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K.R. Norman in 2005
and the 125th anniversary in 2006
of the founding of the Pali Text Society*

EDITED BY
O. VON HINÜBER,
R.M.L. GETHIN
AND
MARK ALLON

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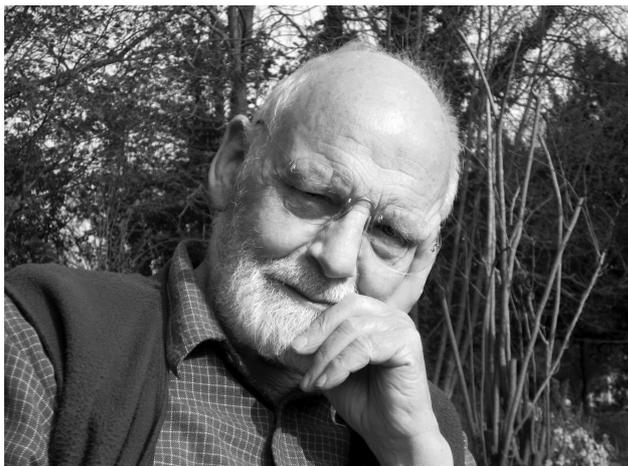
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K.R. Norman

(Photo courtesy of Geoffrey Wells)

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Preface

Two particularly auspicious events in the history of the Pali Text Society almost coincided in the years 2005/2006, when a pair of memorable events in the Society's life could be celebrated: The 125th anniversary of the foundation of the Pali Text Society in 2006, and in 2005 the eightieth birthday of its long-serving President, editor of the Journal and doyen of Pāli studies, Kenneth Roy Norman. Therefore, the council of the Pali Text Society decided during the meeting on 16 September 2005 to mark these birthdays by the publication of a special number of the Journal as a joint Festschrift for both, K.R. Norman and the Society, which has been a centre of his life for many years. The Pali Text Society gratefully acknowledges the indebtedness to all scholars who without hesitation accepted the invitation to contribute to the present volume.

When the foundation of the PTS was announced by Thomas William Rhys Davids (1843–1922) during his Hibbert Lectures in May 1881¹ with the original plan to “render accessible to students the rich stores of earliest Buddhist literature” (*JPTS* 1882, p. vii), printing of major Pāli text editions was already going on in England and continued outside the PTS for some time. For, the Jātaka edited by Viggo Fausbøll (1821–1908) appeared from 1877 onwards, the Vinaya-piṭaka edited by Hermann Oldenberg (1854–1920) from 1879 onwards followed in 1880 by the Milindapañha edited by Villem Trenckner (1824–1891). All three editions were later integrated into the program of the PTS as reprints.²

On the other hand, the PTS was originally, in spite of its name, not closed to other Buddhist traditions. The very first report for the year 1882 lists the plan to publish titles such as the Jātakamālā by Hendrik

¹*JPTS* I (1882), p. 1. The first of the yearly Hibbert Lectures under the auspices of the Hibbert Trust (founded in 1847 by Robbert Hibbert (1770–1849)) was delivered by Friedrich Max Müller in 1878, “On the religions of India”. Rhys Davids spoke about “Indian Buddhism” in the fourth Hibbert Lecture.

²The Milindapañha in 1928, Vol. I, of the Vinaya-piṭaka in 1929 and Vols. II–V as late as 1964, and similarly the seven vols. of the Jātaka from 1962 to 1964.

Kern (1833–1917),³ which later appeared as the first volume of the Harvard Oriental Series in 1891, the *Madhyamakavṛtti* by Cecil Bendall (1856–1906) and the *Bhagavatī* by Ernst Leumann (1859–1931) — neither of them ever materialised — and, without indication of a prospective editor, also the *Lalitavistara* (*JPTS* 1882, p. 10). On the other hand, one of the earliest, if not the very first publication of the Society was the only Jaina text ever published by the PTS: Hermann Jacobi (1850–1937), “The *Āyāraṅga Sutta* of the *Çvetāmbara Jains*” (1882),⁴ which evoked some justification in the preface (p. vii) to avoid “that Buddhist subscribers ... might take umbrage at the intrusion, as it were, of an heretical guest into the company of their sacred Suttas”. This sin, however, was never repeated, and only translations such as the one of the *Mahāvastu* (1949, 1952, 1956) by John James Jones (1892–1957) and Ronald Eric Emmerick’s (1937–2001) *The Sūtra of Golden Light* (1970, 2nd ed. 1990, 3rd ed. 1996) are rare and outrageous steps beyond the path of Theravāda orthodoxy.

From the very beginning, the PTS was run by a truly international board of scholars presided over by T.W. Rhys Davids as longest serving President ever from 1881 until his death in 1922,⁵ followed by his wife Caroline Augusta Foley Rhys Davids (1857–1942; first mentioned as a

³A translation of the *Jātakamālā* by Jacob Samuel Speyer (1849–1913) “The *Jātakamālā*. Garland of Birth-Stories of Āryaśūra” was published from London 1895 (reprinted Delhi, 1971) as Vol. I of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists (SBB) originally edited by Friedrich Max Müller. This series was later absorbed by the PTS when Rhys Davids took over as editor beginning with SBB Vol. III: *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. II (Oxford 1910).

⁴The same year 1882 saw also the publication of the *Buddhavaṃsa* together with the *Cariyāpiṭaka*. According to *JPTS* (1884), p. xiii, the first volume of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* was also published in the same year. However, the date given on the title page is 1883; in fact, following objections from a number of Sinhalese scholars to Richard Morris’s (1833–1894) practice of introducing unwarranted abbreviations into the text (see *JPTS* (1883), p. xii), this volume was withdrawn and a revised one was published in 1885.

⁵On the life of the founder see Ananda Wickremeratne, *The Genesis of an Orientalist: Thomas William Rhys Davids and Buddhism in Sri Lanka* (Delhi, 1985), reviewed by Charles Hallisey, *JAOS* 107 (1987), pp. 515–16; and C.A.F. Rhys Davids, “The Passing of the Founder”, *JPTS* 1920–1923, pp. 1–21, with a portrait of T.W. Rhys Davids and the signatures of the then members of council (p. 21).

member of the board in *JPTS* 1907/8) from 1923 until 1942. Consequently, the Society was dominated for the first 61 years — almost half of its existence — by the Rhys Davids family.

Besides T.W. Rhys Davids there were four board members in the beginning: Viggo Fausbøll,⁶ Richard Morris (1833–1894), Hermann Oldenberg and Émile Senart (1847–1928), who may have been the longest-ever serving officer with forty-seven years of standing from 1881 until his death.

The early development of the PTS can be traced rather easily as long as the Journal appeared more or less regularly until 1927,⁷ because annual reports were printed and so were the names of the members of the board irregularly from time to time. This was not continued when the new series of the Journal started to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the Society.⁸

The new series of the Journal began under the editorship of K.R. Norman, who continued as editor until Vol. XX (1994) and served as President of the Society until 30 September 1994, following his election on 23 June 1981, when he succeeded Isaline Blew Horner (1896–1981), President from 1959 to 1981; William Stede (1882–1952), President from 1950 to 1958; William Henry Denham Rouse (1863–1950), President from 1942–1950 and immediate successor to the Rhys Davids family. Successors to K.R. Norman are Richard Francis Gombrich from

⁶After his death, Fausbøll was succeeded by Dines Andersen (1861–1940).

⁷In the first series there are issues for the years 1882, 1883, 1884 (Vol. I of the reprint); 1885, 1886, 1887 (Vol. II); 1888, 1889 (Vol. III); 1890, 1891/93, 1894/96 (Vol. IV); 1897/1901, 1902/3, 1904/5, 1906/7 (Vol. V); 1908, 1909, 1910/12 (Vol. VI); 1913/14, 1915/16, 1917/19, 1920/23 (Vol. VII); 1924/27 (Vol. VIII). The reasons for the interruption of the Journal until 1981, when Vol. IX was published, are unknown. — An index to *JPTS* 1882–1927 by P.D. Ratnatunga was published in 1973 and is continued in *JPTS* XXVIII 2006, pp. 177–83.

⁸On the first century of the Society, cf. three articles by K.R. Norman, “The Pali Text Society 1881–1981”, *The Middle Way*, 56/2 (1981), pp. 71–75 (= *Collected Papers* II (1991), pp. 194–99); cf. “The Pali Text Society: 1981–1986”, *Jagajjoti* 1986, pp. 4–8 [= *Collected Papers* III (1982), p. 108–14]; and “Pāli Studies in the West: Present State and Future Tasks”, *Religion* 24 (1994), pp. 165–72; “The present state of Pāli studies, and future tasks”, *Memoirs of the Chūō Academic Research Institute* 23 (1994), pp. 1–19 (= *Collected Papers* VI (1996), pp. 68–87).

30 September 1994 to 13 September 2002, Lance Selwyn Cousins from 13 September 2002 to 19 September 2003, and Rupert Mark Lovell Gethin since 19 September 2003.

Looking back at the past twenty-five years the major change in the life of the Society was effected by the unbelievably generous legacy by I.B. Horner, which enabled the Pali Text Society overnight to promote Pāli studies in a completely new way by financing projects and by giving grants to young Pāli scholars. Biennial I.B. Horner Lectures have been held since 1986 in memory of the donor.⁹

An important result of this new potential was the immediate plan of a revision of the *Pāli-English Dictionary (PED)* published by the Pali Text Society in 1925, originally envisaged by K.R. Norman himself, who, however, made only slow progress due to his many other commitments. Therefore, Margaret Cone was employed from 1 October 1984 first as Research Assistant and then (from 1992) as Assistant Director of Research in Pali Lexicography attached to the Faculty of Oriental Studies at the University of Cambridge.¹⁰ The original plan of a mere revision of the dictionary was soon abandoned and the first part of a much larger work appeared in 2001 under the title *A Dictionary of Pāli* covering the entries *a – khyāti*.¹¹

Moreover, the PTS added completely new areas to its activities during the past quarter of a century. In 1994 the first medical text was published, the *Bhesajjamañjūsā* (Chapters 1–18), followed in 2002 by a

⁹This was resolved during the council meeting of 18 March 1986. The I.B. Horner lectures are regularly listed in the Society's Journal, cf. *JPTS* XXVIII (2006), p. 175.

¹⁰According to the minutes of the council meetings on 25 September 1984 and 25 April 1985. — It had been planned earlier during the council meeting on 3 April 1984 “to employ an editorial secretary to assist the President by working half-time on the Dictionary and half-time on copy-editing etc.”

¹¹Reviewed by K.R. Norman, *Buddhist Studies Review*, 18/2 (2001), pp. 252–53 and Th. Oberlies, *OLZ* 94. 2004, columns 491–95. — On the history of Pāli lexicography cf. K.R. Norman, “A Report on the Pāli Dictionaries”, *Buddhist Studies / Bukkyō Kenkyū* 15 (1985), pp. 145–52 and O.v. Hinüber, “The Critical Pāli Dictionary: History and Prospects”, *Lexicography in the Indian and Buddhist Cultural Field* (Proceedings of the Conference at the University of Strasburg, 25–27 April 1996) *Studia Tibetica: Quellen und Studien zur tibetischen Lexikographie*, Band IV (München, 1998), pp. 65–73.

translation, both by Jinadasa Liyanaratne. Very recently in 2005, the PTS ventured into another new field, the translation of Pāli texts into languages other than English by Danièle Masset *Stances des Therī* and by Nyānaponika *Darlegung der Bedeutung* (Atthasālinī).

Since 1981 publications of texts and translations from South East Asia have been incorporated into the program beginning with Heinz Bechert (1932–2005) and Heinz Braun, *Pāli Nīti Texts of Burma* in 1981. In the same year Paññāsajātaka (Zimmè Jātaka), Vols. I and II (1983), edited by Padmanabh Shrivarma Jaini, was published and later accompanied by two volumes of translation in 1985/6. Other texts followed such as the Lokaneyyappakaraṇa (1986) and the Paṭhamasambodhi (2003), edited from a manuscript prepared by George Cœdès (1886–1969) and rediscovered in the Archives of the École française d’Extrême-Orient by Jacqueline Filliozat. The Jinakālamālā Index (1994) by Hans Penth, indispensable for the study of earlier northern Thai history, was a major step in the publication of ancillary literature for the understanding of Pāli literature as was the huge catalogue on Sinhalese Manuscripts in the Nevill Collection.¹²

Although very modestly listed under “ancillary works” the monumental *Collected Papers*¹³ by K.R. Norman may be considered as one of the outstanding publications of the PTS, as a standard work of reference not only for Pāli studies, linguistic or literary, but, at the same time, also for Jainism. Together with the monograph *A Philological Approach to Buddhism* (based on a series of lectures delivered at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, when he was the Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai Visiting Professor in 1994, and reprinted by the PTS only recently in 2006 in a corrected version), the *Collected Papers* bear ample witness to the rich fruits of the scholarly life of K.R. Norman devoted to middle Indian studies which was honoured by his election as a Fellow of the British Academy in 1985 and by a felicitation volume at the time of his retirement from the professorship in Indian Studies at the University of Cambridge on 30 September

¹²Published jointly with the British Library, where the collection is kept, in seven volumes between 1987 and 1995.

¹³Vols. I (1990), II (1991), III (1992), IV (1993), V (1994), VI (1996), VII (2001), VIII (2007); index I–VII by A. Rook, *JPTS* XXVI (2000), pp. 169–231.

1992.¹⁴ Almost simultaneously K.R. Norman withdrew from the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*, which he had edited very successfully from 1979 to 1990 thus covering the second half of volume II. It is certainly not easy to find another set of contributions to Pāli in size and importance equal to all these lifelong efforts and achievements.

This induced the Pali Text Society to mark the eightieth birthday of K.R. Norman by a token of recognition for his work as scholar and as President of the Society, to whose life he contributed in many ways over many decades, in particular after its hundredth anniversary, by voluminous and rich publications, sound advice, and efficient leadership.

Freiburg, Tuesday, 7 August 2007

Oskar von Hinüber

¹⁴*IJ* 35 (1992), parts 2/3, pp. 81–272 with a bibliography only of books published by K.R. Norman. Therefore, a complete bibliography remains an urgent desideratum.

Stretching the Vinaya Rules and Getting Away with It*

Eleventh I.B. Horner Memorial Lecture, 2005

1. Introduction

One central point of interest in I.B. Horner's fields of research was Buddhist law. She was the first to translate the Pāli version of the complete Buddhist law code (Vinaya-piṭaka) into a European language.¹ In this eleventh I.B. Horner Memorial Lecture some ideas about the perennial question of how to stretch the Vinaya rules and get away with it are examined. The first part centres on the nature of Buddhist law. It is followed by an overview of the legal literature of the Theravāda tradition (as far as it is relevant to the final part), with special attention to the question of how much authority is attributed to various texts. The final part will deal with two methods for stretching the Vinaya rules.²

*This article is an outcome of my work on "Die in der Vajirabuddhi-ṭikā zitierten Gaṇṭhipadas: ein annotierter Zitatencatalog zur Geschichte der Rechtssentwicklung bei den Theravādin" (The Gaṇṭhipadas quoted in the Vajirabuddhi-ṭikā: an annotated catalogue of quotations concerning the history of the legal development of the Theravādins) at the Institute for Indology, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, promoted by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Reinhold Grünendahl read an earlier version of this article and made many suggestions and improvements, Anne Peters supplied a number of references to PTS editions not accessible to me, Peter Jackson in proofreading the text made some further corrections and suggestions, and William Pruitt corrected the remaining mistakes and completed the last missing references. I wish to express my gratitude to them for their help.

¹She only left out passages which seemed to her to be too rude for Westerners. See Kieffer-Pülz 2001.

²I will not deal here with issues not covered by existing law. Such cases have to be handled according to the guidelines (*mahāpadesa*) handed down in the Khandhaka portion of the Vinaya, according to which new cases have to be decided in analogy to, and avoiding conflict with, existing prescriptions (Vin I 250,31–51,6; *BD* IV 347). The commentarial tradition of the fourth or fifth century developed this method systematically (Sp I 230,21–33,35 ad Vin III

1.1 The Character of Buddhist Law

A fully ordained Buddhist monk (*bhikkhu*) or nun (*bhikkhuni*) has to comply with an abundance of rules governing almost every aspect of daily life. These rules are laid down in the Buddhist law code, the Vinaya-piṭaka. Of the various Buddhist schools that developed during the long history of Buddhism, many had a Vinaya of their own. I will confine myself here to the Vinaya of the Theravāda, or, more specifically, of the Mahāvihāra school, handed down in the Middle Indic language Pāli. Before this text was written down in Sri Lanka in the first century B.C., it was transmitted orally. Thus we can say that the Vinaya developed over a period of around four hundred years before it took its final shape. It is divided into three parts: (1) the Suttavibhaṅga with the 227 rules constituting the Pātimokkha, to be recited every fortnight, as the main part, (2) the Khandhakas containing the rules for administrative affairs of the Buddhist community (*saṅgha*), and (3) the Parivāra, a later systematization of the rules. This law code is still authoritative for present-day Theravāda monks in South and Southeast Asia.

During the Buddha's lifetime and, in some respects, right up to the time when the Vinaya-piṭaka was fixed in writing, Buddhist law was dynamic. There are various indications of this. To begin with, in some cases the Vinaya provides several formulas for one and the same ceremony, with layer added upon layer and the most recent formula replacing the older ones.³ Then we have various Pātimokkha prescriptions (*paññatti*) modified by several supplementary prescriptions (*anupaññatti*), no less than seven in one case.⁴ Furthermore, we have relaxing of restrictions for a number of rules for the borderlands.⁵ Finally, the youngest part of the Vinaya, the Parivāra, occasionally

23,37, (*BD I 42*)). Vjb adds many examples for the different cases (Vjb 88,2–90,7).

³See for instance the case of higher ordination, n. 18.

⁴Pāc 32 Mk, Vin IV 71,18–75,23 (*BD II 306–14*).

⁵Von Hinüber 2000, p. 144.

deals with subjects not spoken of in the rest of the Vinaya.⁶ However, with the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha, and, at last, with the writing down of the Vinaya, the dynamism of Buddhist law gradually came to an end, with hardly any adaptations being made to new circumstances thereafter. Even though the Buddha himself had allowed for doing away with minor rules, uncertainty as to what should be considered a minor rule prevented the monks from changing the rules at all.⁷ Now, once the wording of the law is considered fixed or even sacrosanct, the only way left to adapt it to unforeseen circumstances is to interpret it in a different manner.⁸

1.2 A sketch of the Vinaya commentaries

The practical relevance of Buddhist law for the Buddhist community led to a multitude of commentaries, not only on the Vinaya, but also on the Pātimokkha which, for practical reasons, was handed down as a separate text alongside the Vinaya. The authority of these texts is also reflected in the constant production of law handbooks and related commentaries. More than twenty complete law commentaries written in Pāli up to the nineteenth century have come down to us. But the number must have been much higher, as is evident from the many lost commentaries quoted in the existing ones. Leaving aside the oldest commentary, the Suttavibhaṅga, the first commentary known to us is the now lost Sihaḷaṭṭhakathā under which designation several commentaries are subsumed, among them the Mahāpaccarī and Kurundī, written down, probably together with the canon, in Sri Lanka as early as the

⁶The mention of an *atikhuddakā sīmā* presupposes a definition of the smallest measure of a *sīmā*, not given explicitly in the Vinaya (Kieffer-Pülz 1992, p. 136, § 11.2.1); a *khaṇḍanimitta* presupposes a definition of the marks first, which also is not given (Kieffer-Pülz 1992, p. 137, § 11.2.3).

⁷Vin II 287,29ff. (BD V 398ff.). See von Hinüber 1995, p. 14.

⁸We find a very early example of this method in an old word-by-word commentary on the rules of the Pātimokkha that has been incorporated in the Suttavibhaṅga.

first century B.C.⁹ How far they date back we do not know, and we probably never will.¹⁰ These early commentaries served as sources for the great commentaries, the so-called *aṭṭhakathā* literature of the fourth and fifth centuries, i.e., the *Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī*, a commentary on the *Pātimokkha*, and the *Samantapāsādikā*, which covers the entire *Vinaya*. After the fifth century, another category of commentaries developed, the so-called *gaṇṭhipadas*, written in Pāli, Sinhalese, and possibly other languages as well. Some of them still circulate in printed editions, many others are preserved in manuscript form, but most are now lost, apart from the passages quoted from them in other *gaṇṭhipadas* or in the sub-commentaries, that is the *ṭīkā*s, written mainly in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. These are followed by Pāli commentaries covering the entire *Vinaya* or parts of it, and commentaries on *Vinaya* handbooks.¹¹

1.3 The authority of legal texts

Now what about the authority of these legal texts from the perspective of the individual Buddhist monk? Every single monk has to make his own decision as to the authority he attributes to a certain text. This equally holds true for the authors of the legal texts just mentioned, who were also monks. My work on the legal literature has led me to the

⁹Mhv 33,100–101: *piṭakattayapāliṃ ca tassā aṭṭhakathaṃ pi ca mukhapāṭhena ānesuṃ pubbe bhikkhū mahāmatī; hāniṃ disvāna sattānaṃ tadā bhikkhū samāgatā ciraṭṭhitatthaṃ dhammassa potthakesu likhāpayuṃ*. “The text of the three *piṭakas* and the *aṭṭhakathā* thereon did the most wise *bhikkhus* hand down in former times orally, but since they saw that the people were falling away [from religion] the *bhikkhus* came together, and in order that the true doctrine might endure, they wrote them down in books.” [Translation by W. Geiger, Mhv (transl.), p. 237].

¹⁰See von Hinüber 1996, § 210.

¹¹One was written in Northern Thailand in the fifteenth century, and there are two from Burma written in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries respectively. Furthermore, we have collections of judgements pronounced by various *saṅgharājas* and associated jurists on a range of legal topics, as well as epistolary correspondence between monks from various countries discussing questions of Buddhist law.

conclusion that the authority of the Vinaya is acknowledged by almost all authors. By contrast, statements of the so-called *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā* were considered open for discussion in all later commentaries, which do not hesitate to reject them or even declare them irrelevant on account of their supposedly defective or missing argumentation.¹² However, there are also attempts to reconcile what are seen as inner contradictions of the *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā*. The teachings of the Vinaya and *aṭṭhakathās* of the fourth and fifth centuries are generally accepted as authoritative by the *gaṇṭhipada* commentaries and the *ṭīkā*s, whereas the *ṭīkā*s frequently reject opinions expressed in the *gaṇṭhipadas*, usually without even considering it necessary to discuss them.

From more recent times we have some explicit statements of monks regarding the authority they attach to certain law texts. Vajirañāṇa Makuṭa, perhaps better known as King Mongkut, the founder of the Dhammayuttika-Nikāya in nineteenth-century Thailand, explained in a letter written in 1844 to a Sinhalese monk that a thorough investigation of a topic has to start from the canonical writings, i.e., the Vinaya, and that it should be possible to reach a solution on the basis of this material. This refers to the Thai practice of the *visuṃgāmasīmā*, but nevertheless shows the author's general attitude.¹³

At the beginning of the twentieth century, King Mongkut's son, the later *saṅgharāja*, Vajirañāṇavararasa, a member of the Dhammayuttika-Nikāya, declared that the Vinaya showed clear signs of accretion over a

¹²For instance the *Anugaṇṭhipada* or the *Vajirabuddhi-ṭīkā* on the opinion of *keci* (Vjb 142,5–10 ad Sp II 376,19–20 ad Vin III 58,22–24 [Pār 2 Mk]).

¹³*Treatise* (S^{e1} XXXIII; S^{e2} IX): *aṭṭhakathā hi Pālīnaṃ saṅgītikālatō pacchā katā. dhammasaṅgāhakehi ca pāḷhasaṅgītiṃ niṭṭhāpentehi sanniṭṭhānaṃ katam: ettakehi pāḷhehi paṭipannakā sakkhissanti taṃ taṃ vinayalakkhaṇaṃ nātvā anupaṭipajjitun ti.* “For the *aṭṭhakathā* was made after the period of the [first] common recitation (i.e., council) of the [canonical] texts. And the compilers of the Dhamma, who carried out that common recitation of the texts, made the decision: With so many texts [those] who have entered upon the Path, knowing this and that definition of the Vinaya, will be able to follow the practice.”

long period of time, and that therefore its words should not be followed blindly.¹⁴

As these two more recent statements show, a monk's opinion regarding the authority of a given text is certainly influenced by his adherence to a specific school, sub-school or local branch thereof, but the decisive factor is his own judgement. The influence of the local tradition — transmitted only orally in some cases¹⁵ — is difficult to determine.

1.4 Interpreting the rules

The modern Buddhist monk is confronted with manifold interpretations of Vinaya prescriptions and definitions of terms used therein, laid down in the multitude of commentaries written over a period of more than 2,000 years, which produced an ever finer spun texture of regulations. Hand in hand with the increasing density of regulations, the potential for legal loopholes increased as well because each case or topic which was not explicitly covered by these interpretations and definitions could be seen as falling outside the scope of the respective prescription. This opened up considerable possibilities for stretching the rules, which for the most part resulted in a relaxation of the law. In the commentaries of the fourth and fifth centuries we observe the tendency to loosen the rules by applying them only to those groups that visibly fall under the

¹⁴In the Vinaya itself which was handed down for a long time both orally and by writing, differences of understanding naturally have crept in at the time when the Ācariyas who understood incorrectly, wrote it down" (*Entrance to the Vinaya* I, p. xii). "My habit is not to believe all the words which are found in the scriptures, but rather believing the reasonable words; moreover, we have learned the history of the sacred books, as outlined above, so that we should not grasp them as our only source. The basis of my writing is that which is found to be reasonable and this should be taken as credible evidence, while what is defective should be opposed whether coming from the Pāli or from the Aṭṭhakathā" (*Entrance to the Vinaya* I, p. xiv).

¹⁵In the case of the Dhammayuttika-Nikāya, we know from Vajirañāṇavarorasa that the daily practice of this Nikāya, already in continuous use for sixty years at that time, was handed down exclusively by oral transmission from teacher to pupil (*Entrance to the Vinaya* I, p. x).

category explicitly defined in the respective prescription. For example, the prohibition to ordain people with certain skin diseases was interpreted in such a way that it applied only to those with increasing and visible symptoms, while as long as the affected parts of the skin were decreasing and hidden under the robe the candidate could be ordained.¹⁶

In Buddhism there is no ecclesiastical high court whose decisions are binding for the entire Buddhist community. Therefore, nobody can be forced to accept a certain interpretation or doctrine. This leaves ample space for conflicting doctrines developing and existing side by side. What is a transgression of a Vinaya rule in the eyes of one group may be considered legally acceptable by another.

2. Examples of stretching the rule

2.1 Ordination

The first, and most common, method of stretching rules is to interpret a term used in a Vinaya prescription in such a way that its area of application is reduced to certain sections of the former definition — a group of people or things, for example — while other sections are conveniently counted out. The example I have chosen to illustrate this method is the prohibition against ordaining a slave (*dāsa*) as a novice.

As is well known, in the beginning the Buddha himself performed the ordination of new members to the Buddhist community. Later on, he delegated the office of ordination to monks. At that time, no distinction between novitiate and monkhood was made.¹⁷ Finally, with the introduction of specific ceremonies for the ordination of novices (*pabbajjā*), and the ordination of monks (*upasampadā*), the ordination of a monk was performed in a legal procedure consisting of a motion,

¹⁶Sp V 995,15ff. ad Vin I 71,32–73,20 (BD IV 89ff.).

¹⁷The Buddha used the *ehi-bhikkhu* formula, Vin I 12,22–25, 35–13,1 (BD IV 18f.). With the delegation of the office of ordination to monks, the formula used was modified. From then on, officiating monks had to recite the threefold-refuge formula three times, Vin I 22,8–23 (BD IV 30).

three proclamations and a resolution (*ñatticatutthakamma*). The development now was by no means stopped. The Theravāda Vinaya contains three formulas for the *ñatticatuttha* procedure. The second one adds the formal request of the candidate to be given the higher ordination;¹⁸ the third one clears the candidate of all obstacles that might have prevented his ordination as a monk. The list of possible impediments contains fifteen obstacles.¹⁹ The candidate for ordination as a monk has to be a human being, male, a free man (*bhujissa*), free from debt (*anaṇa*), and not in a king's service (*rājabhāṭa*); he has to have his parents' permission; he has to be at least twenty years old; he has to own robes and a begging bowl; he should not suffer from leprosy (*kuṭṭha*), boils (*gaṇḍa*), eczema (*kilāsa*), consumption (*sosa*) or epilepsy (*apamāra*); and he should know his own name and that of his preceptor (*upajjhāya*).²⁰

From the number of formulas handed down in the Theravāda Vinaya we can infer that the definition of these impediments is a later development. However, with its compilation the number of obstacles was by no means fixed. The Vinaya has a long chapter listing eleven persons unqualified for ordination as a monk.²¹

¹⁸Vin I 56,6–9; 57,10–25; 95,16–34 (*BD IV* 72, 73, 123). Three formulas are given, with each formula being more elaborate than the preceding one. For the ordination of novices the threefold-refuge formula previously used for ordaining monks was adapted.

¹⁹Other schools have much more (the *Mūlasarvāstivādins* 80; Härtel 1956, pp. 78ff.), which shows that these lists were constantly changing. For changes within the Theravāda tradition, the *Katikāvatas* are instructive; see Ratnapāla 1971, pp. 159f., §§ 101f.; cf. pp. 255ff.

²⁰Vin I 93,24–32 (*BD IV* 120).

²¹These include the so-called eunuch (*paṇḍaka*), Vin I 85,27–86,9 (*BD IV* 108f.); one who gained access to the community by theft (*theyyasamvāsaka*), Vin I 86,10–33 (*BD IV* 109f.); one having gone over to another sect (*tīthiyapakkantaka*), Vin I 86,33–35 (*BD IV* 110); an animal (*tiracchānagata*), Vin I 86,36–88,3 (*BD IV* 110f.); a matricide (*mātughātaka*), a patricide (*pitughātaka*), a murderer of a perfected one (*arahantaghātaka*), a seducer of nuns (*bhikkhunīdūsaka*), one splitting the saṅgha (*samghabhedaka*), one who

In addition to the impediments for higher ordination and to the individuals unqualified for it, the Vinaya also lists impediments for ordination as a novice, i.e., for *pabbajjā*. Some of these are identical with those for higher ordination, i.e., suffering from one of the five diseases,²² being in a king's service (*rājabhaṭṭa*),²³ being a debtor (*ināyika*),²⁴ and being a slave (*dāsa*).²⁵ Other impediments, however, are exclusively mentioned in the context of lower ordination, such as falling under various categories of publicly known thieves.²⁶ Another section of the Vinaya lists thirty-two examples in which lower ordination should not be given. This passage includes persons with mutilations resulting from criminal activities (e.g., severed hands) and persons with impairments due to diseases.²⁷

sheds a Tathāgata's blood (*lohituppādaka*), and a hermaphrodite (*ubhatovyañjanaka*), Vin I 88,4–89,21 (*BD IV 112ff.*).

²²Vin I 73,18–20 (*BD IV 91*) *na bhikkhave pañcahi ābādhehi phuṭṭho pabbājetabbo. yo pabbājeyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā ti*. The five illnesses are listed Vin I 71,33–34 (*BD IV 89*): *kuṭṭhaṃ gaṇḍo kilāso soso apamāro*, Sp V 995,15–18.

²³Vin I 74,24–25 (*BD IV 92*); Sp V 996,20–97. List of impediments for *upasampadā*, Vin I 93,24–32 (*BD IV 120*); Sp does not comment on it.

²⁴Vin I 76,18–19 (*BD IV 95*); Sp V 999,9–1000,17.

²⁵Vin I 76,26–27 (*BD IV 95f.*); Sp V 1000,19–1002,16.

²⁶On a thief wearing an emblem (*dhajabaddha* (°*bandha*) *cora*), Vin I 74,34–35 (*BD IV 93*); Sp V 997,10ff.; on a thief broken out of jail (*kārabhedaka cora*), Vin I 75,15–17 (*BD IV 94*); Sp V 997,26–98,17; on a thief against whom a warrant has been taken out (*likhitaka cora*), Vin I 75,27–28 (*BD IV 94*); Sp V 998,17–24; on one having been scourged as punishment (*kasāhata katadaṇḍakamma*), Vin I 75,33–35 (*BD IV 95*), Sp V 998,24–99,1; and on one having been branded as punishment (*lakkhaṇāhata katadaṇḍakamma*), Vin I 76,5–7 (*BD IV 95*); Sp V 999,2–9.

²⁷Vin I 91,7–11 (*BD IV 115f.*); Sp V 1026,11–31,24. Persons with severed or mutilated hands, feet, ears, noses, fingers, nails, or tendons, with hands like a snake's hood (*phaṇahatthaka*; see *BD IV 116*, n. 2), a hunchback (*khujja*), dwarfs (*vāmana*), persons with a goitre (*galagaṇḍi*), again three types of thieves (*lakkhaṇāhata*, *kasāhata*, and *likhitaka*, see n. 26); persons with elephantiasis (*sipadi*), with a serious illness (*pāparogī*), persons who disgrace an assembly (*parisadūsaka*, see *BD IV 116* by some deformity); those who are one-eyed (*kāṇa*), crippled (*kuṇi*), lame (*khañja*), partly paralysed (*pakkha-*

Of the eight impediments the Vinaya lists for lower as well as higher ordination, I would now like to take a closer look at the case of slaves or, more generally, men whose freedom is confined in one way or another. With regard to higher ordination, it is said that the candidate has to be a free man (*bhujissa*),²⁸ which categorically excludes slaves, bondsmen, and others. By contrast, the restrictions imposed on lower ordination are more explicit in that they exclude a slave (*dāsa*) from *pabbajjā*, while other types of bondage are not mentioned.

Before I come to the rules themselves, allow me to say a few words about the relationship between the Buddhist community and slaves.

2.1.1 Slaves and the Buddhist community

Although the possession, usage, and donation of slaves by kings, merchants, and others seems to have been widespread in the society in which the Mahāvihāra Vinaya took shape,²⁹ the Vinaya mentions slaves

hata), whose movements are destroyed (*chinna-iriyāpatha*), who are weak of age (*jaradubbala*), blind (*andha*), dumb (*mūga*) or deaf (*badhira*).

After the introduction of a novice's ordination, it was obligatory to receive the ordination as a novice before being ordained as a monk, it is therefore to be supposed that the obstacles for novices were also valid for monks.

²⁸Interestingly, the question in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition is *mā asi dāsaś*, "You are not a slave?", and an additional question is *mā vikrītaś* (Tib. *btsoñs-pa ma yin nam*), "You have not been sold?"; see Härtel 1956, pp. 78–79.

²⁹See for instance the story of the householder Meṇḍaka who, in due succession, shows his own psychic power, that of his wife, son, daughter-in-law, and that of his slave (Vin I 241,33, 34), or the story of Jīvaka Komārabhacca, where a merchant's wife inhaled ghee through her nose, spat it out through her mouth and ordered a slave-woman (*dāsī*) to take it up with cotton (Vin I 271,35). Later we are told that this ghee was used again for rubbing the feet of slaves or labourers (*dāsānaṃ vā kammakarānaṃ vā pādabbhañjanaṃ*) or for pouring into a lamp (Vin I 272,7–8). When the merchant's wife was cured, Jīvaka received money from several persons, but from the husband he received in addition a male and a female slave and a horse chariot (Vin I 272,16). Another merchant promises Jīvaka to become his slave himself if he is cured (Vin I 274,9 ; 275,17, 18). Many references are to be found in the Jātakas, see Ray 1986, pp. 96f.

only rarely in connection with the Buddhist saṅgha or its ordained members. The term slave is defined as comprising three types: (1) one born as a slave, (2) one bought for money, and (3) a captive turned into a slave.³⁰ In other parts of the canon, four types are distinguished, the three just mentioned and a person who decided to become a slave himself.³¹

In one prescription the behaviour of nuns is criticized, when they, in obvious imitation of the society around them, caused male and female labourers (*kammakara kammakarī*), and male and female slaves (*dāsa dāsī*) to wait upon them (*upaṭṭhāpeti*).³² As a result, this behaviour was prohibited. However, the respective rule does not forbid the acceptance of slaves by the saṅgha, or an individual monk or nun.³³

³⁰Vin IV 224.25–28 [Sgh I N] (*BD* III 179); Vin IV 224.33; Geiger 1986, § 29, p. 375, divides the third type, *karamarānīta*, into two groups, (1) those made prisoners in war (*karamarā*), and those carried off by force (*ānīta*), but see *DOP* s.v. *karamarānīta*. Four types are listed in Nidd I 11.8–11 (see n. 31). Manusmṛti (VIII.415) and Arthaśāstra (III.13) give seven and nine classes of slaves respectively: (1) those captured in war, (2) those who serve for their food, (3) those born in the house, (4) those who are bought, (5) those who are given, (6) those who are inherited from ancestors, and (7) those enslaved by way of punishment. The Arthaśāstra adds two more: those who have either mortgaged or sold themselves.

³¹Nidd I 11.8–10: *dāsā ti cattāro dāsā: antojātako dāso, dhanakkītako dāso, sāmaṇ vā dāsavisayaṇ upeti, akāmakko vā dāsavisayaṇ upeti.*

³²For this meaning of *upaṭṭhāpeti* see *CPD* s.v. *upaṭṭhāpeti*, 1. Vin II 267.10 (see n. 33) (*BD* V 370: “they kept slaves, they kept slave women”, etc., is somewhat misleading; see, however, *BD* V 370, n. 6).

³³Vin II 267.5–23 (*BD* V 370): *chabbaggiyā bhikkhuniyo ... dāsaṇ upaṭṭhāpentī, dāsiṇ upaṭṭhāpentī ... na dāso upaṭṭhāpetabbo, na dāsī upaṭṭhāpetabbā.* “The six [bad] nuns caused a slave to wait upon [them], caused a female slave to wait upon [them] ... a slave may not be made to wait upon [oneself], a female slave may not be made to wait upon [oneself].” Sp VI 1293.28–30: *dāsaṇ upaṭṭhāpentī ti dāsaṇ gahetvā tena attano veyyāvaccamaṇ kārentī. dāsī-ādīsu pi es’ eva nayo.* “**They caused a slave to wait upon [them means]:** Having taken a slave they made him carry out their own housework. Also in the case of female slaves, etc., exactly this [is] the method.”

This is confirmed by the chapter on the rains retreat, which mentions the impending bestowal of a male or female slave and the allowance to interrupt the rains retreat in avoidance of such offers if they were considered incompatible with the religious life of a fully ordained person.³⁴ An unconsenting monk obviously did not have the possibility to simply reject them.³⁵

The Vinaya-piṭaka does not contain a prescription which explicitly forbids the acceptance of slaves.³⁶ However, the Sutta-piṭaka states that the Buddha himself did not accept male and female slaves.³⁷ Based on this regulation, the Vinaya *ṭikās* (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) finally prohibit the acceptance of slaves. The Sāratthadīpanī interprets this as a prohibition for monks to accept slaves for their own use,³⁸ whereas the

The eighth Prakīrṇaka of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins quoted by Schopen as a proof that the personal possession of *ārāṃikas* was forbidden by at least some Indian Vinayas (Schopen 1994B, p. 162; taken for granted by Yamagiwa 2002:365, n. 5), in fact does not deal with the possession of *ārāṃikas*, but with their usage. What is forbidden in this rule is to cause an *ārāṃikī*, a *ceṭī*, a *kalpiya-kārī* to wait upon (*upasthāpayati*) [oneself]. This could also be done when these persons belonged to the saṅgha, and thus the transgression would be that one used *ārāṃikas* for one's own affairs and not for the saṅgha's or the monastery's. Therefore this Prakīrṇaka rule tallies with the wording of the rule above given from the Mahāvihāra Vinaya, except that it does not use the term slave.

³⁴Vin I 150,6–23 (BD IV 198): *dāsaṃ vā te demī, dāsiṃ vā te demī*.

³⁵Such a rejection would deprive the donor of the merit which results from his donation, and this presumably could not be an acceptable behaviour for a monk.

³⁶For further comments on slaves with respect to monasteries, see Geiger 1986, § 187, Gunawardana 1979, pp. 97ff.

³⁷This attitude is codified in a set of rules called the minor *silā* (*cūlasīla*), found in the Brahmajāla-sutta and elsewhere, D I 5,14f.: *dāsidāsapatiḅgahaṇā paṭivirato samaṇo Gotamo*; D I 64,24; M I 180,12; 268,24, etc.: *dāsidāsapatiḅgahaṇā paṭivirato hoti*.

³⁸Sp-ṭ II 330,22–24: *dāsaṃ attano atthāya sādīyantassa pi dukkaṭam eva dāsidāsapatiḅgahaṇā paṭivirato hotī ti* (D I 5,14f.) *vacanato*. “Even for one who accepts a slave for his own use only an [offence] of wrong doing [arises]

Vimativinodanī-tīkā declares that the *aṭṭhakathās* reject the acceptance of slaves based on this regulation, thus relating this statement to the designation with which a slave may be accepted (see below).³⁹ That this still was a question in later times is shown by the *Katikāvatas*.⁴⁰

The commentaries of the fourth and fifth centuries provide for the acceptance of slaves by the Buddhist community, albeit on certain conditions. For instance, slaves — even if designated as *dāsa/dāsi* — may be accepted by the saṅgha if they are part of the donation of a palace, in which case they are counted among its inventory stock.⁴¹ Furthermore, the saṅgha is explicitly allowed to accept a dyer-slave (*rajakadāsa*) and a weaver-slave (*pesakāradāsa*), provided they are

on account of the [authoritative] statement [of the Sutta texts]: ‘**he abstains from the acceptance of male and female slaves**’.”

³⁹Vmv I 272.9–11 = Pālim-ñ I 65.16–19: *evaṃ yācato aññātakaviññattidukkaṭṭaṇ c’ eva dāsapaṭiggahaṇadukkaṭṭaṇ ca hoti dāsīdāsapaṭiggahaṇā paṭivirato hotī ti* (D I 5.14f.) *vacanaṃ nissāya aṭṭhakathāsu paṭikkhattatā*. “For one begging in that way there arises [an offence of] wrong doing for asking someone not related as well as [an offence of] wrong doing in case of the acceptance of a male slave because [it] has been rejected in the *aṭṭhakathās* based on the [authoritative] statement [of the Sutta texts]: ‘**he abstains from accepting male and female slaves**’.”

⁴⁰The Dambadenikatikāvata (twelfth or thirteenth century) states that in accepting male and female slaves (*dās-das*, v.l. *dāsi dās*) “a well-disciplined, wise and modest *bhikkhu* should be [first] consulted and those [slaves, etc.] should be accepted in the manner indicated by him” (Ratnapāla 1971, pp. 58, 153, § 68). The *Kīrtiśrīrājasīmha-Katikāvata* I (eighteenth century) declares that monks should not treat relatives or non-relatives with proper or improper possessions, such as ... [among others] male and female slaves (*dāsi-dāsa*, v.l. *dāsi-das*; see Ratnapāla 1971, pp. 99, 169, § 103). In a similar way it is expressed without the term *dāsa* being used in the *Kīrtiśrīrājasīmha-katikāvata* II (eighteenth century) with respect to people living in villages owned by the *Vihāra* (Ratnapāla 1971, pp. 109, 175, § 11).

⁴¹Sp VI 1236.30–37.1 [ad Vin II 169.29]: *pāsādassa dāsīdāsakhattavathu-gomahisaṃ demā ti vadanti, paṭekkaṃ gahaṇakiccaṃ natthi. pāsāde paṭiggahite paṭiggahitaṃ eva hoti*. “[If] they say: ‘We give female and male slaves, fields, grounds, cows and bulls for the *pāsāda*’, there is not an obligation of a separate acceptance. When the *pāsāda* is accepted, [this] is in fact accepted.” This was noted already by von Hinüber 2000, p. 147.

presented under the designation of *ārāmika*.⁴² In the commentaries on the Sutta-piṭaka and the Vinaya-piṭaka the rule is extended to all slaves (*dāsa*) labelled as *ārāmika*, one who belongs to the *ārāma*, i.e., the monastery, as *kappiyakāraka*, legalizer, or as *veyyāvaccakara*, steward, attendant.⁴³ All three terms designate persons who carry out all sorts of

⁴²Vin-vn, v. 665; Sp III 683,17–18, see below, n. 43.

⁴³Commentaries on the Sutta-piṭaka (Sv I 78,19; Ps II 209,30ff.; Spk III 304,32ff.; Mp III 192,1–3; etc.: *dāsidāsapaṭiggahaṇā ti ettha dāsidāsavasen' eva tesam paṭiggahaṇam na vaṭṭati. kappiyakāraṇam* (v.l. *kappiyakārakaṇam*) *dammī, ārāmikaṇam dammī ti evaṇ vutte pana vaṭṭati*. Sp adds a third term, *veyyāvaccakara*: Sp III 683,6–18: *dāsam dammīti vadati, na vaṭṭati. ārāmikaṇam dammī, veyyāvaccakaraṇam dammī, kappiyakārakaṇam dammīti vutte vaṭṭati. sace so ārāmiko purebhattam pi pacchābhaddam pi saṅghass' eva kammaṇ karoti, sāmaṇerassa viya sabbaṇ bhesajjapaṭijagganam pi tassa kātabbaṇ. sace purebhattam eva saṅghassa kammaṇ karoti, pacchābhaddam attano kammaṇ karoti, sāyaṇ nivāpo na dātabbo. ye pi pañcadivasavārena vā pakkhavārena vā saṅghassa kammaṇ katvā sesakāle attano kammaṇ karonti, tesam pi karanakāle yeva bhaddaṇ ca nivāpo ca dātabbo. sace saṅghassa kammaṇ natthi, attano yeva kammaṇ katvā jīvanti, te ce hatthakammamūlaṇ ānetvā denti, gahetabbaṇ. no ce denti, na kiñci vattabbā. yaṇ kiñci rajakadāsam pi pesakāradāsam pi ārāmikanāmena sampācchitum vaṭṭati.* “[If] one says: ‘I give a slave’, it is not allowed; if ‘I give an *ārāmika*, I give a *veyyāvaccakara*, I give a *kappiyakāraka*’ is said, it is allowed. If an *ārāmika* carries out work for the saṅgha before meals as well as after meals, [then] even the whole care for the medicine has to be taken over by him as by a novice. If he carries out work for the saṅgha only before meals [and] after meals he carries out his own work, no ration is to be given to him in the evening. Also to those who, having carried out work for the saṅgha every five days or every fortnight, who during the rest of the time carry out their own work, meals and ration are to be given only during the time of [their] working [for the saṅgha]. If the saṅgha does not have work [for them], they live carrying out only their own work; if they procure money from their manual labour [and] give it, it is to be taken. If they do not give it, they are not to be spoken to at all. It is allowed to accept with the designation *ārāmika* whatever slave is a dyer and whatever slave is a weaver.” Khuddas-pṭ 169,25–70,1 (ad Khuddas, v. 284: donation of a *dāsa* is prohibited) allows accepting slaves given with the terms *ārāmika*, *veyyāvaccakara*, and *kappiyakāraka*; Vin-vn-pṭ I 308,24–26 (ad v. 665) allows accepting slaves given with the terms *ārāmika* and *veyyāvaccakara*.

work in Buddhist monasteries, and they all seem to have the social background of a slave. Before we proceed further, we, therefore, have to take a brief look at the usage of these terms.

2.1.1.1 *Ārāmika*

The term *ārāmika* is only rarely used in the Sutta-piṭaka.⁴⁴ Most references are to be found in the Vinaya, where it is used in five contexts (alone and in compounds). First, most references are found in the story of King Bimbisāra's donation of five hundred *ārāṃikas* to Venerable Pilindavaccha, which contributed considerably to the general acceptance of monastery attendants (*ārāmika*) for the saṅgha.⁴⁵ Second, the term appears in the regulations for establishing a monk as a superintendent of monastery attendants (*ārāṃikapesaka*).⁴⁶ Third, the *ārāmika* is mentioned as a person to be asked for permission when a monk wants to leave a monastery or when a nun wants to enter a monks' monastery, in case there is no monk or novice available to be asked.⁴⁷ Fourth, we come across the term in passages pondering the

⁴⁴A II 78,31 (*ārāṃikasamaṇuddesesu*); III 109,31, 32 (a prophecy that in future *bhikkhus* will be mingled with *ārāṃikas* and *samaṇuddesas*); 275,16 (determination of an *ārāṃikapesaka*); III 343,2 = IV 343,25; Ap I 39,6; 191,2; 205,7; 295,5; II 409,14; 447,24; Bv 56,28 (13,14); Ja I 251,2, 8; M II 5,21f. (see n. 53).

⁴⁵This story is told twice in the Vinaya, first as an introductory story to Nissaggiya 23 Mk, which prescribes that medicines may be stored seven days at most (Vin III 248,11–50,29; *BD* II 126–131), and second in the Mahāvagga (Vin I 206,34–209,35; *BD* IV 281ff.). One difference in wording is to be noted *taṃ atikkāmayato nissaggiyaṃ pācittiyaṃ* (Vin III 251,17–18) against Mahāvagga *taṃ atikkāmayato yathādhammo kāretabbo* (Vin I 209,34–35); for this see von Hinüber 1999, pp. 54ff. The story has been investigated in detail by Schopen 1994B, pp. 145–173, and more broadly by Yamagiwa 2002, pp. 363–85.

⁴⁶Vin II 177,20–23 (*BD* V 248–249); 179,31 (*uddāna* to the preceding). This is taken up in the Parivāra, Vin V 204,32–33; 205,4 (*uddāna* to the preceding).

⁴⁷The rule is to be found in the Cullavagga: Vin II 211,24–25 (*BD* V 296f.); Vin II 232,8 (*BD* V 322, *uddāna* to the preceding). It is hinted at in the word-by-word commentaries to several Pācittiya rules: Vin IV 40,20 [Pāc 14 Mk] (*BD*

possibility that monks may want to leave monkhood to become *ārāmikas* or may ask to be considered as being *ārāmikas*.⁴⁸ And fifth, the *ārāmika* is mentioned in the function of a legalizer (*kappiyakāraka*), without the word legalizer being used.⁴⁹

Without exception, references to *ārāmika* in the Vinaya are in its later layers.⁵⁰ A definition of the term is not given anywhere in the text,

II 241); Vin IV 41,34–42,1 [Pāc 15 Mk] (*BD* II 244); Vin IV 307,29–30 [Pāc 51 N] (*BD* III 341f.).

⁴⁸Vin III 24,27; 25,8 [Pār 1.8.2 Mk] (*BD* I 43ff.), word-by-word commentary, where a monk declares his weakness in making known that he desires the status of an *ārāmika* or that he wants to be an *ārāmika*; Vin III 27,7 [Pār 1.8.3 Mk] (*BD* I 45f.) disavowing the training in asking to be taken as an *ārāmika*; Vin III 92,16 [Pār 4.3 Mk], (*BD* I 160), word-by-word commentary: definition of longing to be purified (*visuddhāpekkha*) as the wish to become an *ārāmika*,

⁴⁹All three references of this type belong to the Nissaggiya section; it is used twice in the word-by-word commentaries: Niss 18 Mk (prohibition of the acceptance of gold and silver; Vin III 238,15, *BD* II 103) and Niss 19 Mk (engagement in transactions in which gold and silver are involved; Vin III 240,17, *BD* II 108). Once it is used in a Pātimokkha rule itself [Niss 10 Mk], which, however, on account of its structure seems to be later (see n. 50). There, an *ārāmika* or a lay follower (*upāsaka*) should be indicated as a monk's personal attendant (*veyyāvaccakara*) who can function as a legalizer in order to accept goods given by the king or people in the king's service for a certain monk (Vin III 221,26 [Niss 10.1.3 Mk], *BD* II 65f.).

⁵⁰Those in the Suttavibhaṅga (with one exception) come from the introductory stories and from the word-by-word commentaries. The only reference from a Pātimokkha rule, i.e., from Niss 10 Mk, may be relatively late. According to von Hinüber (1999, p. 77), though the group of Nissaggiya prescriptions may well contain old material, their existence as a separate group probably means their inclusion was the last step in the development of the Pātimokkha with 150 rules. Thus it may well be that Nissaggiya 10, as we have it now, was formulated only relatively late. All references in the Mahāvagga belong to the story which also serves as an introductory story for Niss 23 Mk. According to Schopen (1994b, pp. 151ff.) this story shows strong signs of a local origination in Sri Lanka, which implies that in the shape it has in the Theravāda Vinaya it does not belong to the oldest layers of this text. The references from the Cullavagga as well as those from the Parivāra refer to the superintendent of *ārāmikas*, which naturally could have come into being only after the introduction of *ārāmikas*.

which seems to imply that it was commonly known. From its use in the Vinaya we can infer that *ārāmikās* could marry, have children, and were allowed to live together with their families in separate villages (*ārāmikagāma*) like slaves who also had their own villages.⁵¹ They could be presented to a single monk by the king. Explicit mention is made of monks who decided to become *ārāmikās*. The hierarchical position of an *ārāmika* is between a novice and a lay follower.⁵² He may carry out physical or manual work (clearing caves or rock overhangs). He has some authority with respect to the organization of the monastery (he is asked for permission to leave [in a monk's case] or enter [in a nun's case] a monastery if no monk and no novice is present), or he acts as the personal attendant of a monk (*veyyāvaccakara*) in the function of a legalizer (*kappiyakāraka*). In the Majjhima-nikāya⁵³ *ārāmikās* are classed with those following the five rules for lay persons (*sikkhāpadas*).⁵⁴

In the commentaries of the fourth or fifth century *ārāmika* is used as a comprehensive term for workers in a monastery, e.g., as a legalizer (*kappiyakāraka*); an attendant (*veyyāvaccakara*); a distributor of rice

⁵¹Cf. *dāsagāma* (Ap II 538.2 = Thī-a [old edition] 151.27; [new edition] 148.8); *dāsagāmadvāra* ≠ (v.l. *dāsakammakaragāmadvāra*) *dāsagāmavasin* (Ap-a 263.1-2 = Mp I 179.26f. = Spk II 195.11f. = Th-a III 133.3-4) and to the statement that the town Anurādhapura had, among others, fourteen villages for slaves (Spk II 194.5f. with Spk-ṭ [CSCD] II 167).

⁵²This becomes evident from the possible order in which one might ask persons for permission (*bhikkhu*, *sāmaṇera*, *ārāmika*, see n. 47), and by the states a *bhikkhu* might wish to revert to: an *upāsaka*, *ārāmika*, or *sāmaṇera* (see n. 48).

⁵³M II 5.21f.: *ārāmikabhūtā vā upāsakabhūtā vā pañcasikkhāpade samādāya vattanti*.

⁵⁴In the Milindapañha (Mil 6.25f.) the god Sakka declares himself an *ārāmika* of the saṅgha. In Ap I 191.2, Ap-a 464.19f., a person declares to have been an *ārāmika* of the Buddha Vessabhū; in Bv-a 39.14 = It-a II 105.12f. = Mp I 116.29f., it is stated that Mahābrahmā may serve as an *ārāmika* or *kappiyakāraka* of the Buddha.

gruel, fruits, or hard food; as one who clears an area of grass;⁵⁵ as a mediator between king and monks;⁵⁶ as one who guards the possessions of the saṅgha;⁵⁷ or as one who clears and levels the site at the foot of a tree for the inferior tree ascetic, scattering sand on it, making an enclosure and giving a door;⁵⁸ and as one who has tasks that are similar to those of a novice.⁵⁹ According to the Samantapāsādikā, the monastery provides the *ārāmikas* with food and a ration — presumably of necessities⁶⁰ — equivalent to their work for the community. For example, if they worked only half a day, the monastery would not provide supper. They could also work every five days or every fortnight only, or if the saṅgha had nothing to do for them, work on their own account without subsidies from the saṅgha. If they earned money by their own manual labour, they could give that money to the monastery but obviously were not obliged to do so since they were not to be spoken to at all in a case where they did not.⁶¹ This is remarkable

⁵⁵See the explanation of how one gives up life as a monk with a synonym of *ārāmika*, where the synonyms given are *kappiyakāraka*, *veyyāvaccakara*, *appaharitakāraka*, *yāgubhājaka*, *khajjakabhājaka*, *phalabhājaka* (Sp I 253,29–33). Cf. Gunawardana 1979, p. 98, who adds some further functions from more recent sources, for example a chief *ārāmika* being responsible for the decoration in a monastery (Sahassavathupakaraṇa) and *ārāmikas* in charge of the store of provisions and responsible for the preparation of meals (Sīhaḷavathupakaraṇa).

⁵⁶Spk III 23,27; 24,6.

⁵⁷Vism 120,30–21,4 = Sp-ṭ II 208,14–20, where the *ārāmikas* keep the cattle of the families out of the fields of the monastery and shut off the floodgate so that people do not obtain water for their fields, which causes trouble for the monks, who are responsible for the *ārāmikas*' deeds. This passage is quoted by Gunawardana 1979, p. 98 (from Sp-ṭ) as a proof for *ārāmika* being also used as a designation for those who tilled the land of the monastery.

⁵⁸Vism 74,14–16.

⁵⁹Sp V 1121,22; VI 1161,23. In that case *ārāmika* is used in a similar way as *kappiyakāraka*.

⁶⁰For the explanation of *nivāpa* see Gunawardana 1979, p. 123.

⁶¹See n. 43. Further references: Spk III 34,3; 40,3; Sp II 380,10ff.; 474,7–11; III 564,16.; 681,19, 21; 692,3.; 733,9; IV 775,8; V 1099,26; Ps I 122,23.

insofar as, according to the Hindu law books, slaves and the profit they produced fell to their owner, which also seems to have been the regular case in a worldly Buddhist context.⁶² At least in this respect the attitude of Buddhist monasteries towards *ārāmikas* differs from the attitude of the normal population towards slaves. In the *Sāratthapakāsinī* (fourth or fifth century) *ārāmikas* are addressed as lay followers (*upāsaka*) by their interlocutors.⁶³ Several donations of slaves to Buddhist monasteries and monks are recorded in the Sinhalese chronicles,⁶⁴ and the Sinhalese *Katikāvatas* from the eighteenth century recommend handing

⁶²See Ja I 402.30 [no. 97], where a slave girl is beaten by her master and mistress because she had not given them her wages (*dāsim bhatim adadamānaṃ*)

⁶³Spk III 40.3; in Spk III 218.6 = Sv II 552.32 *upāsakas* are compared to *ārāmikas*. In the Vin-vn, v. 1059 *ārāmikam upāsakaṃ*, could be a lay follower who is an *ārāmika*, or it could mean *ārāmika* and *upāsaka*, describing two different persons. In other cases *ārāmika* and *upāsaka* are listed as separate groups (Ps II 152.10f.: *bhikkhu vā sāmaṇero vā ārāmiko vā vihārasāmiko vā*).

⁶⁴King Sirimeghavaṇṇa (362–409?) fixed the revenues of the *ārāmikas* (Mhv 37.63); Aggabodhi I (568–601) granted one hundred *ārāmikas* to the Kurundavihāra (Mhv 42.15–16); King Silāmeghavaṇṇa (617–26) distributed the *Damiḷas* he had overpowered and made slaves (*dāsa*) to various monasteries (Mhv 44.70–73); King Aggabodhi IV (658–74) placed slaves (*dāsaka*) as well as female slaves (*dāsi*) and *ārāmikas*, which were his own relatives, at the disposal of the *Bhikkhu* community (Mhv 46.10.14); the *Damiḷa* Pottakuṭṭha, in the service of Aggabodhi IV, assigned villages together with slaves to the meditation hall (*padhānaghara*, Mhv 46.19–20); Jeṭṭhā, the queen of Aggabodhi IV, granted a hundred *ārāmikas* to the Jeṭṭhārāma (Mhv 46.27–28); Kassapa IV (896–913) granted *ārāmikagāmas* to the hermitages he built (Mhv 52.26); Parakkamabāhu I (1153–1186) assigned a male and a female slave (*dāsa*, *dāsi*) to each patient in the hospital (Mhv 73.34–36); Queen Kalyāṇavatī (thirteenth century) built a monastery and granted it villages, etc., and slaves (*dāsa*, Mhv 80.35–36). Her general, Āyasmanta, created a *pariveṇa* and supplied it with male and female slaves (*dāsidāsa*, Mhv 80.40). King Kittisirirājasīha (1747–1781) assigned relic villages, etc., with many male and female slaves (*dāsidāsa*) to the holy Tooth Relic (Mhv 100.11).

over donations to *ārāmikās* or *upāsakas*, who are equated with *kappiyakāraḥas*.⁶⁵

2.1.1.2 *Kappiyakāraḥa*

The second designation enabling a monastery to accept the donation of slaves is *kappiyakāraḥa*. In the canonical scriptures, this term is confined to the Vinaya-ṭṭaka, more precisely to the sixth chapter of the Mahāvagga on medicines, and to the *anāpatti* formulas of two Pācittiya rules, which are even later than the word-by-word commentaries and the introductory stories in the Suttavibhaṅga.⁶⁶ Obviously, the term *kappiyakāraḥa* was even less common in the canonical texts than the term *ārāmika*. Likewise, *kappiyakāraḥa* is not defined, but used as if its special meaning was commonly known. In contrast to *ārāmika*, there exists no prescription in the Vinaya explicitly allowing *kappiyakāraḥas*. The function of a *kappiyakāraḥa* was to receive donations of items forbidden for monks, such as fruit or money, and to make them acceptable, or to exchange them with acceptable goods. The Vinaya's usage renders the impression that *kappiyakāraḥa* does not designate a defined office in the monastery, but rather a function that could be executed by any trustworthy person who was not an ordained member of the Buddhist community. Consequently, an *ārāmika* could act as a *kappiyakāraḥa*, too, and according to three passages in the Vinaya, this is one of the *ārāmika*'s functions although the term *kappiyakāraḥa* is not used there.

The commentarial literature distinguishes ten types of *kappiyakāraḥas*, depending on whether they are designated or not (*niddiṭṭha* / *aniddiṭṭha*), by whom they are designated, whether in presence or

⁶⁵Kīrtiśrīrājasimha-Katikāvata, Ratnapāla 1971, pp. 100, 171, § 110.

⁶⁶Vin I 206,12 (twice), *BD* IV 280 (same context as Vin IV 90,28 [Pāc 40 Mk], *BD* II 346, *anāpatti* formula); Vin I 211,37, *BD* IV 288 (in a famine *kappiyakāraḥas* take a greater part); Vin I 212,7, 20, 23–25, *BD* IV 289 (*kappiyakāraḥas* shall legalize fruits); 215,22, *BD* IV 293 (similar to the preceding); 245,2–3, *BD* IV 336 (*kappiyakāraḥas* may accept gold); Vin III 242,11 [Niss 20 Mk], *BD* II 112 (*anāpatti* formula).

absence of their consignees, etc.⁶⁷ The Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī states that any individual not ordained in the Buddhist community could serve as a legalizer.⁶⁸ From the Samantapāsādikā we know that poor people decided to become *kappiyakāra*kas in order to earn their living based on the saṅgha.⁶⁹ Therefore, in addition to slaves,⁷⁰ free persons in need are expressly mentioned as having become *kappiyakāra*kas. In other cases lay followers (*upāsaka*) function as *kappiyakāra*kas.⁷¹ Sometimes the functions of a *kappiyakāra*ka have to be similar to the duties of a novice (*sāmaṇera*) since both are listed alternatively.⁷² In another case one who serves someone who is ill (*gilānupaṭṭhāka*) is compared to a *kappiyakāra* and a *sāmaṇera*.⁷³ In the Katikāvatas *kappiyakāra*kas are mentioned as those to whom one should hand over improper things.⁷⁴

2.1.1.3 Veyyāvaccakara

The third designation, *veyyāvaccakara*, “attendant, steward”, is but rarely used in the canonical scriptures, and except for two references in

⁶⁷Sp III 675.1ff. [Niss 10 Mk]; Kkh 118.11 [Niss 10 Mk]. Further references Sp III 702.3 (son and/or brother are rendered into *kappiyakāra*kas; V 1070.30; VI 1228.23; 1238.6, 10.

⁶⁸The Kkh (116.27–28) equates *veyyāvaccakara* with *kappiyakāra*ka, and declares that anyone, aside from the five co-religionists (*bhikkhu*, *bhikkhunī*, *sikkhamānā*, *sāmaṇera*, *sāmaṇerī*), may serve as a *kappiyakāra*ka.

⁶⁹Sp V 1001.18–19: *duggatamanussā saṅghaṃ nissāya jīvissāmā ti vihāre kappiyakāra*kā honti.

⁷⁰Buddhadāsa (362–409), for instance, granted *kappiyakāra*kas to monks (Mhv 37.173), which indicates that they were not free men.

⁷¹Mp II 115.2 ≠ Ps I 137.6 ≠ Spk I 136.27 ≠ Sv I 236.12 ≠ Ud-a 288.18; Ja IV 408.16.

⁷²Dhp-a II 182.20, 21; IV 129.6f.

⁷³Dhp-a II 60.11.

⁷⁴Kīrtiśrīrājasimha-Katikāvata I (eighteenth century), Ratnapāla 1971, pp. 100, 171, § 110, where *kappiyakāra*ka is equated with *ārāmika* and *upāsaka*; Kīrtiśrīrājasimha-Katikāvata II (eighteenth century), Ratnapāla 1971, pp. 110, 176, § 15; Rājādhīrājasimha-Katikāvata (eighteenth century), Ratnapāla 1971, pp. 119f., 181f., §§ 12, 13, 18.

the Jātaka and the Apadāna,⁷⁵ we only find it in two rules of the Vinaya-piṭaka, namely in the Pātimokkha rule Nissaggiya 10 Mk regulating the appointment of an *ārāmika* or a lay follower as a monk's *veyyāvaccakara*, and in the *anāpatti* formula to Pācittiya 44 N,⁷⁶ according to which it is not an offence if a nun cooks for her personal attendant. The fact that an *ārāmika* or a lay follower may serve as a monk's *veyyāvaccakara* shows that, similar to *kappiyakāraka*, the term *veyyāvaccakara* designates a certain function which may be executed by different persons. It is obvious from the canonical literature that even a monk may act as a *veyyāvaccakara* for other monks.⁷⁷

Commentaries on the legal literature explain *veyyāvaccakara* with the synonyms *kappiyakāraka*⁷⁸ or *kiccakara*.⁷⁹

2.1.1.4 Summary

To sum up our findings: all three terms are used mainly in the later parts of the Vinaya and rarely, if at all, in the Sutta-piṭaka. This implies that they were alien to the early Buddhist texts. *Ārāmika* is the technical term for people belonging to, and working for, Buddhist monasteries. Two types of *ārāmikas* may be distinguished with regard to their social status before they became *ārāmikas*: (1) dependent persons, i.e., slaves, and (2) free men. Obviously, in order to differentiate these two types of *ārāmikas*, the Samantapāsādikā introduces the term *ārāmikadāsa*, a slave who is an *ārāmika*, to designate the first group. The terms *kappiyakāraka* and *veyyāvaccakara* describe functions that could be executed by *ārāmikas*, but also by lay followers or other persons.

⁷⁵Ja II 334,8; Ap I 138,8.

⁷⁶Vin III 221,25–28, 30, 32 (Pātimokkha rule); 222,23, 25, 27, 29 [Niss 10 Mk], *BD* II 65f.; and in the *anāpatti* formula to Vin IV 301,4 [Pāc 44 N], *BD* III 329 (here the meaning is misunderstood by I.B. Horner).

⁷⁷See the example of Dabba Mallaputta, who did the saṅgha's work (*veyyāvaccam karoti*; DPPN s.v. Dabba Mallaputta), and the example of a young *bhikkhu* who did not do the work of other *bhikkhus* (S II 277,13; E^c *veyyāccam*).

⁷⁸Kkh I 116,23 [Niss 10 Mk]; Sp III 672,22–23 [Niss 10 Mk].

⁷⁹Sp III 672,22–23 [Niss 10 Mk].

Therefore, an *ārāmika* could be a *kappiyakāraka* or a *veyyāvaccakara*, and vice versa, but a *kappiyakāraka* and a *veyyāvaccakara* were not necessarily *ārāmikas*, at least not of the first type.

2.1.2 The lower ordination of slaves

The Vinaya rules that one should not confer lower ordination (*pabbajjā*) on slaves.⁸⁰ Commenting on that rule, the *Samantapāsādikā* — in accordance with definitions given in the canonical writings — distinguishes four types of slaves: (1) one born as a slave, (2) one bought for money, (3) a captive turned into a slave, and (4) a person gone into slavery on his own accord.⁸¹ The first two types of slaves may receive lower ordination only after they are freed.⁸² The third may not receive lower ordination as long as he is held captive, but may be ordained as a novice if he manages to escape or is released in the course of a general amnesty.⁸³ The fourth may not be ordained.⁸⁴ Even a slave without an owner had to be formally released before he could be ordained.⁸⁵ And if a slave who was unaware of his status had been

⁸⁰Vin I 76,26–27: *na bhikkhave dāso pabbājetabbo. yo pabbājeyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā ti.* “Monks, a slave should not be let go forth. Whoever should let [one such] go forth, there is an offence of wrong-doing.” (Translation by I.B. Horner, *BD IV* 95f.)

⁸¹Sp V 1000,19–20: *na bhikkhave dāso ti ettha cattāro dāsā antojāto dhanakkīto karamarānīto sāmāṇ dāsabyaṇ upagato ti.*

⁸²Sp V 1000,23–25: *ete dve pi na pabbājetabbā, pabbājentena tattha tattha cārittasena adāsaṇ katvā pabbājetabbā.* Cf. *Dhp-a I* 15,17f.; *Th-a I* 73,13.

⁸³Sp V 1000,25–1001,3.

⁸⁴Sp V 1001,3–6: *sāmāṇ dāsabyaṇ upagato* (Sp 1000,20) *nāma jīvitahetu vā ārakkhahetu vā ahaṇ te dāso ti sayam eva dāsabhāvaṇ upagato. rājūnaṇ hatthi-assa-gomahīsa-gopakādayo viya tādiso dāso na pabbājetabbo.* “**One gone into slavery of his own accord** means one who, for the sake of livelihood or for the sake of protection, went himself into the state of a slave [with the words] ‘I am your slave’. Like watchmen of kings’ elephants, horses, cows, buffaloes, etc., is such a slave; they may not let him go forth.”

⁸⁵Sp V 1001,27–28: *nissāmikadāso hoti so pi bhujisso kato va pabbājetabbo.* “[If] one is an unowned slave, that one too may be ordained as a novice, only having [first] been made a free man.”

ordained as a novice or as a monk and learned about his being a slave only after the event, he had to be released retrospectively.⁸⁶

As is obvious from Samantapāsādikā, Sāratthadīpanī, Vimativinodanī-ṭikā and Pācityādiyojanā, persons who went into slavery held a slave certificate⁸⁷ recording their name, and perhaps their status, their owner, and possibly the place and time of their transfer.⁸⁸ Practices of

⁸⁶Sp V 1001,28–29: *ajānanto pabbājetvā vā upasampādetvā vā pacchā jānāti, bhujissam kātuṃ eva vaṭṭati*. “[If] one not knowing [about his slave status] learns [about it] after they have ordained him as a novice or as a monk, it is allowed in fact to make him a free man.”

⁸⁷Pāc-y 244,12; Sp-ṭ III 243,12, 14; Vmv II 111,5 (*dāsipaṇṇa*); Sp V 1001,9 (*paṇṇa*). *Paṇṇa* with forms of *āropeti* (not used in the canon but only in post-canonical literature) for the most part means document (only once is it used for letter, Ja VI 369,13–14), and, depending on the context, stands for a slave letter, a promissory note (also called *īṇapaṇṇa*; Ja I 227,4; 230,2; Dhpa II 128,22; 129,19; 133,1; 134,7; 135,1–2; III 12,19f.), or an attestation of the allotment of goods (Sp 387,24 = Pālim 431,12; with Sp-ṭ II 167,12–13; Vmv I 204,10–11; Pālim-ṇṭ II 328,6–8). *Āropeti* in those cases does not mean “to send”, as indicated by *CPD* (s.v. *āropeti*), as an idiomatic use of *paṇṇam āropeti*, but “to post (up)” if it is used with the loc., and “to make out” if it is used with the acc. Compare also the younger Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition where in Guṇaprabha’s Vinayasūtra, the recording in a promissory note is expressed by *āropya patre* (see Schopen 1994A, p. 538). The compound *paṇṇāropana* is used in the same meaning in the present context and in two further places, Sv-pṭ I 423,16: *sakkhikaraṇapaṇṇāropanāni vadḍhiyā saha vinā vā puna gahetukāmassa* and, Sv-ṇṭ, CSCD, II p. 305: *sakkhikaraṇapaṇṇāropananibandhanaṃ vadḍhiyā*.

