa-issariyakula (prince, king)
Jambū (prince, king)
Jatasuvaṇṇa (prince, king)
Jeyyapākaṭa (prince) = Bra Jeyyacakkavattipattasādheyya = Bra Jeyyacakkavatti (king)
Inda (god)
Mukha (king)
Pabbhāradeva = Pabbhāradevadharaṇī Sīsatanāganahutanagarādhipati (king)
Pākhamanta (Mahāthera)
Rattasuvaṇṇadasasatasahassa (prince, king)
Sākya (kings)
Siribejja (prince) = Bra VijjullaphullapharitākāsaSīsatanāganahutāvisuddharatanarājadhāṇīpati = Vijjulla = Bra Vijjula = Visuddharatanarajadhāṇi (king)
Siricunda (king)
Siveyyā (king's daughter)
Supinna (king)
Suvaṇṇakhandha (king)
Suvaṇṇa Klesasatasahassapacchima (prince) = Klesasatasahassapacchima (king)
Suvaṇṇapallaṅka (prince, king)
Teyya (king)
Ukkhitasuvaṇṇa (prince)
Varadeva (king)
Vāsava (god)
Yakkhadeva (prince)
Yugara (prince, king)

Places

Aruṇa (city)
Caṇḍa (stream)
Candasīha (city)
Indapatha = Mahānagara (city)
Jambudīpa (continent)
Jāva (city)
Jayagga (city)
Jeyyavannājayatāmba (city)
Kaṇṭakaveḷu (city)
Kapilanarasihi (city)
Kapilavatthu (country, city)
Khandhaka (city)
Koḷiya (country)
Manorama (*vihāra*)
Mothipittha-uni (city)
Phaḍeyya (city)
Piṅgala (city)
Ropa (stream)
Sīsatanāganahuta = Dasasatasahassa-gajenda (city, kingdom)
Suvaṇṇa (city)
Tira (city)
Udeyya (city)
Vijjullamahāvihāra (*vihāra*)
Yakkhāvaraṇa (city)
Yodheyya (city)

Storytelling in the Pāli Nikāyas
The Particle *kho* and the Textual Cycle of the Sick Monk

Eviatar Shulman

Abstract

Contributing to the lively debates on the nature of early Buddhist orality, this article defines two new features of orality in the early discourses and explores their significance. These are the employment of speech particles, termed in linguistics discourse markers or contextualization cues, and the existence of narrative cycles that use the same formulaic structures to create a web of stories, images and texts. Here I take the example of the widely encountered particle *kho*, supposedly a mere emphasis that is most commonly left untranslated and which modern Pāli grammars usually ignore, but which in my interpretation reveals a context of live speech that was active behind the formulization of Nikāya narration. This particle is examined with particular care in relation to one specific text, in which the Buddha guides a sick, or dying, monk to realization. This leads to an examination of the full narrative cycle in which the Buddha or one of his leading disciples visits a sick monk or householder, most commonly on their deathbed. All these texts are marked by the use of one specific formula, with which the teacher inquires after the well-being of the sick person. Within this cycle we discover materials that are appropriate for sermons for the sick and dying; miracle tales of dying monks; explorations of monkish suicide; miraculous healings of advanced monks through the Buddha's recitation, and more. The examination of the complete cycle makes it clear that the textual record we possess, as rich as it may be, is only a faint image of the life of the texts in their earlier settings, demonstrating that the early discourses were not necessarily, or not only, designed for fixed, communal recitation. While the materials discussed here correspond with ideas made popular through the Parry-Lord theory of oral literature, they also connect to sermon studies, and to broader considerations of preaching and storytelling. These findings need not be applied to all Nikāya materials without discrimination, and we can continue to investigate the plurality of textual practices that were behind the formation and transmission of the texts.

The oral nature of the early Buddhist discourses has been receiving renewed scholarly attention of late. Among the new contributions, Nathan McGovern (2016, 2019, 2024) has revived the interpretation of the texts according to the Parry-Lord theory of oral literature, suggested first in Buddhist studies by Lance Cousins (1983) and developed by Rupert Gethin (1992). McGovern's approach emphasizes the new shape texts take in live performances, based on a conservative and regulated mode of improvisation, so that in line with Cousins he takes texts to be 'snapshots of live performances'. Sarah Shaw (2021) has further turned our attention to the literary, emotive, aesthetic and aural sides of texts, and to the way they generate diverse types of religious experience and opportunity for a deep cultivation

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of the Dharma. My own work (e.g. Shulman 2017, 2021, 2023b) has also reflected upon the literary, and more broadly the creative, dimensions of the texts, pointing to their dynamic quality and to the diverse roles they played in Buddhist cultures, so that the texts are much more than attempts to preserve the Buddha's teachings. Rather, the early discourses are versions, potentials for relating and re-working different kinds of Buddhist visions, and do not reduce to repositories of doctrine, philosophy or history. In fact, texts were never meant to be anything but versions, possible articulations within thematic frames. These approaches all assume that the early discourses related in different ways to performative settings. Although they all correspond with oral-formulaic theory to some degree, the question of how this theory should be applied in relation to the early texts remains open.[1]

In contrast to these views, influential authors such as Mark Allon and Bhikkhu Anālayo have adopted a more conservative approach that takes the recitation of fixed recitation as the one main textual practice of the early tradition. Although joint recitation is itself a form of performance, here the idea is that texts were stable, being committed to memory and reproduced in communal recitation in the same precise form. A key argument behind this approach, presented in Allon 1997 and repeated in many studies since,[2] is that joint recitation requires a fixed text that all participants know by heart. However, while it seems clear that joint recitation grew to become a central textual practice with time, and while such an advanced form of practice probably had earlier precursors, we have little evidence that this was indeed the one main defining textual practice of early Buddhism.[3] This approach also tells us little about the way the texts came to receive

1 Among the studies that identify a more dynamic nature to the texts or are sensitive to their literary value, we may mention Gethin 1992, 2020, Manné 1990, and Black 2009, 2011. Shulman (2024a, 2024b) addresses performative dimensions of the texts, corresponding in stronger way with oral-formulaic theory. For Shaw, although she discusses Parry-Lord and endorses it to a degree, her stronger focus is on the experiences involved in the recitation of (fixed) texts, indeed another kind of performance than the one implied by oral-formulaic theory. See also Shaw 2024. McGovern's (2024) articulation offers a valuable step in the understanding of the early literature within a performative paradigm.

2 As in Wynne 2004; Anālayo 2007; 2011: 17; 2017: 75 (esp. n. 64).

3 I do not accept that anything presented by Mark Allon (2021: ch. 3), or the authors he cites in Allon 2018 (236n27; 2021: 21 n34) counts as 'substantial evidence'. We simply have no direct support that joint recitation was the dominant textual practice of early Buddhism.

the shape in which they are found today,[4] that is the form in which they are recited, which indeed is not just one form, so long as the different surviving versions of texts are compared.[5] If it is accepted that texts changed through oral transmission,[6] more commonly intentionally,[7] while the texts were generated through oral literary culture to begin with, perhaps the fact that we today work from fixed, written texts is an anomaly that dominates our assumptions too heavily.[8] That is to say that the idea of a fixed version seems like an hypothesis that needs corroboration. To be clear, orality does not necessarily imply fluidity and a performative expression of texts that is different from their fixed versions. But it does recommend that performances did not reduce *only* to fixed recitation, and that 'transmission' is a complicated idea.

Mark Allon, author of the 1997 study that provided the foundation on which discussions of Buddhist orality have been made ever since, has now offered a mature, updated contribution that does not acknowledge any influence of performance on the texts (Allon 2021). In this work, Allon is aware that texts were not only attempts to preserve the Buddha's teachings (Allon 2021: 118), but were also aimed to inspire, and he devotes a long, edifying chapter that shows how the different versions we read today resulted from intentional changes introduced by their authors. However, he still opens his new monograph with a statement that affirms his earlier

4 An influential view is that there was a stage of free transmission that was yet to be fixed, which was then standardized into the formulaic mode we find today. See Geiger 1978, Frauwallner 1956 (appendix), and Wynne 2004. However, this intuitive assumption assumes far too much—the formulas may be the earliest textual element. See Shulman 2023a.

5 Comparative studies have been with us for many decades, as in Waldschmidt 1950–1951, Lamotte 1988 and Minh Chau 1991, but have become ever more popular since the work of Bhikkhu Anālayo (e.g. 2008, 2011, 2017); see also the collections by Dhammadinnā 2014, 2017, 2020. While comparisons are edifying, a new theorization of what comparative study of the texts teaches is necessary. Indeed, McGovern's compelling analyses rely on comparisons of Pāli and Chinese texts to show the relevance of oral-formulaic theory. Here I focus on Pāli discourses from the Nikāyas; the fact that the texts discussed may have parallel versions in Sanskrit, Chinese, or other languages is surely significant, but is not at the focus of the present study. See further Shulman 2021 (ch. 1).

6 This understanding has become dominant in Anālayo's approach, and especially in his latest book (Anālayo 2022).

7 Allon 2021 (ch. 5).

8 *Text* implies a clear verbal account of whatever length. As we have no idea not only what the earliest texts were, but even whether they were such fixed sequences, the category of *text* itself remains elusive. For a problematization of the category of *text* in Buddhism, see Shulman and Hallisey 2022. For a question on the relevance of written texts, see Gethin 2020, Ruiz-Falqués 2024.

approach and says of the canonical suttas that '*these texts were designed to be memorized and repeated verbatim*' (emphasis mine).[9] Anālayo, in many of his publications, also makes it clear that texts underwent changes in an oral setting, yet for him, as he clarifies in his recent monograph (2022), these changes resulted from mistakes. For him, 'reciters' (*bhāṇaka*)[10] were not improvising, and were repeating a pre-existing text unless something went wrong. Yet mistakes cannot account for the robust patterns of differences we find between texts, both on the level of specific wording and of broader narrative patterns, and we can see that in many ways *bhāṇakas* were telling texts anew.

Obviously, fixed, melodious recitation by expert reciters is in itself a powerful and moving practice that would affect many audiences, as discussed by Shaw, and I do not mean to suggest that it did not have roots in early stages of the tradition. But the approach that emphasizes fixed recitation is based on a one-sided account of the tradition, and does not integrate in a full enough way the understanding that texts are not only meant to preserve.[11] If discourses were also meant to inspire and entertain, then this must have worked in other ways than having monks recite fixed texts in austere fashion, and in a language much of the population would probably not have understood.[12] Specifically, the present contribution aims to reconsider Allon's definition of texts as being *designed* to be memorized and transmitted verbatim.

Allon's assessment was based on his influential definition of three key features of the Pāli oral texts—the use of formulas, the waxing syllable principle, and the extensive use of repetition.[13] While such practices can relate to memorization, and surely helped memorization, they do not ne-

9 Or see the approving quote from Gombrich 1990 in Allon 1997: 367: 'deliberate compositions that were then committed to memory'.

10 The translation 'reciters' is ubiquitous, as in Anālayo 2011: xxv or Skilling 2022: 294, although these textual practitioners probably did much more than recite. See Shulman 2024a for a critique of this term.

11 Among the studies that emphasize preservation are Gombrich 1990: 22; Allon 1997: 366; Norman 1997 (ch. 3); Bronkhorst 1998: 12; Anālayo 2007: 9; Salomon 2011: 179; 2018: 52.

12 Such recitation can nevertheless be effective for many religious ends, as is shown by the continuously popular practice of *paritta* chanting. For this issue, see for example Harvey 1993, Tambiah 1970 and Shulman 2019: *214*. Shaw (2021: 15–18), drawing on Gombrich 2018, believes early audiences had a good grasp of Pāli. This may be true to some extent, but still needs to be investigated.

13 As these principles have been discussed extensively, readers are referred to Allon 1997 for further details.

cessarily recommend verbatim repetition and fixed recitation as the sole textual practice of early Buddhism in the way Allon assumes.[14] For example, the waxing syllable principle, which relates to strings of words that commonly appear together and are placed in a sequence that proceeds from the shorter to the longer words, may have become a way to express an idea that was then easily memorized , but this element could then be used by a performer to inspire his or her preaching in a way that may not repeat the fixed text; indeed, the performer would not have necessarily had to retain the formula in his memory. Furthermore, formulas do not reduce to their repetition within texts—if we take for example the devotional formulas for the recollection of the Buddha-Dhamma-Saṅgha (*iti pi so bhagavā* …; *svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo* …; *supaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho* …). These are used widely in Buddhist ritual to this day, and relate to practice that is not confined to the texts; similarly, philosophical formulas must have guided meditation and other forms of practice. Repetition, which can also support memorization, is also, however, a literary feature, and must be considered alongside other literary and aesthetic motivations in order to be understood (Shaw 2021, 2024; Shulman 2021). The life of formulas need not be thought of as equal to the life of full texts, and full texts seem to have had a degree of fluidity, so that they did not always have a fixed identity.

My main goal in the present contribution is, however, not to reassess these three features of the early Buddhist oral texts we read today, but to define two new ones: (1) the use of particles, and (2) the existence of fixed, formulized literary structures for texts, a phenomenon for which we can use the terms *genre* or *textual-cycle*. That is, that repetition occurs within fixed, but flexible, thematic trajectories. With these items added to our list of features of Buddhist orality, it becomes easier to suggest that many texts were not necessarily designed for fixed repetition (that may have been part of their use), but were rather *deliberately designed for storytelling*, which was consciously not just faithful repetition. Or, perhaps the version we *read* today corresponded with recitation and inevitably became fixed, but the texts lived much beyond this and were generated through processes that relied on flexibility and adaptation. Another way to state this, and one that is particularly relevant to the corpus of texts with dying monks that I will

14 Among these principles, it is especially the role of repetition that requires further discussion, as it is central to Allon's formulation.

be discussing in light of Rita Langer's (2007, 2013) studies of Sri Lankan death-ritual sermons, would be that discourses offered a pool of materials for sermons, and that their shaping both propelled and was propelled by such ritualized events. This is not meant to suggest that all texts were always meant to be used for storytelling in performative contexts that exceed fixed recitation, as in sermons. Rather a nuanced and complicated picture emerges that allows for *a diversity of textual practices*, and which will need to be further investigated in future studies.[15] The point to take home is that the fixed version is the inevitable vestige of a vibrant process, which had its uniquely Buddhist oral features.

We begin with an analysis of particles, with specific focus on one text in which the Buddha visits a sick, probably dying, monk. This will lead to an analysis of the full cycle of discourses that includes such visits by the Buddha and leading monks to sick or dying followers, whether monks or laymen, all marked by the same 'sickness-inquiry formula'.

Discourse particles

One of the most outstanding features of Nikāya 'prose' narration is the frequent use of speech particles.[16] Indeed, in his influential study of orality, Allon remarked on the need to inquire more deeply into the nature of Pāli particles, and especially of *kho* and *atha kho*, in order to better assess the character of Nikāya narration.[17] Nevertheless, these key elements in Nikāya discourse are most commonly ignored by translators and rarely mentioned in modern Pāli grammars. Here I offer a first step in the analysis of Pāli particles and the role they play in the literature, focusing mainly on the particle *kho*, which is usually understood as an emphasis that rarely affects translation. However, as I will show, *kho* (or at times *kho pana*, *nu kho* and more) plays an important role in contextualizing the ideas expressed in the texts in a manner that corresponds with practices of direct speech. Not referring to the *kho* in translation alters the character of Nikāya narration and misrepresents its mood. While this is an important understanding in its own right, it bears valuable theoretical significance, as in my interpretation

15 See further Shulman 2024b.

16 I use 'prose' like Allon 2021 and others, although this category requires examination.

17 Allon 1997: 288: 'Although most desirable, a proper analysis of the use of *atha kho* and *kho* is not possible here. Such an analysis, it is felt, would be revealing, for it seems that these elements have an important function as markers within the texts.'

this particle, and particles more generally, allow us to pick up the scent of some of the performative contexts behind the shaping of the discourses, which must have included episodes of live speech that is acutely attentive to context. Attention to particles will therefore help us place Nikāya narration on the continuum between fixed, formulaic literary utterance and the dynamics of live speech, pertaining to both. While obviously, the formulaic narration in the discourses is not a direct recording of speech,[18] the employment of particles provides narration with a live, dialogical quality, which points to the performative contexts through which texts took shape and in which they were employed.[19]

We could take a simple example from a prevalent formula in the Nikāyas in which an interlocutor exclaims his astonishment at the Buddha's (or less commonly someone else's) abilities, powers, and more, saying, *acchariyaṃ vata bho abbhutaṃ vata bho*, and continues to praise a specific quality. Commonly, translations read: 'It is wonderful, it is marvelous!'[20] Yet this

18 Contra assumptions that influenced Cousins 1983, and later McGovern 2019.

19 The present article takes an approach that resonates with the one adopted by Davidson (2009), who employed categories from linguistics in order to fruitfully analyze the pragmatics of *dhāraṇī* literature. Davidson sees *dhāraṇī*s as reflecting a context of normative speech in a social setting. In relation to Pāli literature, recently Shults (2020) has offered an interesting analysis that carefully examines the use of the formulation *kiñcāpi … atha kho*, in a manner that improves our understanding of the literature. His analysis does not refer, however, to the context of live speech that interests me here. The same is true of the more extensive analyses of particles in Sanskrit literature, including Emeneau 1969 who discusses *khalu*, which corresponds to *kho* that is key to my analysis, or Van Daalen 1988, who studies *kila/kira*. Both carefully consider the use of such particles, and offer interesting approaches to their meaning and translation. Their focus is on more literary forms of literature than the ones I reflect on here, although Emeneau hopes to retrieve living aspects of the languages. For him, the *Mahābhārata* that is at the core of his analysis 'represents an enormous residual deposit' of 'formulaic oral composition' that can expose stages in which the language was still alive and gaining maturity (Emeneau 1969: 242). These studies make clear that these particles are much more than a simple emphasis, and that they carry much pragmatic and rhetorical meaning. While for Emeneau, *khalu* normally means something like 'you should know, we should realize, I hope', Van Daalen expands the concepts, relating also to types of Pāli literature. Earlier, studies such as Speijer 1886 and Hartman 1966 treated these particles mainly as emphasis. Hartman made interesting remarks about the use of particles in the *Upaniṣads*, which could connect to the discussion of Pāli prose conducted here, suggesting that they relate to the style of teaching that these texts are founded on, which requires learning texts by heart. Thus, particles are used for special emphasis, marking important points in the instruction. Hartman does not treat the idea of live speech directly, but his work could help identify a certain continuity with Nikāya materials. I would like to thank Jonathan Silk for directing my attention to some of the studies referred to in this note.

20 As in Walshe 1995: 387, Ñāṇamoli & Bodhi 1995: 711; here the exclamation mark comes immediately, rather than at the end of the sentence as in Walshe.

ignores the dialogical impact of this formulized statement that is made to resemble live human speech, and which in contemporary English could be rendered as 'That's amazing, I mean, that's just incredible!'; or, for certain contexts: 'Why surely, that is just unbelievable, that is absolutely astonishing!'[21] Although the formulized statement is always the same, its meaning is best adjusted to context, while readers would also take the sense of amazement differently, so that one translation would not be adequate for all readers. Nonetheless, the change in flavor that is allowed once the context of live speech is taken into consideration is remarkable and requires analysis as part of the effort to unravel the nature of the texts. Simply, if the texts were merely designed for memorization and joint recitation, there would be little need for such pragmatic effects of direct speech and for recalling the context of live expression. Although there is a literary dimension to a formula such as this, it calls us to consider contexts in which stories were told, rather than discourses chanted from beginning to end by a group of monks. Such a storytelling context would allow devotees to identify with archetypal figures that, like themselves, experienced marvel in face of the Buddha's might.