⁸⁸Sp-ṭ III 243,13: *sace sayam eva paṇṇam āropenti, na vaṭṭati ti* (Sp 1001,9) *tā bhujissitthiyo mayam pi dāsiyo homā ti sayam eva dāsipaṇṇam likhāpentī, na vaṭṭati*. “If they themselves make out a certificate, it is not allowed [to ordain their sons: if] these free women themselves cause a slave certificate to be written [with the words], ‘We too are female slaves’, it is not allowed [to ordain their sons].” Vmv II 111,3–5 = Pālim-ṇṭ I 233,6–10: *sayam eva paṇṇam āropenti, na vaṭṭati ti* (Sp 1001,9) *tā bhujissitthiyo mayam pi vaṇṇadāsiyo homā ti attano rakkhaṇatthāya sayam eva rājūnaṃ dāsipaṇṇe attano nāmaṃ likhāpentī*. “If they themselves make out a certificate, it is not allowed [to ordain their sons: if] these free women themselves for their own protection cause their own name to be written in a slave certificate of kings [with the

releasing slaves varied from region to region. One way was to redeem the slave by reimbursing his owner, possibly accompanied by a ritual burning of the slave certificate.⁸⁹ Another method was to sprinkle buttermilk on the slave's head, or to wash (soak?) it with buttermilk. We do not know for certain whether in that case the slaves had to be redeemed first. In any case, the respective references do not mention a payment, which may be taken as an indication that the ablution with buttermilk itself effected the release.⁹⁰ The Mahāpacarī, one of the early commentaries from around the first century B.C., already refers to this last method. It is repeatedly mentioned in the commentaries of the fourth or fifth century, and still known at the time of the *ṭīkās*.⁹¹

words], 'We too are courtesans (lit. slaves of beauty)', it is not allowed [to ordain their sons]."

⁸⁹Sv I 216,20 = Ps II 321,5-7: *yathā puna* (Sv B^e *pana*) *dāso kañcid eva mittam upanissāya sāmikānaṃ dhanam datvā attānaṃ bhujissaṃ katvā tato paṭṭhāya yaṃ icchati, taṃ kareyya*; Vmv II 110,22-11,1: *dāsacārittaṃ āropetvā kīto ti* (Sp 1000,23) *iminā dāsabhāvaparimocanattāya kītaṃ nivatteti. tādiso hi dhanakkīto pi adāso eva. tattha tattha cārittavasenā ti* (Sp 1000,24) *tasmim tasmim janapade dāsapaṇṇajjhāpanādinā adāsakaraṇaniyāmena*. Unowned slaves (*nissāmikadāsa*) were allowed to free themselves, Vjb 424,10-11: *nissāmikaṃ dāsaṃ attanāpi bhujissaṃ kātuṃ labhati*. Sp-ṭ III 243,19-21: *nissāmikadāso* (Sp V 1001,27) *nāma yassa sāmikā saputtadārādayo* (Pālim-pṭ adds *cā*) *matā honti, na koci tassa pariggāhako, so pi pabbājetuṃ na vaṭṭati, taṃ pana attanāpi bhujissaṃ kātuṃ vaṭṭati*.

⁹⁰Sv I 266,24f.: *dhītaraṃ adāsīti sīsaṃ dhovivā adāsaṃ bhujissaṃ katvā dhītaraṃ adāsī*. "He gave [him his] daughter [as a wife]: Having washed his head, [thus] having made [him] a non-slave (=) a free man, he gave [his] daughter [to him]." Cf. Ap-a 263,5f. = Mp I 179,26f. = Spk II 195,15f. = Th-a III 133,7f.: *sace tumhesu ekekaṃ bhujissaṃ karoma, vassasatam pi na ppahoti. tumh' eva tumhākaṃ sīsaṃ dhovivā bhujissā hutvā jīvathā ti*. "If we make each one among you a free man, even a hundred years will not suffice. Having washed your head you indeed shall live as free men." See also Vibh-mṭ (CSCD) 182.

⁹¹Sp-ṭ III 243,14-17 = Pālim-nṭ I 233,23-27: *takkaṃ sīse āsittakasadisā va hontī ti* (Sp V 1001,14-15) *yathā adāse karontā takkena sīsaṃ dhovivā adāsaṃ karontī, evaṃ āramikavacanena dinnattā adāsā va te ti adhippāyo. takkāsiṅcanaṃ pana sīhaḷadīpe cārittā ti vadanti*. "They in fact resemble [persons] on [whose] head buttermilk is sprinkled: as [those] who make

According to the explanations of Dhammasiri's Gaṇṭhipada and Sāriputta's Sāratthadīpanī, this method was practised in Sri Lanka,⁹² while the Vimativinodanī-ṭikā declares that it was a usage in some countries without specifying them.⁹³

Among the various groups of slaves mentioned in the Samantapāsādikā, we find the specific group of *ārāmikadāsas*, slaves who are *ārāmikas*. They represent the first of the two groups of *ārāmikas* defined before, i.e., those who are unfree. If these are given to the monastery (*vihāra*) by a king, they, according to the statement of the Samantapāsādikā, may be ordained as novices only after their release.⁹⁴ Whether this is different if the donor was a commoner, we do not know. In any case, it seems to be irrelevant which of the four categories of slaves these *ārāmikadāsas* belonged to.⁹⁵

[slaves] into non-slaves, make [a slave] into a non-slave by washing his head with buttermilk, so they, because of [their] having been given with the designation *ārāmika*, [are made] indeed non-slaves. [That is the] intention. 'The sprinkling of buttermilk, however, is a usage in the Sīhaḷa island,' they say." Vmv II 111,11-14: *takkaṃ sīse āsittakasadisā va hontī ti kesuci janapadesu adāse karontā takkaṃ sīse āsiñcanti, tena kira te adāsā hontī, evam idam pi ārāmikavacanena dānam pīti adhippāyo*. "They in fact resemble [persons] on [whose] head buttermilk is sprinkled: in some regions [those] who make [slaves] into non-slaves sprinkle buttermilk on [their] head; therewith, as is well known, they become non-slaves. In this way also that donation with the statement *ārāmika* is intended." Pāc-y 243,20-21: *ārāmikaṃ demā ti vacanaṃ dāsānaṃ bhujissavacanan ti vuttaṃ hoti*. "It is said that the statement 'we give an *ārāmika*' for slaves is the statement [that one is] a free man."

⁹²Vjb 424.9: *takkāsiñcanaṃ Sīhaḷadīpe cārittaṃ*. Sp-ṭ III 243,17, see n. 91.

⁹³Vmv II 111,11-13, see n. 91.

⁹⁴Sp V 1001,11-12: *vihāresu rājūhi ārāmikadāsā nāma dinnā honti, te pi pabbājetuṃ na vaṭṭati. bhujisse katvā pana pabbājetuṃ vaṭṭati*. "Slaves who belong to the *ārāma* are given to the *vihāras* by kings; these too may not be ordained as novices. But having made them free men, [they] may be ordained as novices."

⁹⁵Probably all four types of slaves were the property of kings.

Furthermore, if a monk receives a slave from his relatives or his servants with the request to ordain him as a novice so that he may do the monk's work (*veyyāvacca*), or if the monk's own slave is considered for such a promotion, the Samantapāsādikā states that he may only be ordained as a novice after he has been released.⁹⁶ Thus in both cases — (1) donation of slaves by a king to the saṅgha and (2) donation of a slave by private persons to a monk — the slaves have to be released first.

In this context, however, the Samantapāsādikā hands down a quotation from the Mahāpaccaṛī (c. first century B.C.). There it is stated that born and bought slaves are given to the community of monks with the words “we give *ārāmikas*”, that the status of these individuals then resembles that of persons whose heads are sprinkled with buttermilk, and that they are entitled to receive the lower ordination.⁹⁷

While the Samantapāsādikā, according to the initial statement, would admit the ordination of the first two types of slaves only after their release, the Mahāpaccaṛī attaches no further condition to their lower ordination except that they are to be given to the community of monks with the designation *ārāmika*. The donor is not mentioned in this case. Thus his identity, be it king or commoner, seems to be irrelevant. If one extends that statement to cover born and bought slaves given by a king, the Mahāpaccaṛī is in obvious disagreement with the Samantapāsādikā. However that may be, from the statement of the Mahāpaccaṛī

⁹⁶Sp V 1001.21–23: *bhikkhussa nātakā vā upaṭṭhākā vā dāsaṃ denti imaṃ pabbājetha, tumhākaṃ veyyāvaccaṃ karissatīti attano vā* (Sp E^c v a) *assa dāso atthi, bhujisso kato 'va pabbājetabbo*. “[If] a monk's relatives or servants donate a slave [to him with the words:] ‘Ordain that one as a novice, he will do your work’, or [if] he himself (i.e., the monk) owns a slave, this one may be ordained as a novice only after he has been made a free man.”

⁹⁷Sp V 1001.13–15: *Mahāpaccaṛiyaṃ antojātadhanakkītake ānetvā bhikkhusaṅghassa 'ārāmike demā' ti denti. takkaṃ sīse āsittakasadisā 'va honti. pabbājetuṃ vaṭṭatī ti vuttaṃ*. “In the Mahāpaccaṛī it is said, ‘They bring persons born [as slaves] and [those] bought for money [and] give [them] to the community of monks [with the words:] ‘We give *ārāmikas*’. [These] become indeed similar to those on whose head buttermilk is sprinkled.’”

it follows that the statement “We give *ārāmikās*” changes the social status of the slaves and assimilates their status to that of free men.

The position of the Mahāpaccarī, in turn, is contested by the Kurundī, another of the early commentaries quoted in the Samantapāsādikā. Without specifying the individuals given to the saṅgha, the Kurundī agrees with the Mahāpaccarī as to the accompanying designation (“We give an *ārāmika*”), but *not* with regard to their consequent entitlement to lower ordination.⁹⁸ This document presents not only a conflict of views with regard to the social status of *ārāmikās* given to the saṅgha, but also a difference of opinion concerning their entitlement to ordination as novices. It shows us as well that this conflict has a very long history, reaching back at least to the first century B.C.

As for the Samantapāsādikā, there are indications that it agrees with the Kurundī: firstly, because it expresses the same opinion with respect to *ārāmikās* given by a king; and secondly, because it quotes the Kurundī after the Mahāpaccarī, which is a sign of acceptance.⁹⁹

The next class of commentaries, the *gaṇṭhipadas*,¹⁰⁰ contain various statements on *ārāmikās*. The first, Dhammasiri’s *Gaṇṭhipada*, is undated and only survived in the passages quoted in the Vajirabuddhi-

⁹⁸Sp V 1001,15–17: *Kurundiyam pana ‘ārāmiḥ demā’ ti kappiyavohārena denti, yena kenaci vohārena dinno hotu, n’eva pabbājetabbo ti vuttaṃ.* “But in the Kurundī it is said, ‘They give with the [legally] acceptable designation “we give *ārāmikās*”; with whatever designation one is given, he is by no means to be ordained as a novice.’”

⁹⁹Sp II 300.8–9; cf. von Hinüber 1996, p. 107.

¹⁰⁰*Gaṇṭhipadavivarāṇa* or *-vaṇṇanā*, *Gaṇṭhipadatthanicchaya*, *Gaṇṭhipad’atthavaṇṇanā*, etc., or merely *gaṇṭhipada* is the name of a class of commentaries commenting on words of the canonical texts and their respective *aṭṭhakathās*. The *gaṇṭhipadas* originated after the *aṭṭhakathā* literature and before the subcommentaries (*tīkā*). They were written in Pāli, Sinhalese, and maybe other languages. Sometimes we only have the name of the author to identify a certain *gaṇṭhipada*; sometimes these *gaṇṭhipadas* have names, for example Mahāgaṇṭhipada. For further information, see Sv-pt I xxxi ff.

ṭikā, which suggests that it must have been written between the fifth and twelfth centuries. Dhammasiri regards *ārāṃikas* as neither slaves nor free men,¹⁰¹ but nonetheless supports their ordination as novices.¹⁰² This implies that the slave, with his presentation to the saṅgha as an *ārāṃika*, achieves a social status between a slave and a free man, which in turn enables his promotion to the status of a novice. Here Dhammasiri clearly sides with the tradition of the Mahāpaccarī against that of the Kurundi and the Samantapāsādikā.

Vajirabuddhi's Anugaṇṭhipada, another undated commentary that only survived in quotations by the Vajirabuddhi-ṭikā, was written after Dhammasiri's Gaṇṭhipada. Here the ordination of an *ārāṃika* is made conditional upon the compensation of the community with another *ārāṃika*.¹⁰³ Two interpretations are possible in that case: (1) The Anugaṇṭhipada considers the status of *ārāṃikas* as similar to that of free men, and its primary concern is the question of compensation in order to prevent the saṅgha from loss, or (2) if the *ārāṃika* is regarded as a slave, his status can be transferred to the person presented as a substitute. In the first case, the Anugaṇṭhipada would side with the Mahāpaccarī, in the second, with the Kurundi.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹Vjb 424.8–9: *ārāṃiko ca 'n' eva dāso na bhujisso' ti vattabbato na dāso ti likhitam*. “And an *ārāṃika* is not a slave, because it must be said that he is neither a slave nor a free man, [thus] it is written [in Dhammasiri's Gaṇṭhipada].”

¹⁰²Vjb 424.10: *te ca pabbājetabbā saṅghassārāṃikattā*. “And these (referring to the Mahāpaccarī quotation in Sp V 1001.14–15, see n. 97) may be ordained as novices, because [they] are *ārāṃikas* of the community.” This passage is part of a larger quotation from Dhammasiri's Gaṇṭhipada which refers to several aspects of slaves' ordination, starting at Vjb 424.9 and ending at Vjb 424.12 with *ti likhitam*.

¹⁰³Vjb 424.5–6: *ārāṃikaṃ ce pabbājetukāmo, aññam ekaṃ datvā pabbājetabban ti vuttam*. “If one wishes to ordain an *ārāṃika* as a novice, the [*ārāṃika*] may be ordained as a novice if another one is given for the one [to be ordained].”

¹⁰⁴Different from the Vimativinodanī-ṭikā, which explicitly demands redemption of value plus profit (see below), the Anugaṇṭhipada only provides for the payment of the value, i.e., replacement of one *ārāṃika* by another one.

Coming to the *ṭikās*, the independent evidence provided by the Vajirabuddhi-ṭikā (before the twelfth century A.D.) comes down to one sentence that is not part of a quotation from one of the *gaṇṭhipadas*. And here the Vajirabuddhi-ṭikā explains the position of the Mahāpaccarī, without, however, explicitly adopting it.¹⁰⁵ In any case, I find it quite remarkable that neither the Vajirabuddhi-ṭikā nor one of the *gaṇṭhipadas* quoted in it shows any inclination to consider the contrary position of the Kurundī, although it must have been known to them. This may be taken as an indication that the *gaṇṭhipadas* and the Vajirabuddhi-ṭikā are in accord with the Mahāpaccarī, against the Kurundī and the Samantapāsādikā.

Sāratthadīpanī and Vimativinodanī-ṭikā confirm the statement of the Kurundī, explaining that *ārāmikās* may not be ordained as novices because they are *ārāmikadāsas* of the saṅgha.¹⁰⁶ Nonetheless, the Sāratthadīpanī also comments on the Mahāpaccarī and it seems that it does not take sides with any one of them.¹⁰⁷ The Vimativinodanī-ṭikā, on the other hand, annotates the statement of the Samantapāsādikā that

¹⁰⁵Vjb 424.6–8: *Mahāpaccarivādassa ayam idha adhippāyo: “bhikkhu-saṅghassa ārāmike demā” ti* (Sp 1001.13–14) *dinnattā na te tesaṃ dāsā*. “This is here the intention of the doctrine of the Mahāpaccarī: ‘because [they] are given [with the words,] “**We give ārāmikās to the community of monks**”, they are not their (i.e., the monks’) slaves.’” This sentence probably is a statement of the Vajirabuddhi-ṭikā; however, it cannot be completely excluded that it may be part of the quotation from Dhammasiri’s Gaṇṭhipada, ending in Vjb 424.9 and starting here (Vjb 424.6) or in 424.7.

¹⁰⁶Sp-ṭ III 243.17–18 = Pālim-nṭ I 233.27–34.1: *n’ eva pabbājetabbo ti vuttan ti* (Sp V 1001.17–18) *kappiyavacanena dinne pi saṅghassa ārāmikadāsattā evaṃ vuttaṃ*. “**It is said [in the Kurundī,] that [someone given as an ārāmika] may by no means be ordained as a novice**: This is said in that way because one, even if given with the legal statement [that he is given as an *ārāmika*], is a slave who is an *ārāmika* of the community.” Vmv II 111.14–15 = Pālim-nṭ I 234.5–7: *tathā dinne pi saṅghassa ārāmikadāso evā ti n’ eva pabbājetabbo ti* (Sp V 1001.17) *vuttaṃ*. “Even when given in that way he is only a slave who is an *ārāmika* of the community; [therefore] it is said [in the Kurundī:] ‘**He is by no means to be ordained.**’”

¹⁰⁷See n. 91.

ārāṃikas given to the saṅgha by a king may not be ordained. It explains that the community is entitled to the value, plus profit, of an *ārāṃika* to be redeemed with the aim of ordaining him as a novice.¹⁰⁸ This makes it perfectly clear that the Vimativinodanī-ṭīkā regards the *ārāṃika* donated to the Buddhist community by a king as a slave. Furthermore, from the way in which the Vimativinodanī-ṭīkā comments on the statements of Mahāpaccarī and Kurundī, it follows that it shares the opinion of the Kurundī,¹⁰⁹ which is confirmed by its position with respect to the lower ordination of children of *ārāṃikas* (see below 2.1.3). The Pācityādiyojanā from nineteenth-century Burma adopts the view of the Kurundī.¹¹⁰

2.1.3 The lower ordination of children of *ārāṃikas*

Another question connected with the *ārāṃikas* is whether children of *ārāṃikas* may be ordained as novices or not.

With regard to children of slaves, the Samantapāsādikā points out that they are to be counted among the first of four categories of slaves, namely those born [as slaves], or slaves by birth (*antojāta*, *jātidāsa*). Furthermore, the Samantapāsādikā states that if the mother or both parents are slaves, children do not qualify for ordination as novices. However, if the father is a slave and the mother is free, their children

¹⁰⁸Vmv II 111,9–11 = Pālim-nṭ I 233,12–15: *bhujisse pana katvā* (Pālim-nṭ *katvā pana*) *pabbājetuṃ vaṭṭatī ti* (Sp V 1001,12–13) *yassa vihārassa te ārāṃikā dinnā, tasmim vihāre saṅghaṃ nāpetvā phātikammena dhanāni datvā* (Pālim-nṭ *dhanādīṃ katvā*) *bhujisse katvā pabbājetuṃ vaṭṭatī*. “**Having made them, however, free men, it is allowed to ordain [them] as novices:** having made [the *ārāṃikas*] free men, by informing the community in that monastery to which they are given as *ārāṃikas* [and] by giving the value [of the *ārāṃika*] plus a profit [to the community], it is allowed to ordain [them] as novices.”

¹⁰⁹Vmv II 111,11ff. (see n. 91), and 111,14–15 (see n. 106).

¹¹⁰Pāc-y 244,23–25: *dvīsu Aṭṭhakathāvādesu Kurundivādassa pacchā vuttattā so yeva pamāṇan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ*. “It is to be shown that, because of the two *aṭṭhakathā* doctrines, the doctrine of the Kurundī is taught later; only this one is authoritative.”

are free, too, and therefore qualified.¹¹¹ This shows that children inherit their status as slaves from the mother, not the father, which is in agreement with Hindu tradition.

The majority of pertinent references is to the masculine form, *ārāmika*. As for its less common feminine counterparts, the Vinaya has *ārāmikinī* in the story of the donation of five hundreded *ārāmikas* to Venerable Pilindavaccha,¹¹² while *ārāmikā* is documented in a passage of the Vajirabuddhi-ṭikā (357,8) introducing us to the niceties of politically correct Buddhist speech. So the phrase “This is our male or female slave” (*amhākaṃ eso dāso, dāsī*) is prohibited, but it is perfectly acceptable to say, “This is our male or female *ārāmika*” (*ayaṃ amhākaṃ ārāmiko, ārāmikā*).

In the context of feminine terms, mention should also be made of *devadāsīs* and the question of whether their children are qualified to be ordained as novices. Dhammasiri’s Gaṇṭhipada allows their ordination,¹¹³ and the same holds true for the three Sinhalese Gaṇṭhipadas quoted in the Sārattadīpanī.¹¹⁴ Only the Vimativinodanī-ṭikā declares that they are not qualified because even *devadāsas* are only slaves.¹¹⁵

Apart from these statements, only three more references for the word *devadāsī/ā* are found in the Pāli texts. In Dhammapāla’s

¹¹¹Sp V 1001,19–21: *yassa mātāpitāro dāsā, mātā eva vā dāsī, pitā adāso, taṃ pabbājetuṃ na vaṭṭati*. See also Sp V 1001, n. 9: Bp inserts *yassa pana mātā adāsī pitā dāso, taṃ pabbājetuṃ vaṭṭati*.

¹¹²Vin I 208,10, 12, 17, 19 (BD IV 281ff.) = III 249,28, 30, 35, 37 (BD II 128ff.).

¹¹³Vjb 424,5 = Pālim-ṇṭ I 233,15: *devadāsiputte vaṭṭatīti likhitaṃ*. “It is allowed [to ordain] the sons of *devadāsīs* [as a novice; this] is written [in Dhammasiri’s Gaṇṭhipada].”

¹¹⁴Sp-ṭ III 243,22 = Pālim-ṇṭ I 234,20: *devadāsiputtaṃ pabbājetuṃ vaṭṭatīti tisu Gaṇṭhipadesu vuttaṃ*. “It is allowed to ordain the son of a *devadāsī* as a novice; [this] is said in the three Gaṇṭhipadas.”

¹¹⁵Vmv II 111,20 = Pālim-ṇṭ I 234,13: *devadāsāpi dāsā eva. te hi kathaci dese rājādāsā honti, kathaci vihāradāsā, tasmā pabbājetuṃ na vaṭṭati*. “Even *devadāsas* [are] only slaves. For in one region they are slaves of kings, in another [region] they are slaves of monasteries; therefore, it is not allowed to ordain [them] as novices.”

Sumaṅgalavilāsini-porāṇaṭikā (Sv-pt I 477,5), and in the Sumaṅgalavilāsini-ṇavaṭikā (Sv-nt, CSCD II, p. 374; eighteenth century) *devadāsī* is used to explain *yakkhadāsī*, “slave of a demon”, while the Niruttidīpanī (CSCD, p. 229; twentieth century) mentions *devadāsīputta*, “son of a female slave of a *deva* (god, king, temple?)”, and *rājadāsīputta*, “son of a female slave of a king”, to exemplify a certain type of compound.

The Vimativinodanī-ṭikā explains that in some regions the word *devadāsā* means “slaves of a king”, and in other regions “slaves of a monastery” (*vihāra*, see n. 115). *Devadāsā* of Vmv might be a masculine or feminine (?) pl. (though the regular feminine sg. form should end in *-ī*).

Let us briefly return to the usage of the term *devadāsī* in the *gaṇṭhipadas*. Assuming that it here designates female slaves of a king, we may infer that their children had a special status exempting them from the general prohibition against ordaining children of female slaves, which would run against the intention of the Vinaya rule.¹¹⁶

However, if *devadāsī* designates the female slave of a Buddhist monastery, then these females must be *ārāmikās* because otherwise the monastery would not have been able to accept them. In that case *devadāsī* would be synonymous with the term *ārāmikini* documented in the Vinaya story of the gift of the five hundred *ārāmikās* by King Bimbisāra. As it happens, the story of their donation is also handed down in the Tibetan version of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya. The Tibetan word used there, however, *lha-'bañs*,¹¹⁷ corresponds to Skt *devadāsa*, rather than to *ārāmika*.¹¹⁸ Since the context of the story is the same, this may point to the synonymous use of *devadāsī* and *ārāmikini*,

¹¹⁶The prohibition to ordain slaves had the aim of not interfering with the rights of the proper owner of the respective slave. Thus it would not make sense to exempt the slaves of kings from this rule.

¹¹⁷Jäschke s.v. “slaves belonging to a temple”.

¹¹⁸Schopen 1994B, p. 158 (equates *lha-'bañ* with *kalpikāra*), 164 (here he refers to *devadāsa* as the corresponding term).

with preferences probably varying according to region or tradition. All four Gaṇṭhipadas — of which at least three, but probably all four, are of Sri Lankan origin — would then advocate the legitimacy of ordaining children of female *ārāmikās*. Only one of them, Dhammasiri's Gaṇṭhipada, explicitly treats both the ordination of *ārāmikās* and that of their children. We can, however, safely assume that the three Sinhalese Gaṇṭhipadas must have held the same view as Dhammasiri with respect to the ordination of an *ārāmika*, because otherwise, their attitude towards the *ārāmika*'s children would be difficult to account for.

Finally, the South Indian Vimativinodanī-ṭikā would prohibit the ordination of the children of *ārāmikās*. From this it would result that the Vimativinodanī-ṭikā considers *ārāmikās*, whether given by a king or by someone else, as slaves. In that way, the Vimativinodanī-ṭikā would proceed with the tradition of the Kurundī and the Samantapāsādikā.

In summary, we can say that one branch of the Theravāda tradition, represented at least in Sri Lanka, and stretching at least from the first century B.C. to the time of the *gaṇṭhipadas* (sometime before the twelfth century A.D.), excepts slaves belonging to a Buddhist monastery (*ārāmikadāsa*), as well as their children, from the general rule prohibiting the *pabbajjā* of slaves. For this purpose the rules are stretched in order to exclude *ārāmikās* from the Vinaya's definition of slaves. The other branch of the Theravāda tradition, which can be traced from the first century B.C. to the nineteenth century A.D., also represented in Sri Lanka, but in later times adopted by the South Indian Vimativinodanī-ṭikā and by the Burmese Pācīyādiyojanā, stuck to the Vinaya rule without concessions regarding the status of slaves in Buddhist monasteries.

<i>pabbajjā</i> prohibited for <i>ārāṃikadāsas</i>	<i>pabbajjā</i> allowed for <i>ārāṃikadāsas</i>	uncertain
Kurundi (first century B.C. or earlier)	Mahāpaccari (first century B.C. or earlier)	
	Dhammasiri's Gaṇṭhipada (after the Samantapāsādikā, before Vajirabuddhi's Anugaṇṭhipada)	Vajirabuddhi's Anugaṇṭhipada (after Dhammasiri's Gaṇṭhipada, before the Vajirabuddhi-ṭikā)
	Three Sinhalese Gaṇṭhipadas (Mahā-, Majjhima-, Cūḷagaṇṭhipada ; before the twelfth century)	Vajirabuddhi's Vajirabuddhi-ṭikā (before the twelfth century)
		Sāriputta's Sāratthadipani (twelfth century)
Vimativinodani-ṭikā (twelfth/thirteenth centuries)		
Pācityādiyojanā (nineteenth century)		

2.1.4 The higher ordination of *ārāṃikas*

Let us finish this example with one last remark. Among those authorizing the *pabbajjā* for *ārāṃikas*, Dhammasiri's Gaṇṭhipada explains that they are neither slaves nor free men. This seems to imply that even Dhammasiri excluded *ārāṃikas* from higher ordination because the candidate for higher ordination has to be a free man. However, we have to reckon with the possibility that, by being ordained as novices, *ārāṃikas* lose their former status and therefore qualify for higher ordination, too.

2.2 The *ticivara*

The second method for stretching the rules and getting away with it is not to apply the wording originally provided for the respective case, but to resort to another wording that allows a certain latitude.

As is well known, in the early days of Buddhism, monks had to content themselves with robes made from rags from a dust heap (*paṃsukūla*). Very soon, however, they were also allowed to wear robes donated by householders.¹¹⁹ The robe (*civara*) every monk is obliged to wear from the time of his higher ordination onward consists of the inner garment (*antaravāsaka*), the upper garment (*uttarāsaṅga*) and the outer cloak (*saṅghāṭi*).¹²⁰ The inner garment covers the navel and the knees and is fixed by a waistband.¹²¹ The upper garment reaches from the neck to the ankles, thus covering the inner garment. The outer cloak had the size of the upper garment and is made of two layers of fabric.¹²² A monk was allowed to own no more than one set of three robes

¹¹⁹Vin I 280,35ff. (BD IV 397ff.).

¹²⁰Vin I 289,1–3: *anujānāmi bhikkhave ticivaraṃ diguṇaṃ saṅghāṭiṃ ekacciyaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ ekacciyaṃ antaravāsakaṃ ti*. “I allow you, monks, three robes: a double outer cloak, a single upper robe, a single inner robe” (BD IV 411). If the clothes were worn thin the *antaravāsaka* and the *uttarāsaṅga* were allowed to be double, the *saṅghāṭi* fourfold, Vin I 290,13–14 (BD IV 413).

¹²¹Vin II 135,34–36,5 (BD V 188f.).

¹²²Following Sp III 643,3–8 = Kkh 94,18–20 *saṅghāṭi* and *uttarāsaṅga* are, according to the smallest size, in length five *muṭṭhi* (1.8 metres), in breadth three *muṭṭhi* (1.08 metres); the *antaravāsaka* is in length the same, in breadth two *muṭṭhi* (0.72 metres). For *muṭṭhi* as a measure of length, see Kieffer-Pülz 1993, p. 182, n. 46. The upper limit for all robes is given by the size of a *sugatacivara* (nine *vidatthi* in length [1.98 metres] and six *vidatthi* in breadth [1.32 metres]; Vin IV 173,28–29) which they must not exceed.

Six kinds of material were allowed: Vin I 281,34–36 (BD IV 398): *anujānāmi bhikkhave cha cīvarāni khomaṃ kappāsikaṃ koseyyaṃ kambalaṃ sāṇaṃ bhaṅgaṃ ti*. “Monks, I allow six [kinds of] robe materials: linen, cotton, silk, wool, coarse hempen cloth, canvas.”

(*ticīvara*).¹²³ Any item in excess was regarded as an extra robe (*atirekacīvara*), and had to be assigned (*vikappeti*) to someone else after ten days at the latest.¹²⁴

Before a monk could use a cloth, he had to take formal possession of it (*adhitiṭṭhati*).¹²⁵ This holds true for all nine clothes which serve as requisites of a monk. These are (1–3) the three robes (*ticīvara*), (4) the cloth to sit upon (*nisīdana*), (5) a sheet (*paccattharaṇa*), (6) a cloth for wiping the face (*mukhapuñchanacoḷa*), (7) a requisite cloth (*parikkhāraḷa*), (8) the cloth for the rains (*vassikasāṭikā*), and (9) the itch-cloth (*kaṇḍupaṭicchādī*). Only two of them may be assigned (*vikappeti*) to others after use, i.e., the cloth for the rains and the itch-cloth.¹²⁶ For most items a certain size and number are prescribed.¹²⁷

¹²³Vin I 287,31–89,3 (*BD IV 409f.*). The stories told in the Vinaya about monks who entered a village with one set of three robes, remained in the monastery in another set of three robes, and went down to bathe in another set, amply show that such additional sets of three robes were regarded as extra robes (*atirekacīvara*) which could be kept for ten days at most (see Vin I 289,3–12, *BD IV 411*).

¹²⁴Vin I 289,29–30 (*BD IV 412*); Vin III 196,9–11 [*Niss I Mk*] (*BD II 4–5*).

¹²⁵E.g. Vin I 297,2–10 (*BD IV 423f.*); 308,32–35; 309,2, 3, 12, 13, 16, 19–21 (*BD IV 441ff.*; *vissāsagāha/adhiṭṭhāna*, without the exact wording to be used); II 119,6–8 (*BD V 163*; with the wording); 123,32 (*BD V 170f.* referring to the *namataka*); III 204,36; 246,25 (*BD II 28*; 121; referring to the *patta*); V 137,29; 140,18, 37 (*BD VI 222*; 227f.); 173,23, 25, 26; 174,33; 175,13 (*BD VI 281*; 283f.; *paccuddhāra* precedes the *adhiṭṭhāna*; *adhiṭṭhāna* follows the *paccuddhāra*); 176,26, 29, 32–33 (*BD VI 286*; *kathina*).

¹²⁶Vin I 296,30–97,10 (*BD IV 423*).

¹²⁷For the *ticīvara* see above. The *nisīdana* (Vin IV 170,29–31; 171,11–14 [*Pāc 89 Mk*]; *BD III 96*) was two *vidatthi* in length and one-and-a-half in breadth according to the current *vidatthi* plus a border of one *vidatthi* breadth, thus altogether 4 × 3.5 *vidatthi* (c. 1 × 0.87 metres). The *vassikasāṭikā*, a cloth for the rains retreat in the four months of the rains allowed for the monks (Vin I 294,24, *BD IV 420*), was six *vidatthi* in length and two-and-a-half in breadth according to the current *vidatthi* (*vassikasāṭikā*; Vin IV 172,22–73,3 [*Pāc 91 Mk*]; *BD III 99*), ca. 1.5 × 0.62 metres. A *kaṇḍupaṭicchādī* was allowed in case of certain skin diseases (Vin I 296,4–5, *BD IV 421*); it spread from below the navel to above the knees and was four *vidatthi* in length and two in

While the Vinaya describes the procedure of taking formal possession with respect to a strainer only,¹²⁸ the Samantapāsādikā is more detailed and rules that a monk has to recite an accompanying formula, for instance: “I take formal possession of this cloak” (*imaṃ saṅghāṭiṃ adhiṭṭhāmi*).¹²⁹

As already mentioned, a monk is allowed one set of the three robes. If he wishes to accept a new set, he first has to formally abandon (*paccuddharati*)¹³⁰ the old one. Although the Vinaya is not very explicit with respect to the formal abandonment of the three robes, it must be presumed that it was common practice, at least during the final stage of development of the Pātimokkha, because the Vinaya mentions the

breadth according to the current *vidatthi* (Vin IV 172,11–14 [Pāc 90 Mk]; *BD* III 97f.), i.e., ca. 1 × 0.5 metres.

Exceptions are the sheet, allowed in Vin I 295,27–29 (*BD* IV 421) in the size one wants. Thus there is no limit as to its size. The size of the *mukha-piñchanacoḷa* (Vin I 296,19–20, *BD* IV 422) seems to have not been defined in the Vinaya. However, it could be deduced from its function. In the commentarial layer, according to some, two such garments were allowed, while others declare that many may be used (Sp III 645,1–4). The requisite cloth is allowed in Vin I 296,32–33 (*BD* IV 422). No limit with respect to the number of requisite cloths is given, see Kkh 95,24–25 = Pālim 33,19–20 = Sp III 645,4–5: *parikkhāracoḷe gaṇanā natthi. yattakaṃ icchatī tattakaṃ adhiṭṭhātabbam eva.*

¹²⁸Vin II 119,6–8: *sace na hoti parissāvanaṃ vā dhammakarako vā saṅghāṭikaṇṇo pi adhiṭṭhātabbo iminā parissāvetvā pivissāmī ti.* “If there is not a strainer or a regulation water pot, then a corner of the outer cloak should be determined upon with the words, ‘I will drink [water] having strained it with this.’” (*BD* V 163). This example, though not general, shows that taking formal possession of is an express statement in which the object and the fact that it is taken possession of are mentioned.

¹²⁹The two ways of making an *adhiṭṭhāna* are verbal and physical, Vin V 117,37–38 (*patta*); 117,38–18,1 (*cīvara*); Sp III 643,3ff. (*cīvara*); 705,16ff. (*patta*).

¹³⁰See BHSD s.v. *pratyuddharati*, “removes”. Horner, *BD* II 22, n. 3, discusses the term at length, but did not grasp the sense correctly. Here in the casuistry it should mean, “if [the robe] is not formally given up, [but] he is of the opinion that it has been formally given up” (*apaccuddhaṭe paccuddhaṭasaññī*, Vin III 202,20).

formal abandonment of a robe in various sections.¹³¹ This indicates that the knowledge of the practical details is taken for granted.

This said, there is little room left for a monk to own more than one set of three robes at the same time without getting into conflict with the law, one would think.

However, we have at least circumstantial evidence that already at the time of the Vinaya monks had more than one set of three robes at their disposal. (1) Firstly, there is a stereotype formula laying down the duties of a pupil, etc., if his preceptor, etc., wishes to leave the monastery to go to town. Here it becomes apparent that the preceptor changes at least one of the three robes in preparation for the trip (he receives a *nivāsana* and hands back a *paṭinivāsana*), and that he changes it again on his return (he hands back the *nivāsana* and grasps

¹³¹In the Suttavibhaṅga in the introductory story to Pācittiya 59 Mk and in the Pātimokkha rule itself: Vin IV 121.17, 20, 23 (introductory story), 121.30–33 (rule); 122.17–18 (word-by-word commentary), 122.19–21 (casuistry; *BD* II 411ff.); referred to in Vin V 22.7–14 (*BD* VI 34); furthermore in the casuistry and in the *anāpatti* formulas of two Nissaggiya rules: Vin III 202.20 (casuistry), 28 (*anāpatti* formula) [Niss 2 Mk] (*BD* II 22–23); Vin III 264.21–22 (casuistry), 32 (*anāpatti* formula) [Niss 29 Mk] (*BD* II 159); in the Parivāra (Vin V 176.24–34) in the frame of the description of the *kathina* ceremony, which — as is well known — represents a later stage than the description of the *kathina* ceremony in the Mahāvagga. The rule Pāc 59 Mk has been misunderstood by Horner, *BD* II 411–13, because she did not recognize the technical meaning of *paccuddharatī*. The translation in Pātim, 2001, p. 67: “If any bhikkhu ... should use it without a formal taking back [i.e., rescinding of the assignment]”, also does not fully grasp the sense, since here the bhikkhu who uses the robe, and the one who formally takes it back, i.e., rescinds his own assignment, are one and the same person. In fact the bhikkhu who uses the [robe] (i.e., the one who had assigned the robe to a second bhikkhu) is different from the bhikkhu whose robe he uses (i.e., whom he had assigned the robe to before), and who did not formally give it up (*apaccuddhāraṇaṃ*). For, if someone assigns an object to someone else, that person has to take formal possession of it in order to be able to use it. Before that person again may assign the robe to someone else, he first has to formally give it up (*paccuddharatī*) again.

the *paṭinivāsana*).¹³² This clearly presupposes that the preceptor has more than one set of three robes at his disposal.¹³³

(2) Secondly, we have two instances in the Vinaya where the word *vihāracīvara* is used.¹³⁴ The exact meaning of this word in the Vinaya is not known, but it cannot be excluded that it refers to a robe to be used by a monk in a *vihāra*. However, the Samantapāsādikā indicates that it is a robe deposited as a requisite by the donors of the *vihāra*.¹³⁵

(3) Thirdly, the ascetic practice (*dhutaṅga*), called the three-robe wearer (*tecīvarika*), obliges a monk to wear only three robes, with only one yellow shoulder cloth (*aṃsakasāva*) allowed in addition. From the fact that this is considered an austerity, we may safely assume that the original confinement to a single set of three robes was no longer the rule, but rather the exception. Since the three-robe wearer is mentioned in the Sutta-piṭaka¹³⁶ and in later layers of the Vinaya, i.e., in the report

¹³²Vin I 46,12-13 = II 223,14f. *sace upajjhāyo gāmaṃ pavisitukāmo hoti, nivāsanaṃ dātabbaṃ paṭinivāsanaṃ paṭiggahetabbaṃ* (BD IV 60: “If the preceptor wishes to enter a village, his inner clothing should be given [to him], the inner clothing [that he is wearing] should be received [from him] in return.” Vin I 46,25-27: *paccuggantvā pattacīvaraṃ paṭiggahetabbaṃ, paṭinivāsanaṃ dātabbaṃ, ... nivāsanaṃ paṭiggahetabbaṃ*. BD IV 60: “Having gone to meet him, he should receive his bowl and robe, he should give back the inner clothing [given] in return; he should receive his inner clothing.”

¹³³The robe is named *nivāsana*. Horner supposes that *nivāsana* is another word for *antaravāsaka* (BD I 60, n. 1). She (BD I 60, n. 2) rejects the interpretation of VinTexts I 155, where *nivāsana* is rendered as “under garment (i.e., his house-dress?)”, because in that case the monk would not be a *tecīvarika*. Thus she rejects an interpretation because it does not fit her expectation.

Interestingly, the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins in their *Abhisamācārikā* in a parallel to our passage, differentiate between a *grāmapraveśikacīvaral nivāsana* and an *ārāmacaraṇakaṃ cīvaraṃ* or a *vihāracaraṇakacīvaral nivāsana*. I owe this information to Seishi Karashima.

¹³⁴Vin III 212,20, 23 (BD II 46, with n. 2). This *vihāracīvara* clearly is deposited in a *vihāra*, and belongs to the saṅgha, i.e., it is not taken into formal possession by some monk.

¹³⁵Defined by the *ṭīkā*s, Sp-ṭ II 403,1 = Pālim-ṅ II 309,10: *vihāracīvaran ti senāsana-cīvaraṃ*.

¹³⁶A I 38,13; M I 214,5; see BD IV 351, n. 3.

of the second council and in the Parivāra,¹³⁷ this change of practice must have taken effect at least by the end of the first century B.C. But how could the new attitude be put into practice without transgressing the rules? There is a long passage which illuminates this point in the Samantapāsādikā quoting early teachers and texts from at least the first century B.C. The question discussed here is whether or not it is allowed to take formal possession of the set of three robes as requisite cloth (*parikkhāracōḷa*).¹³⁸

The first authority quoted in this context is Thera Mahāpaduma,¹³⁹ a Vinaya specialist (*vinayadhara*) from Sri Lanka, a pupil of Vinayadhara Thera Upatissa, who lived during the famine in the first century B.C.¹⁴⁰ He declares that a monk may only take formal possession of the set of three robes under precisely this designation (set of three robes).¹⁴¹ Interestingly enough, this literal interpretation turns

¹³⁷In the description of the monks of Pāvā (Vin I 253,6; II 299,6, 9 [report of the second council]); V 131,16; 193,10.

¹³⁸Sp III 643,31–44,1: *ticīvaraṃ pana parikkhāracōḷaṃ adhiṭṭhātuṃ vaṭṭati na vaṭṭatī ti?* “But is it allowed to take formal possession of the three robes as requisite robes [or] is it not allowed?”

¹³⁹Mori 1989, p. 68 (130), no. 93.

¹⁴⁰Sp I 263,24–64,7. Thera Upatissa is mentioned together with Thera Phussa-deva as one of those who protected the Vinaya when the great peril arose in Sri Lanka (*mahābhaye uppanne*, Sp I 263,25–28). This famine is thought to have taken place between 102 and 89 B.C.; see Mori 1989, p. 61.

¹⁴¹Sp III 644,1–4: *Mahāpadumatthero kirāha: ticīvaraṃ ticīvaraṃ eva adhiṭṭhātabbaṃ. sace parikkhāracōḷādhiṭṭhānaṃ labheyya udositasikkhāpade pariḥāro niratthako bhavyeyā ti. evaṃ vutte kira avasesā bhikkhū āhaṃsu: parikkhāracōḷam pi bhagavatā va adhiṭṭhātabban ti vuttaṃ, tasmā vaṭṭatī ti.* “Thera Mahāpaduma, apparently, says that the set of three robes is to be taken formal possession of only as a set of three robes. If the taking formal possession of [the set of three robes] as a requisite cloth were allowed, the protection in the storehouse rule (Niss 2 Mk; i.e., to be allowed to wear fewer than three robes during the *kaṭhina* period, and after the *kaṭhina* has been closed, with the agreement of the *bhikkhus*) would become useless. When he had spoken thus, then the remaining monks said, ‘Even the requisite cloth is taught in fact by the Lord as one which has to be taken formal possession of,

out to be the minority. All the other monks hold that the *ticivara* may also be taken into formal possession as a *parikkhāraḥa* (Sp III 644.4–6).

Since no limit is given regarding the size and number of requisite cloths (*parikkhāraḥa*), there also is no need to formally give up (*paccuddharatī*) old *parikkhāraḥas* before accepting new ones. In theory, this leaves room for unlimited accumulation of such requisites in all shapes and sizes.

The view of Thera Mahāpaduma’s opponents receives additional support from the Mahāpaccarī¹⁴² and also from Thera Mahātissa,¹⁴³ an inhabitant of Puṇṇavālika and a reciter of both Vibhaṅgas (*ubhato-vibhaṅgabhāṇaka*),¹⁴⁴ who refers to it as an earlier practice of the forest

therefore it is allowed (i.e., it is allowed to take formal possession of the set of three robes as a requisite cloth).’”

¹⁴²Sp III 644.6–10: *Mahāpaccariyam pi vuttaṃ “parikkhāraḥaṃ nāma pāṭeekaṃ nidhānamukhaṃ etan ti ticivaraṃ parikkhāraḥaṃ ti adhiṭṭhahitvā paribhuñjituṃ vaṭṭati. udositasikkhāpade pana ticivaraṃ adhiṭṭhahitvā pariharantassa parihāro vutto” ti.* “Even in the Mahāpaccarī it is said, ‘Requisite cloth means: this [taking formal possession of as requisite cloth is] a distinct one, mainly [serving] the storage, [thus] it is allowed to use the set of three robes, having taken formal possession of them as requisite cloth. In the storehouse rule (Niss 2 Mk), however, the protection is taught for him, who, having taken formal possession of as the set of three robes, preserves [the robes].’”

¹⁴³Mori 1989, p. 67 (129), no. 90.

¹⁴⁴Sp III 644.10–17: *ubhato-Vibhaṅgabhāṇako puṇṇavālikavāsī Mahātissathero pi kira āha: “mayam pubbe mahātherānaṃ assumha ‘araññāvāsino bhikkhū rukkhasusirādīsū cīvaraṃ ṭhapetvā padhānaṃ padahanatthāya gacchanti. sāmantavīhāre dhammasavanatthāya gatānañ ca nesaṃ sūriye uṭṭhite sāmaṇerā vā daharabhikkhū vā pattacīvaraṃ gahetvā gacchanti, tasmā sukhaparibhogatthaṃ ticivaraṃ parikkhāraḥaṃ ti adhiṭṭhātuṃ vaṭṭati” ti.* “Even the reciter of the two Vibhaṅgas, the inhabitant of Puṇṇavālika, Thera Mahātissa, as is well known, says, ‘We have heard from the *mahātheras* in earlier times that the monks living in the forest, having deposited a robe in a hollow of a tree, etc., in order to exert [meditation] went to [the place for] exertion, and that, when the sun arose, the novices and young monks of these *mahātheras* who had gone [there], having taken robe and bowl, went to a neighbouring monastery in order to hear the *dhamma*.

monks. The Mahāpaccarī argues that forest monks had practised the taking formal possession of the *ticivara* as a *parikkhāraṇa*, because within an undetermined monastic boundary (*abaddhasīmā*), as is the case in a forest, there is no good protection for the set of the three robes.¹⁴⁵ Since the Mahāpaccarī dates from around the first century B.C., if not earlier, it provides an impressive testimony to the practice of taking formal possession of the set of three robes as a requisite cloth.

This is corroborated by the Samantapāsādikā, which quotes the Mahāpaccarī as the final authority on this issue,¹⁴⁶ as well as by the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī¹⁴⁷ and Vajirabuddhi’s Anugaṇṭhipada.¹⁴⁸ The Anu-

Therefore, it is allowed for the ease of use to take formal possession of the set of three robes as requisite cloth.’”

¹⁴⁵Sp III 644.17–20: *Mahāpaccariyam pi vuttaṃ “pubbe ārañṇikā bhikkhū abaddhasīmāyaṃ dupparihāraṇaṃ ti ticivaraṃ parikkhāraṇaṃ eva adhiṭṭhahitvā paribhuñjimsū” ti.* “Even in the Mahāpaccarī it is said, ‘In earlier times the forest monks used the set of three robes having taken formal possession of [them] only as requisite cloth, [owing to the fact] that in an undetermined [monastic] boundary [there exists] poor protection [regarding the three robes].’”

The monastic boundary consisting in seven *abbhantara* (*sattabbhantara-sīmā*), which is the type of boundary (*sīmā*) valid in a forest, does not in fact have the function of protecting monks from being separated from the three robes (Sp V 1052.11). Since, however, this boundary comes into being only for a legal procedure, for the remaining time the robe rules for the forest are valid. Thus, a monk in the forest may not be more than seven *abbhantara* distant from his robes (cf. Kieffer-Pülz 1992, B 15.2.3).

¹⁴⁶See above n. 99.

¹⁴⁷Kkh 95.11–12: *idaṃ ca pana ticivaraṃ sukhaparibhogatthaṃ parikkhāraṇaṃ adhiṭṭhātum pi vaṭṭati.* “And this set of three robes may even be taken formal possession of as a requisite cloth for easy usage.” From the point of view of content this statement reproduces parts of the opinion of Thera Mahātissa; see above n. 144.

¹⁴⁸Vjb 223.15–17 = Pālim-ṅ 93.27–94.1: *paṭhamaṃ ticivaraṃ ticivarādhiṭṭhānena adhiṭṭhātappaṃ, puna parihaṇitum asakkontena paccuddharitvā parikkhāraṇaṃ adhiṭṭhātappaṃ. na tv eva ādīto va idaṃ vuttaṃ ti vuttaṃ.* “‘First, the set of three robes is to be taken formal possession of by [means of] the taking formal possession of as a set of three robes; by one not capable of preserving [them], they, after having been given up formally, should again

gaṇṭhipada recommends that a monk unable to keep up the robes he has taken formal possession of as three robes should formally give them up (*paccuddharatī*) and then take formal possession of them as *parikkhāraṇa* in order to avoid a transgression of Niss 2 Mk, which forbids a monk to part with one of his robes even for one night after the *kaṭhina* period has been closed, except with the approval of the monks. In case the set of three robes has not been taken formal possession of as such, the rules for the *ticīvara* do not apply to them.

The evidence of the Anugaṇṭhipada also shows that this rule represents a later development, albeit of a considerable age. The Vajirabuddhi-ṭīkā's lengthy pronouncements on this practice¹⁴⁹ are intended to show that, although it does not belong to the earliest rules, it would have been decided in exactly the same way by the Buddha and that it could very well have been initiated by him. The practice was very common in later times, as we can see from texts on monastic law dating from the twelfth to seventeenth centuries.¹⁵⁰

Thus taking formal possession of a set of three robes as a *parikkhāraṇa* was, and probably still is, an acceptable way of circumventing the strict and complex rules applying to the *ticīvara*.

be taken formal possession of as requisite cloths. But this has not been taught from the very beginning', [thus] it is said [in Vajirabuddhi's Anugaṇṭhipada]."

¹⁴⁹Vjb 222,7–23,25 = Pālim-nṭ I 93,13–27 and 93,27–94,1.

¹⁵⁰Khuddas-pṭ 96,14–17: *kiṃ pana ticīvaraṃ parikkhāraṇaṃ adhiṭṭhātuṃ vaṭṭatī ti? āma vaṭṭatī, parikkhāraṇaṃ nāma pātekkam nīdhānamukham etan ti; ticīvaraṃ parikkhāraṇaṃ adhiṭṭhahitvā paribhuñjituṃ vaṭṭatī* (Sp III 644,6–8); Vin-vn-pṭ 282,26–28: *parikkhāraṇassa ti parikkhāraṇa-nāmena adhiṭṭhahitvā cīvaraṃ paribhuñjītukāmassa parikkhāraṇa-nāmena adhiṭṭhātuṃ vaṭṭatī*. Pālim-nṭ I 94,1–4 ≠ Sp-ṭ II 388,29–31 = Pālim-pṭ 22,25–29 ≠ Vmv I 313,17–18: ^a*parikkhāraṇaṃ adhiṭṭhātun ti* (Sp III 643,31) *parikkhāraṇaṃ katvā adhiṭṭhātuṃ*^a (^a=Pālim-nṭ, Vmv omit). *baddhasīmāyaṃ* (Pālim-nṭ *sīmāya*) *avippavāsasīmāsammūṭṭisabbhāvato* (Pālim-nṭ, Vmv *sambhavato*) *cīvaravippavāse pi* (Pālim-nṭ omits) ^b*n' ev' atthi doso ti*^b (^b=Vmv omits) *na tattha dupparihāratā* (Pālim-nṭ *dupparihāro*) *ti āha abaddhasīmāyaṃ dupparihāran ti* (Sp III 644,18).

Even outside the *kāṭhina* period, this practice enables a monk to travel with fewer than three robes, it allows him to own more than just one set of three robes, and it protects him from transgressing the rules applying to the *ticīvara*. This practice has met with general acceptance, except by the early Thera Mahāpaduma, and it prepared the way for the legal possession of multiple sets of three robes — which nowadays seems to be the regular case in most instances.

These two examples should afford a glimpse of the methods used in Theravāda legal literature for adapting the largely fixed rules of Buddhist law to changing circumstances or wishes. Though there may exist still further forms of adaptation, it can safely be said that the first of the two methods dealt with here is the most common and widespread in the legal texts.

Petra Kieffer-Pülz
Weimar

REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

References to Pāli texts are to the editions of the Pali Text Society (PTS), to the editions of the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana Series (Chs), or to the databank on CD-ROM (CSCD). For bibliographical details see *CPD*, Epilegomena, and the lists of abbreviations in *CPD*, Vol. III.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Aṅguttaranikāya (PTS)
Ap	Apadāna (PTS)
Ap-a	Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā (PTS)
BD	I.B.Horner, <i>The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka)</i> , 6 Vols., London, 1938–1966 (Sacred Books of the Buddhists 10, 11, 13, 14, 20, 25).
BHSD	F. Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary</i> , Vol. 2: <i>Dictionary</i> , Delhi, repr. 1985.
Bv	Buddhavamsa (PTS)
Bv-a	Buddhavamsa-aṭṭhakathā (PTS)
CPD	<i>A Critical Pāli Dictionary</i> , begun by V. Trenckner, ed. D. Andersen, H. Smith, H. Hendriksen, Vols. 1–2, 3, fascs. 1ff., Copenhagen 1924ff.
CSCD	CD-ROM, Version 3, by the Vipassana Research Institute, Dhammagiri, Igatpuri, India: Databank of canonical and post-canonical Pāli texts according to the Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana Edition. [Quoted according to the pagination of the roman editions if available, otherwise according to the Burmese editions; paginations sometimes deviate from the printed editions by one page, depending on the script chosen].
Dhp-a	Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā (PTS)
D	Dīghanikāya (PTS)
DOP	Margaret Cone, <i>A Dictionary of Pāli</i> , Vol. I (A–Kh), Oxford, 2001.
DPPN	G.P. Malalasekera, <i>Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names</i> , 2 Vols., London 1937–1938.
Jäschke	H.A. Jäschke, <i>A Tibetan–English Dictionary</i> , London, repr. 1977.
Ja	Jātakatṭhakathā (PTS)
Khuddas	Khuddasikkhā (CSCD)
Khuddas-pt	Khuddasikkhāpurāṇa-ṭikā (Chs)

Kkh	Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī (PTS, 2003)
Mhv	Mahāvamsa (PTS)
M	Majjhima Nikāya (PTS)
Mk	monks' rules
Mil	Milindapaṇha (PTS reprint)
Mp	Manorathapūraṇī (PTS)
N	nuns' rules
Niss	Nissaggiya (category of offences)
Pāc	Pācittiya (category of offences)
Pāc-y	Pācityādiyojanā (Chs)
Pālim	Pālimuttakavinayavinicchaya (Chs)
Pālim-nṭ	Pālimuttakavinayavinicchayanavaṭṭikā (Chs)
Pār	Pārājika (category of offences)
Ps	Papañcasūdani (PTS)
PTS	Pali Text Society
S	Samyuttanikāya (PTS)
S ^c	Siamese edition
Sp	Samantapāsādikā (PTS)
Spk	Sāratthappakāsinī (PTS)
Sp-ṭ	Sāratthadīpanī (Chs)
Sv	Sumaṅgalavilāsini (PTS)
Sv-nṭ	Sumaṅgalavilāsiniṇavaṭṭikā (CSCD)
Th-a	Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā (PTS)
Thī-a	Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā (PTS)
Ud-a	Udāna-aṭṭhakathā (PTS)
v.	verse
Vibh-mṭ	Vibhaṅga-mūlaṭṭikā (CSCD)
Vin	Vinaya-piṭaka (PTS)
VinTexts	T.W. Rhys Davids, Hermann Oldenberg, <i>Vinaya Texts</i> , Vol. 1–3, Oxford 1881, 1882, 1885 (Sacred Books of the East, 13, 17, 20).
Vin-vn	Vinayavinicchaya (CSCD)
Vin-vn-pt	Vinayavinicchaya-porāṇaṭṭikā (Chs)
Vism	Visuddhimagga (PTS)
Vjb	Vajirabuddhi-ṭṭikā (Chs)
Vmv	Vimativinodani-ṭṭikā (Chs)

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The Susīma-sutta and the Wisdom-Liberated Arahant

The Susīma-sutta, a short discourse of the Saṃyutta-nikāya, uses a dramatic plot to shine a spotlight on a doctrinal topic that must have been of vital interest to the ancient Saṅgha as it classified persons with respect to their meditative expertise and paths of attainment.¹ The topic is the nature of the *paññāvimutta arahant*, the person who attains liberation through the special efficacy of wisdom without reaching extraordinary distinction in the sphere of *samādhi* or concentration. The Susīma-sutta merits special consideration because the Pāli version has three parallels preserved in Chinese translation, and thus a comparison of the Pāli discourse with its Chinese counterparts permits us to see how, even in an early stage of textual transmission, the Buddhist schools were already in subtle ways contemplating different solutions to the doctrinal problem raised by the *sutta*. For ease of reference, I will designate the Pāli version S 12:70. Among the Chinese versions, one is found in the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṅghika school, which I will refer to as M-Vin.² Another version is *sutta* no. 347 in the Saṃyukta-āgama, commonly understood to be the Sarvāstivāda (or perhaps Mūla-sarvāstivāda) counterpart to the Saṃyutta-nikāya.³ I will call this version SĀ 347. The other is an incomplete citation in the Abhidharma-

¹S 12:70; II 119–28.

²T22, 362b25–363b26. In my discussion, when I translate terms used in the Chinese texts into their Indic equivalents, for the sake of consistency I will generally use the Pāli counterparts, even though these texts may have been translated from Sanskrit or Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit originals. For the same reason, I will refer to all versions of the basic text as a *sutta* rather than use *sutta* for the Pāli version and *sūtra* for non-Pāli versions

³SĀ 347; T2, 96b25–98a12. Richard Gombrich (*How Buddhism Began: The Conditioned Genesis of the Early Teaching* (London: Athlone, 1996), pp. 123–27) discusses the relations between S 12:70 and SĀ 347. My interpretation of both versions differs considerably from Gombrich's.

vibhāṣā-śāstra.⁴ This citation terminates before we reach the end of the *sutta*, but it covers most of the points relevant to our study. This version will be referred to as Vibhāṣā.

In this paper I will use S 12:70 as the primary basis for my discussion and bring in the others later for purposes of comparison. I will first present a summary of the “plot”. Then I will explore the theme of the “*arahant* liberated by wisdom” based on the primary text, followed by a discussion of its treatment in the several Chinese versions of the *sutta*. At some later time, I hope to write a sequel to this paper to explore the different versions of the second part of the discourse, which deals with the two knowledges contributing to the status of one liberated by wisdom.

I. The Plot

The *sutta* opens with the Buddha dwelling in the Bamboo Grove at Rājagaha. At the time, he is respected and honored by the laity and amply provided with all the requisites, as is the Bhikkhu Saṅgha. Because of the Buddha’s rise to fame, the fortunes of the “wanderers of other sects” have steeply declined. The wanderers resident at Rājagaha therefore decide to assign a crucial mission to one of their members named Susīma. He is to go forth under “the Ascetic Gotama”, master his doctrine, and then return and teach it to his own community. They assume that the Buddha’s doctrine is the key to his success, and so, they suppose, once they have learned his Dhamma and can teach it to the lay folk, they will regain the support that they have lost to the Sakyan sage.

Susīma agrees and heads off towards the Bamboo Grove. At the

⁴There are actually two parallel treatises that cite this version, with slight differences between them. The one I mostly draw upon is Abhidharma-vibhāṣā-śāstra (no. 1546), which cites it at T28, 407c26–408b11. The larger version of this treatise, Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra (no. 1545), cites it at T27, 572b16–572c27. It is an open question whether this version is actually a *sutta* with canonical or quasi-canonical status; it may be, rather, merely the treatise’s paraphrase of a *sutta*. For the sake of convenience, however, I will refer to it as if it were another version of the *sutta*.

entrance he meets the monk Ānanda and tells him he wants to lead the spiritual life under the Buddha.⁵ Ānanda brings Susīma to the Buddha, who tells Ānanda to ordain him. Shortly thereafter, in the Buddha's presence, a number of monks declare final knowledge (*aññā*), that is, arahantship, announcing, "We understand: Birth is finished, the holy life has been lived, what had to be done has been done, there is no more coming back to any state of being."⁶ Susīma hears about this and approaches the monks to ask whether this report is true. When they confirm it, he asks them whether they have attained the five mundane types of super-knowledge: the modes of spiritual power, the divine ear, the ability to read the minds of others, the recollection of past lives, and the divine eye which sees how beings pass away and take rebirth in accordance with their *kamma*.⁷ In each case, the monks deny possessing these super-knowledges. Then Susīma asks them whether they dwell in the "peaceful emancipations, transcending forms, formless, having contacted them with the body".⁸ Again, they answer no. Now Susīma is puzzled. He tells the monks that he cannot understand how they could declare arahantship yet deny that they attain these superhuman states. They reply, "We are liberated by wisdom, friend Susīma."⁹

This answer does not satisfy Susīma, but when he asks them to elucidate they only repeat the same words, "Whether or not you understand, we are liberated by wisdom." So Susīma goes to the Buddha in

⁵In all three Chinese versions, it is not Ānanda that he meets but a group of monks. In SĀ 347 and Vibhāṣā, the monks bring him to the Buddha, who tells them to ordain him. In M-Vin, the monks tell Susīma that, as a convert from another sect, he must live on probation for four months, and then, if the Saṅgha approves, they will give him the ordination.

⁶S II 120,30–32: *khīṇā jāti vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ nāparaṃ ithattāyāti pajānāma*.

⁷S II 121–23. Briefly, in Pāli: (1) *iddhividha*, (2) *dibbasotadhātu*, (3) *cetopariyañāṇa*, (4) *pubbenivāsānussatiñāṇa*, (5) *yathākamma cutūpapātāñāṇa*.

⁸S II 123,15–16: *ye te santā vimokkhā atikkamma rūpe āruppā te kāyena phusitvā viharatha*.

⁹S II 123,26: *paññāvimuttā kho mayaṃ, āvuso Susīma*.

quest of clarification and reports to him the entire conversation he had with the monks. The Buddha too replies with an enigmatic one-sentence answer, “First, Susīma, there is knowledge of the persistence of principles; afterwards, knowledge of nibbāna.”¹⁰

Susīma asks the Buddha to explain this concise statement in detail, but the Buddha first responds simply by repeating his reply, “Whether or not you understand, Susīma, first there is knowledge of the persistence of principles; afterwards, knowledge of nibbāna.” However, he then tries to guide Susīma to an understanding of his words. He first leads him through the catechism on the three characteristics — impermanence, suffering, and non-self — in relation to the five aggregates, exactly as we find it in the second “argument” of the well-known Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta, the Discourse on the Characteristic of Non-Self (S 22:59).¹¹ This culminates in the noble disciple becoming disenchanted with the five aggregates; through disenchantment, he becomes dispassionate; and through dispassion, his mind is liberated. With liberation comes the knowledge of liberation and he understands: “Birth is finished ... there is no more coming back to any state of being.”

The Buddha next takes Susīma through a catechism on dependent origination (*paṭicca-samuppāda*), first with respect to arising: beginning with “aging-and-death have birth as condition” and ending with “volitional activities have ignorance as condition”; and then with respect to cessation, starting from “aging-and-death cease with the cessation of birth” and ending with “volitional activities cease with the cessation of ignorance”. At this point the Buddha asks Susīma whether “knowing and seeing thus” (*evaṃ jānanto evaṃ passanto*), he exercises the five super-knowledges or attains the peaceful formless emancipations. When Susīma says no, the Buddha asks him how he could answer as he did while being unable to attain these states. The Buddha’s use of the word “answer” (*veyyākaraṇa*) apparently refers back to his agreeing

¹⁰S II 124,10–11: *pubbe kho Susīma dhammaññhiññāṇaṃ, pacchā nibbāne ñāṇaṃ.*

¹¹S III 67,22–68,25.

that he “knows and sees” each of the points the Buddha asked him about in the chain of dependent origination.

Susīma does not reply to the Buddha’s question. Instead, he prostrates himself at the Buddha’s feet, confesses that he entered the Buddhist order with thievish intent, and asks the Blessed One to pardon him for this offence. The Buddha then tells him that he was indeed foolish to have contemplated such a dangerous course of action. To underscore the danger he relates a simile about a criminal who is arrested by the king and beheaded to the south of the city. The consequences of “going forth as a thief in the well-expounded Dhamma and Discipline”, the Buddha says, are far graver than the punishment suffered by the criminal; but since Susīma sees his transgression for what it is, he pardons him for the sake of his future restraint.

2. The One Liberated by Wisdom

In S 12:70, as we have just seen, when Susīma questions the monks about their attainments, he asks about the five mundane super-knowledges and the peaceful formless emancipations, and it is these that the monks deny possessing. It is intriguing that Susīma’s questions do not pry into any attainments that the monks might possess *below* the level of the formless emancipations. I assume that, whatever might have been the historical basis for the origination of this *sutta*, the actual dialogue, particularly in the first part, is partly the work of the compilers of the texts. Once this assumption is granted, we may infer that the compilers of the *sutta* had compelling doctrinal reasons for drawing the cut-off point at the formless emancipations. For them to permit Susīma to ask the monks whether or not they had attained the *jhānas*, and then to have the monks give negative answers to these questions, would have been to directly contradict time-hallowed discourses and doctrinal formulæ. It seems to me that the compilers of this *sutta* wish to insinuate that the monks were actually *not* attainers of the *jhānas*, that they subtly want to introduce into the canon the idea of the *arahant* who lacks these distinguished states of concentration. At the same time,

however, they did not want to force an ambiguity that was hovering over the notion of the “wisdom-liberated *arahant*” to become resolved too starkly in black-and-white terms. Hence they allowed the ambiguity to linger in the canonical text while they resolved the issue in its commentary, which in the earliest period must have been a teacher’s oral explanation accompanying the *sutta*.

The Nikāyas distinguish among different classes of *arahants*, using as the basis for the distinctions the attainments they possess ancillary to their attainment of arahantship. In descending order, some *arahants* possess the six “direct knowledges” (*chalaḥhiñña*); some have the three “higher knowledges” (*tevijja*); some are “liberated in both ways” (*ubhatobhāgavimutta*); and some are “liberated by wisdom” (*paññāvimutta*).¹² The main distinction that the Nikāyas draw is between those *arahants* “liberated in both ways” and those “liberated by wisdom”. In the Kīṭāgiri-sutta (M 70), the *arahant* liberated in both ways is defined as one who “contacts with the body and dwells in those peaceful emancipations, transcending forms, that are formless, and whose influxes are exhausted by his seeing with wisdom”.¹³ The *arahant* liberated by wisdom, in contrast, is one who “does not contact with the body and dwell in those peaceful emancipations, transcending forms, that are formless, but whose influxes are exhausted by his seeing with wisdom”.¹⁴ Questions can be raised about the exact meaning and extension of these definitions: for example, to what degree must an *arahant* possess the formless emancipations to qualify as “both-ways-

¹²See S I 191 (S 8:7). The six direct knowledges are the five mundane super-knowledges enumerated above (see pp. 52–53) plus the knowledge of the exhaustion of the influxes (*āsavakkhayañāṇa*). The three higher knowledges are the knowledge of the recollection of past lives, the knowledge of the passing away and rebirth of beings, and the knowledge of the exhaustion of the influxes.

¹³M I 477,26–28: *ekacco puggalo ye te santā vimokkhā atikkamma rūpe āruppā te kāyena phusitvā viharatī paññāya c’ assa disvā āsavā parikkhīṇā hontī.*

¹⁴M I 477,33–36: *ekacco puggalo ye te santā vimokkhā atikkamma rūpe āruppā te na kāyena phusitvā viharatī paññāya c’ assa disvā āsavā parikkhīṇā hontī.*

liberated”? The Puggalapaññatti Commentary maintains that those who attain the formless attainments but do not gain the attainment of cessation (*nirodhasamāpatti*) are called “liberated in both ways” only in a figurative sense (*pariyāyena*), while those who gain the eight attainments (the four *jhānas* and the four formless attainments) as well as the attainment of cessation are called “the best of those liberated in both ways in the literal sense”.¹⁵ This same commentary, however, then concedes that an *arahant* who attains just one among the formless-sphere *jhānas* can still be called “liberated in both ways”.¹⁶

The *arahant* liberated by wisdom, it is clear, has the fourth *jhāna* as the upper limit of achievement on the scale of concentration; for some reason, not explained in the *suttas*, an *arahant* of this type does not proceed further to attain the formless emancipations. The more interesting question, however, concerns the minimal attainment in concentration possessed by an *arahant* liberated by wisdom. A number of standard texts define the concentration included in several groups among the thirty-seven “aids to enlightenment” (*bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*) as the four *jhānas*. In particular, we find the faculty of concentration (*samādhindriya*) among the five faculties and the right concentration factor (*sammā samādhi*) of the noble eightfold path both defined as the four *jhānas*.¹⁷ The four *jhānas* also enter into the standard description of the progressive training of the monk, preceding the attainment of the higher knowledges,¹⁸ and into the threefold higher training, where they serve as the training in the higher mind (*adhicittasikkhā*).¹⁹ If we rely upon these texts, taking them literally, it would follow that any monk liberated by wisdom must have attained *all four jhānas*.

¹⁵Pp-a 191. *nippariyāyena ubhatobhāgavimuttaseṭṭho*.

¹⁶Pp-a 191. *arūpāvacarajjhānesu pana ekasmiṃ sati ubhatobhāgavimutto yeva nāma hoti*.

¹⁷S V 196,18–19, 198,24–32 ; D II 313,12–25 ; S V 10,5–18..

¹⁸E.g., at D I 73–76 ; M I 181–82, 276–78, etc.

¹⁹At A I 235,21–23, 235,38–36,2..

Such a conclusion, however, would be extreme, for other texts equally authoritative recognize the possibility of attaining arahantship on the basis of any *jhāna*. For example, the Jhāna-sutta (A 9:36) explains that one can gain *any* one of the four *jhānas* or lower three formless attainments and then contemplate its constituents in eleven ways: as impermanent, suffering, illness, a boil, an arrow, misery, affliction, alien, disintegrating, empty, and non-self.²⁰ If one is firm in such insight, the text asserts, one will attain the exhaustion of the influxes, that is, arahantship; if one retains a subtle attachment to this experience, one will emerge as a non-returner. Again, in the Aṭṭhakanāgara-sutta (M 52), Ānanda explains how it is possible to attain the exhaustion of the influxes through any of eleven “doors to the deathless”.²¹ One enters *any* of the four *jhānas*, the four divine abodes, or the lower three formless attainments and contemplates it as conditioned and constructed by volition. One then sees that anything conditioned and constructed by volition is impermanent and subject to cessation. This would imply that the texts that define the faculty of concentration, the right concentration of the noble path, and the training in the higher mind as the four *jhānas* should not be taken literally as meaning that *all four jhānas* are needed to reach liberation; rather, they mean that to attain the final goal as a wisdom-liberated *arahant*, one should be able to gain at least one *jhāna* as a basis for insight.