My argument is that Pāli particles like *vata bho* in this passage, or *kho* and *kho pana* discussed below, are treated in linguistics as *discourse markers* (Tannen 2007), *contextualization cues* (Gumperz 1982, Schiffrin 1987), or *discourse particles* (Fischer 2006). These elements are considered crucial to communication and to mutual understanding within a conversation, allowing a speaker to make subtle emphases in order to situate the discourse within a shared world of meaning. Gumperz (1982: 131), among the initiators of this type of analysis, says, 'roughly speaking, a contextualization cue is any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signaling of contextual presuppositions'. The understanding behind these concepts is that spoken language is contextual and communicative (Schiffrin 1987: 3). Schiffrin offers a thorough analysis of the use of particles such as *well, oh, and, but, or, so, because, now, then, I mean, and y'know*, showing how they shape the communicative event and reveal the underlying patterns of communication that constitute a linguistic utterance. Tannen, relying on Gumperz, stresses how 'conversational involvement is the basis of all linguistic understanding' (Tannen 2007: 25) and how the interactive nature of language

21 Not all statements with the formula express the same level of astonishment. Compare, for example, SN v 375.7–8 with MN ii 98.28, or with SN iv 300.29, DN ii 107.16, 129.23, 130.9 and other occasions in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*.

requires that both speaker and listener actively code and interpret their statements with the help of cues that signal the way in which an utterance is supposed to be understood: '… participation in conversation is not merely a matter of passive understanding. It is not enough to decipher the 'meaning' of a given utterance. Or rather, one *cannot* truly understand the meaning of a given utterance without having a broad grasp of conversational coherence.' Subtle shifts of mood and emphasis dramatically shape the meaning of statements, so that what is said exceeds the semantic content of the words. Coherence and involvement are produced though the employment of familiar strategies. As Gumperz explains, most of the use of contextualization cues goes unnoticed.[22]

In what follows, I begin with a close analysis of one Pāli text in order to show that its use of particles, and primarily of *kho*, should be interpreted as relating to this category of speech particles. After this analysis, I proceed to discuss the use of *kho* in a number of sources from the Nikāyas. My basic point will be that *kho* (or at times *kho pana*; and to be distinguished from *nu kho*), which can often be translated as *well, but*, or just *uhm*, tends to mark the most significant emphases made by the Pāli authors within a given narration. These emphases are thick: the pragmatic and rhetorical impact produced by the *kho* is a central element in the narration, which contextualizes the statements within a dialogical event and marks the emotional tone of the utterance. In the case we will examine, these emotional and dialogical aspects are, in fact, the main teaching of the discourse, and are more important than any philosophical content employed.

Kho in the 'First Discourse on Sickness'

All texts within the narrative cycle of the sick monk—in most cases the monk is severely ill and probably nearing death—are marked by one particular formula, with which the Buddha (or a leading student) inquires into the monk's (or another lay-person's) well-being. We will call this the 'sickness-inquiry formula':

22 Gumperz 1982: 131: 'Constellations of surface features of message form are the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows. These features are referred to as *contextualization cues*. For the most part they are habitually used and perceived but rarely consciously noted and almost never talked about directly.'

> Are you enduring? Are you holding out? Are the painful feelings you experience receding, rather than increasing, so that their complete recession is apparent, not their increase?
>
> *kacci te* [...] *khamanīyaṃ, kacci yāpanīyaṃ; kacci dukkhā vedanā paṭikkamanti no abhikkamanti, patikkamosānaṃ paññāyati no abhikkamo ti* (SN IV 46.21–23).[23]

To this the monk will inevitably reply:

> I am not enduring, sir, not holding out; my intense, painful feelings are on the rise, not receding, so that their complete increase is apparent, not their recession.
>
> *na me bhante khamanīyaṃ na yāpanīyaṃ; baḷhā me dukkhā vedanā abhikkamanti no paṭikkamanti abhikkamosānaṃ paññāyati no paṭikkamo ti* (SN IV 46.23–26).

First, we will focus on the formula and its progression in one specific text, the 'First Discourse on Sickness', *Paṭhamagilāna-sutta*, which opens the eighth section (*vagga*) of the *Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta*.[24] This discourse begins by highlighting the Buddha's sensitivity, who is told by a certain (*aññatara*) monk about a new, unknown (*appaññāta*) monk who is ill in a certain monastery, and immediately sets out to visit him as an act of compassion (*anukampam upādāya*).[25] The use of *aññataro* for both the monk making the announcement and the sick monk, as well as the latter abiding in an unspecified monastery (*amukasmiṃ vihāre*), suggests that this is a generalized occasion, rather than a specific event. Nearing the premises, the Buddha notices that the monk stirs in his bed upon seeing him (*disvāna mañcake samadhosi*),[26] apparently aiming to get up and prepare a better seat for the Buddha even though he is sick, thereby subtly expressing his devotion. The Buddha orders him to stop and takes one of the seats that is already prepared, showing his dismissal of decorum and his sensitivity to the painful

24 This is discourse no. 74 within the first collection of book IV of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, 'The Collection on the Six Sense Bases'. In the PTS edition it is found at SN IV 46–47.

25 This emphasis on compassion fits the overall tone of the Nikāyas that takes an encounter with the Buddha to be an extremely significant moment, which would be for his interlocutor's 'long-time benefit and joy' (*dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāya*), that is one that would have a positive effect on one's future rebirths. The compassion here is not just in the visit, but in allowing the person the opportunity to be in the Buddha's presence.

26 E^{e} reads *samancopi* (SN IV 46.15) which can be amended to *samañcopi* as it appears in the Buddha's response two lines below. This is a good reading, which can be accepted as *lectio difficilior*, against the Burmese, Siamese and Sinhalese editions. My thanks are to Martin Straube for suggesting this alternative reading.

situation.[27] He then expresses concern through the sickness-inquiry formula, and the monk reports his painful condition.

In this particular textual model, the Buddha will now lead the monk to a realization of truth through a series of questions; we cannot be certain whether this includes recovery from the sickness or only improves his mental state in face of death. The Buddha first inquires whether the monk harbours any sense of blame:

> Do you, monk, not have any worry (*kukkucca*) or remorse (*vippaṭisāra*)?
> *kacci te bhikkhu na kiñci kukkuccaṃ na koci vippaṭisāro ti* (SN IV 46.27–28).

The Buddha seems to identify an emotional unrest that is generating or aggravating the illness. The terms he employs are pregnant with meaning: while *kukkucca* can be translated as doubt or worry, it also raises the association of a wrong-doing that may relate to a breach in conduct. *Vippaṭisāra*, translated as 'remorse', can signal key transformative moments.[28] The perceptive Buddha has hit the mark, and the monk confirms—I mark the discourse particles in bold:

> **Certainly** (*taggha*), sir, I have grave worry and remorse.
> ***taggha*** *me bhante anappakaṃ kukkuccaṃ anappako vippaṭisāro ti* (SN IV 46.29–30).

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27 The full narration reads: The opening at Sāvatthi (*Sāvatthinidānaṃ*). Then a certain monk came approached the Bhagavā; having approached, he sat to the side. Seated, he said to the Lord: 'In a certain *vihāra* there is a new, unknown (*appaññāto*) monk, who is sick, in pain, having a powerful illness. It would be good, sir, if the Bhagavā would visit him relying on compassion (*anukampam upādāya*).' Then the Bhagavā, having heard the talk on [the monk being] new and [his] sickness, and understanding that this monk is indeed unknown, went to visit that monk. The monk saw the Bhagavā arriving from afar, and stirred in his bed. Then the Bhagavā said to the monk: 'Enough, monk, don't stir in your bed; there are these prepared seats; I will sit there.' The Bhagavā sat on the prepared seat, and said to the monk [...] SN IV 46.2–18: *Sāvatthinidānaṃ; atha kho aññataro bhikkhu yena bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami … pe … ekamantaṃ nisinno kho so bhikkhu bhagavantaṃ etad avoca: amukasmiṃ, bhante, vihāre aññataro bhikkhu navo appaññāto ābādhiko dukkhito bāḷhagilāno. sādhu, bhante, bhagavā yena so bhikkhu ten' upasaṅkamatu anukampaṃ upādāyā ti. atha kho bhagavā navavādañ ca sutvā gilānavādañ ca appaññāto bhikkhū ti iti viditvā yena so bhikkhu ten' upasaṅkami. addasā kho so bhikkhu bhagavantaṃ dūrato va āgacchantaṃ. disvāna mañcake samadhosi. atha kho bhagavā taṃ bhikkhuṃ etad avoca: alaṃ, bhikkhu, mā tvaṃ mañcake samadhosi. sant' imāni āsanāni paññattāni, tatthāhaṃ nisīdissāmī ti. nisīdi bhagavā paññatte āsane; nisajja kho bhagavā taṃ bhikkhuṃ etad avoca.*

28 For example, in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, such remorse is experienced by Ānanda, and potentially by Cunda, who can be thought to share some responsibility in bringing about the Buddha's death. See also *Aṅguttara* II.2.

Notice the emphasis through the stronger particle *taggha*, which allows the monk to express that he suffers from worry and remorse. While the subsequent content of the monk's statement is important, it mainly confirms the emotional emphasis produced through the strong affirmation afforded by the particle that opens the reply. Here begins a process of change in the monk's self-understanding, brought about by the Buddha's confident and compassionate guidance. We are drawn into the dialogical exchange by the discourse marker, and with it are able to understand the emotional situation and identify with the monk's subjective state. The Buddha continues to question, anticipating that the monk is experiencing an unhealthy state of moral self-blame:

> **But** do you, monk, accuse yourself in relation to morality?
> *kacci* ***pana***[29] *taṃ* [*tvaṃ*][30] *bhikkhu attā sīlato upavadatī ti*.[31]

Again, the key emotional content is encapsulated in the *but* (*pana*), with which the Buddha hints that there is no justification for the sense of blame and remorse. Offering conceptual content to the dialogical expression through the particle, the Buddha further questions whether the monk accuses himself of moral misconduct, of any breach in *sīla*,[32] in relation to *sīla* (*sīlato*). Thus, *tvaṃ* eases the reading. The subtle emphasis in the *pana*, 'but', is placed within a smooth articulation that has a quality of live speech—*kacci pana taṃ/tvaṃ* ('*But* do you ...')—through which both monk and audience understand that the Buddha is going to offer a way of looking at things that will confront the remorse and self-doubt. Notice the emphasis in the monk's response:

> **Well** (***kho***), sir, I do not accuse myself in relation to morality.[33]
> *na* ***kho*** *maṃ bhante attā sīlato upavadatī ti* (≠ SN IV 47n3).[34]

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29 See below for the function of the particle *pana*.

30 Reading *taṃ* with VRI, or *tvaṃ* with PTS and other attested readings, while *te* is also attested. See the note 32 for discussion.

31 Reading with VRI, which is preferrable to SN IV 47.1. While the omission of *bhikkhu* in E^{e} may be acceptable, the negation in *na upavadatī* is evidently mistaken.

32 The statement is somewhat difficult in Pāli, but nevertheless clear in its meaning. It is not for no reason that the different versions confuse between *taṃ*, *tvaṃ*, and *te*, since it seems that the Buddha is asking whether in relation to the previous statement, *taṃ*, the monk speaks accusingly, *upavadati*, of himself, *taṃ/tvaṃ/te*.

33 Here, I start the translation with *kho* against the sequence in the Pāli for better rhythm.

34 Reading with VRI, which is preferable to SN IV 47n3, and against the choice in E^{e} in SN IV 47.2: *no hetaṃ bhante*. While *nakho* in SN IV 47n3 is probably a typo, *me* instead

The emphasis through the discourse marker again guides us to focus on the monk's subjective stance—he does not accuse himself in relation to morality, and the Buddha has led him to acknowledge this. This subjective stance is what the discourse is most interested in, and the full statement of the monk is in a way just a repetition of the subjective position that the monk expressed through the discourse marker. Here, this is still a negative statement by the monk who is still resistant, but one that has for the first time a positive message—there is no self-blame for him in relation to moral discipline. The contextualization cue that highlights the negation once more captures the main message of the utterance that exceeds its semantic content, allowing both the participants in the dialogue and any engaged audience to identify the intentional significance of the words. The *kho*, translated here as *well*,[35] plays also a rhythmic role, which facilitates the dialogical encounter.

The Buddha now naturally asks:

> **So**,[36] if **indeed** monk you do not accuse yourself in relation to morality, what worry and remorse do you have?

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of *maṃ* could suit the rhythm of the narration if *te* replaces *taṃ/tvaṃ* (see note 32), but given the choice of the latter in both VRI and E^{e}, *maṃ* is preferable. Generally, in this section of the text, I see VRI readings as preferable, although the choices, aside from this case, are not of consequence to the discussion of particles. That being said, I see the different readings available and attested in the manuscripts all as different ways of articulating the text within its organic oral contexts; there may not be one correct version. The only parts I see as fully mistaken are the options chosen in E^{e} at SN IV 47.1–2.

35 The irregular translation 'well' for *kho* draws on Schiffrin's (1987: ch. 4) analysis of *well* in English, in which she defines it as: '[A] **response** marker which anchors its user in an interaction when an upcoming contribution is not fully consonant with prior coherence options. It is because this function displays a speaker in a particular participation status—**respondent**—that it functions in the participation framework' (Schiffrin 1987: 102–103; bold emphases in the original). Schiffrin contrasts *well* with *oh*, which she takes as a particle used for information management, while both particles do not carry semantic or grammatical content.

36 I translate *kira* to English as *so* (followed by *indeed* for emphasis and rhythm) in order to distinguish it from the translation *well* for *kho*, but also to draw on Schiffrin's characterization of *so*, and *because*, that together 'mark relations not only between idea units, but between ideas and speakers' inferences which figure in the conversational evolution of information states, and between speakers' stated motives and actions' (Schiffrin 1987: 217). This means that *so* is used to mark and express the inferences each participant in the exchange reaches in penetrating his or her interlocutor's statement, and to relate his or her understanding of the context. As Schiffrin further explains, '*So* functions in the organization of transitions in participation framework. Such transitions occur when speaker and hearer adjust the allocation of responsibility for the achievement of particular conversational tasks (*ibid*).

> *no ce* ***kira*** *te bhikkhu attā sīlato upavadati kiñci te kukkuccaṃ koci vippaṭisāro?*[37]

Again, the Buddha's rhetorical emphasis, and the dexterous guidance it reveals, is marked by an ostensibly meaningless particle—*kira*, or more fully the sequence *no ce kira te*. Once more, the particle is the main message of the utterance, relating the personal stance behind the conceptual content in a single syllable: with the *kho*, the Buddha suggests that if the monk has no reason to accuse himself morally, he should experience no remorse, doubt or worry, which means that he can relax any anxiety that impacts his illness.

Marking his personal process again with a *kho*, the monk replies, still resisting full recovery, but moving toward understanding:

> **Well** (***kho***), sir, I do not understand the teaching (*dhamma*) taught by the Bhagavā[38] to have the purification of morality as its goal.
>
> *na* ***khvāhaṃ***[39] *bhante sīlavisuddhatthaṃ bhagavatā dhammaṃ desitam ājānāmī ti* (SN IV47.5–6).

The monk is clear in feeling confidence about his moral state. However, he is surprised at the Buddha's emphasis on morality, given that he does not think that the purification of morality is the goal of the teaching. His subjective stance is still one of resistance, which is marked by the *kho*—I do *not* understand, etc.—with which the monk suggests that he is now beyond the remorse caused by doubts about morality, but that this is not enough for him to relieve his anxiety. The Buddha's next question echoes his previous one, again with an emphasis on the monk's self-understanding:

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37 Reading with VRI, which is preferrable to SN IV 47.3–4.

38 I find the term Bhagavā (nom. sg. of Bhagava[n]t) to be too significant and idiosyncratic to translate as 'Lord' or 'Blessed one', as is commonly done (including by myself in earlier publications). My current understanding of this term is that it expresses a divine or semi-divine identity, as the term is used more broadly in Indian religion for gods like Krishna, Rāma or Śiva. The best option I see for now is to leave the term untranslated, as we do with *Buddha*.

39 *khvāhaṃ* expresses *kho ahaṃ*. I thank the anonymous reader of the article who pointed out that *khvāhaṃ* in PTS and VRI is a Burmese reading, while Sri Lankan tradition separates the words and reads *kho ahaṃ* (as in the version by the Sri Lanka Tipiṭaka Project). This distinction between the written transcription of an oral texts reminds us that the focus of this textual project is on live speech.

> **So**, if **indeed**[40] monk you do not understand the teaching I have taught to have the purification of morality as its goal, then what do you understand the goal of the teaching. I have taught to be?
>
> *no ce **kira** tvaṃ bhikkhu sīlavisuddhatthaṃ mayā dhammaṃ desitam ājānāsi atha kim atthaṃ carahi tvaṃ bhikkhu mayā dhammaṃ desitam ājanāsī ti* (SN IV 47.7–9).

Again, the discourse marker communicates the meaning of the statement within the dialogical exchange. Making use of the same particle *kira*, the Buddha leads the monk to articulate his own understanding. This question skilfully incites the monk to provide, for the first time, a positive statement regarding his understanding, thereby signalling his transformation:

> **Well** (***kho***), sir, it is for the goal of quieting passion that I understand the teaching taught by the Bhagavā.
>
> *rāgavirāgatthaṃ **kho**vāhaṃ bhante bhagavatā dhammaṃ desitaṃ ājānāmī ti* (SN IV47.10–11).

As before, the *kho* marks the development of the dialogical exchange and the monk's personal state within it. Now the content turns positive, as the monk is steered by the Buddha to take responsibility for his own understanding. There is no more resistance left in the monk's stance, and he leaves behind the emotional complex that made him sick and served as an impediment to realization. This emotional process has been made possible through the Buddha's graceful guidance, marked in his own narration through the use of discourse markers, which semantically may be 'meaningless particles' but within the pragmatics of speech convey the subjective stance of the speaker. Corresponding with the perfected subjectivity of the Buddha, who is here moved by deep compassion and care, the monk is able to change his emotional state. The Buddha's response highlights the monk's new phase:

> Wonderful, wonderful (*sādhu sādhu*), monk! It is wonderful, **surely** (***kho***) that you understand that the teaching I have taught has its goal in the quieting passion. The teaching I have taught does **indeed** (***hi***) have the goal of quieting passion.

40 Here, as above, I translated the *kira* as *so*, although it thus loses its place within the sequence. We could have translated, perhaps, 'so if you, um/well/cough, do not understand …', thereby retaining the verbal sequence and better demonstrating the emphasis produced by the discourse marker, which keeps this statement a part of a contextualized, interpersonal dialogue, rather than a contextual exchange of information.

> *sādhu sādhu bhikkhu sādhu* ***kho*** *tvaṃ bhikkhu rāgavirāgatthaṃ mayā dhammaṃ desitaṃ ājānāsi. rāgavirāgattho* ***hi*** *bhikkhu mayā dhammo desito* (SN IV47.12–14).

Once more, the *kho* marks the dialogical significance of the statement, here having the Buddha praise and uphold the monk's understanding. Throughout this sequence, it is the particles that have carried the main meaning of the text—the Buddha's curing of the monk and/or preparing him for realization. The teaching that the Buddha now provides is almost superfluous to the key movement of the text, a doctrine that is assumed to be true beforehand and that serves as a generic filler for the structure of the discourse, allowing the authors to suggest that the Buddha's caring guidance led to the monk's realization.

Teaching selflessness formulaically

We cannot be certain whether the unknown monk who the Buddha has just guided to a state beyond his harmful self-doubt is about to die, or whether he is on his way to recovery. In two other texts from the *Saṃyutta* that employ the full formulaic sequence discussed in the last section, including the exact same questioning on self-doubt and reproach, the monks die at the end of the text. In other texts that use the shorter sickness-inquiry formula, the situation more commonly relates to the sick person's last moments (all these texts will be discussed below). For some discourses, the commentary makes it clear that the monk is dying.[41] In all these exchanges, the most common proceeding is for the Buddha to teach the monk an insight practice, which will allow him a better, indeed a realized, death. In the present text, the situation is left ambiguous and invites interpretation.