We might, however, ask whether even this much is indispensable. In raising this question, we are pushing our line of inquiry further than Susīma dared to go in his conversation with the monks. Yet, in view of the direction meditation theory has taken in the mainstream Buddhist traditions, as we shall see, it is precisely this question that should pique our curiosity. Now, if we read certain *suttas* at their face value it would seem that the first *jhāna* is a minimum requirement for the attainment of even the third fruition, the stage of non-returner. A text that lends strong

²⁰A IV 422–26. The commentary explains that the fourth formless attainment is too subtle to be contemplated with insight.

²¹M I 349–52.

support to this claim is the *Mahāmālunkya-sutta* (M 64), where the Buddha declares, “There is, Ānanda, a path to the abandoning of the five lower fetters; that anyone, without relying on that path, shall know or see or abandon the five lower fetters, this is impossible.”²² As the *sutta* unfolds, the “path to the abandoning of the five lower fetters” is then shown to be the same course of practice described just above in the *Jhāna-sutta*. One enters any of the four *jhānas* or three lower formless attainments, and then contemplates its constituents from the same eleven angles. If one can remain firm in this contemplation, one exhausts the influxes and reaches arahantship; if there is still a remnant of attachment, one cuts off the five lower fetters and becomes a non-returner.

If the above words — “that anyone, without relying on that path, shall know or see or abandon the five lower fetters, *this is impossible*” — are taken as categorical, there is indeed no possibility at all that an *arahant* liberated by wisdom can be destitute of the first *jhāna*. It will not suffice, either, to appeal to the Abhidhamma distinction between form-sphere (*rūpāvacara*) and supramundane (*lokuttara*) *jhānas* and then hold that while some *arahants* liberated by wisdom might be destitute of mundane *jhānas*, they will still possess at least the first supramundane *jhāna*. This claim could not be accepted in a discussion based solely on the *suttas*, for the distinction between form-sphere and supramundane *jhānas* is never explicitly drawn in the *suttas* nor is it even discernible in them.²³ If our analysis is to apply to the understanding of meditative attainments characteristic of the *suttas*, it must use concepts intrinsic to the *suttas* themselves and not draw upon modes

²²M I 434.25–28: *yo, Ānanda, maggo yā paṭipadā pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ pahānāya taṃ maggaṃ taṃ paṭipadaṃ anāgamma pañcorambhāgiyāni saṃyojanāni ñassati vā dakkhati vā pajahissati vā ti n’ etaṃ thānaṃ vijjati.*

²³One possible exception to this is the *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta* (M 117), which, however, in the form it has come down, seems to be the reworking of an archaic version under the influence of later ideas typical of the incipient Abhidhamma.

of analysis derived from a later phase of Theravāda Buddhist thought.

Although the words of the Mahāmālunkya-sutta quoted above might seem to rule out the possibility that those destitute of *jhāna* can achieve arahantship, several texts scattered across the Nikāyas hint that this conclusion would be a bit stern. We should remember that, while the *suttas* are remarkably consistent with each other, they are not rigidly so, and one can often find in some texts exceptions made to principles apparently laid down as categorical in other texts. One discourse relevant to our present discussion, the Asubha-sutta (A 4:163), speaks about four modes of practice: two painful, with sluggish and quick realization, and two pleasant, again with sluggish and quick realization. The mode of practice that is painful, with sluggish realization, is described thus:

Here, a monk dwells contemplating the unattractiveness of the body, perceiving the repulsiveness of food, perceiving non-delight in the entire world, contemplating impermanence in all formations; and he has the perception of death well established internally. He dwells depending upon these five trainee powers: the powers of faith, moral shame, moral dread, energy, and wisdom. These five faculties are manifest in him as weak: the faculties of faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration, and wisdom. Because these five faculties are weak, he sluggishly attains the immediacy condition for the exhaustion of the influxes. This is called practice that is painful with sluggish realization.²⁴

What makes this meditator's mode of practice "painful" (*dukkha-paṭipadā*) is the use of meditation subjects that focus upon the repulsive, fearful aspects of human life, subjects that engender a mood of disenchantment rather than of blissful absorption. It is true that the definition ascribes to this practitioner the five faculties, among them the faculty of concentration, sometimes defined by the *jhāna* formula. It is likely, however, that this practitioner has merely a facile acquaintance with *jhāna* or even none at all; for the meditation subjects he uses are taken up, not so much because they are conducive to the *jhānas*, but

²⁴A II 150,32–51,5.

because they lead to disenchantment and detachment.²⁵ In contrast, the practitioner who takes the route described as “pleasant” (*sukha-paṭipadā*) is defined precisely as one who acquires the four *jhānas*. For the contrast to be meaningful, one would have to conclude either that the meditator on the “painful” path has no experience of *jhāna* or that he assigns *jhāna* to a subordinate place in his practice. It could even be that an alternative definition of the faculty of concentration found in the *Indriya-saṃyutta* is intended precisely for such kinds of practitioners. This alternative definition defines the faculty of concentration, not as the four *jhānas*, but as “the concentration or one-pointedness of mind that arises having made release the object”.²⁶

A similar contrast is drawn at A 4:169 between those persons who attain *nibbāna* through strenuous practice (*sasaṅkhāraparinibbāyī*) and those who attain it through non-strenuous practice (*asaṅkhāraparinibbāyī*).²⁷ The strenuous practice is explained by way of the five contemplations that constitute the painful path: the unattractiveness of the body, the repulsiveness of food, perceiving non-delight in the world, contemplating impermanence in all formations, and mindfulness of death. The non-strenuous practice, for those fortunate ones, is nothing other than the four *jhānas*. Again, a string of *suttas* in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* says of these five contemplations: (i) that they lead to complete disenchantment, dispassion, cessation, peace, direct knowledge, enlightenment, and *nibbāna*; (ii) that they lead to the exhaustion of the influxes; and (iii) that they have liberation of mind and liberation by

²⁵It is true that *Vism* 265–66 explains how the meditation on bodily foulness can give rise to the first *jhāna*, but the main emphasis of this meditation is on the removal of sensual lust, not on mental absorption.

²⁶S V 197,14–17, 198,23–24: *ariyasāvako vossaggārammaṇaṃ karitvā labhati samādhiṃ labhati cittassa ekaggataṃ, idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave samādh'-indriyaṃ.*

²⁷A II 155–56.

wisdom as their fruit and benefit.²⁸

The Nikāyas never go so far as to say that those who choose such meditation subjects as their vehicle of practice lack attainment of *jhāna*; and accordingly, when questioning the monks who claim to be *arahants* liberated by wisdom, Susīma does not pursue his inquiry below the level of “the peaceful formless emancipations” and ask whether or not they attained the *jhānas*. The issue is left daintily alone, as though it were too sensitive to be touched upon. Perhaps the stock definition of the path factor of right concentration in terms of the four *jhānas*, and the role of the *jhānas* in the standard description of the gradual training of the monk, occupied niches too hallowed within the canonical collection for the Theravāda tradition to ever consider altering the received heritage of *suttas* in a way that might explicitly state such attainments are dispensable. Yet it is among those who use such subjects of meditation as the unattractiveness of the body, mindfulness of death, disenchantment with the world, and the impermanence of all formations as their preferred vehicle that one might expect to find *arahants* liberated by wisdom; and because practitioners of these meditations are contrasted with those who take the “pleasant” route of the four *jhānas*, it is among the former that one might expect to find, by implication, those who either attain *jhāna* with difficulty or opt instead for a mode of practice that draws its primary strength from wisdom built upon the minimum degree of serenity (*samatha*) needed to reach the destruction of the defilements.

3. The *Sukkhavipassaka Arahant* and the *Susīma-sutta*

In my reading of the *Susīma-sutta*, the redactors of the text want to suggest that the *paññāvimutta arahants* are in fact destitute of *jhāna* attainments, but they dare not say this directly. That is why the questions are not asked. The absence of the questions accomplishes two

²⁸A III 83–84 (A 5:69–71). What is referred to here is no doubt the influx-free liberation of mind and liberation by wisdom (*anāsavā cetovimutti paññāvimutti*) constituting arahantship.

things. It avoids the need to draw forth answers that would contradict orthodox doctrine, which upheld the secure place of *jhāna* in the structure of the Buddhist path; and it deftly hints that these monks did not have the *jhānas*. If the intention of the *sutta* were otherwise, *Susīma* could have asked about the *jhānas*, and the monks could have said, “Some of us attain one *jhāna*, some attain two, some attain three, and some attain all four.” But by passing over this issue in silence, they discreetly imply that they do not attain the *jhānas* at all.

Where the redactors of *suttas* fear to tread, commentators step in boldly. It is in the commentaries (including the *Visuddhimagga*) that we first find explicit mention of the *sukkhavipassaka* or “dry-insight” meditator, often in connection with passages that mention the *paññāvimutta* or “wisdom-liberated” *arahant*. The dry-insight meditator is defined as “one whose insight is dry, arid, because such insight is unmoistened by the moisture of the *jhānas*”.²⁹ Thus upon reaching arahantship, such a practitioner becomes, of necessity, a wisdom-liberated *arahant*. It must be borne in mind, however, that while the dry-insight *arahant* is closely linked to the old canonical concept of the wisdom-liberated *arahant*, a flat identity should not be drawn between the two. Rather, the dry-insight *arahant* is technically only one subclass within the broad class of wisdom-liberated *arahants*. The commentaries consistently state, “The *arahant* liberated by wisdom is *fivefold*: the dry-insight meditator together with those who attain arahantship after emerging from any one among the four *jhānas*.”³⁰ Thus the wisdom-liberated *arahants* can also be those who attain the four *jhānas*. The only attainments they do not achieve are the peaceful formless emancipations, experience of which defines an *arahant* as “one liberated in both ways”.

²⁹*Vism-mhṭ* II 446 (VRI ed.): *so hi jhānasinehena vipassanāya asiniddha-bhāvato sukkhā lūkhā vipassanā etassāti sukkhavipassako ti vuccati.*

³⁰*Sv* III 889: *so sukkhavipassako ca, catūhi jhānehi vuṭṭhāya arahattaṃ pattā cattāro cāti imesaṃ vasena pañcavidho va hoti.* See too *Ps* III 188; *Mp* IV 3; *Pp-a* I 191.

We might also note that even if the Nikāyas did envisage the possibility of an *arahant* liberated by wisdom who does not attain the *jhānas*, this would not mean that such a figure fulfilled the distinctive criteria of the commentarial *sukkhavipassaka arahant*. For, as the name suggests, the *sukkhavipassaka* is one who gives special emphasis to *vipassanā* or insight meditation; the commentaries and subcommentaries in fact often speak of this meditator, prior to attaining arahantship, as the *vipassanāyānika*, “one who makes insight the vehicle”, or even as the *suddhavipassanāyānika*, “one who makes *bare* insight the vehicle”.³¹ These designations imply that at some point in the evolution of Theravāda meditation theory, the practice of *vipassanā* came to be regarded virtually as an autonomous means to realization that could be undertaken quite independently of any supporting base of *samatha*. It is quite conceivable that if the Nikāyas did see, even tacitly, the possibility of wisdom-liberated *arahants* destitute of *jhāna*, they still would have assumed these *arahants* had a minimal foundation of *samatha*. For such *arahants*, it would just be the case that their practice of *samatha* did not reach the level of the first *jhāna*.

Now while the concept of the dry-insight *arahant* is first introduced in the commentaries, as often happens the commentators peer back into the *suttas* to seek substantiation for their hermeneutical innovations. And, sure enough, “seek and ye shall find”. Not to be left empty-handed, the commentators find evidence for the dry-insight *arahant* in several texts of the Nikāyas, and one of these that is given star billing is the *Susīma-sutta*. The *Susīma-sutta* itself, as we saw, does not specify where the monks liberated by wisdom stood in relation to the *jhānas*. For all we know, based on the text alone, they could have been adepts in all four *jhānas*. The commentary, however, apparently drawing upon ancient oral tradition, fills in the gaps in the information we can derive from the *sutta* itself with additional information apparently transmitted in the lineage of teachers. Thus in the *sutta*, in reply to *Susīma*’s

³¹See *Vism-mhṭ* II 351, 438, 474 (VRI ed.).

question, “Without the super-knowledges and formless attainments, how can you claim to be *arahants*?” the monks reply, “We are liberated by wisdom.” In glossing these words, the commentary tersely says, “*Liberated by wisdom*: ‘We are without *jhāna*, dry-insight meditators liberated simply by wisdom only.’”³² Later, when interpreting the Buddha’s exchange with *Susīma*, the commentary says in regard to a statement of the Buddha, “The purpose is to show the arising of knowledge thus, *even without concentration*. This is meant: ‘*Susīma*, the path or fruit is not the outcome, benefit, and product of concentration, but the outcome, benefit, and product of insight.’”³³ And the *īkā* or subcommentary to this passage, commenting on the words “even without concentration” says, “This is said referring to the meditator who makes insight the vehicle; it means even without previously achieved concentration that has reached the mark of serenity.”³⁴

4. The Chinese Parallels to the *Susīma-sutta*

At this point it will be illuminating to turn to the parallels to S 12:70 preserved in Chinese translation. In M-Vin, *Susīma* inquires from the monks, not about all five super-knowledges, but only about the divine eye that sees how beings pass away and take rebirth according to their *kamma*, and about the recollection of past lives — the last two of these super-knowledges, given here in inverse order from S 12:70 — as well as about the peaceful formless emancipations. As in S 12:70, the monks deny possessing these attainments. When *Susīma* asks them how they could declare final knowledge in the Buddha’s presence, they

³²Spk II 127: *paññāvimuttā kho mayaṃ, āvuso ti, āvuso, mayaṃ nijjhānakā sukkhavi-passakā paññāmatteṇ’ eva vimuttā ti dasseti.*

³³Spk II 127: *vinā pi samādhin evaṃ nānuppattidassanattaṃ. idaṃ hi vuttaṃ hoti: Susīma, maggo vā phalaṃ vā na samādhinissando, na samādhī-ānisaṃso, na samādhissa nipphatti; vipassanāya paṇ’ eso nissando, vipassanāya ānisaṃso, vipassanāya nipphatti.*

³⁴Spk-pt II 107 (VRI ed.): *vinā pi samādhin ti samathalakkhaṇappattaṃ purimasiddhaṃ vinā pi samādhin ti vipassanāyānikam sandhāya vuttaṃ.*

reply, “We are wisdom-liberated ones.”³⁵ Thus M-Vin is fairly close to S 12:70. It is virtually impossible to judge which is likely to be more original, the five super-knowledges of S 12:70 or the two mentioned in M-Vin. The twofold scheme has the advantage of economy, and greater detail usually suggests lateness; but if the *sutta* originates from a real historical incident, it could well have been that the wanderers suspected the Buddhist monks to be adepts in the spiritual powers and mind-reading, the first and third super-knowledges, which ostentatious ascetics would be most likely to use to impress gullible lay devotees (particularly in a royal capital like Rājagaha).³⁶ This would then better explain Susīma’s skepticism that there could be wisdom-liberated *arahants* who lack such powers.

It is with SĀ 347 and the Vibhāṣā version that the divergences from S 12:70 become significant, for these versions straight away transform the monks into Sarvāstivādin counterparts of the Pāli commentarial dry-insight *arahants*. Though these versions do not have a neat appellation for this figure, it is evident that the text here wants the expression “wisdom-liberated one” (慧解脫) to convey very much the same idea that the expression *paññāvimutta* as used in the Susīma-sutta conveys for the Saṃyutta Commentary: one liberated without *jhāna* (*nijjhānaka*), entirely through wisdom. As in S 12:70 and M-Vin, so here Susīma enters the Saṅgha for the purpose of “stealing” the Dhamma. He is ordained at the Enlightened One’s behest, but here it is stated that the Buddha already knew his intention in going forth. A fortnight after his ordination, one monk, at the head of a group of monks, tells him he should be aware that they have all won the goal. Susīma then asks him whether he has attained the first, second, third, or fourth *jhānas*, or the peaceful formless emancipations; and, he adds to each question, “by the

³⁵T22, 363a14: 我是慧解脫人。

³⁶See the Buddha’s explanation of the dangers in “the miracle of spiritual powers” (*iddhipāṭihāriya*) and “the miracle of thought-reading” (*ādesanā-pāṭihāriya*) at D I 212–14.

non-arising of any influxes is your mind well liberated?”³⁷ In each case, the monk answers no, the purport being that they have exhausted the influxes and gained full liberation of mind without relying on any *jhānas* or formless attainments. Finally *Susīma* exclaims, “How could this be? What you have said is inconsistent; your later [words] contradict your earlier [words]. How is it that you don’t attain *jhāna*, yet you make a declaration [of arahantship]?” The monk then says, “I am liberated by wisdom.”³⁸ Thereupon the whole group of monks depart. Realizing that he now needs clarification, *Susīma* decides to seek help from the Buddha.

The *Vibhāṣā* version of the *sutta* is evidently later than the others, at least in its final redaction, for it speaks of *Susīma*, after taking full ordination, as “having read and recited the *Tripiṭaka*”,³⁹ a phrase that refers anachronistically to the classification of the sacred scriptures into the “three baskets”, perhaps even in written form. In this version, *Susīma* asks the monks, “Was it on the basis of the first *jhāna* that you attained the exhaustion of the influxes?” They answer no. Then: “Was it on the basis of the second, third, or fourth *jhānas*, or the peaceful formless emancipations that you attained the exhaustion of the influxes?” They answer no. *Susīma* then says, “Then without depending on any *jhāna* you attained the exhaustion of the influxes! Who can believe that?” The monks then say, “We are liberated by wisdom.”⁴⁰

³⁷T2, 97a7–18: 不起諸漏。心善解脫耶。It must have been this phrase that led Gombrich to suppose that the head monk “cannot even claim that they are free of greed and hatred” and that the *sūtra* is “most uncomplimentary to a group of monks” (*How Buddhism Began*, p. 124). The sequel to this passage, however, leaves no doubt that the monks have terminated the *āsavas* and are well liberated in mind. The readings in the *Vibhāṣā* version, moreover, corroborate this interpretation.

³⁸T2, 97a19–21: 云何。尊者所說不同。前後相違。云何不得禪定而復記說比丘答言。我是慧解脫也。

³⁹T28, 408a20: 讀誦三藏

⁴⁰T28, 408a29–b3 答曰。不也。依第二第三第四禪及過色無色寂靜解脫得盡漏耶。答言不也。時蘇尸摩復作是言。汝等既不依禪定。而得盡漏。誰當信耶。時諸比丘皆作是言。我等是慧解脫。In the version at

Then, as in the other versions, Susīma turns to the Buddha for help. The Buddha explains, “Those monks first exhausted the influxes based on the access to the *jhāna*, and afterwards aroused the basic *jhāna*.”⁴¹

Though SĀ 347 and Vibhāṣā differ in details, they are both regarded as affiliated in some way with the Sarvāstivāda, which must have been, not one unified entity, but an umbrella term for a range of schools with collections of texts that showed considerable variation, perhaps stemming from wide geographical distribution and long duration through time. Since the Sarvāstivāda and the Theravāda are widely recognized to be two branches of the old Sthaviravāda, and the first major schism in the archaic Saṅgha resulted in its bifurcation into the Sthaviravāda and the Mahāsāṅghika, when the readings in one Sthaviravāda version and a Mahāsāṅghika version of a text agree and the reading in another Sthaviravāda version diverges, it is likely that the latter results from a later alteration or transmutation in the text. Of course, we cannot always be absolutely certain that this is so, but the above stipulation is generally a safe guideline to follow, and in the case of SĀ 347 and Vibhāṣā, quite apart from the passages with doctrinal ramifications, a number of other “fingerprints” suggest that these versions are less archaic than S 12:70 and M-Vin. One example is a certain flair for detail in SĀ 347; another is the reference to the Tripiṭaka in Vibhāṣā.

T27, 572c16–17, Susīma asks the monks: “Was it on the basis of the first *jhāna* up to the base of nothingness that the venerable ones attained realization?” (仁等所證依何定耶。為初靜慮為乃至無所有處耶). And to this they answer no.

⁴¹T 28, 408b9–10: 彼諸比丘。先依未至禪盡漏。後起根本禪。The “access to the *jhāna*” (未至禪, lit. “not-yet reaching *jhāna*”) is presumably a state similar to *upacāra-samādhi*, the access concentration of the Pāli commentaries. This Vibhāṣā passage does not altogether deny that these *arahants* can possess *jhāna*, but the *jhāna* it allows them seems to correspond to the minimal first *lokuttara-jhāna* that the Pāli commentaries ascribe to the *sukkhavipassaka arahants*.

5. Assessment

SĀ 347 and Vibhāṣā thus present us with an interesting case where the Sarvāstivāda recensions of a *sutta* give utterance to an idea that is not found in the Theravāda version but was not unknown to the Theravāda tradition, namely, the idea of an *arahant* who has reached final liberation without attainment of the *jhānas*. In the Theravāda tradition, however, this idea came to open expression only in the commentaries, with the concept of the *sukkhavipassaka* or dry-insight *arahant*. This idea must have gained such prestige that it presented itself, either to the ancient anonymous authors of the lost Sinhala commentaries, or to Ācariya Buddhaghosa, the compiler of the present Pāli commentaries, as the key to understanding the *paññāvimutta arahants* of the *Susīma-sutta*. In this way, the *sukkhavipassaka arahant*, though hidden behind the text of the *Susīma-sutta* itself, found a secure lodging in its commentary.

Several canonical texts, however, suggest that even prior to the commentarial period the archaic concept of the *paññāvimutta* was already being reinterpreted in the direction of the dry-insight *arahant*. We saw above that, according to the *Kiṭāgiri-sutta*, the “*arahant* liberated by wisdom” was distinguished from the “*arahant* liberated in both ways” with respect to their relationship to the peaceful formless emancipations. The latter can attain them; the former cannot.⁴² In the *Puggalapaññatti*, the fourth book of the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, these definitions are subtly rephrased. The *arahant* liberated in both ways is now “a person who dwells having contacted *the eight emancipations* with the body, and having seen with wisdom, his influxes are exhausted”.⁴³ And, corresponding to this, the *arahant* liberated by

⁴²See above, p. 55.

⁴³Pp14: *idh' ekacco puggalo aṭṭha vimokkhe kāyena phusitvā viharati; paññāya c' assa disvā āsavā parikkhīṇā honti*. The eight emancipations are not identical with the four *jhānas* and the four formless attainments. The first three emancipations are equivalent to the four *jhānas*, but they deal with the state of *jhāna* in terms of its objects rather than in terms of its subjective

wisdom is “a person who does not dwell having contacted *the eight emancipations* with the body, but having seen with wisdom, his influxes are exhausted”.⁴⁴ The subtle change in wording between this definition and that in the Kīṭāgiri-sutta, an almost inconspicuous change from “peaceful emancipations, transcending form, that are formless “ (*santā vimokkhā atikkamma rūpe āruppā*) to “eight emancipations” (*aṭṭha vimokkhā*), makes a world of difference with regard to meaning. The new definition gracefully suggests that the *arahant* liberated by wisdom need not possess *any* of the eight emancipations, including the lower three, which comprise the four *jhānas*. Although the Puggalapaññatti Commentary glosses these two definitions in the same way that it does the older definitions, the new definition opens the door just a crack — but *does* indeed open it — for admitting the dry-insight *arahant* into the chamber of figures duly ordained by canonical authority.

Since the Puggalapaññatti is an Abhidhamma tract and thus of later provenance than the Nikāyas, it may not be altogether surprising to find a revised definition of the two types of *arahants* there. But it is a bit astonishing to find the above definitions actually incorporated into a *sutta*. A discourse in the Aṅguttara-nikāya called the Putta-sutta (A 4:87) distinguishes four types of ascetics, among them one known as a red-lotus ascetic and another known as a white-lotus ascetic. The red-lotus ascetic (*samaṇapaduma*) is defined as a monk who has realized by direct knowledge the taintless liberation of mind, liberation by wisdom, and dwells in it; and who also dwells having contacted with the body the eight emancipations. The white-lotus ascetic (*samaṇapuṇḍarīka*) is “a monk who, with the destruction of the taints, has realized for himself with direct knowledge, in this very life, the taintless liberation of mind,

experience. Thus all four *jhānas* can be based on each of the first three emancipations, since all four *jhānas* can experience their object in the way defined by each of these emancipations. Emancipations 4–7 are the four formless attainments, and the eighth emancipation is the cessation of perception and feeling (*saññāvedayitanirodha*).

⁴⁴Pp 14: *idh' ekacco puggalo na h' eva kho aṭṭha vimokkhe kāyena phusitvā viharati paññāya c' assa dīsvā āsavā parikkhīṇā honti.*

liberation by wisdom; and having entered upon it, dwells in it; yet he does not dwell having contacted with the body the eight emancipations”.⁴⁵ The commentary identifies the red-lotus ascetic with the *ubhatobhāgavimutta*, the *arahant* liberated in both ways, since the *sutta* definition here matches the Puggalapaññatti’s definition of this type; but it *does not* simply identify the white-lotus ascetic point-blank with the *paññāvimutta*, the *arahant* liberated by wisdom. It says, rather, “By this he shows the dry-insight *arahant*.”⁴⁶

It seems to me that there are two ways to account for the definitions of the two types of lotus-ascetics in the *Putta-sutta*. Either the *sutta* itself is a later composition that was inserted into the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, incorporating the new definitions of the *ubhatobhāgavimutta arahant* and the *paññāvimutta arahant* that were being framed during the period of scholastic elaboration that brought the Puggalapaññatti into being. Or, alternatively, the *sutta* itself is archaic, but an original version employing definitions of the two types of *arahants* matching those in the *Kiṭāgiri-sutta* had been “updated” to accommodate the new definitions that were canonized by the Puggalapaññatti. I would suggest, too, that “behind the scenes” the *mode of thought* that influenced the definitions of the two lotus-ascetics of the *Putta-sutta* was also exerting its influence on the interpretation of the *Susīma-sutta*. So, while the wording of the Pāli version of the *Susīma-sutta* was not altered and it could thus still be interpreted as simply denying that the monks declaring arahantship possessed the super-knowledges and the formless emancipations, among an influential body of early Pāli exegetes it was already being seen as a paradigmatic text for the figure of the dry-insight *arahant*.

Within the Theravāda school, this interpretation of the *sutta* first came to literary expression in its commentary. In contrast, among those

⁴⁵A II 87,7–11: *idha, bhikkhave, bhikkhu āsavānaṃ khayā anāsavaṃ cetovimuttiṃ paññāvimuttiṃ diṭṭh’ eva dhamme sayamaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharati, no ca kho aṭṭha vimokkhe kāyena phusitvā viharati.*

⁴⁶Mp III 113: *iminā sukkhavipassakakhīṇāsavaṃ dasseti.*

in the broad Sarvāstivāda camp, a parallel commentarial stance towards the *sutta* had already become strong enough to “burst the bonds” of sacerdotal hesitancy and force its way into the primary text itself. In this camp, the *sutta* must have become altered in such a way as to grant canonical legitimacy to the figure of the *arahant* wholly bereft of the *jhānas*. Not only do the wisdom-liberated monks of SĀ 347 and the Vibhāṣā version deny that they possess the four *jhānas*, but the Sarvāstivāda commentaries even redefine the concept of the *paññāvimutta* in such a way that *any* possession of a *jhāna* by a *paññāvimutta arahant* “compromises” and “corrupts” the purity of his possession of *paññāvimutta* arahantship. We thus find that the Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra, the great commentary of the Kashmiri Sarvāstivādins, distinguishes two kinds of *paññāvimutta arahant*, making specific reference to the Susīma-sutta:

Question: It is said here several times that one liberated by wisdom [can] arouse the knowledge of others’ minds. This necessarily depends on the basic *jhāna*. But if the wisdom-liberated one can arouse the basic *jhāna*, does this not contradict the Susīma-sutta? In that *sutta* it is said, “The wisdom-liberated one cannot arouse the basic *jhāna*.”

Reply: There are two kinds of wisdom-liberated ones, the partial and the complete. The one *partially* liberated by wisdom (少分慧解) is able to arouse one, two, or three among the four *jhānas*. The one *completely* liberated by wisdom (全分慧解脫) cannot arouse any of the four *jhānas*.... The Susīma-sutta speaks about the one completely liberated by wisdom, who cannot arouse any of the four *jhānas*.⁴⁷

The earliest version of the Susīma-sutta received by the archaic Sarvāstivāda school, we might suppose, was probably quite similar to S 12:70 and M-Vin regarding the qualities denied of the *paññāvimutta arahants*. During the historical evolution of the *sutta*, however, these came to be altered, transformed into a complete denial that they possess the *jhānas*. While it is possible that such alterations could have occurred by unconscious habit in the course of oral transmission, given that the

⁴⁷ T 27, 564b5–13.

Sarvāstivāda came to place such a strong emphasis upon the absence of *jhānas* in the ideal type of *paññāvimutta arahant*, we may suspect that the alteration was deliberate, done under pressure from the evolving Sarvāstivādin doctrinal system.

Unlike the Sarvāstivādin commentators, the Theravādins never went so far as to distinguish degrees among the *paññāvimutta arahants*. According to the Pāli commentaries, all five types — those *arahants* who attain any of the four *jhānas* and the dry-insight *arahant* — are equally entitled to be called “liberated by wisdom,” as long as they do not attain the peaceful formless emancipations. But despite this “official” breadth recognized in the term *paññāvimutta*, one can detect in certain texts a subtle shift taking place in its “weight” towards the dry-insight *arahant*. This is manifest in the definition of the white-lotus ascetic of the Putta-sutta as one without the eight emancipations, defined by the Aṅguttara Commentary as the dry-insight *arahant*; again, it appears in a similar definition of the “one liberated by wisdom” in the Puggalapaññatti; and it crops up still again in the commentarial gloss on the expression “liberated by wisdom” in the *Susīma-sutta* as “without *jhāna*, dry-insight meditators liberated simply by wisdom only”. Still another example is seen in the commentarial gloss on the word *paññāvimutto* occurring at A I 74. Here, the commentary succinctly says, “*Liberated by wisdom*: the dry-insight influx-destroyer [i.e., *arahant*].”⁴⁸ The *ṭīkā* to this passage does not state that this is said merely to exemplify the family of wisdom-liberated *arahants*, but reinforces the idea that the wisdom-liberated *arahant* lacks attainments in *samatha*: “*Liberated by wisdom*: liberated by the wisdom of the supreme path [of arahantship] without a support of serenity.”⁴⁹

We thus see that at the commentarial level, the Theravāda wound up with an interpretative concept that closely matched an idea that the Sarvāstivādins had already inserted into texts they regarded as *sūtras*

⁴⁸Mp II 147: *paññāvimutto ti paññāya vimutto sukkhavipassakakhīṇāsavo*.

⁴⁹Mp-ṭ II 38 (VRI ed.): *paññāya vimutto ti samathasannissayena vinā agga-maggapaññāya vimutto*.

coming directly from the Buddha's own mouth, namely, the idea of an *arahant* liberated without attainment of the *jhānas*. To what extent this idea is already intended by the Pāli *suttas* that speak about monks who attain arahantship via the "painful" or "strenuous" path of meditation on the unattractive nature of the body, the repulsiveness of food, the inevitability of death, and other topics "tending to disenchantment" is difficult to determine. What is certain, however, is that the Pāli *suttas* never explicitly admit the existence of *arahants* who altogether dispense with the *jhānas*. It might also be important to note that the Sarvāstivādins did not adopt the term *sukkhavipassaka* or any other term that quite matches it. While this may be just a matter of circumstance, simply because the term *sukkhavipassaka* arose in an exegetical camp geographically far removed from their own centers of activity, another more fundamental reason may also be involved. It is possible that the Sarvāstivādins did not speak of a "dry-insight *arahant*" because they never introduced the scission between *samatha* and *vipassanā* as sharply as the Theravādin commentarial tradition did but saw the path of any *paññāvimutta arahant* to involve an interplay of these two meditative factors. To qualify as a "full *paññāvimutta*" *arahant*, as one who is utterly bereft of *jhāna*, this practitioner must end the development of *samatha* at a level called *sāmantakadhyāna*, "threshold meditation", corresponding to access concentration (*upacārasamādhi*) of the Theravāda commentaries. But, it seems, they never conceived the idea of a meditator "who makes [bare] insight the vehicle" (*vipassanāyānika*, *suddhavipassanāyānika*), the distinctly Theravādin notion of the meditator who eventually reaches final fruition as a dry-insight *arahant*.

Nevertheless, despite these differences, both these major Sthaviravāda traditions, as well as the Mahāsāṅghikas, have preserved versions of the same story telling how an ascetic named Susīma infiltrated the Buddha's Saṅgha and entered into dialogue with the *paññāvimutta* monks and with the Tathāgata himself. In the two traditions that we know most about, the encounter became an important

canonical pillar for the belief that arahantship was possible without the *jhānas*. In one tradition this idea was stated explicitly in the *sutta* itself; in the other it rested upon the explication of the text by the commentary. But as I read it, even the older version of the *sutta*, S 12:70 and perhaps too M-Vin, originally intended to establish the possibility of arahantship without the *jhānas*. That is, I suspect that the questions Susīma posed to the *paññāvimutta* monks in this version, which confirm their lack of the super-knowledges and the formless attainments but stop short at the *jhānas*, were *also* intended to hint, by their very silence, that similar questions could have been asked about the *jhānas*, and that the same answer would have been given. If such is the case — and I must emphasize that this is largely intuition on my part — we could then understand that the compilers of the versions I have called SĀ 347 and Vibhāṣā did not so much add anything new as simply state explicitly what the redactors of the older version had wanted the *sutta* to convey from the start.

Though I say “this is largely intuition on my part”, I do have reasons for this intuition. Apart from those I have brought forth above, there is also the ensuing dialogue between Susīma and the Buddha, on the grounds for the possibility of *paññāvimutta* arahantship. This, however, is a major topic in itself, which I intend to treat in the sequel to the present paper.

Bhikkhu Bodhi

A Note on the Heterodox Calendar and a Disputed Reading in the Kālakācāryakathā

K.R. Norman is no doubt best known among Indologists for his penetrating publications on the Pāli Canon and the Theravāda Buddhist textual tradition. It should, however, be emphasised that the particular authority of his extensive philological work, whether editorial or etymological in orientation, derives from its firm grounding upon a detailed knowledge of a wide range of Middle Indo-Aryan dialects whereby Pāli is not to be studied in exclusively Buddhological terms but rather as representing a component of a wider linguistic matrix in which the insights gained from the phonology, grammar, and lexicon of Ardhamāgadhī and other Prākṛits play a vital elucidatory role. Furthermore, the editions and metrical analyses of short Jain canonical texts and discussions of various linguistic and doctrinal parallels between early Buddhism and Jainism to be found throughout the eight volumes of his *Collected Papers* make amply clear that Mr Norman's career-long preoccupation with Pāli philology has not led to Jain studies' loss being Buddhist studies' gain.¹ In this light I trust that my former teacher will not think it inappropriate if in a congratulatory volume which contains contributions dealing almost exclusively with Buddhist matters I proceed to discuss a topic relating to Jainism which abuts on Buddhism only tangentially but nonetheless represents a matter of no little concern to the two heterodox, that is non-brahmanical, traditions, namely the configuration of the ritual calendar.

As is well known, adherents of the early *śramaṇa* orders assembled at various times of the month to preach their respective doctrines and

My thanks to John Cort for reading a draft of this paper.

¹See Norman 1990–2001. As a postgraduate Mr Norman had originally contemplated an edition of the Jain canonical text, the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, a project aborted because of lack of accessible early manuscripts at the time (personal communication).

perform communal rituals of purification and solidarity. This is clearly witnessed by early Buddhist and Jain sources. Thus the Mahāvagga of the Theravāda Vinaya describes this custom as taking place on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth days of the half-month² and goes on to portray the Buddha as sanctioning the recitation of the Pāṭimokkha on the fifteenth day as an *uposathakamma*,³ while the Jain Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra refers to the *posaha* being correctly observed on the fourteenth and eighth days, on designated dates and on full-moon days.⁴

Notwithstanding the brahmanical origins⁵ of the term used for this important day of observance,⁶ the Vedic ritual calendar proved unacceptable to renunciatory groups such as the Jains and Buddhists who wished to distance themselves from brahman customs and initially a lunar calendar seems to have been adopted by them by way of differentiation. However, the latter was in turn to be challenged by a lunisolar calendar, of Greek origin and in use by around 380 C.E., which gained ground at the expense of the former mode of reckoning through its attempt to reconcile the 354 days of the lunar calendar with the 365¼

²Vin I 101,4–6: *tena kho pana samayena aññatitthiyā paribbājakā cātuddase pannarase aṭṭhamiyā ca pakkhassa sannipatitvā dhammaṃ bhāsanti.*

³Vin I 102,22–24.

⁴Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra 2.2, pp. 188–89: *cāuddasaṭṭhamuddiṭṭhapuṇṇamāsīṇisu paḍipūṇṇaṃ posahaṃ sammaṃ aṇupālemāṇā.* Cf. 2.7, p. 250, where Jambūvijaya reads *posadhaṃ.*

⁵The common source of the term variously rendered by the Buddhists and Jains as *uposatha*, *poṣadha*, and *posaha* (signifying both the day and the observance connected with it) is *upavasatha*, used in Vedic texts of a particular form of overnight fast associated with the full-moon sacrifice. Tieken (2000, pp. 11–13) argues for the Buddhist *uposatha* as the counterpart of the secular *akṣapaṭala* ceremony at which the king and his functionaries rendered account of activities conducted during the previous eight months.

⁶In medieval Jainism, *poṣadha* came to mean the day of the moon's periodic change and the fast carried out thereon, while today it designates a contemplative exercise structured over a half or whole day which is most generally observed at the time of Paryuṣaṇ (see below). See Cort 2001, p. 123, and Williams 1963, p. 142. This note does not deal with the Jain *poṣadha* ritual as such.

days of its solar equivalent. Adoption of one or the other of these calendars was eventually to be among the strategies involved in the formulation of sectarian identity amongst the Buddhists and so the Mūlasarvāstivādins came to organise their ritual calendar on the lunisolar model, while the Theravādins used the older lunar model.⁷ Mūlasarvāstivādin sources describe how that particular Buddhist *nikāya* customarily performed the half-monthly *poṣadha* ceremony involving the recitation of the code of monastic law on the fifteenth day of the fortnight, or, as a result of calendrical circumstances which necessitated the omission of one day, exceptionally on the fourteenth day also, thus ensuring that the observance always fell on a full-moon or new-moon day.⁸ Although the Poṣadhavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya allows for special procedures to be permitted for monks observing *poṣadha* on the fourteenth day if they were visiting a monastery where the ceremony was normally held on the fifteenth day, the Pravrajyāvastu asserts firmly that customary observance of *poṣadha* on the fourteenth day only was a practice of heretical sectarians (*tīrthya*).⁹

It is most likely that the Mūlasarvāstivādins regarded these heretics as being the members of other Buddhist *nikāyas*, but we can assume that the Jain community in the early common era was also caught up in the

⁷Vogel 1997, pp. 678, 680, and 686.

⁸“[A lunar] year is made up of twelve synodic months of about 29½ days each, this being the interval between two successive full (or new) moons styled a lunation. If the Poṣadha ceremony had been celebrated on the fifteenth throughout, after two months already it would have taken place one day later than [the] full moon, which would surely have been noticed by the monks. It is for this reason that one day was dropped, and the function was held on the fourteenth instead of the fifteenth every other month. Hence Poṣadha always fell on [the] full-moon or new-moon day” (Vogel 1997, p. 678). For a Jain awareness of this situation, cf. the fourteenth-century Gurutattvapradīpa (see note 36) 4.17. At an early date a rule was formulated by the Buddhist community to allow for three *poṣadha* days for the laity every fortnight, namely the eighth, fourteenth, and fifteenth. See Dietz 1997, p. 63, and cf. Hu-von Hinüber 1994, p. 21, and Hureau 2006, p. 102.

⁹Vogel 1997, p. 678.

difficulties contingent upon calendrical innovation, even if detailed contemporary evidence equivalent to that provided by the Buddhists is lacking from this source. It is against this background that we can proceed to discuss the main change in the dating system of the Jains, introduced according to tradition by the teacher Kālaka in 466 C.E. whose career is described in the cycle of hagiographies which can be collectively and individually entitled the Kālakācāryakathā, and the possible implications of this for disciplinary observance held on the fourteenth day of the month.¹⁰

The earliest account of Kālaka's redating of Saṃvatsarī, the day communally devoted to *pratikramaṇa*, the general repentance of transgressions (in this case, those committed in the previous year) which is the culmination of the festival of Paryuṣaṇ, occurs during the tenth *uddeśaka* of the Niśītha Cūrṇi by Jinadāsa (c. seventh century).¹¹ Kālaka is portrayed there as authorising while in Pratiṣṭhāna the shift of the date of Saṃvatsarī from its traditional location on the fifth day of the month of Bhādrapada to the fourth day at the behest of King Śātavāhana in order to avoid a clash with a Hindu festival. The portion of the Niśītha Cūrṇi version of the story most relevant to the present discussion can be rendered as follows: "So Paryuṣaṇ (i.e. the Saṃvatsarī *pratikramaṇa* ceremony) must be performed on the fourth

¹⁰See Brown 1933. This Kālaka is no doubt not identical to the teacher of the same name who according to the Kālakācāryakathā invited the Śakas into western India to revenge an insult to his sister. However, this is not relevant to the present paper. The story of Kālaka became associated with the Kalpa Sūtra, the central text of the Śvetāmbara Jain festival of Paryuṣaṇ. The Gurutattvapradīpa 4.22 autocomentary states that there existed no early (*ādya*) manuscript of the Kalpa Sūtra which did not contain the story of Kālaka and that the latter must have been included when the former was first written down as an individual text (*prthaglikhita*). Both the Kalpa Sūtra and the Kālakācāryakathā thus have equal antiquity and authority. The Gurutattvapradīpa also suggests (4.24 autocomentary) that the story of Kālaka originated about two and a half centuries after its hero's life.

¹¹Niśītha Cūrṇi on *bhāṣya* verse 3153, p. 131. For *pratikramaṇa* in general, see Cort 2001, pp. 123–24.

day [of Bhādrapada]. In this way the mighty teacher of this epoch (Kālaka) caused the fourth day to be introduced [as the day for the observance of Saṃvatsarī] since there was an appropriate motive for this. That same date was approved by all the monks.”¹² Later writers (see below) also refer to the Paryuṣaṇākālpa Cūrṇi, possibly approximately contemporary with the Niśītha Cūrṇi, which gives as the equivalent of its version, “[The Saṃvatsarī day of] Paryuṣaṇ was performed on the fourth day of the month; in this way the fourth day became [a festival] inspired by an [appropriate] motive.”¹³ In other words, the Niśītha Cūrṇi and Paryuṣaṇākālpa Cūrṇi record the fact that a significant modification in the ritual calendar entered the realm of Śvetāmbara Jain customary practice for a practical reason and with general approval.

Versions of the story of Kālaka found in Śvetāmbara Jain narrative collections in the later centuries of the first millennium C.E. such as Jayasimhasūri’s Dharmopadeśamālāvivaraṇa do not appear to concern themselves with the finer issues of the account of the redating of Saṃvatsarī. However, versions of the story produced at the beginning of the second millennium introduce a statement describing the possible implications of Kālaka’s redating which was to prove highly controversial.¹⁴ An early example occurs in the Kālakācāryakathānaka found in the commentary of 1089–90 C.E. by Devacandrasūri (the teacher of the celebrated Hemacandra) on Pradyumnasūri’s Mūlaśuddhiprakaraṇa.¹⁵ After providing an approximate reproduction of the

¹²*tāhe cauthīe pajjosaviyaṃ. evaṃ jugappahāṇehi cauthī kārāṇe pavattitā. sa ccevāṇumatā savvasāhūṇaṃ*

¹³*cauthīe katā pajjosavaṇā, evaṃ cauthī vi jāyā kārāṇiyā.* See Kulamaṇḍana-sūri (1353–99), *Vicārāmṛtasārasaṃgraha*, p. 34, and *Gurutattvapradīpa*, p. 66. I have not had access to a published version of the Paryuṣaṇākālpa Cūrṇi and am not confident that one exists.

¹⁴Brown (1933, p. 2) suggests that the Kālakācāryakathā cycle may have emerged in the twelfth century.

¹⁵Mūlaśuddhiprakaraṇa, p. 130.

statement in the Niśītha Cūrṇi given above¹⁶ and an epitomising verse delineating the overall context of the redating as being prompted by King Śātavāhana,¹⁷ Devacandrasūri continues: “And because of that (*tavvaseṇa*) (i.e. the redating), the [regular] fortnightly observances [of *pratikramaṇa*] (*pakkhiyāim*) were performed on the fourteenth day of the month, which had otherwise been described in scriptural tradition [as to be performed] on the full-moon day (i.e. the fifteenth day).”¹⁸ That is to say, Kālaka’s redating of Saṃvatsari is held to be responsible for the relocation of another important observance, the fortnightly act of repentance, which had previously (that is, back to the time of Mahāvīra) been practised on the full-moon day,¹⁹ to the fourteenth day of the month.²⁰ The *tavvaseṇa* statement also occurs in the first serious

¹⁶*evaṃ ca kāraṇeṇa Kālagāyariēhiṃ cauthīe pajjosavaṇaṃ pavattiyāṃ samatthasaṃghēṇa ya aṇumaṇṇiyāṃ.*

¹⁷*kāraṇiyā ya cauthī ceiyajaisāhuvāsaṇanimittam\uddisiya Sātavāhana pāyaṭṭiyā Kāliya ’jjeṇa.*

¹⁸*tavvaseṇa ya pakkhiyāṇi vi cauddasī āyariyāṇi, aṇṇahā āgamottāṇi puṇṇimāe.* This will be designated hereafter as the “*tavvaseṇa* statement”. The spelling *puṇṇimāe/punnimāe* alternates in the various sources.

¹⁹See Renou and Filliozat 1953, p. 734, for the bright half (*śuklapakṣa*) of the fifteenth day also being called *pūrṇimā* (or some derivative of it).

²⁰In his defence of the impossibility of any scriptural warranty for the fortnightly *pratikramaṇa* being observed on the full-moon day, the fourteenth-century Kulamaṇḍanasūri, Vicārāṃṭasārasaṃgraha, p. 24, specifically connects the *tavvaseṇa* statement with Devacandrasūri, albeit locating it in his commentary on the Sthānāṅga Sūtra, a work which seems to have been lost, rather than his commentary on the Mūlasuddhiprakaraṇa. However, Kulamaṇḍanasūri further points out that in that same work there also occurs confirmation of the general authority for the fortnightly observance taking place on the fourteenth day, that is without any reference to a supposedly scripturally sanctioned full-moon day observance, and he ascribes these two differing judgements apparently made by Devacandrasūri to the influence of the current time of decline (*janānāṃ kāladoṣaviśeṣeṇa*). For a reference to the Sthānāṅga Sūtra commentary in conjunction with a version of the Kālaka-ācāryakathā which possibly relates to the topic under discussion in this study, see Catalogue 2006: No. 668 (entry for Nānāvicāra-ratna-saṃgraha), p. 472: *iti śrī-Devacandrasūri-kṛtāyāṃ Thānā-vṛttau, tathā kasyāmeit Kālaka-cārya-*

modern edition of the Kālaka story, that of Jacobi, which was based on a manuscript dating from 1428²¹ and was to be drawn on by Brown in his study of 1933 for an edition of what has come to represent the best-known telling of the story, the so-called “Long Anonymous Version”.²²

On the face of it, the assertion of the *tavvaseṇa* statement that the fortnightly *pratīkramaṇa* must be performed on the fourteenth day of the month, when in fact scripture had originally stipulated that it should take place on the full-moon day, might seem to represent a simple acknowledgement of the necessity for a further adjustment of the ritual calendar as a knock-on effect in the wake of the redating of Saṃvatsarī to one day earlier than had been the ancient practice. However, the authoritative ninth-century commentator Śīlāṅka, elucidating Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra 2.7.3 (~2.2.76) which describes the various days on which *poṣadha* could be celebrated (see above), connects only the three four-monthly (*caturmāsaka*) *pratīkramaṇa* observances, in which repentance is offered for transgressions in the previous four months, with full-moon days, not the fortnightly *pratīkramaṇa*,²³ and by the eleventh century (that is, at the approximate time when developed versions of the Kālakācāryakathā were starting to appear) there can be found increasing evidence that a connection of the fortnightly *pratīkramaṇa* with the supposedly scripturally sanctioned full-moon day was difficult, or indeed impossible, for elements of the Śvetāmbara Jain community to accept. This situation is signalled by Bhojak, the editor of Deva-

kathāyām api. Kulamaṇḍanasūri, Vicārāmṛtasārasaṃgraha, p. 26, describes Devacandrasūri, the commentator on the Sthānāṅga Sūtra, as being a contemporary of King Jayasiṃha Siddharāja and thus clearly the same teacher as Hemacandra’s guru.

²¹Jacobi 1880, p.271.

²²Brown 1933, pp. 36–52; for the *tavvaseṇa* statement, see p. 47.

²³Śīlāṅka, commentary on Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra, p. 272c: *tathā caturdaśy-aṣṭamyādiṣu tithiṣūpadiṣṭāsu mahākalyāṇakasambandhitayā puṇyatithitvena prakhyātāsu tathā paurṇamāsīṣu ca tiṣṭṣv api caturmāsakatithiṣv ity arthaḥ, evaṃbhūteṣu dharmadivaseṣu*. This passage is referred to by the sixteenth-century Dharmasāgara (see below), Pravacanaparīkṣā 3.59.

candrasūri's Mūlasuddhiprakaraṇa, who notes that the *tavvaseṇa* statement is not found in two of the six manuscripts utilised by him.²⁴ Another version of the Kālaka story approximately contemporary with that of Devacandrasūri, that found in the Kahāvalī of Bhadreśvara,²⁵ does not contain the *tavvaseṇa* statement at all, although the fourteenth century Kulamaṇḍanasūri does in fact associate this version of the story, albeit without quoting it directly, with the claim that the fortnightly *pratikramaṇa* was held on the full-moon day.²⁶ Furthermore, two of the manuscripts utilised by Brown for his edition of the Long Anonymous Version of the Kālakācāryakathā, dated respectively 1279 and 1287, read *ya caumāsāni/caumāsayaṇi* for *pakkhiyāṇi* (the equivalent of *pakkhiyāṇi* in other versions), that is to say enjoining that the four-monthly *pratikramaṇa* observance be performed on the fourteenth day of the month rather than the fortnightly observance.²⁷ A version of the

²⁴Bhojak also notes that the epitomising verse referred to above is only found in two manuscripts.

²⁵Although this significant Prākṛit narrative collective has unfortunately remained in manuscript form to this day, Brown (1933, pp. 102–106) provided an edition and summary of its version of the Kālaka story. Malvania (1983, p. 81) argues that Bhadreśvara most likely flourished in the twelfth century. For Kulamaṇḍanasūri, Vicārāmṛtasārasaṃgraha, p. 26, the author of the Kahāvalī was already of uncertain date (*anirṇītasambhavakāla*).

²⁶Vicārāmṛtasārasaṃgraha, p. 26. The Kahāvalī describes King Śātavāhana's wives being instructed by their lord to fast on *amāvāsya* (the dark half of the fifteenth day) for the sake of *pratikramaṇa* and then to feed monks on the *pratipad*, the first day of the fortnight. See Brown 1933, p. 104. The phrase *parikkhiya-paḍikkamaṇ'atthaṃ* of Brown's edition, while possibly meaning something like "for the sake of repentance of faults which have been examined", is nonetheless odd, and we may conjecture that Kulamaṇḍanasūri was referring to a manuscript of the Kahāvalī which had a reading corresponding to *pakkhiya/pakkhiyāṇi*. This is indeed the reading found in the quotation of this passage at Gurutattvapradīpa 4.36 autocommentary p. 80.

²⁷ Kulamaṇḍanasūri, Vicārāmṛtasārasaṃgraha, pp. 29–30, quotes the Niśītha Cūrṇi and other sources for the original observance of the four-monthly *pratikramaṇa* on the full-moon day, pointing out that the fact that it had come to be prescribed for the fourteenth day had been brought about by practice initiated in ancient times (*ya ca caturdaśyāṃ vidhīyate tatra pūrvappravṛttācaraṇā*

tavvaseṇa statement contained in a *Kālakācāryakathā* edited by Leumann in 1883 also contains the reading *caumāsiyaṃ*, although the verse in which it occurs appears to have been added as a supplementary amplification to the manuscript utilised by the Swiss scholar.²⁸

There was a perfectly understandable calendrical rationale for the redating of the four-monthly *pratīkramaṇa* to the fourteenth day. It derived from the fact that the Kalpa Sūtra, which in the form it exists today most likely dates from around the fifth century C.E., states (p. 296) that Mahāvīra had commenced the Paryuṣaṇ festival in which Saṃvatsarī occurs after a month and twenty days of the rainy season retreat had elapsed. As the rainy season for the Jains customarily started on a full-moon day which was also an obvious date for one of the three purificatory four-monthly *pratīkramaṇas*, a forward adjustment of Saṃvatsarī necessarily entailed a commensurate forward adjustment to the fourteenth day for that particular *caturmāsika* observance and by extension for the other two also.²⁹ However, it seems clear that the story of Kālakā's redating of Saṃvatsarī and the possible consequences of it, involving as they did matters of authority and consensus as well as the relocation of an ancient festival, was to become a highly charged issue in the Śvetāmbara Jain community by around 1000–1100 C.E. and we

karāṇam) i.e. not recently. Muniandrasūri (see below), Pākṣikasaptati, v. 66, gives a negative and a positive justification for the four-monthly *pratīkramaṇa* taking place one day earlier on the fourteenth day of the month: firstly (here I follow the commentator Maheśvara), because in the current debased time men are generally incapable of enacting the appropriate disciplinary behaviour associated with the observance, in this case a structure of austerity which would have otherwise required a six-meal fast concluding on the full-moon day (*sāmpratamanuṣyāṇām bāhulyena ṣaṣṭhatapasah karāṇe śakter abhāvād iti*), and secondly, because it represents the customary behaviour of upright Jains. For the first reason, cf. Gurutattvapradīpa 4.34.

²⁸See Leumann 1998, p. 21 (III vv. 82–83): *evaṃ ceva cauthīe kayam Kālagasūriṇā | pajjosavaṇa-pavvaṃ, to savva-sangheṇa manniyaṃ. tav-vaseṇa mun'-indehiṃ āṇiyaṃ caumāsiyaṃ | āyaraṇā coddasī annahā puna punnīmā*. With reference to v. 83, Leumann notes, "Dieser Śloka ist im Texte selbst vergessen, aber am Rande nachgetragen."

²⁹See Vaidya 1977, p. 271 and the helpful explanation in Cort n.d.

may regard the increasing production of extended versions of the Kālakācāryakathā as partly indicative of this. Furthermore, the emergence of one particular disciplinary order, the Paurṇamīyaka Gaccha, at the beginning of the twelfth century, reveals how this issue exposed what must have appeared to some possible inconsistencies in Śvetāmbara Jain customary practice.

The Paurṇamīyakas, or “Adherents of the Full-Moon Day”, are credited with inspecting the logic of Kālaka’s redating and consequently interpreting an ancient, that is to say pre-Kālaka, Saṃvatsarī observed on the fifth day of Bhādrapada as necessarily requiring the restoration of the observance of the fortnightly *pratikramaṇa* on the full-moon day (the fifteenth) rather than the fourteenth, and they accordingly defended the validity of this dating in what was among the first of many attempts in Śvetāmbara tradition in the second millennium C.E. to reactivate the context of the ancient scriptures, the word of the Jinas.³⁰ Unfortunately, no significant Paurṇamīyaka writings defending this position seem to have survived, and their arguments have to be reconstructed from the accounts of their opponents. So the twelfth-century Pākṣikasaptati, “Seventy Verses on the Fortnightly Pratikramaṇa” (also known as the Āvaśyakasaptati, “Seventy Verses on the Obligatory Practices”) of Muniandrasūri of the Bṛhad Gaccha, with its commentary by Maheśvara, prepares the ground for later polemicists in presenting the Paurṇamīyakas as attempting to overthrow the consensual basis of Kālaka’s redating. In this work Muniandrasūri affirms the impossibility of the fortnightly *pratikramaṇa* taking place on the full-moon day³¹ on the grounds of general usage, textual authority, albeit

³⁰The Paurṇamīyaka Gaccha seems to have ceased to exist as a significant institutional component of Śvetāmbara Jainism in the eighteenth century. However, vestigial traces of its continuity into more recent times can be found. See Cort 2001, p. 45.

³¹See Muniandrasūri, Pākṣikasaptati, v. 40, for the terms *caturdaśī*, “fourteenth day”, and *pākṣika*, “fortnightly”, being identical in significance, a point reiterated by all later anti-Paurṇamīyaka writers against the supposed claim

deriving from works apparently not predating the sixth century,³² and customary behaviour since Kālaka's time.³³

The status of the readings *pakkhiyāṇi* and *cāummāsiyāṇi* (or some close approximation to them) in the *tavvasena* statement was a topic not dealt with in detail by Muncandrasūri, but their implications became increasingly discussed from the thirteenth century by anti-Paurṇamīyaka polemicists belonging to the Tapā Gaccha disciplinary order who refused to accept that the fourteenth-day *pratikramaṇa* observance was originally observed on the full-moon day and subsequently conditioned by Kālaka's redating of Saṃvatsarī. So Kulamaṇḍanasūri claims in his *Vicārāmṛtasārasaṃgraha* that there can be no reason to associate a change to the fourteenth day with Kālaka, since no authoritative text refers to this.³⁴ He also asserts that there can be found no reference to any teacher such as Kālaka performing the fortnightly observance on the fourteenth day for the very first time, thereby confirming its

that the fortnightly observance could in fact overlap with the first part of the fifteenth day of the month and thus coincide with the new moon.

³²Muncandrasūri, *Pākṣikasaptati*, v. 12, with commentary (pp. 13–17) which refers to *cūrṇis*, the *Mahāniśītha Sūtra* and the *Samarāiccakahā*.

³³Maheśvara, commenting on *Pākṣikasaptati*, v. 67, p. 53, reiterates the reading of the *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, adding to it *Kālagajjehiṃ*. Muncandrasūri, *Pākṣikasaptati*, v. 59, addresses the argument that there can be found authoritative textual evidence for lay people fasting on the fifteenth day. The example cited occurs in the *Kālakācāryakathā* when King Śātavāhana informs his wives that they must fast on the *amāvāsyā*, that is to say the fifteenth day when the new moon rises. See *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, *uddeśaka* 10, p. 131, and note 26. This is interpreted as a special case by reference to a permissible act of worship on this particular day of depictions of the temple on the uninhabited continent of *Nandiśvara*. Cf. *Pākṣikasaptati*, vv. 60–62, which discusses the mention of occasional cases of lay observance on the fifteenth day, stating that they do not undermine the general authority of practice on the fourteenth day, and *Pākṣikasaptati*, v. 65, which rejects endorsement of any popular leaning towards the fifteenth day.

³⁴Kulamaṇḍanasūri is here opposing the Paurṇamīyaka claim that the fourteenth day *pratikramaṇa* observance is purely conventional.

antiquity.³⁵ On this basis and also on the authority of a central canonical text like the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra*, the fourteenth-day observance must be regarded as having been promulgated by none other than the Jinas at the beginning of each successive *tīrtha*. It is therefore the Jain teacher lineage as represented in Kulamaṇḍanasūri's time by the leaders of the Tapā Gaccha and those who have preceded them as far back as Mahāvīra who guarantee the genuineness of this dating and the fact that a challenge to its validity was not articulated in the Jain community prior to the emergence of the Paurṇamīyaka Gaccha.³⁶

The Gurutattvapradīpa, a polemical text written by a monk of the Bṛhatpośālīka sublineage of the Tapā Gaccha some time in the fourteenth century and approximately contemporary with Kulamaṇḍanasūri, discusses the matter equally explicitly in its fourth chapter which is directed against the Paurṇamīyaka Gaccha.³⁷ It confirms that no compelling textual connection can be established between Kālaka and the institution of the fourteenth-day *pratīkramaṇa* observance. Detailed mention in the Paryuṣaṇākālpa Cūrṇi and what the Gurutattvapradīpa styles the “short” (*laghu*) version of the Kālākācāryakathā of a matter not immediately relevant to the celebration of Paryuṣaṇ and the dating of Saṃvatsarī would, it is claimed, be improbable because of the brevity of these texts.³⁸ Injunctions relating to both the fourth and fourteenth days of the month are no doubt found in the “long” version of the story, but even there no description is given of what observance is to be

³⁵Kulamaṇḍanasūri, *Vicārāmṛtasārasaṃgraha*, p. 28, points out that even the Śatapadī, the foundational text describing the customary practice of the Añcala Gaccha, an order which emerged from the Paurṇamīyaka Gaccha and still observes Saṃvatsarī on the fifth day of Bhādrapada (see Balbir 2003, p. 59), admits that Kālaka was not responsible for initiating the observance of the fortnightly *pratīkramaṇa* on the fourteenth day.

³⁶Kulamaṇḍanasūri, *Vicārāmṛtasārasaṃgraha*, pp. 26–28.

³⁷For the background to this text, see Catalogue 2006, p. 463 (entry no. 662), and Dundas 2007, chapter four.

³⁸Gurutattvapradīpa 4.20–21 with autocommentary.

carried out (*caritānuvāda*).³⁹ In other words, the fourteenth-day *pratikramaṇa* observance has its own authority without reference to the Kālakācāryakathā. The Gurutattvapradīpa further states that in the old manuscripts of the Kālakācāryakathā the reading in the *tavvasena* statement is regularly *tavvasena ya caummāsīāṇi vi cauddasī āyariyāṇi* and it attributes the existence of erroneous references to the fortnightly observance found in other versions of the statement to an interpolation by an ill-informed member of another sect (*siddhāntānābhijñā matāntariya*), who can no doubt be judged to be Candraprabhasūri, the founder of the Paurṇamīyaka Gaccha, or one of his followers.⁴⁰

The question of the correct reading in the *tavvasena* statement remained an issue as late as the second half of the sixteenth century. The Tapā Gaccha polemicist Dharmasāgara claims that it was a member of the Paurṇamīyaka Gaccha (*rākārakta*) who had altered the old and genuine reading (*jīrṇapāṭha*) *caummāsīāṇi* to *pakkhiāṇi* in the portion of Devacandrasūri's commentary on the Sthānāṅga Sūtra referred to by Kulamaṇḍanasūri, supposedly thus giving a meaning making as much sense as the phrase "water it with fire". Dharmasāgara refers to the reading *cāummāsīāṇi* being found in many of the old palm-leaf manuscripts in the famous libraries in Pāṭaṇ and also to the absence of the reading *pakkhiyāṇi* in old manuscripts in general, suggesting that the presence of the phrase *annaha āgamuttāṇi puṇṇimāe* is itself indicative of this change of reading, since it could only convey meaning

³⁹Gurutattvapradīpa 4. 22 autocommentary, p. 70.

⁴⁰Gurutattvapradīpa 4.36 autocommentary. Cf. Gurutattvapradīpa 4.22 autocommentary, pp. 70–71, where those responsible for the change of reading in the *tavvasena* statement are said to be recent (*vākyataḥ pāścātyānām apy ādeśo 'bhavat*). Gurutattvapradīpa 4.36 autocommentary also refers to the episode in the Kālaka story given in the Kahāvalī (see note 32) in which King Śātavāhana instructs his wives to perform a fast on *amāvāsyā*, ascribing this assertion either to the carelessness (*anābhoga*) of the author Bhadreśvara or an interpolation by a recent monk under the influence of the Paryuṣaṇākālpa Cūrṇi which describes a fast observed on this day.

in respect of the four-monthly observances.⁴¹ As Dharmasāgara emphasises, since the fourteenth-day observance must be regarded as dating from the very founding of the Jain community by each Jina, it is thus eternal; historical agency in promoting it, as in the possible case of Kālaka, has played no role.⁴² The immemorial (*anādisiddha*) nature of the fortnightly observance and the heretical status of the Paurṇamīyaka Gaccha are both confirmed by Dharmasāgara by reference to the description in Haribhadra's commentary (c. sixth century C.E.) on Āvaśyaka Niryukti, v. 468, of Jinadāsa, a lay follower of Pārśva, the twenty-third Jina, fasting on the eighth and fourteenth days of the month.⁴³

Although what was perceived by later polemicists to be the original legitimation for change in the calendar and the prime exemplification of the introduction of customary practice by senior monks, namely Kālaka's redating of Saṃvatsarī from the fifth to the fourth day of Bhādrapada, had supposedly taken place in the fifth century C.E., it was not until the beginning of the second millennium C.E. that disputes about calendrical issues gained identifiable momentum in Jainism.⁴⁴ It can be seen from the foregoing that the version of the Kālakācāryakathā best known to western scholars, that edited by Jacobi and Brown, enshrines a reading relating to the ritual calendar which became markedly controversial within Śvetāmbara Jain tradition at that particular time, and we can confidently assert on this basis that at least one portion of the Kālakācāryakathā was not an uncontested text but subject to regular sectarian pressures.

Further conclusions are necessarily conjectural but worthy of more detailed exploration. So it seems possible that the Kālaka story may not

⁴¹Pravacanaparīkṣā 3.59 autocommentary, p. 176, and 3.63 autocommentary, p. 181. Cf. 5.36 autocommentary. For Dharmasāgara, see Dundas 2007.

⁴²Paryuṣaṇādaśasāta, v. 107 (*evaṃ cāuddasiyaṃ tithaṃ tithhappavaṛṇāṇāṃ*), with autocommentary.

⁴³Sūtravyākhyānavidhiśāta, v. 31, with autocommentary.

⁴⁴Cf. Cort 1999, p.42.

in fact record a genuine historical event but may rather represent a later narrative attempt to rationalise a period of calendrical complexity for the Jain community as the implications of the novel style of lunisolar reckoning became increasingly appreciated. Furthermore, the insistence by anti-Paurṇamīyaka polemicists on the immemorial location of the central disciplinary observance of the fortnightly *pratikramaṇa* on the fourteenth day of the month may reflect the fact that this date had been in actuality influenced by wider calendrical conditions and possibly maintained as a means of sectarian differentiation in the context of the increasing prestige of the new lunisolar calendar.

As we saw at the beginning of this note, the Mūlasarvāstivādins viewed observance of *poṣadha* on the fourteenth day as exceptional, with the full-moon day being regarded as normative for this ceremony. In legislating for potentially difficult situations arising from these datings, Buddhist sources from the beginning of the first millennium appear in general to have been much more articulate about the issues involved in the various forms of calendrical reckoning in circulation in north India at that time than their Jain counterparts. In that case, it seems clear that if the later Jain controversy described in this note concerning whether the fortnightly *pratikramaṇa* be observed on the fourteenth day or the full-moon day does actually bear witness to the long-range influence of changes in calendrical systems introduced in the opening centuries of the first millennium C.E., particularly in relation to use of the lunar and lunisolar modes of reckoning, then the evidence of Buddhist texts must be a necessary resource for students of Jainism wishing to contextualise fully the early historical situation.

Paul Dundas

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caveat lector

The 125th anniversary of the founding of the Pali Text Society is an occasion for celebration — celebration of the fact of the continued existence of the Society, and of the early work done by T.W. Rhys Davids and his first committee of management (listed as Professor Fausbøll, Dr Oldenberg, Dr Morris, M. Senart) and other contemporaries and successors. All of us who study Pāli or Theravāda Buddhism today stand on the shoulders of those early scholars. We have inherited from them texts, commentaries, translations, dictionaries, grammatical works. Where we are now depends on what they did.

I would like to consider here the next 125 years of the Pali Text Society (PTS). It seems to me that it is time those of us whose main concern is Pāli should pause to think about the direction we should be taking in the twenty-first century.

Let us look at our inheritance. The founder members of the PTS wished “to render accessible to students the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature” (*JPTS* 1882, p. vii). The PTS has indeed done that, as the rows of its editions of the Canon and commentaries on my shelves attest. These editions (and the *Pali-English Dictionary* of T.W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede as well as the *Pāli Grammar* of W. Geiger) have been for most of us studying Pāli, I imagine, the gateway to our knowledge, and indeed the field in which we dig. The great majority of those volumes was already there when I began to learn about Pāli forty years ago. This means that much of what I have on those shelves of mine is the product of pioneering work, rather a first draft than the culmination of centuries’ study (as are my Oxford Classical Texts). The situation has been well described by Mr Norman, whose eighty-two years of life and so many years of Pāli scholarship are another cause for celebration, in his article “Pāli philology and the study of Buddhism” (Norman 1990), and his lecture “Buddhism and Philology” (Norman 2006). I can only reiterate his concerns, and try to reinforce his warnings.

The transmission of the texts covers a very long period, but most of our mss are comparatively recent. We can make no confident assumption that what we have is anywhere near the actual Buddhavacana (or indeed Buddhaghosavacana); what we have is the product of centuries of careful copying, careless copying, knowledge, incompetence, inspired emendation and bungling (see von Hinüber 1978). And none of that stopped with the beginning of Western scholarship. Mr Norman's plea for more "philologists" capable of making good new editions of the Canon seems so far to have gone largely unanswered.

In my writing of the PTS *Dictionary of Pāli (DOP)*, I search for occurrences of each word on a CD-Rom of the Thai edition (S^c) of the Canon and commentaries. This, although I suspect not always accurately transcribed, gives me access to Thai readings, which I can check against the PTS editions (E^c), the Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgītipiṭakaṃ printed editions (B^c), and the Sinhalese Buddha Jayanti Tripiṭaka printed editions (C^c). What has become clear from this process is that the PTS editions have a large number of, at best questionable, at worst, plain wrong, readings.¹ Often these editions are transcriptions of a very few mss, or even of only one; often they follow only one tradition, usually the Sinhalese. Some editors made mistakes because they misread the mss — various characters in the Burmese and Sinhalese scripts can be very easily confused, especially in mss *kha* and *ba, ta* and *na, bha, ha* and *ga, pa, ya* and *sa, va* and *ca* in the Sinhalese script spring immediately to mind. Others made mistakes because they did not know Pāli or Sanskrit well enough (understandably so in the case of Pāli — they were pioneers). The ability to transcribe a Sinhalese or Burmese ms is not a sufficient qualification to produce a reliable Pāli text. I suspect, also, that those who did know Sanskrit emended silently, especially in matters of sandhi. The Dīgha-nikāya and its commentary seem to me to have been tidied in this way. Even those editors, like Fausbøll, whom one had always been taught to respect, produced texts

¹I will give no examples in this article, but a glance at a few pages of the first volume of *DOP* will show what I mean.

with many doubtful readings.²

I would count as wrong any reading in E^c which differs from a unanimous reading in the other three editions, when (a) one can explain the difference by a misreading of Burmese or, especially, Sinhalese characters; (b) the E^c reading is metrically incorrect (not just irregular, but impossible); (c) we are faced with an inexplicable form, against something which makes sense. In the case of (c), of course, the argument against dismissing E^c as a wrong reading is a recourse to the principle of *lectio difficilior melior*, and a suggestion that B^c in particular normalises readings and erases difficulties. I am not convinced that the rule of *lectio difficilior* is valid for Pāli texts, given the uncertain and contaminated traditions of mss and editions. And to try to defend a word, for which one can find no real etymological justification or explanation, and reject an alternative, well attested and commented on, which has an appropriate meaning, seems somewhat perverse. In any case, B^c itself exhibits some idiosyncratic readings, which a normalising or rationalising tendency might have been expected to change.³

On other occasions, where E^c differs from the other editions, I would hesitate to say the reading was wrong. I accept that it may represent another, valid, tradition, but I believe readers ought to be made aware of the alternative. Often too there are varying agreements and disagreements among the editions — E^c with C^c against B^c and S^c; B^c and C^c against E^c and S^c; indeed all combinations are found. Nor should one think that any of the editions or traditions is free from error. As an extreme case, it is often hard to make sense of any of the editions of the Peṭakopadesa.

²I have read the statement that Fausbøll's "great edition of the Jātakas ... is still unsurpassed". Perhaps the writer meant "not yet superseded". Otherwise it is a meaningless assertion. Studies of individual Jātakas have clearly improved on Fausbøll's text, and anyone who looked closely and carefully at his text would find much to question.

³See e.g. the consistent reading in B^c of *dhamakaraṇa*, against the explicable *dhammakaraka* found usually in the other editions.

If one looks at the readings of the other editions, one finds in all traditions inconsistencies, incomprehensibility, more problems. Often, however, even small differences from E^c give readings which are more convincing, because more subtle, more elegant, more Pāli. But the Pāli of the PTS editions is the only Pāli seemingly used and depended upon by Geiger in his *Grammar* (Geiger 1916), by Rhys Davids and Stede in the *Dictionary*, by A.K. Warder in his *Introduction to Pali* (Warder 1963), and by most writers on Pāli and Theravāda Buddhism even today. It is as if those who studied and researched and published in the past had produced works that somehow have also become canonical. Yet every one of them was fallible, and was working with fallible materials.

I have become convinced that we should take nothing on trust. We should use all existing dictionaries and grammatical works with caution and scepticism, checking statements and references wherever and whenever possible. As Sir Monier Monier-Williams wrote in the Preface to his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*:

Nay, I am constrained to confess that as I advanced further on the path of knowledge, my trustfulness in others ... experienced a series of disagreeable and unexpected shocks; till now ... I find myself left with my faith in the accuracy of human beings generally — *and certainly not excepting myself* — somewhat distressingly disturbed.
[My emphasis.]

When we open Geiger's *Grammar*, we are presented with what appears to be an exhaustive account of Pāli grammatical forms. Statements are made, rules devised, paradigms laid out. But what about the evidence? There are forms there I cannot find in the texts; there are rules which depend on one occurrence of a form, not supported in all editions; there is, inevitably, much missing, which could give a different picture of the language.⁴

⁴The evidence for forms is often weak, e.g. Geiger §39:1: "k appears for g in: *akalu* Mil 338.13". But only in C^c and E^c. B^c has *agalu-*, S^c *aggalu-*. And cf. Ja

Another inheritance, the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary (PED)*, remains useful, but the meanings it gives must be checked against Sanskrit or Prakrit, and its references verified. Especially with rare words or words with no obvious derivation or Sanskrit equivalent, we should look at alternative forms in other editions. When I told a Ph.D. student not to trust everything in *PED*, her supervisor reproached me, but it is the first thing we should teach any student of Pāli. We should even on occasion question the *Critical Pāli Dictionary (CPD)*. Its first editors, Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith, were indeed giants of Pāli scholarship, but their work too should not be treated as canonical. They were not infallible, and for very good reason they could not always be right (nor have all of their successors at *CPD* had their wide knowledge and intelligent interpretative powers). And

IV 440.23* (E^c *akaluṃ*; B^c, C^c *agaḷuṃ*; S^c *aggaluṃ*); VI 144.23* (E^c *akalu-*; B^c, C^c *agaḷu-*; S^c *aggalu-*); elsewhere E^c has *agaru* or *agalu*. — “*lakanaka*, ‘anchor’ Mil 377.19, 23”. Again, only in C^c and E^c (*nāvāḷakanakaṃ ... nāvaṃ laketi*). B^c and S^c have *nāvāḷagganakaṃ ... nāvaṃ laggeti*. — §39:3: “c appears for j in: *pāceti* ‘drives’ Dhp 135 ... beside *pājeti* Ja II 122.5”. At Dhp 135 B^c and S^c read *pājeti*. I am aware of course of the revision of Geiger by K.R. Norman (PTS 1994), and of the Pāli grammar of T. Oberlies (de Gruyter 2001). But both of these are vulnerable to the same criticism: a reliance on E^c. See e.g. Geiger 1994 §38:1a (not in Geiger 1916): “kh is voiced to gh in *nighaññasi*, ‘you will dig’, Ja VI 13,18*”; Oberlies 2001 §51: “*nighaññati* ‘strikes down’ ([denominative from] **nighañña*)”. The form is puzzling, and Oberlies may be correct, but it might be of interest to note the various readings: C^c, E^c *yaṃ kāsuyā nighaññasi*; B^c, S^c *nihaññasi*; Ja VI 13.27: C^c *nighaññasi ti nihanissasi, yaṃ tvaṃ ettha nihanissāmi ti saññāya kāsuyā nikhaṇati so ahan ti dīpeti*; B^c, S^c *nihaññasi ti nihanissasi ...*; E^c *nighaññasi ti nikhaṇissasi, yaṃ maṃ ettha ...*). The verse is quoted at Cp-a 225.15*, where all the editions read *nikhaññasi*. We might also compare Ja IV 102.9* where B^c, E^c read: *sace adhammo hañchati dhammam ajja*, while C^c, S^c read *haññati*, in all cases glossed (102.25′) with *hanissati*. See also *āhañchaṃ, āhañchi(ṃ)*, with vll. of *āhaññiṃ*. Oberlies, §14:4, gives *pāceti*, without reference (see above), and without making clear that the more usual form in all editions is *pājeti*. *Re ajakara*, also in §14:4, note that this form appears only in E^c at Ja III 484.16*; in the other editions, and in E^c elsewhere, the form is *ajagara*.

one of the weaknesses of Franklin Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, useful and enjoyably personal though it is, is its trust in *PED*.

Speaking here as a scholar of Pāli, not of Buddhism, I think we are sometimes limited and confined by our inheritance. We must bring to our study of the texts our knowledge of language, of India, and of religion, from outside those texts. The interpretation of Pāli has looked backwards (and inwards) for as long as we know. Buddhaghosa followed the Sinhalese commentaries, which themselves presumably were based on commentaries brought from India. Aggavaṃsa in his account of the Pāli language, the *Saddanīti*, not only describes Pāli as he found it in the *Buddhavacana* — absolutely legitimately — but explains and interprets it in a way limited by traditional beliefs about the language and its status. Warder, in his *Introduction to Pali*, accepts the same kind of restraints, and indeed often follows Aggavaṃsa's interpretations. He teaches the language in a manner that is irritating and bizarre to anyone who knows any Sanskrit. Some of the statements of Aggavaṃsa and Warder are true only in a very tenuous sense. One feels all three of these scholars are deliberately ignoring or denying certain things that they know in order to keep within the restraints of tradition and the past.

The first Pāli dictionary, the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, while including some specifically Buddhist terms and connotations, largely looked to Sanskrit and the *Amarakośa*, and is not a true reflection of the Pāli of the texts, but it is probably the last work of Pāli scholarship in which we can complain of too heavy a reliance on Sanskrit. The *Dictionary of the Pāli Language* by R.C. Childers includes the material of the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, but depends much more on the interpretations of the Pāli commentaries and of the Saṅgha. After Childers, in the work of the early translators of Pāli texts, we often find mere intuition and guesswork, buttressed by a strong conviction of what a Buddhist context required.

These translations are an influential inheritance, but in them, not infrequently, the sense of the Sanskrit equivalent to a word was ignored or rejected — I do not know whether this was due to a conscious decision or to ignorance. Then the sense of English words was stretched and indeed violated, or words were coined, invented. A prime exponent of this method was Mrs Rhys Davids.⁵ Fortunately not many of her coinages have survived, but other translators also preferred a rare word to a common one, such as “fruition” for “fruit”; or coined words, perhaps by finding for each part of the Pāli word the equivalent in Latin.⁶ Many other neologisms or strained usages of existing words, for example in the translations of Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, seem to have acquired that canonical status. There was apparently a desire to create what one might call technical terms of Theravāda Buddhism. This is convenient for translators and interpreters, of course, and means that they do not have to consider what the texts are really saying in each context. But I think such a practice obscures the meaning, and is anyway false, since I cannot believe that the Buddha spoke, as for example sociologists do, in a jargon no ordinary person would understand without a glossary.

Another inheritance is the “literal” translation. A literal translation is not a translation, because the meaning of a Pāli word or passage has not been expressed in English. For particular words, one English equivalent is chosen as the basic meaning, and that English word is used

⁵Her oddness can perhaps be fully appreciated only by a native English speaker, with such usages as “Norm” as a translation of *dhamma*, “the Well-farer” for *sugata*, “clansman” for *kulaputta*. Her translations, especially of verse, have a medieval air (e.g. “eke the dappled deer”) not really appropriate to the context, or aim at poetry and attain only obscurity (“In grasping not O well is him”) rendering *anupādāya nibbuto*; note that in this Saṃyutta verse E^c reads *nibbūto*.

⁶For example, for *vaṭṭati* with the preverb *ā-* an etymological equivalent would be Latin *advertere*. And so we find used a verb “to advert”, Unfortunately, “to advert” already exists in the English language, and the standard dictionaries do not support a current meaning which is really equivalent to *āvattati*. What was wrong with “turn to”?

in all contexts.⁷ Throughout a whole text, Miss Horner's translations furnish good examples of literalness (not always even accurate) which produces at times incomprehensibility (e.g. "state of further-men" to translate *uttarimanussadhamma*). Did such translators ever ask, "What would an Indian hearer have understood from this passage? What indeed is the Buddha's concern here, what problem is he addressing, what is he saying?" This type of pseudo-translation is also to be found in *PED*, whose compilers seem sometimes perverse in their refusal to take Sanskrit as evidence for the meaning of a word. It may seem that my criticism is rather of style than of interpretation, but the influence of *PED* and of past translators has been strong: one sees the same translations and expressions, which often have very little justification, appearing again and again in new translations and works on Buddhism, perpetuating that strange and barbaric language, aptly called Buddhist Hybrid English.⁸

It is no insult, it is not *lèse-majesté* to criticise the texts of Fausbøll or Feer, to question the paradigms of Geiger, to disagree with the translations of T.W. Rhys Davids and Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli as well as with those of Mrs Rhys Davids and Miss Horner. On the contrary, it is absolutely necessary if there is to be any progress in Pāli.

If we are prepared to look to the next 125 years, I believe we should be prepared also to re-do everything. First, we must re-edit the texts of the Canon and the commentaries. Even before that, however, we need to discuss and decide how this should be done. I myself would advocate a middle way, between one extreme of considering and accepting isolated readings, and the other of simply taking over e.g. the Burmese version. But the task is not simple or straightforward. The question of whether to try to consult as many mss as possible, and how to decide on their

⁷ Like Mr Norman (Norman 1997, pp. 17–18) I particularly dislike "skilful" as a translation for *kusala* in contexts where it does not make sense. Who decided "skilful" was the basic, literal meaning of Sanskrit *kuśala*, rather than "good", or "healthy" or "wholesome"?

⁸See Griffiths 1981.

usefulness, is a difficult one. There are many occasions when alternative spellings and perhaps also alternative expressions are equally valid, and when the editions show no consistency. I give twenty-one citations in my dictionary article on the numeral 40; all editions have *cattārīsa-* sometimes, all have *cattālīsa-* sometimes, and all but C^e have *cattālīsa-* sometimes. I expect a similar pattern when I reach the numeral 50. There is alternation between *-aka* and *-ika*, e.g. *-bhūmaka* and *-bhūmika*, and of course there are the alternatives of *-ika*, *-iya*, *-ita*. For a good example of variation in readings, see the passages quoted in *DOP* I s.v. *āveṭhikā*.⁹ An editor will have to use his or her judgment and provide an informative critical apparatus.¹⁰ We should make use of the considerable amount of good scholarship, especially of the last forty years or so, on the transmission of the texts and on individual words (as long as they are not ghostwords); and of the study of the Sanskrit and Chinese and Tibetan versions.¹¹ There should also be agreement on spelling and punctuation conventions, so that there can be consistency and clarity. Let us then at least produce a meaningful text, for which we have good evidence in more than one tradition.

⁹These and other variations can often be explained by reference to other Prakrits or to scribal conventions, and can tell us something of the evolution of the text as we have it. The search for an “original” text (a genuine Buddha-vacana?) is interesting, but always speculative, and is probably not the concern of an editor.

¹⁰It is on occasions hard to know what form of a word an editor should choose. Often the present editions are not consistent, e.g. between *jaṅgama* and *jaṅgala*, or between *japa* and *jappa*. Consider also the possibilities *uppilāvita*, *ubbillāvita*, *ubbillāpita* (see *DOP* I s.v. *uppilavati*). Note also that Geiger (§38:6) cites only *ubbillāvita* and *ubbillāpita*. Or what should the choice be for the name of Mahāvīra, always *nāṭaputta* in B^e and S^e, sometimes *nātaputta*, sometimes *nāthaputta* in C^e and E^e?

¹¹Compare the painstaking and meticulous work on tiny fragments, e.g. from the Stein and Hoernle collections, with the way some writers on Pāli do not even consult the Burmese and Sinhalese editions before pronouncing on a word.

On the basis of these new editions, we must then produce a new, accurate, thorough grammar;¹² then, I am afraid, someone will have to re-write my dictionary. And finally we can produce good, readable, trustworthy translations.

I know, of course, that I am speaking of Utopia. The first, and perhaps insurmountable, difficulty is to find people capable of editing the texts, and willing to do so. Such people must have a solid knowledge of Sanskrit and at least some Prakrit, and a firm grasp of Pāli metrics, as well as a thorough understanding of how Pāli works, and of the whole spread of Pāli literature. And how can they, without reliable grammars and dictionaries?

But it may be that what I suggest is not necessary (or even desirable). As Mr Norman said (Norman 1990, p. 33), “It may justifiably be asked whether the errors which may remain in the editions of Pāli texts really matter, and whether they are likely to have resulted in any misunderstanding of the basic and most important elements of Buddhism.” The state of the texts, and of Pāli scholarship generally, probably does not matter to those, perhaps the majority of the readers of the publications of the PTS, who are interested in Theravāda Buddhism, not in Pāli.¹³ Nothing any of us does, I suspect, will change the understanding of the principal tenets of the religion, or give startling new insights into the thoughts of the Buddha. We can go on, slightly

¹²I hope that *DOP* will be a foundation and provide material for this new grammar. In my articles on verbs I aim to give examples of all tenses and infinite forms; on nouns and adjectives, examples of significant cases and irregularities. I am also compiling lists of certain formations, e.g. feminines in -nī, such as *ārāṃikīnī*, *isīnī*.

¹³ cf. Zürcher 1959, p. 356, n. 152: “The ideal of a cursory way of reading the classics without detailed philological studies was much in vogue [in China] in the fourth century; it agreed with the prevailing *hsüan-hsüeh* opinion that the written text is only an imperfect and expedient expression of the hidden wisdom of the Sage, and that the student must try to grasp the general principles underlying the words rather than indulge in a careful and painstaking study of the letter of the text”— a practice taken over by some Chinese converts to Buddhism.

improving the publications in a piecemeal manner,¹⁴ writing articles (in learned journals) about individual words, continuing in a confining circle of compromised accuracy, approximate truth.

Well, it does matter to me. For the few of us whose job is the Pāli language, I believe there is a responsibility to provide information and material as accurate, as true, as we can possibly make them. To provide them not only for those who are drawn to Theravāda Buddhism, but for other scholars — those who study the texts of Buddhism in other languages, who study other forms of Buddhism and other religions, who study languages. Otherwise, what do we think we are doing?

Margaret Cone
Cambridge

¹⁴As with the rather arbitrary corrections made when volumes are reprinted. This is a problem for me and the dictionary, as I cannot check readings in every reprint.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CPD* V. Trenckner, D. Andersen and H. Smith (et al.), *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Copenhagen, 1924–
- DOP I* M. Cone, *A Dictionary of Pāli, Part 1*. Oxford: PTS, 2001.
- JPTS* *Journal of the Pali Text Society*
- PED* T.W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, London: PTS, 1921–25

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The Buddhist *Bhikṣu*'s Obligation to Support His Parents in Two Vinaya Traditions

One might get the impression from Buddhist literatures that the Buddha always had something to say about whatever topic or issue arose, even if — as in the well-known case of the *avyākṛtavastus* or “indeterminate questions” — it was only to say that that topic was not worth discussion.¹ Indeed, it is very, very rare to find the Buddha presented as, in effect, throwing up his hands and declaring that it was not in his power to say or do something about something. But while very rare, such presentations do occur and they are always interesting, one particularly so — they all, in one way or another, point to immovable principles or established boundaries.

Some of these boundaries or principles are obvious enough, and the texts then simply give them a striking clarity. In the *Bhikṣuṇīvinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, for example, the fixed principle that Buddhist monastic rules apply only to ordained *bhikṣus* or *bhikṣuṇīs* is expressed in one of the rare passages in which the Buddha is presented as having nothing to say. The issue here is what is to be done when a *bhikṣuṇī* behaves badly (*vipratipadyate*) with an *ārāmika* or “monastery attendant”. The *bhikṣuṇī*'s misbehavior is clearly sexual, and the text in fact begins with similar misbehavior involving a *bhikṣuṇī* and a *bhikṣu* or “novice” (*śrāmaṇera*). There is, of course, no mystery about what is to be done in these cases. É. Nolot renders the first part of the text:

Si un moine faute avec une nonne, d'un commun accord, les deux sont exclus (*ubhaye pārājikā bhavanti*). Si une nonne faute avec un novice, la nonne est exclue et le novice doit être expulsé (*nāśayitavya*).²

¹On the “indeterminate questions” see most recently Rugg 2000 and the sources cited.

²Nolot 1991, p. 63, § 117; translating Roth 1970, pp. 78–79, § 117.

Even though the full significance of both the terms *pārājika* and *nāśayitavya* is far more complicated and unsure than common translations or paraphrases might suggest,³ what is found here is by and large what could have been expected: in the case of sexual misconduct between a *bhikṣu* and *bhikṣuṇī* both are said to be, in Edgerton's words, "deserving of expulsion";⁴ in the case of sexual misconduct between a *bhikṣuṇī* and a "novice", the former, again, becomes *pārājika*, but the latter, the text indicates without actually saying so, cannot — only a *bhikṣu* can commit a *pārājika* offence, and a "novice", obviously, is not yet that. He can only be "expulsé", and whatever that might actually mean, at the very least the text would seem to be indicating that the "novice's" actions were subject to a further formal action of the Saṅgha or Community; i.e., the Buddha had something to say about them. It is, however, otherwise in the next case the text takes up, and here we have a first instance where the Buddha is presented as expressing his limits, and in this instance the limits of monastic rules.

The text then says, and here again the Buddha is speaking,

atha dāni bhikṣuṇī a(ā)rāmike[na] saha vipratipadyate bhikṣuṇī pārājikā bhavati | ārāmiko agrhīta-samvaratvāt kim vradīṣyati⁵ | evaṃ tīrthikena |

Si une nonne faute avec l'intendant d'un monastère, la nonne est exclue ; quant à l'intendant du monastère, puisqu'il n'a pas acquis la retenue [qui découle de l'observance des règles disciplinaires], que peut-on lui dire ? — de même avec un autre renonçant.

What we have in this instance, and in rather clipped diction, is a first variant of a rhetorical question that will be met again; *kim*

³It is becoming ever more clear, for example, that the commission of a *pārājika* did *not* necessarily involve "exclusion" in the mainstream Indian Vinaya traditions; see Schopen 1998, pp. 157–79 (= Schopen 2004A, pp. 260–84); Clarke 2000. Dr Clarke will be treating the issue in much greater detail in, one hopes, the *reasonably* near future. On *nāśayitavya* see Hüskén 1997A.

⁴*BHSD* s.v. *pārājika*.

⁵Read *vucyīṣyati*, with the ms according to Nolot. For Nolot's correction of the reading in Roth's *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* see Nolot 1991, p. 472, § 117.

vucyīṣyati; and it is very likely that Nolot has got the nuance right in her translation “que peut-on lui dire?” In effect, the Buddha first appears to be saying that nothing will be, or can be, said about the *ārāmika*. But in this instance a specific reason is given; nothing will be or can be said about the *ārāmika* because the *ārāmika* is not subject to the authority of the rule “from the fact that he has not accepted the [monastic] restraint[s]”.⁶ The next sentence — equally clipped — can then be taken in two ways. *Evaṃ tīrthikena* could be taken to mean “it is just as with a member of another religious group”, i.e. the action of an *ārāmika* is like the action of a *tīrthika* — neither is subject to Buddhist monastic rule, so the Buddha declares he will have nothing to say about it. Here the sentence is explanatory. But it could also be taken to mean: “it is just so [when the *bhikṣuṇī*'s activity is] with a *tīrthika*”, i.e. the sentence is extending the judgement of the case involving an *ārāmika* to a case involving a member another religious group. Either way, the function of the rhetorical question seems clear enough, and the same would seem to hold, though it involves a different kind of principle, in a second text that can be cited.

A second instance where this type of rhetorical question is put into the mouth of the Buddha occurs in the Kṣudrakavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya, in its account of the death of Mahāprajāpatī and the five hundred young *bhikṣuṇīs* who accompany her.⁷ After Mahāprajāpatī was corrected or scolded for not honoring the Buddha in the proper way, she determines to enter final *nirvāṇa*. She declares her intention to the Buddha, and to a series of Elders who are all related to her, including Ānanda. To anyone familiar with the account of the death of the Buddha himself, this would set up the expectation that her

⁶On the *ārāmika* see most recently Yamagiwa 2002.

⁷Kṣudraka-vastu, Derge, 'dul ba Tha 110a.6–113b.3. Reference here and throughout for Tibetan sources is to the Derge printing reprinted in Barber 1991, and will follow the same format. Unless otherwise noted they are to the *bka'* 'gyur, and will give the Indian title of the work, the section of the *bka'* 'gyur, the volume letter, and the original folio number(s).

announcement would elicit — as it did in the case of the Buddha — a request that she not pass away: she was, after all — again like the Buddha — the “founder” and central pivot of the Order of *Bhikṣuṇīs*. But in this case no such request is forthcoming. Instead, using a version of the same rhetorical question we have seen, the Buddha says,

gau ta mī ’dus byas thams cad ni de lta bu’i chos can yin na smra ci dgos l⁸

Gautamī, since all compounded things have such a nature, what can I say?

He then repeats this to the five hundred young *bhikṣuṇīs* who announce a similar intention and it is repeated a third time to Mahāprajāpatī and the *bhikṣuṇīs* by the various Elders.

There is very little doubt that *ngas smra ci dgos* here is rendering something like *kiṃ vadeyam* — the first person is certain, the tense or mood a little less so. And here again the Buddha is presented as saying, in effect, that he is powerless to say or do anything about the issue at hand. But as in the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin *Bhikṣuṇīvinaya*, here too a specific reason is given for his inability: the Buddha can say nothing about Mahāprajāpatī passing away because all compounded things pass away — this is the way it is. The Mūlasarvāstivādin account of the death of Mahāprajāpatī does not, however, simply present us with a second, similar instance of the Buddha verbally expressing — however rhetorically — his limitations. It also provides a first instance in which *bhikṣus* do, and there are other examples of this as well, examples which might offer aid in understanding an otherwise curious passage in the Pāli Vinaya which will momentarily concern us.

There is, for example, another such instance in the *Kṣudrakavastu* itself. In this text — part of which has already been treated elsewhere⁹ — the *bhikṣus* of the Jetavana, in reaction to an attack by a group of *bhikṣuṇīs* on another leading *bhikṣuṇī*, and out of fear that *bhikṣuṇīs* might be carrying concealed weapons, make a *kriyākāra*, or local

⁸*Kṣudraka-vastu*, Derge ’dul ba Tha 111b.4.

⁹The text is found at *Kṣudraka-vastu*, Derge ’dul ba Da 172b.2–174b.5; the treatment elsewhere at Schopen 1996 (= Schopen 2004A, pp. 329–59).

monastic ordinance, forbidding *bhikṣuṇīs* to enter the *vihāra*. The text goes on to say that it was, prior to this, the customary practice of Mahāprajāpatī to come daily and honor the feet of the Blessed One, but after the *kriyākāra* was put in place she was denied admittance. She says, “Noble Ones, they (i.e. the other *bhikṣuṇīs*) have committed a fault, but have I also done so?”. But the *bhikṣus* respond by saying,

dge 'dun rnams de ltar bzhed pa la kho bo cag gis byar ci yod!¹⁰

In that the Communities have wished it so, what can we do?

The biggest obstacle to immediately recognizing that this case is essentially analogous to our first two is, probably, the fact that so little is known about the force and function of local monastic ordinances. It is, however, already known that — at least according to the Mūla-sarvāstivādin tradition — membership in a given monastic community during the rain retreat was

determined not by acceptance of, or willingness to adhere to, a specific Vinaya or monastic rule, but by the acceptance of, or willingness to adhere to, these specific local ordinances.¹¹

It is the local ordinances that must be announced at the ritual preliminary to undertaking the rains retreat, not the *Prātimokṣa*; and a willingness to accept them — signaled by taking a counting stick (*śalāka*) — makes a *bhikṣu* a member of the community, not his ordination. That *kriyākāras* were even more binding than the canonical monastic rule or *Prātimokṣa* is also suggested from an unlikely source: the comparatively late Bodhisattvabhūmi says in a number of instances that a *bodhisattva* might disregard, or act contrary to, a *Prātimokṣa* rule, but — again in several instances — it indicates that he must not act contrary to “a local community ordinance” (*sāṃghikaṃ kriyākāraṃ*), even if adhering to a *kriyākāra* results in what the authors of the Bodhisattvabhūmi would otherwise consider a fault (*āpatti*).¹² This

¹⁰*Kṣudraka-vastu*, Derge 'dul ba Da 174a.4.

¹¹Schopen 2002, especially p. 361, for the quotation, and what follows here.

¹²For numerous examples see Wogihara 1936, pp. 161.11ff.; Dutt 1966,

would seem to be a tacit recognition by Mahāyāna authors that at least local ordinances were strong enough to constrain some of their ideological innovations, even if Prātimokṣa rules were not. Indeed, the strength of local ordinances is suggested as well in the same text when it makes “keeping the local community ordinance” (*sāṃghikaṃ kriyākāraṃ anurakṣataḥ*) parallel with “keeping royal dictate (*rājā-pathyam anurakṣataḥ*).¹³

Seen in the light of such considerations, the *bhikṣus*’ response to Mahāprajāpatī says, in effect, that she is asking them to do something they cannot do. The *kriyākāra* does not allow them to do otherwise — it is beyond their control. In this regard the present case is all of a piece with our first two. The *bhikṣus* can no more alter the terms of the *kriyākāra* than the Buddha can alter the fact that all compounded things pass away, or make rules governing the behavior of non-monastics or non-Buddhists. All of these are simply not possible, and while this is yet another indication of the strength or reach of *kriyākāras*, what is important to keep in mind for our immediate purposes is the fact that it is only in such situations that the Buddha or his *bhikṣus* use rhetorical questions like “Que peut-on dire?” “What can I say?”, or “What can we do?” This, in turn, would seem to make the construction of the main Pāli passage that we will be concerned with here that much more curious.

What has already been noted in general terms holds, of course, for the Pāli Vinaya: instances where the Buddha expresses his inability to say something about something are very rare in it. In fact there may only be one clear case, and that alone renders this case notable, and highlights the issue in regard to which it occurs. This case is also odd in another respect as well: it may be one of the equally rare instances in

pp. 110.15ff.; for a translation, Tatz 1986, pp. 66ff., where *kriyākāra*, *khriṃsu bca’ ba*, is translated as “internal rule”. On the composition and date of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* see most recently Deleanu 2006, Vol. I, pp. 162–67, 194–96.

¹³Wogihara 1936, 178.2; Dutt 1966, 122.15; Tatz, 1986, p. 81.

this Vinaya where the Buddha expresses himself using the first person plural. The case concerns a Buddhist *bhikkhu* giving material goods to, or, in effect, supporting his parents, and it occurs in the Cīvara-khandhaka. It reads:

*tena kho pana samayena aññatarassa bhikkhuno bahuṃ cīvaraṃ uppannaṃ hoti so ca taṃ cīvaraṃ mātāpitunnaṃ dātukāmo hoti. Bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesum. mātāpitaro hi kho bhikkhave dadamāne kiṃ vadeyyāma. anujānāmi bhikkhave mātāpitunnaṃ dātuṃ. na ca bhikkhave saddhādeyyaṃ vinipāteṭtabbaṃ. yo vinipāteyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā ti.*¹⁴

I.B. Horner has translated this as

Now at that time much robe-material accrued to a certain monk, and he was desirous of giving that robe-material to his parents. They (i.e. the *bhikkhus*) told this matter to the Lord. He said: "Because he is himself giving to his parents, monks, what can we say? I allow you, monks, to give to parents. But, monks, a gift of faith should not be brought to ruin. Whoever should bring [one] to ruin, there is an offence of wrong-doing."¹⁵

Rhys Davids and Oldenberg's earlier translation of the first part of the Buddha's statement here was somewhat looser and padded out.

Since they are his father and mother, what can we say, O Bhikkhus, though he give them to them. I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to give [robes, in such a case,] to your parents.¹⁶

Neither of these translations is, of course, a bad one, but, perhaps, for one thing. And that thing affects the translation of far more than this single passage. In both translations the Buddha says he *allows bhikkhus* to give to their parents. The verb here is *anujānāmi*, and this verb occurs hundreds, if not thousands of times in Buddhist Vinaya texts. But H. Bechert has rejected such a translation on more than one occasion. He has said, for example, that "most Vinaya interpreters down to the present day have translated the word *anujānāmi* as 'I permit', 'I allow',

¹⁴Vin I 297–98. All references to Pāli texts are to their Pāli Text Society editions.

¹⁵BD IV, pp. 424–25.

¹⁶Rhys Davids and Oldenberg 1882, p. 232.

both of which are incorrect in this context [he is talking about a typical passage in which the Buddha delivers a rule]: it means ‘I order’ here”. In another place he also said, “Unfortunately, some authors still translate *anujānāmi* in most passages in the Vinaya-piṭaka with ‘I allow’. However, when the Buddha speaks, the appropriate translation in most cases is ‘I prescribe’.”¹⁷ K.R. Norman has more matter-of-factly — as is his wont — said, “It is well-known that in the common Vinaya phrase *anujānāti* means ‘to ordain or prescribe’.”¹⁸

The implications of these remarks for understanding our present passage are not difficult to see. Read in light of Bechert and Norman, the Buddha of our passage does not “allow” *bhikkhus* to give to their parents, he *requires* it; he does not “permit” *bhikkhus* to do so, he orders it; and this, of course, is a very different thing. Note too that the parenthetical padding supplied in the translation of Rhys Davids and Oldenberg only makes more obvious the unrestricted range of the text itself. They have: “I allow you, O Bhikkhus to give [robes, in such a case,] to your parents.” The padding appears to be intended by the translators to limit the prescribed (their “allowed”) giving to “robes”, and to situations in which there is “much [*bahu*] robe-material” or cloth. The text itself, however, says no such thing. There, the material to be given is not specified and is therefore, unrestricted; there, no specific circumstances are stated and, therefore, no temporal limitations. And this too is a very different thing.

Then there is the rhetorical expression of the speaker’s inability. Here — as in our first examples — the speaker is the Buddha; and here too — as in all the previous examples — that expression is preceded by an explanatory reason. But here the force of the explanatory reason is not, perhaps, so immediately obvious. While it is easy enough to see why the Buddha would have nothing to say about the actions of an individual who was not a member of the group who recognized his

¹⁷Bechert 1993, p. 7; Bechert 1982, p. 63; see also Bechert 1968; Bechert 1997, p. 58.

¹⁸Norman 1992A (= Norman 1994).

authority — an *ārāmika* or *tīrthaka* — and it is easy enough to see how he would ask how he could possibly have anything to say about a situation governed by what was — for him — the inexorable fact that all conditioned things must pass away, it is, however, more difficult, at least for us, to understand why an act of one of his *bhikkhus* would leave him speechless just because it was being done to benefit or support that *bhikkhu*'s parents. This might be especially so since this was ostensibly the same Buddha who had also said — to quote only one possibly early example — that a follower of his “leaving behind son and wife, and father and mother ... should wander solitary as a rhinoceros horn”, and should be “one who does not support another” (*an-aññāposī*).¹⁹ This would seem to remain something of a mystery, even if it be noted — and this rarely is — that Buddhist Vinaya and Buddhist *sūtra* literature often do not say the same thing or express the same, or even similar, values.²⁰

It might be possible to explain the Buddha's statement here as an unwanted consequence of an already taken decision. Already by Aśoka followers of the Buddha were publicly called *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunis*,²¹ and whatever else this might have meant, it certainly identified them as “beggars”. But to judge from Indian normative texts, this identification would have in turn carried with it certain unavoidable expectations, at least in a brahmanical or even brahmanized world. The Āpastambadharmasūtra says, for example, in Olivelle's recent translation,

The appropriate reasons for begging [*bhikṣaṇe nimittaṃ*] are the following: to pay the teacher, to celebrate a marriage, to perform a sacrifice, trying to support one's parents [*mātāpitror bubhūrṣa*], and when a worthy person

¹⁹Sutta-nipāta, vv. 60, 65. The translation is from Norman 1992B. For the first of these cf. Salomon, 2000, p. 108 (v. 18), pp. 144–46 (v. 18).

²⁰See, from a somewhat different angle, Bronkhorst 2006, pp. 9–22, especially pp. 21–22.

²¹Bloch 1950, pp. 152, 153, 155. Curiously, and as noted long ago by Lüders (1963, p. 2, n.1) the terms “*bhikhu* or *bhicchu* (*bhikshu*) for monks are never used in Bhārhut inscriptions”, although *bhikhunī* or *bhicchunī* are, and both “occur very often” at Sāñci.

would have to suspend an obligatory act.²²

And the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, again in Olivelle's recent translation:

A man seeking to extend his line, a man preparing to perform a sacrifice, a traveller, a man who has performed the sacrifice at which all his possessions are given away, a man who begs for the sake of his teacher, father or mother [*pitṛmātrartham*], a student of the Veda, and a sick man — these nine should be known as “bath-graduates” [*snātaka*], Brahmins who are beggars pursuant to the Law [*dharmabhikṣuka*].²³

It is possible that passages like these might explain something of our Pāli text. At the very least they suggest that any group that insisted on calling its members *bhikkhus* or *bhikkhunīs* — that is to say, “beggars” — in an Indian setting in which *dharmasāstric* values and expectations were current might well have found it impossible to forbid its followers to give material support to their parents, or to avoid the expectation that its members would be engaged — at least in part — in providing their parents with material goods. This, after all, would have been, in such a place, one of “the appropriate reasons for begging (*bhikṣaṇa*)”, and begging is what a *bhikṣu* is supposed to do.

We might, then, have in these brahmanical sources on *dharma* the elements of a possible explanation of why in the Pāli Vinaya the Buddha, when confronted by one of his *bhikkhus* wanting to give cloth to his parents, is presented as being unable to say anything about it. But while it might be a possible explanation, it is not a certain one, and there are some further considerations which might render it even less so. To have the heavy inexorability of, for example, the notion that all conditioned things must pass away, these *dharmasāstric* norms and expectations would have to have had a cultural facticity that only would have held in a thoroughly brahmanical environment. But we know that the Pāli Vinaya was certainly redacted and continuously edited in Sri Lanka, and that there is little or no evidence of the presence of Indian

²²Āpastamba-dharmasūtra 2.10.1 (Olivelle 2000, pp. 86–87).

²³Mānava-dharmasāstra 11.1–2 (Olivelle 2005, pp. 215, 837).

dharmasāstric literature or practices there.²⁴ It could, of course, be argued that such considerations would lose much of their force if our passage could be taken as an old, established survival of the North Indian tradition where brahmanical norms would have been, more reasonably, a factor to be contended with, but this in turn would raise the issue of how well our text was integrated into, and was representative of, the Pāli Vinaya as a whole, and here too there are questions.

There is, indeed, much that is unusual about this passage. It may well be the only place in the Pāli Vinaya where the Buddha is presented as unable to prohibit or alter a practice of one of his *bhikkhus*. It appears to be the only place in the entire Pāli Vinaya where the Buddha, in referring to himself, uses the first person plural of the verb “to speak”. It is the only passage there where there is any mention of a “gift of faith” (*saddhādeyya*) being “brought to ruin” (*vinipātetabbaṃ, vinipāteyya*). In fact the compound *saddhādeyya* is itself very rare in the Pāli Vinaya and the structure of the text itself is not typical.²⁵ From the point of view of vocabulary, then, the text could hardly be called representative, and if Rhys Davids and Oldenberg are right in assigning the term *dukkāṭa*, or “wrong-doing”, to “the latest portion” or “final recension” of the Pāli Vinaya, then our passage also would not appear to be early.²⁶ There are other factors as well that would seem to point in the same direction.

The Pāli text prescribing that a *bhikkhu* must give material goods to

²⁴In contrast with other Theravāda countries in Southeast Asia — see, for example, Lingat 1949; Schopen, Schopen 2004A, 186, and the sources cited in n. 48; 210 and n. 56.

²⁵For *vadeyyāma* and *saddhādeyya* in the Pāli Vinaya see Ousaka, Yamazaki, Norman 1996.

²⁶Rhys Davids and Oldenberg 1881, p. xxv — they are responding here, however, to a “trenchant attack upon Buddhist morality” based on the Pāli Vinaya by S. Coles, “the first ardent student of Pali among the missionaries after the time of Gogerly”; see Young and Somaratna 1996, pp. 171–72, and n. 372.

his parents is a little one of not much more than six lines, tucked away in the middle of the Cīvara-khandhaka. It is also an isolated one. Neither the prescription nor the practice are referred to elsewhere in the Pāli Vinaya in regard to *bhikkhus*, and there appears to be but a single, curious or indirect reference to the practice in regard to *bhikkhunīs*. *Pācittiya* 28 of the Pāli Bhikkhunī-pātimokkha has recently been translated by K.R. Norman as

If any bhikkhunī should give recluses' robe material [*samaṇa-cīvaraṃ dadeyya*] to a householder or to a male wanderer [*paribbājaka*] or to a female wanderer, there is an offence entailing expiation.²⁷

But the exception clause (*anāpatti*) attached to this rule in the Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga gives as the first exception:

*anāpatti mātāpitunnaṃ deti.*²⁸

There is no offence if she gives [it] to [her] parents.

The first or most obvious thing about this reference to a member of the Buddhist community giving material things to her parents is that it does not occur in the Pātimokkha rule itself, but in the exception clause attached to it in the Vibhaṅga and since von Hinüber, for example, has more than once suggested that these exception clauses represent the latest layer in the Vibhaṅga,²⁹ this reference — if he is correct — would appear to be, like the reference in the Cīvara-khandhaka, not an early one. It is, moreover, worth noticing that the Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga does not order the *bhikkhunī* to give to her parents. It does not even recommend it. At the most it allows for it, and tacitly recognizes it as a practice by citing it as an exception to the rule. This might seem curious if the prescription now found in the Cīvara-khandhaka was already in place or known. But the situation in post-canonical and Sri Lankan sources — which we cannot follow here in any detail — is, if anything,

²⁷Pruitt and Norman 2001, pp. 172–73.

²⁸Vin IV 286,3.

²⁹See, for example, von Hinüber 1996, p. 14.

even more curious.

In regard to post-canonical Pāli sources we can only note here, for example, that there is a whole series of “stories of the present” (*paccuppannavatthu*) in the Commentary to the Jātaka dealing with *bhikkhus* who are supporters (*posaka*) of their parents, but these *bhikkhus* are repeatedly still being criticized there by other *bhikkhus* for doing so, and the criticism is expressed by citing a part — but only a part — of what looks like the Cīvara-khandhaka prescription.³⁰ The critical *bhikkhus* say to the *bhikkhu* who gives to his parents, *āvuso satthā saddhādeyyaṃ vinipātetuṃ na deti. tvaṃ saddhādeyyaṃ gahetvā gihīnaṃ dadamāno ayuttaṃ karosī ti* (“the Teacher does not allow a gift of the faithful to be brought to ruin. In giving to householders after you have taken a gift of the faithful you do what is improper”).³¹ Since the critical *bhikkhus* know that the householders in question are the other *bhikkhu*'s parents, this should have been an issue already resolved in the Cīvara-khandhaka if the Cīvara-khandhaka passage looked at the time of the Jātaka Commentary as it does now. Equally odd, perhaps, is the textual fact that in these stories when a *bhikkhu* decides to support his parents while remaining a *bhikkhu* — and it is there his decision — he cites as the justification not the prescription in the Cīvara-khandhaka, but a statement that is attributed to the Buddha that appears not to be found in the Pāli Canon, but is not unlike a statement found in a very different Vinaya: *satthā pana pabbajitaputto va upakārako nāma ti vadati* (“But the Teacher says, ‘Even a son who has entered the

³⁰The “stories of the present” in the following Jātakas deal with *bhikkhus* who support their parents: Nos. 164* (*Gijjha-jātaka*), 385 (*Nandiyamiga-*), 398* (*Sutano-*), 399 (*Gijjha-*), 455* (*Mātiposaka-*), 484* (*Sālikedāra-*), 513* (*Jayaddisa-*), 532* (*Sona-Nanda-*), and 540 (*Sāma-*). The last of these presents the fullest account of such a *bhikkhu*, and all those marked here with an asterisk refer to it for a full account; it is the source for what follows here. For the Pāli Jātaka Commentary see von Hinüber 1998, especially pp. 16–24, for both the *paccuppannavatthu* and *mātiposaka bhikkhus*.

³¹Ja VI 71,15.

religious life is, indeed, one who provides support”).³² And finally, although the Buddha in these stories repeatedly praises the *bhikkhu* who supports his parents in very strong terms, and wants to strengthen his resolve (*tassa ussāhaṃ janetukāmo*),³³ he nowhere here makes giving to one’s parents a rule for *bhikkhus* as he had (already?) done in the Cīvara-khandhaka. How best to account for all of this is, of course, far from clear. Nor is it immediately obvious how this disparate material fits — or if it fits at all — with a good deal of inscriptional and historical material from Sri Lanka that would seem to indicate that the support of one’s parents by Buddhist *bhikkhus* was there a recognized and established practice throughout the medieval period and virtually up to modern times. Two examples must suffice. A Sanskrit inscription dated to the ninth century was discovered more than a hundred years ago at Anuradhapura. It is almost certainly a *kriyākāra* or “local ordinance” of the monastery in association with which it was found — such ordinances in Pāli sources are called *katikāvatas*. It specifies — among other things — what kind of *bhikkhu* can or cannot reside in the monastery. It indicates, for example, that *bhikkhus* “ordained at another *vihāra*” can only reside in this one if they have given up their privileges and duties in their original *vihāra*; that *bhikkhus* who own or receive land may not reside there. As a part of this enumeration it then says,

mitthyājīvinā na va[stavyaṃ] [strīpoṣa]kena na vastavyam | anyatra māṭāpitr̥bhyām ³⁴

[A bhikṣu] getting his living in a wrong way must not reside here. One who supports a woman must not reside here, except for [one supporting his] parents.

What Ratnapala calls the Mahā-Parākramabāhu Katikāvata — a twelfth-century set of ordinances promulgated in the name of the king

³²Ja VI 70.14f.

³³Ja VI 71.23.

³⁴Wickremasinghe 1904–1912, especially p. 4, line 12. The fact that this inscription is in Sanskrit obviously raises the question of North Indian influence; see below and sources in n. 46.

— has a similar, but even more elaborate exception clause in regard to a different issue:

No permission should be given to any of these [*bhikkhus*] to enter the village at improper times on any business other than on account of a journey begging food for the unsupported parents who had given birth to them, likewise for their consanguineous and widowed elder and younger sisters.³⁵

In both of these ordinances, which were meant to govern the activities of Buddhist *bhikkhus* in medieval Sri Lanka, the practice of *bhikkhus* supporting their parents is not only recognized, but apparently had such significance and currency that other regulations had to be built around it and could not put constraints upon it — it overrode all sorts of other considerations. Here, however, the Sri Lankan material cannot be further pursued, and we can only return to our main focus and try to sum up what is found in the canonical Pāli Vinaya that bears on the issue of a *bhikkhu* supporting his parents.

A first point that could be made about the canonical Vinaya is that if one sticks strictly to its wording it, literally, says nothing about a *bhikkhu* supporting his parents. Unlike the Jātaka Commentary, it does not use a word corresponding to the English word “support”. It uses forms of the verb “to give” — the *bhikkhu* “desires to give” (*dātukāma*), is “giving” (*dadamāna*), and is ordered “to give” (*anujānāmi ... dātuṃ*) to his parents. This is ambiguous and, as we have seen, allows Rhys Davids and Oldenberg to put restrictions on the giving by padding their translation and limiting that giving to “robes” and to situations where there is an abundance of them. But again, strictly speaking, the order is simply to give, with no limits put on the objects that must be given, and no temporal or situational qualifications put on the obligation. Then there is the textual fact that the order itself is delivered almost unwillingly — the Buddha is made to say *kiṃ vadeyyāma*, as if he had no choice. There is the additional textual fact that the language of the text which contains the order is unusual — the Buddha using a first

³⁵Ratnapala 1971, p. 131 (§9); for other examples see pp. 148 (§78), 156 (§87), 169 (§103), 176 (§14).

person plural form of the verb; the reference to the “gift of faith” (*saddhādeyya*), etc. There is as well the fact that the prescription is an isolated one and had no afterlife — it, like the practice it enjoins, is referred to nowhere else in the Pāli Vinaya except in an exception clause in the Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga. Finally, and as already noted from a different angle, the prescription in the Pāli Vinaya is completely lacking in detail and specificity — it is, for example, only indicated in later sources like the Jātaka Commentary, or the cited *katikāvata*, that *bhikkhus* who give to or support their parents do so by begging. In short, the situation in the Pāli Vinaya is a thoroughly unsatisfactory one: a *bhikkhu* who had to depend on it would have no clear guidance. In this regard — if no other — his northern brothers would have been much better off.

A second Buddhist Vinaya — one that more certainly circulated in India — is slowly becoming better known. Like the Pāli Vinaya or, indeed, all the Vinayas that have come down to us, this Vinaya, the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, appears to have been redacted relatively late, but its redaction almost certainly took place in North or Northwest India in an environment where brahmanical norms and expectations were a presence that had to be addressed. In this Vinaya the rules governing a whole series of issues — contact with corpses, inheritance of property, for example — were fairly obviously framed in such a way that Buddhist practice would accommodate and incorporate larger brahmanical values.³⁶ In such an environment there is little doubt that the kind of brahmanical expectations concerning beggars expressed in the passages from Āpastamba and Manu already cited would have been well fixed, and this, in turn, may account in good part for the fact that the redactors of this Vinaya give no evidence that there was a felt need to explain or justify the practice of Buddhist *bhikṣus* supporting their

³⁶For contact with corpses and “pollution” see, for example, Schopen 1992, Schopen 2006; for inheritance, Schopen 1995 (= Schopen 2004A, pp. 170–92), Schopen 2001 (= Schopen 2004A, pp. 122–69).

parents. Indeed, for Buddhist *bhikṣus* not to have done so might well have required justification or explanation. In any case, it is clear that, in regard to the practice of *bhikṣus* supporting their parents, the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya is everything the Pāli Vinaya is not: unapologetic, clear, and unambiguous; detailed and specific; the prescription it contains is well integrated, is referred to in places other than in the passage in which it was originally delivered, and had a long life in Vinaya handbooks. If nothing else, these factors make it much easier to deal with the Mūlasarvāstivādin rule in summary form, and that is all that can be done here.

The text that delivers the Mūlasarvāstivādin prescription needs little commentary and is short enough to be translated in full. It occurs in what is now called the Uttaragrantha, and although this is the least well known section of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya there are already clear signs that it represents a particularly influential, and probably early, part of this tradition.³⁷ Since this portion of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya is not yet available in Sanskrit, the translation here is of the Tibetan translation.³⁸

The setting was in Śrāvastī.

A householder in Śrāvastī took a wife from a suitable family and made love with her. When he had made love with her, and when after that she had become pregnant, then — eight or nine months having passed — she gave birth to a son, a handsome boy who was a delight to see and possessed of all his limbs. And having celebrated the festival of birth for the newborn he was given a name.

The boy was nurtured and grew up, but then later — without asking his father and mother — he entered the religious life (*rab tu byung ba = pravrajati*) in the Order (*bstan pa = śāsana*) of the Blessed One. In the morning when he had dressed he, taking his bowl and robe, entered Śrāvastī for alms, and when his old father saw him he said, “Son, since you have

³⁷See Schopen 2001, pp. 101–105 (= Schopen 2004A, pp. 124–27).

³⁸The text occurs at Uttaragrantha, Derge 'dul ba Pa 112b.1–113a.1 — the Sanskrit equivalents inserted into the English translation are all attested in one form or another, but are, of course, only probable.

entered into the religious life (*pravrajita*) who will support us?" (*nged cag sus gso bar 'gyur = poṣiṣyati*; or "will be the supporter (*poṣaka*) of us?")

The *bhikṣu* was crestfallen (*spa gong nas = mankubhūta*) and said nothing.

The *bhikṣus* reported to the Blessed One what had occurred, and the Blessed One said, "*Bhikṣus*, one's father and mother are the doers of what is difficult (*dka' ba byed pa = duṣkaraka*) for a son. Therefore, I order (*rjes su gnang ngo = anujānāmi*) that even a son who has entered the religious life (*bu rab tu byung yang = pravrajita-putra?*) must procure (*sbyor ba = prajya*) food and clothing for both father and mother."

When the Blessed One had said "even one who has entered the religious life must procure food and clothing for both father and mother", and the *bhikṣus* did not know how it was to be provided, the Blessed One said, "What there is beyond his bowl and robe — with that it must be provided! If there is none, then begging from a donor (*sbyin bdag = dānapati*), it must be provided! If, as one who receives from the Community (*saṃghalābhin*) he has a right to what belongs to the Community, he must give half of that! If he is one who begs his food (*piṇḍapātika*), he must give half his alms! If that is not done one comes to be guilty of an offence (*'das pa = atyaya*).

There is — apart, perhaps, from the very idea of *bhikṣus* supporting their parents — nothing very odd here. Certainly the language, vocabulary, and conceptual world in this text are not at all unusual, but rather typical, or even characteristic, of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya as a whole. The whole of the first paragraph, and most of the second, for example, consists entirely of clichés or stenciled passages that occur scores of times in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya and the literature dependent on it like the Avadānaśataka and Divyāvadāna.³⁹ Indeed, the construction of the text as a whole, the way in which the "action" unfolds, is entirely typical of hundreds of texts in this Vinaya. The assertion that parents are "the doers of what is difficult" (*duṣkaraka*) is repeatedly made in its Vibhaṅga, the Uttaragrantha again, its Bhaiṣajya- and Kṣudraka-vastus.⁴⁰ The distinction in the text between *bhikṣus*

³⁹Hiraoka 2002, p. 157 (3.A), p. 161 (3.H, D), etc.

⁴⁰Vibhaṅga, Derge 'dul ba Ca 76a.7; Uttaragrantha, Derge 'dul ba Pa 103a.4;

supported by the Community (*saṃghalābhin*) and those who beg (*piṇḍapātika*) is found again in its Poṣadha-vastu and Vibhaṅga, for example, and is so well established that it can occur in “stories of the past” (*bhūtapūrva*), as it does in the Śayanāsana-vastu.⁴¹

Perhaps even more to the point, given the use of the expression *pabbajita-putta* in the otherwise untraceable citation of the Buddha's words in the Jātaka Commentary, in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya the Buddha himself and other *bhikṣus* are repeatedly seen using the term *pravrajita* in making claims or assertions in regard to Buddhist *bhikṣus* — easily available examples occur in its Cīvara- and Kṣudraka-vastus, Uttaragrantha, and Vibhaṅga.⁴² Even what appears to be an anomaly in our text may not be one. The observant will have noticed that the boy in our text entered the Order without asking his parents. This receives no comment or correction, even though according to specific rule in this Vinaya — and others — it should not have occurred.⁴³ It is, of course, possible to suggest that our text was set in a narrative time that preceded that of the promulgation of the rule that required parental permission for entrance into the Order, but the fact of the matter is that this kind of situation — a narrative situation in which seemingly established rules do not seem to be in place — occurs on a number of occasions in the texts in the Uttaragrantha, and may be indicating that they represent an early and partially independent strand of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya

Bhaiṣajya-vastu, Derge 'dul ba Kha 5b.2 (= Divyāvadāna (Cowell and Neil) 51.20); Kṣudraka-vastu, Derge 'dul ba Tha 253b.1. The same expression is also found in early North Indian inscriptional sources; see Salomon 1986, p. 265 (8d.), 271 (8d.) — the inscription dates to the early first century C.E.

⁴¹Poṣadha-vastu (Hu-von Hinüber) 292 (§20); Vibhaṅga, Derge 'dul ba Ca 147b.3; Śayanāsana-vastu (Gnoli) 41.4 — for the abbreviated references here and below to Sanskrit Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya sources see Schopen 2004A, pp. xiii–xvii.

⁴²For convenience see Schopen 2004A, p. 115 (there “renouncers”) and 312 (“renouncers”); 181 (“renunciant”); 200 (“renunciant”)

⁴³See, for example, the Mūlasarvāstivādin ordination formulary translated in Schopen 2004B, p. 236.

tradition. Time will tell.

It seems, moreover, that unlike in the prescription in the Pāli Cīvara-khandhaka, there is little ambiguity in the Mūlasarvāstivādin text, even though it must be filtered through the Tibetan translation. That the issue under discussion is the “support” of the *bhikṣu*’s parents seems certain; the father’s question uses the expression *gso bar ’gyur*, which almost certainly is translating either the future form *poṣiṣyati*, or a construction involving the substantive *poṣaka* plus a form of *bhū*, both of which would have the general sense “support”, “nourish”, “foster”.⁴⁴ The Buddha’s prescription uses the verb *sbyor ba* to describe what one who has entered the religious life must do, and the sense of the Tibetan verb in a context like this is “procure” or “provide”. The original was very likely a form of *pra-yuj* which, of course, has a wide range of meanings, among which are “prepare”, “produce”, or even “offer” or “present” (a Sanskrit source we will shortly see uses the verb *udvahet*). But if there is little ambiguity in the Mūlasarvāstivādin text, there appears to be even less ambivalence — certainly there is nothing like the Buddha’s tacit statement in the Pāli that he had no choice in prescribing what he did. Finally, the Mūlasarvāstivādin text — unlike again in the Pāli one — is detailed and specific; it contains precise instructions on how the prescription is to be fulfilled depending on a range of different situations or circumstances.

But if there are distinct differences between the Pāli and Mūlasarvāstivādin texts in the form, language and delivery of the prescription itself, there also appear to be distinct differences in regard to how well their respective prescriptions are anchored or integrated into their respective Vinayas, and in regard to its continuing influence. The Pāli prescription appears to have been, as already noted, an isolated one — it is not, strictly speaking, referred to anywhere else in the Pāli Vinaya. This is not the case in regard to the Mūlasarvāstivādin prescription. Moreover, there is no doubt — as we will see in a moment — that the

⁴⁴See Negi 2005, p. 7397, s.v. *gso ba*.

Mūlasarvāstivādin prescription had a long shelf-life, whereas this has yet to be demonstrated for the Pāli tradition, and we have already seen that in a place like the Jātaka Commentary where *bhikkhus* are being criticized for giving to or supporting their parents, and where one might therefore legitimately expect to find reference to the prescription in answer to the criticism, there is none. Here again, however, the Mūlasarvāstivādin material can be, and need only be, cited summarily, using two particularly unequivocal examples.

One might, again, legitimately expect that if a rule like the Mūlasarvāstivādin prescription requiring *bhikṣus* to procure food and clothing for their parents were fully integrated into their Vinaya, it would be referred to elsewhere, and the Mūlasarvāstivādin prescription certainly is. A particularly striking example occurs in its Vibhaṅga, in the longish section there devoted to the issue of *bhikṣus* paying tolls. The text concerns a *bhikṣu* from Śrāvastī and says,⁴⁵

Once, while wandering through the countryside, when he obtained two great pieces of cotton cloth he thought to himself, "Since it has been said by the Blessed One, 'Even one who has entered the religious life (*rab tu byung ba* = *pravrajita*) must provide (*bstabs par bya ba* = *pratipādyati*) the means of support (*mkho ba* = *upakaraṇa*) to his father and mother,' I, therefore, will give one of these to my father, the other I will give to my mother."

The text continues with the *bhikṣu* being stopped at a custom-house on his way back to Śrāvastī, and being asked if he had anything "on which duties are wanted". The *bhikṣu* says, "No", but the customs-agent finds the cloth and accuses him of lying. Then

The *bhikṣu* said, "But, sir, these two are not mine."

"Then whose are they, Noble One?"

"Sir, one is my father's; the other my mother's."

But the customs-agent is not impressed and says,

"Noble one, since I do not find your father here, nor do I find your mother, you must pay the tax, then begone from here!"

⁴⁵Vibhaṅga, Derge Ca 75b.5-76b.4.

When the *bhikṣus* report to the Blessed One what had happened, the text says,

The Blessed One said, “Though indeed, *bhikṣus*, for that *bhikṣu* there is no offence, still a *bhikṣu* should not proceed in this way, but should first declare in this way the praises of parents to the customs-agent, ‘Sir, the Blessed One has said, “*Bhikṣus*, one’s father and mother are the doers of what is difficult (*dka’ ba byed pa = duṣkaraka*) for a son — they are nourishers, supporters, fosterers ...”⁴⁶ If he declares in this way the praises of his parents, and if he is let go, that is good. If he is not let go, then paying the tax, he should proceed. If he does not proceed in this way he comes to be guilty of an offence.”

There are a number of points worth briefly noting here, the first and perhaps most obvious of which is that the first part of what the *bhikṣu* thinks here in the Vibhaṅga is a loose quotation or close paraphrase of the rule delivered by the Buddha in the Uttaragrantha, and is marked as such. Internal quotations from one part of this Vinaya in another are not infrequent and are always explicitly marked as such — as here — with the phrase “it has been said by the Blessed One”. Such “quotations” are also — again as here — almost never verbatim.⁴⁷

A second and perhaps more surprising point has already been alluded to: what the *bhikkhu* in the Jātaka Commentary thinks when he decides to support his parents as a *bhikkhu* is also marked as a “quotation” (*sathā pana pabbajitaputto va upakārako nāma ti vadati*) but while this quotation cannot, it seems, be traced in the Pāli Vinaya, it is remarkably similar to what the Mūlasarvāstivādin *bhikṣu* thinks in the Vibhaṅga when he makes the same decision (notice in particular the Pāli *upakāraka* and the Mūlasarvāstivādin *upakaraṇa*, and the uncharacteristic use of *pabbajita* in the Pāli). This situation might be most easily explained as yet another instance of the influence of “Northern”, particularly Mūlasarvāstivādin, sources on the Pāli

⁴⁶For the stenciled passage praising parents that I have abbreviated here see the reference cited in n. 38 above; for a translation, Schopen 2004A, p. 179.

⁴⁷For some instances and remarks on these internal “quotations” see Schopen 2004A, pp. 103–04, 179–80, 183, 230 and n. 41, 311–12, and 355, n. 44.

commentaries — Frauwallner, for example, goes so far as to say that they are “met with at every step when one scans the pages of the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*”.⁴⁸ But this raises again the issue of why an “external” source would be cited if the rule now found in the Pāli *Cīvara-khandhaka* were already in place.

A final point that might be noted here must be that this *Vibhaṅga* text would seem to present an example of precisely the sort of thing that one might expect to find if the rule regarding *bhikṣus* to provide for their parents had been fully integrated into its *Vinaya*, if the rule had become a practice. Here, as it were, the rule is narrativized and appears in a context other than the one in which it was originally promulgated. Here the rule — like so many other rules in Buddhist *Vinaya* — gives rise to further rules. And the text would seem to suggest that the practice of *bhikṣus* providing for their parents was established to the point that the redactors of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, at least, thought it was in need of further regulation and established guidelines here meant to ensure that *bhikṣus* who engaged in it would not run afoul of the law or create problems with the state.

Beyond, however, a text like that cited from the *Vibhaṅga* there are still other indications that the rule requiring *bhikṣus* to provide for their parents was, and remained for a very long time, an integral part of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* tradition, none clearer, perhaps, than that provided by *Guṇaprabha's Vinaya-sūtra*. The *Vinaya-sūtra* is a remarkable digest of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, written in true *sūtra* style, that has come down to us in Sanskrit. *Guṇaprabha* appears to have written his *Vinaya-sūtra* sometime between the fifth and the seventh century, but we know from a colophon that it was still being copied in the eleventh–twelfth centuries at *Vikramaśīla*; that at least four extensive commentaries were written on it in India; and that both the *sūtra* and these commentaries were translated into Tibetan and became

⁴⁸Frauwallner 1956, p. 188, and sources cited in his n. 4; Ruelius 1968, p. 175 and the sources cited there; Hüsken 1997B, pp. 204–205 and n. 20; cf. Pind 1996.

— and remain — an important part of a *bhikṣu*'s training in the Tibetan using world.⁴⁹

Certainly, one of the more remarkable things about Guṇaprabha's Vinaya-sūtra is that it has reduced the nearly eight thousand pages of the canonical Vinaya to an even hundred. It did this in part, at least, by ignoring the enormous mass of narrative material in this Vinaya, but also by an almost breathtaking economy of expression and a tight focus on the bare essentials. Given these general characteristics it is of some interest that the rule requiring *bhikṣus* to provide for their parents is treated in some detail, even if it is in a very compact form. The text says,

*yogaṃ bhaktācchādanena pitror udvahet |
na cel lābhasya pātracivarād atirekas samādāpya |
asaṃpattau bhojanopanater upārdhasyādānam |
(pha ma la zas dang gos kyis gtang bar bya'o |
gal te lung bzed dang chos las lhag pa'i rnyed pa med na blangs te'o | ma
grub na zan gyi skal ba las phyed sbyin no)⁵⁰*

As with most of Guṇaprabha's *sūtras* these three are barely intelligible on their own, hence the four enormous Indian commentaries written on it. But very often knowledge of the canonical passage that he is digesting turns out to provide the best "commentary" on a given set of *sūtras*, and that is the case here. Armed with a knowledge of the canonical text these *sūtras* can be translated — with the necessary padding — as

[A *bhikṣu*] should conscientiously provide his parents with food and

⁴⁹There is not yet anything like a good overview of the complexities of the Vinaya-sūtra and its associated literature, and little is actually known about Guṇaprabha's life; for the moment see Schopen 2004A, pp. 64–69; 86, n. 55; 126–28; 257, n.78; 312–18, but there is also important and on-going work being done on the Sanskrit text of the Vinaya-sūtra and Vinayasūtravṛtti by Masanori Nakagawa and the Study Group of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibetan *dbu med* script at Taishō University which cannot be enumerated here.

⁵⁰For convenience the Sanskrit text is cited here from Sankrityayana 1981, 89.27, and the Tibetan from Derge, bstan 'gyur, 'dul ba Wu 72b.6.

clothing.

If there is no surplus from the bowl and robes of his acquisition, [it must be done] after having incited [a donor to provide him with them].

When that does not succeed [the parents are to be] receiving half of the [bhikṣu's] share of food.

Although I am less confident than I once was that Guṇaprabha's Vinaya-sūtra necessarily reflects the precise vocabulary of the canonical sources he was digesting — in fact his vocabulary not infrequently seems far more learned and recherché than that of the canonical texts — these *sūtras* are no less important for that. At the very least they provide a version of the Mūlasarvāstivādin rule in an Indian language. But beyond that they also indicate the continuing circulation of the rule and — one might assume — its continuing relevance for the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition over a very long period of time. The latter, indeed, may also be underscored by the fact that Guṇaprabha not only digests the rule itself, he also separately digests the Vibhaṅga passage requiring *bhikṣus* to pay tolls on goods they are transporting that are meant for their parents.⁵¹

In trying to summarize what might have been seen here it is important not to allow the uncertainties and complexities of especially the Pāli material to conceal or confuse what might be the essential point: we have here two Vinaya traditions — thought by some to be the earliest and the latest — in which Buddhist *bhikkhus/bhikṣus* are required to give or provide (the exact wording differs) material goods or support to their parents. Although the integration of, and the attitude toward, the requirement differs in the two traditions — *both have such a requirement*. In one (the Pāli tradition) the rule appears not to be well integrated and there are indications that it might even be additive; the attitude towards the requirement there may appear to be ambivalent or conflicted, even though the actual practice of *bhikkhus* supporting their parents in Sri Lanka seems to be strongly suggested. In the other (the

⁵¹Sankrityayana, Vinayasūtra 16.29; Derge, bstan 'gyur, 'dul ba Wu 15a.2.

Mūlasarvāstivādin) the requirement appears to be fully integrated, detailed and specific, and its practice further regulated (there is even an incidental reference to *bhikṣus* borrowing money for the sake of their parents in this Vinaya⁵²). The attitude toward the requirement in the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition appears to be straightforward and positive. We have, in short, two positions on a common rule or practice, but it is this shared common rule or practice that is important and that raises the very real question of whether or not the Buddhist *bhikṣu* or *bhikkhu* can legitimately, or usefully, be called a “monk”. Although the term “monk” or “moine” or “Mönch” or any other equivalent is itself a contested, and even — as everything today seems to be — a political term, still it seems that by virtually any definition a “monk” would not be allowed to do what our rule requires a Buddhist *bhikṣu* to do. So even though the issue of whether or not a Buddhist *bhikṣu* might be called a “monk” is, of course, not a new one,⁵³ it almost certainly will become a more pressing one as Buddhist Vinaya literatures start to be better known and more carefully studied — all of them — and examples like the one treated briefly here begin to pile up. And although it certainly involves and implicates translation, the issue here is far more than an issue of translation. At issue is the very nature of the group of celibate men who created and transmitted Buddhist traditions: it might very well be that this is not best described as “monasticism”. In his recent translation of the Pāli Pātimokkha K.R. Norman has once again not used the word “monk”, but let a *bhikkhu* be a *bhikkhu* until we know what that is. We might do well to follow him here, as we must in so many other ways as well.

Gregory Schopen

⁵²See Schopen 2004A, pp. 137–39.

⁵³See, for example, the discussion in *BD*, Vol. I, pp. xxxix–l.

ABBREVIATIONS

- BD *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka)*, translated by I.B. Horner. Vol. I, 1938 (Sacred Books of the Buddhists X); Vol. IV, 1951 (Sacred Books of the Buddhists XIV)
- BHSD F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*; Vol. II, *Dictionary*. New Haven, 1953

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Commentaries, Translations, and Lexica: Some Further Reflections on Buddhism and Philology

In his series of lectures on *A Philological Approach to Buddhism*¹ K.R. Norman has made an excellent case for the importance of philology in the study of Buddhism. In what follows I shall attempt a very modest addition to this picture by looking at some instances that highlight how knowledge of the specific techniques and conventions applied by indigenous commentators and translators can be of importance for lexicography and the interpretation of Buddhist texts.

Consider first of all the following entry in CPD: “**udara-jivhā-māṃsa**, *n.*, ‘the flesh of the stomach’s tongue’; description of the spleen: pihakan ti ~am, Vism 257,22 (jivhā-sañṭhānam udarassa matthaka-passe tiṭṭhanaka-māṃsam, mḥṭ Se II 29,7).” The expression “the flesh of the stomach’s tongue”, even though in some sense “literal”, makes no sense at all, and although the commentary or *mahāṭīkā* is quoted, it has clearly not been consulted or understood. The commentary’s interpretation of the compound comes a lot closer to describing what the spleen actually is: “The piece of flesh that is located at the upper side of the stomach and has the shape of a tongue.”² This particular CPD entry results from a simple failure to read and take advantage of indigenous commentaries. Matters are not always so straightforward, and it can sometimes be difficult to know exactly when we are in a position to “remonter ... à un pali d’intérêt linguistique”, to use an expression from Helmer Smith.³

¹The Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai Lectures delivered at SOAS in 1994; Norman 1997.

²That said, I feel somewhat surprised at the expression *matthaka-passe tiṭṭhanaka-māṃsam* in this passage. Is it possibly an error for *matthaka-passe tiṭṭhanakaṃ māṃsam*? I cannot see why the commentator would opt for a *sāpeḥsasamāsa* here.

³Smith 1928, p. vi, “C’est donc dans la conviction que notre pali est une fonction de celui du 12^e siècle — et que la connaissance de la philologie

The CPD entry for *udānana* runs: “**udānana**, *n.*, *vb.* *noun of udānēti q.v., formed to explain udāna*; Sadd 382,21: ken’atthēna udānaṃ ? °’atthēna. kim idaṃ ~aṃ nāma ? pīti-vega-samuṭṭhāpito udāhāro (≠ Ud-a 2,11, *reading udān’atthēna, udānaṃ nāma*).” Turning to the CPD entry for *udāna*, one finds: “**udāna**, *n. and m.* [*ts.*], *lit.* ‘*the breathing upwards*’; **1.** (*medic.*) *one of the five vital airs, rising up the throat and entering the head*; **2.** *a solemn utterance, mostly, but not necessarily, in metrical form, inspired by intense emotion and made without regard to any listeners ...*; **3.** *the fifth of the nine aṅgas (divisions) of the Buddhist scriptures ...*; **4.** *the third book of the Khuddaka-Nikāya divided into 8 vaggas and consisting of 80 suttas each of which contains an udāna introduced by the standing phrase imaṃ udānaṃ udānesi; ... in very frequent standing phrase ~aṃ udānēti (udānento, °nesi, °netvā)*.” The entry goes on to list occurrences. BHSD, on the other hand, has “**udāna**, *m. or nt.* (= Pali *id.*; with *acc. pron.* usually *imam*, sometimes *idam*), *a solemn but joyous utterance* (*acc. to PTSD* sometimes a sorrowful one in Pali), usually but not always having religious bearings; almost always in modulation of phrase *imam ... udānam udānayaṭi* (usually with *sma* after verb), very common.” Later in the entry we find: “*nt. udānam*, as *n.* of a type or class of Buddh. literature, one of the 12 (Mvy) or 9 (Dharmas) *pravacanāni*, Mvy 1271; Dharmas 62; *Udāna-varga*, *n.* of a specific work (abbreviated *Ud.*)” BHSD also has the entry “**udānayaṭi**, *denom.*, *utters an udāna*: used virtually always with object **udānam**, *q.v.* for forms and passages.”

In Pāṇinian grammar the term *kāraka* (*lit.*: “doer; accomplisher”) applies to direct participants in actions. Such a participant is a *sādhana*,

birmane et singalaise de ladite époque est indispensable à qui voudra remonter, à travers la recension Buddhaghosa–Dhammapāla, à un pali d’intérêt linguistique —, que j’ai entrepris l’étude de la norme palie enseignée par Aggavaṃsa dans les trois volumes qui forment la Saddanīti.” Quoted also by Caillat 1971, p. 84; Kahrs 1992, p. 5; and referred to by Norman 1983, pp. 6, 165. See also von Hinüber 1978.

a means of realising the action,⁴ and every participant is assigned to one of a set of six *kāraka* categories.⁵ The abstract syntactic level at which *kārakas* are introduced in the grammar serves to mediate between the levels of semantics and morphology. By this device Pāṇini is able to account for the relationship between possible semantic choices on the side of the speaker and some basic features of Sanskrit syntax and morphology. Such participants in actions are, at the abstract level of *kāraka* syntax, assigned to particular *kāraka*-categories. In a similar way the set of *lakāras*, a set of ten suffixes marked with an *L*, are introduced after verbal roots at the same abstract level. At this level all verbal endings, except for the ones that denote *bhāva* (lit.: “being; state of action”), can be said to signify agents and objects in relation to activities. By A 3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ* an *L*-suffix is added to a verbal root to denote — in addition to the agent (*kartari*, A 3.4.67) — the object, or, in the case of verbal roots which are objectless (*akarmaka*, that is, intransitive verbs), the mere activity expressed by the verbal root (*bhāva*). When the relevant semantic choices have been considered on the side of the speaker, the abstract syntactic level of *kārakas* and *lakāras* is sorted out. The correct distribution of case endings and finite verbal endings is then accounted for in the syntax of a Sanskrit sentence by means of operational rules.