In the formulaic sequence at work in the *First Discourse on Sickness*, after the monk is freed of remorse the Buddha leads him to a deeper understanding through a teaching on selflessness. He does this with the help of a popular formula on the 'three characteristics' of *anicca*, *dukkha*, and *anatta*. In this particular context, given that the collection is devoted to the six

41 For example, the commentary on the discourse to Vakkhali in the *Khanda-saṃyutta* (see below) explains *bāḷhagilāno* as *adhimattagilāno*. The *Aṭṭhakathā* for the discourse to Anāthapiṇḍika in the *Majjhima* (see below) reads *bāḷhagilāno adhimattagilāno maraṇaseyyaṃ upagato*, saying that he is very sick, on his death-bed. The *Ṭīkā* for the same text explains: *adhimattagilāno ti adhikāya mattāya maraṇassa āsannatāya ativiya gilāno attho*.

senses, they are the subject of analysis, rather than the slightly more common application of the formula to the five aggregates. I repeat the formula, so that we have a full perception of the discourse:

> 'What do you think, monk, is the eye permanent or impermanent?'
> *taṃ kiṃ maññāsi bhikkhu, cakkhu niccaṃ vā aniccaṃ vā*
>
> 'Impermanent, sir.'
> *aniccaṃ bhante*
>
> '**And**[42] that which is impermanent, is it painful or joyful?'
> *yaṃ **pana** aniccaṃ dukkhaṃ vā taṃ sukhaṃ vā*
>
> 'Painful, sir.'
> *dukkhaṃ bhante*
>
> '**And** that which is impermanent, painful, and subject to change, is it, in fact,[43] fit to be regarded as "this is mine, I am this, this is my self"?'
>
> *yaṃ **pana** aniccaṃ dukkhaṃ vipariṇāmadhammaṃ kallaṃ **nu** taṃ samanupassituṃ etaṃ mama eso 'ham asmi eso me attā ti*
>
> 'Not **at all**, sir.'
> *no **hi** etaṃ bhante*
>
> 'Is the ear ... nose ... tongue ... body ... mind ... permanent or impermanent?'[44]
> *yaṃ … pe … sotaṃ … ghānaṃ … jivhā … kāyo … mano nicco vā anicco vā …*

This formula normally leads to a description of the way the monk who practices it is lead to 'liberation':[45]

> Seeing in this way, monks, a learned disciple (*sutavā*, i.e. one who has heard and learned the formulas by heart and practiced accordingly) detaches from the eye, detaches from the ear, detaches from the nose, detaches from the tongue, detaches from the body, detaches from the mind. Being detached, he becomes dispassionate. From dispassion, he is liberated. Being liberated, there is the knowledge 'liberated' and he knows 'birth is destroyed, the holy

42 *Pana* is a connective particle; see Schiffrin 1987: ch. 6. Sometimes it marks disruption and contrast, like *but*, at other times connectivity, like *and*.

43 *nu* and especially *nu kho* are used for emphasis in more philosophical contexts, normally to fix the rhythm of a question.

44 SN IV 47.15–23.

45 The frequency of the reports and their recurrence suggests that liberation is an event one returns to, and not necessarily an absolute end. This is a theme for a future study.

> life has been lived, what has to be done has been done. There is no more being in this state here'.[46]

And, as we may expect, the monk reaches an advanced level of realization:

> This is what the Bhagavā said; that monk was pleased and rejoiced in the Bhagavā's words. And while this explanation was being spoken, for this monk arose the clean, untainted vision, 'anything that arises, ceases'.[47]

Notice the difference between the earlier, pragmatic and contextualized narration that relies on discourse markers, to the formalized ending in which the all-knowing author-narrator informs us of the monk's realization according to an idealized textual model. When the Pāli authors speak of liberation, here or elsewhere, they move away from the contextualized speech of discourse, and enter a philosophical space of ultimacy. The formulized dialogue on selflessness is closer to the latter, but still includes elements of the former, with minor use of pragmatics, given that it is meant to represent real, spoken speech.[48] We see here some of the unique textures of the Nikāyas narrative voice.

Often, readers of such texts assume that the narrative is clothing for the philosophy. Indeed, many would still like to see suttas as representing what the Buddha actually taught,[49] and it may be true that central formulas reflect formative stages of the tradition.[50] Yet in the present case, I would argue that the formula on selflessness is used as a filler, not a metrical one, but one of genre, a 'meaning' filler. The Buddha must provide a teaching according to conventions of sutta-texts, and here the narrative requires that he direct the monk in the practice of insight. Here, in the *Chapter on the Six Sense Bases* (*Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta*), an examination of the senses must ensue, which will allow the monk a degree of realization.

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46 SN IV 47.25 inserts a *peyyāla* for most of the text, but it can be retained from places like IV 2.1.

47 SN IV 47.26–30. For a Gandhari version of this passage as part of the supposed second discourse of the Buddha, the *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta*, and a discussion of the Pali and Sanskrit parallels, see Allon 2020.

48 Compare the similar articulation of the investigation based on the three characteristics in discourses 1–3 of the *Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta* (SN IV 1–3), and discourses 15–17 of the *Khandha-saṃyutta* (SN III 22–23).

49 Among the more salient voices of late have been Sujato and Brahmali 2014, Gombrich 2019, Wynne 2010, 2019 and Levman 2020: esp. 22; Anālayo's (2008) remarks suggest that his comparative project is meant to help identify such essential elements of the texts.

50 Levman's (2022) suggestion works in this direction; see also Shulman 2023a.

This is not the only case in which this same formula is used as a narrative filler. Numerous times in this same collection, it is employed in order to provide a familiar but authorized closure for the narration.[51] For example, three of the sections (*vagga*) that precede this discourse end with a discourse that utilizes this formula to give the chapter a sense of completeness, an editorial choice driven by aesthetic concerns.[52] The formula is used in order to help the collection make sense, emotionally and aesthetically no less than doctrinally, with a popular formula that provides a sense of closure. In this sense, the *Saṃyutta* is not a 'collection' of discourses, but a method of articulating *Buddha-vacana* according to specific themes, formulas, and narrative patterns.[53]

From a narrative perspective, however, the formulation on selflessness is not epiphenomenal, but plays an important part. After helping the monk cleanse his conscience and face his mental situation, he is led to insight. This is the narrative design in which a sick or dying monk is lead dexterously by the Buddha to health and realization. It is interesting to see how the next text in the collection, to which we now turn, repeats the full narration with one small but significant change.

Toward a genre of texts: the 'Second Discourse on Sickness'

One way to see how the formulaic nature of Nikāya articulation is aimed for reproduction in storytelling and preaching, rather than seeking historical representation, is to see how a text can be fully reproduced by changing only one word, or here one compound, which in this case leads to a slight change in the formulaic ending.

We can observe this phenomenon in the following text in the collection, the 'Second Discourse on Sickness' (*Dutiyagilāna-sutta*, SN IV 47–48), which is the exact same text as the 'First Discourse on Sickness' with a subtle variation at one strategic point. Here, when the Buddha asks the monk how he understands the teaching, rather than speaking of the removal of passion (*rāgavirāgatthaṃ*) as in the previous text, he says:

51 The idea that liberation can be used for narrative closure returns to Collins 1998.

52 See discourses 32, 62 and 72 in the collection, which are equal to the discourse before them, while replacing another formulation on selflessness with this more prevalent one.

53 See further in Shulman 2024a.

> **Well** (***kho***), sir, it is for the the sake of complete enlightenment through non-grasping that I understand the teaching taught by the Bhagavā.
>
> *anupadāparinibbānatthaṃ* ***kho****vāhaṃ bhante bhagavatā dhammaṃ desitaṃ ājānāmī ti.* (SN IV 48.4–5)

The Buddha next commends the monk's understanding in the same way (*sādhu sādhu*, etc.), and leads the monk through the observation based on the three marks and the understanding of selflessness. This second 'unknown' monk is perceived as being at a more advanced state of practice, as his understanding of the practice reveals, which is then echoed at the end of the text when he attains arahantship so that 'his mind was liberated from the inflows through non-grasping' (*anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimuccī ti*).

How should we understand the relation between these two texts? Are they representations of different events through a formulaic structure, or rather a way of telling stories that can be used to speak of the different levels of realization that the compassionate and dexterously capable Buddha can bring his disciples to, irrespective of specific historical occurrences? I submit that the latter interpretation is far more coherent, allowing us to make better sense of the aims and techniques of Nikāya authors and of the textual practices that gave rise to the texts. The way that the dialogue is so carefully coded in relation to the dynamics of live speech further recommends that these texts were meant to be used in contexts of storytelling, perhaps while monks actually cared for people on their sick beds and comforted their families in the events surrounding the deaths of their dear ones. That these texts work in such ways will become even more evident when we examine the full textual cycle that employs the sickness-inquiry formula.

With the doubling of the discourse through having the monk reflect a higher level of understanding and reaching liberation, we see that these texts offer a grid for the telling of a story. In fact, if we judge by the fifth section of the *Magga-saṃyutta*, the authors of the texts we just discussed took only the first and last cases of a list of eight such levels of understanding, in which *raga-virāga-attham* ('for the sake of quieting passion') and *anupādā-parinibbāna-attham* ('for the sake of enlightenment through non-grasping') that are used by the two monks here, bookend the sequence. The fact that these monks are 'unknown' allows them not only to bolster the perception of the Buddha's compassion, but to serve as generalized instantiations of the teachings. Thus, other 'unknown monks' could have related the understanding that the goal of the teaching is for the sake of re-

linquishing the bonds (*saṃyojanappahānatthaṃ*), uprooting the underlying inclinations (*anusayasamugghātanatthaṃ*), understanding the path (*addhānapariññatthaṃ*), destroying the inflows (*āsavānaṃ khayatthaṃ*), realizing the fruit of liberation through knowledge (*vijjāvimuttiphalasacchikiriyatthaṃ*) and seeing with understanding (*ñāṇadassanatthaṃ*). This full list of eight levels of realization is used to structure eight 'discourses' that comprise the fifth *Vagga* of the *Magga-saṃyutta*.[54] Each one of these could have served to create a discourse of its own within the same sequence with the sick monks, with a corresponding degree of realization.[55] This is a good example of the way Nikāya texts often offer us only one (or here two) possible articulations within a much broader method.[56]

Before exploring the other texts of this textual cycle, let us linger one moment longer on the significance of *kho*, as our example of a discourse particle.

A few more *kho*-s

This study does not offer a comprehensive treatment of particles in the Nikāyas, and even not of the one that is at the center of our analysis, *kho*. Thus, before moving to the broader picture of the narrative cycle of texts, it would be worthwhile to observe a few more examples of the use of this particle in other contexts in the Nikāyas. With this we can continue to see the dialogical emphases in such particles and the manner in which they reveal the subtle effects made within Nikāya narration.

A simple example would be in the common opening formulations of discourses. While this seems like a mere formulaic introduction of the setting, this opening is an extremely important narrative element that carries a valuable message regarding the deep respect all audiences cultivate toward the Buddha. Commonly, audiences express their respect in acting according to a designated decorum, so that they approach the Buddha with humility, greet him, and take their place to the side, standing or sitting. The completion of this sequence, and before the discussion moves to

54 These are discourses 41 to 48 in the *Magga-saṃyutta*, SN v 27–29.

55 This would have demanded a list of eight kinds of liberations, which is available in more than one way (the 8 *vimokkhas*; the four pairs of people on the path to the four attainments and who have realized them), but is perhaps too sophisticated for the *Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta*.

56 See Gethin 2020, which in this respect offers an advanced articulation of insights expressed in Gethin 1992.

content, is marked by a *kho*, here highlighting that the interlocutor placed him/herself in subservience to the Buddha. Thus, for example, we read:

> Thus have I heard; on one occasion the Bhagavā was residing at Sāvatthi in the Jeta grove, in the recluse home of Anāthapiṇḍika. And then, a certain, exceedingly beautiful deity, lighting up the whole Jeta grove when the night was well advanced, approached the Bhagavā. Having approached and respectfully greeting him, it stood to the side. Having **now** stood to the side [**after this respectful approach**] (*kho*), this deity addressed the Bhagavā in verse.
>
> *evaṃ me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā Sāvatthiyaṃ viharati Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. atha kho aññatarā devatā abhikkantāya rattiyā abhikkantavaṇṇā kevalakappam Jetavanam obhāsetva yena bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami upasaṃkamitvā bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekam antam aṭṭhāsi. ekam antam ṭhitā **kho** sā devatā bhagavantaṃ gathāya ajjhābhāsi.*[57]

The marker *kho* is not transparent or meaningless, but signals the fact that the Buddha's audience, here an inspiring deity, treats him, or one of his monks,[58] with utmost respect and approaches him in the manner that a religious leader he has faith in deserves.

A second, resonant example comes from the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* of the *Majjhima*, an important text in which the Buddha discusses the extreme asceticism he practiced on his path to enlightenment in order to demonstrate his supreme mastery of the ascetic method.[59] Again, we are speaking of a respected rival, Saccaka, who is presented as related to the Jains, but who is familiar with other traditions as well. Arriving at the Buddha's lodging on his morning stroll, he approaches the Buddha:

> Then, Saccaka, son of Niganṭha, approached the Bhagavā. Having approached, he exchanged greetings with him; this exchange of amiable greetings having been completed, he sat to the side. Having **now** sat to the side [**after this respectful approach**] (*kho*), Saccaka, the Niganṭha's follower said this to the Bhagavā.
>
> *atha kho Saccako Niganṭhaputto yena bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami upasaṅkamitvā bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sāraṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekam antaṃ nisīdi. ekam antaṃ nisinno **kho** Saccako Niganṭhaputto bhagavantaṃ etad avoca.* (MN 1 237.8)

57 For example, in the *Mahāmaṅgala-sutta* of the *Suttanipāta* (II.4), or a similar version in the *Majjhima*'s *Vammika-sutta* at MN 23 (1 142.11).

58 See how a deity approaches the monk Mahākassapa with the same formula in the opening of *Majjhima* 23.

59 For the rich complexities of this text, see Shulman 2021: ch. 6.

Again, the fact that this interlocutor treats the Buddha with reverence and behaves in a manner that is meant to express respect in face of a superior teacher is deeply significant for Nikāya authors. Their special interest in this fact is marked by the *kho*, which comes after the visitor concludes a sequence of greetings by sitting respectfully to the side.

These are simple, heavily formulaic examples, which characterize the narrator's use of particles, and which do not reflect a dialogical encounter. In the following example, from the *Vāseṭṭha-sutta* of the *Majjhima*, we see the particles working in dialogue. Two young and inquisitive brahman students, Vāseṭṭha and Bharadvāja, are discussing who the true Brahman is: 'How, friend, is one a Brahman?' (*kathaṃ, bho, brāhmaṇo hotī ti*?). Bharadvāja has a more material view, based on birth:

> **Precisely** because, friend, one is of pure descent from both mother and father to the extent of seven generations of ancestors, unstained and irreproachable with respect to cast, in this **very** way, friend, one is a Brahman.
>
> *yato* ***kho*** *bho ubhato sujāto hoti mātito ca pitito ca saṃsuddhagahaṇiko yāva sattamā pitāmahayugā akkhitto anupakkuṭṭho jātivādena, ettāvatā* ***kho*** *bho brāhmaṇo hotī ti* (Sn 115.13–16 with n. 18).

The *kho* adds to this statement a quality of live speech, which exceeds plain information and draws us into the speaker's view to help appreciate his subjective stance. Having the *kho* followed by *bho*, 'friend' or perhaps 'brother', further enhances the dialogical quality of the utterance. Vāseṭṭha's view, better suited to Buddhist ideology, is expressed in the same way:

> **Precisely** because, friend, one is virtuous and observant of vows, in this **very** way, friend, one is a Brahman.
>
> *yato kho bho sīlavā ca hoti vattasampanno ca, ettāvatā kho bho brāhmaṇo hotī ti* (Sn 115.16–18 with n. 23).

Notice the difference between a statement with or without the particles. As far as managing the information revealed by the statement, there is no need for the *kho*—because one is *x* or *y*, one is truly a Brahman. In order to situate the utterance in a context of real communication, the particle makes all the difference.

I will provide one last, rather intriguing example of the deliberate use of *kho* for unique emphasis within a dialogical framework, indeed one related to the theme of dying monks and laymen. Here, the *kho* marks a rich and enigmatic statement, which was chosen to open the third book of

the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, the *Khandha-saṃyutta*. In this text we find an aging householder named Nakulapitā who approaches the Buddha asking for instruction since he realizes that his death is nearing. This is clearly one of the expected aids that the Buddha provides his supporters with, since their faith in him is meant to have a positive effect on their afterlife state. However, Nakulapitā's question is enigmatic, in a way that has led to what I take to be its misrepresentation in the commentarial tradition, and following it in modern translations. He says:

> I am old, sir, well of age, of many years, advanced in life, having lived a full life; my body is sick, continuously ill. I see the truth of impermanence; **yes indeed I do**, sir, and I rarely get to see the Bhagavā and the monks who cultivate their minds. Instruct me, sir, Bhagavā; teach me sir, Bhagavā, so that it may be for my long-lasting benefit and joy.
>
> *aham asmi, bhante, jiṇṇo vuḍḍho mahallako addhagato vayo-anuppatto āturakāyo abhikkhaṇātaṅko. aniccadassāvī* ***kho panāhaṃ****, bhante, bhagavato manobhāvanīyānan ca bhikkhūnaṃ. ovadatu maṃ, bhante, bhagavā; anusāsatu maṃ, bhante, bhagavā; yaṃ mama 'ssa dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāyā ti* (SN III 1.13–18).

Nakulapitā is very old. He realizes that he will soon die and asks for instruction which 'may be for my long-lasting benefit and joy' (*yaṃ mama 'ssa dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāya*), a prevalent statement that speaks of afterlife retribution (as well as of benefits in the present life). Nakulapitā's opening statement is enigmatic, given his thick self-description of himself as *aniccadassāvī*, marked by *kho pana*. *aniccadassāvī* carries a double meaning, which I retained in the translation. From a grammatical point of view, the commentators in the *Atthakathā* and translators like Bhikkhu Bodhi are surely correct to take the compound together with the end of the statement, so that Nakulapitā 'rarely sees' (*anicca-dassavī*) the Buddha and the advanced monks.[60] Without this meaning of *aniccadassāvī*, 'the Buddha and the monks who cultivate their minds' (*bhagavato manobhāvanīyānan ca bhikkhūnam*) have no context. However, this is not at all the straightforward translation for *anicca-dassāvī*, literally 'seeing (and thus realizing the truth of) impermanence', a meaning that is clearly implied as well. With this potent statement, and while reflecting on his old age, Nakulapitā

60 The *Aṭṭhakathā* reads (Spk II 249.23–25): ***anicca-dassāvī*** *ti tāya āturatāya icchiticchitakkhaṇe āgantuṃ asakkonto kadācid eva daṭṭhuṃ labhāmi na sabbakālan ti attho.* ('Seeing intermittently' because of this sickness, not being able to go in every instance I wished, I could only get to see [the Buddha] sometimes; it means 'not all the time'.

suggests that he has some realization of impermanence, implying that he knows that selflessness is the rule of life. This statement befits the opening of the *Khandha-saṃyutta*. At the same time, he wants to take his understanding one step further and to obtain a deeper understanding, perhaps cultivating the state of mind he hopes to maintain when he will die, at this key moment in a Buddhist life.[61]

Nakulapitā's statement is not an abstract philosophical one, but a deeply personal revelation, in which he expresses his understanding that he is about to die and announces this to his teacher—a powerful understanding of impermanence indeed. His tone is deeply moving, and he wants the Buddha to help him prepare for death. The rich, layered expression packed in *aniccadassāvī*, which calls for further elaboration and explanation, is marked and enhanced by the contextualization cue of *kho pana*, which draws out the complicated subjective stance that the speaker maintains. Perhaps a better translation than the one I offered would be a simple ***uhm***, a pause that would point to the emotional complexity of the moment. With this marker, the multivalent usage of *aniccadassāvī* is given emphasis as the convergence point of three threads of meaning on which the whole collection thrives—the respect toward the Buddha and the community of monks who practice his message, the understanding of impermanence and selflessness, and the personal significance of the teaching, for this life and beyond.

To summarize this stage of the argument, we have seen one Nikāya text inclining toward a model that aspires to represent the spoken word. We should not be tempted to see the utterances we analysed in this section and in our model text from the *Saṃyutta* as efforts at recorded speech. And these are also not purely literary representations. Here, utterances become fixed, turn into formulas, and can be re-applied to new contexts, yet the dexterous use of discourse particles in the texts suggests a context of live speech working behind their composition, telling us that these stories were *told*.

As we will see when we analyse the remaining discourses in this textual cycle, these texts would not have only lived in a context of joint, fixed recitation by a group of monks. They rather reflect a situation in which the formulized texts we read today were told and spoken, in the dynamic realities of living religious communities. This living context froze into the

61 Langer 2007: ch. 1.

formulas, or to adopt the approach of Emeneau 1969—formulaic oral composition reflects a living phase of the language.[62] The messages within the formulas quoted here address the emotional realities of real people, and reflect the way they would speak about them. This makes the texts closer to materials for sermons or for personal communication than to doctrinal repositories meant to be recited as block texts. While the Nikāyas are certainly not purely spoken word, the way their formalized narration captures a quality of live speech suggests that they are also not just fixed texts to be repeated verbatim; rather, they exist on the continuum between these domains.

Materials for sermons to dying householders

The full sequence of formulaic, seemingly live-speech that we read from the *First/Second Discourse on Sickness* appears in the exact same way in two other texts, while the shorter version of the sickness-inquiry formula is found in eleven others. Comparing these seemingly different, but effectively complementary, texts will reveal much about the dynamics of Nikāya storytelling and the contexts in which it thrived. With this we move to discuss the second feature of oral Buddhist literature—the textual cycle.

We begin our analysis with discourses that set up encounters between monks and their lay-followers who are on their death-beds. With these texts—not historical recordings but literary re/presentations—it becomes easy to imagine a context in which these stories were used to structure religious instruction, in this case in sermons related during visits to sick and dying people or while offering condolence to their families. This is a context in which Buddhist monks were probably active since early times, and which continues to be important to this day, as discussed by Langer (2007, 2013). That is, while texts as we find them today may have facilitated memorization, they also afford access to a thriving context of religious oral performance that the texts contributed to.

While examining these texts, we may recall an important concept from theories of oral literature—the theme. In his application of terms from the conceptual arsenal of oral theory, Nathan McGovern (2024) defines a theme as 'a tendency to use a certain set of formulas together to give the air of a particular narrative situation'. This means that there are

62 See above, note 19.

strings of formulas that tend to appear together, some of which are utilized in each performance. While performers only employ some of the formulas in each performance, they tend to report that performances are equal. In the present context of discussion, I would not try to argue that the texts we read are records of live performances. Nevertheless, the fact that Nikāya discourses are structured in a way that chooses among certain formulas within a broader theme, shows that the stories could be adapted to context and that they do not reduce to the exact format in which they are found today. Here we can define the written format we encounter in canonical versions as choices within a theme, which most reasonably corresponded with performative contexts and can also be taken as literary presentations. In my interpretation, this flexibility and adaptability is a key factor in helping us identify the storytelling context behind the composition of these particular texts, and the one for which they were designed.

The theme of the sick monk or laymen inevitably begins with a statement regarding the person's sickness (formula A), such as: 'At one time the venerable Ānanda was staying at Rājagaha in the squirrel sanctuary at Bamboo grove. At that time the householder Sirivaḍḍha was ill, in pain, powerfully sick.'[63] Who is staying where can obviously change, as must the identity of the sick person. How sick is 'powerfully sick' (*bāḷhagilāno*) is open to interpretation, but seems to more commonly relate to the person being on the verge of death; this is explained by the commentator in some cases,[64] and in the majority of the stories the sick person actually dies. Moreover, as happens in the particular discourse that this quote is taken from, *The Discourse to Sirivaḍḍha* from the *Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta*,[65] the text is designed to discuss the subject's afterlife state, indeed his positive advance, since he is a follower of the Buddha.

The next formulaic element will be that the Buddha (or a leading monk) becomes aware of the person's sickness. This can happen by someone telling him so (formula B1), as in the 'First/Second Discourses on Sickness' discussed earlier, but is more often achieved through a longer exchange in which the sick person sends a messenger to the Buddha/monk, asking him to relate his words—that he worships the Buddha's/monk's feet with his head, to inform him of his state of sickness, and to request him to

63 Quoted here from SN v 176.12–15: For the full formula and its translation, see table 1 below.

64 See note 38 above.

65 SN v 176–177.

come visit out of compassion, after which the monk/Buddha will concur in silence (formula B2).[66] In the *Sirivaḍḍhasutta*, this formula is used to summon Ānanda, who serves as a model for consolation of lay supporters. In a text in which a monk is sick, formula C2 with the monk stirring in his bed may be used,[67] although all texts will have to have the Buddha or one of his monks set out to meet the sick person and may suffice with C1. This does not apply in a text like the *Sirivaḍḍha*, where now Ānanda arrives and the text employs the sickness-inquiry formula, which in the thematic sequence can be termed formula D. At this stage, formula E may be inserted, when the sick person adds a long formulaic expression that describes the horrible pains he suffers, comparing the pain in his head to crushing with metal or cutting with knives, the winds in his stomach to cutting up a cow's internal organs by a butcher, and his fever to roasting on coals.[68] In the *Sirivaḍḍha-sutta* this element is not used, but when the story was retold in live contexts, we can assume that in certain instances it could have been added.

At this stage of the text comes a doctrinal element, which will fit the style and methods of the collection in which the discourse is found. In the two discourses on sickness we read above, this involves the questioning about remorse in relation to *sīla*, which leads to the instruction on selflessness. For a dying householder, however, this would be inappropriate, and given that we are in the *Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta*, the teaching must relate to the establishing of mindfulness, so that Ānanda suggests that the householder should practise the four foundations of mindfulness thus (*evaṃ sikkhitabbaṃ*), 'I will abide in the body while observing the body, alert, aware and mindful, having set aside negativity and covetousness in relation to the world', and continuing to the other three domains of mindfulness of feelings (*vedanā*), consciousness (*citta*) and phenomena (*dhamma*).[69] This is the most basic formula on the 'establishing of mindfulness' (*satipaṭṭhāna*).

This text is part of a sub-genre that has a more positive ending, which offers a comforting message to householders who follow the Buddha. In

66 For the full formula and its translation, see table 1 below.

67 See above, p. 172.

68 See for an example in the *Channa-sutta* of the *Majjhima* (MN III 259; translation in Bodhi and Ñāṇamoli 1995: 1110). For the full formula and its translation, see table 1 below.

69 SN V 177 13–16: *kāye kāyānupassī viharissāmi ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjādomanassaṃ* ….

the present case, Sirivaḍḍha states that he has complete control of this practice of mindfulness, claiming that he has relinquished the five lower fetters defined by the Buddha. This allows Ānanda to confirm that he is a non-returner, as he does for another householder named Mānadinna who exclaims his mastery of these practices in a similar way in the following discourse in the collection.[70] This second text seems to skip parts of the exchange, assuming we can fill it in from the previous discourse.[71]

These householders can therefore be confident that their afterlife destiny is not only secure but even looks bright, a major affordance that faith in the Buddha provides and an excellent topic for sermons with householders. Indeed, the declaration that these householders are non-returners is no chance, as attainments from scheme of the four fruits are often predicted for householders. The idea that such texts are only designed for recitation by monks, perhaps in a language that the populace does not understand, doesn't seem attractive. Rather, these are model stories that were meant to be told, or to inspire other tales.

The general sequence according to which the discourses that are part of the textual cycle with the sick and dying is summarized in table 1:

Formulaic sequence (examples)	**Textual example**	**Necessary element: yes/no**
Formula A: opening	At one time the Bhagavā/ Venerable *x* was staying at *x*. At that time *x* was ill, in pain, powerfully sick. *ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Veḷuvane Kalandakanivāpe. tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Mahāmoggallāno Gijjhakūṭe pabbate viharati ābādhiko dukkhito bāḷhagilāno.* (SN v 80.20–24)	Yes

70 In the second text (the *Mānadinna-sutta*, no. 30 in the *Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta*), it seems possible that a *peyyāla* is missing in both the VRI and PTS versions. Or, perhaps this text is even more of an outline for a storytelling event, as it is not even stated which monk Mānadinna invites to visit him; presumably this would be Ānanda as in the text before it. Here, after expressing Mānadinna's pain, the text goes right ahead to state his mastery of the *Satipaṭṭhāna* method, without it being recommended to him by the visiting monk. He adds to the common observation of the four domains of mindfulness that being touched by such painful feelings, he abides observing the body in relation to the body, etc. (*evarūpāya cāhaṃ bhante dukkhāya vedanāya phuṭṭho samāno*). The ending is then the same and his non-return is predicted.

71 Notice a similar occurrence in which details are meant to be added later in the same book of the *Saṃyutta* at SN v 302, discourse no. 10 in the *Anuruddha-saṃyutta* (VRI v no. 908).

Formulaic sequence (examples)	**Textual example**	**Necessary element: yes/no**
Formula B1 (simple version): The Buddha/advanced monk is made to learn of the person's sickness	And then the Reverend Ānanda approaches the Bhagavā. Having approached and greeted the Bhagavā, he sat to the side. Seated to the side indeed, the Reverend Ānanda said to the Bhagavā: 'The Reverend Phagguno, Sir, is ill, in pain, powerfully sick. It would be good, Sir, if the Bhagavā visited him out of compassion.' The Bhagavā consented in silence. *atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena bhagavā ten' upasaṅkami upasaṅkamitvā bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando bhagavantaṃ etad avoca: āyasmā, bhante, Phagguno ābādhiko dukkhito bāḷhagilāno. sādhu, bhante, bhagavā yenāyasmā Phagguno ten' upasaṅkamatu anukampaṃ upādāyā ti. adhivāsesi bhagavā tuṇhībhāvena*. (AN III 379.6–3 [6.56])	No. Will almost always appear in some version or other if B2 is not used, but can also be skipped, as in SN V 80–81 (discourses 14–15 in the *Bojjhaṅgasaṃyutta*)
Formula B2: sending a messenger to express devotion and request a visit	And then the householder Sirivaḍḍha addressed a certain person: 'Go dear person to visit the Venerable Ānanda, and having arrived worship the feet of Venerable Ānanda with your head and with my words: "the householder Sirivaḍḍha, sir, is ill, in pain, powerfully sick. He worships the feet of the Venerable Ānanda with his head", and say this: "It would be good, Sir, if the Venerable Ānanda came to the home of the householder Sirivaḍḍha out of compassion." ' That person promised [it] to the householder Sirivaḍḍha [with the words] 'Yes, sir', and went to visit the Venerable Ānanda. Having arrived he greeted the Venerable Ānanda and sat to the side. Having indeed sat to the side, that person said to the Venerable Ānanda ... (repetition) *atha kho Sirivaḍḍho gahapati aññataraṃ purisaṃ āmantesi: hi tvaṃ, ambho purisa, yenāyasmā Ānando ten' upasaṅkama upasaṅkamitvā mama vacanena āyasmato Ānandassa pāde sirasā vanda; Sirivaḍḍho, bhante, gahapati ābādhiko dukkhito bāḷhagilāno. so āyasmato Ānandassa pāde sirasā vandati' ti. evañ ca vadehi: sādhu kira, bhante, āyasmā Ānando yena Sirivaḍḍhassa gahapatissa nivesanaṃ ten' upasaṅkamatu anukampaṃ upādāyā ti. 'evaṃ, bhante' ti kho so puriso Sirivaḍḍhassa gahapatissa paṭissutvā*	No

Formulaic sequence (examples)	Textual example	Necessary element: yes/no
	yenāyasmā Ānando ten' upasaṅkami; upasaṅkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. ekamantaṃ nisinno kho so puriso āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ etad avoca: Sirivaḍḍho, bhante, gahapati ābādhiko dukkhito bāḷhagilāno, so āyasmato Ānandassa pāde sirasā vandati. evañ ca vadeti: 'sādhu kira, bhante, āyasmā Ānando yena Sirivaḍḍhassa gahapatissa nivesanaṃ ten' upasaṅkamatu anukampaṃ upādāyā ti. adhivāsesi kho āyasmā Ānando tuṇhībhāvena. (SN v 176.16–177.1)	
Formula C1: Simple version of Buddha or monk setting out to meet the sick person	And then the Venerable Sāriputta dressed, took his bowl and robe, and with the Venerable Ānanda as his accompanying monk went to the home of the householder Anāthapiṇḍika. Having arrived he sat on a prepared seat. *atha kho āyasmā Sāriputto nivāsetvā pattacīvaram ādāya āyasmatā Ānandena pacchāsamaṇena yena Anāthapiṇḍikassa gahapatissa nivesanaṃ ten' upasaṅkami upasaṅkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi.* (MN 143; III 258.30–259.1)	Yes. Can be replaced by the more elaborate C2.
Formula C2: Monk stirring in his bed upon the Buddha's arrival	The monk saw the Bhagavā arriving from afar, and stirred in his bed. Then the Bhagavā said to the monk: 'Enough, monk, don' t stir in your bed; there are these prepared seats; I will sit there.' The Bhagavā sat on the prepared seat, and said to the monk: ... *addasā kho so bhikkhu bhagavantaṃ dūrato va āgacchantaṃ. disvāna mañcake samadhosi. atha kho bhagavā taṃ bhikkhuṃ etad avoca: alaṃ, bhikkhu, mā tvaṃ mañcake samadhosi. sant' imāni āsanāni paññattāni, tatthāhaṃ nisīdissāmī' ti. nisīdi bhagavā paññatte āsane nisajja kho bhagavā taṃ bhikkhuṃ etad avoca.* (SN IV 46.12–18)	No
Formula D: key formula of sickness inquiry	'Are you enduring? Are you holding out? Are the painful feelings you experience receding, rather than increasing, so that their complete recession is apparent, not their increase?' 'I am not enduring, sir, not holding out; my intense, painful feelings are on the rise, not receding, so that their complete increase is apparent, not their recession.'	No

Formulaic sequence (examples)	Textual example	Necessary element: yes/no
	kacci te khamanīyaṃ kacci yāpanīyaṃ; kacci te dukkhā vedanā paṭikkamanti no abhikkamanti patikomsānaṃ paññāyati no abhikkamo ti. na me bhante khamanīyaṃ na yāpanīyaṃ; baḷhā me dukkhā vedanā abhikkamanti no paṭikkamanti abhikkamosānaṃ paññāyati no paṭikkamo ti. (e.g. SN IV 46.19–25)	
Formula E: elaboration of sick person's suffering	It is as if, brother Sāriputta, a strong man would grind my head with a sharp sword. In the very same way, brother Sāriputta, powerful winds assail my head. I am not enduring ⋯It is as if, brother Sāriputta, a strong man would crush my head with strong leather straps. In the very same way, brother Sāriputta, powerful pains assail my head. I am not enduring ⋯ It is as if, brother Sāriputta, a capable butcher or his apprentice would cut up the belly of a cow with a sharp butcher's knife. In the very same way, brother Sāriputta, powerful winds assail my stomach. I am not enduring ... It is as if, brother Sāriputta, two strong men would take a weak man by the arms and heat and burn him on a heap of coales. In the very same way, brother Sāriputta, powerful heat [is] in my body. I am not enduring ... *seyyathāpi, āvuso Sāriputta, balavā puriso tiṇhena sikharena muddhani abhimattheyya; evam eva kho me, āvuso Sāriputta, adhimattā vātā muddhani ūhananti. na me bhante khamanīyaṃ … seyyathāpi, āvuso Sāriputta, balavā puriso daḷhena varattakkhaṇḍena sīse sīsaveṭhaṃ dadeyya; evam eva kho me, āvuso Sāriputta, adhimattā sīse sīsavedanā. na me … seyyathāpi, āvuso Sāriputta, dakkho goghātako vā goghātakantevāsī vā tiṇhena govikantanena kucchiṃ parikanteyya; evam eva kho me, āvuso Sāriputta, adhimattā vātā kucchiṃ parikantanti. na me … seyyathāpi, āvuso Sāriputta, dve balavanto purisā dubbalataraṃ purisaṃ nānābāhāsu gahetvā aṅgārakāsuyā santāpeyyuṃ samparitāpeyyuṃ; evam eva kho me, āvuso Sāriputta, adhimatto kāyasmiṃ ḍāho. na me …* (SN IV 56.17–57.5)	No

Formulaic sequence (examples)	Textual example	Necessary element: yes/no
Formula F: Doctrinal instruction of various sorts		Yes. Does not relate strictly to the theme, but is always included as part of the sequence.
Ending, as befits the context, wrapping up the story.		

In this analysis, my conceptual focus inclines toward oral theory, and I have been making use of the concept of the theme as applied by McGovern in Buddhist literature. The argument is that these stories could have been retold in live performances along the lines of oral-formulaic theory. However, this is not the only interpretation available, and there are other relevant ones that are no less compelling, so that we need not choose only one answer.[72] Rita Langer (2013) has established the foundation for sermon studies in Buddhism, focusing on three sermons from different stages of death rituals, while building on her earlier work (2007) on Buddhist practices associated with death in Sri Lanka. The main pattern of the sermon is to take a canonical passage or verse as a *mātṛkā*, that is as the frame for the sermon to which the preacher returns among discussions of other doctrinal elements, stories and ritualized elements. The monk who performs *bāṇa* (preaching) has some knowledge of the textual tradition and is also capable of responding to his audiences' emotional needs at this sensitive moment.

This style of preaching corresponds to the one discussed by Walker (2022a), in which a canonical Pāli text is explained and elaborated upon in the vernacular. Walker's (2018, 2022b) work on Cambodian dharma songs, including ones used in funerals and mourning rituals, complicates the picture even more. In the present context we cannot do justice to the rich and deeply contextualized discussions by both these scholars, but it seems inconceivable that the texts that came to be considered as canonical, that today are found in the idealized *Tipiṭaka*,[73] did not correspond at first with

72 On multiplicity of textual practices on the sequence between orality and writing in early Buddhism, see Shulman 2024b.

73 Collins 1990, Skilling 2021.

similar performative contexts. The canon we have is a collection of different practices that developed over time, some of which must have exceeded fixed recitation. In earlier times that were closer to the composition of the texts, what became canonical discourses probably played a greater part in the sermons and preaching events than we can see nowadays. Langer (2013: ch. 1) offers an insightful discussion of oral theory in Buddhism in order to provide a theoretical context for her discussion of sermons, which can now be updated once we have a better appreciation of the canon.

Take the following discourse from the *Sotāpatti-saṃyutta*, an exceptionally moving narrative, which must have been retold in the live settings of ancient Buddhism. Here, working within the same sequence of the last text (the *Sirivaḍḍha*), a sick person named Dīghāvu sends his caregiver to call for the Buddha, using the regular formulaic method to do so. We quickly discover that his caregiver is his father, who is caring for his dying son. This densely packed emotional situation is unsettling even within the formulaic confines of Nikāya narratives: the narrative impact is achieved through an addition of only one word, which characterizes the envoy who is sent to invite the Buddha as 'father' (*pitaraṃ*).

When the Buddha arrives, after inquiring into his supporter's state and the reply that he is doing poorly, the Buddha recommends another classic practice for householders, which is central to this same collection on stream-entry. This includes having complete confidence in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha, according to the ritualized articulation for each domain,[74] as well as being endowed with 'unbroken moral conduct pleasing to the noble ones … and leading to *samādhi*';[75] these are the four limbs of stream-entry. Again, the sick person feels confident[76] about his competence in this respect, so that the Buddha provides him with a list of further, more advanced reflections—'abide observing impermanence in all conditioned things; be one who perceives pain in the impermanent, selflessness in the painful, relinquishment, dispassion and cessation' (*sabbasaṅkhāresu aniccānupassī viharāhi anicce dukkhasaññī dukkhe anattasaññī, pahānasaññī virāgasaññī nirodhasaññī*).[77]

74 These are the frequent exclamations in the texts, that are widely used in Buddhist ritual to this day, beginning, for the Buddha, *iti pi so Bhagavā, etc.*; for the Dhamma, *svākkhāto Bhagavatā dhammo, etc.*; for the Saṅgha, *supaṭipanno Bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho, etc.*

75 SN v 345.12–14: *ariyakantehi sīlehi samannāgato bhavissāmi akhaṇḍehi … samādhisaṃvattanikehi*.

76 SN v 345.16: *saṃvijjante te dhamma mayi ahañ ca tesu dhammesu sandissāmi.* 'Those truths are found in me and I see [myself] in them.'