However, *kārakas* do not pertain to the derivation of sentences alone. Any verbal noun derived by a *kṛt*-suffix (a primary suffix) is considered to denote either a participant in an action, in which case it is assigned to one or the other of the six *kāraka* categories, or it is considered to denote the mere activity (*bhāva*) expressed by the verbal root. By way of example, the suffix *Lyuṭ* (*-ana* with *guṇa* and

⁴I analyse the term *sādhana* as *sādhyate 'nena*, “[something] is realised/ accomplished through it”.

⁵In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* these are defined in the following order: *apādāna* “stable point when there is movement away”, *saṃpradāna* “recipient; indirect goal”, *karaṇa* “instrument”, *adhikaraṇa* “locus”, *karman* “object; goal”, and *kartṛ* “agent”. Moreover, a subcategory of agent is defined, namely *hetu*, the causal agent.

presuffixal accent) is introduced to form neuter action nouns (*bhāve*), by A 3.3.115 *lyuṭ ca*, and also to form nouns expressing the instrument or the locus of the action expressed by the root, by A 3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca*. This means that when analysing a particular word, alternative interpretations are often possible. Accordingly, the word *udāna* quoted above can be interpreted as *bhāvasādhana*, that is to say, as an action noun (with *Lyuṭ* by A 3.3.115 *lyuṭ ca*) denoting the mere activity of uttering or pronouncing, or, alternatively, as either *adhikaraṇasādhana*, that is to say, as a noun denoting a locus, “place of utterance”, or *karaṇasādhana*, as a noun denoting a means of uttering (the latter two formed with *Lyuṭ* by A 3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca* which teaches that this suffix is added also to denote the instrument and the locus). These rules do not permit its analysis as *karmasādhana*, that is, as denoting the object of the action.

Let me now return to the passage from the *Saddanīti* quoted under the CPD entry for *udānana*, Sadd 382,21–22: *ken’ atthena udānaṃ: udānanatthena, kim idam udānanaṃ nāma: pīvegasamuṭṭhāpito udāhāro*, “In what sense *udāna*? In the sense of *udānana*. What is this that one calls *udānana*? It is an utterance (or, rather, an act of uttering) made to arise by the impetus of joy.” The whole point of analysing *udāna* as *udānana* is simply to make it clear that it is interpreted as *bhāvasādhana*, as the act of uttering itself, and not as *karman*, an utterance in the form of an object, which would be the only reasonable interpretation of *udāna* in expressions such as *imaṃ udānaṃ udāneti* or *imam udānam udānayaṭi* referred to above. Incidentally, the CPD entry for *udāhāra* runs: “**udāhāra**, *m.* [*ts.*], *utterance, pronouncement; in definitions of udāna.*” The entry goes on to list references. This is clearly running in circles without bringing out the intentions behind the words taken from the glosses or interpretations of the indigenous sources.

Moreover, it certainly seems reasonable here to ask what constitutes “un pali d’intérêt linguistique”, as it is natural to form a verbal noun such as *udānana* from any verb. In Yāska’s *Nirukta*, more

than a hundred words are analysed by a construction that involves the ablative form of a neuter verbal noun in *-ana*, to be interpreted as a *nomen actionis* or *bhāvasādhana* if one adheres to Sanskrit terminology. A representative example of this type of construction is (Nir 9.26) *sindhuḥ syandanāt*. I suggest the following interpretation: “*sindhuḥ* (the river Indus, or ‘river’ in general) [is so called] on account of the streaming (*syandanam*)”. The name *sindhuḥ* is related to the verbal noun by an ablative construction which explains why *sindhuḥ* came to signify the river of that name, or any river, and the construction is thus a natural reply to the question *kasmāt* “why?” The most commonly used Sanskrit dictionaries record that the neuter verbal nouns in *-ana* employed in this type of construction quite frequently are attested only in the *Nirukta*, a fact that indicates that these forms are in principle derived by Yāska himself for the technical purpose of *nirvacana* analysis. This type of analysis is also met with in Buddhist texts, for example in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* when it explains the word *dharma* at AK 1.2: *nirvacanaṃ tu svalakṣaṇadhāraṇād dharmah*, “as for the *nirvacana*: on account of the holding/possessing (*dhāraṇam*)⁶ [its] unique particular, [it is called] a *dharma*”.

In his article “Sur quelques formations sanskrites en *-ti*” Louis Renou (1951) drew attention to the fact that much as nouns in *-ti* are, in principle, “regular” formations, a number of them are nevertheless listed in the *uṇādisūtras*, or, more precisely, in the commentaries on the *uṇādisūtras*. As Renou points out (1951, p. 1), Hemacandra’s *Dhātupārāyaṇa*, for example, presents a large number of forms in *-ti* that are lacking in standard Sanskrit dictionaries. “Plusieurs sont d’une authenticité douteuse, mais toutes méritent d’être signalées dans un Thesaurus,⁷ étant donné l’intérêt qui s’attache à l’œuvre lexico-

⁶The noun *dhāraṇa* is formed from the causative stem of the root *dhṛ*, but this root is commonly used in the causative stem with no change of its basic meaning.

⁷Deccan College was planning a Sanskrit thesaurus at the time of the publication of Renou’s article. The article appeared in the first issue of *Vāk*, published by Deccan College in 1951.

graphique de Hemacandra” (1951, p. 1). However, some formations in *-ti* raise questions of a similar nature as did the neuter verbal nouns in *-ana* above. That forms met with in the epigraphical record should be included in dictionaries is obvious. As examples, Renou (1951, p. 2) mentions *aṃhati* (variant *aṃhiti*) in the sense of “don”, and *jñāti* in the sense of “information, connaissance”, among others.

Consider now the analysis of some forms in *-ti* and *-ana* met with in the *Prasannapadā*, Candrakīrti’s commentary on Nāgārjuna’s *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (edited by L. de La Vallée Poussin 1903–13, p. 4, ll. 5–6):

tatra niruddhir nirodhaḥ kṣaṇabhaṅgo nirodha ity ucyate |
utpādanam utpādaḥ ātmabhāvonmajjana[m ity arthaḥ] |⁸
ucchittir ucchedaḥ prabandhavicchittir ity arthaḥ |

The first line one could render: “In this respect,⁹ *nirodha* is *niruddhi*: it is *kṣaṇabhaṅga* that is called *nirodha*.” In other words, *nirodha* is explained by *niruddhi*, a verbal noun in *-ti* formed from the same root with the same preverb. The form *niruddhi* is not met with in extant lexica, including BHS. It seems therefore likely that it was derived by Candrakīrti for the particular purpose of interpreting *nirodha* as *bhāvasādhana* by glossing it with a form in *-ti*, that is to say as meaning “a ceasing”. Candrakīrti goes on to say that *nirodha* is *kṣaṇabhaṅga*. Now, it is not easy to provide an elegant translation for the term *kṣaṇabhaṅga*, nor is it unambiguous how best to analyse the compound. Suffice it to say that the term refers to the fact that all phenomena are of momentary existence, hence a *vigraha* of the compound could be *kṣaṇād bhaṅgaḥ*, the ceasing to exist after only one moment, or, perhaps, *kṣaṇeṇa bhaṅgaḥ* or *kṣaṇe bhaṅgaḥ*, the ceasing to exist every moment, that is to say, “continuous instant ceasing”.

⁸J.W. de Jong (1978, p. 29) prefers the reading *ātmabhāvonmajjanam* met with in a manuscript acquired by G. Tucci which was not available to La Vallée Poussin.

⁹The passage is introduced by the words *avayavārthas tu vibhajyate*, “but the meaning of the various parts is explained in detail [as follows]”.

The second line of the passage is a little more problematic, but it brings out the point I wish to make, namely that it is possible for the purpose of interpretation to form verbal nouns in *-ti* or *-ana* from any verb or verbal noun. The line could be rendered: “*utpāda* is *utpādana*, [that is to say,] the emerging of a bodily form”. Here *utpāda* is glossed *utpādana*, which, as a causative formation, is somewhat difficult to reconcile with the fact that the verb *un-majj* “to emerge” is intransitive. Turning to standard lexica, we meet with further problems. For *utpādana* as a neuter noun, MW has “the act of producing or causing, generating, begetting”. A *Dictionary of Pāli* (M. Cone 2001) has “**uppādana**, *n.*, ~ā, *f.* [*S.* *utpādana*], *producing, generating*”. Should we emend to *utpadana*, that is to say, to a non-causative form? Edgerton lists the form *utpadyana* in BHSD: “**utpadyana** (*nt.*; = Pali *uppajjana*: MIndic *-ana* formation to *utpadyate*), *production, origination*: Gv 48.5 (prose), read: *harṣa-utpadyana-saṃtānāni* (see s.v. **saṃtāna 2**)”. “Production” and “origination” are unlikely synonyms, since they are based on transitive and intransitive verbs respectively. Under *utpadyati*, however, BHSD has “(2) in mg. of Skt. caus. *utpādayati*, *produces, causes*”. Turning to the entry for *saṃtāna* that Edgerton referred to above, one finds that he translates *harṣa-utpadyana-saṃtānāni* “their mental conditions productive of joy”. Here he seems to take *utpadyana* as transitive.

In any case, *utpādana* remains problematic. A form *utpadana* is not met with in lexica. To emend to *utpadyana* is problematic. The solution that emerges as the most plausible is therefore to conclude that Candrakīrti formed *utpādana* directly on *utpāda*, again to make it clear that he interprets *utpāda* as *bhāvasādhana*, “an emerging”. This conclusion is supported by the continuation of the explanation: *ātma-bhāvonmajjana*, “the emerging of a bodily form”, where *unmajjana* is a neuter action noun in *-ana*.

Finally, *ucchittir ucchedaḥ prabandhavicchittir ity arthaḥ* could be rendered: “*uccheda* is *ucchitti*, that is to say, the ceasing of continuity”. Once again, Candrakīrti makes it clear that he takes *uccheda* “cutting

off, destruction, annihilation” to be *bhāvasādhana* by glossing it with a feminine verbal noun in *-ti*, *ucchitti*, “a cutting off, a destroying”. Again the gloss is formed from the same root with the same preverb. The form *ucchitti*, however, is attested in lexica, as is the further gloss °*vichitti*, another formation in *-ti*.

Now, one may argue that forms such as *niruddhi* and *utpādana* do not merit the distinction of being “d’intérêt linguistique”, but what they convey about the terms they are used to interpret certainly does.

It is of course not only in commentaries on Buddhist texts that problems and issues of interpretation arise, but also in translations of them into other languages such as Tibetan and Chinese. In his article “La légende de Śāntideva”,¹⁰ J.W. de Jong (1975) reproduces the Sanskrit text of the Śāntideva legend as edited by Haraprasād Śāstri and the Tibetan text of the Peking edition. Section X of the text reads as follows:

śāntidevanāmā praśāntatvāt piṭakatrayaṃ śrutvā dhyāyati sma |
bhuñjāno 'pi prabhāsvaram supto 'pi kuṭiṃ gato 'pi tad eveti
bhūsukusamādhisamāpannatvāt bhūsukunāmākhyātaṃ |

ḥi-ba dan-ldan-pas ḥi-ba'i lha ḥes miñ-btags | der sde-snod gsum
mñan (P. mñam)pa'i rjes-la za-ruñ ñal-ruñ 'chags-ruñ rgyun-tu
'od-gsal bsgom-pas bhu-su-ku ḥes tiñ-ñe-'dzin la gnas-pa'i phyir
bhu-su-ku ḥes miñ yoñs-su grags-so ||

In a note to the word *prabhāsvaram*, de Jong (1975, p. 173, n. 29) remarks, “Il y a probablement une lacune dans le texte, cf. T.” (T. = la traduction tibétaine). The Tibetan text de Jong translates (1975, p. 176), “En raison de sa tranquillité on lui donna le nom Śāntideva. Ayant écouté les trois piṭaka, il méditait sur la lumière sans interruption en mangeant, en dormant et en marchant. Persistant ainsi dans le samādhi appelé bhusuku, il fut connu sous le nom de Bhusuku.” Somehow, this does not quite hit the mark. The Tibetan *der* indicates a *tatra* which is not met with in the Sanskrit version, and *rgyun-tu* “always” probably means the translator has read *sadaiva* for *tad eva*. However, there is no

¹⁰Apropos Pezzali 1968.

lacuna in the text. Bhusuku is the name of one of the eighty-four Siddhas. The Tibetan translation has not picked up on or been unable to render the *nirvacana*-based reasoning met with in the Sanskrit.

In the passage above, I take *tad eva* to mean *tad eva prabhāsvaram*. *iti ...*: “For this reason ...”. In his translation, de Jong gives the name in question as Bhusuku, and, for reasons that will be clear below, I too see no reason for retaining the long *ū* of the Sanskrit text. Moreover, I do not feel comfortable with *bhusukunāmākhyaṭam* as Sanskrit. I would expect a masculine °*ākhyātaḥ* here: “For this reason he was named Bhusuku” (*bhu-su-ku zēs miñ yoñs-su grags-so*). On this basis, one could then translate the Sanskrit passage as follows: “Called Śāntideva because of his tranquility (*praśāntatvāt*), after studying the three Piṭakas he meditated on the radiant [mind] even when he was eating (*bhuñjānaḥ*), even when he was asleep (*suptaḥ*), even when in the [latrine] hut (*kuṭiṃ gataḥ*),¹¹ [and] on that alone. So because he was immersed in Samādhi [even] when *bhu[ñjānaḥ]*, *su[ptaḥ]*, and *ku[tiṃ gataḥ]* he was called Bhusuku.”¹²

¹¹That the word *kuṭi* here means “latrine” is indicated by the explanation *viṃmūtrotsargārtham* met with in the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* in a section on *bhusukucaryā* that contains a similar *nirvacana* analysis of *bhusuku* as the one discussed above. Cf. CMP 99,4–11: *anenānupūrveṇa yuktāgamābhyām adhiḡamarūpāṃ sarvabuddhajanānīṃ niścītya sarvārallir viṣayāsaktiṃ ca prahāya bhusukucaryāya cared anena krameṇa. tatrāyaṃ kramaḥ – bhu iti bhuktvā tanmātram anusmarati saṅgamam apaharati duṣkarair niyamair iti kiṃcin na cintanīyam. su iti suptvā etad vijñāya na vidyopalakṣitaṃ sāḡṣātkurvīta saivāvidyāṃkuṣākāraṃ(rāṃ)kitavijñānaṃ punar āvartayati prabhāsvaram eva sāḡṣātkaroti nirmalasvabhāvam. ku iti kuṭiṃ gacchet viṃmūtrotsargārthaṃ tanmātram anubhavati saṅgam apanayati kāyavedanā-viṣayendriyasvabhāvaṃ ca na cintayed iti*. The passage as it stands requires some textual criticism, but that need not concern us here.

¹²However, Alexis Sanderson informs me that in the *Grub thob brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi'i lo rgyus*, which the monk Smon grub śes rab claims at its end to have put into Tibetan after the stories had been narrated to him by an Indian guru called *Abhayadattaśrī (Mi 'jigs sbyin pa dpal), we are told that Bhusuku (identified with Śāntideva, as in the text above) was a notoriously ignorant monk of Nālandā. *Grub thob brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi'i chos skor* (New Delhi: Chopel Legdan, 1973), p. 171, ll. 4–5: *miñ du yañ bhu su ku zhes grags la*

Similar issues arise from sections XII and XIII. Section XII and the first part of XIII run as follows:

- XII. *pūrvakṛtaṃ sūtrasamuccayaṃ śikṣāsamuccayaṃ bodhicaryāvatārākhyam granthatrayam astīti cetasi kṛtvā śiṃhāsanagataḥ prāha kim āṛṣaṃ paṭhāmi arthāṛṣaṃ vā* ||
- XII. *mdo-sde kun-las btus-pa dan̄ | bslab-pa kun-las btus-pa dan̄ | byañ-chub spyod-pa la 'jug-pa žes gžuiñ-gsum bdag-gis byas yod-do || de-la spyod-pa la 'jug-pa gdon-par 'os žes bsams-nas gsuñs-te drañ-soñ-gis gsuñs-pa 'am | de'i-rjes las byuñ-ba gañ gdon |*
- XIII. *tatra ṛṣiḥ paramārthajñānavān ṛṣa gatāv ity atra auṇādikah̄ kvih̄ ṛṣiṇā jīnena proktam āṛṣaṃ nanu prajñāpāramitādaḥ subhūtyādideśitaṃ katham āṛṣaṃ ity atrocyate yuvarājāryamaitreyaṇa ||*
- XIII. *don-dam rtog-pa ni drañ-soñ-no || des mdzad-pa gsuñ-rab-bo || de-la brten-nas gžan-gyi bya-ba de rjes-las byuñ-ba'o || 'phags-pa byams-pas de gsuñs-pa |*

Having compared the two versions of the text, de Jong (1975, p. 177) states, “Il est évident que les textes sanskrit et tibétain doivent remonter au même texte original. Les différences entre les deux versions dans les sections XIII et XIV sont dûes à des additions. Le texte sanskrit a ajouté une phrase sur l'étymologie de ṛṣi (ṛṣī gatāv ity atra auṇādikah̄ kin) et une référence à l'enseignement de Subhūti: nanu prajñāpāramitādaḥ subhūtyādideśitaṃ katham āṛṣaṃ ‘Comment ce qui a été enseigné par Subhūti dans la Prajñāpāramitā, etc. peut-il être *āṛṣa*?’ Le passage précédent explique qu’*āṛṣa* est ce qui est dit par le *ṛṣi*, i.e. le *jina*.” However, these “additions” are integral to the two versions of the text themselves. The Sanskrit version of section XIII from *nanu* through *katham āṛṣam* has been translated by de Jong above. As for the first part, de Jong (1975, p. 174, n. 28), acknowledging a note from Professor Y. Ojihara, points out that one should read *ṛṣi gatāv ity atra auṇādikah̄ kin*.

The *Daśapādyuṇādivṛtti* (DPU) at 1.48 *igupadhāt kit* states *ṛṣī gatau tau° / ṛṣatīti ṛṣiḥ muniḥ / karttā*, “the sixth-class [verbal root] *ṛṣ*

de ni za nyal chags gsum pa zhes bya'o. Cf. Bengali *bhōs* “fool”; Kumaunī *bhus* “foolish, wild, uncivilized, rude” (CDIAL §9545).

[occurs] when [the sense of] *gati* ‘going’ [is to be denoted];¹³ ‘he moves (*ṛṣati*)’, hence [he is called] *ṛṣi*, [that is to say,] a sage, [in the sense of the] agent [of the act of moving].”¹⁴ One is now in a position to translate the first part of section XIII: “In this respect, a *ṛṣi* is someone who possesses knowledge (*jñāna*) of the supreme meaning, [through the addition of] the *uṇādi* suffix *kit* to [the verbal root] *ṛṣ* [which occurs] when [the sense of] *gati* ‘going’ [is to be denoted], [and] *ārṣam* [is formed according to the analysis]: promulgated by a *ṛṣi*, [that is to say,] the Jina.”

The Tibetan version of section XIII begins: *don-dam rtog-pa ni dran-son-ṅo*, “a *ṛṣi* is someone who has knowledge of the supreme meaning”. A *ṛṣi* is thus said to possess knowledge of the supreme meaning in both the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions. The explanation of the term *ṛṣi* as a *kṛt* or primary derivation from the root *ṛṣ* in the sense of *gati* “a going” clearly draws on the traditional hermeneutic rule *sarve gatyarthā jñānārthāḥ* which states that all words that mean “move” also mean “know”. Just as the term *ārṣa* is explained in the Sanskrit version of section XIII by the phrase *ṛṣiṅā jīnena proktam āṛṣam*, it is explained in the Tibetan version of section XII: *dran-son-gis gsuṅs-pa*, “that which has been proclaimed by a *ṛṣi*”. At work here is a rule from Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. A 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato ’ṇ* teaches that the *taddhita* suffix *aṆ* (-*á* with *vṛddhi* strengthening of the first vowel) is added under meaning conditions given in rules up to rule A 4.4.2 *tena dīvyati khanati jayati jītam*. That is to say, A 4.1.83 is a general rule (*utsarga*) which teaches the addition of *aṆ* unless it is blocked by some other suffix under conditions specified by a special rule (*apavāda*). A 4.3.101 *tena proktam* then teaches the addition of *aṆ* in the sense “promulgated by him”, hence *ārṣa* in the sense of “promulgated by a *ṛṣi*”.

¹³The Pāṇinīya *dhātupāṭha* 6.7.

¹⁴Incidentally, the Tibetan rendering of *ṛṣi* as *dran-son*, or, more commonly, *dran-sron* (*dran-po* “straight”, *son* “became, turned”; *sron-pa* “to make straight, straighten [the body]”) is based on the Sanskrit *nirvacana rjuḥ śete* “he sits straight”.

Let me finally turn to the form *arthārṣa* met with in the Sanskrit version of section XII, which ends: *prāha kim āṛṣaṃ paṭhāmi arthārṣaṃ vā*, “He says, ‘Shall I recite *āṛṣaṃ* or *arthārṣaṃ*?’” Section XIII quotes a verse from the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga*, which de Jong (1975, p. 178) points out “ne fait pas de distinction entre *ārṣa* et *arthārṣa* (Tib. de-rjes las byuñ-ba), mais dit que tout ce qui est dit en conformité avec certaines conditions est *ārṣaṃ iva*”. Pointing out that Edgerton (BHSD) has identified the reading *ārṣa* in Wogihara’s edition of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* as a corruption of *ārṣabha*, de Jong goes on to say (1975, p. 178), “Le mot *ārṣa* se rencontre dans le Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra (XVIII.31): *ārṣaś ca deśanādharmo*, mais le commentaire ne l’explique pas. Il se peut très bien que le mot *arthārṣa* soit corrompu mais la version tibétaine qui en donne une traduction libre ne permet pas de le corriger. On ne retrouve la distinction entre *ārṣa* et *arthārṣa* ni chez Buxton ni chez Tāranātha. ... Pour conclure cette discussion signalons encore que dans section XV, le texte sanskrit a *arthārṣaṃ* mais la version tibétaine *gžan-pa = anyad*.”

The latter part of the Tibetan version of section XII runs as follows: *de-la spyod-pa la ’jug-pa gdon-par ’os zēs bsams-nas gsuñs-te drañ-son-gis gsuñs-pa ’am | de’i-rjes las byuñ-ba gañ gdon*, “He says, ‘Shall I recite that which has been proclaimed by a *ṛṣi* or that which has come after that [which has been proclaimed by a *ṛṣi*]?’” The Tibetan translator has clearly had the reading *anvārṣaṃ* rather than *arthārṣaṃ*. That is to say, *anvārṣaṃ* according to the analysis *drañ-son-gis gsuñs-pa’i-rjes las byuñ-ba*, “that which has come after that which has been proclaimed by a *ṛṣi*”, *rjes las byuñ-ba* rendering *anugata*, which is an attested interpretation of *anu* (e.g. Sadd 883,14: *anusaddo anugate*; or, Sadd 883,18: *tattha anugate anveti*). The proposal of *anvārṣaṃ* for what the Tibetan translates is appealing also because it provides a ready explanation of the corruption through similarity of the conjuncts *nvā* and *rthā* in post-Gupta scripts which indicate pre-consonantal *r* as a horizontal stroke below the head-line added to the left side of the following letter. This, of course, does not necessarily make *anvārṣaṃ*

the correct reading, and I am held back from accepting that it was by the absence of citations of other occurrences of the word. The passage of the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* referred to above distinguishes between *ārṣam*, what is not *ārṣam* (*viparītam anyathā*) and what is *ārṣa*-like (*ārṣam iva*) and therefore acceptable teaching. An example of the last would be the *subhūtyādideśitam*. To accept *anvārṣam* in that sense one would need examples of other *anu*-words with this of the same kind. Otherwise I would be inclined to think that *anvārṣam* might be a corruption of *anārṣam*. The latter is congruent with the Tibetan *gzan* (*anyad = anārṣam*) of XV.

Through the instances presented above, I have tried to highlight that some of the specific techniques and conventions applied by indigenous commentators and translators often consist of linguistic and hermeneutical devices rooted in the Sanskrit traditions of *vyākaraṇa* and *nirvacanaśāstra*, and that a knowledge of these disciplines can be of importance for a full understanding of Buddhist texts. These were the disciplines Buddhist commentators and translators were versed in, disciplines we might in the end simply call philology.

E.G. Kahrs
University of Cambridge

ABBREVIATIONS

- A Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Reference is to O. Böhtlingk, ed., *Pāṇini's Grammatik, herausgegeben, übersetzt, erläutert und mit verschiedene Indices versehen*. Leipzig: Haessel, 1887
- AK Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośa(-bhāṣya)*, Vol. I. Edited with the *Sphuṭārthā* commentary of Yaśomitra by Swami Dwarikadas Shastri. Buddha Bharati Series 5. Varanasi: Buddha Bharati, 1970
- CDIAL R.L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962–1969
- CMP Ācārya Āryadeva, *Caryāmelāpakapradīpam*. Edited by Janardan Shastri Pandey. Rare Buddhist Texts Series 22. Sarnath, Varanasi: Rare Buddhist Texts Research Project, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 2000
- DPU Uṇādisūtras in the *daśapādī* recension. Reference is to Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka, ed., *Daśapādyuṇādivṛtti*. Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Texts Series 81, Benares: Government Sanskrit College, 1943
- MW Monier Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit–English Dictionary*. Oxford, 1899
- Nir Yāska, *Nirukta*. Reference is to L. Sarup, ed., *The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta: The Oldest Indian Treatise on Etymology, Philology, and Semantics*. Sanskrit Text. Lahore: University of the Panjab, 1927

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A Note on *micchādīṭṭhi* in Mahāvamsa 25.110

In his pioneering work *The Pali Literature of Ceylon* (1928), Professor G.P. Malalasekera dwells at length on the great Buddhist king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (101–77 B.C.E.) whom he hails as “the hero of the epic Mahāvamsa”. Based on the account of this king in Chapters 24 and 25 of the Mahāvamsa, he details the career of this king, his triumphant victory over the Damiḷa King Eḷāra and his manifold deeds of piety including the beginning of the construction of the Mahāthūpa. Malalasekera draws our attention to the magnanimity of the victorious king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi for his fallen adversary: The king constructed a cetiya over the ashes of his dead enemy, and decreed that “no man, prince or peasant, should pass the spot ... riding in palanquin or litter or with beating of drums.” Malalasekera says further that after his coronation, the “king’s outlook on life had changed, the great and glorious success for which he had lived and dreamed gave him no real joy. He thought of the thousands of human lives on whom suffering had been wrought to encompass this end, and he was filled with poignant grief ... he determined to start a new chapter in his life” (p. 35). He devoted himself to the task of erecting several religious edifices.

What is conspicuously missing in this account is a major narrative from Mahāvamsa, Chapter 25, that tells us about an episode of the king’s deep remorse over the death of a large number of warriors in his victory. This particular incident raises a most problematic issue regarding the way Theravādin Buddhists viewed death on a battlefield. The passage in question, in seven verses, is given below from Geiger’s edition (Mhv) and his translation (assisted by Mabel Bode).¹

103. *sayito siriṣaṃpattiṃ mahatiṃ api pekkhiya*
katam akkhohiṇāghātaṃ saranto na sukhaṃ labhi.

¹Geiger 1912.

He, looking back upon his glorious victory, good though it was, knew no joy, remembering that thereby was wrought the destruction of millions [of beings].

104. *Piyaṅgudīpe arahanto ñatvā taṃ tassa takkitaṃ
pāhesuṃ aṭṭha arahante taṃ assāsetum issaraṃ...*

When the arahants of Piyaṅgudīpa knew his thought, they sent eight arahants to comfort the king...

108. “*kathaṃ nu bhante assāso mama hessati, yena me
akkhoḥiṇimāhāsenāghāto kārāpito?*” *iti.*

Then the king said to them again “How shall there be any comfort for me, O Venerable Sirs, since by me was caused the slaughter of a great host numbering millions?”

109. “*Saggamaggantarāyo ca natthi te tena kammunā,
dīyaḍḍhamanuḷā v’ ettha ghātītā manujādhipa,*

“From this deed arises no hindrance in the way to heaven. Only one and a half human beings have been slain here by thee, O Lord of Men.

110. “*saraṇesu t̥hito eko, pañcasīle pi cāparo,
micchādīṭṭhī ca dussīlā sesā pasusamā matā.*

“The one had come unto the [three] refuges, the other had taken on himself the five precepts. Unbelievers and men of evil life were the rest, not more to be esteemed than beasts.

111. “*jotayissasi c’ eva tvaṃ bahudhā buddhasāsaṇaṃ,
manovilekhaṃ tasmā tvaṃ vinodaya narissara.*”

“But as for thee, thou wilt bring glory to the doctrine of the Buddha in manifold ways ; therefore cast away care from thy heart, O Ruler of Men.”

112. *iti vutto mahārājā tehi assāsaṃ āgato.*

Thus exhorted by them, the great king took comfort.

The king’s remorse is quite in keeping with the Buddhist teachings. One is reminded of the patricidal king Ajātasattu’s visit to the Buddha as described in the Sāmaññaphalasutta of the Dīgha-nikāya.² There the

²*aggha tvaṃ mahārāja, accayo accagamā ...yaṃ tvaṃ pitaraṃ ... jīvitā voropesi. yato ca kho tvaṃ ... accayaṃ accayato disvā yathādhammaṃ paṭikarosi, taṃ te mayaṃ paṭigaṇhāma. vuddhi h’ esā ariyassa vinaye ... āyatīṃ saṃvaraṃ āpajjati ti.* Sāmaññaphalasutta, D I 100.

king confesses his guilt over the killing of his father. The Buddha does not *absolve* him of his crime, but accepts his confession saying “Verily O King it was sin that overcame you while acting thus. But in as much as you look upon it as sin, and confess it according to what is right, we accept your confession as to that. For that, O King, is custom in the discipline of the Noble Ones, that whosoever looks upon his fault as a fault, and rightfully confesses it, shall attain to self-restraint in the future.”³ Another historical case is that of the Mauryan King Aśoka who issued his famous Rock Edict after the subjugation of the people of Kaliṅga: “The Kaliṅga country was conquered by King Piyadasi Devānaṃpiya, when he had been consecrated eight years. One hundred and fifty thousand were carried away as captives and one hundred thousand slain and many times that number died. ... Devānaṃpiya the conqueror of Kaliṅga has remorse now, because of the thought that the conquest is no conquest, for there was killing. ... That is keenly felt with profound sorrow and regret. ... Now even the loss of a hundredth or even a thousandth part of all lives that were killed or died or carried away captives is considered deplorable by Devānaṃpiya.”⁴ Aśoka’s inscriptions do not show him seeking either consolation or absolution from any religious establishment, nor does the Mahāvamsa allude to his war in the conquest of Kaliṅga.

What is extraordinary about the account in the Mahāvamsa is the uncommon arrival of eight arahants representing the Buddhist saṅgha to console Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya and to assure him safe passage to heaven.⁵ It is much to the credit of the king that he should anticipate

³DB, Vol. I, pp. 94–95.

⁴Murit and Aiyangar 1951, Rock Edict XII: *aṭhavasābhisitayā Devānaṃpiyaṣa Piyadasine lājine Kaligyā vijitā | diyadhamāte pānaṣataṣahaṣe ye taphā apavuḍhe, ṣataṣahaṣa mātē tata hate, bahutāvaṃtake vā maṭe |ṣe athi anuṣaye Devānaṃpiyaṣā vijinitu Kaligyāni, avijitaṃ hi vijinamane e tatā vadha vā malane vā apavahe vā janaṣā | ṣe bādha vedaniyamute gulumute cā devānaṃpiyaṣā |*

⁵It may be noted that Dīp XIX, p. 101, is content in merely stating that the king was reborn in the Tusita heaven:

severe obstruction to his rebirth in heaven (*saggamaggantarāyo*) as a consequence of his act of warfare in which so many warriors perished on the battlefield. The response of the arahants is truly astounding. They not only say that there is no obstruction to the king's rebirth in heaven but also seek to legitimize their verdict by observing that out of the "million lives" only one and a half men have been truly slain: one who had taken refuge in the three *saraṇas* (½); and another one who additionally took the five precepts (1). The arahants declare that the remaining dead were *micchādiṭṭhis* and *dussīlas*, and thus equal to animals (*pasusamā*). They add further that the king will (because of this victory) glorify the Buddhist faith and so he should overcome his remorse.

Although Malalasekera saw fit to ignore this episode in his earlier book, in the *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (1960), he allows a single sentence: "From now onwards [after his final victory] consoled by the arahants of Piyaṅgudīpa, *who absolved him from blame* (italics added) for the slaughter of his enemies ...". In contrast however, another Sinhalese Buddhist scholar, the late Venerable Walpola Rahula in his *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (1956), duly notes this particular episode. He reproduces the gist of the Mahāvamsa and notes further that it was the beginning of Buddhist nationalism. In observing the career of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Rahula says: "The entire Sinhalese race was united under the banner of the young Gāmaṇi. This was the beginning of nationalism amongst the Sinhalese. It was a new race with healthy young blood organized under the new order of Buddhism. A kind of religio-nationalism, which almost amounted to fanaticism, roused the whole Sinhalese people. A non-Buddhist was not regarded as a human

*katapuñño mahāpañño Abhaya Duṭṭhagāmaṇi
kāyassa bheda sappañño tusitaṃ kāyaṃ upāgami.*

This suggests the possibility that the authors of the Mahāvamsa introduced the episode of the king's remorse. *The Extended Mahāvamsa* makes further elaboration, as below (n. 17).

being. Evidently, all Sinhalese without exception were Buddhists.”⁶

It would not be wrong to assume that both Malalasekera and Rahula were only following the lead given by the Vamsathappakāsini, a *ṭīkā* on the Mahāvamsa:

tena kammunā matā means by the act of your slaying a “million”. The words *diyaḍḍhamanujā v’ ettha* means amongst these “millions”, only one and a half men have been slain by you. *sesā pasusamā matā* means the remainder were truly not men because they were devoid of the virtues of a human being: they were devoid of proper views, and given to bad conduct. And therefore they said they are *pasusamā*, equal to animals. Taking the refuges and the five precepts are the virtues that make a human being, and therefore the text says that one person had established himself in the refuges and the other had the five precepts. For this reason, [O King,] you are free from any obstruction in the way to heaven, and in the future you will glorify the teaching of the Buddha.⁷

The arahants, it should be noted, only assured (*assāsito*) the king, but the authors of the Mahāvamsa were composing a chronicle of the island and would be expected to glorify the deeds of a great king, even to the extent of trying to “absolve” him of the karmic consequences of a bloody war. But what is truly puzzling is the fact that the Theravādins of Laṅkā over the centuries should accept the validity of the alleged words of the arahants as understood by the author of the Mahāvamsa-*ṭīkā*. This calls for a search of the canonical expositions on *micchādīṭṭhi*, given by the Buddha in the sermons specifically addressing the issues of heaven and warfare. If this term is understood correctly, the words of the arahants would appear to be credible and the statements of the Mahāvamsa to be consistent with the teachings of the Buddha.

⁶Rahula 1956, p. 79.

⁷*tena kammunā ti tena tayā katena akkhohiṇīghātakammena; ... diya-ḍḍhamanujā v’ etthā ti ettha akkhohiṇisenāya diyaḍḍh’ eva manussā tayā ghātītā; sesā pasusamā matā ti avasesā dīṭṭhivippannaṭṭhena ca dussilaṭṭhena ca naradhammavirahitaṭṭhena ca manussā nāma nāhun ti, sabbe pasusamā matā ti avocun ti attho. saraṇasīlāni hi manussakāradhammāni, tena vuttaṃ saraṇesu ...cāparo ti. manovilekhaṃ tasmā tvaṃ ti yasmā tvaṃ sagga-maggantarāyavirahito va ... iti vuttaṃ hoti. Mhv-ṭ II 491–92.*

Geiger and Bode's translation of *micchādiṭṭhi* as "unbelievers", i.e. non-Buddhists, is permissible since the context does convey that meaning, intended or not, to a casual reader. Rahula's translation as "wrong-believers" is too general; it does not identify a particular wrong belief. *Micchādiṭṭhi* and *sammādiṭṭhi* are two oft-recurring technical terms found in various places in the canon. The Mahācattārīsaka-sutta (M III 71–78) and the Apaṇṇaka-sutta (M I 400–13) of the Majjhima-nikāya appear to be most relevant in this context.

In the first the Buddha defines the two *diṭṭhis* in the following words (Lord Chalmers' translation):⁸

What are the wrong views (*micchādiṭṭhi*)? — They are views that — there is no such thing as alms or sacrifice or oblations; that there is no such thing as the fruit and harvest of deeds good and bad; that there are no such things as this world or the next; that there are no such things as either parents or a spontaneous generation elsewhere; that there are no such things as recluses and brahmins who tread the right path and walk aright, who have, of and by themselves, comprehended and realized this and other worlds and make it all known to others.⁹

And what are the right views (*sammādiṭṭhi*)? — they are twofold. On the one hand there are right views which are accompanied by Cankers (*sāsavā*), are mixed up with good works (*puññabhāgiyā*), and lead to attachments. On the other hand there are Right Views which are Noble (*ariyā*), freed from Cankers (*anāsavā*), transcending mundane things and included in the Path.¹⁰

Those right views which are accompanied by Cankers ... lead to attach-

⁸Chalmers 1927, Vol. II, pp. 194–95.

⁹Mahācattārīsakasutta, M III 71f. : *katamā ca bhikkhave micchādiṭṭhi? natthi dinnam, natthi yiṭṭham, natthi hutam, natthi sukata dukkaṭānam kammānam phalam vipāko, natthi ayam loko, natthi paro loko, natthi mātā, natthi pitā, natthi sattā opapātikā, natthi loke samaṇabrāhmaṇā sammaggatā sammāpaṭipannā, ye imaṇ ca lokaṃ paraṇ ca lokaṃ sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedentī ti.*

¹⁰M III 72. *katamā ca bhikkhave sammādiṭṭhi? sammādiṭṭhiṃ pāham, bhikkhave, dvayaṃ vadāmi. atthi bhikkhave sammādiṭṭhi sāsavā puññabhāgiyā upadhivepakkā; atthi bhikkhave ariyā anāsavā lokuttarā maggaṅgā.*

ments, recognize that there are such things as alms and sacrifice and oblations; that there is indeed such a thing as the fruit and harvest of deeds good and bad; that there are really such things as this world and the next; that there are really such things as parents and spontaneous generation elsewhere; and that there are really such things as recluses and brahmins who tread the right path and walk aright, who have, of and by themselves, comprehended and realized this and other worlds and make it all known to others.¹¹

In the Apanṇaka-sutta, as in our Mahāvamsa passage, the words *dussila* and *micchādiṭṭhi* appear together: *dussilo purisapuggalo micchādiṭṭhi natthikavādo*. The Apanṇaka-sutta further elaborates: “The next world (i.e. life after death) truly exists but this person denies it. That constitutes his *micchādiṭṭhi*.”¹² As is well known this is a doctrine

¹¹M III 72. By this rather wide definition anyone believing in a life after death (and so forth) can be called a *sammādiṭṭhi*; the term is no longer restricted only to a lay follower of the Buddha. The *aṭṭhakathā* on the *Sammādiṭṭhi-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (M I 46–55) anticipates such a possibility and hence makes the following comments:

The *sammādiṭṭhi* is twofold, mundane (*lokiyā*) and supermundane (*lokuttarā*). Of these the former consists of *paññā*, brought about by knowledge of the doctrine of karma, and knowledge that conforms to the Four Noble Truths....

Human beings are also of three kinds: an ordinary person, the disciple, and the nondisciple. Of these the ordinary person is of two kinds: The outsider (*bāhiraka*) and the follower of the Buddha (*sāsanika*). The *bāhiraka* is a *sammādiṭṭhi* by virtue of his view that affirms the doctrine of karma, but he does not have faith in the Four Noble Truths, and he holds the view there is an eternal self (*attadiṭṭhi*), whereas the *sāsanika* is *sammādiṭṭhi* by having the *paññā* of both kinds:

sā cāyaṃ sammādiṭṭhi duvidhā hoti—lokiyā lokuttarā ti. tatha kammassakatāññāṇaṃ saccānulomikaññāṇaṃ ca lokiya sammādiṭṭhi, saṅkhepato vā sabbā pi sāsava paññā. ariyamaggaphalasampayuttā paññā lokuttarā sammādiṭṭhi. puggalo pana tividho hoti: puthujjano sekkho asekkho ca. tatha puthujjano duvidho hoti: bāhirako sāsaniko ca. tatha bāhirako kammavādī kammassakatādiṭṭhiyā sammādiṭṭhi hoti, no saccānulomikāya attadiṭṭhiparāmāsakattā. sāsaniko dvīhi pi (Ps I 196).

¹²*santaṃ yeva kho pana paraṃ lokaṃ “natthi paro loko” ti ’ssa diṭṭhi hoti; sāssa hoti micchādiṭṭhi. ... ayaṃ ... purisapuggalo diṭṭhe va dhamme viññūnaṃ gārayho: “dussilo purisapuggalo micchādiṭṭhi natthikavādo” ti...*

of *uccheda* (“annihilation”) originally attributed to a *titthiya* named Ajita Kesakambali in the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*.¹³

This *micchādiṭṭhi* is truly the antithesis of the (*sāsavā* or the first variety of) *sammādiṭṭhi*. A Buddhist is said to be a *sammādiṭṭhi* because he affirms the existence of the aforementioned ten items that are denied by the “nihilist” (*natthikavādo*) or the “annihilationist”. Evidently such a meaning of *micchādiṭṭhi* is not appropriate to the same word in the passage under discussion. Those who perished in the war were warriors and it would be inconceivable that they would not seek heaven or some such reward for their heroism on the battlefield. Fortunately there is a whole section in the *Samyutta-nikāya*, ironically called the *Gāmaṇi-samyutta*, which gives us a detailed description of the beliefs held by the warriors during the Buddha’s time. It contains a remarkable dialogue between a certain *Yodhājīva* (Fighting-man) and the Buddha, which provides us with a different concept of *micchādiṭṭhi*, one that is not covered by the earlier usage. This unique dialogue explains both the volitional aspect of the deed of killing (*vadhakacetanāduppanihitam*) as well as the particular wrong view of the warrior concerning his death and rebirth in heaven (F.L. Woodward’s translation of S IV 308f):¹⁴

Then Fighting-man (*Yodhājīva*),¹⁵ the trainer, came to see the Exalted One.... As he sat at one side, Fighting-man, the trainer, said to the Exalted One:

“I have heard, Lord, this traditional saying of teachers of old who were

evaṃ assāyaṃ apaṇṇako dhammo dussamatto samādiṇṇo ekaṃsaṃ pharivā ṭṭhatī, riñcati kusalaṃ thānaṃ (*Apaṇṇakasutta*, M I 402–403).

¹³“Thus, Lord, did Ajita of the garment of hair (Kesakambali) ... expound his theory of annihilation.” The translators call this “the view of a typical sophist” (*DB I 73, n.1*).

¹⁴*KS IV 216–17*.

¹⁵Bhikkhu Bodhi (*CD II*, p. 1334) translates *Yodhājīva* *Gāmaṇi* as “the head-man *Yodhājīva* the Mercenary” and gives the following note (p. 1449, n. 339): “Spk explains the name as meaning ‘one who earns his living by warfare (*yuddhena jīvikam kappento*); this name, too, was assigned by the redactors of the dhamma’. I take the occupation to be that of a mercenary or professional soldier.”

fighting men: ‘A fighting man who in battle exerts himself, puts forth effort, thus exerting himself and putting forth effort, is tortured and put an end to by others. Then, when body breaks up, after death he is reborn in the company of the Devas of Passionate Delight.’ What says the Exalted One of this?”

“Enough, trainer! Let be. Ask me not this question”.... Nevertheless I will expound it to you.

“In the case of a fighting-man who in battle exerts himself, puts forth effort, he must previously have had this low, mean, perverse idea: ‘Let those beings be tortured, be bound, be destroyed, be exterminated, so that they may be thought never to have existed.’ Then, so exerting himself, so putting forth effort, other men torture him and make an end of him. When the body breaks up, after death he is reborn in the Purgatory of Quarrels (a part of the Avīci *niraya*).

“Now if his view was this: ‘A fighting-man who exerts himself, puts forth effort in battle, thus exerting himself, thus putting forth effort, is tormented and made an end of by others. When body breaks up, after death he is reborn in the company of the Devas of Passionate Delight,’ — then I say that view of his is perverted (*micchādīṭṭhi*). Now, trainer, I declare that for one who is guilty of perverted view one of two paths is open, either purgatory or rebirth as an animal (*nirayaṃ vā tiracchānayoṇiṃ vā*).”¹⁶

¹⁶*atha kho Yodhājīvo Gāmaṇi ... etad avoca: sutam me bhante, pubbakānaṃ ācariyapācariyānaṃ yodhājīvānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ, yo so yodhājīvo saṅgāme ussahati vāyamati, tam enam ussahantaṃ vāyamantaṃ pare hananti pariyādāpentī, so kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇā sarañjītānaṃ devānaṃ sahavyataṃ upapajjati ti. ... idha Bhagavā kiṃ āhā ti?*

alaṃ Gāmaṇi tiṭṭhat’ etam, mā mam etaṃ pucchī ti... api ca tyāhaṃ vyākarissāmi. yo so gāmaṇi yodhājīvo saṅgāme ussahati vāyamati, tassa taṃ cittaṃ pubbe hīnaṃ duggataṃ duppañhitaṃ: ime sattā haññantu vā bajjhantu vā ucchiṃjantu vā vinassantu vā mā ahesuṃ iti vā ti. tam enam ussahantaṃ vāyamantaṃ pare hananti pariyādāpentī, so kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇā sarañjītā nāma nirayā tatth’ upapajjati.

sace kho panassa evaṃ dīṭṭhi hoti: yo so yodhājīvo saṅgāme ussahati vāyamati tam enam ussahantaṃ vāyamantaṃ pare hananti pariyādāpentī, so kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇā sarañjītānaṃ devānaṃ sahavyataṃ upapajjati ti, sāssa hoti micchādīṭṭhi.

micchādīṭṭhikassa kho panāhaṃ Gāmaṇi purisapuggalassa dvinnaṃ gatīnaṃ aññataraṃ gatiṃ vadāmi, nirayaṃ vā tiracchānayoṇiṃ vā ti.

In view of the Buddha's emphatic words regarding the fate of those who perish on the battlefield while entertaining such a view, there should be no hesitation now in applying this definition of *micchādiṭṭhi* to the same word appearing in Mahāvamsa (25, 110), instead of the traditional canonical meaning of that term as *natthikavāda* or *ucchedavāda*.

The word *pasusamā* ("equal to animals") in the Mahāvamsa is undoubtedly used in a figurative manner. Even so, the declaration in the Yodhājīva-sutta that such beings are destined to be reborn in *niraya* or in the animal world lends support to the possibility that the figurative expression was a kind of a prognostication of their destiny. The *Extended Mahāvamsa* (25, 256) makes it explicitly clear that the king's remorse was caused by a horrible sight of the countless dead Damiḷas: *addakkhi ... asaṃkhiyānaṃ maraṇaṃ Damiḷānaṃ*.¹⁷ While it is clear that the Damiḷas are not Buddhists, the texts do not furnish us with any information on their faith. Since they were coming from South India, they may be considered as followers of some form of Śaivism or Vaiṣṇavism, similar to the one practised probably by the *yodhājīvas* in the passage above. They may be open to the teachings such as given in the Bhagavadgītā II, 37, where Lord Kṛṣṇa promises the warrior Arjuna

evaṃ vutte Yodhājīvi Gāmaṇi parodi, assūni pavattesi ... nāham ... api cāhaṃ bhante pubbakehi ācariyapācariyehi yodhājīvehi dīgharattaṃ nikato vañcīto paluddo ... devānaṃ saḥavyatam upapajjati ti.

S IV 308–309

Similar answers are given with regard to the *hatthārohā* and *assārohā*, those fighting while seated on elephants or riding horses (S IV 310–11).

¹⁷*Extended Mahāvamsa*, 25, 256–59:

*tassa hetuṃ apekkhanto addakkhi manuḷādhīpo
asaṃkhiyānaṃ maraṇaṃ Damiḷānaṃ tadantare :
vasuṃdharāyaṃ katvāna sīsaṃ sabbadisāsu pi
akkhīni nikkhamitvāna gattāni uddhamātakā,
kākaṅkagijjhasonasigālādīhi khādītā
hatthapādaṅgapaccaṅgā chavānaṃ chiddamānakaṃ,
sattehi khādayantehi okiriṃsu visuṃ visuṃ
saddā nesam sattaṇaṃ mahantā bheravā ahu.*

that if he is slain in battle he will attain heaven : *hato vā prāpsyasi svargaṃ, jītvā vā bhoksyase mahīm*. The Theravādins of Laṅkā might well have believed that the Damiḷas who perished in the war did aspire to be reborn in heaven, and were for the most part born in the animal world. Understood in this manner the arahants' words can be said to be consistent with the Buddha's teachings on heaven and warfare as found in the Yodhājīva-sutta.

The above interpretation, admittedly a little farfetched, is supported by a most remarkable corroboration from the Prakrit canonical texts of the ancient *samaṇas* called Nigaṇṭhas (also known as Jainas), datable to the same period as the Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya. As is well known from the Sāmaññaphala-sutta, their teacher, a *titthiya*, Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta (Tīrthankara Jñātrputra Mahāvīra), was a contemporary of Gautama the Buddha and both flourished in Magadha. While the Buddhist texts state that Ajātasattu, the king of Magadha, embraced Buddhism, the Jainas claim that his father Śreṇika Bimbisāra was a devotee of Mahāvīra. Both came from the warrior caste and had witnessed many a battle raging in Magadha. Death on the battlefield was considered honourable and questions were being raised regarding the validity of the claim that such death was rewarded by rebirth in heaven. It is not surprising therefore that the questions asked of the Buddha by Yodhājīva and others find their close parallels in the Jaina canon. The Book VII of the canonical text Viyāhapannatti (Vyākhyā-prajñāpti) contains narratives about wars that were waged by the Magadhan King Kūṇiya (Ajātasattu) in his fight against eighteen tribal chiefs (*gaṇa-rāya*), that is to say, the nine Malla and the nine Lecchavi kings of Kāsī and Kosala, in which "millions" are said to have died. The following dialogues between Mahāvīra and his chief mendicant disciple Indabhūi Goyama, in the context of such wars, will further demonstrate how close the two rival Śramaṇa traditions were in their views on the problem of death in battlefield and the karmic consequences following such death.

The first narrative is about a war (*saṃgāma*) called Mahā-

silākaṇṭaka:¹⁸

Venerable Sir! How many people ... were killed when the War of the Big Stones took place?

O Goyama! In that war 8,400,000 were killed!

Venerable Sir! Among them there were men wounded in that war, who were devoid of the good conduct (*nissilā*) ... devoid of the holy practice of observing the fasts, angry, malicious ... who had not achieved peace. When they died, what was their destiny, where were they reborn?

O Goyama! A great many of them were born in hells (*naraga*) and as animals (*tirikkha-joṇi*).

As in the Mahāvamsa, here too the dead are counted in tens of millions, an exaggeration that may be ignored. The term *sīla* stands for the lay precepts (called *aṇuvratas*) that are similar to the five *sikkhā-padas* of a Buddhist householder.¹⁹ The term *nissilā* thus agrees with the word *dussilā*. The animal births declared here for the vast numbers of the dead should enable us to understand the ambiguous Mahāvamsa expression *pasusamā* also to mean the same.

The next dialogue takes place in the context of another major war initiated by King Ajātasattu and is called the War of the Chariot with the Mace (*raha-musala-saṃgāma*). The monk Goyama asks Mahāvīra the following question:²⁰

¹⁸*mahāsīlākaṇṭaye ṇaṃ bhaṃte saṃgāme vaṭṭamāne kai janasayasāhassīo vahiyāo? Goyamā! caurāsīṃ jaṇasayasāhassīo vahiyāo | te ṇaṃ bhaṃte! maṇuyā nissilā jāva nippaccakkhāṇa-posahovavāsā ruṭṭhā parikuvīyā samara-vahiyā aṇuvasaṃtā kālamāse kālaṃ kiccā kaḥiṃ gayā kaḥiṃ uvavannā? Goyamā! osannaṃ naraga-tirikkhajoṇiesu uvavannā. Suttāgame VII 9.*

¹⁹The first four *sikkhāpadas* of a Buddhist *upāsaka* are identical with the first four *aṇuvratas* (called “minor restraints” as against the *mahāvratas* of a mendicant) of a Jaina *upāsaka*. Instead of *surā-meraya-majja-pamādaṭṭhānā-veramaṇī*, the fifth *sikkhāpada*, the Jains have *parigrahaparimāṇa* (“setting limits to one’s property”). See Jaini 1979, pp. 170–78.

²⁰*bahujaṇe ṇaṃ bhante! annamannassa evaṃ āikkhai jāva parīvei: evaṃ khalu bahave maṇussā annayaresu uccāvaesu saṃgāmesu abhimuhā ceva pahayā samāṇā kālamāse kālaṃ kiccā annayaresu devaloesu devattāe uvavattāro bhavanti, se kahaṃ eyaṃ bhante! evaṃ?*

Venerable Sir! Many people say to each other ... and expound thus: “Indeed, men coming face to face in battles, large and small, wounded there and dead, are reborn among the gods in various heavens.” Is this truly so, Sir?

O Goyama! People who said such things to each other ... and expounded, truly have uttered a falsehood (*micchaṃ te āhaṃsu*). As for me, O Goyama! I say ... and expound the following.

The word *micchaṃ* used by Mahāvīra here to characterize the disputed assertion is reminiscent of the term *micchādīṭṭhi* employed by the Buddha in the Yodhājīva-sutta. It is possible that the Jainas did not wish to give the status of a dogma (*dīṭṭhi*) to the “idle talk” of the people, but the term *micchā* is no less emphatic in conveying the falsity of that talk. Indeed, Mahāvīra’s subsequent explanation lays down the correct course of action, missing in the Buddhist literature, for a warrior to attain heaven after death on a battlefield.

The Mahāvamsa figuratively states that only “one and a half” men (*diyadḍhamanuḷā*) — one with only the *saraṇas* and another with the lay precepts — were truly killed in that war. But there is no narrative, in the Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā, the *Extended Mahāvamsa* or even the later work Rasavāhinī,²¹ on these two pious men who were singled out by the arahants out of the “millions” dead in the war. Fortunately, the present Jaina narrative, which by a happy coincidence also speaks of *only two such men*, illustrates the correct way for a layman to lay down his life on the battlefield and be born in heaven or as a human being.

Mahāvīra gives an account of one of his lay disciples, an expert archer named Varuṇa of Vaiśālī. He was a *samaṇa-uvāsaga* and he had taken the precepts of a layman, the first of which is *ahiṃsā*, refraining from killing a human or animal being. At the time of taking his precepts however, he had made an exception that would allow him to participate

Goyamā! jaṇṇaṃ se bahujaṇo annamannassa evaṃ āikkhai jāva uvavattāro bhavanti, je te evaṃ āhaṃsu micchaṃ te evaṃ āhaṃsu, ahaṃ puṇa Goyamā! evaṃ āikkhāmi jāva purūvemi — evaṃ khalu Goyamā!
Suttāgame VII 9.

²¹The author of Ras simply quotes Mhv 25 108–11 (p. 277) without comment.

in warfare if ordered by the king. Later when he was drafted by King Ajātasattu to fight in the *raha-musala-saṃgāma*, Varuṇa, armed with bow and arrow, mounted his chariot and entered the war. He made a further vow that he would not be the first one to shoot, and so he called upon his adversary to shoot first. Only after his opponent's arrow was already on its deadly flight did he let fly his own arrow. His enemy was killed instantly, while Varuṇa himself lay mortally wounded. Realizing that his death was imminent, Varuṇa took his chariot off the battlefield, sat down and held his hands in veneration to Mahāvīra, and said,²²

Salutations to the Venerable Samaṇa Mahāvīra, my teacher of dhamma. I pay my respects to him wherever he may be.... Previously I have taken from the Venerable Samaṇa Mahāvīra the lifelong vow of refraining from all forms of gross killing of life ... up to ... excess possessions. Now at this time of my death, making the Venerable Samaṇa Mahāvīra my witness, I undertake the total renunciation of all forms of violence ... and of all my possessions ... until my last breath.

Saying thus he pulled out the arrow and, with his mind at peace, died instantly and was reborn in Saudharma, the first heaven.

The second man, a friend of Varuṇa from childhood, fighting in the

²²*namo 'ithu ṇaṃ samaṇassa bhagavao Mahāvīrassa ... mama dhammā-yariyassa vaṃdāmi ṇaṃ bhagavaṃ tatthagayaṃ ihagae. pāsau me se bhagavaṃ tatthagae jāva vaṃdai namaṃsai. evaṃ vayāsī: pubbiṃ pi ṇaṃ mae samaṇassa bhagavao Mahāvīrassa antie thūlae pāṇāivāe paccakkhāe jāvajjivāe evaṃ jāva thūlae pariggahe paccakkhāe jāvajjivāe. iyāṇi pi ṇaṃ tasseva arihaṃtassa bhagavao Mahāvīrassa aṃtiyaṃ savvaṃ pāṇāivāyaṃ ... paccakkhāmi jāvajjivāe ... caramehiṃ ūsāsanisāsehiṃ vosirāmi tti kaṭṭu ... samāhipadikkante samāhippatte āṇupuvvīe kālagae.*

tassa ṇaṃ Varuṇassa ege piyabālasaṃvāsaye rahamusale saṃgāme ... gāḍhapahārī kae ... Varuṇaṃ pāsai ... evaṃvayāsī: jāiṃ ṇaṃ ... Varuṇassa sīlāiṃ vayāiṃ ... veramaṇāiṃ tāiṃ ṇaṃ mamaṃ pi bhavaṃtu tti kaṭṭu ... salluddharaṇaṃ kareī ... kālagae.

Varuṇe ṇaṃ bhaṃte ... kālaṃ kiccā kaḥiṃ gae kaḥiṃ uvavanne? Goyamā! Sohamme kappe devattāe uvavanne ...

Varuṇasa piyabālavayaṃsae kālaṃ kiccā kaḥiṃ uvavanne? Goyamā! sukule paccāyāe.

same battle, was also wounded; but seeing his friend mortally wounded, he helped him to sit comfortably. The text does not give his name or his religion, but as he was helping Varuṇa, he heard Varuṇa's words of renunciation and said, "Whatever vows you have taken, let those be mine too." And so saying he also died and was reborn as a human being in a noble family.²³

These stories of one person totally renouncing all violence at the time of death, and the other person consenting to his renunciation in a friendly way, and thus both dying a holy death on the battlefield, would surely win the approval of the arahants who pointed to the one and a half (*diyadḍha*) good Buddhists in the story of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's remorse.

This remarkable concordance between the two rival Śramaṇa traditions on the problem of heaven and warfare establishes the fact that a study of one tradition sheds light on the other and helps us understand both traditions at a deeper level. On this auspicious occasion of the 125th anniversary of the Pali Text Society, we do well to remember and honour the name of Hermann Jacobi, the editor of the first volume of the Pali Text Society published in 1882. Few now will even know that this volume happened to be not of a Pāli text, but the first book of the Jaina canon, called the *Āyāraṅga-sutta*. We may recall today the words he used in his introduction to the first volume in the series: "The insertion of a Jaina text in the publication of the Pali Text Society will require no justification in the eyes of European scholars.... But it is possible that Buddhist subscribers ... might take umbrage at the intrusion, as it were, of an heretical guest into the company of their sacred *Suttas*." We should be grateful to Jacobi for showing us from the beginning of the Pali Text Society that our studies of Pāli and Buddhism should go hand in hand with the studies of Prakrit and Jainism.

Padmanabh S. Jaini
Berkeley

²³For an abridged version, see Deleu 1996. This story also appears in Jaini 2000.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for Pāli texts follow *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*.

- CD Bhikkhu Bodhi, tr., *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha*.
Wisdom/PTS, 2000
- DB T.W. Rhys Davids and C.A.F. Rhys Davids, tr., *Dialogues of the
Buddha*
- KS F.L. Woodward, *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*
- Ras Rasavāhinī. Transcribed from Sinhalese by Sharada Gamdhi.
Delhi : Parimal Publications, 1988
- Suttāgame Pupphabhikkhu, ed. Suttāgame, *Viyāhapannatti (Bhagavaī)*, 1952

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***Saṅkhepasārasaṅgaha* : Abbreviation in Pāli**

*ratnattayaṃ vanditvāna dhīrassa bahussutassa
yassa saṃvaṇṇanāyāyaṃ saṅgaho'mhehi racito*

*yena bahulikhitena raññā uttaranarena
lekhātidīghamattāya ninditā 'smi pubbakāle*

*tassa dīghāyulekhanaṃ nandantī payacchāmīmaṃ
māgadhīsaṅkhepanassa atisaṅkhittavaṇṇanaṃ*

In celebrating the longevity and prolific contribution of our cause, I seek to atone with the following brief synopsis of abridgement for former length deemed by him excessive.

Reducing or replacing repetition that contains little or no variation when recording texts in written form, skipping the chorus with a scribal ditto for an aural fullness, is achieved through the term *peyyāla* “formula, repetition” (*PED* s.v. and Norman 2006, pp. 113–14) reduced further to *pa, pe, pe ... la*.¹ Cf. Sanskrit *peyyālaṃ* (e.g.

¹The characteristic repetition of some Pāli literature is usually identified as an aid to the oral memory of a text, even though it does not assist memory of the non-repetition (summary of theories to date: Allon, pp. 354–57, his own 398). An alternative avenue of exploration would be to consider the performance function, drawing on textual anthropology: The lead/expert monk(s) recite the whole, resting their voice while the larger “chorus” pick up the refrains. This would tie in with the observations made by Norman in his discussion of “Buddhism and Oral Tradition” on the basis of anthropology by Tambiah who in turn describes how the common and repeated formulae are those remembered by most monks (Norman 2006, pp. 62–63). Current theories and observation of the performance of Pāli literature leave me with questions: To what extent has performance shaped the form of the text? To what extent are the Dīgha-nikāya texts more repetitive because important ceremonially? Is the performance function sometimes a factor in the difference between shorter and longer versions of the same text? For example, is a Mahāsatiṭṭhānasutta used for a grander funeral? Does the repetition really give the audience “an opportunity to grasp” the content (Allon, p. 362) when the repetition is not of the essence, or should we consider that at the time of its taking on that format the text in Pāli was, as today, already understood primarily as powerful sound

Samādhirājasūtra) or alternatives such as *pūrvavad yāvat* (e.g. *Divyāvadāna*).² In a Dīgha-nikāya text *peyyāla* might replace thirty per cent of unabridged content (Allon, pp. 275ff.), in Abhidhamma even more.

Omission even in cases of variation is possible, where a sample gives an impression of the whole, e.g. progressive intermittent numbers, one verb where grammar requires more (Allon, pp. 354–57). A compound conveys beyond itself, relationships unexpressed, linguistic traces of an original context sometimes not fully erased: the *samāsa*, plain, *aluk*, or syntactical (Norman 1991). Contractions, sometimes contortions, also comprise external *sandhi* (Norman 1993).

Yāva(t) (i)ti ādi, etc., denote lists, whether numeric, specific, or generic, giving only one or a few items.

Na-mo bu-ddhā-ya and *a-ra-haṃ* are examples of the *parikamma* “aids” to practice in pre-reform Theravada, the microcosmic–macrocosmic identification that encapsulates the great within the tiny: five-syllabled *namo bu-ddhā-ya* representing pentads such as *khandha*, Buddhas; trisyllabic *arahaṃ* representing triads – gems, robes, breaths, *Piṭaka* (Crosby 2000, p. 147). They protect aurally or visually, perhaps as a blue tattoo (Bizot 1981). Similarly, the full funerary works can be performed on a budget: extracts of the seven Abhidhamma books precede Praḥ Maleyya. Parallels are found in Sanskrit and Tibetan Buddhism, where the budgetary and temporal restrictions on acquisition of merit result in first-page recitation or simultaneity of all.

Overviews offer condensed coverage, comprehensive accessibility, and decoctions of the essence. Title words: *-saṅkhepa*, *-saṅgaha*, *-samāsa*, *-sāra*, e.g. *Saccasaṅkhepa*, *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, *Nāmarūpasamāsa*, *Sārasaṅgaha* (von Hinüber 1996, Chapters VI, VIII). The earliest is the *Suttasaṅgaha* (Norman 1983, pp. 172–73). Cognate adverbs express authorial intent: *saṅkhittena saṅkhepena* the opposite

rather than through the verbatim meaning of its specific content?

²My thanks to Andrew Skilton for these references to Sanskrit literature and to the *avadāna* below.

of *vistarena*. These can also refer to a familiar tale. Cf. Gāndhārī *avadāna* and *pūrvayoga*: “The whole [story] is to be done [i.e. recited] in full ... *vistare janidave siyadi ... sarva vistare yaṣayupamano siyadi*” (Salomon 1999, pp. 36, 38–39).

Ritual and regulatory reminders are generated by prompts that provide the beginning but not the end, e.g. *namo tassa* for *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*. Key words are used in the elaborate abbreviation of *yogāvacara* manuals such as the Amātākara-vaṇṇanā to encapsulate an array of ritual and meditation instructions in a single verse, fuller formulae to be drawn down from instruction given earlier or elsewhere (Crosby 2005). The result was not recognised as a list of keywords from sentences otherwise unrepresented and was emended as if a set of single sentences with faulty grammar by Ratanajoti and Ratanapali (1963), who then — not recognising the import — in turn abridged the text further from 3818 to 1135 verses (thus not as recorded Norman 1994, reprint, p. 268). A similar “drawing down” familiar from Pāṇini along with the code letters triggering treatment used therein is found in the Pali adaptations of the same, such as the Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa (Norman 1983, pp. 163–67).³

Mātikā are very productive as tables of content, key words to summarize the whole, the mother who generates the teachings. Multiple functions have been illuminated by Gethin: mnemonic (149), point of access to whole (155), guide to structure (155), to composition (156), to mindfulness (165), and adeptly summarised by Allon (7). In South-East Asia the “mother” also generates the ritual foetus (McDaniel 5), the embryonic Buddha within (Crosby 2000).

Acronyms and acrostics encompass secret and powerful encapsulations, such as the first syllables that form the “hearts” *hadaya* (Pent). Compare *dhāraṇī* such as the *arapacana* (Braarvig). Some are not so secret: in South-East Asia the first letter of the seven Abhidhamma texts (Swearer 1995A); in Thailand, the first syllables of each of the

³I have only seen manuscript versions. Norman (1983, p. 163) cites the printed edition by E. Senart, *Journal Asiatique* 1871, pp. 193–544.

bodhisattas in the final ten Jātakas (Shaw xxxiii).⁴

Numinous powers of the Buddha are harnessed through the poetic synopses of biographic episodes to empower a statue (Swearer 1995B), to heal or bring peace, or just to entertain (Somadasa: vii with examples from the Nevill collection throughout).

Kate Crosby

School of Oriental and African Studies

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⁴My thanks to Naomi Appleton for this reference.

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Recent Japanese Studies in the Pāli Commentarial Literature: Since 1984

I. Introduction

After extensive research, my dissertation of nearly 750 pages, entitled *A Study of the Pāli Commentaries: Theravādic Aspects of the Aṭṭhakathās* (in Japanese with an English summary), was published in 1984. Although there had been a few works preceding it abroad,¹ this work (abbreviated as *SPCJ* hereafter) was really the first major publication in this field of study, at least in Japan. In the twenty years or more since then, Japanese studies related to the Pāli commentarial literature (Aṭṭhakathā texts)² have improved remarkably, far beyond my own expectations.

Based on *SPCJ* and other later works by me, many Japanese scholars have done research in the Pāli commentaries using various points of view and lines of inquiry. This research, which dealt with the commentaries not only as objects of research in and of themselves, but also as primary material aiding the exploration of many issues in Buddhist studies, can be classified here into the following six categories. I will subsequently discuss some of the outstanding achievements in each category.³

¹e.g.(1) E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (Colombo: M.D. Gunasena, 1946). His philological study on the commentaries in this book, however, appeared only in 42 pages of Part I. (2) F. Lottermoser, *Quoted Verse Passages in the Works of Buddhaghosa* (Göttingen: author, 1982). Its subject was very limited, not like a general discussion. Cf. Mori 1985 (in English) as a review.

²This literature is to be limited here to the Visuddhimagga and the direct commentaries to the Pāli Tipiṭaka.

³As for the works published by foreign scholars, some of which are surely very important, I shall discuss them in another article.

2. Japanese Translations of Some Commentaries

The publication of a Japanese translation series of the Pāli Tipiṭaka with some other texts in Pāli was completed in 1941, six years after it was begun, as a result of the sincere cooperation of many scholars. It contained seventy volumes altogether, and a useful general index was later added by Kogen Mizuno.

As to the Japanese translations of the Pāli commentaries, the *Visuddhimagga*, *Atthasālinī*, the *Bāhiraṇidāna* of the *Samantapāsādikā*, *Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, and the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* had been published before 1984 when *SPCJ* was published. These translations were generally preceded by their English translations which had been published mostly by the Pali Text Society.⁴

Since 1984, several translations of the commentaries into Japanese have been published: some were preceded by their English versions and others were not, meaning that the latter cases were the first translations in the world. These are Murakami and Oikawa (1985–89) in four volumes, the first translation of the *Paramatthajotikā*; Naniwa (2004), which consists of a full translation of the *Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā* and the first translation of its *Mūlaṭīkā*; Katsumoto (2007), as her dissertation contains the initial full translation of the *Cariyāpiṭakaṭṭhakathā*, a text of the *Paramatthadīpanī*. In addition, there is Fujimoto (2006 in Japanese), a dissertation which also contains a new translation, i.e. the translation of the major stories of the *Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* with an abridged translation of the rest of the stories. It can thus be expected that the translation of works of the Pāli commentaries into Japanese will continue concurrently with future English translations.

3. Historical Studies of Buddhist Doctrine and Thought

Prior to the publication of *SPCJ* in 1984, the *Aṭṭhakathā* texts which were referred to for the doctrinal studies were usually limited to a few *Abhidhamma* works such as the *Visuddhimagga*, *Atthasālinī*,

⁴Regarding all the publications of the Pali Text Society including English translations, see its web site (<http://www.palitext.com>).

Sammohavinodanī, Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā, and so on. Since 1984, however, many other commentaries have gradually been taken up as important original texts, and now the achievements of this new approach have progressed splendidly in both quality and quantity. I will introduce here only the following five dissertations out of a great many excellent examples.

Endo (1997), a work in English, discussed in detail the development of the Buddha concept along with the Bodhisatta concept in Theravāda Buddhism, referring to the Pāli Canon, commentaries, and some sub-commentaries. His work was highly esteemed in Sri Lanka, where it was published, as well as here in Japan. Oikawa (1998, in Japanese, unpublished) studied the Paramatthajotikā, the commentary on the Khuddakapāṭha and Suttanipāta, for the first time, focusing on its philological, historical, and social aspects, as well as its background. This was written on the basis of his co-translation of the Pāli original as stated earlier. The greater part of his research appeared as Part II in the work he co-authored with Murakami in 1990 (in Japanese). Fujimoto (2006 in Japanese with an English summary) discussed the Buddhist idea of merit transference with reference to the Peta stories as related in the Pāli Petavatthu and its commentary, a text of the Paramatthadīpanī. His study added a great deal of new thought and knowledge to that which was already prevalent in the Northern tradition, and contained Japanese translations of many Peta stories in the commentary, related to the above subject. Baba (2006, in Japanese, unpublished) is a very valuable study which discusses the history of the *ti-vijjā* (three-knowledge) tradition with special reference to changes in the biography of the Buddha and to the formation of the meditation system in Sectarial Buddhism of India. In his research, the Pāli Canon, the Visuddhimagga, and the commentaries on the first four Nikāyas were primarily referred to in comparison with certain classical Chinese texts of Northern Buddhism. Katsumoto (2006, in Japanese, unpublished), already touched on in the previous section, is a very unique piece of research which examines certain Mahāyāna elements depicted mainly in

the Cariyāpiṭaka and its commentary, Buddhavaṃsa and its commentary, and also the Nidānakathā of the Jātakaṭṭhakathā. Her research could clear up, as a result, some questions regarding the relationship between the Pāli commentaries and Mahāyāna texts, and the influence of Mahāyāna, especially the Yogācārin school, on the Pāli commentaries. It also raises many new questions as to the historical interchange between Theravāda in Sri Lanka and Mahāyāna in India.