77 SN v 345.24–26.

Although the internalization of such an advanced understanding would be a remarkable achievement not only for a householder, the dense narrative reaches its climax when Dīghāvu surprisingly affirms that he feels confident also about this deep vision of Buddhist truth. At this moment, the text introduces a new and unique narrative element, with Dīghāvu expressing concern about the trials his father ('the householder Jotika') experiences on his behalf.[78] This statement allows the father to free his son from his worry, recommending that he follow the Buddha's guidance, while we sense the authors' remarkable sensitivity to this potent moment: Within the formulaic confines of the literature, emotive expression is heightened. The discourse then ends with a formula that is appropriate for exchanges with the Buddha, when we are told that the person died, and the Buddha confirms his non-return when asked about his afterlife state.

This narrative is packed with significance. Among other things, we should not miss the meaningful moment of mutual care and letting go that the Buddha allowed father and son. This is a model story that monks could share with their lay audiences and supporters. It is also interesting to see a householder express such an advanced realization. It seems reasonable that such materials were used as resources for telling stories to people in similar situations, guiding monks in finding the right emotional tone and helping them generate a beneficial image of a spiritually meaningful death; faith in the Buddha helps deal with the end of life and fact what may be beyond it.

It is important to see that while we are looking at a specific sub-genre of texts that employ one specific formula, they connect to many other formulas and to stories that would contribute to the effort to instruct the laity in such sensitive circumstances as sickness and death. In this same collection of the *Sotāpatti-saṃyutta*, the same four practices recommended by the Buddha to Dīghāvu are suggested to many audiences, so that different gods, monks, and other men are told that they will have a favorable rebirth, that they are freed from hell and other difficult afterlife states, and more.[79]

Beyond this, there are numerous texts that should be considered a part of Buddhist storytelling lore dealing with death, which a monk-

78 SN v 345.33–34: *api ca me bhante evaṃ hotu 'mā h' evāyaṃ Jotiko gahapati mam accayena vighātaṃ āpajji'*.

79 E.g. discourse no. 24 in the *Sotāpatti-saṃyutta* (SN v 375–377, VRI SN v no. 1020), and a similar formulation in the following text, in which people are surprised that stream-entry was predicted by the Buddha for Saraṇāni Sakko, who used to drink. The Buddha explains how faith in the Buddha-Dhamma-Saṅgha has power to determine positive rebirth, which would free one from afterlife dangers.

preacher could command to help his supporters and donors. Among the ones that concern laypeople, we can mention discourses 49 and 50 in the fifth book of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, which tell stories of two kings who were desperately grieving after their wives had died. Appropriately for Book v of the *Aṅguttara* (A III 57–64), the Buddha consoles them with an easily remembered list of five impossibilities in the world, which combine to say that all things must end and die. The fact that this advice helps the king makes it more attractive to the laity.

We can conclude this section on householders with a set of three discourses in which the sickness-inquiry formula appears in stories with Anāthapiṇḍika, the model Buddhist layman. In two of these texts from the *Sotāpatti-saṃyutta*, we find the same structure of a story as the one we have seen in this section, in which Anāṭhapiṇḍika receives a more advanced articulation of the four limbs of stream-entry. The first, provided by Sāriputta, connects to a list based on the tenfold path (the eightfold path plus the elements of understanding and liberation), which guarantees positive rebirth.[80] In the second, the four limbs are taught by Ānanda as a way to overcome fear in relation to death.[81] As Anāthapiṇḍika is naturally in such a state beyond fear and in possession of the four limbs, Ānanda can confirm his stream-entry, as fits this *Saṃyutta*.

The full expression of the exchanges with dying householders appears in a classic discourse with Anāṭhapiṇḍika in the *Majjhima* (143), a collection that offers fuller narratives with more complex storytelling than the materials from the *Saṃyutta* we have been focusing on. Here, the story proceeds with all formulaic elements in the theme, including the householder giving the full expression of his pain with formula E. Sāriputta then provides him with a marvelous teaching on non-attachment in relation to the six senses (in accord with the topic of the chapter), which is explicitly said to be on a level not regularly shared with householders. At the end of the text, Anāthapiṇḍika dies and is born as a beautifully shining god, whom

80 At the end of this text, after receiving the teaching and even though he is ill, Anāthapiṇḍika models lay behaviour by feeding not only Sāriputta, but also Ānanda, who we thus discover was also present; perhaps his entrance was lost in an earlier section. This element allows Ānanda to report the exchange to the Buddha, who authorizes it and praises Sāriputta. Another interesting element in this text is a summary of the teaching that appears in verse, perhaps the basis for an earlier layer of storytelling; on this possibility see McGovern 2024.

81 This concern with fear is central to the next discourse in the collection, again between Ānanda and Anāthapiṇḍika, but one that does not include the sickness inquiry formula.

the Buddha recognizes.[82] It is not only that Anāthapiṇḍika obtained a favorable rebirth after he followed the Buddha and practiced the path; he also died in a positive state of mind after Sāriputta's instruction. This story thus relates an ideal Buddhist confession, and would contribute to such real life events.

Dying monks and monkish suicide

We could have pursued the literary connections that relate to the edifying stories on dying householders—there are many related texts on sick and dying people. However, we must resist such temptations and stick with our theme (pun intended), meaning that we will retain focus on the formulaic sequences within the cycle of texts with sick and dying people, while working back toward a full understanding of the discourse from the *Saṃyutta* with which we began. When the texts deal with monks, the storytelling context was probably different than for stories with householders, even-though model stories of inspiring monks' deaths would have been popular in Buddhist societies throughout history.

One relatively simple discourse from the *Aṅguttara* is similar to much of what we have seen. Discourse no. 56 in the *Aṅguttara*'s sixth book contains the full sequence of formulas within the theme of sick/dying monks/householders, including formula C in which the sick monk, named Phagguna, stirs in his bed. Here the description of the monk's painful sensations is inserted (formula E), after which we are told that the Buddha gave him a teaching, with no specification of the content.[83]

The culmination of the discourse includes Phagguna's passing away and the Buddha's prediction of his afterlife destiny. The narration is adjusted to the formulaic sequence of such predictions,[84] with the Buddha leaving the scene, later to receive a report regarding Phagguṇa's death with serene faculties (*indriyāni vippasīdiṃsu*). The Buddha then explains that the

82 Again, the theme exceeds the texts discussed here, as with Uggo the generous householder in the Aṅguttara Book of 5s, discourse number 44 (AN III.49).

83 This is the generalized formula for teaching: 'And then the Bhagavā taught Venerable Phagguna with a talk concerned with the Dhamma, aroused, excited and delighted him.' (AN III 380.20–23: *atha kho bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Phaggunaṃ dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samāpadetvā samutejjetvā sampahaṃsetvā*.)

84 There are different formulaic methods for making this happen, but the simplest is that we are told that the person died (*kalam akāsi*), after which someone will come and ask the Buddha about his afterlife state.

dhamma-talk Phagguna heard caused the extinguishing of the five lower fetters, reflecting again that the Buddha's teachings are good for the dying. Appropriately, and in accordance with the *Aṅguttara* generic requirement to count, and in this case up to six, the Buddha speaks of the benefits that hearing the dhamma can have at the moment of death (*maraṇakāle*). These include: (1) seeing the Buddha or (2) a student, who both teach the good dhamma, or (3) examining the teaching while dying. If these occur to one whose mind was not liberated from the five lower fetters, this will happen at death (1–3). If the monk was already liberated from these, he will reach full liberation (4–6).

It is important not to let such ideas flow by without attention. Dying is not a tangential issue, and Buddhism is designed to a certain degree to deal with it. People, both monks and laymen, need to learn how the Buddha will help there dying and afterward condition, and one primary way this would happen would be through storytelling. My argument is that the texts we are surveying here are designed to facilitate this. They are not recording events, but designing them.

Other employments of the sickness-inquiry formula in discourses to monks provide richer and more complex stories. The *Channa-sutta* of the *Majjhima-* and *Saṃyutta-nikāya*s and the *Vakkhali-sutta* of the *Saṃyutta* both relate perplexing events in which the protagonist monk commits suicide, in a way that seems to be given approval by the Buddha. In my interpretation, the Buddha accepts that these two monks are both in great pain and in such an advanced state of understanding that he supports their choice 'to take the knife' (*satthaṃ āharituṃ*).[85] Keown (1996), however, sees these texts and their commentaries as denying the legitimacy of suicide. Whether one of us is correct or not is less important here than the fact that such discussions arise in relation to these stories: Perhaps, the texts are meant to leave room for interpretation. Thus, these stories could evoke different tellings, which would help the monks relating them to deal with diverse social and personal situations, whether within the monastery or outside it.

In the *Vakkhali-sutta*, we learn of a monk named Vakkhali who is gravely ill, and the narrative advances in accord with the 'First Discourse on Sickness'. When asked why he feels remorse and whether this relates

85 I thus would argue that these discourses adopt a subjectivist position in relation to Buddhist ethics.

to his *sīla*, Vakkhali shares that he has longed to visit the Buddha for a long time, but has not had the strength. The Buddha responds with a powerful statement: 'Enough Vakkhali, what use is the sight of [my] filthy body? Whoever sees the Dhamma sees me, and whoever sees me sees the Dhamma.'[86] He then proceeds to teach the observation of the aggregates as impermanent, painful and selfless.

Preparing to relate the inspiring death of this realized monk, the narrative has Vakkhali move to Vulture-peak and ask his attendants to place his couch outside: He knows he is about to die and does not want to do so indoors. The ambiguity of the situation is brought out through two gods who inform the Buddha that Vakkhali is 'contemplating release' (*vimokkhāya ceteti*), and that 'he will indeed be released in a good way' (*so hi nūna suvimutto vimuccissatī ti*). These statements leave us wondering whether Vakkhali is about to achieve liberation upon a natural death, or if he rather intends to commit suicide. The tension heightens when the Buddha sends a messenger to inform Vakkhali that he has nothing to fear, and that his death will be without fault (*apāpakaṃ te maraṇaṃ bhavissati apāpikā kālakiriyā' ti*)—the hint is that this will be true even if he kills himself. Vakkhali replies with a message that confirms his realized state. Once the messenger leaves, Vakkhali wastes no time and 'takes the knife'. The Buddha knows the outcome from the messenger's words and returns with the monks on the next day to point out that the smoke they see around Vakkhali's corpse is Māra searching in vain for Vakkhali's liberated consciousness.

The commentator has more to say about the great value that Buddhist instruction has during death, informing us of Vakkhali's precise mental perceptions while dying. We are told that Vakkhali cut his own throat while overestimating his level of realisation. Thinking he was already an Arahant, he took the knife, but then felt pain. Startled, and realizing that he is not yet liberated, he returned to his meditation subject and reached liberation while dying. In the Channa story that we will soon examine, the commentator again suggests that fear arose for Channa at the moment of death, so that he understood he is not an Arahant, turned to *Vipassanā* practice, and reached liberation, again while dying.

86 The full sequence is (SN III 120.27–29): *alaṃ Vakkhali kiṃ iminā pūtikāyena diṭṭhena. yo kho Vakkhali dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati yo maṃ passati dhammaṃ passati.*

Why the commentators interpreted the stories in this way is perplexing. Perhaps, like Keown, they wanted to show that committing suicide could go wrong, and that if these very advanced students had not received teachings from the Buddha and leading monks (Channa had earlier been the Buddha's attendant, and had just been admonished by Sāriputta and Mahācunda), they could have wasted their life-long efforts. Such stories could be told to dissuade other monks from committing suicide themselves. Another consideration, at least with the Channa story, seems to be that the commentator had to side with Sāriputta and Mahācunda against Channa, thereby emphasizing the leading disciples' correct understanding. This, however, works against the tone of the Sutta itself, which embraces the complexity of the situation and valorises Channa's realization, which the senior monks who admonish him are unable to appreciate.[87] In these cases, the *Aṭṭhakathā* reflects the life of oral tradition and the interpretations it favoured, which crystalized over time.

In the *Channa-sutta*, we find the full progression of the sickness-inquiry formula, with Channa expressing the full depths of extreme pain (formula E), as befits a complete *Majjhima* narrative. He ends his statement by announcing his intention to take the knife. Sāriputta tries to dissuade him, and asks him if he knows to see the senses, the consciousness that depends on them, and its objects, as 'this is not mine, I am not this, this is not myself' (*n' etaṃ mama, n' eso 'ham asmi, na meso attā' ti*). Channa indeed sees it in this way, and Sāriputta asks what his vision relies on. Channa's response is a beautiful expression of Buddhist sentiment, saying that he sees cessation, *nirodha*, in each of them. This statement speaks in more than one way—Channa sees that the truth of all contents of experience is their end; he also knows that this end is near for him personally, and is at such

87 This is my main contention against Keown's interpretation, who hinges on two interpretive moves that are both doubtful. First, he reads the text according to the commentary, which misses important clues to understanding the statement of the discourse, conditioned as it is to support the action of Sāriputta and Mahācunda. Second, and more specifically, Keown takes the statement by the Buddha at the resolution of the narrative, which echoes Channa's earlier statement that his death is *anupavajja*, not-blameful, together with the commentary to imply not taking up of rebirth (*anupattikaṃ appaṭisandhikaṃ*), rather than blameless suicide. Reading this discourse together with the *Vakkhali-sutta*, in which the Buddha even encourages Vakkhali's suicide, clarifies the ideas, which relate only to the specific case of such advanced monks who encounter a dire situation. Specifically, Channa not only expresses a powerful understanding (see below), but also has the merit of having served the Buddha personally. I agree with Keown that this is in no way a general condoning of suicide by the (narrative voice of the) Buddha.

peace with this understanding that he can allow himself to hurry his death. Channa thus verifies that his death will be blameless (*anupavajja*). Next, Cunda, who like Sāriputta does not understand how advanced Channa is in his realization, provides a formulation on the state of mind that transcends the fleeting events of experience and the distinction between this life and the next.[88] Once they leave, Channa ends his life. When Sāriputta asks the Buddha about Channa's death, the teacher speaks of Channa's liberation and wonders why Sāriputta did not come to realize this himself.

Suicide is a questionable act, which these stories suggest is acceptable only if one is a monk very close to liberation. This is obviously a valuable message to society, which monk storytellers could convey with the help of these stories, taking their cue from the discourses, the commentary or other ideas they heard that related to these but are now lost. At the same time, these stories serve as marvellous tales within the genre of exceptional monks' hagiographies. There are other monks who die liberated, some of whose stories fit in our sub-genre that is defined by the use of the sickness-inquiry formula, while others do not. Among the latter, we may mention the powerful story with Puṇṇa, which follows the *Channa-sutta* in both the *Majjhima* and the *Saṃyutta*, and which has the monk Puṇṇa die after providing one of the most impressive examples in the Nikāyas of compassion toward one's aggressors.[89] He too is said by the Buddha to have died liberated.

In another text from the first book of the *Saṃyutta*,[90] the monk Godhika commits suicide in a way the Buddha again seems to accept. Here, the text suggests that insight meditation can be used to replace *samādhi* practice, so that an understanding of impermanence and selflessness can

88 Mahācunda is quoting the fabulous verse in *Udāna* 8.4: *nisitassa ca calitaṃ, anissitassa calitaṃ natthi; calite asati passaddhi; passaddhiyā sati nati* (Ee reads *rati*) *na hoti; natiyā* (Ee reads *ratiyā*) *asati āgatigati na hoti; agatigatiyā asati cutūpapāto na hoti; cutūpapāte asati n' ev' idha na huraṃ na ubhayamantarena* (Ee reads °*antare*).

89 Puṇṇa is questioned by the Buddha regarding a series of possible scenarios in which he would be attacked in the dangerous place he decides to live. Puṇṇa explains how he will think positively of his aggressors: when attacked with words he will be thankful that he is not being beaten, when hit with fists, he will be thankful that not with weapons, and even if his aggressors actually kill him, he will feel that an end came to him easily, while others seek for it in vain. His approach echoes the attitude that the Buddha recommends in the classic simile of the saw in the *Kakacūpama-sutta* (*Majjhima* 21).

90 The *Godhika-sutta*, discourse no. 23 in the *Māra-saṃyutta*, the fourth collection of the *Sāgathāvagga* (SN 1).

lead to a good, even a consummate, death. In the *Godhika-sutta*, this theme is brought out in a preliminary way, since Godhika has trouble maintaining *samādhi* states, but nevertheless takes the knife, and the Buddha proclaims his realized death.[91] In the *Assaji-sutta*, which follows the *Vakkhali-sutta* in the *Saṃyutta*, this idea is brought out more clearly. Within the thematic sequence that speaks of the monk's worry and remorse, Assaji says that for him these result from his inability to maintain *samādhi*. The Buddha then teaches him an insight practice into the ephemeral, painful and selfless nature of the aggregates, so that 'after the breakup of the body, and after the full end of life, all feelings will become cool right here' (*kāyassa bhedā uddhaṃ jivitapariyādānā idh' eva sabbavedayitāni sītībhavissantī ti*). The teacher confirms that such an end is like a lamp burning away, the implication being that Assaji is about to have a good death in which he will reach liberation.

With these last texts, it seems like an important point of this textual cycle is becoming clearer: one can reach liberation, or other spiritual attainments, upon death, through different kinds of understandings that do not require *samādhi*. This is good news for both householders and monks, and helps adapt the Buddha's message to the evolving contexts of Buddhist religion. For our concerns, it is important to see that such understandings were probably developed and elaborated upon in live contexts of storytelling. We can deduce this both from the content, and from the formulaic framing of the stories, which would support such application in live settings. Different narrative potentials are realized, whether in written or oral versions, through the adaptations of the theme.

Have you heard of the one …?

That marvellous stories about monks' deaths are part of Nikāya discourse, as well as of the commentaries on them, should not be surprising. Some of these stories do not employ the sickness-inquiry formula, but nonetheless teach us about the way the texts of this textual cycle were heard and told. I refer here shortly only to two salient cases, which tell of monks who attained complete nibbāna (*parinibbāyi*) in a marvellous manner upon death.

91 There are interesting connections between the formulations in this text and the *Vakkhali-sutta*, discussed above.

With this we can see how the commentaries reveal more of the storytelling practices that surrounded such texts.[92]

The tales are fabulous. In the *Bākula-Sutta* of the *Majjhima*,[93] we are told of a monk named Bākula ('two-families') who announced to all *vihāra*s in his vicinity that they should attend his moment of death later that day. He then attains *parinibbāna* while sitting in the middle of the assembly. This vision of Bākula dying seated and aware in the middle of a large assembly is impressive in itself, suggesting that this monk reached a level of awareness that he could choose the moment and position of his death.[94] The commentary goes even further and explains that Bākula 'faded out (*parinibbāyi*) after having entered a concentration on the fire element; flames arose from his body, and his skin, flesh and bones were extinguished like burning butter, so that the relics (*dhātu*) that remained were like a jasmine flower's bud'.[95] The commentator also tells us that Bākula chose such a death since he wished to avoid being a burden on other monks. Again, through the commentary we get a glimpse of the storytelling alive in oral tradition that was generated by engagement with the texts, but which also shaped the texts to begin with. In this case, the stories go far beyond our expectations and include an explanation of how Bākula had two families, who both laid claim to him when he was found in a large fish's belly. This echoes the way the author of the Sutta-text paints a completely fabulous picture of Bākula, who is thought to have had an extremely developed state of mind and behaviour.[96]

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92 Such stories need not only relate to marvelous deaths. For example, the *Cunda-sutta* from the *Saṃyutta's Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta* (at v 161) relates in a moving way to Sāriputta's death. The commentary on this text takes the opportunity to depict in striking ways the last exchange between this top student and his master.

93 The spelling of his name is sometimes *Bakkula*.

94 Notice the resonance here with the Tibetan practice of Thukdam (*thugs dam*), in which meditators die seated and remain in the same posture for days and even weeks, without their body going through stages of decomposing.

95 *tejodhātuṃ samāpajjitvā parinibbāyi sarīrato jālā uṭṭhāhi chavimaṃsalohitaṃ sappi viya jhāyamānaṃ parikkhayaṃ gataṃ sumanamakulasadisā* (Ee °*sodisā*) *dhātuyo va avasesiṃsu* (Ee *avasissiṃsu*) (Ps iv 196.23–197.1).

96 Interestingly, the commentator suggests that this text was formulated during the second *saṅgīti* (*idaṃ pana suttaṃ dutiyasaṅgahe saṅgītan' ti* (Ps iv 197.2–3) at the end of the commentary on the text). This explanation is necessary since after listing the elements of Bākula's perfected conduct, a statement is inserted, a formula that reveals a performative context behind the text, in which a reciter, commentator, or a director of a ritualized setting repeats how 'we remember this too as a wonderful and marvellous quality of the Venerable Bākula' (MN iii 125: *idam pi mayaṃ āyasmato Bākulassa acchariyaṃ*

We find a slightly expanded version of this death scene in the *Udāna*, perhaps itself a collection for storytellers, which includes a rich selection of narratives.[97] Here, in *Udāna* 8.9, we are told of a monk named Dabbo, who also died in the middle of the assembly, but who did so while rising in the air and sitting cross legged. The text—here the Sutta itself rather than the commentary—explains that Dabbo entered the concentration on the fire element, and burned out completely so that no ashes or even ash-dust remained. Rather than seeing here a difficulty to distinguish between text and commentary,[98] we can acknowledge the dynamic creativity of the storytelling practices involved. Here, the commentary has again much to expand on, explaining Dabbo's unique birth after making his aspiration to enlightenment under the previous Buddha Padumuttara, so that he renounced at age seven and became an Arahant upon his first instruction during ordination. Dabbo later knew that his death was nearing, but held on so that he could receive consent from the Buddha to die, who also allowed him to display miracles in order to instruct the monks. The commentator reveals a controversy in the tradition regarding how and why this happened, and concludes with specific explanations for no ashes remaining, due to the intensity of Dabbo's resolve during his final meditative concentration.

Yet more stories can be told, but we need not go through them all in order to understand that the early Buddhist oral tradition, which shaped the collection of discourses, was highly interested in stories about inspiring deaths of monks. Storytelling was one of the goals, and the realities, of the literature, evolving in both *Sutta* and *Aṭṭhakathā*.

Healing advanced monks

Within the cycles of discourses that employ the sickness-inquiry formula are two compelling texts in which the Buddha heals two of his most senior disciples from illness. These texts were inspiring enough to become protective chants—*paritta*s, among the most cherished and widely used texts in the Theravāda tradition.[99] Within the present genre, these discourses are unique in stating clearly that the monks were healed, thereby reflecting the positive scenario available within the genre.

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abbhutadhammaṃ dhārema). This text, in fact, follows the 'wonderful and marvelous' events related to the Buddha's biography in MN 123.

97 See Shulman 2023b.

98 This is the main idea used by Anālayo (2011) to explain changes in the texts.

99 Shulman 2019.

In the fifth book of the *Saṃyutta*, the *Mahāvagga*, the second *Saṃyutta* (Chapter) is dedicated to texts that discuss the seven *bojjhaṅga*s (the limbs of enlightenment). Two discourses, no. 14 and 15 in the collection, repeat the same precise sequence, in which the Buddha comes to visit Mahākassapa and Mahāmoggallāna (one in each discourse), who are sick and suffering, as they confirm within the sickness-inquiry formula. The Buddha then recites for them the formula on the seven limbs of enlightenment, saying about each one of them—*sati* (mindfulness), *dhammavicaya* (analysis of mental events), *vīriya* (energy), *pīti* (joy), *passaddhi* (tranquility), *samādhi* (meditative concentration) and *upekkhā* (equanimity)—that they 'have been taught well by me, and having been cultivated and developed, they lead to understanding, to awakening, to nibbāna'.[100] This is true of each of the seven factors on its own and of the whole seven together.

After the Buddha recites this teaching, the text concludes:

> This is what the Bhagavā said. Venerable Mahākassapa was pleased and delighted in the Bhagavā's words. *And the Venerable Mahākassapa rose from that sickness, as that sickness of Venerable Mahākassapa was thereby let go of.*[101]

The power of the Buddha's words is such that it can heal people, here advanced students who are gravely ill.[102] Even more impressive is how such monks heal by letting go of their illness, showing that a healthy heart can bring about well-being even under adverse conditions. Two other related cases show that this possibility of healing is afforded by the Buddha's teaching also for others.[103] Within the context of early Buddhist storytelling,

100 E.g. SN v 80.4–5. *satt' ime, Kassapa, bojjhaṅgā mayā sammadakkhātā bhāvitā bahulīkatā abhinnāya sambodhāya nibbānāya saṃvattanti.*

101 SN v 80.15–18: *idam avoca bhagavā. attamano āyasmā Mahākassapa bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandi. vuṭṭhahi cāyasmā Mahākassapo tamhā ābādhā. tathā pahīno cāyasmato Mahākassapassa so ābādho ahosī ti*. See an elaborate discussion of this formula and its translation in Shulman 2025.

102 In relation to this and other texts, Anālayo (2011) has emphasized the healing power attributed to recitation, which is confirmed in the following text in which a monk recites the same sequence to the Buddha, who thereby heals from a certain illness. However, we may suggest that it is not only the recitation itself that is therapeutic, but the recollection of the specific sequence of the seven factors of enlightenment, which portray a deeply soothing mental process of entering *samādhi* and stabilizing a tranquil and equanimous state.

103 In the *Girimānanda-sutta* (*Aṅguttara* 10.60, also a *paritta* text) the monk Girimānanda is healed by letting go of his illness after the Buddha sends him a powerful and condensed instruction on ten kinds of Buddhist perceptions. In *Aṅguttara* 6.16, the householder

and specifically in the cycle of texts with sick monks, these two discourses bring out some of the deeper ideas involved in these stories, suggesting that the powers inherent in the Buddha's teaching have a generative potential for health and well-being, and especially so for ones who are receptive to them.

Conclusion

The question regarding the performative nature of the early Buddhist texts is one of the most interesting open discussions in the study of early Buddhism, carrying important repercussions for how we understand the history, thought and practices of the early tradition. Taking the early discourses as fixed texts, which were meant to be recited together by a group of monks, places the intellectual world of the tradition in conservative light. Such conservative elements were surely active, and the image of fixed recitation is an enduring one for good reason. However, emphasizing the fixed nature of the texts as the one and only authoritative ritualized textual practice of early Buddhism is not only an assumption that cannot be confirmed, but amounts to reaching conclusions after searching under the spotlight—we read fixed texts, and assume they were always so.

A close reading suggests otherwise. Earlier studies, mainly the pioneering work of Mark Allon, emphasized the formulaic and repetitive nature of the literature as evidence that texts were not only recited verbatim, but designed with this purpose in mind; such a repetitive text would amount to a poor performance. In this study we focused on two elements that take the understanding of early Buddhist orality in different directions: first, the use of particles, which are discussed in linguistics as discourse markers or contextualization cues, and which point to the live, dialogical quality in which Nikāya narration is situated; and second, the existence of textual cycles, which construct resonant stories within similar narrative frames, while employing the same formulas and making choices within a fixed theme. This analysis points to a living context of live performance behind the texts, that is of storytelling and of preaching, in the case under discussion mainly in contexts that relate to sickness and death. The discourses that were preserved do not equal a text voiced in a performative

Nakulapitā (whom we met above) heals after his wife calms his heart in relation to six concerns he could have had regarding the fate of his wife after death. The first of these relates to providing for their children, but most relate to her Buddhist practice. Once he is assured, he heals.

event, but rather would have inspired such events and guided them. The texts are structured in a way that encourages their adaptation in performance and the expression of their message in live, contextualized speech.

This reads much like the way the Parry-Lord theory of oral literature is meant to work—the performer uses the formulas he or she knows by heart in order to structure a live telling, which is adapted according to context. In this respect, my conclusions support the ones reached by Nathan McGovern, who revived ideas raised earlier by Lance Cousins, but which were rejected by most other authors. My argument, however, is not necessarily meant to be applied across the board, as if all texts are always used in live performances, or always retold, and retelling need not necessary be based closely upon the oral-formulaic grid of the texts we read today. Rather, the storytelling discussed here would work best for designated parts of the literature, and work in ways that are at times closer to, or in others more distant than, the preserved text. The context of sermons also frames part of the storytelling, meaning that the adaptation of texts and the inspiration it generates can relate to diverse situations.

In the cases studied here, much like in Parry-Lord, (1) memorized, fixed formulas serve as the basis for performances, that is for events of storytelling and preaching, which in this case could have had ritualized or structured contexts, as in visits to the homes of sick, dying, and dead people. These texts seem to have contributed to a kind of Buddhist confession. Furthermore, (2) themes could be expanded and used in fuller or shorter formats, and (3) the written text we find today, and which was eventually recited, is not evidence of one true version that was fixed at an ideal time by an ideal speaker, but a possible rendition of the story that works within the broader theme, and that fits different requirements of genre—an *Aṅguttra* text is different than a *Majjhima* or a *Saṃyutta* one. This reminds us that the texts we read today are also literary renditions.[104]

We should remain aware of the rich emotive context of the texts. These are densely designed narrative expressions, the heart of which is the development of an acute Buddhist sentiment, in this case in face of sickness and death. The subtleness of the texts calls for great sensitivity from us as readers and interpreters.

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104 Our discussion did not relate to texts from the *Dīgha-nikāya*, which Manné (1990) has suggested are texts for coverts. It is clear that for the texts discussed here, they were used for lay and monkish audiences, and that the distinction between converts and other audiences, Buddhist or not, is not essential. Manné points us in the right direction in considering aesthetic motivation and context, but the details are imprecise.

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Pali *muṭṭha*, *mussati*, *mosa*, and Related Words

Martin Straube

Pali *muṭṭha* appears almost exclusively in the bahuvrīhi compound *muṭṭhassati*,[1] and its etymology and meaning have been debated since early times of Pali lexicography. R. C. Childers in his Pali dictionary translated it with 'forgetful, careless, inattentive, unconscious, bewildered'. While identifying the last part of the compound as *sati* (Skt *smṛti*) he was initially doubtful about the first part conjecturing 'another form of *mūḷha* or *muddha* from *muh*' (Childers 1875 s.v.). But already in the Additional Matter appended to the dictionary he changed his mind and was certain it was derived from Skt *muṣṭa*, p.p. of √*muṣ* 'to steal, to rob' (ibid.: 618). R. Morris rejected this on semantic grounds and instead suggested deriving *muṭṭha* from Skt *mṛṣ* 'to forget, to neglect' referring to the verbal root *mus* quoted at Dhātum 437 (*musa sammose*) which he takes—for whatever reason—to mean 'to wander [in mind]' (Morris 1884: 92–94). This derivation was accepted in the Pali-English Dictionary by T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede (PED) where *muṭṭha* is identified as p.p. of *mussati* corresponding to Skt *mṛṣyati* (√*mṛṣ*), and the compound *muṭṭhassati* is translated as "'forgetful in mindfulness", i.e. forgetful, careless, bewildered'. To this day this etymology is widespread in lexicographical works, as in CDIAL 10300, KEWA s.v. *mṛṣyate*, and Oberlies 2019: 890, s.v. *mussati*. According to this interpretation *muṭṭhassati* would be 'with mindfulness/remembrance neglected'.

The equivalent of *muṭṭhassati* in Buddhist Skt is *muṣitasmṛti* (BHSD s.v.) with the variant *muṣṭasmṛti* (SWTF s.v.) where *muṣita* and *muṣṭa* are both p.p.s of √*muṣ*. Although this was already known to the authors of the PED (who s.v. *muṭṭha* quote *amuṣitasmṛti* from the *Lalitavistara*) they simply dismissed it as 'to all appearance (wrongly) derived from P. musati to rob, mus, muṣṇāti'. Others seriously considered the possibility

1 The only exception is S IV 73.18 = Th 98 = 794: *sati muṭṭhā*.

that the Buddhist Skt might actually point to the correct derivation of the Pali term, notably F. Edgerton (BHSD s.v. *muṣita-smṛti*), followed by K. R. Norman (1988: 58). Similarly, B. Geiger spoke out firmly in favour of a derivation from √*muṣ* by referring to the definition of *smṛti* in Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* as the 'non-loss (*asaṃpramoṣa*) of the experienced object'[2] and to Buddhist Skt *smṛtisaṃmoṣa* 'loss of mindfulness' (Geiger 1915–16: 1122). According to this interpretation *muṭṭhassati* would be 'deprived of mindfulness/remembrance'.

Translators of Pali texts seem to have followed one or the other interpretation showing a confusing range of renderings of *muṭṭhassati*. Just to quote a few: 'of muddled mindfulness',[3] 'vergeßlich'/'forgetful',[4] 'geistig unklar' (mentally unclear),[5] 'of vapid mindfulness',[6] 'unmindful'.[7] This variation can probably only be attributed to uncertainties regarding the etymology of *muṭṭha*, since the commentators are unanimous and clear about its meaning, stating regularly that *muṭṭhassati* means the same as *naṭṭhassati* 'with mindfulness/remembrance disappeared'.[8]

As far as I can see, the older commentarial literature only rarely gives hints at the etymology of *muṭṭha*. There is one passage in the Aṭṭhakathās where a connection to the verb *-mussati* seems to be established:

[1] ***muṭṭhassatino*** *ti naṭṭhasatino satirahitā.*[9] *idha kataṃ ettha pammussati*[10] (Spk I 115.10–11 to S I 61.4).

The plural variant *pamussanti* in B^{e} and S^{e} points to an uncertainty in understanding this gloss which is also reflected in related explanations. Obviously it was not clear whether the verb should have a passive voice with *kataṃ* as its subject, or an active voice with *kataṃ* as its object. I will come back to this passages below. The only unambiguous gloss known to me

2 See below quotation [17].

3 Horner 1938–66, IV: 82 (Vin I 63.22); similarily Bodhi 2000: 156 (S I 61.4): 'muddle-minded'.

4 W. Geiger 1925–30, I: 98 (S I 61.4); Rhys Davids & Oldenberg 1881–85, I: 183 (Vin I 63.22).

5 Nyānatiloka 1969, I: 157 (A I 174.31).

6 Masefield 2013: 65 (Ud 37.31).

7 Ñāṇamoli & Bodhi 2009: 103 (M I 20.1).

8 See, e.g., quotation [1]. The standard gloss *naṭṭhassati* is supplemented at Mp II 276.23 (to A I 174.31) by *vissaṭṭhassati*, or in quotation [1] by *satirahita* (v. l. *-virahita*).

9 C^{e}, E^{e} so; B^{e}, S^{e} *-virahitā*.

10 C^{e}, E^{e} manuscripts so (E^{e} against manuscripts *pamussati*); B^{e}, S^{e} *pamussanti*. On *-mm-* see below.

comes from Dhammapāla's ṭīkā on Spk where *-muṭṭha* is explained with *-musita* (Skt *-muṣita*).[11]

If one turns to canonical texts, one finds the relation to *mussati* confirmed, in particular when *muṭṭha* is juxtaposed with *mussati:*

[2] *tassā muṭṭhassatiniyā gahito gahito* [*vinayo*] *mussati* (Vin II 261.20–21).

Or, when *sati* appears as the grammatical subject of *mussati:*

[3] *tassa mayham … mussat' eva bhagavantam ārabbha sati, mussati dhammam arabbha sati, mussati saṅgham ārabbha sati* (S V 369.16–19).

If one were to derive *mussati* from Skt √*mṛṣ* 'to forget, to neglect' one would have to assume a passive form 'is forgotten, is neglected' (corresponding to Skt *mṛṣyate*), because *mussati* is always used in a passive sense. Again, this interpretation is not confirmed by Buddhist Skt texts. Here the verb regularly appears in similar contexts as *muṣyate*, i.e., the passive of Skt √*muṣ*, cf., e.g.:

[4] *yāsāṃ mātṝṇām aṇḍāny ārabhya smṛtir na muṣyate …* (AbhiKBh 154.4).

[5] *na buddham ārabhya smṛtiḥ pramuṣyate* (SamādhS 4:21).

[6] *na bodhicittaṃ pramuṣyati tasya* (Śikṣās 306.5*).

[7] *tad api* [scil. *jñānaṃ*] *cāsyaikadā saṃpramuṣyate. saṃpramoṣadharmo ca bhavati* (Bbh 322.25–26).

By applying the equation *muṭṭha* = *naṭṭha* to Pali *mussati* and Skt *muṣyate*, these can be defined as 'is lost, disappears' which fits the context of relevant passages well:

[2] To her whose mindfulness is lost the gradually grasped [instruction in discipline] is lost.

[3] Mindfulness regarding the Blessed One is lost to me, mindfulness regarding the Dhamma is lost to me, mindfulness regarding the Saṅgha is lost to me.

[4] Mothers to whom remembrance regarding their eggs is not lost …

[5] Mindfulness regarding the Buddha is not lost.

[6] The thought of enlightenment is not lost to him.[12]

11 Spk-ṭ I 70.11–12: *susammuṭṭhā ti suṭṭhu ativiya sammuṭṭhā. satta sekkhā hi susammusitā vinaṭṭhā* (to Spk I 26.5 to S I 4.11*).

12 A parallel stanza at Mvu II 469.13* puts it actively: *na bodhicittaṃ vijahati so kadāci*, 'Never does he give up the thought of enlightenment' (Jones 1949–56, II: 351).

[7] And even this [knowledge] is eventually lost to him. And he is subject to loss [of mindfulness].

The wording of quotation [7] where *saṃpramuṣyate* is juxtaposed with *saṃpramoṣa* may be compared with a passage in canonical Pali:

[8] *tesaṃ … sati mussati.*[13] *satiyā sammosā te devā tamhā kāyā cavanti* (D I 19.13–15).

Mindfulness is lost … to them. Due to loss of mindfulness these gods fall from this sphere.

Here *mussati* (v. l. *sammussati*) is juxtaposed with *sammosa* in a similar way. In PED *sammosa* is—in a quite daring way—analysed as related to **sammṛṣa*[14] and given the meaning 'bewilderment, confusion' which was accepted also in BHSD (see s.v. *asaṃmoṣa*). However, this seems to be based on the alleged etymology alone, against the clear testimony of the texts and the commentators. In canonical Pali *sammosa* is frequently juxtaposed with *antaradhāna* 'disappearance', and the negated form *asammosa* with *ṭhiti* 'existence':

[9] *saddhammassa sammosāya antaradhānāya saṃvattati* (A I 17.32–33).

[10] *uppannānaṃ kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ ṭhitiyā asammosāya … chandaṃ janeti* (D II 312.28–313.1).

The commentators gloss it regularly with *vināsa* 'loss',[15] and clearly distinguish it from *sammoha* 'bewilderment, confusion', as, e.g., in the discussion of the opening formula of suttantas, *evaṃ me sutaṃ* 'thus have I heard':

[11] *evan ti-vacanena asammohaṃ dīpeti. na hi sammūḷho nānappakārapaṭivedhasamattho hoti. sutan ti-vacanena sutassa asammosaṃ dīpeti. yassa hi sutaṃ sammuṭṭhaṃ*[16] *hoti, na so kālantare 'mayā sutan' ti paṭivijānāti. iccassa asammohena paññāsiddhi, asammosena satisiddhi* (Sv 29.25–29).

With the word 'thus' (*evaṃ*) he demonstrates non-confusion. Because a confused [person] is not able to comprehend the various [truths]. With the word 'heard' (*sutaṃ*) he demonstrates non-loss of what has been heard. Because someone to whom what was heard has been lost after some time does not recognize '[This is something] I have heard'. Thus, by non-confusion one accomplishes understanding, by non-loss one accomplishes remembrance.

13 C^{e}, E^{e} so; B^{e} *sammussati*, S^{e} *pamussati*; = D III 31.8: eds *sammussati*.

14 PED s.v. *sammosa:* 'for *sam-mṛṣa, of mṛṣ: see mussati. sammosa after moha & musā > mosa'.

15 Mp I 85.3 and Sv 803.28 ad loc.; cf. also the common expression *sati-sammosa* 'loss of mindfulness' in canonical Pali, glossed with *muṭṭhassatitā* at Mp II 202.20 (to A I 131.1).