4. Philological Studies in the Source References for the Commentaries

Of the source materials for the Pāli commentaries, *SPCJ* initially classified them according to the following six categories: (1) the Pāli Tipiṭaka; (2) three semi-canonical texts following the Tipiṭaka; (3) the Pāli Aṭṭhakathās themselves; (4) the so-called “lost” Sīhaḷa Aṭṭhakathās; (5) source references of other schools: views attributed to “some” (*keci*) and views attributed to “sophists” (Vitaṇḍavādins); and (6) others: Dīpavaṃsa, Kaccāyanappakaraṇa, Mahāniruttippakaraṇa, and so forth. Among the above source references, (1), (2), (3), and (6) were already known, but (4) and (5) were entirely unknown sources. Consequently, I investigated each of the altogether 35 categories of such sources in *SPCJ*.⁵ However, according to subsequent research done by me after *SPCJ*, their final number amounted to 40.⁶ Meanwhile, more detailed research has been done on some sources. For instance, Endo (1999, in English) studied thoroughly the Paramatthadīpanī of Dhammapāla, with a special reference to “some” (*apare, keci*, etc.) as its source, and conclusively found certain important differences in passages between the Paramatthadīpanī and some works of Buddhaghosa, and also between those in the Paramatthadīpanī and certain sub-commentaries, both of which have traditionally been ascribed to Dhammapāla himself. These findings provided new

⁵Incidentally, Adikaram (*Early History of Buddhism*, p. 10, see n. 1 in this article) listed only 28 categories of such sources.

⁶Mori (1987D, 1989A in English; 1989 in Japanese).

questions as to the authorship of some of the commentaries and sub-commentaries together with biographical details pertaining to Dhammapāla. His study exerted a great influence on Katsumoto's study as will be explained later. Endo (2002) investigated *pothaka*, a vague source reference in the commentaries (other than those above), and concluded that it was not a particular source reference which is now in question. Then Endo (2003, in English) examined the quotations from the Bhāṅakas, as a sort of old source, and further Endo (2005, in English) discussed the chronology of the "Aṭṭhakathā" which has always been expressed in the singular form, and which, though now lost, is a work regarded as the basic source material of Indian origin.

Concurrently, Hayashi (2005 in Japanese) analyzed the Vipākakathā, another source material referred to in the Visuddhimagga, and reached the conclusion that the section named the Vipākuddhārahakathā in the Atthasālinī, which contains a special reference to the Ussadakittana, which is the same as in the Vipākakathā, is none other than the Vipākakathā itself of the Visuddhimagga. Thus the study of the source materials for the commentaries is still very much in progress.

5. Problems of Authorship Pertaining to Each Work

Regarding the traditional belief in the authorship of the Aṭṭhakathā texts, there remain a great many problems yet to be solved. Some scholars have worked on this quite difficult and complicated matter. Hayashi (1997 in Japanese, 1999 in English) criticized the view that the Atthasālinī is not the work of Buddhaghosa, which was once insisted on in detail by P.V. Bapat⁷ and more recently by O.H. Pind.⁸ To the contrary, Sasaki (1997, in Japanese, (1), pp. 57–58, n. 23) pointed out a contradictory textual fact existing between the Atthasālinī and the

⁷P.V. Bapat and R.D. Vadekan, eds., *Aṭṭhasālinī*, Poona, 1942: Bhandarkar Oriental Series No. 3, pp. xxviii–xl.

⁸O.H. Pind. 1992. "Buddhaghosa: His Works and Scholarly Background", *Buddhist Studies* 21, pp. 135–56. Mori (1992 in Japanese) reviewed this article.

Samantapāsādikā, both of which are attributed to Buddhaghosa himself in the Theravāda tradition.

Incidentally, Sasaki and Yamagiwa (1997, in Japanese) started their project of research on the Samantapāsādikā, the Vinaya commentary, comparing it with the Pāli Vinaya-piṭaka and other Vinaya-piṭakas, some of which originally contain their respective commentaries from the Northern tradition. As a part of their research, Sasaki (1997–99) examined certain complicated relations among the three works, the Visuddhimagga and the Samantapāsādikā, both equally ascribed to Buddhaghosa, and the Gedatsu-dō-ron, the Classical Chinese version of the Pāli Vimuttimaggā authored by Upatissa, which is, in spite of the non-Mahāvihāra fraternity text in ancient Sri Lanka, one of the most fundamental source references for the Visuddhimagga.⁹ His conclusion at present is as follows: it cannot be asserted that the author of the Visuddhimagga was the same person as that of the Samantapāsādikā, whereas there can be found a certain accord between the Samantapāsādikā and the Gedatsu-dō-ron on some points. In fact the triangulated relations among the Visuddhimagga, the other commentaries and the Gedatsu-dō-ron still remain unclear.

Concerning this, Mori (1982 in Japanese) had already given another example as follows. Regarding the doctrine of the *kammaṭṭhāna* (the object of meditation practice), the Gedatsu-dō-ron states 38 kinds of such objects, while the Visuddhimagga states 40, and since the latter work was followed in this regard by such later Pāli texts as the

⁹The Vimuttimaggā is still a very problematic text: not only the school to which it belonged, but also the words and passages in the Classical Chinese version and so on are being seriously questioned, e.g., K.R. Norman, “The Literary Works of the Abhayagirivihārins”, *Collected Papers IV* (Oxford: PTS, 1993), pp. 202–17; Peter Skilling, “Vimuttimaggā and Abhayagiri: The Form-Aggregate According to the *Samskṛtāsamskṛtaviniścaya*” (*JPTS XX* (1994)), pp. 171–210; Kate Crosby, “History Versus Modern Myth: The Abhayagirivihāra, the *Vimuttimaggā* and Yogāvacara Meditation” (*Journal of Indian Philosophy* 27-6 (1999)), pp. 503–50; Hayashi (2003, 2004, 2006 in English). Cf. Mori (1988C in English).

Abhidhammāvātāra of Buddhādatta and the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha of Aruruddha, the system using 40 kinds as shown in the Visuddhimagga has been widely recognized as the standard doctrinal system in the Mahāvihāra tradition. With careful examination, however, it could be found that the system using 38 kinds is also described in certain commentaries such as the Samantapāsādikā, Sāratthapakāsinī, Sammohavinodanī, and Paramatthajotikā, just as in the Gedatsu-dō-ron, a non-Mahāvihāra text. The philological aspects as found among the Visuddhimagga, the other Aṭṭhakathā texts and the Gedatsu-dō-ron show thus such a complicated situation that further research will be needed for the final solution of the authorship problem of the commentarial literature to be revealed.

6. Comparisons with the Texts of Northern Sects

The following has been taken as an effective method for the study of early Buddhism: In a comparison of the Pāli Vinaya- and Sutta-piṭakas (with the exception of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka) with those of the Northern sects in India, the corresponding passages and ideas among them can be generally regarded as an older stratum which had been formed before the initial schism of the Buddhist Order, and are therefore more closely connected to the Buddha. The discordant passages and ideas, on the other hand, are a newer stratum which was later altered or added inside of each sect founded after the initial schism. Based on the above methodological idea, studies on early Buddhism and sectarian Buddhism were accomplished as a whole, searching the older and newer strata of the two Piṭakas. For sectarian Buddhist studies in general, the Abhidhamma-piṭakas and other Abhidhamma texts are of course to be taken up as the essential material.

On the other hand, *SPCJ* pointed out the textual facts that the present Pāli commentaries consist of two fundamental strata: one is of the older portions which were composed or cited mainly on the basis of earlier source material of Indian origin, the contents of which can be considered as closer to those of early Buddhism, and the other is of the newer portions which were composed on the basis of the later sources of

Sri Lankan addition and alteration, the contents of which were accordingly transformed into the Theravāda tradition. Since then a new methodological tendency has been gradually prevailing which suggests that the Pāli commentaries should be properly utilized for the research of Indian Buddhism including even early Buddhism in certain cases. As a result, some portions which had not been found in the Pāli Sutta- and Vinaya-piṭakas, but were found only in the texts of the northern tradition, could be newly discovered as being dormant in the Pāli commentaries.

For example, Yamagiwa (1996) and Sasaki (20002) respectively searched the Samantapāsādikā in comparison with altogether six sorts of Vinaya-piṭakas available today in Pāli or Classical Chinese, and found that certain corresponding passages or ideas are recorded not in the Pāli Vinaya, but in its commentary, i.e. the Samantapāsādikā under consideration. Based on their findings, they expressed their view that the Samantapāsādikā should be included as a necessary work for comparative study of Vinaya texts within different traditions, which is definitely useful to the study of the history of the Buddhist Order in India.

While on the other hand, Baba (2003, in Japanese) investigated some Sutta texts preaching the theory of the “Chain of Dependent Origination” (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) which is differently transmitted in some sects. Regarding the Sutta-piṭaka he reached the same conclusion as that of Yamagiwa and Sasaki concerning the Vinaya-piṭaka. Baba’s dissertation, as touched on before, was a result of his further studies on this subject. In any case, it should be noted that various studies which sufficiently make use of the Aṭṭhakathā texts as indispensable references can thus contribute not only to the historical studies of Theravāda Buddhism in Sri Lanka, but also to Indian Buddhist studies in general.

7. Comparisons with Mahāyāna Texts and Studies in Sri Lankan Mahāyāna

Although comparative study of the Aṭṭhakathās with Mahāyāna texts had previously never been considered at all, my research after *SPCJ* (Mori 1993 in Japanese; 1997, 1999 in English) became a pioneering

study on this frontier. It can be summarized in the following manner. A view of anonymous elders (*ekacce therā*) is negatively referred to as deniable in some commentaries such as the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, *Papañcasūdanī*, *Manorathapūraṇī*, and *Saddhammapajjotikā*, but this anonymous source reference can be known as the “Andhakas” and “Vijñānavādins” through the valuable comment on it recorded in their sub-commentaries (*ṭīkā*s). In this regard, setting aside the case of the Andhakas, whose trustworthy texts are not extant today, it is possible to compare the commentaries in question with certain Vijñānavādin texts, i.e. the *Viṃśatikā Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* in Sanskrit of Vasubandhu (4–5c) and some Classical Chinese versions. As a result, the comment under consideration could be proven as correct and this study gave us the important insight that some of the compilers of the sub-commentaries and perhaps of the commentaries possessed certain adequate knowledge of the Vijñānavādins, as a Mahāyāna school, at least in this topic.

Next to my study above, Shimoda (2000, in Japanese) tried to examine a similar sort of topic. It was a discussion that made clear a certain similarity between the *Aṭṭhakathā* and Mahāyāna texts: The similarity in question is that the four kinds of classifications of Buddhist preaching which were adopted in the later stratum, i.e. the commentarial part, of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* are actually identical with those explained about in the first four Nikāya-commentaries ascribed to Buddhaghosa, although their terms themselves are not in concord.¹⁰ Shimoda discussed this matter, based on his detailed research of the above Mahāyāna text. At any rate, we can be sure that barely perceptible relations seem to be lying between the Theravāda commentaries and the Mahāyāna Sūtras.

¹⁰In the Pāli commentaries, it is called *suttanikkhepa* (*attajjhāsaya*, *para-jjhāsaya*, *pucchāvasika*, *aṭṭhuppattika*), whereas in the Mahāyāna Sūtra in question, it is called *dharmaparyāya*. As for the Pāli terms explained in the commentaries, von Hinüber seems to have found them earlier: Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), pp. 114–15.

In the same year, i.e. in 2000, a continuing study by Katsumoto began to be published. Among her already published articles, we may draw special attention to Katsumoto (2005, 2006, in Japanese) for a point of view on the relationship between Theravāda and Mahāyāna texts. Furthermore, an abundant stock of more knowledge and information obtainable from this research in the future will improve the study of Sri Lankan Mahāyāna history, and then the study of Sri Lankan Mahāyāna and that of Indian Mahāyāna should be compared and unified into one theme, giving mutual influence and cooperating on research. Mori (2006 in Japanese) can be a useful guide to further studies in this field.

8. Further tasks and final goals of research

The above is a brief description of the present state of study in the six classified subjects about the Pāli commentaries which have been accomplished by Japanese since *SPCJ* was published in 1984. Needless to say, further studies in each of these six subjects along with some new subjects, if any exist, have to be continuously made. Concurrently, however, we have to pay attention to a fundamental problem which remains. That is the search concerning the earlier aspects on the older stratum of the Pāli commentaries, which is closely connected to early Buddhism and sectarian Buddhism in India. Incidentally, this new search would contribute to the whole introductory study or general remarks of the commentarial literature, while *SPCJ*, with the sub-title, “Theravādic Aspects of the Aṭṭhakathās” was none other than the other half. It mainly discussed the later aspects on the newer stratum of the Pāli commentaries, which were surely added in the Theravāda tradition of ancient Sri Lanka. In any case, in order to succeed in this task, the methods of analysis to be adopted are the most essential: any suitable problems which can be related to all commentary texts should be first selected, and also more than one such problem should be independent, with no mutual relationship which would indicate different phases of the older stratum being necessary. I am now considering a few such problems.

Thus, when some matters concerning the older stratum — such as its chronology; or its philological, doctrinal, or historical characteristics; and so forth — have been illuminated as a whole via the methods stated above, more exact and trustworthy results of research will be possible, and then the comparative study of the Pāli commentaries with the northern sectarian or Mahāyāna texts based upon the above results can be further improved. This will surely contribute to the study of Indian Buddhist history itself.

On the other hand, as a final task in this particular field, “the study of the formational history of the Pāli commentarial literature” should be pursued in the future. In addition, another ideal goal of our research should be considered in parallel, that is a publication of the Japanese translation series of all the commentaries in question, as a sequel to the *Nanden Daizōkyō*, the Japanese translation series of the Pāli Tipiṭaka plus other texts in Pāli, published altogether in seventy volumes between 1935 and 1941 as mentioned above.

I am grateful to Associate Professor Gregory Rohe at Aichi Gakuin University for improving my English.

References to Pāli texts refer to the Pali Text Society’s editions unless otherwise stated.

Sodo Mori

ABBREVIATIONS

- JPTS* *Journal of the Pali Text Society*
SPCJ Mori 1984 in Japanese
SPCE Mori 1989 in English (This is not a translation of *SPCJ* above, but a collection of my articles on Aṭṭhakathā study.)
 Mori Festschrift *Buddhist and Indian Studies in Honour of Professor Sodo Mori*. Hamamatsu: Kokusai Bukkyōto Kyōkai, 2002, in English

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On Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra VII.1*

1. The seventh chapter of the Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra (edited by Sylvain Lévi, Paris 1907, pp. 25–27) deals with the concept of supranormal power (*prabhāva*) and thus corresponds to the fifth chapter of (the first section of) the Bodhisattvabhūmi. Its structure is based on a kind of standard pattern of six categories, viz. *lakṣaṇa* (or *svabhāva*, cf. 25,11), *hetu*, *phala*, *karman*, *yoga*, and *ṛtti*,¹ followed by a concluding verse in the *puṣpītāgrā* metre extolling the greatness (*māhātmya*) of the *prabhāva* of *bodhisattvas*.

2. The first verse (*indravajrā* metre: - - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪), describing the essential characteristic (*lakṣaṇa*) of the supranormal power of *bodhisattvas*, runs thus:

utpattivākcittaśubhāśubhādhitatsthānaniḥsārapadāparokṣam |²
jñānaṃ hi sarvatragasaprabhedeṣv avyāhataṃ dhīragataḥ prabhāvaḥ ||

VII.1

*I am deeply indebted to Professor Yūshō Wakahara and the Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra study group at Ryūkyō University for sharing their materials with me (especially for a CD containing mss N2, N3 and NS, for which see n. 12), and to Professor Oskar von Hinüber for valuable suggestions.

¹For this pattern, cf., e.g., also Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra(-Bhāṣya) IX.56–59 (verse 57b should probably be read as °*bhāvanā-samudāgamaḥ*, and 57d emended to °*sarvathā-kṣayatā-phalaḥ*: bahuṛiḥis as in 56, 58ab and 59ab); Ratnagotravibhāga (ed. E.H. Johnston, Patna, 1950) I.30, 35, 42, and 45 as well as II.3, 8–9, 18–20, 29, and 38–41 (and the prose lines introducing these verses; read °*phalaḥ* in I.35 and °*tathatābhinnavṛttiṭaḥ* or even °*kaḥ* in I.45 [cf. *WZKS* 15/197, p. 147], and perhaps °*yuktaḥ sva*° in I.42); Yogācārabhūmi, Śrutamayī Bhūmi (T 30.1579) 361a_{17–20} (Śrāvakaḥbhūmi ms fol. 23a_{8–b1}); Abhidharmasamuccaya (ed. P. Pradhan, Santiniketan 1950) 103,1–8 (reconstructed, but terminology confirmed by Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya (ed. N. Tatia, Patna, 1976), p. 141).

²The edition by S. Bagchi (Darbhanga, 1970) reads °*ādhi tat...padā parokṣam*, which does not make sense.

Sylvain Lévi³ translates:

La connaissance qui n'a pas en dehors de sa portée les Points suivants: naissance, langage, pensée, dépôt de bien et de mal, situation, Évasion, avec leurs subdivisions, qui est universelle, sans entrave, c'est là le Pouvoir qui appartient au Sage.

In the translation edited by Robert Thurman,⁴ the verse runs as follows:

Direct knowledge of birth, speech, mind, the deposit of good and evil, place, and escape is unobstructed toward these everywhere with all varieties; and it is the power of the brave.

3. None of the translators⁵ indicates any difficulties he may have had with the syntax of the text, but it is obvious that *sarvatraga*^o does not construe well. Lévi translates it as an attribute of *jñānaṃ*, but this is impossible if we keep to the printed text where it is compounded with *saprabhedeṣv*. Nor is Thurman's rendering convincing since it ignores ^o*ga*^o and translates as if there were only *sarvatra*, as a separate word, as in the commentary (*sarvatra lokadhātau saprabhedeṣu ...*). But the omission of ^o*ga*^o in the verse would spoil the metre. For the same reason, a reading *sarvatragam*, which would fit in with Lévi's translation and make good sense, is excluded as well.

4. Now, there is a similar case at Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra IX.9a (metre *mālinī*: ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ - - - ~ - - - ~ - - -):

śaraṇam anupamaṃ tac chreṣṭhabuddhatvam iṣṭaṃ ...

Thurman (p. 78) translates:

Supreme Buddhahood is the refuge without compare....

Yet, a karmadhāraya *śreṣṭhabuddhatva* would seem to indicate a specific form of Buddhahood that is superior to another one (e.g., better

³Mahāyāna-sūtrālamkāra, edited and translated by Sylvain Lévi, Vol. II (Paris, 1911), p. 55.

⁴*Maitreyanātha's Ornament of the Scriptures of the Universal Vehicle, Recorded by Āryasaṅga, Explained by Vasubandhu*, English translation by Lobsang Jamspal et al., edited by Robert A. F. Thurman (American Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1979), p. 57.

⁵The unpublished translation by Peter Oldmeadow (Canberra, mentioned by J.W. de Jong in *IJ* 30 (1987), pp. 154 ff.) remains inaccessible.

than *pratyekabuddhatva*).⁶ This, however, would be somewhat surprising since in the preceding as well as in the following verses *buddhatva* (and also *buddhatā*) is, without any qualification, consistently used for Buddhahood proper, i.e., the state of highest, perfect Awakening. Actually, in the following verse (IX.10) *śreṣṭha* clearly qualifies not *buddhatva* but *śaraṇa*,⁷ and the same is true of a quasi-synonym of *śreṣṭha*, viz. *uttama*, in the preceding pair of verses (IX.7–8)⁸ of which IX.9 is a more artistic rephrasing.⁹ In both cases, the purport is that Buddhahood is the supreme refuge. This doubtless makes better sense. At any rate, the commentary on verse IX.9 does construe *śreṣṭha* with *śaraṇa* and not with *buddhatva*:

By this third [verse the author] shows that ... precisely this refuge status [of Buddhahood] is unsurpassed because it (= the refuge status of Buddhahood) is incomparable and supreme (*tasyaiva śaraṇa-tvasyānupamaśreṣṭhatvenānuttaryaṃ*¹⁰ ... *darśayati*).

Accordingly, Lévi (p. 71) translates the verse as follows:

Cette Bouddhaté est le Refuge excellent, incomparable....

The Tibetan translation, too, supports this interpretation:

⁶Cf. XIX.62d *bodhiḥ śreṣṭhā* (Bhāṣya: *śreṣṭhā bodhiḥ*), but in contrast to *buddhatva* the term *bodhi* is traditionally applied to Śrāvakas (and Pratyekabuddhas) as well and hence requires specification when referring to a Buddha, i.e., when used in the sense of *anuttarā samyakṣambodhi*.

⁷“[T]his Buddhahood is regarded here as the best of [all] refuges” (... *tad buddhatvaṃ śreṣṭham iheṣṭaṃ śaraṇānāṃ*; text follows Naoya Funahashi, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* [Chapters I, II, III, IX, X] (Tokyo: Kokushokankokai, 1985), p. 27).

⁸“Buddhahood protects from ...; therefore, [it] is the best refuge” (*paritrāṇaṃ hi buddhatvaṃ ... tasmāc charaṇam uttamaṃ*).

⁹The same pattern is also found in the preceding verses, the *anuṣṭubh* lines IX.1–2 and IX.4–5 being rephrased by IX.3 (*śārdūlavikrīḍita*) and IX.6 (*srag-dharā*), respectively. This pattern is, by the way, also found in the poetical rephrasing of the Tathāgatagarbhasūtra at Ratnagotravibhāga I, 96–126.

¹⁰Thus to be read with Tibetan *mchog nyid kyis*, against Lévi’s °*śreṣṭhasya cānu*°. Among the mss accessible to me (see n. 12), mss B, N2, N3 and NS read °*ṣṭhasvanānu*°, whereas ms A has °*ṣṭa-svanānu*°, with a dot between *ṣṭa* (*sic*) and *sva*. A misreading of *tve* as *sa* seems quite possible from a script where the *e*-sign is a downward hook on the upper left side of the akṣara. See A 34b2; B 36b5; N2 37b4, N3 29b7; NS 31a6.

This Buddhahood is considered to be the incomparable, supreme refuge (Peking Phi 10a1-2: *sangs rgyas nyid de skyabs ni dpe med mchog tu 'dod*).¹¹

However, such an interpretation is clearly impossible if *śreṣṭhabuddhatvaṃ* is read as a compound. To conjecture a reading *śreṣṭhaṃ* is out of the question because it would violate the metre. The only way out of the difficulty occurring to me is to suggest that we should probably separate *śreṣṭha* from *buddhatvaṃ* and take it as a BHS form of the nom. sg. neuter (cf. F. Edgerton, *BHSG* § 8.31–34). Possibly what the mss¹² write as °*a* was actually pronounced °*ā*,¹³ i.e., a short nasal for which the Brāhmī script has no sign, so that the scribes had only two options: either to indicate the nasalization by means of an *anusvāra* to the effect of obscuring the metre, or to give precedence to the metre and leave the nasalization unexpressed (as they actually do).¹⁴ If my argument is correct, the line should be read (and was at any rate read by the commentary) as

¹¹Likewise the Tibetan translation of the *pāda* in Sthiramati's commentary (P Mi 125b6–7): *sangs rgyas skyabs ni dpe med mchog yin te*. Cf. also P Mi 125b5 (*skyabs de nyid dpe med pa dang / mchog tu gyur pa 'i phyir*) and 126a1 (*skyabs 'di dam pa yin pas na mchog ces bya ste*). The Chinese translation, too, seems to take *śreṣṭha* with *śaraṇa* but construes *anupama* with Buddha-(hood) when paraphrasing the commentary: “Verse: The Buddha is the supreme refuge; because [he] is incomparable, [it?] is unsurpassed. ... Commentary: This verse elucidates the supremeness of refuge. Because the Buddha is incomparable, [as a refuge he] is unsurpassed” (T 31.1604: 602c4 and 6: 偈曰。佛為勝歸處 無比故無上 ... 釋曰。此偈顯歸依勝。由佛無譬喻故為無上。).

¹²Five mss are accessible to me, viz. mss A and B published in Syôkô Takeuchi et al. 1995 and mss N2 (NGMPP E 1923/5), N3 (NGMPP E 1367/11) and NS (NGMPP A 114/1). According to Wakahara 2003, p. (34), NS is dated Nepal saṃvat 796 (= 1675/6 C.E.), N2 Vikrama saṃvat 1957 (= 1900 C.E.), and N3 Nepal saṃvat 1025 (= 1904/5 C.E.). Cf. also Wakahara's articles in *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 51.2 (2003), pp. (157)–(163) and 52.2 (2004), pp. (157)–(162).

¹³For cases of *aṃ* to be read as *ā* for metrical reasons in Pāli verses, cf. Alsdorf 1967, p. 17, verses 7c = Sn 921c *paṭipadā* (but cf. Norman 1992, 342!) and 16b = Sn 930b *payuttā*; p. 26 (*Jātaka* no. 479) verse 2b *Kālingā*; p. 29 (*Jātaka* no. 485) verse 6a *imā mayhā*; etc.

¹⁴All mss available to me read °*a*, as does S. Lévi's edition. See A 34b1; B 36b3; N2 37b2; N3 29b6; NS 31a5.

śaraṇam anupamaṃ tac chreṣṭha (or chreṣṭhā) buddhatvam iṣṭam ...

5. Returning now to the verse VII.1, an analogous solution would seem to be possible: the difficulty sketched in § 3 would vanish if we assume that the mss¹⁵ should be transcribed not as *sarvatragasaprabhedeṣv* but as *sarvatraga saprabhedeṣv*, perhaps to be read as *sarvatragā saprabhedeṣv*. In this case, it is no longer problematic to construe *sarvatraga* (or °gā) as an attribute with *jñānam*, and Lévi's translation can, in this point, be accepted.

6. Still, there is yet another problem. At the end of the first line, Lévi's text reads °*niḥsārapadāparokṣam*, and in his translation he takes *pada* to mean "points", referring to the six items enumerated before with regard to which the cognition of *bodhisattvas* is immediate or perceptual (*aparokṣa*). In the verse, this works fairly well. In the commentary, however, such an understanding of *pada* appears to be precluded. There, after the explanation of the six items we have the following sentence:

*eṣu ṣaṭsv artheṣu sarvatra lokadhātau saprabhedeṣu padāparokṣam
avyāhataṃ jñānaṃ sa prabhāvo bodhisattvānāṃ ... |.*

This is translated by S. Lévi (p. 55) as follows:

Voilà les six catégories en question; la connaissance qui porte sur elles sans que nulle part, dans tous les mondes, avec toutes leurs subdivisions, elles soient en dehors de sa portée, sans rien qui l'entrave, c'est là le Pouvoir des Bodhisattvas....

I cannot find an equivalent for *pada* in this translation, nor in that of Thurman¹⁶ who ignores it also in his translation of the verse (see § 2). Actually, in the commentary I find it altogether impossible to construe *pada*° as a prior member of a compound ending in °*aparokṣa*, let alone in any other way. Thurman may well have ignored it because he could not find an equivalent in the Tibetan translation. But a closer inspection

¹⁵All the five mss at my disposal (see n. 12) read *sarvatragasa*°. See A 25b4; B 27a6; N2 27b6; N3 22a1; NS 23a3.

¹⁶"Such knowledge is directly present without impediment in all universes as regards those six topics and their varieties, this knowledge is the bodhisattva's power ..." (Thurman [see n. 4] p. 57).

of the latter does show the way towards a reasonable solution, and moreover suggests a different reading of the verse as well.

7. The Tibetan translation of the commentary passage runs like this :

What is, in this way, a direct, unobstructed cognition with regard to these six items including their subdivisions in every world-system, that is the [supranormal] power of bodhisattvas (P Phi 156b2-3; D Phi 147a3-4: *de ltar na 'jig rten gyi*¹⁷ *kham s thams cad du don drug po de dag rab tu dbye ba dang bcas pa la shes pa mngon sum du gyur pa thogs pa med pa gang yin pa de ni byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi mthu ... yin no //*).

It is obvious that the only word which has no equivalent in the Sanskrit text as printed by Lévi is the relative pronoun *gang (yin pa)*,¹⁸ which in connection which the subject *jñānam* would correspond to *yad*. Since the akṣaras *ya* and *pa* are very similar in the mss, the conclusion suggesting itself is that the disturbing *padā*^o is nothing but a misreading of the relative pronoun *yad* followed by *āparokṣaṃ* or rather *aparo-kṣaṃ*, at least according to the mss available to me.¹⁹ But even a reading *āparokṣaṃ* could easily be explained as a metrical lengthening taken over from the verse. For there, too, Tibetan, reading as it does, for pāda b,

... *de yi gnas dang 'byung ba mngon sum gang |*,

shows that *padāparokṣaṃ* is rather a miscopying of *yadāparokṣaṃ*, to be resolved into *yad āparokṣaṃ*.²⁰ This is anyway what one would expect in view of Vasubandhu's commentary, unless we suspect him of having grossly misread the verse.

¹⁷*gyi* D : *gyis* P.

¹⁸This reading is also confirmed by the pratika in Sthiramati's commentary (P Mi 95b1 : *mngon sum gang zhes bya ba ni ...*).

¹⁹Mss A and N2 *pedapa*^o, ms N3 *padapa*^o. But ms B clearly reads *yadapa*^o, and ms NS either *yadapa*^o or *yadaya*^o. See A 25b7; B 27b2; N2 28a2; N3 22a4; NS 23a5.

²⁰Mss A, N2 and N3 *padāparokṣaṃ*; ms B *padārokṣaṃ*, like ms NS where *o**dā* and *ro*^o are, however, separated by a mark indicating the end of the preceding chapter in the preceding line but extending into the line below. See A 25b4; B 27a6; N2 27b5-6; N3 22a1; NS 23a2.

8. However, if this is correct (and I fail to see how at least in Vasubandhu's commentary a reading *padā*^o or even *pada*^o could be justified syntactically), there arises another problem: how to construe the compound immediately preceding the relative pronoun in the verse? If *°niḥsārapadāparokṣaṃ* is, following the Tibetan and Vasubandhu's commentary, emended to *°niḥsāra yad āparokṣaṃ*, the compound preceding the relative pronoun would end with a stem form, which is of course impossible in standard Sanskrit. What is required is rather a locative dependent on *jñānam*, as is confirmed by the commentary explicitly construing the six items of the first line as locatives (*viṣaya-saptamī*) depending on *jñānam* (viz. *upapattau jñānaṃ*, *vāci jñānaṃ*, *citte jñānaṃ*, *°ādhāne jñānaṃ*, and *niḥsaraṇe*²¹ *jñānaṃ*). But emending *°niḥsāra yad* to *°niḥsāre yad* is, once again, precluded by the metre requiring a short syllable.²² In view of the solution found for *sarva-traga*, I suggest to interpret *°niḥsāra*, in a similar way, as a BHS form of the loc. sg.²³ (*BHSG* §8.11). I wonder if in this case *a* may not be interpreted as a substitute writing for *ě*, for which, once again, no sign is available in the scripts derived from the Brāhmī alphabet. Among the two available possibilities, viz. to write either *e* (normally long) or a somehow similar short vowel like *a* or *i*,²⁴ the metrically required

²¹But all the five mss at my disposal read *niḥsaraṇajñānaṃ*! In the preceding item, mss B and NS read *°gamanajñānaṃḍdhi*^o, but mss A, N2 and N3 have *°gamaṇaḍdhi*^o (omitting *°jñāna*^o). See A 25b6; B 27a9; N2 28a1; N3 22a3; NS 23a3.

²²The reading *°sāra* is confirmed by all the five mss available to me. See A 25b4; B 27a6; N2 27b5; N3 22a1; NS 23a2.

²³Cf. Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra XXI.48c, where *niḥsāre* occurs in a similar context (six *abhijñās*), albeit as the object not of *jñāna* but of *avavāda*.

²⁴It has to be conceded that *a* for *ě* is not usual, the normal representation preserving the quantity being *i* (cf. Edgerton 1946, pp. 199 §28 and 204 §67; cf. also, for Apabhraṃśa, Ludwig Alsdorf, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (Hamburg, 1936) [Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien Bd. 5], pp. 142–44). However, in the analogous case of shortened *o* (i.e.: *ō*), both *u* and *a* are attested (Edgerton 1946, pp. 199 §28 and 204 §68).

quantity of the vowel would, in this case too, have taken precedence over the quality.

9. It has, however, to be admitted that the interpretation of °*niḥsāra* in the first line as a locative singular is odd in view of the fact that we have, in the second line, the locative plural *saprabhedeṣu*, an adjective which doubtless qualifies the six items to be supplied from the first line (cf. the Bhāṣya: *eṣu ṣaṭsv artheṣu ... saprabhedeṣu*). But since the singular in the first line is collective (six items!), a reference to it in the form of a plural *ad sensum* would not seem to be entirely inexplicable, still less so in view of the constraints of the metre. Anyway, the only alternative solution I for my part could imagine would be to interpret the six-membered dvandva ending with °*niḥsāra* as a *virtual* locative plural, to be connected with *jñānaṃ* as a kind of split compound, interrupted by *yad āparokṣaṃ*; but I am unable to decide whether such a construction is possible at all.²⁵

10. My translation of the verse does not differ too much from S. Lévi's:

A knowledge which is perceptual with regard to [the dying and re]birth [of beings], to speech [even in other realms of existence],²⁶ to the thoughts [of others], to the deposit²⁷ of good and bad [karma], to [how to go to] the place where the [*vineyas* dwell],²⁸ and to [the

²⁵Anyway, a similar case seems to occur at Jātaka IV 384.14, where the metre requires the reading *app-eva naṃ putta- labhemu -jīvitam*, on which cf. Oberlies 1996, 119 (“compound in tmesis”).

²⁶In the Bhāṣya (25.5–6) we should read, with ms A, °*bhijñā yāṃ vācaṃ tatra tatropapannā bhāṣante*; cf. mss A and N2 *vācantatratatropa*°, ms N3 *vācaṃ tatrataropa*° and Tibetan (Peking Phi 156a8) *de dang de dag tu skyes pa rnams*. Mss B and NS read *vācantatragatropa*°. In ms NS, some forms of *ta* are not much different from *ga*. See A 25b5; B 27a7; N2 27b7; N3 22a2; NS 23a3.

²⁷i.e. the residues (*vāsanā*) accumulated in previous existences (cf. Sthiramati, Peking Mi 95a3–5).

²⁸For want of anything better, my interpretation of the telegraphic *tat-* (there is no word in the line it might refer to) follows the Bhāṣya (25.7–8: *yatra vineyās tiṣṭhanti tatsthānagamanajñānaṃ ṛddhiviṣayābhijñā*) and Bhāṣya ad XX-XXI.48 (185.13–14: *upetya vineyasakāśam ṛddhyabhijñayā*). According to Sthiramati (Peking Mi 95a6–8), *tatsthāna* means the Buddha-fields where the

means for] escaping [from *saṃsāra*], and which is universal and unobstructed with regard to [its aforementioned objects] along with their subdivisions: [this] is the [supranormal] power of the *bodhi-sattvas*.

II. The grammatical explanation of the verses VII.1 and IX.9a proposed in the preceding paragraphs presupposes that the language of the Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra allows for non-standard grammatical features, especially such as are known from Middle Indic, as in many other Buddhist Sanskrit texts. Such features have indeed already been registered by S. Lévi, e.g. in X.14 (*janiya*), XVII.14 (*bahitas*), 31 (*tāyaka*), 45 (*arihat*), or XIX.69–70 (*dharama*). Cf. also *vā* for *iva* at IX.36. The most interesting case in connection with the present investigation is the shortening of a long vowel at the end of a word at XIX.75, where we find *hetuna* m.c. for *hetunā*. There is also a number of non-standard compounds (cf. F. Edgerton, *BHSG* §23.10) which would deserve special investigation, especially at the beginning of Chapter IX, and significantly in verses composed in fairly demanding metres, viz. 3d: (*ratnānām*) *prabhāva-mahatām*;²⁹ 6b: *dharmaratna-pratata-sumahataḥ* (Bhāṣya: *sumahataḥ pratatasya dharmaratnasya!*); 6c: *śukla-sasya-prasava-sumahataḥ*;³⁰ 6d: *dharmāmbu-varṣa-pratata-suvihitasya* (Bhāṣya: *mahataḥ suvihitasya ... dharmāmbu-varṣasya*); 12d: *viṣaya-sumahataḥ*³¹ (*jñānamārgāt*).

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Buddhas live and the world systems where sentient beings live, and the cognition referring to these means the knowledge how to go there by means of supranormal accomplishments (*ṛddhi*).

²⁹Looks like a bahuvrīhi with its members inverted (cf. Oberlies 1996, p. 119 [see n. 25]; Oberlies 1989–1990, pp. 159–60, n. 7; Oberlies 2001, p. 123; Norman 1992, p. 217 ad v. 370). But the compound could perhaps also be understood as a tatpuruṣa in the sense of “great as regards their power”.

³⁰Probably in the sense of *sumahataḥ śuklasasyaprasavasya*.

³¹See n. 29.

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Sanskrit *Ikṣvāku*, Pāli *Okkāka*, and Gāndhārī *Iṣmaho**

I. Gāndhārī *iṣmaho* = Sanskrit *ikṣvāku*

Until now, the Gāndhārī word *iṣmaho* has been known only from the *stūpa* dedication inscription of Seṇavarma (Bailey 1980, Fussman 1982, Salomon 1986, von Hinüber 2003). This important document, written on a gold leaf and dating from the early first century A.D., is the longest single inscriptional text known in Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script. The word in question occurs three times in Seṇavarma's inscription:

line 3a: *utaraseṇaputre vasuseṇe oḍiraya iṣmahokulade*, “Vasuseṇa, son of Utaraseṇa, King of Oḍi, **from the Iṣmaho family**”.

line 3c: *seṇavarme ayidaseṇaputre ate ceva iṣmahorajakulasabhavade oḍiraja*, “Seṇavarma, son of Ayidaseṇa, and therefore, **by virtue of birth in the Iṣmaho royal family**, king of Oḍi”.

line 9e: *bhadaseṇa raya upadae yava pravidamaha me diśaseṇo oḍiraya sarva i(*ṣma)horayakulasambhavo*,¹ “from King Bhadaseṇa up to my paternal great-grandfather Diśaseṇa, the kings of Oḍi, all **born in the I(*ṣma)ho royal family**”.

The word *iṣmaho*, whose meaning and etymology have been up to now completely obscure, has usually been assumed to be a non-Indian name. Thus, for example, Fussman (1982, p. 44) commented, “Ce mot semble un nom propre, d'origine non-indienne”, and von Hinüber (2003, p. 34,

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¹Here the syllable *ṣma* was apparently omitted by scribal error, as the normal spelling is confirmed by the two other occurrences of the word in this inscription. This error presumably does not have any linguistic significance.

n. 30) similarly remarked “Unarisch scheint der Name des Stammvaters Iṣmaho zu sein”.

Now, however, *iṣmaho* has been observed in another Gāndhārī text in a context which makes it clear that this name is not in fact non-Indian, but rather is the Gāndhārī equivalent of the name of the renowned legendary king known in Sanskrit as Ikṣvāku and in Pāli as Okkāka. The text in question is a Buddhist birch-bark scroll in Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script in the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.), which appears to date from about the second century A.D. (figs. 1–2). This manuscript, which is only now beginning to be studied, appears to consist of formulaic accounts of the lives of fifteen Buddhas, from Dīpaṅkara to Maitreya, enumerating for each Buddha the *kalpa* in which he lived, his life-span, his class (*brāhmaṇa* or *kṣatriya*), the size of his assembly (*samṇipāta*), the duration of his *dharma*, etc. Thus in its format and contents this new text resembles biographical texts such as the Mahāpadāna-sutta / Mahāvadāna-sūtra, Buddhavaṃsa, and Bhadrakalpika-sūtra, but it seems to have a particularly close similarity to portions of the Bahubuddha-sūtra contained in the Mahāvastu (ed. Senart, III 224.10–250.8).

The portion of the new text described above is preceded by a set of fifteen verses containing a prediction (*vyākaraṇa*) of the future Buddhahood of Śākyamuni, which are presumably being spoken by a previous Buddha. The passage in question here is part of what appears to be the third verse in this series. The surviving portion of the verse, comprising part of the second and fourth quarters and all of the third, reads as follows:

+++ (*ka)//[p](*e) ido asakhae ·
 iṣmahovatsāṇaraśakasiho ·
 tariśasi devamaṇu[śa] ? /// +

[An] incalculable world-age from now,² as the Śākya man-lion in the Iṣmaho lineage,³ you will cross over ... gods and humans.⁴

²Cf. Mvu I 53.2, *kalpasmim ito asaṃkhyeye*.

³The sense of this line is not completely certain. We propose to read the entire quarter as a single compound, *iṣmaho-vatṣa-ṇara-śaka-siho*, although superficially it might seem easier to divide it into two words, *iṣmahovatsaṇara śakasiho*, and translate “as a man of the Iṣmaho lineage, the Lion of the Śākya”. But we provisionally reject this interpretation, mainly because *-ṇara* at the end of a compound *iṣmahovatsaṇara* would be superfluous and stylistically weak. We suspect that *ṇaraśakasiho* should rather be read as a sub-compound, by way of a conflation of the two expressions *śakasiho* (= Skt *śākyasiṃha*) and *narasiho* (= *narasiṃha*). *Narasiṃha* and equivalent epithets of the Buddha such as *puruṣasiṃha* and *puruṣavyāghra*, though rare in Pāli, are common in some Buddhist Sanskrit texts, especially in the Mahāvastu, with which the new Gāndhārī text under discussion here has many common features of style and contents. For example, in *narasiṃhatāye praṇidheti*, “He makes a vow to attain the state of a man-lion”, that is, “of Buddhahood” (Mvu I 83.8), *narasiṃha* is used in a context of predictions of future Buddhahood, as in our text. Similarly, the synonymous *puruṣasiṃho* occurs in a context similar to that of the passage in question in *puruṣasiṃho śākyakulānandajanano* (Mvu II 164.13).

But it must be conceded that in the proposed interpretation the construction is still somewhat odd, with the sub-compound *-ṇaraśakasiho* instead of the expected *-śakaṇarasiho*. However, compounds with irregular word order are not unknown in Buddhist usage (see Edgerton 1953, §23.10), and in this case the peculiarity could be explained on metrical grounds, since the irregular ordering of the words in *-ṇaraśakasiho* provides a normal ending for a *triṣṭubh* line (- - - - -), whereas the normal compound order *śakaṇarasiho* (- - - - -) would not fit the metre. Although ideal metrical patterns are often treated rather loosely in Gāndhārī texts (see, for example, Salomon 2000: 49–51), a preliminary analysis of the new text in question here seems to show that it followed the standard metrical pattern of the *triṣṭubh* metre much more closely than many other Gāndhārī texts, perhaps because the text was originally composed in Gāndhārī rather than translated into Gāndhārī from some other Indo-Aryan language. For this reason, we take the metre of this text to be phonetically and etymologically reliable, although we would not necessarily do so for all Gāndhārī texts.

⁴Possible reconstructions of the last quarter of this verse include *devamaṇuśa[lo](*ga)* (compare Buddhavaṃsa 2.55, *sabbaññutaṃ pāpuṇitvā santāressaṃ sadevake*) or *devamaṇuśa[śa](*sta)* (compare, e.g., Mvu I 239.9, *śāstā devānāṃ ca manuṣyānāṃ ca*).

The key phrase for our purposes is the second quarter, *iṣmahovatsānaraśakasiho*. The reference to *śakasiho* = Skt *śākyasiṃha* makes it certain that the addressee here is indeed the (then) future “historical” Buddha Śākyamuni, while the phrase *iṣmahovatsā* indicates that he is being associated with the Iṣmaho lineage (*vamśa*).⁵ Since the Śākyas are universally deemed in Buddhist tradition to be descended from the lineage of the legendary *cakravartin* emperor Ikṣvāku, there can hardly be any doubt that *iṣmaho* here is the equivalent of Sanskrit *ikṣvāku*, despite the several unusual phonetic correspondences between the two — correspondences which, however, are no more unusual, indeed somewhat less so, than those between Skt *ikṣvāku* and Pāli *okkāka*, as will be discussed in detail below (section 2).

Moreover, the association of the descendants of Ikṣvāku with the Śākyas is expressed in similar terms to those of the new text in, for example, Mahāvastu III 247.12–13, *śuddhodanasya rājño ikṣvākujasya putro māyāya śākyakulanandijanano śākyo bhūt śākyasukumāro*, “King Śuddhodana, the descendant of Ikṣvāku, had with Māyā a son, the Śākya who brought delight to the Śākya clan, the tender Śākya youth”. Similarly, the expression applied to the Buddha in Mahāvastu III 343.15, *ikṣvākukulasambhave*, “born in the Ikṣvāku clan”, is virtually identical to *iṣmahorajakulasabhavade*, the epithet adopted by Seṇavarma in his inscription (line 3c). These parallels thus confirm that Gāndhārī *iṣmaho* does in fact correspond to Skt *ikṣvāku* / Pāli *okkāka*.

Though not previously attested as such, *vatsā* in the compound *iṣmaho-vatsā-nara* is a more or less normal Gāndhārī correspondent to Skt *vamśa*. Here the *t* has arisen as an excrescent consonant between the underlying nasal (here left unwritten, as very often in Gāndhārī) and the following sibilant: *vamśa* ([vāśa] or [vaṃśa]) > *vatsā* ([vantśa]). Parallel developments (though involving the dental rather than the palatal sibilant) are attested, for instance, in the Gāndhārī Dharmapada from Khotan, in *matsa* = Skt *māmsa* and *satsara* = *samsāra* (Brough 1962,

⁵The equivalence of Gāndhārī *vatsā* with Sanskrit *vamśa* will be explained below.

pp. 73–74; additional examples from Central Asian Gāndhārī provided in Burrow 1937, p. 19).

The ligature representing the consonant cluster in question in our text, ṣ , is nowadays usually transliterated as *tsa*, though *tśa* has also been used for it. On purely visual grounds, it is difficult to distinguish whether the second member is śa or a simplified form of ṣa . This issue was discussed at some length by Brough (1962, pp. 73–77),⁶ who preferred the transliteration *tsa* on both graphic and phonetic grounds, since most of the examples available to him, such as the aforementioned *matsa* = *māṃsa* and *satsara* = *samśāra*, involved original dental sibilants. However, the present case of *vatsā* = *vaṃśa* revives the question of the correct transliteration, or perhaps rather transliterations, of ṣ , and suggests that it perhaps did double duty for both *ts* and *tś*. Whether this represents an actual merger of the two, either in the writing system or in the phonology of the language, is difficult to determine on the basis of the data currently available. Although in general the three sibilants of Old Indo-Aryan are retained as such in Gāndhārī, they tend to merge or alternate graphically, if not phonetically, in consonant clusters; for example, the absolutive corresponding to Sanskrit *dhṛṣṭvā* is written in different texts as *diṣpa* and *dhriṣpaṇa*, and also, possibly, as *dispa*.⁷ In any case, the equation between Sanskrit *vaṃśa* and Gāndhārī *vatsā* is supported on contextual grounds by a passage in Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarananda (ed. Johnston, 1.24): *tasmād ikṣvākuvamśyās te bhuvī śākya itī smṛtāḥ*, “Therefore those members of the lineage of Ikṣvāku are known in the world as Śākyas”. Here the compound *ikṣvāku-vamśyās* mirrors *iṣmaho-vatsā*- in our new manuscript.

⁶See also the further discussion in Glass 2000, pp. 130–31.

⁷The last reading is however uncertain and largely reconstructed; see Salomon 2000: 143–44 and Allon 2001: 93. For other citations, refer to the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project's online Gāndhārī dictionary (<http://depts.washington.edu/ebmp/dictionary.php>).

2. Etymological problems

Thus there can be no reasonable doubt that *iṣmaho* is the Gāndhārī equivalent of Sanskrit *ikṣvāku* and Pāli *okkāka*. Although the form *iṣmaho* cited here is a transliteration from Kharoṣṭhī script, in which vowel quantity is not distinguished, we can safely assume that the vowel of the second syllable was long. This is suggested first of all by the corresponding long vowel of the Sanskrit and Pāli forms, although this alone is not conclusive in light of the several other problems in the phonetic correspondences between these three words (as discussed below). But it is confirmed by metrical considerations,⁸ since the word in question appears at the beginning of a *triṣṭubh* line, where the expected metrical pattern would be – – ∪.

Although this metrical pattern confirms the expected quantity of the vowel of the second syllable, at the same time it suggests that the *o* vowel of the third syllable is to be read as short. This is a bit surprising, since we otherwise have no direct evidence of the existence of *ō* as an independent phoneme in Gāndhārī or other MIA languages. Since *u* and *o* alternate frequently in Gāndhārī orthography, one might suppose that *iṣmaho* is merely a graphic alternative for **iṣmahu*, with final *u* as suggested by Sanskrit *ikṣvāku*. However, the fact that the name is consistently written with *-o* in all four attestations speaks against this, and we can therefore suppose that the pronunciation was *iṣmāhō*, although the phonological status and etymological significance of the final vowel remain uncertain.

As noted above, although the functional equivalence of Gāndhārī *iṣmaho* to Sanskrit *ikṣvāku* and Pāli *okkāka* is clearly established, the phonetic correspondences of the three forms of the name are anything but normal:

For the initial vowel, Pāli has *o* against Sanskrit and Gāndhārī *i*.

⁸Compare n. 3 above.

For the consonant clusters in the second syllable, the three languages have respectively *kk*, *kṣv*, and *ṣm*, none of which are normally equivalents for any of the others.

For the consonant of the third syllable, Gāndhārī has, untypically, *h* against *k* of Pāli and Sanskrit.

For the final vowel, Pāli, Sanskrit and Gāndhārī have *a*, *u*, and *o* respectively.

At first glance it therefore seems likely that in *ikṣvāku / okkāka / iṣmaho* we have an instance of the frequent pattern whereby proper names in the various Indian Buddhist languages⁹ exhibit irregular phonetic correspondences. This pattern was already well-established in connection with Pāli and Sanskrit, and recent discoveries of numerous Buddhist literary texts in Gāndhārī¹⁰ have shown that it applies there as well. One example where the newly discovered Gāndhārī form of a proper name fails to correspond normally with either the Pāli or the Sanskrit forms — involving the name of the city of Taxila, namely Sanskrit *takṣaśilā*, Pāli *takkasilā*, and Gāndhārī *takṣaīla* — is discussed in detail in Salomon 2005B, and several other cases (some involving material that has not yet been published) have also been observed. For example, the Gāndhārī equivalent of the name of the king known in Pāli as *pasenadi* and in Sanskrit as *prasenajit* — which, as usual, themselves do not correspond normally — has now been revealed to be *praṣeniga*, which again corresponds neither to the Pāli nor the Sanskrit form (Allon 2001, p. 304; British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragments 12 + 14, line 75, *p[r]aṣen[i]g[e]no*). The overall problem of the relationship of the aberrant manifestations of proper names in different Buddhist languages has not yet been studied in any organized and comprehensive manner

⁹This is not to suggest that this phenomenon is unique or peculiar to Buddhist languages, or even to Indian languages only. Similar inconsistencies between dialectal forms of proper names, involving special etymological, phonological, and/or orthographic patterns, could presumably be documented in other language groups in India and elsewhere, although we are not aware of any systematic studies of this phenomenon.

¹⁰For an up-to-date summary of these and related finds, see Allon, forthcoming.

(though we intend to address it in a future study with special reference to proper names in Gāndhārī).

Buddhist scholars in ancient times, like us, wrestled with the problem of the etymology of such proper names, and often had to resort to explanations that from the modern perspective it is easy to dismiss as “folk etymologies”, but that doubtless, once established, themselves began to exert an influence on the transmitted forms of these names in the Buddhist tradition. For example, the Sanskrit form of the name *ikṣvāku* is typically derived from *ikṣu*, “sugar-cane”, for which derivation a legend was created according to which the eponymous king Ikṣvāku was born from a sugar-cane plant and named accordingly: *eyo kumāro ikṣuto jāto bhavatu imasya ikṣvākutti nāmam*, “This baby was born from the sugar-cane (*ikṣu*), so let his name be Ikṣvāku” (Mahāvastu II 422.19–20). In a variant of this legend recorded in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya, the sage Suvarṇadvaiṣṭya found two newborn boys in a sugar-cane field and named them after this findspot: *ikṣuvāṭāḥ labdhvā ikṣvākā ikṣvākā iti caturthī samjñā samvṛttā*, “Because they were taken from a sugar-cane field, their fourth name became ‘Ikṣvāka, Ikṣvāka’¹¹” (Saṅghabhedavastu, ed. Gnoli, I 25–26). After they grew up, both brothers in turn succeeded to the throne, and the younger became the progenitor of the Ikṣvāku clan.

The corresponding Pāli name, *okkāka*, is differently but equally fancifully derived by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the Dīghanikāya from *ukkā* “torch” (= Skt *ulkā*), on the grounds that when King Okkāka spoke it seemed as if the light from a torch (*ukkā*) came out of his mouth: *tassa kira rañño kathanakāle ukkā viya mukhato pabhā niccharati, tasmā naṃ okkāko ti sañjānimsu*, “They say that when that king spoke, a light like [that of] a torch (*ukkā*) came forth from his

¹¹Note the final vowel *-a*, as in Pāli *okkāka* and Jaina Prakrit *ikkhāga* (cited below).

mouth, and therefore they named him Okkāka” (Sumaṅgalavilāsīnī I 258.6-8).¹²

Yet despite these very different traditional etymologies for Sanskrit *ikṣvāku* and Pāli *okkāka*, and despite the striking phonetic inconsistencies between them, it is clearly not out of the question that they are in fact etymologically related. No less an authority than Wilhelm Geiger maintained that this was the case, supporting this correspondence with the following three arguments:

- (1) The initial *o* of the Pāli name comes from the *u-* of an original **ukkhāka*, according to the rule that “[n]ot infrequently *i* and *u* become *ē* and *ō* before double-consonance” (Geiger 1943, p. 65).
- (2) The form **ukkhāka* is justified on the grounds that “Sometimes in P[āli] *kkh* and *cch* alternate in one and the same word” (Geiger 1943, p. 100), so that a hypothetical **ukkhū* could have coexisted in Pāli or related dialects with *ucchu*, which is the usual Pāli equivalent of Sanskrit *ikṣu* “sugar cane” (Geiger 1943, p. 66, n.1).
- (3) The deaspiration of the second syllable (**ukkhāka* > *okkāka*) is explained by comparison with other instances of “[m]issing aspiration in sound-groups with the sibilant in second position” (Geiger 1943, p. 105).

Each of these proposed changes is in and of itself plausible and more or less well attested, but it is still noteworthy how much special pleading is required to establish a regular etymological correspondence between *ikṣvāku* and *okkāka*, and it must also be pointed out that the irregular contrast between the final vowels (*u / a*) remains unexplained. The situation is further complicated by the corresponding name in the Jaina Prakrits, which usually appears as *ikkhāga*, although (*teste* Mehta and Chandra 1970, p. 103) *ikkhāgu* is also attested in the compound *ikkhāgu-vaṃsa*. Thus the usual Prakrit form, *ikkhāga*, corresponds to Sanskrit *ikṣvāku* except for the final vowel, which agrees with Pāli

¹²Compare also the etymology of the name *ikṣvāku* found in the Brahmanical tradition, where it is said that Ikṣvāku was born from the nose of his father Manu when the latter sneezed ($\sqrt{kṣu}$); e.g., *kṣuvatas tu manor jajñe ikṣvākur ghrāṇataḥ sutāḥ* (Bhāgavata-purāṇa 9.6.4ab).

okkāka (and with the Buddhist Sanskrit form *ikṣvāka* in the Saṅgha-bhedavastu passage quoted above).¹³

Thus one can feel some sympathy for the opinion of E.J. Thomas, diametrically opposite to that of Geiger, who declared that “Pāli ... Okkāka ... cannot by any device be treated as a form of the name Ikshvāku” (1927, p. 6). Nonetheless, the peculiar phonetic correspondences between certain proper names in Sanskrit and Pāli, including *ikṣvāku* / *okkāka* as well as *takṣasilā* / *takkasilā*, may yet prove to be regular as our knowledge of their transmission improves. They may, for instance, find a partial explanation in phonological features of the Sinhala language which could have affected their rendition in Pāli texts as transmitted and canonized in Sri Lanka. This could explain the otherwise anomalous deaspiration of expected *kkh* in both of the aforementioned Pāli forms (cf. Geiger 1938, pp. 39–40, and the third argument from Geiger 1943 cited above).¹⁴

In balance, it may tentatively be concluded that, despite their rather peculiar correspondence, Sanskrit *ikṣvāku* and Pāli *okkāka* probably are etymologically related. The next question, then, is whether the same can be said for the newly identified Gāndhārī form of the name, *iṣmaho*. As noted previously, there are two main problems in establishing a direct parallelism between the consonants in *iṣmaho* and Sanskrit *ikṣvāku*. Regarding the initial of the final syllable, the usual Gāndhārī reflexes of Sanskrit intervocalic *-k-* are *g*, *gh* or *∅*, but not *h*. There is, however, at least one fairly clear instance of *-k- > -h-*, namely *tuspahu* as the equivalent of Sanskrit *yuṣmākam*, occurring eight times in scroll 5 of the

¹³The form of the name which appears in the Prakrit inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku kings of the Deccan (see section 3a) is *ikhāku* (graphic for *ikkhāku*; Vogel 1929, p. 27). This relatively late form corresponds directly to the Sanskrit and is presumably derived from it. It is therefore of no further significance for our discussion.

¹⁴It is less clear whether Sinhala vowel harmony (Geiger 1938, pp. 22–25) can be invoked to explain the variation in the final vowel of the name (Pāli *a*, Sanskrit *u*), since forms with final *a* also occur on the Indian mainland, as noted above.

Senior Gāndhārī manuscript collection (Glass 2007, §§5.2.1.1, 6.2.1), and on the basis of this data it is at least plausible to equate the *h* of *iṣmaho* with the *k* of *ikṣvāku*.¹⁵

It is more difficult, though not impossible, to establish a connection between the clusters *sm* of *iṣmaho* and *kṣv* of *ikṣvāku*. Two separate problems are involved in this and will be discussed in turn: the apparent reduction of OIA *kṣ* to G *ṣ*, and the correspondence of OIA *v* to G *m*. The reduction of *kṣ* to *ṣ* is initially puzzling, since in isolation the OIA cluster *kṣ* is usually retained in Gāndhārī as such, or rather is represented in writing by the Kharoṣṭhī character ṣ which is conventionally transliterated as *kṣ* but which was probably a unitary consonantal phoneme whose pronunciation cannot be precisely determined, but which may have been [tʃ] or the like (Brough 1962, p. 72 and n. 4). There are, to be sure, exceptions to this pattern. Thus, in certain cases the equivalent of OIA *kṣ* is represented as *kh* in Gāndhārī, as in the frequent *bhikhu* = *bhikṣu*, but this and most other such cases are explainable as borrowings of Buddhist technical terms into Gāndhārī from another MIA dialect. There is also at least one case, namely *kuchie* = *kukṣau* “in the stomach”,¹⁶ where OIA *kṣ* is reflected by Gāndhārī *ch*. But there is no instance known to us where Gāndhārī has *ṣ* for isolated OIA *kṣ*.

In OIA *ikṣvāku*, however, special conditions obtain since here *kṣ* is part of the rare three-consonant cluster *kṣv*. No other parallel is

¹⁵There is also one instance where an intervocalic *-h-* in Sanskrit is represented by *-k-* in Gāndhārī, namely *satakam* = **saptāham*, “for a week”, in an unpublished fragment of a Gāndhārī version of the Anavatapta-gāthā in the Senior collection (fragment 14, line 20; Salomon 2003A: 79; Salomon, in progress). This could be interpreted as a hypercorrection resulting from a (near-)merger in the scribe’s dialect of the reflex of Skt intervocalic *k* and *g* with *h*. (The Kharoṣṭhī letter *k̄*, a modified form of *k*, probably indicates the voiced fricative [ɣ].)

¹⁶In the British Library manuscript of another Gāndhārī version of the Anavatapta-gāthā (British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1, line 38; Salomon 1999, pp. 30–33; Salomon, in progress).

available in Gāndhārī for this particular cluster; the only attested case of a Gāndhārī reflex of an OIA cluster of the type *kṣC* involves *kṣy*, which is represented in Gāndhārī as *kṣ* in *dhrekṣatu* = **drakṣyantu* (Allon 2001, p. 89) and *mukṣasa* = *mokṣyatha*.¹⁷ We do, however, know that in other forms of MIA three-consonant clusters could receive special treatment, and in particular that sometimes the second consonant in such clusters seems to have been articulated more strongly than the first, outweighing it in assimilation:

Wenn sich jedoch die Silbengrenze in die Konsonantengruppe hineinverlagert, wird dadurch wie in der Kompositionsfuge die Hierarchie scheinbar aufgehoben [...], da jetzt der zweite Konsonant stärker artikuliert wird. (von Hinüber 2001, pp. 202f., based on Berger 1955, pp. 76f.)

Among the several examples listed by von Hinüber, two are especially relevant for our discussion of OIA *ikṣvāku* and G *iṣmaho*: “Skt *tīkṣṇa*: *tīk-ṣṇa* > **tīṣ-ṣṇa* > mi. *tiṅha* neben mi. *tikkha* [...] und P *tikhīṇa* < **tikhṇa*” and “Skt *abhīkṣṇa* > **abhiṣṣṇa* > P *abhiṅha* neben P, Amg *abhikkhaṇa*”. In the light of these parallels, G *iṣmaho* would represent exactly the reconstructed middle stage in the development of such clusters: *kṣv* [kṣv] has undergone assimilation to *ṣm* [ṣm] (see next paragraph on the change from *v* to *m*), but sibilant and nasal have not yet been metathesized. Indicating syllable boundaries by hyphens, as in von Hinüber’s examples, the sequence of developments would then have been: OIA *ik-ṣvā-ku* > **[iṣ-ṣvā-ku]* > **[iṣ-ṣmā-ku]* > G *iṣmaho*. The apparent counter-examples of stable *kṣ* in G *dhrekṣatu* and *mukṣasa*, cited above, have to be seen on the background of independent assimilation of OIA *ṣy* > G *ś* and the need for morphological clarity at the boundary of verbal root and tense suffix.

The other problem in the correspondence of OIA *kṣv* to G *ṣm* is the apparent change of *ṣv* into *ṣm*. The normal outcome of OIA sibilant + *v* in Gāndhārī is *śp*: *prabh(*a)[śp](*a)ra* < *prabhāsvara* (Allon 2001, p. 96), *pariśpeidaṇa* < *parisveditāni* (Glass 2006, p. 145), *iśparasa* <

¹⁷British Library, Anavatapta-gāthā, lines 95, 122.

īsvarasya (von Hinüber 2003, p. 41). Alternative outcomes, especially in the Khotan Dharmapada and the Niya documents, are preservation of the original cluster and complete assimilation (e.g. *svaga* and *saga* < *svarga*, Brough 1962, p. 103), but as far as the available data allows us to judge, original sibilant + *v* never turns into sibilant + *m* in Gāndhārī (as already noted in Allon 2001, p. 96, n.8).¹⁸

OIA sibilant + *m*, on the other hand, has a broad range of G outcomes, including besides *sm*, *śp* and *s* (cf. Allon 2001, pp. 95f.) also *sv*: *rasvi* < OIA *raśmi* or MIA **rasmi*, *svadi* < *smṛti* (Brough 1962, pp. 102f.), *[s]v(*a)[d](*ima)* < *smṛtimant* (Salomon 2000, p. 91).¹⁹ Thus, while it may be true that G *ṣm* itself cannot be considered a regular outcome of OIA *ṣv*, in a more general sense sibilant + *m* and sibilant + *v* seem to have functioned as phonetic variants in Gāndhārī. If we further keep in mind that none of the currently attested G outcomes of OIA sibilant + *v* involve an original retroflex sibilant and that none of them involve an original three-consonant cluster, we may cautiously suggest that *ṣm* in *iṣmaho* is at least a plausible Gāndhārī phonetic development of earlier *ṣv*. In conclusion, it appears possible to consider the medial cluster *ṣm* in G *iṣmaho* not only a regular MIA development of OIA *kṣv*, but in fact an attestation of the type of reconstructed intermediate form posited by Berger and von Hinüber for P *tiṅha* and *abhiṅha*.

Having considered the relationship of the three main attested forms of the proper name Ikṣvāku, we now turn to the question of its ultimate origin and meaning. Since we have seen that G *iṣmaho* can plausibly be derived from a form like OIA *ikṣvāku* whereas the inverse is not true (expected back-formations would have been **iṣmā(b)hu* or even

¹⁸For a comprehensive discussion of the MIA development of stop or sibilant + *v* see Sakamoto-Goto 1988.

¹⁹These examples also show that the G sound change *sm* > *sv* is of wider application than the corresponding change in other dialects of MIA that is usually explained as nasal dissimilation (Sakamoto-Goto 1988: 96–100, von Hinüber 2001: 190).

**iṣvā(b)hu*, but not *ikṣvāku*), and since Skt *ikṣvāku* and P *okkāka* agree in having a *k* in their first cluster that G *iṣmaho* lacks, it appears that in this case the G form of the name has no claim to greater antiquity than either the Skt or the P form. In fact, in some respects it would seem to be farther removed from the ultimate origin of the name than both the Skt and the P form, and while any future investigation into this origin will have to account for the newly-discovered G form, it would be unwise, despite the early attestation of the G form, to base any ultimate etymology on the form *iṣmaho* alone without giving equal consideration to the other two forms.²⁰

The traditional derivation from the word *ikṣu* “sugar cane” is thus neither confirmed nor contradicted by the new G evidence. It is clear, however, that at the linguistic stage of Gāndhārī itself any original connection with *ikṣu* would have ceased to be transparent and that a secondary folk-etymological connection with *ikṣu* (as in the Mahāvastu and Saṅghabhedavastu passages quoted above) would likewise have been difficult to maintain: while the word for “sugar cane” has not yet been found attested in Gāndhārī, its form would almost certainly have been **ikṣu* (or maybe **ukṣu*) and thus clearly distinct from the word *iṣmaho*. This is of course the same situation as obtains in Pāli where, as we have seen, Buddhaghosa did not attempt to establish a connection between *okkāka* and *ucchu*, but instead drew on the word *ukkā* “torch” (pace Geiger’s attempt to connect *okkāka* with *ucchu*).

The connection of the name Ikṣvāku with *ikṣu* has independently been cast into doubt by several modern authorities. Thus the derivation from *ikṣu* (“Augenwimper, Zuckerrohr”) plus a suffix *āku*, as proposed

²⁰Were it not for this, one could have speculated that *iṣmaho* might be related to *iṣu* ‘arrow’ or the rare Skt *iṣma* / *iṣma* / *iṣva* / *iṣva* ‘spring, name of the god Kāma’ (comm. on Uṇādisūtra 1.144; *iṣmaḥ kāmavasantayoḥ* (Pāṇḍeya 1985), p. 18; cf. also Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *iṣma*). But in view of the preceding arguments, these two words could at most have assumed a local Gandhāran folk-etymological relationship to the name-form *iṣmaho* and are highly unlikely to be the ultimate source of the attested triplet of forms *ikṣvāku* / *iṣmaho* / *okkāka*.

by Wackernagel and Debrunner (1954, p. 267), was dismissed by Mayrhofer (1992, p. 186) as “nicht zielführend”, and Witzel (1999, p. 357) characterizes the supposed suffix *āku* as “strange”. It may be the case that the true origin of this proper name, as of so many others in Sanskrit and other languages, lies buried, probably irretrievably, beneath the sands of time. That is to say, it may ultimately go back to some long-lost word, whether Indo-Aryan or quite possibly belonging to an indigenous substrate language. This in fact is the conclusion of Kuiper (1991, pp. 6–7), who includes *ikṣvāku* among the “group of persons who were on the side of the Aryan society but whose names must, on morphological grounds, be considered non-Aryan”. This view is also endorsed by Witzel (1999, pp. 356, 360), who classifies *ikṣvāku* among the numerous proper names in the Ṛgveda which he considers to be “Non-IA or of doubtful etymology” (p. 356), and this conclusion appears to be cautiously endorsed by Mayrhofer (2003, p. 18), who lists *ikṣvāku* as “Fremdname?”. An attempt to trace such a pre-Indo-Aryan etymology was in fact made by Berger (1959, p. 73), who explained *ikṣvāku* “bitterer Kürbis, Citrillus Colocynthis” as a survival of an Austroasiatic word for “pumpkin” (Kürbis), allegedly functioning as a totemic clan name. This etymology is cited by Mayrhofer (1992, pp. 185–86) without comment, but the justification provided by Berger is sketchy at best and can hardly be considered definitive.

Of course, it is always possible that some future discovery or insight may provide a more convincing solution to the problem of the ultimate origin of the name Ikṣvāku, but at this point one hardly dares to hope for this. For such a new source of information could have been hoped for, if anywhere, in Gāndhārī; but in fact, we find that the Gāndhārī form does not do much to clarify this issue, at least for the time being. This means, most likely, that the etymological issue is not one that is definitively soluble, and the ultimate origin of the name may be lost in the mists of prehistory.

3. Ramifications, historical and Buddhological

3a. *The Ikṣvāku and the Kings of Oḍi*

This, however, is by no means to say that the new Gāndhārī data is of no use to us. Quite to the contrary: although it does not solve the etymological problem surrounding the name Ikṣvāku and its equivalents, it does provide new insight into other issues. The first of these involves the history of the Iṣmaho kings of Oḍi, in one of whose inscriptions, the *stūpa* dedication of Seṇavarma, the Gāndhārī form *iṣmaho* was first noticed (section 1). The Iṣmaho kings, who are known only from three Buddhist reliquary inscriptions in Gāndhārī, ruled, apparently, in lower Swat in or around the first century A.D.²¹ Like their neighbours, the kings of Apraca,²² the Oḍi kings seem to have been feudatory allies of the Saka and early Kuṣāṇa dynasties of Gandhāra and adjoining areas.

Now that it has become clear that their dynastic name Iṣmaho is not “non-Indian” or “non-Aryan” as once thought (see section 1), but rather is the Gāndhārī equivalent of the ancient and renowned name Ikṣvāku, we can see that the nomenclature of the Iṣmaho dynasty is part of a recurrent historical pattern. For there are at least two other instances in which Indian Buddhist dynasties of the historical period took on the name Ikṣvāku in order to lay claim to an association with the lineage of the Buddha himself, who, as a Śākya, was held to have belonged to the venerable Ikṣvāku line. The first such case is the Ikṣvāku (= *ikhāku*; see n. 13) dynasty of the eastern Deccan, which patronized the great Buddhist monasteries at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and elsewhere in the Kṛṣṇā River Valley in the third century A.D. The second instance of this pattern is documented in the Sri Lankan Buddhist historiographic tradition, where the Dīpavaṃsa “portrayed the Sri Lankan kings as the true heirs to the Ikṣvāku legacy, a claim that the Ikṣvākus of Andhra had

²¹See Salomon 2003B: 39–51 for the most recent information on the inscriptions and history of the Oḍi kings.

²²For recently discovered inscriptions of and information on the Apraca kings, see Salomon 2005A: 378–83.

earlier staked out for their imperial kingdom in which, at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Sri Lankan Buddhists had received their first recorded recognition” (Walters 2000, p. 118). Furthermore, in various Buddhist literary traditions (as summarized in Lamotte 1988, pp. 218, 681–82) the Mauryas and other dynasties are credited with a familial relation to the Śākya and thereby to the Ikṣvākus, and no doubt many further examples could be cited.