16 B^{e}, E^{e} so; C^{e}, S^{e} *pammuṭṭhaṃ*.

Thus, a relation to √*mṛṣ* being hardly evident, *sammosa* means, according to usage and traditional interpretation, 'loss, disappearance'.[17] In Buddhist Skt *saṃmoṣa* has the same meaning. The negated form prevails, in particular in the expression *asaṃmoṣadharman* that is frequently mentioned as a characteristic of Buddhas. Probably this goes back to a formulaic sūtra passage:

[12] *asaṃmoṣadharmā satvo loka utpanna iti*.[18]

A being who is not subject to loss [of mindfulness] has appeared in the world.

In Sarvāstivāda narrative literature one repeatedly finds:

[13] *asaṃmoṣadharmāṇo buddhā bhagavantaḥ* (e.g. Divyāv 49.10).

The blessed Buddhas are not subject to loss [of mindfulness].

That in this expression *saṃmoṣa* has been understood as 'loss', namely as the opposite of 'presence', is confirmed by the following explanation from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi:*

[14] *yā tatra tathāgatasya sarvakṛtyeṣu sarvadeśeṣu sarvakṛtyopāyeṣu sarvakāleṣu smṛtyasaṃmoṣatā sadopasthitasmṛtitā, iyam atrāsaṃmoṣadharmatā draṣṭavyā* (Bbh 404.15–17).

Here, the Tathāgata's condition of non-loss of mindfulness, [i.e.,] the condition of having mindfulness always present, with regard to all tasks, all regions, all means, and all times, should be regarded as not being subject to loss.

However, even though *asaṃmoṣa* should be distinguished from 'bewilderment' or 'confusion', the fact that it frequently refers to unexpressed *sati* and thus is not immediately understandable, as well as a certain semantic similarity to *asaṃmoha*, has probably contributed to a confusion of these two terms. Thus, quotation [12] is transmitted in canonical Pali as:

[15] *asammohadhammo satto loke uppanno* (M I 21.26 = 83.14–15).[19]

Another closely related term should be briefly mentioned here even though it is missing in Pali, namely Buddhist Skt *saṃpramoṣa*. It has already appeared above in quotation [7] in connection with the verb *saṃpramuṣyate*. The negated form *asaṃpramoṣa* is frequently used to define *smṛti* as 'non-loss' of an object of awareness in Sarvāstivāda and Yogācāra works on Abhidharma,[20] e.g.:

17 So also CPD s.v. *asammosa* 'the not being lost (or falling into oblivion)'.

18 Quoted from the *Kāyabhāvana-sūtra* (Liu 2008: § 20.182).

19 But cf. It-a I 19.2–4: *bhagavā pana niccakālaṃ samāhito asammosadhammo asammohadhammo ca*.

20 See Gethin 2015: 21.

[16] *smṛtir ālambanāsaṃpramoṣaḥ* (AbhiKBh 54.22–23).

Mindfulness is the non-loss of the object.

From these works the term found its way into the definition of *smṛti* in Patañjali's *Yogasūtra:*

[17] *anubhūtaviṣayāsaṃpramoṣaḥ smṛtiḥ* (YS 1:11).

Mindfulness is the non-loss of the experienced object.

This expression, which is unusual outside Buddhist Skt, has caused some difficulties for modern interpreters, even after the Buddhist background was recognized.[21] But there is no reason to assume that the author or compiler of the *Yogasūtra* understood it differently from the authors or compilers of the Abhidharma texts, namely as 'non-loss', and it seems that it kept this meaning when it, proceeding from the *Yogasūtra*, gained currency in other non-Buddhist texts too.

Skt √*muṣ* means basically 'to rob, to steal', or, in a more abstract sense, 'to take away, deprive'. It is often used metaphorically, especially in the sense of robbing someone's sense faculties, cf., e.g.:

[18] *daivaṃ prajñāṃ tu muṣṇāti tejaś cakṣur ivāpatat* (Mbh 2:52:18).

Fate robs [one's] mind, as a sudden light [robs one's] sight.

[19] *Damayantī …*
muṣṇantī prabhayā rājñāṃ cakṣūṃṣi ca manāṃsi ca (Mbh 3:54:8).
Damayantī ...
robbing with her splendour the eyes and hearts of kings.

The same usage is found in canonical Pali where *musati* occurs only twice:

[20] *niṭṭhito kho pan' Ānanda, Dhammo pāsādo dudikkho ahosi, musati cakkhūni. seyyathā pi … saradasamaye viddhe vigatavalāhake deve ādicco nabhaṃ abbhussukkamāno dudikkho hoti, musati cakkhūni* (D II 183.21–184.2).

When the Dhamma palace was finished, Ānanda, it was hard to look at, it robs [one's] sight. Just as the sun, ... when in autumn in clear weather it appears in the sky, is hard to look at, it robs [one's] sight.

[21] *musatīva nayanaṃ sateratā va*
ākāse ṭhapitam idaṃ manuññaṃ (Vv 35:3a–b).

21 See, e.g., Wujastyk 2018: 28–32, who discusses *asaṃpramoṣa* in YS 1:11 at length and, against the clearly expressed interpretation of the commentators that it means 'not taking away' (*anapaharaṇa*) or 'not disappearing' (*atirobhāva*), sticks to the derivation of Pali *pamussati* and *pamuṭṭha* from *pra-*√*mṛṣ* as proposed in PED and CDIAL 8730 and defines *asaṃpramoṣa* as 'not forgetting'.

set in the sky, this ravishing [mansion (*vimāna*)]
seems to rob [one's] sight like a bolt of lightning

In view of this usage it makes good sense to say that someone is *muṣita-smṛti* 'deprived of mindfulness/remembrance' which amounts to saying, 'with mindfulness/remembrance lost'. Possibly based on this expression, (-)*muṣyate* and (-)*moṣa* have acquired the meanings 'is lost, disappears' and 'loss, disappearance' respectively, instead of 'is robbed, is stolen' and 'robbery, theft' as might be expected from the basic meaning of √*muṣ*. This seems to be an original Buddhist usage; if it is found in other texts, it is probably due to Buddhist influence.[22]

Therefore I would propose to take Pali *mussati, muṭṭha* and *sammosa* as related to √*muṣ*, corresponding to Skt *muṣyate, muṣita/muṣṭa* and *saṃmoṣa* respectively with the meanings stated above. Phonetically, Pali *muṭṭha* would be derived from the p.p. *muṣṭa* which is a variant of the more common *muṣita* and is mainly attested in 'popular' Sanskrit as well as in Prakrit where it appears in the same phonetic form as in Pali (PSM s.v. *muṭṭha*). A form *musita* corresponding to Skt *muṣita* is attested only once in late Pali and is obviously an artificial formation glossing *muṭṭha* (see fn. 11).

With one notable exception the same applies to verbal compounds of *mussati*. *Parimussati* appears once in a series of synonyms in the *Niddesa*, glossing *mussati* 'is lost':

[22] *taṃ pi mussati parimussati paribāhiro hotī ti*[23] (Nidd I 143.31).

The p.p. *parimuṭṭha* is also attested once in a stanza quoted several times in the canon:

[23] *parimuṭṭhā paṇḍitābhāsā vācāgocara bhāṇino*
yāv' icchanti mukhāyāmaṃ yena nītā na taṃ vidū.[24]

False sages, completely absent,
talking [while] having the range of words [alone],[25]

22 For instance YS 1.11 (quotation [17]), or at *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* 6:4:26 quoted in PW s.v. *saṃpramoṣa*.

23 E^{e}, S^{e} so; B^{e}, C^{e} *sammussati pamussati sampamussati* instead of *parimussati*; to Sn 815: *methunam anuyuttassa … mussat' evāpi sāsanaṃ* 'to one who is devoted to sexual intercourse ... the teaching is lost indeed'. DoP s.v. *parimussati* should be corrected accordingly.

24 Vin I 349.28*–29* = M III 154.4*–5* = Ud 61.10*–11* = Ja III 488.3*–4*.

25 Here I follow the commentaries' reading *vācāgocara bhāṇino* with *-gocara* metri causa for *-gocarā* and related to *paṇḍitābhāsā*.

open their mouth at will,
do not know that by which they are led.

The commentaries explain *parimuṭṭhā* with *muṭṭhassatino* (e.g., Ps IV 204.25), thus assuming an unexpressed relation to *sati* which appears quite reasonable.

Sammussati is a variant reading to the simple *mussati* in quotation [8], where it perhaps entered the textual transmission under the influence of *sammosa*, and a variant reading to quotation [22]. Otherwise it is absent from canonical Pali. In the Aṭṭhakathās and later texts *sammussati* is rare too, appearing a few times in the same sense as *mussati:*

[24] *kīḷantānaṃ pānabhojane sati sammussati* (Mp III 147.14).

To those who amuse themselves mindfulness regarding food and drink is lost.

[25] *saṃviggānaṃ sati sammussi.*[26] *tato nesaṃ muṭṭhassatīnaṃ …* (Pj I 234.3–4).

To those who are aggitated mindfulness is lost. Then, of them with mindfulness lost …

Beyond the few likely authentic instances, *sammussati* appears quite frequently as a variant reading of *pammussati*, and this brings me to the exception mentioned above.

Pammussati, also written *pamussati* (on *-mm-* see below), appears to be by far the most common verbal compound of *mussati*. DoP quotes it as corresponding to Skt *pra√mṛṣ* and gives its meaning accordingly as 'forgets; neglects'. However, assuming a transitive verb does not work for a number of passages quoted in DoP. In quotation [1] one has to read with C^{e} and E^{e} *idha kataṃ ettha pammussati*, 'what was done here is lost there', and not with B^{e} and S^{e} *pamussanti* ('what was done here they forget there'). This is strongly suggested by the similar explanation at Spk II 302.14: *idha kataṃ ettha nassati*, which in turn seems to have been misunderstood in It-a II 114.13 and 'corrected' to *idha kataṃ ettha na sarati*.[27] Intransitive usage is even more evident in this passage:

26 B^{e}, C^{e}, E^{e} so; S^{e} *pamussati*.

27 Spk II 302.13–15: *muṭṭhassatī ti bhattanikkhittakāko viya naṭṭhassati. idha kataṃ ettha nassati*; It-a II 114.12–13: *muṭṭhassatī ti bhattanikkhittakāko viya maṃsanikkhittasunakho viya ca naṭṭhassati. idha kataṃ ettha na sarati* (C^{e}, E^{e} *muṭṭhassati* instead of B^{e}, S^{e} *naṭṭhassati*), both explaining the same passage S III 93.15 = It 90.2.

[26] *Jīvako Komārabhacco bahuṃ ca gaṇhāti, lahuṃ ca gaṇhāti, suṭṭhuṃ ca upadhāreti. gahitaṃ c' assa na pammussati*[28] (Vin I 270.4–6).

Here one can hardly construe *pammussati* as an active verb with *gahitaṃ* as its object, since what would be in that case the reference of *assa*? To take it as the agent of *gahitaṃ* would not be impossible, but in view of the construction of (-)*mussati* with a genitive of the person to whom something is lost, which has already been documented several times above, we can translate:

[26] Jīvako Komārabhacco grasps much, grasps easily, and reflects [upon it] well. And what was grasped is not lost to him.

A similar phrase is found with plain *mussati:*

[27] *nisinno āsane tasmiṃ uggahetvāna vyañjanaṃ*
vuṭṭhito na ppajānāti gahitam pi[29] *'ssa mussati* (A I 131.27*–28*).

Having grasped the sound
while sitting in this seat,
he does not understand [it] after he got up,
and even what was grasped is lost to him.

A passage not quoted in DoP is:

[28] ***na paggharatī*** *ti na gaḷati, na pamussatī ti attho* (Vmv I 37.18).

na paggharati: 'does not ooze out', that means: 'is not lost'.

This glosses Sp 104.18–19: *maṇighaṭe pakkhittatelam iva īsakam pi na paggharati*, 'like oil poured in a jewel pitcher, not even a little bit leaks out'.

Turning to the p.p. *pammuṭṭha* one comes across:

[29] *pamuṭṭhamhi*[30] *ca suttante abhidhamme ca tāvade*
vinaye avinaṭṭhamhi puna tiṭṭhati sāsanaṃ (Vin I 98.35*–99.1*).

When the Suttanta [collection] has been lost
and at the same time the Abhidhamma,
but the Vinaya has not disappeared,
the teaching remains.

28 C^{e} so; E^{e}, S^{e} *pamussati*; B^{e} *sammussati*; cf. A III 201.15–17: *bhikkhu … bahuñ ca gaṇhāti. gahitañ c' assa nappamussatī ti?* B^{e}, C^{e}, S^{e} so; E^{e} *na pamussatī.*

29 C^{e}, E^{e} so; B^{e}, S^{e} *gahitaṃ hi.*

30 Eds so.

Pamuṭṭha is used here in the same sense as *vinaṭṭha* and as antonym of *tiṭṭhati*. This stanza is echoed in another pair of stanzas:

[30] *yāva tiṭṭhanti suttantā vinayo yāva dippati*
tāva dakkhinti ālokaṃ suriye abbhuṭṭhite yathā.
suttantesu asantesu pammuṭṭhe[31] *vinayamhi ca*
tamo bhavissati loke suriye atthaṅgate yathā (Mp I 93.9–12*).

As far as the Suttantas remain and the Vinaya shines
they illuminate the entire world as when the sun has arisen.
When the Suttantas are no more and the Vinaya has been lost
there will be darkness in the world as when the sun has set.[32]

Pammuṭṭha is also used in the same way as plain *muṭṭha* with reference to *sati:*

[31] *amatan tesaṃ, bhikkhave, pammuṭṭhaṃ, yesaṃ kāyagatā sati pammuṭṭhā*[33] (A I 46.6–7).

The deathless, monks, has been lost to those to whom mindfulness directed to the body has been lost.

However, besides those passages where *pammussati* is used as a passive verb, there are a considerable number of instances where it is undoubtedly used actively with an object in the accusative. In addition, one comes across commentarial glosses that take *pammussati* to mean 'forgets', e.g.:

[32] ***vissaritvā*** *ti pammussitvā*[34] (Sp 881.8).

[33] ***dhārentī*** *ti na pammussanti*[35] (Mp II 38.9).

Thus, it appears reasonable to apply this meaning to passages like this:

[34] *so kālaccayena vissajjanaṃ pammussi*[36] (Spk I 327.7).

After some time he forgot the answer.

[35] *te bhikkhū attano telanāḷiñ ca udakatumbañ ca upāhanañ ca pammussanti*[37] (Dhp-a II 193.18–19).

These monks forget their measure of oil, water vessel and sandals.

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31 C^{e}, E^{e} so; B^{e}, S^{e} *pamuṭṭhe*.
32 Translation Gornall 2020: 68.
33 C^{e}, E^{e} so; B^{e}, S^{e} *pamuṭṭhaṃ … pamuṭṭhā*.
34 E^{e} so; B^{e}, S^{e} *pamussitvā*; C^{e} *sammussitvā*.
35 B^{e}, C^{e} so; E^{e} *na pamussanti*; S^{e} *taṃ na pamussanti*.
36 C^{e}, E^{e} manuscripts so; E^{e} ex coniectura *pamussi*; B^{e}, S^{e} *sammussi*.
37 E^{e}, S^{e} so; B^{e}, C^{e} *pamussanti*.

[36] *eko puriso attano āvudhaṃ pammussitvā*[38] … (Ja IV 147.15).

One man having forgotten his weapon …

Therefore we have no choice but to assume two homonymous verbs: *pammussati*[1] (intrans.) 'is lost, disappears', and *pammussati*[2] (trans.) 'forgets'. At places it cannot be decided with certainty whether there is the one or the other involved, and occasionally the commentators were unsure too,[39] but the overall picture seems to be clear. This is confirmed in AMg. where one meets with a similar situation regarding the verb *pamhusaï/pamhasaï*. Hemacandra, in his Prakrit grammar, gives as equivalents of *pamhusaï* both Skt *pramṛśati* 'touches' and *pramuṣṇāti* 'robs' (Hc 4:184) and for the p.p. *pamhuṭṭha* accordingly Skt *pramṛṣṭaḥ* and *pramuṣito* (Hc 4:258). Not noted by Hemacandra is the well attested usage in the sense of 'forgets', suggesting a relation to Skt *pra-√mṛṣ* as well, which is not surprising since *√mṛṣ* 'to forget' and *√mṛś* 'to touch' are frequently confused even in Sanskrit. Thus, in the AMg. verb *pamhusaï/pamhasaï* three old Indian verbs seem to have merged into one.[40] The aspirated *-mh-* has been explained differently,[41] but even though its origin is disputed it seems clear that the *-mm-* in Pali *pammussati/pammuṭṭha* is related to it (cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 242), which means that it should be viewed as the older form against the form with a single *-m-*. It also seems likely that the frequent variant reading *sammussati* is in most cases to be regarded as a secondary reading, introduced in order to get rid of a seemingly improper form *pammussati*.

I already discussed the nominal derivative *sammosa/saṃmoṣa* as related to *sam√muṣ*. In Pali there is also plain *mosa* which, however, appears to be more complex. It occurs only in two compound expressions, viz. *mosa-vajja* and *mosa-dhamma*. PED explains *mosa* as 'the guṇa (compⁿ) form of musā'. This seems at least to be partly correct. *Mosavajja* appears in a few passages in canonical Pali where it has the same meaning as the much more

38 C^{e}, MS C^{k} so; B^{e}, E^{e}, S^{e} *pamussitvā*.

39 See, e.g., Mp II 86.31–87.1 (to quotation [31]): *pammuṭṭhan ti pamuṭṭhaṃ, vissaritaṃ naṭṭhaṃ vā*, C^{e}, E^{e} so; S^{e} *pamuṭṭhan ti pammuṭṭhaṃ*; B^{e} *pamuṭṭhan ti sammuṭṭhaṃ*.

40 Accordingly, PSM has four entries: *pamhasa* and *pamhusa* corresponding to Skt *vi√smṛ*, and twice *pamhusa* corresponding to Skt *pra√mṛś* and *pra√muṣ* respectively. The p.p. is listed under *pamhaṭṭha* corresponding to Skt *prasmṛta*, and—interestingly labelled desī words—*pamhaṭṭha* and *pamhuṭṭha* meaning 'lost, destroyed' (*prabhraṣṭa*, *vilupta*).

41 As originating from **pra-smṛṣati* or **pra-smṛśati* (Leumann 1903, cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 11), as 'a strengthened pronunciation counteracting a fricatized pronunciation of the intervocalic *-m-*' (Tieken 1987: 200), or as an influence of *√smṛ* (KEWA s.v. *mṛṣyate*; Oberlies 1993, s.v. *pamhaṭṭha-*).

common *musāvāda* 'false speech' with which it is always explained by the commentators, as early as in the *Niddesa:*

[37] *mosavajjaṃ vuccati musāvādo* (Nidd I 152.5 to Sn 819).

Since in AMg. *mosa* is a common variant of *musā*,[42] and since its meaning in the compound *mosavajja* seems to correspond to *musā*, it appears reasonable to assume this connection in Pali as well. It is noteworthy that *mosavajja* appears only in metrical passages, so we can assume that it was originally a synonym for *musāvāda* used for metrical reasons.

Mosadhamma is listed in PED under the same lemma 'mosa' and translated with 'of a deceitful nature, false'. The commentators, however, gloss it regularly with *nassanasabhāva* or *nassanadhamma* 'subject to disappearance'. The term *mosadhamma* is not used very often in canonical texts, so we can take a closer look at the important passages:

[38] … *yaṃ kiñci atthi veditaṃ*
etaṃ dukkhan ti ñatvāna mosadhammam palokinaṃ
phussa phussa vayam passam evaṃ tattha virajjatī ti (S IV 205.3–6*).[43]

Whatever kind of feeling there is:
Having known, "This is suffering,
Perishable, disintegrating",
Having touched and touched them, seeing their fall,
Thus one loses one's passion for them.[44]

Nothing in this stanza suggests that *mosadhamma* should mean 'of a deceitful nature' The context of the terms *palokina* 'disintegrating' and *vaya* 'decay' rather indicate that Buddhaghosa's gloss *nassanasabhāvaṃ* (Spk III 74.20) is correct. This gloss is further explained by the subcommentary as:

[39] *ittarakhaṇatāya bhaṅgato uddhaṃ apassitabbasabhāvaṃ* (Spk-ṭ II 354.1).

having the nature of not being visible after its dissolution, since it passes in a moment

42 Pischel 1900: § 78. According to Norman 1960 this is due to a change of pronounciation rather than to vowel gradation as proposed in PED.

43 = Sn 738d–739d. The pāda *mosadhammam palokinaṃ* is echoed in Uv 26:22: *jātaṃ bhūtaṃ samutpannaṃ kṛtaṃ saṃskṛtam adhruvam / jarāmaraṇasaṃghātaṃ moṣadharma pralopanam / āhāranetrīprabhavaṃ nālaṃ tad abhinanditum* (printed *moṣadharmapralopanam*). The whole stanza corresponds to It 37.13*–17*, except for the pāda *moṣadharma pralopanam* that is in It *roganīḷaṃ pabhaṅguṇaṃ*.

44 Translation Bodhi 2000: 1260–1261 (emphasis mine); but Bodhi 2017: 284 (Sn 739): 'of a false nature'.

Most prominently, *mosadhamma* appears in two canonical passages that have been frequently quoted or alluded to in later texts. The first reads:

[40] *aniccā, bhikkhave, kāmā tucchā musā mosadhammā* (M II 261.25).[45]

Impermanent, monks, are sense pleasures, empty, false, subject to loss.

Buddhaghosa's commentary elaborates here—as far as I can see, only here—on the gloss *nassanasabhāva* that he also gave to the previous passage:

[41] ***musā*** *ti nassanakā.*[46] ***mosadhammā*** *ti nassanasabhāvā. khettaṃ viya vatthu viya hiraññasuvaṇṇaṃ viya ca paññāyitvā pi*[47] *katipāhen' eva supinake diṭṭhā viya nassanti na paññāyanti* (Ps IV 56.21–57.1).

musā: 'disappearing'. *mosadhammā:* 'subject to disappearance'. Even after having been perceived as like a field, as like a property, as like gold in its various forms, within just a few days [sense pleasures] disappear, are not perceived, like things seen in a dream.

The fact that *musā* and *mosa-*, which have a similar phonetic form, are placed right next to each other seems to have led Buddhaghosa to link the two terms etymologically. The unexpected definition *nassanakā* 'disappearing' for *musā* can hardly be explained otherwise. We do not know how Buddhaghosa might have justified this, since he did not explain it. As far as *mosadhamma* is concerned, the explanation of the standard gloss *nassanasabhāva* seems to indicate that he understood *nassana* 'disappearance' from an epistemological perspective: Sense pleasures are subject to disappearance from being perceived or experienced like apparently tangible things seen in a dream. This points to the usage of (-)*mussati* and (-)*muṭṭha* which, as we have seen above, are often used in the meaning 'disappears from memory'. The subcommentary on this passage confirms this interpretation, while attempting to reconcile the unusual definition of *musā* with its ordinary meaning and making the relation of *mosadhamma* to √*muṣ* very clear:

45 Be, Ce, Se so; Ee *moghadhammā*; cf. A V 84.24–25: *kāmā hi bhante aniccā tucchā musā mosadhammā*. In Buddhist Skt cf., e.g., Śrāvbh 441.11–15: *kāmā … anityās tucchā mṛṣā moṣadharmāṇo*; Śikṣās 77.2: *anityāḥ kāmās tucchāḥ mṛṣā moṣadharmiṇaḥ*; Saund 15:8:*anityā moṣadharmāṇo riktā vyasanabetavaḥ / bahusādhāraṇāḥ kāmā vadhyā ḥ āśīviṣā iva*, 'For the passions should be killed like poisonous snakes, being impermanent, of their nature subject to loss, empty of real value, the causes of calamity and shared by many others (who may deprive you of them)' (Johnston 1932).

46 Ce, Ee, Se so; Be *nāsanakā*.

47 Be, Se *na paññāyittha* for Ce, Ee *paññāyitvā pi*.

[42] *musā ti ittarapaccupaṭṭhānatāya na dissatī ti āha* ***musā ti nāsanakā*** *ti. visaṃvādanaṭṭhena vā musā …* ***nassanasabhāvā*** *ti khaṇabhaṅgattā ittarapaccupaṭṭhānatāya dissamānā viya pi hutvā apaññāyanakapakatikā. tenāha* ***khettaṃ viyā*** *ti ādi …* ***mosadhammo*** *ti mosanapakatikā, kusalabhaṇḍaharaṇasabhāvā ti attho* (Ps-ṭ III 251.13–20).

'musā: "is not visible because of [its] fleeting presence",'[48] [referring to this Buddhaghosa] says: '*musā:* "disappearing".' Alternatively, *musā* [is used] in the sense of 'deceiving' … *nassanasabhāvā:* because of [their] fleeting presence, resulting from [their] dissolving in a moment, [sense pleasures,] even though they are like things that are seen, have the nature of things that are not perceived. Therefore [he] says: 'like a field' and so on … *mosadhammo:* 'having the nature of stealing', that means: having the inherent nature of taking away possessions, [namley] that which is beneficial.

Musā and *mosadhamma* are combined again in another important canonical passage:

[43] *taṃ hi, bhikkhu, musā, yaṃ mosadhammaṃ. taṃ saccaṃ, yaṃ amosadhammaṃ nibbānaṃ … etaṃ hi, bhikkhu, paramaṃ ariyasaccaṃ, yad idaṃ amosadhammaṃ nibbānaṃ* (M III 245.16–18).[49]

For this, monk, is false, which is subject to loss. This is real, which is not subject to loss, nirvāṇa … For this, monk, is the highest truth of the noble ones, namely nirvāṇa which is not subject to loss.

This passage strongly speaks against equating *musā* and *mosadhamma*. If both terms had the same meaning, the statement *taṃ musā, yaṃ mosadhammaṃ* would be a mere tautology. Accordingly, Buddhaghosa here gave the standard explanation for *musā:*

[44] ***musā*** *ti vitathaṃ.* ***mosadhamman*** *ti nassanasabhāvaṃ …* ***amosadhamman*** *ti anassanasabhāvaṃ* (Ps V 59.24–27).

48 This looks like a quotation, but it cannot be traced.

49 This passage is echoed in *Suttanipāta* 757cd–758ab: *taṃ hi tassa musā hoti mosadhammaṃ hi ittaraṃ / amosadhammaṃ nibbānaṃ tad ariyā saccato vidū*. The two stanzas 757–758 are obviously patched together from different canonical passages and do not shed much light on the interpretation of quotation [43]. A Sanskrit version is quoted in Candrakīrti's commentary of Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā: sūtra uktam: tan mṛṣā, moṣadharmaṃ yad idaṃ saṃskṛtam. etad dhi khalu, bhikṣavaḥ, paramaṃ satyaṃ, yad idam amoṣadharmaṃ nirvāṇam. sarvasaṃskārāś ca mṛṣā moṣadharmāṇaḥ iti* (*Prasannapadā* to 13:1, quoted according to MacDonald 2015, II: 167, fn. 325). Nāgārjuna explicitely refers in stanzas 13:1–2 to this or a similar passage as spoken by the Buddha (*bhagavān ity abhāṣata*, 13:1b). However, it is difficult to say how he understood the terms in question in the context of his philosophy. (I thank Ye Shaoyong, Beijing, for pointing out the problems with the interpretation of Nāgārjuna's stanzas in view of the differing explanations of the ancient commentators.)

The subcommentary, however, interprets Buddhaghosa's definition *vitathaṃ* 'untrue' in the sense of his gloss *nassanakā* in quotation [41], making it very clear that *musā* is seen as related to √*muṣ:*

[45] ***vitathan** ti naṭṭhaṃ. jarāya maraṇena ca vipariṇāmetabbatāya yādisaṃ uppādāvatthāya jātaṃ, tato aññādisan ti attho. tathā hi taṃ jarāmaraṇehi parimusitabbarūpatāya **musā** ti vuttaṃ. tenāha **mosadhamman ti nassanasabhāvan** ti* (Ps-ṭ III 402.21–24).

> *vitathaṃ:* 'lost'. This means: Because [it] is subject to be changed by age and death, it is different from what it was in the state of emergence. And because in this way its form will be robbed (*parimusitabba*) by age and death, it is called *musā*. Therefore he says: *mosadhammaṃ* [means] 'subject to dissapearance'.

I have focused on the commentators' explanations to show that an etymological relation between *musā* and *mosadhamma* was assumed from early on by commentators, at least by those from the Theravāda tradition. This extends into modern lexicography. But while the Theravāda tradition following Buddhaghosa had transferred the meaning of *mosadhamma* to *musā*, the authors of PED did it the other way round. In Buddhist Sanskrit texts the phrase *mṛṣā moṣadharma-* continued to be used as a fixed expression[50] which might suggest that both terms were seen as somehow related, even if in Sanskrit their phonetic form no longer suggests this. The origin of this phrase is certainly to be sought in canonical passages similar to quotations [40] and [43]. However, apart from the fact that *musā* and *mosadhamma* were used side by side in those passages, there seems to be nothing in the canonical texts to suggest that these terms are related etymologically. If I am right in my view that the terms (-)*muṭṭha*, (-)*mussati* and *mosadhamma* are related by going back to the same √*muṣ*, an etymological relation to *musā* is excluded. It rather seems to be the epistomological context that is frequently—but not exclusively[51]—relevant for these terms in that they are explicitely or implicitly related to remembrance/memory or memory contents that 'disappear' or 'are robbed', that brings them in meaning close to the concepts of deception and falsehood shared by *musā*.[52]

50 So that it is considered a compound in modern dictionaries; cf. BHSD s.v. *moṣa-dharma*; SWTF s.v. *mṛṣā-moṣadharman*.

51 See quotations [29] and [30].

52 I would like to thank William Pruitt for polishing my English.

Words discussed

For easy reference I attach a list of words discussed with reference to the relevant quotations.

Pali

pammuṭṭha[1], *pamuṭṭha*[1] (adj.; cf. *pammussati*[1]), lost, [11] v. l., [29], [30], [31]
pammussati[1], *pamussati*[1] (intrans.), is lost, disappears, [1], [8] v. l., [22] v. l., [25] v. l., [26], [28]
pammussati[2], *pamussati*[2] (trans.), forgets, [32], [33], [34], [35], [36]
parimuṭṭha (adj.; cf. *parimussati*), deprived, [23]
parimussati (intrans.), is lost, disappears, [22]
muṭṭhassati (adj.; *muṭṭha* [p.p. of *musati*] + *sati*), deprived of mindfulness, with mindfulness lost, [1], [2], [25]
musati (trans.) robs, takes away, [20], [21]
mussati (passive of *musati*), is lost, disappears, [2], [3], [8], [22], [27]
mosadhamma (adj.), subject to loss, [38], [40], [41], [42], [43], [45]; — neg. *amosadhamma* (adj.), not subject to loss, [43], [44]
mosavajja (n.), false speech, [37]
sampamussati (intrans.), is lost, [22] v. l.
sammuṭṭha (adj.; cf. *sammussati*), lost, [11]
sammussati (intrans.), is lost, [8] v. l., [22] v. l., [24], [25], [26] v. l., [32] v. l., [34] v. l.
sammosa (m.), loss [8], [9], [10]; — neg. *asammosa* [11], [15] fn.

Buddhist Sanskrit

asaṃpramoṣa (m.), non-loss, [16], [17]
asaṃmoṣa (m.), non-loss, [14]
asaṃmoṣadharman (adj.), not subject to loss [of mindfulness], [12], [13], [14]
pramuṣyate (passive of *pra√muṣ*), is lost, disappears, [5], [6]
muṣitasmṛti, muṣṭasmṛti (adj.), deprived of mindfulness, with mindfulness lost
muṣyate (passive of *√muṣ*), is lost, disappears, [4]
moṣadharma(n) (adj.), subject to loss, [38] fn., [40] fn., [43] fn. — neg. *amoṣadharma*, [43] fn.
saṃpramuṣyate (passive of *saṃpra√muṣ*), is lost, disappears, [7]
saṃpramoṣadharma (adj.), subject to loss [of mindfulness], [7]

Sigla and abbreviations

Pali texts are quoted according to DoP; see the printed volumes or the online version.[53]

AbhiKBh	*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Pradhan 1975)
AMg.	Ardhamāgadhī
Bbh	*Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Wogihara 1971)
B^{e}	Burmese edition (Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti series: Rangoon 1956–1962)
BHSD	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary (Edgerton 1953)
CDIAL	*Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (Turner 1966)
C^{e}	Sinhalese edition (Buddha Jayanti Tripitaka Series: Colombo 1957–1989; Simon Hewavitarne Bequest: Colombo 1917–1952)
CPD	*A Critical Pāli Dictionary* (Trenckner 1924–2011)
Divyāv	*Divyāvadāna* (Cowell and Neil 1886)
DoP	*A Dictionary of Pāli* (Cone 2001–20)
E^{e}	European edition (PTS)
Hc	Hemacandra (Prakrit grammar: Pischel 1877–80)
intrans.	intransitive
JPTS	*Journal of the Pali Text Society*
KEWA	*Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (Mayrhofer 1956–80)
Mbh	*Mahābhārata* (Sukthankar 1933–72)
Mvu	Mahāvastu (Marciniak 2019–2020)
ÖAW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
p.p.	past perfect participle
PED	*The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (Rhys Davids and Stede 1921–25)
PSM	*Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo* (Sheth 1963)
PTS	Pali Text Society
PW	Petersburger Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (Böhtlingk and Roth 1855–75)
SamādhS	*Samādhirājasūtra* (Dutt and Sharma 1941)
Saund	*Saundarananda* (Johnston 1928)
S^{e}	Siamese edition (Syāmaraṭṭha 1925–1928)
Śikṣās	*Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Bendall 1902)
Skt	Sanskrit

53 https://gandhari.org/dictionary?section=dop

Śrāvbh	*Śrāvakabhūmi* (Shukla 1973)
SWTF	*Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden* (Bechert *et al.* 1994–2018)
trans.	transitive
Uv	*Udānavarga* (Bernhard 1965)
v.l.	varia lectio
YS	*Yogasūtra* (Maas 2006)

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A Note on the Title and Date of Dharmananda Kosambi's *Navanītaṭīkā*

Truptirani B. Tayade and Mahesh A. Deokar

1. The meaning of the title *Navanīta*

The *Navanītaṭīkā* is a modern commentary by Dharmananda Kosambi on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* by Ācariya Anuruddha (eleventh or twelfth century),[1] one of the nine Abhidhamma 'little finger manuals' (*let-than*).[2] The word *navanīta* is generally translated as 'butter'; accordingly in *A Comprehensive Manual of Abhidhamma Navanītaṭikā* has been rendered as 'The Butter Commentary', with the suggestion that it is 'so called probably because it explains the *Sangaha* in a smooth and simple manner, avoiding philosophical controversy' (Bodhi 1993: 18). This is clearly a misunderstanding of the associations of butter intended here. The title actually indicates that this commentary is supposed to provide the essence (*navanīta*) of, in this case, earlier commentaries: just as butter is the essence of milk, so this *ṭīkā* is the essence of previous *ṭīkās* on the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*. As Prof. Shrikant Bahulkar has suggested in personal communication, since the word *navanīta* implies 'essence', *Navanītaṭīkā* can be translated as 'The Essence Commentary'.[3]

1 Cf. Gethin (2002: xiii–xiv) 'The date of the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha is also problematic. The earliest extant commentary on the text appears to be Sāriputta of Polonnaruva's Sinhala sanne, written during the reign of Parakkamabāhu I (1153–86). On this basis, Norman suggests "that we shall probably not be far wrong if we assume that Anuruddha lived at the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth". A discussion in Sumaṅgala's commentary, presumably written shortly after the work of his teacher Sāriputta, might suggest that we should ascribe the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha to a somewhat earlier date.'

2 (1) Abhidhammāvatāra, (2) Rūpārūpavibhāga, (3) Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, (4) Paramatthavinicchaya, (5) Nāmarūpapariccheda, (6) Saccasaṅkhepa, (7) Mohavicchedanī, (8) Khemappakaraṇa, and (9) Nāmacāradīpaka. See Bodhi 1993: 15.

3 Personal communication.

This is supported by Kosambi's own interpretation of the title of his commentary. The first of the two concluding stanzas of the *Navanītaṭīkā* reads *ubhinnam api ṭīkānaṃ sāram ādāya yā katā; Navanītaṭīkā nāma iti sā pariniṭṭhitā* (*Navanītaṭīkā*, 180), that is, 'here ends that [commentary] called *Navanītaṭīkā*, which is composed by taking the essence (*sāra*) from both the commentaries [*Vibhāvinīṭīkā* and the *Paramatthadīpanīṭīkā*]'. Kosambi has composed his commentary by drawing the essence from Sumaṅgala's *Vibhāvinī* (twelfth century) and Ledi Sayadaw's *Paramatthadīpanī* (1901).

2. Date of Navanītaṭīkā

Although a modern book, there has been some confusion about the date of the publication of Kosambi's *Navanītaṭīkā*. Scholars have given its year of publication as 1923, 1933, and 1941. The introduction of *A Comprehensive Manual of Abhidhamma* gives 1933 as the date of publication (Bodhi 1993: 18).[4] This date is accepted by Rupert Gethin in his introduction to the *Summary of the Topics of Abhidhamma* (Wijeratne & Gethin 2002: xvi). The same date is printed on the back cover of the 2017 edition of the *Navanītaṭīkā*, published by Buddhist World Press in association with Mahabodhi Society of India, Sarnath, Varanasi. In a revised edition of *A Comprehensive Manual of Abhidhamma* edited by Allan R. Bomhard, first published in 2007 by the Charleston Buddhist Fellowship and most recently in 2022, the year of publication of the *Navanītaṭīkā* is given as 1923 without comment.

We could access the first edition and two reprints of the *Navanītaṭīkā*:

a) 1941,[5] first edition, published by the General Secretary, Mahabodhi Sabha (Mahabodhi Society), Sarnath, Benares.
b) 1964,[6] 'second edition' (**द्वितीय संस्करण**), published by Bhikhshu M. Sangharatna, Mahabodhi Sabha, Sarnath, Varanasi.
c) 2017, published by Buddhist World Press in association with the Mahabodhi Society of India, Sarnath, Varanasi.

In the first edition and reprints, at the end of his preface Kosambi gives the date 25 August, 1941. Dr. Narendranath Sengupta's foreword to the

4 This date is unchanged in the various subsequent editions (print and online) published by the Buddhist Publication Society (Kandy) and Pariyatti (Onalaska, WA, USA).

5 i.e., **बुद्धाब्द २४८५, क्रिस्ताब्द १९४१.**

6 i.e., **बुद्धाब्द २५०७, क्रिस्ताब्द १९६४.**

Navanītaṭīkā is also dated August 1941 in all three versions. In his edition of the *Aṭṭhasālinī* published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute under the section 'Abbreviations of works consulted' P. V. Bapat notes: 'Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha with Navanītaṭīkā edited by Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi, Mahabodhi Society, Sarnath, Benares, 1941' (Bapat 1942: xi). Further, Meera Kosambi also records the same year for the publication of the *Navanītaṭīkā* (Kosambi 2010: 416). Thus there can be no doubt that the correct date of the first publication is 1941.

Kosambi also produced an earlier edition of the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* with an introduction in Gujarati and the Pali text in Nagari, but without his *Navanīta* commentary; this was published by the Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Ahmedabad, Vikram saṃvat 1979 (1922). In his *Navanītaṭīkā* Kosambi refers to this earlier edition in a note (Kosambi 1941: 11). The date 1923 given for the publication of the *Navanītaṭīkā* in Bomhard's revised edition of *A Comprehensive Manual of Abhidhamma*, possibly reflects confusion with Kosambi's earlier edition of the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* published in 1922. However, the source of the year 1933 remains unclear. In sum, we can safely date the *Navanītaṭīkā* to 1941 and render its title in English as 'The Essence Commentary'.

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