Of course, the skeptical historian cannot fail to doubt the legitimacy of these alleged descents from the Ikṣvāku line, and this skepticism need not be restricted to the instances from the relatively later periods. For even the claim of the Śākya themselves to Ikṣvāku descent²³ has, to say the least, a legendary air about it. According to the account in the Ambaṭṭha-sutta of the Pāli Dīgha-nikāya (D I 92–93)²⁴ and Buddhaghosa’s commentary thereon, the original King Okkāka, under the influence of his favorite wife, exiled his five eldest sons from his kingdom, whereupon they settled near the slopes of the Himālaya and became known as the Sakkas (= Śākya). The legend of the exiled sons seems a “likely story”, which could easily inspire one to question the historicity of Śākyamuni’s Ikṣvāku descent. That is to say, one may suspect that the association of the Buddhist lineage with the venerable line of Ikṣvāku, who in Brahmanical tradition was the son of Manu, the grandson of the Sun, and the progenitor of the royal line of Rāma, was a device to establish legitimacy and nobility for the Buddhist line in the eyes of the wider, non-Buddhist world of the time.

However this may be, we can be quite certain that the claims of the kings of Oḍi to Iṣmaho / Ikṣvāku lineage is, historically speaking, a spurious one. For, although their dynastic name is now known to be an Indian and not a foreign one, and although their personal names are all (with one partial exception, Diśaseṇa) “durchsichtige und gut deutbare

²³As recorded, for example, in the Saundarananda (I.24), as quoted above (section I).

²⁴This legend is also referred to in Aśvaghōṣa’s Saundarananda I.18–21 and in Mahāvastu I 348.11–351.14.

Sanskritnamen” (von Hinüber 2003, p. 33, n. 30), this does not mean that they were in fact of Indian ethnicity. A priori, given their historical and geographical situation, one may expect that they were, like their neighboring rulers and allies, Sakas or other Central Asian nomads who had conquered territories in the northwestern borderlands of India around the beginning of the Christian era and adopted the Buddhist religion and Indian names. This suspicion is confirmed by the reference in the inscription of Seṇavarma (line 1c) to his identity as a “Kadama” (*tasa dayateṇa me kadamasa*, “of me, by descent from him a Kadama”). This term is in all probability equivalent to the label *kārdamaka* which was applied to a member of the Saka dynasty of Western India in an inscription at Kaṇherī, and also to *kardamaga*, the name of a king, very likely also a Scythian, who is mentioned in one of the Gāndhārī *avadāna* texts among the British Library scrolls (Salomon 2003B, pp. 48; 58, n. 9; Salomon 2005C, p. 318). Therefore it is very likely that the Iṣmaho kings of Oḍi were in fact Sakas or members of some other Central Asian ethnic groups who claimed a spurious Indian lineage in order to legitimize their Buddhist kingship.

3b. *Iṣmaho and the Gāndhārī Hypothesis*

Another point of interest regarding the name *iṣmaho* involves its implications for the early history of Buddhism in China, and in particular for the “Gāndhārī hypothesis”, according to which some of the earliest Chinese translations of Buddhist texts were prepared from originals not in Sanskrit, but in Gāndhārī or Sanskritized versions of underlying Gāndhārī texts.²⁵ This theory was originally proposed on the basis of the transcriptions of certain proper names in early Chinese Buddhist translations which seemed to reflect Gāndhārī rather than Sanskrit pronunciations, or features of Kharoṣṭhī rather than Brāhmī script, and the body of relevant evidence has grown and expanded in recent years. The newly discovered Gāndhārī word *iṣmaho* constitutes

²⁵For a general discussion of the “Gāndhārī hypothesis”, see Boucher 1998: 471–75.

another such case, in that it, rather than the Sanskrit form *ikṣvāku*, is clearly reflected in certain Chinese renditions of this name.

The Chinese equivalents of *ikṣvāku* etc. are numerous, but they appear to fall into three main groups. These are :

- (1) 一叉鳩 *yīchājū* (reconstructed Old Northwest Chinese [ONWC] pronunciation, following Coblin 1994 : *ʔit-tshä-ku*), a transcription of Sanskrit *ikṣvāku*. This appears, for example, in the 大般涅槃經 *Dà bānnièpán jīng* (= Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra; T. vol. 12, no. 375, p. 839c23).
- (2) 甘蔗王 *gānzhèwáng* “Sugar-Cane King”, a translation of the Sanskrit *ikṣvāku* on the basis of the traditional etymology from *ikṣu* “sugar-cane” (as discussed in section 2). This form occurs, for example, in the 根本說一切有部毘奈耶藥事 *Gēnběn shuō yīqièyǒubù pīnàiyē yàoshì* (= Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya-bhaiṣajyavastu ; T. vol. 24, no. 1448, p. 33c23).
- (3) 懿師摩 *yìshīmó* (ONWC *ʔi(s)-si-ma* ; also several related forms and variants, discussed below), a very good phonetic approximation of Gāndhārī *iṣmaho*, which cannot be connected with Sanskrit *ikṣvāku* or Pāli *okkāka*. This form of the name appears in the 四分律 *Sìfēn lǜ* (= Dharmaguptaka-vinaya ; T. vol. 22, no. 1428, p. 779b1, etc.).

It is particularly interesting that this third rendition of the name, the one which clearly reflects a Gāndhārī substrate, occurs in the *vinaya* of the Dharmaguptaka school, because this concords with an already established pattern of associations between the Dharmaguptakas and the recently rediscovered remnants of Gandhāran Buddhist texts. This association is manifested in the following data :

- (1) The British Library scrolls, the oldest and largest collection of Gāndhārī manuscripts known to date, were found in a pot bearing a dedication to the Dharmaguptakas (Salomon 1999, pp. 166–67).
- (2) A manuscript among the British Library scrolls containing the Saṅgīti-sūtra with commentary has a close relationship in its contents and arrangement to the version of the Saṅgīti-sūtra contained in the Chinese translation of the Dīrghāgama (長阿含經 *Cháng āhán jīng*), which is almost certainly a Dharmaguptaka text (Salomon 1999, pp. 171–75).

- (3) Fragments of a Gāndhārī version of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra in the Schøyen manuscript collection similarly resemble the corresponding version of this *sūtra* in the Chinese Dīrghāgama more closely than the several other versions, although here the pattern is not as distinct as in the case of the Saṅgīti-sūtra (Allon and Salomon 2000, pp. 272–73).
- (4) The Gāndhārī version of the Śrāmanyaphala-sūtra contained in scroll 2 of the Senior collection of Gāndhārī manuscripts (Salomon 2003A) similarly seems, on the basis of a preliminary study, to resemble the Chinese Dīrghāgama recension of this *sūtra* more than any of the several other versions (Allon, in progress).
- (5) Episodes from the life of the Buddha recorded in scroll 24 of the Senior collection apparently resemble the corresponding versions of the same stories in the Chinese Dharmaguptaka-vinaya more than those in other *vinayas* (Allon, in progress).²⁶

The correspondence of Gāndhārī *iṣmaho* with 懿師摩 *yīshīmó* of the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya is thus consistent with the several other indications of connections between the newly rediscovered Gāndhārī literary corpus and the Dharmaguptaka tradition as it was transmitted to and preserved in China. However, the matter becomes considerably more complicated when we take into account the several other Chinese renditions of the name in question, as follows:

聲摩 *shēngmó* (ONWC *śeṅ-ma*): 長阿含經 *Cháng āhán jīng* (= Dīrghāgama), e.g., T. vol. 1, no. 1, p. 82c23 (*sūtra* no. 20) and p. 149a20 (*sūtra* no. 30).

鼓摩 *gǔmó* (ONWC *ko-ma*): 佛開解梵志阿闍經 *Fó kāijiě fànzhì āfú jīng* (= Ambāṣṭhasūtra), T. vol. 1, no. 20, p. 260a26.

鬱摩 *yùmó* (ONWC *ṛut-ma*): 彌沙塞部和醯五分律 *Míshāsāibù héxī wufēn lǜ* (= Mahīśāsaka-vinaya), T. vol. 22, no. 1421, p. 101a10.

²⁶Also of interest in this context is a passage in the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya (T. vol. 22, no. 1428, p. 639a14; discussed in Lévi 1915: 440, Salomon 1990: 255, and Boucher 1998: 474) which refers to the recitation of the Arapacana syllabary by monks. Since it is now established that the Arapacana was originally the ordinary alphabetic order of the Kharoṣṭhī script (Salomon 1990: 262, 265), this passage provides a further suggestion of an association between the Dharmaguptaka school and Gāndhārī textual traditions.

伊摩 *yīmó* (ONWC 𑖦i-ma): 大樓炭經 *Dà lóutàn jīng* (= *Mahā-paridāhasūtra?), T. vol.1, no. 23, p. 309a23.

The origins and relationships of these alternative forms of the name are quite complex, but they all seem to be related to the Gāndhārī-derived 認師摩 *yīshīmó* as graphic and/or phonetic variants. For example, in the Dīrghāgama (T. vol. 1, p. 149a20) 認摩 *yīmó* is given as a variant (Sòng and Míng editions) for 聲摩 *shēngmó*. This 認摩 *yīmó* is presumably a graphic variant, and since 聲摩 *shēngmó* is difficult to explain as a phonetic equivalent of *ikṣvāku* etc., it is perhaps a corruption of an original 認摩 *yīmó*, the latter being in turn a shortened transcription in place of the fuller form 認師摩 *yīshīmó*, of a sort that is common in Chinese Buddhist translations (e.g. 目連 *mùlián* = *Maudgalyāyana* / *Moggallāna*).

鼓摩 *gǔmó*, occurring in an early independent *sūtra* translation by Zhīqiān 支謙 (A.D. 222–253), can similarly be explained as a graphic variant for the aforementioned 認摩 *yīmó*. 鬱摩 *yùmó* in the Mahīśāsaka-vinaya is conceivably also a graphic variant for 認摩 *yīmó*, while 伊摩 *yīmó* in the independent *sūtra* translation 大樓炭經 *Dà lóutàn jīng* might be a sound variant for it or a similar form.

The association of all of these forms with each other as graphic or phonetic variants of an original 認(師)摩 *yī(shī)mó* is in fact endorsed by the Liáng-dynasty scholar Sēngyòu 僧佑 (d. A.D. 518) in his treatise 釋迦譜 *Shijiā pǔ* “Genealogy of the Śākya Clan” (T. vol. 50, no. 2040). Sēngyòu notes (pp. 3c23–4a2) with regard to this name: “In ancient times there was a king named Yimó 認摩. (The *Lóutàn jīng* says Yīmó 一摩.) The Dharmaguptaka-vinaya says Gūshīmó 鼓師摩, but the Mahīśāsaka-vinaya says Yùmó 鬱摩. These three sounds, *yī* (一), *yì* (認), and *yù* (鬱), are close to one another. Considering their sounds, I suppose that Yimó 認摩 is the original one. But as for the characters 鼓 *gǔ* and 認 *yì*, they resemble each other, and therefore in the copying [認 *yì*] was just a mistake for 鼓 *gǔ*.”²⁷

²⁷乃往過去有王。名認摩(樓炭經云一摩)。曇無德律云。鼓師摩。彌沙塞律云。鬱摩一認鬱。此三音相近。以音而推。竊謂認摩是正。但鼓認字

If the interpretation proposed above is correct, it would mean that the Gāndhārī-derived or Gāndhārī-influenced forms of the name Iḥsvāku occurring in Chinese translations are not limited to Dharmaguptaka texts. They are, to be sure, prevalent there, both in the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya which has the clearly Gāndhārī-based 懿師摩 *yishīmó* and in the Dīrghāgama, a probable Dharmaguptaka collection, whose 聲摩 *shēngmó* is, as noted above, probably a variant of the former. But we also have 鬱摩 *yùmó*, again likely a variant of 懿師摩 *yishīmó*, in the Mahīśāsaka-vinaya, as well as several other variants in early individual sūtra translations of uncertain sectarian affiliation. Therefore, although the data derived from the Chinese forms of this name does support an association between the textual tradition of Gandhāra and that of the Dharmaguptakas as reflected in early Chinese translations, it also reminds us that this is no by means necessarily an exclusive relationship. Indeed, we should rather expect that texts of other schools would have existed in Gāndhārī (whether or not they have survived or will ever be found), and that Chinese texts affiliated with those other schools also would reflect Gāndhārī substrate forms.²⁸

相似。故傳寫謬為鼓耳。Interestingly enough, Sēngyòu here gives 鼓師摩 *gūshīmó* as the reading of the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya, rather than 懿師摩 *yishīmó* as given in the Taishō text edition (cited above). These and similar textual variations themselves confirm the author's point that the various readings are merely alternatives for the same name.

A somewhat different interpretation is offered by Bǎochàng 寶唱, another Liáng-dynasty scholar-monk, in his treatise 經律異相 *Jīnglǜ yìxiàng* "Sūtra and Vinaya Miscellany" (T. vol. 53, no. 2121, p. 32a23). He gives the name corresponding to *iḥsvāku* as 鬱摩 *yùmó* and explains the alternative renditions 懿摩 *yimó* and 鼓摩 *gūmó* as dialect approximations (方言之左右 *fāngyán zhī zuǒyòu*) of 鬱摩 *yùmó* (又云懿摩。長阿含經云鼓摩。蓋方言之左右耳。).

²⁸Although references to the Dharmaguptakas are particularly prominent among Gāndhārī inscriptions, several other schools, such as the Sarvāstivādins, Kāśyapīyas and Mahīśāsakas, are also mentioned in them (Salomon 1999: 176–77). Thus we could reasonably expect that these schools, or at least their Gandhāran branches, would also have had textual corpora in Gāndhārī.

We can only hope that further studies of this and other words by specialists in Chinese Buddhist translation literature will clarify both the immediate problem raised here and the broader issues that it involves and implies. But in the meantime, this new data does, on the one hand, provide further evidence in favor of the “Gāndhārī hypothesis” and, on the other hand, confirm the significant role of the Dharmaguptaka literature in it.

Richard Salomon and Stefan Baums
University of Washington

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FIGURES

(both courtesy of the Library of Congress)



Fig. 1: A fragment from the beginning of the Library of Congress Scroll.

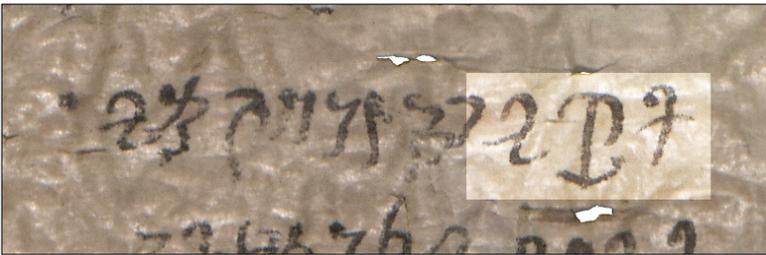


Fig. 2: Detail of verse 3c on the fragment shown in fig. 1, with the word *iṣmaho* highlighted.

A Gāndhārī Version of the Simile of the Turtle and the Hole in the Yoke*

I. Introduction

The simile of a blind (or one-eyed) turtle, which surfaces every hundred years, inserting its neck into a single hole in a (wooden) yoke that is floating on a vast ocean is well known in Buddhist, Jain, and even Brahmanical literature, where it is used to illustrate the rarity of something occurring, such as birth as a human being.

Among the numerous Gāndhārī texts preserved in the Senior collection of Kharoṣṭhī Buddhist manuscripts is a short sūtra for which this powerful image is central.¹ Appearing as the third of six texts written on scroll 22r (ll. 31–56), which is one of the longest scrolls in the collection, the sūtra represents a Gāndhārī version of the second of two Pāli suttas found in the Sacca-saṃyutta of the Saṃyutta-nikāya which utilise this simile (nos. 56.47–48; V 455–57). The uddāna entry for these two Pāli suttas is *chiggaḷena ca dve vuttā* (S V 459,11),² where *chiggaḷa-* “hole” is a reference to *ekacchiggaḷaṃ yugaṃ* “yoke with a single hole” of the simile. Based on this uddāna entry, the Burmese edition (B^c), for example, gives *Dutiyacchiggaḷayuga-suttam* as the title of the second sutta (S no. 56.48; V 456,18–457,16).³ Although the Gāndhārī sūtra lacks a title, the uddāna-like reference to it in the

*I would like to thank members of the Early Buddhist Manuscript Project (Seattle), including Richard Salomon, Collett Cox, Timothy Lenz, and Stefan Baums, for their comments on my reading of the Gāndhārī passage. I am also indebted to Richard Salomon, Stefan Baums, Arlo Griffiths, and Oskar von Hinüber for their remarks on several of my interpretations.

¹For the Senior collection, see Salomon 2003 and my introductory chapter to Glass 2007. I am currently writing a detailed catalogue of this collection (Allon [forthcoming]) with financial support from the Australian Research Council.

²E^c reads *chiggalena* against *chiggaḷa-* of the text (see below).

³A title for this sutta is not recorded in the Pāli commentaries.

“index” scrolls nos. 7+8 (l. 6) is *ekatarmao yuo* “yoke with a single hole” (see below for further discussion).⁴

There is apparently no Sanskrit parallel to this sūtra. Where the Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya has two *chiggaḷa* suttas (nos. 56.47–48), the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama (SĀ), *Zā āhán jīng* 雜阿含經, has only one, no. 406 (T 2 no. 99 108c6–20).⁵ The Chinese sūtra is a closer parallel to the first of the two Pāli suttas (no. 56.47). However, as it shares many elements in common with our Gāndhārī sūtra and with the second Pāli *chiggaḷa* sutta, it will be utilized in the following study. Like the Pāli suttas, the Chinese sūtra forms part of the *saṃyukta* on the (four) truths, the Dixiāngyìng 諦相應 (= Pāli Sacca-saṃyutta).⁶

In the Gāndhārī sūtra and in the second Pāli *chiggaḷa* sutta, the simile illustrates the rarity of the occurrence of the optimal conditions under which one may attain enlightenment, those conditions being the presence of a Tathāgata, his teaching the Dharma, and one’s birth as a human being (according to the order of the Gāndhārī). Both sūtras advance the Four Noble Truths as the subject most worthy of attention when these conditions are in place (this being the factor that qualifies the Pāli sutta for inclusion in the Sacca-saṃyutta).

In the first Pāli *chiggaḷa* sutta and in the Chinese sūtra, the simile illustrates the rarity of human birth only, as it does in many of the occurrences discussed below. These two sūtras also refer to the Four Noble Truths.

In an interesting article entitled “Middle Indo-Aryan Studies IX: The Blind Turtle and the Hole in the Yoke” published in 1972, Mr Norman discussed occurrences of this simile in Pāli and Jain literature. Space does not permit me to publish the full Gāndhārī sūtra here, but as this Gāndhārī version of the simile contains several very

⁴For a brief discussion of the two “index” scrolls, see Salomon 2003, pp. 80–83, and § 5 of my introductory chapter to Glass 2007.

⁵In Yin Shún’s reordering of the SĀ this sūtra is no. 598 (1983, Vol. 2, p. 130), while according to the Fógūāng (1983, Vol. 1, p. 22) it is no. 405.

⁶There are no uddānas in this section of the SĀ.

interesting features, the most notable among them being the preservation of an archaic word for the hole in the yoke, I present here an edition, translation, and analysis of this section of the text in honour of Mr Norman's eightieth birthday and as a token of my admiration for his scholarship and in gratitude for all I have learnt from him.⁷

2. The Gāndhārī, Pāli, and Chinese versions of the simile

The edition of the Gāndhārī text (RS 22r, ll. 33–43) presented here is based on a reading of the digital colour and infrared images. Further work on the manuscript is unlikely to significantly improve the reading of this section of the text, unless some of the small, currently unplaced fragments are found to belong to this section of the manuscript. In order to save space, I have combined the edition and reconstruction. Text that is difficult to read is contained within square brackets []; akṣaras of uncertain reading are marked by a question mark ?; reconstructions are marked by an asterisk within parentheses (*).

The reading of the Pāli parallel (S V 456,18–457,5) is based on the four main published editions: European (E^c), Burmese (B^c), Sinhalese (C^c), and Thai (S^c).⁸ The reading of the Chinese version follows the Taishō edition (T 2 no. 99 p. 108c7–14).

The numbering of the major divisions of the text (§§ 1, 2, 3) follows that employed by the European edition (E^c) of the Pāli. To facilitate analysis of the text, I have subdivided § 3 into two subsections (§ 3a and § 3b) in the case of the Gāndhārī and Pāli, and into three (§§ 3a–c) in the case of the Chinese.

⁷The full text will be published in the near future along with the other texts on this scroll in the series *Gandhāran Buddhist Texts*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.

⁸The readings of B^c and C^c are based on the electronic versions as the printed editions were not available to me. See abbreviations for details.

§ 1.

Gāndhārī ⁹*bhayava*?¹⁰ *eḍa[ḍ aya]*: (l. 33)

The Bhagavat said this:

Pāli (*bhagavā etad avoca*):¹¹

The Bhagavat said this:

Chinese 爾時世尊告諸比丘。(p. 108c7)

Then the Bhagavat said to the monks:¹²

§ 2.

Gāndhārī *sayasavi bhikṣava aya mahapaḍavi* [34] [eko]ḍia asa. tatra
puruṣ[e] ekatarmao yuo pakṣivea. [35] *tam eṇa purime vaḍo paḍimo*
saharea paḍimo vaḍa ¹³*puri*¹⁴*me* [36] *saharea utare vaḍ[a] dakṣiṇo*
saharea dakṣiṇa ¹⁵*va[ḍe* ¹⁶*u*¹⁷*t]*(¹⁸*a*)¹⁸*[r]*(¹⁹*o*)¹⁹ *s(*a)h(*a)re(*a)*. [37]
²⁰*atra hasa kaṇa kachavo vaṣaṣaḍa umi[jo] vaṣaṣaḍa[sa* ²¹*acaṇ]*(²²*a*)
 [38] ²²*saha samida umic[e]*.²³ (ll. 33–38)

“Monks, suppose that this great earth were one mass of water, and a man were to throw a yoke with a single hole into it. An easterly wind would carry it west; a westerly wind would carry it east; a northerly wind would carry it south; a southerly wind would carry it north. In it

⁹ Frag. A.

¹⁰ The reading could be *su*.

¹¹ Missing in E^c, B^c, C^c, and S^c (see commentary below).

¹² I am indebted to Lily Lee and Rod Bucknell for their comments on my translation of the Chinese text.

¹³ Frags. A+Bb-2.

¹⁴ Frag. A.

¹⁵ Frags. A+Am-5.

¹⁶ Frags. A+Am-2.

¹⁷ Frag. A.

¹⁸ Frag. Bc-2.

¹⁹ The original reading could have been *-ro* or *-ra*, but not *-re*.

²⁰ Frag. A.

²¹ Frags. A+B.

²² Frag. A.

²³ The scribe discontinued writing this line to avoid writing across the raised join between two sections of bark.

there were a blind turtle which, emerging after a hundred years, with the passing of a hundred years, would emerge over and over.

Pāli *seyyathāpi bhikkhave ayaṃ mahāpathavī²⁴ ekodakā²⁵ assa. tatra puriso ekacchiggaḷaṃ²⁶ yugaṃ pakkhipeyya. tam enaṃ puratthimo²⁷ vāto pacchimena saṃhareyya pacchimo vāto puratthimena saṃhareyya uttaro vāto dakkhiṇena saṃhareyya dakkhiṇo vāto uttarena²⁸ saṃhareyya. tatrassa kāṇo kacchapo so²⁹ vassasatassa vassasatassa accayena sakiṃ sakiṃ ummujjeyya* (p. 456,18–24).

“Monks, suppose that this great earth were one mass of water, and a man were to throw a yoke with a single hole into it. An easterly wind would carry it west; a westerly wind would carry it east; a northerly wind would carry it south; a southerly wind would carry it north. In it there were a blind turtle which would emerge once each time with the passing of each hundred years.

Chinese 譬如大地悉成大海。有一盲龜壽無量劫。百年一出其頭。海中有浮木。止有一孔。漂流海浪。隨風東西。(p. 108c7–9)

“Suppose the great earth were completely covered by a great ocean, and there were a blind turtle of long life, an immeasurable *kalpa* [in duration], which poked his head out every hundred years. In the ocean there was a floating piece of wood with only one hole, floating on the ocean waves to the east and west according to the wind.”

§ 3a

Gāndhārī ³⁰[39] *ta ki maṇasa avi ṇa 'ṣe kaṇo kachava vaṣi[ad](*)sa ajaeṇa saha s[(*am)]i[40]ḍa umi[jata] am[a]spi ekatarmao yuo grive pakṣivea.* (ll. 39–40)

What do you think, would this blind turtle, emerging over and over, with the passing of a hundred years, insert its neck into that yoke with the single hole?

²⁴~*pathavī* in C^c and S^c.

²⁵*ekodikā* in S^c, C^c and in the two Sinhalese mss (S^{1,3}) used for E^c (S² was not used by the editor for this volume of S).

²⁶~*chiggaḷaṃ* throughout C^c.

²⁷*purimo* in the Sinhalese mss (S^{1,3}) used for E^c.

²⁸*uttare* in the Sinhalese mss (S^{1,3}) used for E^c.

²⁹*so* is missing in the Sinhalese ms S³ used for E^c.

³⁰Frag. B.

Pāli *taṃ kiṃ maññatha bhikkhave api nu so*³¹ *kāṇo kacchapo vassasatassa vassasatassa accayena sakiṃ sakiṃ ummujjanto*³² *amusmiṃ*³³ *ekacchiggale yuge gīvaṃ paveseyyā ti* (p. 456,25–457,2).

What do you think, monks, would that blind turtle, emerging once each time with the passing of each hundred years, insert its neck into that yoke with the single hole?

Chinese 盲龜百年一出其頭。當得遇此孔不。(p. 108c10)

Would the blind turtle, poking his head out every hundred years, meet this hole or not?

§ 3b

Gāndhārī *adīcam eḍa bhayava* [41] *suḍalavam eva ya eṣe kaṇo*³⁴ *kachavo vaṣihada omica vaṣihada*³⁵ *sa aca[e]*³⁶ [42] *ṇa saha samida*³⁷ [43] *umijata amaspi ekatarmao yuo grive paḍi[mu](*)ce*³⁸ *a ṇa* [va] *paḍimu[ce](*)a*. (ll. 40–43)

It would be by chance, Bhagavat, it is very rare indeed, that this blind turtle, emerging after a hundred years, with the passing of a hundred years, emerging over and over, would put that yoke with the single hole on his neck, or he may not put it on.

Pāli *adhiccam idaṃ bhante yaṃ so kāṇo kacchapo vassasatassa vassasatassa accayena sakiṃ sakiṃ ummujjanto amusmiṃ ekacchiggale yuge gīvaṃ paveseyyā ti* (p. 457,3–5).

It would be by chance, venerable sir, that that blind turtle, emerging once each time with the passing of each hundred years, would insert its neck in that yoke with the single hole.

³¹*kho* in S^c, B^c and in the two Burmese mss (B^{1,2}) used for E^c.

³²*ca* is added in the Sinhalese mss (S^{1,3}) used for E^c.

³³*amukasmiṃ* in the Burmese ms B² used for E^c.

³⁴The scribe has marked both the *e* and *o* mātrās on *ṇ*. He probably wrote the *o* mātrā second in accordance with the spelling elsewhere.

³⁵*ḍa* could also be read as *ha*.

³⁶The bottom of the *e* akṣara is preserved on frag. Bb-2.

³⁷The scribe has left the line short to avoid writing across the join between two sections of bark.

³⁸Frag. B+Bd-1.

Chinese 阿難白佛。不能。世尊。所以者何。此盲龜若至海東。浮木隨風。或至海西。南。北四維圍遶亦爾。不必相得。(p. 108c10–13)

Ānanda said to the Buddha: “It would not be able to, Bhagavat. Why is that? If this blind turtle should arrive in the eastern part of the ocean, the floating piece of wood might, according to the wind, arrive in the west, south, or north of the ocean. Going around the four directions in this way, they would certainly not meet each other.”

§ 3c

Chinese 佛告阿難。盲龜浮木。雖復差違。或復相得。(p. 108c13–14)

The Buddha said to Ānanda, “Although the blind turtle and the floating piece of wood may miss [each other], perhaps they may also meet each other.”

The wording of this section, which is missing in the Gāndhārī and Pāli, seems odd, unless the Buddha is merely confirming that they may or may not meet each other.

3. Commentary

§ 1. The Buddha addresses the monks

The Sāvathī–Jetavana nidāna and initial interchange between the Buddha and the monks are missing in the Pāli editions and in the manuscripts used for them. However, as this passage is given in full in the first sutta of the Mahāvagga of the Saṃyutta-nikāya in E^c (V 1), B^c, and C^c (and elsewhere throughout the Mahāvagga) and in the first sutta of the Sacca-saṃyutta in C^c and the Sinhalese manuscripts (S^{1, 3}) used for E^c, it has clearly been omitted through scribal abbreviation. Undoubtedly, this passage would have been included when this sutta was recited, as would the conclusion to this sutta which is also abbreviated in the Pāli editions and manuscripts (see Allon 2001, pp. 253–55).

The nidāna of this Gāndhārī sūtra is repeated in the next sūtra on this scroll (RS 22r, ll. 57–59). It also occurs twice in a collection of three Ekottarikāgama-type sūtras (EĀ-G) preserved in the British Library Kharoṣṭhī collection (Allon 2001, pp. 225–32, 253–55).

bhayava? eḍa[ḍ aya] (l. 33): The reading in the line 57–59 example of this phrase is *bhayava [ṣu] eḍaḍ aya*. The akṣara of uncertain reading

(?) in line 33 could be read as [ṣu], as in this second example. The corresponding Pāli expression is *bhagavā etad avoca*. The nominative singular corresponding to Pāli *bhagavā*/Skt *bhagavān* is *bhayava* or *bhagava* throughout the Senior manuscripts and *bhayavadu* in the EĀ-G (Allon 2001, pp. 113–14). However, in the one complete example of the equivalent of Pāli *bhagavā etad avoca* in EĀ-G (l. 28) the reading is *bha[ya]va[ṣu]* rather than *bhayavadu* as expected. In my edition of that text I took this to be a scribal error and amended it to *bhayava*<*du> (Allon 2001, pp. 225–26, 232), but these two examples in the Senior manuscripts suggest that this amendment may not have been justified. Given that *bhayava/bhagava* is the nominative singular in all other contexts in the Senior manuscripts, it is possible that we should take *ṣu*³⁹ as a separate word rather than as the termination of *bhayava*. The most likely explanation is that *ṣu* is the equivalent of the Sanskrit particle *sma* (or possibly *su*), which is attested elsewhere in Gāndhārī as *sa*, *ṣa*, *su*, and possibly *ṣu*,⁴⁰ although the usage of this particle in such a context (e.g. Pāli *bhagavā (s)su etad avoca* or the like) is not attested in Buddhist literature to my knowledge.

Brough (1962, pp. 228–29) noted that *hi ṣa* in the Khotan Dharma-pada (160d) corresponds to Ṛgvedic *hi sma*, in contrast to *ha ve* of the Pāli version, which corresponds to *ha vai* of the Brāhmaṇas, and concluded that “[w]e have thus the interesting situation that the Prakrit, from the North-west, appears to represent the survival of a common Ṛgvedic usage, while the Pali, from a more central region, has instead a group which is most familiar from the Brāhmaṇas”. If *ṣu* in *bhayava ṣu* in the Gāndhārī manuscripts discussed here does correspond to Skt *sma*, then this would represent another instance of the archaic usage of this

³⁹Although *ṣ* and *k* are indistinguishable in the Senior manuscripts, in EĀ-G they are not. The reading is therefore unlikely to be *ku* in the Senior examples.

⁴⁰See Norman (2004, p. 128) for the Pāli, BHS, and Gāndhārī forms, and for references to previous discussions. For the Gāndhārī spelling *ṣu*, see Norman 1971B, p. 218 = *Collected Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 118.

particle being attested in Gāndhārī (for which compare the appearance of the archaic *tardman-* in this text discussed below).

For *eḍaḍ aya*, which corresponds to the Pāli expression *etad avoca*, see Allon 2001, pp. 163–65 where it was transcribed as *eḍāḍ aya*.

§§ 2–3. The simile of the blind (or one-eyed) turtle

As noted by Mr Norman (1972) in his article on this topic, the simile of the blind turtle inserting its neck into a single hole in a yoke floating in the ocean is referred to in Therīgāthā 500 as illustration of the rarity of being born a human being:

*sara kāṇakacchapaṃ pubbasamudde, aparato ca yugachiddaṃ
sirā⁴¹ tassa ca paṭimukkaṃ, manussalābhamhi opammaṃ.*

In his translation of the Therīgāthā, Mr Norman (1971A, p. 49) translated this verse as “Remember the blind turtle in the sea in former times, and the hole in the yoke floating [there]; remember the putting on of it (= the yoke) as a comparison with the obtaining of human birth.” But in view of his later comments (Norman 1972, pp. 157–58), the first line would be better translated “remember the blind turtle in the eastern ocean, and the hole in the yoke [floating] from the western [ocean]”.⁴² In his 1972 article, Mr Norman also quotes several other Pāli references for this simile (M III 169,9–16; S V 455,24–29 [the first of the two *chiggaḷa* suttas currently under view]; Mil 204,11–13; As 60,17–18) and examples from Jain literature.

In a much earlier article on this topic, Harināth De (1906–1907, pp. 173–75) refers to two similar passages in Sanskrit Buddhist literature. The first appears in Śāntideva’s *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (4.20):

⁴¹The reading *sirā* (= *sira[m]*) was proposed by Alsdorf in the European edition of the *Thī* (p. 248). C^o has *sara* (cf. Mr Norman’s translation).

⁴²Winternitz (1913, p. 44 = *Kleine Schriften*, 1991, p. 547) translates the verse as “Denke an das Gleichnis für die Erlangung einer Wiedergeburt als Mensch: an die einäugige Schildkröte und das im Ozean nach Osten und Westen herumgetriebene Loch des Joches und daran, ob der Kopf dieser (Schildkröte in jenem Loch) stecken bleibe.”

*ata evāha bhagavān, mānuṣyam atidurlabham
mahārṇavayugacchidrakūrmagrīvārpaṇopamam*

translated by Crosby and Skilton (1995, p. 26) as “That is why the Fortunate One declared that the human state is so hard to attain; as likely as the turtle poking its neck through the hole of a yoke floating on the mighty ocean.”

The second is found in a prose passage in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra (463.4–5):

*durlabho hy amba tāta buddhotpāda udumbarapuṣpasadṛśo mahārṇavayugacchidrakūrmagrīvāpraveśavat. durlabhaprādurbhāvā amba tāta buddhā bhagavantaḥ.*⁴³

For, father and mother, the appearance of a Buddha is rare as a flower on a fig tree, as the likelihood of the turtle inserting its neck into the hole of the yoke floating on the great ocean. Father and mother, Buddhas, Bhagavats are ones whose appearance is rare.

Kumārajīva’s Chinese translation has 又如一眼之龜, 值浮木孔 “and as the one-eyed turtle meeting the hole in the floating log” (T 9 no. 262 p. 60a29–b1).

In an article on the same topic, A.N. Upadhye (1972) quotes many examples from Jain literature and the following Buddhist verse from Mātṛceṭa’s Adhyardha-śataka (5):⁴⁴

*so ’haṃ prāpya manuṣyatvaṃ, sasaddharmamahotsavaṃ,
mahārṇavayugacchidrakūrmagrīvārpaṇopamam*

I, attaining the human state, accompanied by the good Dharma which is the great festival, which is as likely as the turtle poking its neck through the hole of a yoke floating on the mighty ocean ...

Not surprisingly, the image is also found in Brahmanical texts. An example is the Laghu-Yogavāsiṣṭha 6.15.14 (= YV 6a.126.4), which is

⁴³Ed. Kern and Nanjio. One of the Central Asian manuscripts refers to the single hole: (**udum*)*barapuṣpasadṛśa(s) tāta tathāgata yugamitaikacchi /// (437a6) (ed. Toda 1983, p. 214).

⁴⁴Cf. Winternitz (1913, pp. 46–47 = *Kleine Schriften*, 1991, pp. 549–50) for the Chinese version.

quoted verbatim in the eighteenth century Bodhasāra by Narahari (I4.2.I7):⁴⁵

*calārṇavayugacchidrakūrmagrīvāpraveśavat
anekajanmanām ante, vivekī jāyate pumān*

Like the turtle inserting its neck into the hole in the yoke floating on the agitated ocean, a person becomes discerning at the end of many births.

There are numerous examples in Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist texts, but my primary concern here is with the wording of the Indian versions.⁴⁶

sayaṣavi bhikṣava aya mahapaḍavi [eko]ḍia asa (ll. 33–34): Pāli *seyyathāpi bhikkhave ayaṃ mahāpathavi ekodakā assa*.

For *sayaṣavi* = Pāli *seyyathāpi*, see Allon 2001, p. 209.

The spelling of *paḍavi* in *maha-paḍavi*, which corresponds to Skt *pr̥thivī*/Pāli *paṭhavi*, *paṭhavi*,⁴⁷ is a further example of “[s]poradic non-etymological alternations between unaspirated and aspirated consonants” in the Senior manuscripts noted by Salomon (2003, p. 86), for which cf. also *adica* = Pāli *adhiccaṃ* in § 3b (l. 40) below and *paḍama* = Skt *prathamam* / Pāli *paṭhamaṃ* in another Senior manuscript (I2.31). Previously attested spellings of this word in Gāndhārī are *praṭhavi* and *paḍhavi* found in inscriptions.⁴⁸

[*eko*]ḍia: The reading is *ekodakā* in E^c and B^c of the Pāli parallel, but *ekodikā* in S^c and C^c, and in the two Sinhalese manuscripts (S¹,³)

⁴⁵For the commentary on the Bodhasāra verse, see Jacob 1909. I would like to thank Jenni Cover for bringing the Bodhasāra reference to my attention and for providing the context to it and Walter Slaje for drawing my attention to the Jacob article and for verifying the details of the Yogavāsiṣṭha reference.

⁴⁶The occurrences of the simile in the Chinese translation of the Sūtrālamkāra are discussed by Winternitz (1913, pp. 45–46 = *Kleine Schriften*, 1991, pp. 548–49), who quotes Huber’s French translation of these. The Central Asian manuscript of this text (*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*) edited by Lüders (1926, p. 156; frag. 123 R2) preserves the words *tadyugacchidram*.

⁴⁷See *PED* s.v. *paṭhavi*. For references to *ṭh* < *th* when preceded by *r* or *r* in Pāli, see Oberlies 2001, p. 80.

⁴⁸*praṭhavi*: Mānsehrā inscription of the year 68, line 9 (Konow 1929, p. 20); *paḍhavi*: Ajitasena inscription, line 5 (Fussman 1986).

used for E^s (S² was not used by the editor for this volume of S). The *CPD* (s.v. *ekodaka*) questions the variant reading *ekodikā* as a possible feminine form. However, the *SWTF* (s.v. *ekodaka*) accepts Sanskrit *ekodikā* on the basis of its occurrence in the similar phrase *ekodikāyāṃ mahāpṛthivyāṃ ekārṇavāyāṃ* found in a fragment of the Sanskrit version of the Aggañña-sutta from Central Asia;⁴⁹ for which also cf. *tadyatheyaṃ mahāpṛthivy ekodakajātā bhavet* in the Larger Sukhāvativyūha (56.4).⁵⁰ Gāndhārī *ekoḍia* could go back to a form such as *ekodikā* in the MIA version from which this text was translated or have resulted from palatalisation of *a* under the influence of secondary *-y-* (*ekodakā* > **ekodayā* > *ekoḍia*), which is common in Gāndhārī. It is, of course, possible that an MIA palatalised form lay behind *ekodikā* in a Central Asian Sanskrit manuscript.

ekatarmao yuo (l. 34) “a yoke with a single hole”: Pāli *ekacchiggaḷa- yuga-*. This occurs three times in this sūtra: once in the accusative singular *tatra puruṣ[e] ekatarmao yuo pakṣivea* (l. 34) “a man were to throw a yoke with a single hole into it [the ocean]”, where the Pāli has *tatra puriso ekacchiggaḷaṃ yugaṃ pakkhipeyya*, and twice in the locative singular *am[a]spi ekatarmao yuo grive pakṣivea* (l. 40) “would insert its neck into that yoke with the single hole” and *amaspi ekatarmao yuo grive paḍi[mu>(*ce)a* (l. 43) “would put that yoke with the single hole on his neck” (see below), where the Pāli has *amusmiṃ ekacchiggaḷe yuge gīvaṃ paveseyya*. As stated above, the words *ekatarmao yuo* also occur on scrolls 7+8 (l. 6) as the uddāna-like reference to this sūtra.

An etymology for Pāli *chiggaḷa*, *chiggala* “hole”, which is recorded in the Pāli canon in *eka-cchiggaḷa-yuga-* “a yoke with one hole” of the current context and in *tāḷa-cchiggaḷa*, *tāḷa-* “key hole”, is not given by the dictionaries and grammars (e.g. *PED* s.v.),⁵¹ where it is often

⁴⁹See *SWTF* s.v. *ekodaka* for references. The Mahāvastu version (I 339.7, ed. Senart) has *ayam api mahāpṛthivi udakahradaṃ viya samudāgacchet*.

⁵⁰Ed. Ashikaga 1965.

⁵¹For *tāḷa-cchiggaḷa*, *~chidda*, see von Hinüber 1992, pp. 17, 31.

compared with Pāli *chidda-*/Skt *chidra-* “hole”.⁵² Nor is it listed in the *CDIAL*. As noted by O. von Hinüber (1992, pp. 17, 31) the word is certainly non-Aryan in origin,⁵³ although a comparable word (Pāli *chiggaḷa-*) is not listed in *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (Burrow and Emeneau 1961 and 1968).⁵⁴

The Gāndhārī word *ekatarmao* is to be taken as a compound of *eka-* and *-tarmao*,⁵⁵ where *tarmao* must be the equivalent of Skt *tardman-*⁵⁶ n. “hole” (< √*tṛd* “to cleave, pierce”; MW and *CDIAL* s.v.), with *-ka* suffix. The word has not been recorded previously in Gāndhārī and there appears to be no Pāli or other MIA equivalent.⁵⁷ Based on the model of the development of Skt *vartman-* “road” to *vaṭṭa-* in Prakrit or *vaṭuma-* (cf. *vattantī*) in Pāli, *vaṭṭamaya-*, *vaḍḍumaga-* in Prakrit (*CDIAL* s.v. *tárdman-*), the expected MIA forms for Skt *tardman-* would be **taḍḍa-* with *-rd-* > *-ḍḍ-* or possibly **tadda-* with *rd* > *dd*,⁵⁸ both involving the last member of the cluster *-rdm-* not being taken into consideration in the assimilation of the cluster,⁵⁹ or **taḍuma-* or

⁵²The *Abhidhānappadīpikā-tīkā* (Nandawansa 2001, p. 239) gives *chinditvā gacchatī ti chiggalaṃ; yadādi*.

⁵³The similarity between Pkt *gaḍa-* “hole” (*CDIAL* s.v. *gaḍa-*¹), corresponding to Skt *garta-* “hole” (cf. *śamyā-garta-* “hole (*garta*) for the yoke pin (*śamyā*)”, *CDIAL* s.v.), and the latter part of *chiggaḷa-* is therefore merely coincidental.

⁵⁴If the word does have a Dravidian origin, then the latter part of the word may be connected with Malayalam *aḷa* “hole” listed in this dictionary (1961, § 261).

⁵⁵In this scribe’s hand *t* and *d* are indistinguishable. However, in view of the interpretation given below, the reading *-darmao* and a connection with *dāra-* “hole” (MW s.v.; see also *CDIAL* s.v. *dāra-*¹) is unlikely.

⁵⁶Although *tardman-* is only found in the Vedic corpus, most Sanskrit words quoted in this paper are not (e.g. *kha-*, *chidra-*). For the sake of consistency, I have therefore omitted the accent from all Sanskrit words in my discussion, including *tardman-*.

⁵⁷None are listed in *CDIAL* s.v. I am indebted to Mr Norman for verifying this absence.

⁵⁸Pischel 1965, §§ 288–91; von Hinüber 2001, § 256.

⁵⁹Pischel 1965, § 334; von Hinüber 2001, § 260; Oberlies 2001, § 17.

**taḍḍuma-* with the cluster split by epenthesis.⁶⁰ The Gāndhārī form, with its apparent omission of the dental stop, is unexpected. As the cluster *rd* is regularly retained in Gāndhārī, we would have expected **tardao* or **tardumao* for this word. Alternatively, the development could have been *-rdm-* > **-rmm-* > *-rm-* following von Hinüber 2001, § 261. Noteworthy is the spelling *tarman-* throughout Kaul's edition of the Laugākṣiḡhyasūtra mentioned below, which is transmitted only in Kashmiri manuscripts.

In the Therīgāthā verse (500) quoted above, the word for hole is *chidda-* (*yuga-[c]chiddaṃ*) = Skt *chidra-* in contrast to *chiggaḷa-* of the Saṃyutta-nikāya sutta under discussion, for which compare the example of the older *tāḷa-cchiggaḷa* of the Saṃyutta-nikāya being replaced by *tāḷa-cchidda* in the Vinaya discussed by von Hinüber (1992, pp. 17, 31). The interchangeability of *chiggaḷa-* and *chidda-* in the context of a yoke in Pāli texts is also seen in the various commentaries on *sammā-* (Skt *śamyā*) “yoke pin” of the Brahmanical sacrifice *sammāpāsa-* (Skt *śamyāpāsa-*) mentioned in a verse found in several places in the Pāli canon (e.g. Sn 303; S I 76,20; A II 43,30): *samman ti yugacchidde pakkhipitabbadaṇḍakaṃ* (e.g. Spk-ṭ I 180 B^c; Mp-ṭ II 299) and ... *sammāpāso, yugacchiggaḷe pavesanadaṇḍakasaṅkhātāṃ sammaṃ khipitvā* ... (It-a I 94,20–21; Mp IV 70,11–13).⁶¹

In the Buddhist Sanskrit examples mentioned above, the word is *yuga-cchidra-*, as it is in the Jain examples quoted by Norman (1972) and Upadhye (1972): Skt *yuga-cchidra-* or Pkt *juga-chiḍḍa-*.

As already noted, the equivalent of Skt *tardman-* is not found in Pāli texts. The word does not appear, for example, in any commentarial gloss or in the list of words for hole in the Abhidhānappadīpikā, namely, *randhaṃ tu vivaraṃ chiddaṃ kuharaṃ susiraṃ bilaṃ susi 'uthī chiggaḷaṃ sobbhaṃ* (649–50),⁶² which is clearly based on the Amara-

⁶⁰Pischel 1965, § 139; von Hinüber 2001, §§ 152–56.

⁶¹Cf. also those reported in Mr Norman's notes on Thī 500 (Norman 1971A, pp. 174f.).

⁶²Nandawansa 2001, p. 239.

kośa,⁶³ where the word is similarly absent: ... *kuharam suṣiram vivaram bilam | chidram nirvyathanam rokam randhram śvabhram vapā suṣiḥ* ... (I.8.486–89).⁶⁴ Again, the word does not appear to be recorded in Buddhist literature in Sanskrit (e.g. the word is not listed in *SWTF*).

Although apparently not found in Buddhist literature, *tardman-* in conjunction with *yuga-*, meaning hole in the yoke, does occur in early Brahmanical literature.⁶⁵ The earliest attested example is the Atharva-veda (Śaunaka) I4.I.40 (= AVP I8.4.9):⁶⁶

*śām te hiraṇyaṃ śām u santv āpaḥ śām methīr bhavatu śām yugāsya
tārdma
śām ta āpaḥ śatāpavitrā bhavantu śām u pātyā tanvā Iṃ śām spṛśasva*

translated by Whitney (1905, p. 747) as

Weal be to thee gold, and weal be waters ; weal be the post (*methī*), **weal the perforation (*tārdman*) of the yoke** ; weal be for thee the waters having a hundred cleaners (*-pavitra*) ; for weal, too, mingle thyself with thy husband.

The following verse (AVŚ I4.I.41 = AVP 4.26.7), which also refers to the hole in the yoke, is of some interest since it is taken from the Ṛgveda (8.91.7):

*khé ráthasya khé 'nasaḥ khé yugāsya śatakrato
apālām indra trīṣ pūtvākṛṇoḥ sūryatvacam*

⁶³For the relationship between the Abhidhānappadīpikā and the Amarakośa, see Nandawansa 2001, pp. xxvii–xxxii.

⁶⁴Ed. Ramanathan n.d., Vol. 1, p. 146. The word does not appear in the commentaries on the Amarakośa edited by Ramanathan (pp. 146–47) or in the Abhidhānacintāmaṇināmamāla (1363–64), a similar lexicographical work by Hemacandra (eleventh–twelfth centuries), or its commentaries (ed. 2003, pp. 624–25).

⁶⁵Several of the following references are mentioned in Winternitz (1913, pp. 43–44 = *Kleine Schriften*, 1991, pp. 546–47). I would like to thank Arlo Griffiths for his responses to my questions on this Brahmanical material.

⁶⁶Ed. Roth and Whitney 1856.

In the hole of the chariot, in the hole of the cart, **in the hole of the yoke**,
O thou of a hundred activities, having thrice purified Apālā, O Indra, thou
didst make her sun-skinned (tr. Whitney 1905, p. 748).

In this Ṛgveda verse the word for hole is *kha-* (*khé yugásya* “in the hole of the yoke”) rather than *tardman-*, which does not occur in the Ṛgveda, or *chidra-*, which occurs only once in the Ṛgveda (1.162.20) as an adjective meaning “pierced”, “torn asunder” (MW s.v. *chidrá*). These two verses of the Atharvaveda are not commented on by Sāyaṇa,⁶⁷ but in his commentary on the second verse as it occurs in the Ṛgveda, *kha-* is glossed with *chidra-*.⁶⁸

The compound *yuga-tardman* occurs several times in the Kauśikasūtra of the Atharvaveda, which the commentaries consistently gloss with *yuga-cchidra-*.⁶⁹ The three occurrences of *tardman-* in the Śrautasūtra of Kātyāyana (6.1.30; 7.3.20; 15.5.27), which do not occur in conjunction with *yuga-*, are similarly all glossed with *chidra-* by the commentators (Karka and Yājñikadeva).⁷⁰ The Kāṭhakaḡrhyasūtra of the Black Yajurveda (ed. Caland 1925), also known as the Laugākṣi-ḡrhyasūtra, contains two relevant sūtras. The first (25.9) quotes the Ṛgveda verse (8.91.7) referred to above, which is also found in the Atharvaveda (14.1.41), glossing *khé yugásya* with *yugatardmani*,⁷¹ then

⁶⁷Ed. Viśva Bandhu et al. 1961, part 3, p. 1542.

⁶⁸Ed. Rajwade et al., 1978, Vol. 3, p. 906.

⁶⁹Extracts from the commentaries are given by Bloomfield (1890) in footnotes to his edition of the Kauśikasūtra and in an appendix (Paddhati of Keśava). The references are 35.6 (p. 94; see also p. 336); 50.18 (p. 146; see also p. 355); 76.12 (p. 203); cf. 76.13. For Dārila’s commentary, see the edition by Diwekar et al. 1972, which only covers the first occurrence. Cf. also Caland’s notes to his translation of the Kauśikasūtra (1900, pp. 31, n. 5; 115, n. 5; 175, n. 10).

⁷⁰Ed. Weber 1972. Ranade ([1978]) translates *tardman* in these three occurrences as “cavity”, “holes”, and “perforations”, respectively (his numbering is 6.1.28; 7.3.17; 15.5.25).

⁷¹*hiraṇyam niṣtarkyam baddhvādhy adhi mūrdhani dakṣiṇasmin yugatardmany adbhīr avakṣārayate śaṃ te hiraṇyam iti.*

quotes the preceding Atharvaveda verse (14.1.40), also quoted above.⁷² The second sūtra (26.3) is of similar wording, mixing *kha-* and *tardman-*.⁷³ The commentaries of Devapāla, Brāhmaṇabala, and Ādityadarśana presented in Caland's edition of the Kāṭhakaḡḡyasūtra all gloss *khe* and *yugasya tardma* of these two sūtras with *yugacchidra-* (Devapāla gives *randhra-* for *kha-* of the first sūtra). Finally, *tardman-* also occurs in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (Mādhyandina 3.2.1.2), but the commentaries of Sāyaṇa and Harisvāmin (published Delhi 1987) lack such a gloss.

There are, no doubt, other instances of *tardman-* and *yuga-tardman-* in Brahmanical literature, but the above will suffice for the current purposes.⁷⁴

Apart from *yuga-tarṃao* of the Gāndhārī text under review, there is only one other instance of a word meaning hole recorded in Gāndhārī to my knowledge. This is *chidra-*, which appears in the Senior manuscripts in the expression *paṣaṇaṣa chid<*r>a*⁷⁵ (20.6) “a hole in the stone (of the city wall)” (Gāndhārī *paṣaṇa-* = Skt *pāṣāṇa-* “stone”). The Pāli parallel has *pākāra-sandhiṃ* “a hole in the [city] wall” (e.g. S V 160,22–23; A V 195,2) with v.l. *pākāra-cchiddaṃ* recorded in the European edition of the Aṅguttara-nikāya occurrence.⁷⁶

⁷²The reading throughout M. Kaul's edition of the Laugākṣiḡḡyasūtra is *tarman-*.

⁷³*khe rathasya khe 'nasaḡ khe yugasya ca tardmasu khe akṣasya khe avadadhāmiti yugataromasu śamīśākhām avadadhāti.*

⁷⁴The *Āpastambagḡḡyasūtra* (4.2.8, ed. U.C. Pandey) uses the word *yugacchidraṃ*.

⁷⁵The reading appears to be *chidva*, but the context demands *chidra*. It appears that the scribe accidentally overwrote the upward stroke of the post-consonantal *r* making it appears like a post-consonantal *v*.

⁷⁶*chidra-* also appears in the unrelated expression *achidra-vuti* in the Khotan Dharmapada, where the corresponding Pāli Dhammapada verse has the equivalent *acchidda-vutti-* (= Skt *acchidra-vṛtti-*) “impeccable conduct” (Dhp-G^K 241c; cf. *achidra-vurti* in Khvs-G 23a).

The occurrence of *yuga-tarmao* in our Gāndhārī text suggests that the equivalent of Skt *tardman-* was the word current in Gandhāra for the hole in a yoke, in contrast to *chidra-* (or *chiggaḷa-* in the case of some Pāli texts), which is the term found in Buddhist literature from other regions and in Jain and later Brahmanical Sanskrit literature. Given that *tardman-* is found in some early Brahmanical Sanskrit texts, but is commonly replaced by *chidra-* in later texts, particularly commentaries, it would appear that an old lexical item was preserved in usage in Gandhāra. Of course, although the Senior manuscripts date to the second or third century A.D. (Salomon 2003, pp. 74–78; Allon et al. 2007) and *yuga-tarmao* may therefore have been the expression for the hole in the yoke current in Gandhāra at that time, its usage cannot be fixed more accurately in time and space. For instance, it remains possible that this term was not current when these manuscripts were written, but is rather a vestige of a much earlier period when this sūtra was first translated (or transposed) into Gāndhārī from another MIA dialect.

Finally, it is impossible to tell what word for hole the translators of the Chinese texts had before them in their Indian originals. For example, throughout the Saṃyuktāgama parallel and in Kumārajīva's translation of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra simile, the term is *kōng* 孔, "hole".⁷⁷ But what is interesting is that these two Chinese translations refer to a piece of wood with (one) hole, rather than a yoke: the Saṃyuktāgama parallel has 浮木止有一孔 "a floating piece of wood with only one hole" (p. 108c8–9), while Kumārajīva has 浮木孔 "hole in the floating log" (T 9 no. 262 p. 60b1).

tam eṇa purime vaḍo paḍimo saharea (l. 35): Pāli *tam eṇaṃ puratthimo vāto pacchīmena saṃhareyya*. The propensity for *purima-* to replace *puratthima-* is witnessed in the Sinhalese manuscripts used for E^c of the Pāli, which read *purimo* for *puratthimo*, and in the B^c reading

⁷⁷Surprising is Wogihara's (1979) actual listing of *tardman* in his Sanskrit–Chinese–Japanese dictionary (s.v. *tardman*); the first of the two entries, *xuè* 穴, is also listed under *chidra*.

of the commentary on this word in another text: *puratthimaṃ disaṃ dhāvati ti purimaṃ* (E^c *puratthimaṃ*) *disaṃ gacchati* (Nidd-a II 432,5–6). For *purima-* as “eastern” in Pāli, see *BHSD* s.v. *purima*.

The grammatical case of *pacīmo* “western” in *pacīmo saharea*, and of the word which replaces it in each of the following parallel clauses (*purime*, *dakṣiṇo*, and *ut(*a)r(*o)*), must be accusative, in contrast to the instrumental of the Pāli *pacchimena saṃhareyya*, etc.

atra hasa (l. 37): The Pāli has *tatrassa = tatra assa* “in it there would be”. The Senior manuscripts contain several further examples of the occasional writing of *h* plus vowel mātṛā where a word-initial vowel is expected: *hidam e[yi]* (5.27) besides *idam eyi* (5.21) = Pāli *idam avoca*; *himaspi* (15.7) = Pāli *imasmiṃ*; *hidriaṇa* (5.34) besides *idriaṇa* (5.39) = Pāli *indriyānaṃ*; and *hirdhaūpaḍaṇa* (5.34,38) = Pāli *iddhi-pādānaṃ* (see Glass 2007: §5.1.1.). The expected initial vowel in each of these latter Senior examples is the palatal vowel *i*. Several interpretations of this phenomenon were presented in my discussion of the word *hasavaro* = Skt/Pāli *athāparaṃ* (which is preceded by *sughadu* = Pāli *sugato*) found in the EĀ-G (l. 16), including that it represents sandhi *h-*, an “easternism”, or “emphatic” *h-*.⁷⁸ Although I considered sandhi *h-* to be the most likely of these interpretations, the rarity of the phenomenon led me to dismiss it. Rather, I concluded that *h-* in these words represented the “sporadic, and as yet to be fully understood, appearance of prothetic *h-* in Gāndhārī” (Allon 2001: 181).⁷⁹

It is interesting that the majority of examples of prothetic *h-* in the Senior manuscripts appear in palatal environment. This parallels the occasional appearance of glide *h* in internal position, most examples of

⁷⁸Allon 2001, pp. 180–81; cf. 102; add Oberlies 2001, p. 75; Norman 2002, p. 227.

⁷⁹It is tempting to see this phenomenon as purely graphic, since the only difference between a word-initial vowel (e.g. *i-*) and *h* plus that vowel (e.g. *hi-*) in Kharoṣṭhī is that the latter has a short horizontal stroke to the right at the bottom of the akṣara.

which also appear in palatal environment.⁸⁰ Examples from the Senior manuscripts are *uḍahivadre* (2.65[v29]), besides *uḍāivadra* (2.9) = Skt *udāyibhadra*-/Pāli *udāyibhadda*- “[prince] Udāyibhadra”; *bramahia* (19.13,30), besides *bhamaḍo* (17.10) = Pāli *brahmacariya*- “the holy life”; *sahiṇa*- (12.10) = Pāli *sāyaṇha*- “evening”. For examples in the Khotan Dharmapada, see Brough 1962: § 39. In other words, when they do occur there is a marked tendency for prothetic *h*- and glide *-h*- to appear in the neighbourhood of palatal vowels, which may be due to the palatal character of *h* (Wackernagel 1957: §§ 213–16; Burrow 1973: 77ff.; von Hinüber 2001: § 223).

kaṇa kachavo (l. 37), *kaṇo kachava* (l. 39), *kaṇo kachavo* (l. 41): Pāli *kāṇo kacchapo*. Mr Norman (1971A: 49) and Bhikkhu Bodhi (2000: 1871–72) translate the Pāli as “blind turtle”, while Winternitz (1913: 44 = *Kleine Schriften* 1991: 547) gives “one-eyed turtle (*einäugige Schildkröte*)”. The Chinese Saṃyuktāgama parallel has “blind turtle”, *máng guī* 盲龜, while Kumārajīva’s translation of the Saddharmapundārikasūtra simile quoted above has “one-eyed turtle” *yīyǎn zhī guī* 一眼之龜. These translations reflect the dual meanings of one-eyed and blind (in both eyes) for *kāṇa*-, which are attested in the Pāli commentarial glosses (see *DOP* and *CPD* s.v. *kāṇa*-), such as *kāṇo ti ekakkhikāṇo vā ubhayakkhikāṇo vā* (Ps IV 231,21).⁸¹

The phrases expressing the number of years after which the turtle would surface in §§ 2, 3a, and 3b and their Pāli counterparts are best discussed together. They are

§ 2

Gāndhārī *vaṣaśaḍa umi[jo] vaṣaśaḍa[sa acaeṇ](*) saha samiḍa umic[e]a*
(ll. 37–38)

Pāli *vassasatassa vassasatassa accayena sakim sakim ummujjeyya*

⁸⁰For *h* as glide, see Brough 1962, § 39; Norman 1979, pp. 323–24 (= *Collected Papers*, Vol. 2, pp. 75–76); von Hinüber 2001, § 274; Allon 2001, p. 102.

⁸¹The B^c of the commentary on the Dutiyacchiggaḷasutta (Spk III 302,17) and a Burmese and a Sinhalese manuscript used for E^c read *andha-kacchapassa* against *kāṇa-kacchapassa* of E^c.

§ 3a

Gāndhārī *vaṣi[ad̄](*)sa ajaeṇa saha s[*am][i]ḍa umi[jata]* (ll. 39–40)Pāli *vassasatassa vassasatassa accayena sakim sakim ummujjanto*

§ 3b

Gāndhārī *vaṣihaḍa omica vaṣihaḍasa aca[e]ṇa saha samida umijata* (ll. 41–43)Pāli *vassasatassa vassasatassa accayena sakim sakim ummujjanto*

The Gāndhārī and Pāli differ in several ways. Where the Pāli has *vassasatassa vassasatassa accayena* “with the passing of each hundred years” in each section (§§ 2, 3a, 3b),⁸² the Gāndhārī has *vaṣaśaḍa* (*vaṣihaḍa*) *umi[jo]* (*omica*) *vaṣaśaḍasa* (*vaṣihaḍasa*) *acaṇa saha*⁸³ “emerging after a hundred years, with the passing of a hundred years” in § 2 and § 3b, but *vaṣi[ad̄](*)sa ajaeṇa saha* “with the passing of a hundred years” in § 3a. I take *saha* of the Gāndhārī to be the equivalent of Pāli/Skt *saha* “with”, rather than *sakim* of the Pāli parallel, although the expression *accayena saha* is not attested in Pāli. The Chinese parallels the Pāli with *bǎi nián yī* 百年一 “every hundred years”.

The interpretation of *umi[jo]*, *omica* in *vaṣaśaḍa umi[jo]* (l. 37), *vaṣihaḍa omica* (l. 41) is problematic. Although faint, the final *o* vowel in *umi[jo]* is certain. This spelling suggests that *umi[jo]*, *omica* is the present participle nominative singular masculine of the verb corresponding to Skt *ut-√majj* construed with the ablative (or accusative?), the phrase meaning “emerging after a hundred years”. The Pāli equivalent would be *vassasatā ummujjaṇ*, which is not recorded. However, the nominative singular of this participle appears as *umijata* in the following lines (ll. 40, 43), where the Pāli has *ummujjanto*. It may therefore represent the gerund of this verb, which appears in Sanskrit as

⁸²The reading in E^c of the Majjhima-nikāya occurrence (M III 169,13–14) is *vassasatassa accayena sakim ummujjeyya*, with the v.l. in two Sinhalese manuscripts of *vassasatassa vassasahassassa vassasatasahassassa accayena* ..., which is also recorded in B^c as the Sinhalese reading.

⁸³I have removed the square brackets where the reading is verified by the repetitions.

unmajya or *unmajjya* (MW s.v. *un-majj*), but in Pāli as *ummujjitvā*. However, the final *o* in *umi[jo]* is unexpected in a gerund. Both interpretations would give more or less the same meaning. I translate this phrase as “emerging after a hundred years”, which covers both possibilities.⁸⁴

The optative third singular of the same verb appears as *umic[e]a* in line 38, where the Pāli has *ummujjeyya*. In contrast to the Pāli verb, which shows labialisation of the root vowel *a* under the influence of the preceding labial consonant cluster *mm*,⁸⁵ the Gāndhārī shows palatalisation of the vowel under the influence of the following palatal consonant cluster (original *jj*).⁸⁶

The alternation between *j* and *c*, as witnessed in the Gāndhārī spellings of these words, is common in the Senior manuscripts. The reflexes of original intervocalic *-jj-*, *-cc-*, *-j-* and *-c-*, and of initial *j-* and *c-* may appear as *j* or *c* in this scribe’s orthography. As noted by Salomon (2003: 87), this suggests “that this scribe, and presumably at least some other contemporary speakers of Gāndhārī as well, did not distinguish between *c* and *j* in their dialect”.

The Gāndhārī equivalent of Skt *varṣasāta-*/Pāli *vassasata-* “hundred years” shows three spellings: (i) *vaṣaśada-* (l. 37 [× 2]), which could be read as *vaṣayaḍa-* since *ś* and *y* are indistinguishable in this scribe’s hand; (ii) *vaṣi[ad.]* (l. 39); and (iii) *vaṣihaḍa-* (l. 41 [× 2]). I transcribe the two line 37 examples as *vaṣaśada-* rather than *vaṣayaḍa-* on the basis of the spelling of this word in Gāndhārī inscriptions and in the Khotan Dharmapada. Examples from the latter document are *varṣaśada-* (141a) and *vaṣaśada-* (316a). The above spellings *vaṣi[ad.]* and *vaṣihaḍa-* show the palatalisation of final *a* of Skt *varṣa-* under the

⁸⁴A neuter noun *ummuja-* “emerging” is recorded in Pāli (*CPD* s.v.). But this is not likely here.

⁸⁵Berger 1955, p. 60; Norman 1976B, p. 45 (= *Collected Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 250); cf. *CDIAL* s.v. *ūnmajjati*.

⁸⁶Cf. Norman 1976a and 1983.

influence of the following initial *ś* of *śata-*,⁸⁷ with the development *-ś-* > *-h-* in the case of *vaṣihada-* and further weakening (*-ś-* > *-h-* > \emptyset) in the case of *vaṣi[ad.]*. The same sound changes (*-ś-* > *-h-* and *-ś-* > *-h-* > \emptyset),⁸⁸ but this time in the context of a preceding or following original palatal vowel, are seen in *yoṇiho* = BHS *yonīśaḥ* “thoroughly” (l. 36) and *baiḥodu* (l. 82), *baiḥoda* (l. 110) = Skt *vaśībhūtaḥ* found in the Gāndhārī Anavataptaḡāthā currently being edited by Richard Salomon. A further example is the Gāndhārī spelling for the place name *takṣaśīla-*, which appears as *takṣaīla-* besides *takṣaśīla-*.⁸⁹ The above can be compared with the development of original *-h-* > *-ś-* = [ʒ] and *-h-* > \emptyset in palatal environment. Examples of the former are (i) *īśa* = Skt *iha* “here” found in the Niya documents, inscriptions, and in some of the British Library manuscripts⁹⁰ and *īśe* found throughout the Senior manuscripts (e.g. 2.37) and in some inscriptions, which shows palatalisation of final *a*; and (ii) the Gāndhārī version of the epithet of king Ajātaśatru found in the Senior manuscripts: *vedīśaputra-* (2.21, 31, 44, etc.), *vedīśaputra-* (2.13, 18, etc.) = Skt *vaidehīputra-/Pāli vedehi-putta-*.⁹¹ Examples of the latter development (*-h-* > \emptyset in palatal

⁸⁷Cf. Gāndhārī *aviśīśadi*, which probably = Skt *avaśīṣyate* (Dhp-G^K 200; see Brough 1962, p. 243; Norman 1976A, p. 334 [= *Collected Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 227]). For an example in Pāli, see Norman 1983, p. 277 (= *Collected Papers*, Vol. 3, p. 15).

⁸⁸Cf. the examples of *ś* > *h* in Gray 1965, §401, and *-ś-* > *-h-* > \emptyset in the Gāndhārī Dharmapadas discussed in Lenz 2003, p. 43 (see also von Hinüber 2001, §221).

⁸⁹Examples of *takṣaīla-* are found in the British Library manuscripts (e.g. BL16+25, ll. 45–46 [see Lenz 2003, pp. 182–83]; and BL2, l. 7); for references to examples of *takṣaśīla-* in the inscriptions, see Konow 1929 index.

⁹⁰E.g. BL 16+25, ll. 21, 29, 32, 43 where the spelling alternates between *īśa* and *īśā* (see Lenz 2003, pp. 155–56). For comments on this word, see Burrow 1937, §§17, 91.

⁹¹Note that the original final palatal vowel in *vaidehī-* is not marked.

environment) are Aśokan *ia* = *iha* found at Shāhbāzgarhī⁹²; *sabaraka-idaī* = Skt *samparāya-hitāya* “for the benefit of the next life” and *vayari-* = Skt *vihārin-* in the Khotan Dharmapada (Brough 1962: § 39); and in the Senior manuscripts *amatrei* (17.15) = Pāli *āmantehi*, *paḍigaesu* (12.19) = Pāli *paṭiggahesuṃ*, and *priao* (5.3) = BHS *plīhak-/Pāli pihaka-* “spleen”.⁹³ This indicates that both *-h-* (< *-ś-*) and *-ś-* (< *-h-*) in the above examples are an approximation at representing [ʒ], which tends to undergo further weakening (> Ø).

The palatalisation of a neighbouring vowel by *ś* and the weakening of original *-ś-* and *-h-* in palatal environment as witnessed in the examples listed here are, however, uncommon. The spellings for the equivalent of Skt *varṣaśata-* in Gāndhārī are more regularly *vaṣaśada-/vaṣaśada-/varṣaśada-*. Similarly, original *-ś-* and *-h-* in palatal environment normally remain, as they do in other contexts generally.⁹⁴ Examples from the Senior manuscripts are *kaśia-cadaṇa* (13.9) = Skt *kāśika-candanam* “sandal from Kāśī”; *deśīśama* (13.12) = Skt *deśīṣyāmi* “I will teach”; and *suha-vihara* (12.42) = Pāli *sukha-vihārī* “living at ease”.

samiḍa umic[e]a (l. 38), *samiḍa umijata* (ll. 39–40, 42–43): The two Saṃyutta-nikāya occurrences of the simile read *sakiṃ sakiṃ ummuḷḷeyya* “would emerge once each time” and *sakiṃ sakiṃ ummuḷḷanto* “emerging once each time”, while the European and Burmese editions of the Majjhima-nikāya (M III 169,14) occurrence of the simile do not repeat *sakiṃ*.⁹⁵ G *samiḍa* must be the equivalent of Pāli/Skt *samitaṃ* “continuously”, “over and over” (see *PED* s.v. *samita*¹). This appears in Pāli texts in the expression *satataṃ samitaṃ* “constantly and continuously”, an example being *māro pāpimā satataṃ*

⁹²Cf. Norman 1962, p. 326 (= *Collected Papers*, Vol. 1, pp. 34–35) and von Hinüber 2001, § 223.

⁹³For *priao*, see Glass 2007, § 5.2.1.7.

⁹⁴See Allon 2001, pp. 86–87 for references.

⁹⁵Cf. *tam enaṃ puriso vassasatassa vassasatassa accayena kāsikena vatthena sakiṃ sakiṃ parimajjeyya* (S II 181,27–28).

samitaṃ paccupaṭṭhito (S IV 178,13–14) “Māra the Evil One is constantly and continuously waiting by”, which occurs in conjunction with a simile involving a jackal waiting for a turtle to extend its limbs.

avi na 'ṣe (l. 39) [§3a]: The Pāli parallel has *api nu so*. The Pāli equivalent of the Gāndhārī would be *api nu eso*. Cf. *ya eṣe* (= Pāli *yam eso*) in line 41, where the Pāli parallel has *yam so*.

The phrase used to express the idea of the turtle inserting its neck into the hole in the yoke is *am[a]spi ekatarmao yuo grive pakṣivea* in §3a (l. 40) and *amaspi ekatarmao yuo grive paḍi[mu](*ce)a na* [va] *paḍimu[ce](*a)* in §3b, where the Pāli parallel has *amusmiṃ ekacchiggaḷe yuge gīvaṃ paveseyyā ti* in both sections.

The verb in the Pāli is *paveseyya* “would insert”. In contrast, the verb in §3a of the Gāndhārī is *pakṣivea* = Pāli *pakkhipeyya*/Skt *prāvṣip*, which can also mean “would insert”. This is the verb used to express the idea of the man casting or throwing the yoke into the ocean in §2: Gāndhārī *tatra puruṣ[e] ekatarmao yuo pakṣivea*, Pāli *tatra puriso ekacchiggaḷaṃ yugaṃ pakkhipeyya*. The verb in Gāndhārī §3b is *paḍi[mu](*ce)a*, which is repeated in the negative *na* [va] *paḍimu[ce](*a)*, where *na va* = Skt *na vā* “or not”. The Pāli form of this verb is *paṭimuñcati* (see *PED* s.v.), which, interestingly, occurs in the Pāli Jātakas and commentaries in conjunction with *gīvā* “neck” in the sense of “put on”, “attach”. A particularly good example for our purpose is *pāsaṃ gīvāya paṭimuñcati* “he puts the snare on his neck” (Ja IV 405,10), where the commentary (line 15) glosses *paṭimuñcati* with *paveseti*, the verb found in the Pāli sutta under discussion.⁹⁶ Also of interest is *paṭimukkaṃ* in the Therīgāthā verse discussed above, a derivative of *paṭimuñcati*.⁹⁷ The active form of the verb (“would put that yoke with the single hole on his neck”) does seem a little strange

⁹⁶Other examples are (passive) *kāssa gīvāya paṭimucci* (v.l. *paṭimuñci*; As 272,32–33) and *kacchaṃ nāgānaṃ bandhatha, gīveyyaṃ paṭimuñcatha* (Ja IV 395,17).

⁹⁷For Pāli *paṭimukka-*, see Geiger 1994, §197; Pischel 1965, §566; von Hinüber 2001, §493; Norman 2002, p. 241.

here, and it is possible that we are dealing with a passive (Pāli *~muccati*). If so, the translation would be “this blind turtle ... would be caught (or fastened) at the neck in that yoke”.

Finally, the Gāndhārī expression *amaspi ekatarmao yuo grive paḍi[mu](*ce)a ṇa [va] paḍimu[ce](*a)* “would put that yoke with the single hole on his neck, or he may not put it on” is reminiscent of the Buddha’s statement in §3c of the Chinese: “Although the blind turtle and the floating piece of wood may miss [each other], perhaps they may also meet each other” (盲龜浮木。雖復差違。或復相得).

aḍicam eḍa bhayava suḍalavam eva (ll. 40–41): Pāli *adhiccam idaṃ bhante*. For the non-aspirate consonant in *aḍicam* = Pāli *adhiccam*, see the discussion of *-paḍavi* = Skt *pṛthivī* above.

suḍalavam = Skt *sudurlabham*. The Senior manuscripts contain many examples of medial vowels not being marked, including *u/o*, as here, and *i/e*. Further examples of *u* not being marked are *caḍamaṣia* (2.11,14,16) = Pāli *cātumāsini-* “of four months” and *veḍadal[e]a* (13.5) besides *v[e]ḍudalae* (13.2) = Pāli *veḷudvāreyya(ka)-* “belonging to Veḷudvāra”.

Summary

This Gāndhārī sūtra, for which the simile of the blind turtle and the hole in the yoke is central, is as a whole quite close to the second of the two Pāli *chiggaḷa* suttas preserved in the Saṃyutta-nikāya (no. 56.48), while the one similar sūtra found in the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama is closer to the first of these two Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya suttas (no. 56.47).

With regard to the portion of these suttas/sūtras analysed in detail here, the prose simile, the Gāndhārī and Pāli versions exhibit only minor differences in terms of structure and wording. Both differ in several important ways from the Chinese version.

The main differences between the Gāndhārī and Pāli versions are

- (i) different synonyms or near synonyms used: e.g. Gāndhārī *-tarmao* (= Skt *tardman* + *ka*), Pāli *-chiggaḷa-* “hole”; Gāndhārī *paḍi[mu]*, Pāli *paveseyya* “would insert” (§3a) and *paḍimucea*

“would put on” (§ 3b); cf. also Gāndhārī *bhayava*, Pāli *bhante* (§ 3b);

- (ii) different pronouns or indeclinable used: Gāndhārī *eṣe* “this”, Pāli *so* “that” (§§ 3a, 3b); Gāndhārī *atra* “here”, Pāli *tatra* “there” (§ 2);
- (iii) differences in syntax: the accusative case of Gāndhārī *paṭṭhimo saharea* in contrast to the instrumental of the Pāli *puratthimena saṃhareyya*;
- (iv) a near synonym added: Gāndhārī *aḍicam ... suḍalavam*, Pāli *adhiccam* (§ 3b).

Although still relatively minor, the greatest point of difference between the Gāndhārī and Pāli versions of the simile is in the phrase used to express the period of time after which the turtle surfaces (§§ 2, 3a, 3b).

Greater differences are, however, evident in the sections of the sutta/sūtra not discussed in this article (§§ 4–7). This includes the order in which factors are listed (e.g. the three conditions that are most conducive to attaining enlightenment) and in the wording used to describe these, although much of the wording of the Gāndhārī text that differs from the Pāli parallel is in fact found elsewhere in the Pāli canon, a phenomenon already noted for this genre of text (see Allon 2001, e.g. pp. 178, 184, 256, 279).

The differences noted for this sutta/sūtra are of the same type as those identified in a comparison of three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-type sūtras with their Pāli and Sanskrit parallels, for which the reader is referred to Allon 2001: 30–38.

Mark Allon
University of Sydney

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used in this article are those of the *CPD*. Those not listed in the *CPD* are

AVP	Atharvaveda, Paippalāda recension
AVŚ	Atharvaveda, Śaunaka recension
B ^c	Burmese (Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana) edition(s) of Pāli texts (= VRI-CD unless otherwise stated; page references are to the printed edition as given by the VRI-CD)
CDIAL	R.L. Turner, <i>A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages</i> (London, 1966)
C ^c	Sri Lankan edition(s) of Pāli texts (= electronic version of Sri Lanka Buddha Jāyanti Tripiṭaka Series)
Dhp-G ^K	Gāndhārī Khotan Dharmapada (= “Gāndhārī Dharmapada”, ed. Brough 1962)
DOP	Margaret Cone, <i>A Dictionary of Pāli</i> , 1 vol. to date (Oxford, 2001)
EĀ-G	Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama (ed. Allon 2001)
E ^c	European (Pali Text Society) edition(s) of Pāli texts
frag(s).	fragment(s)
l. / ll.	line(s)
ms / mss	manuscript(s)
RS	The Robert Senior collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts
SĀ	Saṃyuktāgama
S ^c	Thai (King of Siam) edition(s) of Pāli texts (= Mahidol University’s <i>Budsir on CD-ROM: A Digital Edition of Buddhist Scriptures</i> [Bangkok: Mahidol University Computing Center, 1994])
SWTF	Heinz Bechert, ed., <i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden</i> , 2 vols. to date (Göttingen, 1994–)
T	<i>Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō</i> , eds. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe. 100 vols. (Tokyo, 1924–34)
YV	Yogavāsiṣṭha of Vālmīki

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Remarks on the Third Precept: Adultery and Prostitution in Pāli Texts*

The Third Precept: Men, Women, and Wives

The Third Precept is to refrain from *kāmesu micchācāra*, “misbehavior in [matters of] *kāma*”, a rather general category. The word *kāma* refers internally to the subjective emotions of desire and experience of all sensual pleasures, and externally to the objects of those emotions and experiences, so a broad construal of the Precept could be broad indeed.¹ However, commentaries usually elucidate it in relation to sex: *kāma* is *methuna-samācāra*, the act of intercourse, which is twofold: contentment with one’s wife (or wives),² or going to the wife of another man, *sadāra-santosa-paradāra-gamana*. As one of the Six, Eight or Ten Precepts, it requires chastity, so both kinds count as misbehavior, but as one of the Five only the second does.

Many texts give two standard lists of ten kinds of women with whom intercourse is forbidden, which include young women “under protection” as well as “wives of other men”. They are *agamanīya-*

*It is an honour and a delight to contribute this small piece, intended as no more than a preliminary and incomplete introduction to a much wider field of study, in honor of K.R. Norman, from whose unfailing kindness I have benefited for almost thirty years, up to and including this article.

¹Thus Saddhatissa 1987, pp.88–92.

²The existence of polygyny is widely attested in Pāli (see remarks on the word *dāra* in text and the notes below). Many texts praise monogamy for man and wife, in deed and thought, as a virtue; see, e.g., the Suruci Jātaka (Ja IV 314ff.), which contains the very widespread motif that jealousy of one’s co-wives (*sapattiyo*) is one of the sufferings particular to women. A man is urged not to visit other men’s wives; women are encouraged not even to think of other men (e.g. D III 190 with Sv 955). See also *DPPN* s.v. for the story of Nakulapitā and his wife. The motif of couples being together over a series of lifetimes is common in the Jātakas. With the exception of the story of Kaṇhā in the painfully misogynist Kuṇāla Jātaka, which is modeled on Sanskrit literary sources (see Bollée 1970, pp.132ff.), I know of no instance of polyandry.

vatthu, literally “objects not to be gone to”: Forbidden Zones.³ The first gives Ten Women (*dasa itthiyo*), all of whom are under some form of protection, and the second gives Ten Kinds of Wife (*bhariyā*). In the first list, of the Ten Women the first eight are protected by

1. mother (*māturakkhitā*)
2. father (*pītu-*)
3. mother and father (*mātāpītu-*)
4. brother (*bhātu-*)
5. sister (*bhagini-*)
6. relatives (*ñāti-*)
7. clan (*gotta*)
8. fellow monastics (*dhamma-*, glossed as *sahadhammika-*)

The Protectors, in order to prevent their ward from having intercourse with a man before she has come of age, do not allow her to go anywhere, see other men, live by herself, and they tell her what to do and what not to do. The final two are:

9. One who is under guard (*sārakkhā*), i.e. a girl who has been promised to a man, from as early as when she was in the womb.
10. One for whom a punishment has been set (*saparidaṇḍā*) — i.e. a girl, promised to someone, whose name has been put on a public notice set up in a village, house, or street announcing a penalty for anyone who “goes to her”.

The Ten Wives are:

1. “one bought for money” (*dhanakkītā*), i.e. through a bride price or some such;
2. “one who lives [with her husband] through choice”

³See entries for *itthī* in *PED*, *DOP*, *CPD*. Searching the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana CD will reveal many more. There are some textual variations, of no importance here. The term *ajjhācariya-vatthu*, “object for transgressions” is also used (Pj I 31); *ajjhācariya* can refer to the transgression of any Precept.

(*chandavāsini*); i.e. man and wife marry through mutual affection;

3. “one who lives [with her husband] because of possessions” (*bhoga-*); a woman from the country who acquires tools such as mortar and pestle, i.e. who marries for social advancement;
4. “one who lives [with her husband] because of clothes” (*paṭa-*); a poor woman who acquires even a small amount of clothing, i.e., as in 3, who marries for social advancement;
5. “one who lives [with her husband] because of [the ceremony with] a bowl of water” (*odapattakini*) — oaths and vows were often taken by two people putting their hands in a single bowl of water; here the officiant says “may you be joined together unbreakingly as is this water”;
6. “one who has taken off the head-pad” (*obhaṭacumbaṭā*) [a head-pad is for carrying firewood, etc.], i.e. a former menial or slave raised in status;
7. “a wife who is also a slave” (*dāsī*);
8. “a servant-wife who works for wages” (*kammakārī*) — a man lives with her because his own wife is insufficient (*anattiko*);
9. “one brought back under a flag” (*dhajāhaṭā*), i.e. a war-captive;
10. “a temporary wife” (*muhuttikā*), i.e. a prostitute, used for a shorter or longer period.⁴

For men all Ten Women and all Ten Wives are Forbidden Zones. In the case of women, however, there is precise limitation: all Ten Wives are guilty of wrongdoing if they have sex with a man, but only the last two of the list of Ten Women are. This is because they have been promised to a man, and are counted as “having a husband” (or “owner”,

⁴On the phenomenon of “temporary wives” in Southeast Asia see Reid 1988, pp.154ff.; Andaya 1998. Thanissaro 1994, p.119, interprets this term more widely as “a date”, which is certainly possible linguistically, although it raises intriguing historical and cultural questions.

sassāmikā). The texts say (using Sp 555 with Sp-ṭ Be II 329 [Sās 90–91]⁵:

imāsu dasasu pacchimānaṃ dvinnam eva purisantaraṃ gacchantīnaṃ micchācāro hoti, na itarāsaṃ,

Of these Ten women there is Misconduct in having sex with a man for the last two, but not for the others.

pacchimānaṃ dvinnan ti sārakkhasaparidaṇḍānaṃ micchācāro hoti tāsaṃ sasāmikabhāvato. na itarāsan ti itarāsaṃ māturakkhitādīnaṃ aṭṭhannaṃ purisantaragamane natthi micchācāro tāsaṃ asāmikabhāvato ... na ca mātādayo tāsaṃ phasse issarā. mātādayo hi na attanā phassānubhavanatthaṃ tā rakkhanti, kevalaṃ anācāraṃ nisedhentā purisantaragamanaṃ tāsaṃ vārenti. purisassa pana etāsu aṭṭhasu pi hoti yeva micchācāro. mātādīhi yathā purisena saddhiṃ saṃvāsaṃ na kappenti, tathā rakkhitattā pasesaṃ rakkhitagopitaṃ phassaṃ thenevā phuṭṭhabhāvato.

For the last two: for those who are under guard and for whom a punishment has been set there is Misconduct because they have a husband/owner. *But for the others there is not*: for the other eight Women, those under the protection of their mothers, etc., there is no Misconduct in having sex with a man, because they do not have a husband/owner ... Mothers, etc., do not have authority over them in relation to [sexual] contact; they do not guard them for the sake of their own experience of [such] contact; they [try to] stop them from having sex merely to prevent misbehavior.⁶ But for a man there is Misconduct in the case of these eight also. Because mothers, etc., do not arrange for [their wards to have] intercourse with men, therefore [there is Misconduct for a man] through the fact of Protection, through the state of having stolen [sexual] contact which is protected and guarded by others.

The argument is not entirely clear to me, and more work will have to be done, both text-critical and interpretative. The point seems to be that mothers and other protectors of the eight kinds of women do not have the kind of authority or ownership which a husband (actual or promised) does. A husband owns the right to exclusive sexual access,

⁵I am grateful to Thanissaro Bhikkhu for help with some of the passages translated here.

⁶Presumably *anācāra* here must refer to behavior contrary to social mores but not the Third Precept.

and so adultery with any of the other twelve women constitutes a form of theft. This seems to be the point of the sentence omitted from the passage just cited:

yā hi sāmikassa santakaṃ phassaṃ thenetvā pasesaṃ abhiratiṃ uppādentī, tāsaṃ micchācāro.

When women cause sexual desire to arise for [or in] other men, [thereby] stealing the contact which belongs to their husbands, there is Misconduct on their part.⁷

Perhaps light can be thrown on this by a passage from the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra* (nos. 2, 24, p.179):

māturakkhītādayo ... aṭṭha rakkhakānaṃ anuññāya vinā vītikkamesu purisassa micchācāraṃ bhajanti. tāsaṃ pana natthi micchācāro. rakkhakānaṃ anuññāya upagame ubhinnaṃ pi natthi micchācāro.

The eight who are protected by mothers, etc., share in a man's misconduct⁸ in cases of transgression [= sex] which occur without the permission of their protectors. But there is no Misconduct (i.e. no breaking of the Precept) on their part. When there is a [sexual] approach⁹ with the Protectors' permission, there is no Misconduct for both [man and woman].

So a man's breaking the Third Precept is connected to breaking the Second, against theft. The eight women, not being the property of their Protectors, do not steal anything by having sex with a man. But the Protectors' relationship to their wards is something akin to ownership, since they can annul Misconduct for the man by giving their permission.

⁷It is possible to take the absolutive *thenetvā* here as going with *pasesaṃ* rather than the subject of the sentence, in which case one would translate "when women cause sexual desire to arise in other men, [making] them steal the contact which belongs to their husbands ...". This would fit better with the last sentence, which clearly uses *thenetvā* of men.

⁸It is not clear to me what "share" means here, and I have not found other passages which use the phrase.

⁹This sense of *upagama* is not, to my knowledge, found elsewhere in Pāli. Pāli lexicographical texts (and cf. Sadd 883–84) relate it to *upa-ni-ṣad*, "to sit [next to]", and a sexual use of *upa-gam* is found in Sanskrit (MW s.v.). It would seem here that it must be taken as a euphemism for sex.

Thus, as is often the case worldwide, sexual transgressions are committed by men not directly against a woman but against those who either “own” her or are in some other way legally responsible for her.¹⁰ In all twenty cases wrongdoing is “adultery [which is] behavior in a Forbidden Zone based on desire which transgresses conventional social boundaries” (*lokamariyādaṃ atikkamītvā*, Vv-a 72–73).

In a specifically Buddhist jurisprudential-ritual sense, therefore, lay single women, of any kind (the unmarried [whether young or old], divorcées, widows, and prostitutes, on which see more below), do not break the Third Precept by having sex with a man. If they do, then what is “wrong” about it is twofold, in quite different ways. First, it is practically imprudent, given (male) marriage-expectations and social disapproval.¹¹ Second, from the ascetic–ultimate, karmic point of view — augmented by misogynist attitudes toward the imagined promiscuity of women — it is the expression of samsaric defilement.

Intercourse is defined very precisely in the Vinaya tradition (e.g. a penis enters any of a woman’s three orifices as much as the length of a mustard seed); it is not said whether this is to be taken as paradigmatic for non-monastic cases. The word *magga*, literally “pathway”, which is used there for “orifice” and where appropriate “sexual organ”, does appear in a standard list of four *sambhārā*, “prerequisites”, or “constituents” necessary for there to be an infraction of the Third Precept (e.g. Sv 1049, As 98):

- i. the existence of a Forbidden Zone (*agamaniya-* or *ajjhācariya-* *vatthu*)
- ii. the intention to perform the act (*sevanā-citta*)
- iii. an [appropriate] means (*payoga*) (transgressing the Precepts

¹⁰For this point in later Thai legal codes on marriage, adultery, rape, etc., see Loos 2006.

¹¹e.g. S I 6 *komāri seṭṭhā bhariyānaṃ*, “a virgin is the best of wives”, to which Spk I 33 comments *kumāri-kāle gahitā*, “taken [in marriage] at the time of their youth”. A number of compounds with the word *kumāra-* refer to women who marry as virgins or men who marry virgins: cf. *DOP* s.v. *kumār-ikomār-*.

involves one or more of a list of six such means, which include, for example, getting someone else to break a Precept; in relation to sex there is but one means: *sāhatthika*, literally “with one’s own hand”, but better “personally”)

- iv. consent to the physical interaction between the sexual organ and an orifice (*maggena magga-paṭipatti-adhivāsana*; Pj I 31 has simply *sādiyati*, “s/he agrees”).

The question of consent, and at what moments during an act of intercourse consent can be given or refused, receives a fair amount of discussion which I cannot go into here.¹² Whether or not the woman is willing, and in whatever senses that is understood, the man’s Misconduct depends on the status of the woman. If she has not taken the Precepts it is “not very blameworthy”, but great if she has,¹³ and the offence gets worse as the status of the woman increases (e.g. Vibh-a 383):

[T]he wrongdoing is not very blameworthy [when it involves] transgression with a woman of bad Virtue, greater when the woman’s Virtue is like a cow’s, greater [still, and incrementally] when she has gone for refuge, has [also] taken the Five Precepts, is a novice nun, an ordinary nun [i.e. one who has not attained any level of the Path], a Stream-Enterer, Once-Returner, Never-Returner; with an Enlightened Woman it is wholly and completely blameworthy.

“Like a cow’s” is *gorūpa-sīlaka*. This is equivalent to what is called

¹²Many texts discuss volition, on both the man’s and the woman’s part; this needs much more research, but it does seem that women’s volition is sometimes treated in misogynist ways: e.g., as Thanissaro Bhikkhu puts it (personal communication), in a discussion of rape at Sv-pt III 346 there seems to be “the old excuse ‘The fact that she didn’t show any desire doesn’t mean that she didn’t want it, for that’s the way women are’”. For a man, one precise example is the case of ejaculation in dreams: being unintentional it does not break any Monastic Rule, but as a manifestation of desire it does have a karmic result. See Collins 1997, p.190.

¹³e.g. Ps I 199: *so pan’ esa micchācāro sīlādiḡuṇarahite agamanīyaṭṭhāne appasāvajjo, sīlādiḡuṇasampanne mahāsāvajjo*

elsewhere “an ordinary person’s Virtue” (*puthujjana-sīla*)¹⁴; the image may be that a cow is innocent, intending no harm: one sub-commentary says “naturally good” (*pakati-bhadda*, Dhs-anuṭ B^c 189). But another says that such a person is “blind, of blundering intellect” (*mūḷho khalitapañño*, Spk-pṭ (B^c) I 160).

Adultery

Adultery in a general sense, when not tied to discussions of the Ten Women and Ten Wives, is expressed by verbs such as *aticarati* or *atikkamati*, “going too far, transgressing”, and also by nominal and verbal forms derived from *gam*, to go, most commonly with the compound *paradāra-*, “another man’s wife” (or wives, on which see below) as their object; the word *paradārika* is used for an adulterer. The words *jāra* (masculine) and *jārā/jārī* (feminine), “lover”, are used for partners in a sexual relationship outside normal marriage: the relationship, real or alleged, can be between monks and nuns, or other ascetics, monks and laywomen, and married men and women and their lovers.¹⁵ It is hardly likely that any extensive story-literature, in any culture, would not know of adultery; in Pāli, especially given the many misogynistic Birth Stories which aim to demonstrate the untrustworthiness and moral depravity of women, naturally many such stories are found.¹⁶ Admonitions against adultery in sermons by the Buddha and others scarcely need documenting. But what is wrong with it, why should one avoid it?

If one or both partners are in one or more of the categories which mean that their adultery breaks the Third Precept, the reasons are obvious. But adultery is spoken of usually without reference to that

¹⁴M III 255, glossed as *go-sīla-dhātuko* at Ps V 71, which adds that such a person is honest, not deceitful, does not oppress others, and makes a living rightly and properly through farming or trade.

¹⁵Monks, nuns, e.g. Vin II 259, IV 91, monks and laywomen Vin IV 20, married men, women and lovers Vin II 268, III 83, 138, 139, Ja II 292, III 92, 223.

¹⁶See Jones 1979; Bollée 1970; Amore and Shinn 1981.

particular jurisprudential manner of evaluation, and the arguments offered against it are various. One story, the “Foot of a Mountain” Birth Story (Ja II 125–27), has a remarkable mixture of disapproval and acceptance. In both the Story of the Present, with the king of Kosala and the Buddha, and that of the Past, with King Brahmadata in Benares and a wise councillor, one of the king’s ministers “does something wrong” in the harem.¹⁷ In the Present, the king reflects that the minister is useful, and the woman is dear (*piyā*) to him, so he cannot destroy them. The Buddha agrees, saying that when servants are useful and women dear one cannot do them harm, and he then tells the Birth Story, where King Brahmadata tells the minister what has happened in a riddling verse, “At the pleasant foot of a mountain was an auspicious lake; a jackal drank from it, though he knew it was protected by a lion.” The minister understands, and replies, “Great king, [whatever] animals drink from a great lake, it is none the less a lake; if she is dear to you, forgive (*khamassu*) [them].” “None the less a lake” renders *na tena anadī*; *a-nadī* is literally “a non-lake”, and as usual the negative prefix can be taken in the sense of a logical negation and/or in the sense of a negative evaluation: “a not-X” and/or “a bad X”. The commentary says,

[A]ll creatures, two-footed, four-footed, snakes and fish, drink water from a lake when they are thirsty, but it is not for that reason any less a lake: it is not a polluted lake. Why? Because of its being common to everyone. Just as a lake drunk by anyone and everyone is not corrupted, so a woman who through defilement transgresses against her husband by having sex with another man is none the less a woman. Why? Because [of her, or all women’s?] being common (*sādhāraṇa*) to everyone. She is not a polluted woman. Why? Because of becoming pure [again] through washing at the end [So, the advice is] forgive both of them and preserve [your] equanimity.¹⁸

¹⁷The verb is *padussi*, from *pra-duṣ*, whence the word *doṣa* (Pāli *dosa*), one of the commonest and least specific words for a wrong, in some sense of that word.

¹⁸“Polluted” is *ucchiṭṭha*, for which *DOP* has “left-over [of food], touched, spat out, used, cast-off, polluted”, citing the compounds *-odaka*, “water that has

The king does so, telling them not to commit such evil (*pāpakamma*) again, and they stop.

The most general argument against adultery is a version of the golden rule given by the Buddha to dissuade male householders:

Again, householders, a noble disciple should reflect thus: “If someone were to commit adultery with my wives, that would not be pleasing and agreeable to me. Now if I were to commit adultery with the wives of another, that would not be pleasing and agreeable to the other either. What is displeasing and disagreeable to me is displeasing and disagreeable to the other too.” Having reflected thus, he abstains from sexual misconduct, exhorts others to abstain from sexual misconduct, and speaks in praise of abstinence from sexual misconduct. Thus his bodily conduct is purified in three respects.¹⁹

There are also more immediate disadvantages. A poem of the *Suttanipāta*, “The Discourse on How Not to Thrive”,²⁰ lists twelve kinds of misfortune resulting from such things as being too fond of sleep or lazy, not supporting one’s parents, and being rich but enjoying oneself alone. The eighth (106) is “being a womanizer [which leads to] squandering what one has acquired”. The tenth (110) is “being an old man who brings home a [young] woman with breasts like timbaru fruit, [which leads to his] not sleeping because of jealousy over her”; the commentary explains this as an eighty- or ninety-year-old man thinking that his young wife will have no pleasure living with an old man and so seek a younger one: burning with lust and jealousy he forgets to look after his affairs and so comes to ruin. The ninth (108) is “being unsatisfied with one’s wife and being seen with prostitutes and other men’s wives”; the commentary explains that visiting prostitutes means giving away money, while adultery involves being punished by the king.

been spat out”, and *-geha*, “a house which is not new; a house already lived in”. *Odakantikātā*, “ending with a [ritual] wash”, is a defining characteristic of sex in the Monastic Code (Vin III 28).

¹⁹S V 354, tr. Bodhi 2000, p.1798.

²⁰*Parābhava-sutta*, Sn 91–115. For the meaning of *parābhava* see Norman 2001, p.186, ad Sn 92.

Other texts also suggest that adultery is a public crime, but not all. The issue requires further research, and as with many other issues discussed here, such research may reveal differences between different Pāli texts, which may reflect local variations in practice.²¹ Two verses in the Dhammapada (309–10), in a chapter entitled “Hell”, state:

A careless man who courts another’s wife gains four things: acquisition of demerit, an uncomfortable bed, third blame and fourth hell.

Acquisition of demerit and an evil state of rebirth, and a brief delight for the frightened man with the frightened woman, and the king imposes a heavy punishment. Therefore a man should not court another’s wife.²²

The word-commentary says that the king’s punishment involves such things as cutting off hands and feet, but the story attached to the verses in the same text — which might well be of different provenance — is quite different (Dhp-a III 479–81). It concerns a handsome young man called Khema, a nephew of the rich banker Anāthapiṇḍika and an habitual adulterer. Women have merely to look at him to lose control of themselves. (He has this ability thanks to the fact that in a previous life, at the time of the Buddha Kassapa, he had offered two colored flags at a Buddha-shrine with the wish “May all women apart from my family and relatives fall in love with me on sight.”) He is arrested three times, but the king releases him each time, feeling ashamed for the banker.

²¹Sp 561, commenting on *alaṃvacanīyā*, a woman who is or can be divorced, says at Vin III 144: *yā hi yathā yathā yesu yesu janapadesu pariccattā va hotī, ... ayaṃ alaṃvacanīyā ti vuccati*, “a woman is called ‘One about whom Enough! is to be said’ when she has been abandoned by whatever means [is current] in whatever region”; the sub-commentary (Sp-ṭ B^c II 329) adds: *alaṃvacanīyā hontī ti desacārittavasena paṇṇadānādīnā pariccattā hontī*, such women “are abandoned by such means as giving a letter, according to the custom of the region”.

²²*cattāri ṭhānāni naro pamatto, āpajjati paradārūpasevī | apuññalābhaṃ na nikāmasēyyaṃ, nindaṃ tatīyaṃ nirayaṃ catutthaṃ || apuññalābho ca gatī ca pāpikā, bhītassa bhītāya ratī ca thokikā | rājā ca daṇḍaṃ garukaṃ paṇeti, tasmā naro paradāraṃ na seve*. The translation is from Norman 1997, p. 45. The commentary explains “an uncomfortable bed” as meaning that he cannot sleep when he wants to, and sleeps little.

Anāthapiṇḍika tells all this to the Buddha, who speaks the verses to Khema “to show the fault (*dosa*) in going after other men’s wives”. Leniency for adulterers is also suggested by another remark of the Buddha in the same text, in which he “does not make any one Precept lesser [than another]” because “they are all difficult to keep”.²³ This precedes a verse which says that “whoever ... goes to another’s wife digs up his own root here in this very world”. The word-commentary specifies this as not paying attention to his business affairs and wasting money, without mentioning public punishment.

In the long term, the karmic punishment for adultery is bad rebirth. Male and female adulterers go to hell: an example very common in modern Thai temple wall-paintings is one where they are forced by armed guards repeatedly to climb a tree with sixteen-finger-long iron thorns (see, e.g., Ja V 269, explained at 275). Various other karmic effects are described: male adulterers are reborn as human women; women who avoid adultery are reborn as men (e.g. Dhp-a I 327, where the text remarks that “there are no men who have not previously been women, nor women who have not previously been men”); one male adulterer is reborn submerged head-deep in a pit of excrement, and an adulteress flies through the air with flayed skin, attacked by vultures (S II 259). In both cases, he/she “as a result of that deed cooked in hell for many hundreds of years, many thousands of years, many hundred thousands of years ... through the power of the ripening of that same deed”.

Single Women (Young and Old), Divorcées, Widows, and Prostitution

It would seem to follow from the logic of the remarks about the last two of the Ten Women and the Ten Wives that no other woman breaks the Third Precept in having sex. This is said in some texts about

²³Dhp-a III 355, *ekasīlam pi kaṇṭhakaṃ akatvā sabbān’ eva durakkhānī ti*, preceding Dhp 246. The particle *eva* here could be read as meaning “equally”, though that might be an exaggeration.

prostitutes (see below), but I do not know of it being said specifically of other single women, who are usually referred to disparagingly. Young girls, starting at around sixteen (the usual age for marriage) “wish for men, lust for men”; “the madness of youth” can make them enter into inappropriate sexual liaisons.²⁴ Older women who do not get married or enter the Monastic Order are called *thullakumārikā*, which is best rendered simply as “spinster”. The word *thūla/thulla* can mean physically big: Horner has “grown girl”, referring to the commentarial gloss *mahallikā*, “old”. It can mean “gross” in an evaluative sense: Rouse has “coarse”, translating an explanation in the Cullanārada Jātaka: “You must understand that a ‘coarse’ girl does not mean one whose body is fat, but be she fat or thin, by the power of the five sensual passions she is called ‘coarse’.”²⁵ Spinsters are one place to which a monk should not go for alms — they are *agocara*: “such girls have grown up, and are past their prime — they go about desiring men, looking for intimacy with anyone”.²⁶ The usual word for widow is *vidhavā* (possibly simply *vi-dhava*, “without a man”); widows, like spinsters, are also said to be a place monks should not go for alms, since they also “are on the lookout for intimacy with anyone”.²⁷ On the other hand, widows, like young girls, could be victims, as the terms *kaññero* and *vidhaverō*, “preying on virgins [and] widows” suggest.²⁸ The

²⁴e.g. Dh-p-a II 217: *tasmīñ ca vaye ñhitā nāriyo purisajjhāsayā honti purisalolā*; Dh-p-a I 239–40: *yobbanamadammattāya purisalolā* (*purisa-lola* is said to be one of five kinds of lust or greed afflicting women, Pj II 35–6, Sās 220)

²⁵Ja IV 219–20 (cf. Ja III 147) *thullakumārikā ti na ca thūlasarirā daṭṭhabbā, thūlā vā hotu kisā vā, pañcakāmaguṇīkarāgena pana thūlatāya thullakumārikā ti vuccati*, tr. Rouse 1895, p.137. Horner’s version is at Horner 1982 [1951], p.87.

²⁶Sp 991, *yobbanappattā yobbanātītā vā kumāriyo; tā purisādhippāyā va vicarantī, yena kenaci saddhiṃ mittabhāvaṃ patthenti*; Nidd-a 451, Vibh-a 339–40 have *mahallikā anivīṭṭhakumāriyo*.

²⁷e.g. Sp 991–92 *tā yena kenaci saddhiṃ mittabhāvaṃ patthenti*.

²⁸Norman 1992, pp.88–90, referring to Ja IV 184, VI 508, and discussions in grammatical texts.

difficulty of life as a widow is a familiar topos of South Asian literature; widowhood is one of ten things “looked down on by people” (Mil 288). I have not yet examined texts referring to divorcées, but the fact that commentaries define a widow as a woman whose husband is dead or living somewhere else would suggest that their moral–legal status might be comparable.²⁹

Limitations of space prevent further exploration of these issues. But both for its own sake, and because of the contemporary significance of prostitution in countries where Pāli texts are seen as “the Buddhist tradition”, where some people connect its growing prevalence with the misogyny which is certainly found in some Pāli texts, it is perhaps worth while looking more closely at the issue. The Pāli imaginaire as a whole is uneven: on the one hand, prostitution is called a “defiled form of action” which results in blame in this life and bad destinies in the future; words for “prostitute” are used as insults; prostitutes are an unsuitable source of alms for monks; and their alleged obsession with sex and availability to all is used as a denigratory figure in misogynist characterizations of women in general. On the other hand, prostitutes are capable of virtue (*sīla*); to be a wealthy and cultured prostitute can be a reward for good karma; they can give alms to monks; and they may be ordained as nuns, and go on to attain enlightenment.

The most common word for prostitute is *gaṇikā*. The word is from *gaṇa*, an amount, a number, or a crowd, but the exact etymology of the term is uncertain: it may mean “one who belongs to a crowd”, or “one who [is had] for a [specific] amount”. It is sometimes said in secondary sources that *gaṇikā* denotes a high-class “courtesan”³⁰ — that is, a

²⁹e.g. Vibh-a 339 *vidhavā vuccanti matapatikā vā pavutthapatikā vā*. Although they may not technically speaking break the Third Precept, one should note such texts as Mil 205ff., which describes a woman whose husband was living away but who nonetheless did not do wrong (*pāpaṃ nākāsi*) with any man even though she was offered large sums of money to do so.

³⁰This word is often used simply as a euphemism. I use “prostitute” with no pejorative sense intended.

woman who, like an ancient Greek hetaira or Japanese geisha, is cultured and accomplished in the arts (especially dancing) as well as a sexual partner — in contradistinction to *vesī*, which denotes a lower-class harlot.³¹ This is not consistently borne out by the use of the words, however. They are given as synonyms³²; in one story (Vin III 138–39), a group of womanizers³³ send a messenger to summon a *vesī* to a park where they are enjoying themselves. She refuses, saying that she is rich and prosperous and will not leave the city. They engage the services of the monk Udāyi, who acts as a go-between with her, thus causing the Buddha to promulgate Saṅghādisesa Rule no. 5, prohibiting monks from acting as go-betweens to arrange for a marriage, a lover or a “temporary woman”. The word *vesī*, or *vesiyā/vesikā*, has been connected with *vessa*, Sanskrit *vaiśya*, the third of the four Brahmanical social groupings (thus *PED* s.v. “a woman of low caste, a harlot”), but it is probably from Sanskrit *veśa*, “a house (sc. of ill-repute)”, from *viś*, “to enter or settle down”. All prostitutes are *rūpūpajīvinī*, “women who live off their *rūpa*”, which here may mean “[good] looks” or simply “body”. Some higher-class ones, especially those who seem to have been established by a city or township, are called *nagarasobhinī*, “women who beautify the city”. Another word is *vaṇṇadāsī*, “slave of beauty”.³⁴

³¹Thus Perera 1993, p.215, no. 341: “The *gaṇikā*, though serving the needs of sex, is not the despicable creature that the prostitute is.” Cf. Murcott 1991, pp.119–20.

³²e.g. Sp 1293 on Vin II 267, Abh 233.

³³They are called simply *dhuttā*, “rogues”, “abandoned” to one or more of three things: women, alcohol and gambling. The commentary here (Sp 553) naturally specifies them as womanizers, *itthi-dhuttā*.

³⁴Abh-ṭ B^c 169 explains the term at Abh 233 as *vaṇṇasampannā dāsī vaṇṇadāsī. dāsīm pi hi vaṇṇasampannaṃ keci sāmikā dhanalobhena gaṇikaṃ karonti*, “a slave endowed with beauty is called a slave of beauty. Some owners make a slave-woman a prostitute because of their greed for money.” Some mss of Thī 442 + Thī-a 248 use the word of someone said to be “neither man nor woman” and “neuter” (*napuṃsaka*) — presumably intending to refer to a male prostitute.

Prostitution is described, sometimes by prostitutes themselves, as a “defiled form of action” (*kiliṭṭha-kamma*);³⁵ *kiliṭṭha* is from *kliś*, to be troubled, stained, defiled, whence the term *kilesa*, an ubiquitous Buddhist term: *kilesa-nibbāna*, “the nirvana of the Defilements”, is a defining characteristic of final nirvana (Collins 1998: 148, 151). Texts list various kinds and numbers of *kilesa*;³⁶ those most relevant to prostitution would appear to be no. 1 *lobha*, “greed”; no. 9 *ahirika*, shamelessness; and no. 10 *anottappa*, not fearing blame. Vimalā, a prostitute who became a nun and Arhat, falls in love with the monk Moggallāna; she goes to him and does *palobhana-kamma* in his direction, which Pruitt (1998: 101) translates “make seductive action”.³⁷ He repels her with verses on the foulness of the body and so causes her to establish Shame and Fear of Blame (*hiri-ottappa*). Later she recalls how, intoxicated with her youthful beauty, she used to stand at the brothel door like a hunter, “revealing many secret places” (specified as thighs, hips, and breasts, Thī 72ff. and Thī-a 76–77). Yet worse, some prostitutes abandon baby sons, preferring daughters they can train in their own métier.³⁸ Aḍḍhakāsī (e.g. Thī-a 29–31) and Ambapālī (e.g. Thī-a 198–204), both of them wealthy, and who both became nuns and Arhats, are said to have used the word *gaṇikā* as an insult to Buddhist nuns in previous lives, and as a result to have been

³⁵e.g. the term is used of Sirimā, who abandons it and attains the Fruit of Stream-Entry (Vv-a 74–75); it is said by a *nagarasobhinī* of herself at Ja III 435ff., and of a *gaṇikā* at Pv-a 195). It is used for other misdeeds, e.g. a proposed act of incest (Ja IV 190), pork butchery (Dhp-a I 125–28), and refuse-sweeping (Vbh-a 440-1). At Ja III 60 a *gaṇikā* calls her trade *nīca-kamma*, “inferior work”.

³⁶e.g. ten (Vbh 341, Vism 683 = XXII 49), five hundred (Spk I 187), fifteen hundred (Ud-a 138–39, 335f.)

³⁷*Palobhana*, I think, has both simple and causative senses: action based on and intended to incite greed.

³⁸e.g. Sālavatī (Vin I 269), whose son survived and went on to become the prosperous physician and Buddhist lay-supporter Jīvaka (cf. also Pv-a 195); cf. Dhp-a I 174, and see Horner 1930, pp.87ff.. Their métier is called a “tradition” (*paveṇī*).

reborn in hell and as prostitutes. Prostitutes are the first of the list of five places to which a monk should not normally or regularly go for alms (*agocara*), the others being widows, spinsters, nuns and bars. The reasons given for this are that monks are likely to develop a fondness for going there often, and that in any case their going there would be a cause for reproach from others. (But if prostitutes wish to make merit to transfer to dead relatives or to give monks “ticket-food”, monks may go there as long as they establish mindfulness.³⁹) Just one example of the image of prostitutes in characterizations of women as a whole will suffice, from the Kuṇāla Jātaka.⁴⁰ A verse and its commentary have: “Like a lion eating blood and meat, a beast of prey, grabbing with its paws and jaws, greedy, obtaining his food by force, ready to hurt others, so are women: a man should not confide in them ... Not only ... are [women] whores, harlots and prostitutes, not only strumpets: murderesses are they!” “Murderesses” (*vadhikāyo*) is explained as “husband killers” (431), where reference is made to another Birth Story (Ja V 367), where “many women” are said to be common property like a bar to drunks, and (a common trope) “the snare of Death”.

Nonetheless, other texts describe prostitutes as capable of *śīla*. The Kurudhamma Jātaka (no. 276, Ja II 365–81) tells a utopian story of the Kuru kingdom, where everyone, including prostitutes, keeps the Five Precepts so assiduously that they worry that they may have broken them because of “a trifle”. They are all “sages of old”, even though “they were living the defiled life in a household” (*agāramajjhe saṅkiliṭṭha-bhāva*). Eleven examples are given, to messengers who come from another kingdom where no rain falls in order to learn what it is about the Kurus’ Virtue which causes rain to fall there. Each person doubts that they have kept one or other Precept: two concern the Third. The queen saw her husband’s brother, the viceroy, riding on an elephant one day,

³⁹Vin I 70 + Sp 991–92, A III 128 + Mp III 278 + Mp-ṅ B^c III 39, Nidd I 473 + Nidd-a 451, Vbh 247 + Vbh-a 339–40, Vism 17 = I 18 + Vism-mhṭ B^c I 42.

⁴⁰No. 536, Ja V 412–56; tr. Francis 1895, pp.219–45; ed. and tr. Bollée 1970. Text cited Ja V 425 = Bollée, p. 23, translation from Bollée, pp. 132–33.

felt greed for him and fantasized that her husband would die, the viceroy would become king and marry her; she then doubted her virtue because she had looked at another man “in a defiled manner”; the messengers assure her that “there is no adultery in the mere occurrence of a thought” and pass on. The last is the prostitute. She doubts her *sīla* because in the past Sakka, in the form of a young man, gave her money in advance of an assignation, but then returned to heaven for three years. The prostitute, “fearing to break her Virtue”, refuses to accept anything from any other man; she thus falls on hard times and goes to the Chief Justices to ask permission to start earning her wages as before. They give it, but as she is about to take money from another man, Sakka reappears and she refuses the money. He reveals his true identity, admonishes the crowd to preserve Virtue as she has done, and leaves. She nonetheless thinks that her virtue is faulty because she stretched out her hand to take money from another man. The messengers insist that her *sīla* is in a state of “perfect purity” (*paramā pārisuddhi*).

In another story a young woman and a prostitute are among fourteen cases of people who have fallen on hard times. A wise king explains how they must mend their ways: the woman has a lover living between her husband’s and her parents’ villages; she pretends to visit her parents but stays with her lover. The king says she should stay with her husband, otherwise he (the king) might seize her and put her to death. The prostitute used not to take money from another man until she had fulfilled her contract with whoever had given her money, and so she earned a lot; but now, giving up that practice (or: form of propriety, *dhammatā*), she takes money from one man, but gives an opportunity to another man instead of him, and so no one comes to her. She should keep to her old dhamma (Ja II 308–309).

One text argues explicitly that prostitutes do not break the Third Precept. It was edited by Jaini — who says that “this passage is probably the only place in Buddhist literature where the problem of the application of the lay discipline to a courtesan has been raised” — under the title *Lokaneyyapakaṇaṇaṃ*, on the basis of one nineteenth-century

Thai manuscript in Khmer script, and dated by him tentatively “not later than the fourteenth century A.D.” (1986: xliii, xlvi). The relevant section is found in the Kurudhamma Chapter (based on the Kurudhamma Jātaka), and it is not easy to interpret.⁴¹ A series of arguments and analogies begins with the statement that a *gaṇikā* has a fourfold duty (*kiṅka*): she is to (i) preserve *sīla* by taking money from anyone, whatever their social level; (ii) remain calm (*niccalā*) throughout her sexual encounters; (iii) after taking money for a later assignation, not go with anyone else even if they offer more money; and (iv) remain equanimous during encounters and not afterwards show personal preferences for any customers, whatever their social level. It then — in a style typical of Southern Asian philosophical texts — refutes an imagined objector who claims that a prostitute breaks the Third Precept because she goes with other women’s husbands. First, it argues that just as a person whose retinue or slaves or relatives⁴² go on board a boat in order to trade is competent (or: has the right, *samattha*) to rebuke or strike them, but cannot impute blame to the ferryman, so the wives of the men who have sex with a prostitute cannot impute blame to her. Second (Lkn 194):

yasmā porāṇā rājāno tam ānetvā tassā yattakaṃ kālaṃ bhatim denti tesam tāya saddhiṃ methunasaṃvāso tattakaṃ kālaṃ hoti, te pi sakasaka-bharyāyo mā tassā dosam āropetha, idaṃ rājadhanaṃ vaḍḍhanatthāya saṃvattatī ti saññāpesuṃ, tesam pi bharyāyo ayañ ca ayañ ca me me sāmiko ti paggaḥesuṃ, tasmā tassā majjhaccittena kāmesu micchācārā verāmaṇī hoti n' eva nindā hoti.

Just as when kings in the past, bringing a prostitute [to their realm] had sex with her for however much time they had paid her for, and conciliated their respective wives, [saying,] “Do not impute blame to her, this is conducive to increasing the royal wealth”, [while] the wives on the other hand accepted it [each saying] “This is my *sāmika*”; therefore because of her

⁴¹Jaini’s summary (1986, p.xlii) appears to be studiedly vague, and may be mistaken in some details. I thank K.R. Norman (personal communication) for help with the sentences I have been prepared to translate here.

⁴²Reading (as suggested by K.R. Norman) *parijanā dāsā vā nātisālohitā vā*.

psychological equanimity there is abstinence from sexual misconduct, [and so] there is no blame.

(Presumably the increase to royal wealth came from taxation of the prostitute's earnings from other men.)

A number of texts describe prostitutes who were expensive: they become rich and those who tax them profit also. There are many examples of ex-prostitutes who became nuns and even Arhats: see *DPPN*, for example, for the stories of Aḍḍhakāsī, Sirimā, Abhayamātā, Vimalā, and others, especially the doyenne of prostitutes in Pāli texts, Ambapālī, who receives special attention and privilege from the Buddha while still a prostitute.

In general, therefore, the attitude to prostitution in Pāli texts seems to be this: from the ascetic–ultimate perspective, prostitutes' behavior is a prime example of the greed, attachment, and defilement which tie all those who live the household, married life to rebirth. Some can, however, reform and attain enlightenment in the same life. From within a karmic perspective prostitutes do not, or at least do not necessarily do, wrong, and do not break the Third Precept. Men who visit them likewise do not break the Precept (they are not a Forbidden Zone, as are the Ten Women and Ten Wives), although the psychological and interpersonal ideal of monogamous fidelity would seem to tell against the habit.

Steven Collins
University of Chicago

ABBREVIATIONS AND TEXTS CITED

All abbreviations for Pāli texts follow *CPD*

DPPN = G.P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*

CPD = *Critical Pāli Dictionary*

DOP = M. Cone, *A Dictionary of Pāli*, Part 1

MW = Monier-Williams' Sanskrit–English Dictionary

PED = *Pali Text Society's Pali–English Dictionary*

The Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana CD is available from www.vri.dhamma.org

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A Note on *vinaya**

The word *vinaya* is well known in Buddhist circle as the “norm of conduct” in general and as a name of the Tripiṭakas in particular. The word is originally a verbal action noun (nomina actionis) formulated out of the verbal root *vi-nī-* which means “drive out”, or “remove”. Thus, the original meaning of the word *vinaya* is the act of driving out or removal. This meaning is preserved in Pali, as is seen in such compounds as *pipāsa-vinaya* (removal, or quenching of thirst),¹ *kodha-vinaya* (removal, or repression of anger), etc. Apparently, its application to the disciplinary meaning in the Vinaya texts is a later development through the “removal” of immoral thought and evil actions. Yet, on the other hand, in Classical Sanskrit literature the meaning of “removal” is also developed in another direction and appears in an erotic context, which is hardly compatible with the moral and disciplinary one. Under such circumstances, it might be interesting to investigate how far its semantic field is extended in Pali as well as in Sanskrit, and to locate the Buddhist meaning within it.

However, according to the nature of the material which the present writer has been able to collect so far, it is convenient to deal with the problem in two sections. In the first section, we shall examine its wide range of usage, extending from erotics to ethics in Sanskrit as well as in Pali, and in the second, we shall discuss the meaning peculiar to Sanskrit.

It is out of great respect for the scholarship of Mr K.R. Norman that the present writer takes up the word *vinaya* and dedicates it to his Festschrift.²

*This is an abridged, revised, English version of my paper in Japanese entitled “Vinaya Study”, published in *The Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies* 7 (2004) pp. 217–70.

¹A II 34,25, Ja III 290,26. Cf. also *pipāsa-vinayana* in Mil 318,25–27.

²In fact, the present writer was inspired by an article by Mr Norman (1993).

I. *vinaya* in Pāli and Sanskrit

For clarity's sake, let us start with its usage in the erotic context.

I.1. Removal of a Garment (in an erotic context)

In sharp contrast to its moral meaning of “the rule of conduct”, the word appears in an erotic context. Two examples suffice to illustrate the situation.

*uttarīya-vinayāt trapamāṇā rundhatī kila tad-ikṣaṇa-mārgam
āvāriṣṭa vikaṭena vivoḍhur vakṣasaiva kuca-maṇḍalam anyā.*

Śiśupālavadha 10.42

Another woman, ashamed of the removal of her upper garment (*uttarīya-vinaya*) [by the hand of her husband, with the intention of] obstructing the line of his sight, covered her plump breasts by means of the broad chest of her husband.³

It is because of shyness to disclose her breasts that a woman wishes to have the tight embrace of her husband.

A similar use is also seen in its verbal usage (*vinayat-*).

*ambaram vinayataḥ priya-pāṇer yoṣitaś ca karayoḥ kalahasya
vāraṇām iva vidhātum abhikṣṇam kakṣyayā ca valayaiś ca
śiśiñje.*

Śiśupālavadha 7.57

Girdle and bracelets twanged incessantly to ward off, so to speak, a quarrel between the beloved's hand [which tries to] remove her garment.

It is remarkable that the word *vinaya* is used in the sense of the removal of a garment (*uttarīya-*, *ambara-*) of a woman in love-making by the hand of her lover.⁴

³*kucāṃśukākaraṣaṇa*: (Mallinātha) “slipping off of garment covering her breasts”.

⁴Another example is taken from a romantic context, though not so erotic. Here the etymological meaning of “removal” (*vi-* and *nī-*) can be observed.

*vinayati sudṛśo dṛśaḥ parāgaṃ praṇayini kausumam ānanānilena
tad ahita-yuvater abhikṣṇam akṣṇor dvayam api roṣa-rajobhir āpupūre.*

Śiśupālavadha 7.57

1.2. Removal of physical difficulties

As we have the Pali compound *pipāsa-vinaya* in A II 34.25 or *pipāsā-vinayana* in Mil 318.25-27, so we have *tṛṣṇā-vinayana* in MBh.

1.2.1. *tṛṣṇā*- (thirst)

Regretting what he has done, the old king Dhṛtarāṣṭra says as follows:

caturthe niyate kāle kadācid api cāṣṭame
tṛṣṇā-vinayanaṃ bhuñje gāndhārī veda tan mama.

MBh.15.5.10

Now at the fixed time, that is, at the fourth division of the day or sometimes at the eighth division, I take a little for quenching my thirst (*tṛṣṇā-vinayana*). [My wife] Gāndhārī knows this.

1.2.2. *adhva-śrama* (fatigue)

āsīnānāṃ surabhīta-śīlaṃ nābhi-gandhair mṛgāṇām
tasyā eva prabhavam acalaṃ prāpya gauraṃ tuṣāraiḥ
vakṣyasy adhva-śrama-vinayane tasya śṛṅge niṣaṇṇaḥ
śobhāṃ śubhra-trinayana-vṛṣotkhāta-paṅkopameyām.

Meghadūta 52

When thou hast come to the source of that river, the mountain white with hoar-frost, where seated deer perfume the rocks with must, settle on its peak to relieve the weariness of thy journey (*śrama-vinayana*), and thou shalt assume beauty that matches clay cast up on himself by Shiva's lustrous bull.

Tr. Edgerton

1.2.3. *kapola-kaṇḍu* (the itch of the temple [of an elephant])

In describing the Mt. Himalaya, it is said,

kapola-kaṇḍūḥ karibhīr vinetuṃ
vighaṭṭitānām sarala-drumāṇām

While a lover was removing (*vinayati* = *apanayati* (Mallinātha)) the pollen of a flower from the eye of the charming-eyed one by means of his mouth-breath, both eyes of her rival-lady were immediately filled with the dusts (passion: *rajas*) of [jealous] anger.

*yatra sruta-kṣīratayā prasūtaḥ
sānūni gandhaḥ surabhī-karoti.*

Kumārasaṃbhava 1.9

Where the perfume arising from the milk-emitting nature of the pine trees, rubbed by elephants for allaying (*vinetum*) the itch of [their] temples, renders the summits fragrant.

1.3. Removal of mental difficulties

As we have the compound *parissaya-vinaya* (dispelling dangers) in Sn 92, the phrase *kaṅkhaṃ vinaya no ise* (remove our doubt, O great one) in M II 143,12⁵ and its verbal form *hadaya-pariḷāhaṃ vinaya* in Mil 318,4, the word is also construed with mental difficulty in Hindu texts.

1.3.1. *duḥkha* (grief)

Seeing the increasing number of creatures and intending to lighten the burden of the earth, Prajāpati created a girl *mṛtyu* (death) and asked her to kill the creatures. She was frightened and entreated him to relinquish his design.

*vinīya duḥkham abalā sā tv atīvāyatekṣaṇā
uvāca prāñjalir bhūtvā latevāvarjitā tadā.*

MBh.12.250.1

Having driven off her grief, the large-eyed woman said with joined hands and bending [her body] like a creeper ...⁶

1.3.2. *bhaya* (fear)

Toward the end of the great war Yudhiṣṭhira addressed Duryodhana, who hid himself in a pond, as follows,

sa tvam uttiṣṭha yudhyasva vinīya bhayam ātmanaḥ

⁵Cf. Sn 58, 559, 1025, Ja V 501,12, VI 375,20 and VI 222,15, 19, 21.

⁶ *vinīya khalu tad duḥkham āgaṃ vaimanasya-jam
dhyātavyaṃ manasā hṛdyaṃ kalyāṇaṃ saṃvijānatā.*

MBh.12.219.6

*ramasva rājan piba cādya vāruṇīm kuruṣva kṛtyāni vinīya duḥkham
mayādya rāme gamite yama-kṣayaṃ cirāya sītā vaśagā bhaviṣyati.*

R.6.63.56 Bombay

ghātayivā sarva-sainyaṃ bhrātṛiṃś caiva suyodhana (27)
nedānīm jīvite buddhiḥ kāryā dharma-cikīrṣayā.

MBh.9.30.28ab

Arise and fight, casting off fear for yourself! Having caused all your troops and brothers to be slain, O Suyodhana, now you should not think of [saving your] life, if you wish to do justice!

1.3.3. *jvara* (affliction)

Kumbhakarṇa encouraged his brother Rāvaṇa in distress, saying,

ramasva kāmaṃ piba cāgrya-vāruṇīm
kuruṣva kṛtyāni vinīyatām jvaraḥ
mayādyā rāme gamite yama-kṣayaṃ
cirāya sītā vaśagā bhaviṣyati.

R.6.51.47

Make love, drink wine, do what you have to do and banish affliction!

Today, when I send Rāma to the abode of death, Sītā will become yours for ever.

1.3.4. *āyāsa* (distress)

When Bharata was summoned to Ayodhyā by Kaikeyī, he saw a terrible dream and was greatly distressed.

tapyamānaṃ samājñāya vāsyāḥ priya-vādināḥ
āyāsaṃ hi vineṣyantaḥ sabhāyām cakrire kathāḥ.

R.2.63.3

Observing how troubled he was, his affable companions tried to ease his distress by engaging him in conversation in the assembly hall.

Tr. Pollock

1.3.5. *hṛdaya-granthi* (knot in the heart)

As we have *hadaya-pariḷāhaṃ vinaya* (remove my heart-burning pain) in Mil 318.4, so we have the expression *granthiṃ vinīya hṛdayasya*. The sage Ātreya in the disguise of a *haṃsa* bird encouraged the Sādhyas as follows:

etat kāryam amarāḥ saṃśrutaṃ me
dhṛtiḥ śamaḥ satya-dharmānuvṛttiḥ

*granthiṃ vinīya hṛdayasya sarvaṃ
priyāpriye cātma-vaśaṃ nayīta.*

MBh.5.36.4

I have learnt, Immortals, that this is one's task; to be steady and serene and to pursue truth and Law; having undone all the knots of the heart, one should bring both the pleasant and the unpleasant under control.

Tr. van Buitenen

1.3.6. *asūya* (jealousy)

Furthermore, its verbal form takes *asūya* in the accusative case. Despite the request of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Saṃjaya refused to speak in secret and promised to speak out only in the presence of Vyāsa and Gāndhārī.

*tau te asūyāṃ vinayetaṃ narendra
dharmajñau tau nipuṇau niścayañau
tayos tu tvāṃ saṃmidhau tad vadeyaṃ
kṛtsnaṃ mataṃ vāsudevārjunābhyām.*

MBh.5.65.7

For both of them, clever, knowing justice and resolute, can dispel any ill-feeling you might cherish [against me].
In their presence I shall tell you all that Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna have in their mind.

1.4. Removal of *yuddha-śraddhā*⁷

In the epic battle scene, we often meet warriors' determination to mar the warlike spirit (*yuddha-śraddhā*)⁸ of their adversary. It is natural in these contexts for *vi-nī-* to appear in the future tense, either in the simple form or in the periphrastic one.

*tiṣṭha tiṣṭha na me jīvan droṇa-putra gamiṣyati
yuddha-śraddhām ahaṃ te 'dya vineṣyāmi raṇājire.*

MBh.7.131.62

⁷Cf. Hara 1992.

⁸The literary meaning would be "the conviction (*śraddhā*) [of victory] in battle".

Wait, wait, O son of Droṇa, you shall not go [escaping] from me with your life.⁹ I shall today dispel your eagerness for fighting.

1.5. *darpa* (arrogance)

In a similar context of battle we also meet *darpa*.

*anuktvā samare tāta śūrā yudhyanti śaktiṭaḥ
sa yudhyasva mayā śaktyā vineṣye darpam adya te.*

MBh.8.17.54

Heroic men fight their utmost in the battlefield without saying anything. Thus, fight with me to the utmost. Today, I shall destroy your arrogance.¹⁰

1.6. Removal of vices (= restraint or control)

The removal of jealousy (*asūya*) and arrogance (*darpa*) leads us to that of vices in general. It is from this “removal of vices” onward that the word *vinaya* is imbued with the tinge of moral and disciplinary meaning.

⁹Hara 1996.

¹⁰v.1. *haniṣye*, *vinaśyed* for *vineṣye*.

Cf. also,

*ekaikaśaḥ samarthāḥ smo vijetaṃ sarva-pārthivān
āgacchantu vineṣyāmi darpam eṣāṃ śītaiḥ śaraiḥ.*

MBh.5.54.19

*eṣo yotsyāmi vaḥ sarvān nivārya śara-vāgurām
tiṣṭhadhvaṃ yuddha-manaso darpam vinayitāsmi vaḥ.*

MBh.14.77.5

*śīghram eva hi rākṣasyo vikṛtā ghora-darśanāḥ
darpam asya hi vineṣyantu māṃsa-śoṇita-bhojanāḥ.*

R.3.54.24

The contrast between *darpa* and *vinaya* is also discerned in the following passages :

*tad yuddham abhavad ghoram deva-dānava-saṃkulam
kṣamā-parākrama-mayaṃ darpasya vinayasya ca.*

H.37.21

*tat surāsura-saṃyuktaṃ yuddham atyadbhutaṃ babhau
dharmādharma-samāyuktaṃ darpeṇa vinayena ca.*

H.35.3

1.6.1. In Pali text, the word *vinaya* is compounded with various kinds of vice, such as

<i>asmi-māna</i>	(the sense of ego) (Vin, I 3,30),
<i>icchā</i>	(desire) (D III 252,19–20, A IV 15,12–13, V 165,7–8),
<i>kodha</i>	(anger) (A I 91,20, A VI 65,12–13, S II 282,20),
<i>upanāha</i>	(grudge) (A I 91,20),
<i>gedha</i>	(greed) (Sn 152, 1098),
<i>makkha</i>	(hypocrisy) (A V 165,17–18, S II 282,20),
<i>māna</i>	(pride) (S II 282,20),
<i>sāṭheyyā</i>	(treachery) (A V 165,22–23),
<i>māyā</i>	(fraud) (A V 165,26–28),
<i>chanda-rāga</i>	(exciting desire) (S IV 7,9, 13–14, 19)
<i>rāga</i>	(lust) (S V 137,25, 241,24),
<i>dosa</i>	(hatred) (S V 37,25, 241,24),
<i>moha</i>	(delusion) (S V 137,26, 241,24)
<i>bhakuṭi</i>	(superciliousness) (Sn 485).

Yet, the commonest construction of *vinaya* with vices is summarized in that of *akusala dhamma* in the plural, where these three (*rāga*, *dosa*, *moha*) are also included. For example:

*ahaṃ hi Sīha vinayāya dhammaṃ desemi rāgassa dosassa
mohassa aneka-vihitānaṃ pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ
vinayāya dhammaṃ desemi.*

Vin I 235,26–28 ≠ III 3,9–11 = A IV 175,7–9

O Siha, I am teaching this dhamma in order to remove lust, hatred and delusion. [That is to say,] I am teaching this dhamma in order to remove evil and unfit qualities of various sorts.¹¹

1.6.2. However, in classical Sanskrit literature, these vices are mostly preceded by *vinīta-* as is seen in such compounds as *vinīta-rāga* (MBh.12.172.37), *vinīta-moha* (MBh.12.237.35), *vinīta-krodha-harṣa* (MBh.5.88.6), *vinīta-roṣa-tṛṣṇā* (MBh.12.172.36), *vinīta-kilbiṣa* (MBh.5.193.29). Of these, the commonest one is *vinītātman*.

¹¹For *samukhā-vinaya*, *sati-vinaya*, *amūḷha-vinaya*, cf. D III 254,12.

*taṃ sa-dāro vinitātmā sugrīvaḥ plavagādhipaḥ
pūjyā pratijagrāha prīyamāṇas tad arhayā.*

MBh.3.266.13

With his wife, the courteous (*vinītātman*) king of apes, Sugrīva,
kindly received him with the honor due to him.

Tr. van Buitenen

1.7. Training

From the “removal” of vices, it is an easy transition of meaning to that of shortcomings in general, that is “training”. Yet, this “training” is exercised not only to human beings, but also to animals.

1.7.1. Taming of wild animals

In praise of Rāma we read,

*ārohe vinaye caiva yukto vāraṇa-vājinām
dhanurveda-vidāṃ śreṣṭho loke ‘tiratha-saṃmataḥ.*

R.2.1.23

He was proficient in riding (*āroha*) and the training (*vinaya*) of horses and elephants, and was regarded as the best expert among masters of martial arts.¹²

¹²For *vinīta-sattva*, cf.

tapasvi-saṃsarga-vinīta-sattve tapo-vane vīta-bhayā vasāsmiṃ.

Raghuvamśa 14.75ab

For *vinīta-mṛga*, cf.

agastyasyāśramāḥ śrīmān vinīta-mṛga-sevitaḥ.

R.3.10.84

For elephants, cf.

*vinaya-vidhāyini bhagne ‘pi cāṅkuṣe vidyata eva vyāla-vāraṇasya
vinayāya sakala-matta-mātaṅga-kumbha-sthala-sthira-śirobhāga-bhiduraḥ
kharatarāḥ kesari-nakharāḥ.*

Harṣacarita 188.14-6

*prabhinnāś ca mahānāgā vinīta hasti-sādibhiḥ
parasparaṃ samāsādyā saṃnipetus abhūtavat.*

MBh.6.91.26

*ye tv ete sumahā-nāgā añjanasya kulodbhavāḥ
idhodaka-pradātāraṃ śūnya-pālakam āśrame*

1.7.2. Training of youths

The “taming of animals” is akin to “the training” of children. Human beings in the prime of their youth should be trained and cultivated. Hence its construction with *saiśava*, *yauvana*, etc.

1.7.2.1. *saiśava*

The sage Divākaramitra praises the inborn courtesy of Harṣa as follows:

*asya tv īdṛṣe saiśave vinayasyopādhyāyaṃ dhyāyann api na
saṃbhāvayāmi bhuvī.*

Harṣacarita 239.25–26

In my pondering, I cannot imagine any instructor in decorum on the earth (*vinayasyopādhyāya*) in his childhood.

1.7.2.2. *śiśutva*

Mischief (*a-vinaya*) is natural to childhood. Hence its construction with *śiśutva* and *bāla-bhāva*.

janaka iva śiśutve supriyasyaika-sūnor

vinūtam ācārya-kule suyuktaṃ guru-karmaṇi.

MBh.13.105.9

For horses, cf.

*aśvānāṃ prakṛtiṃ vedmi vinayaṃ cāpi sarvaśaḥ
duṣṭānāṃ pratipattiṃ ca kṛtsnaṃ caiva cikitsitam.*

MBh.4.11.7

vinayantaṃ javenāśvān mahārājasya paśyataḥ.

MBh.4.18.32

karkāśās ca vinūtas ca prabhinna-karaṭāmukhāḥ.

MBh.7.87.33

For bulls, cf.

*tasmai pradeyaṃ prāyacchat pṛito rājā dhanam bahu
vinūtaṃ vṛṣabhān dṛṣṭvā sahadevasya cābhibho.*

MBh.4.12.31

*tathānaḍvāhaṃ brāhmaṇyātha dhuryaṃ
dattvā yuvānaṃ balinaṃ vinūtam
halasya voḍhāram ananta-vīryaṃ
prāpnoti lokān daśadhenudasya.*

MBh.13.72.43

avinayam api sehe pāṇḍavasya smarāriḥ.

Kirātārjunīya 17.64cd

Śiva put up with Arjuna's indecorum (*avinaya*), as a father puts up with his loving single son in his childhood.¹³

1.7.2.3. *yauvana*

Youth and decorum are often incompatible. In the praise of Mādhavagupta we read,

paraspara-viruddhayor vinaya-yauvanayos cirāt prathama-saṅgama-cihnam iva bhrū-saṅgatakena kathayantam ...

Harṣacarita 139.20

His meeting brows seemed to suggest the reconciliation after a long time of those irreconcilables, youth and decorum ...

1.7.2.4. *abhinava-yauvana*

avinaya-bahulatayā cābhinava-yauvanasya ...

Kādambarī 270.5

Since the prime of youth (*abhinava-yauvana*) is full of ill-behaviour or mischief (*avinaya*) ...

1.8. Education

Cultivation of youths is nothing but “education”. As we have *abhidhamme vinesi* (“taught in the Abhidhamma”) in Mil 12,19, 13,19–20, the word has the meaning of education.

1.8.1. Martial arts

pūrvam ahar-bhāgaṃ hasty-aśva-ratha-praharaṇa-vidyāsu

¹³ *sa evaiṣa punaḥ svayaṃkṛtenāvinayena ...*

Kādambarī 578.9

avinaya-niścetano nakha-pratibimbitam ātmānaṃ bahu manyate.

Kādambarī 410.7

As for *bāla-bhāva*, see H.2.51.1-2 and 4 (Bombay) which is paraphrased by *putra-durnaya* in H.2.51.3. Cf. also Harṣacarita 78.11 where an elephant-charmer gives instruction to a youth while scolding a young elephant “give up fickleness (*lolatā*) and practise courtesy (*vinaya-vrata*)”.

kari-kalabha vimuñca lolatāṃ cara vinaya-vratam ānatānaḥ.

Harṣacarita 78.11

vinayaṃ gacchet.

KAS.1.5.12

During the first part of the day, he (the prince) should undergo training in the arts of [using] elephants, horses, chariots and weapons.

Tr. Kangle¹⁴

1.8.2. Arts (*kalā*)

In enumerating the education of the courtesans, we read,

nṛtya-gīta-vādiya-nāṭya-citrāsvādya-gandha-puṣpakalāsu lipi-jñāna-vacas-kausālādīṣu ca saṃyag-vinayanam.

Daśakumāracarita 81.2-3

Proper training in dancing, singing, musical instruments, theatre, painting, cooking, perfume, flower-arrangement ...¹⁵

1.9. Courtesy and Decorum

As the result of training and education, a youth learns how to behave, and becomes modest and courteous. The meaning of “moral discipline” is now well-established in Hinduism. The Nītivākyāmṛta defines it as follows:

vrata-vidyā-vayo 'dhikeṣu nīcāir ācaraṇaṃ vinayam (6)

¹⁴Cf. KAS.9.2.24 (*praharaṇa-vidyā-vinītaṃ tu kṣatriya-balaṃ śreyah*). Cf. also MBh.6.15.41 (*sarvāstra-vinayopeta*) and MBh.1.181.15 (*śastrāstra-vinaya*). Furthermore,

*viśeṣārthī tato bhīṣmaḥ pauṭrāṇāṃ vinayepsayā
iṣv-astra-jñān paryapṛcchad ācāryān vīrya-saṃmatān (1)
nālpa-dhīr nāmahābhāgas tathā-nānāstra-kovidāḥ
nādeva-sattvo vinayet kurūn astre mahā-balān.*

MBh.1.121.2

*gadāsi-carma-grahaṇeṣu śūrān astreṣu śikṣāsu rathāśva-yāne
saṃyag vinetā vinayaty atandrīs tāṃś cābhimanyuḥ satataṃ
kumāraḥ*

MBh.3.180.28

¹⁵Cf.

*sā rājā-haṃsair iva saṃmatāṅgī gateṣu līlāñcita-vikrameṣu
vyanīyata pratyupadeśa-lubdhair ādīsubhir nūpura-siñjītāni.*

Kumāra-saṃbhava 1.34

*pun̄yāvāptiḥ śāstra-rahasya-parijñānaṃ sat-puruṣābhiḡamyam
ca vinaya-phalam*

Nītvākyāmṛta 11.7

Vinaya is to behave humbly toward those who are advanced in religious observance (*vrata*), knowledge (*vidyā*)¹⁶ and age (*vayas*).¹⁷

The fruits thereof are the attainment of religious merit, insight into the secrets of scriptures and association with good people.¹⁸

But in Hindu political literature, this quality is particularly desirable for the education of the young prince.¹⁹

*tebhyo 'dhigacched vinayaṃ vinītātmāpi nityaśaḥ
vinītātmā hi nṛpatir na vinaśyati karhi cit.*

MS.7.39

Let him, though he may already be modest (*vinītātman*), constantly learn modesty (*vinaya*) from them (the elders); for a king who is modest never perishes.

Tr. Bühler²⁰

In describing Rāma and his brothers, it is said,

*svābhāvikaṃ vinītatvaṃ teṣāṃ vinaya-karmaṇā
mumūrcha sahaḡaṃ tejo haviṣeva havir-bhujām.*

Raghuvamśa 10.79

Their inborn courtesy²¹ became stabilized²² by education,²³ as

¹⁶Cf. KAS.1.5.11: *nityaś ca vidyā-vṛddha-samyogo vinaya-vṛddhy-artham, tanmūlatvād vinayasys.*

¹⁷Though the first chapter of KAS is called *vinayādhikārika* “the topic of training” (Kangle), “von Sachen der Erziehung und des Wohlverhaltens” (Meyer), there is no definition of the word *vinaya* as such.

¹⁸Cf. Kane 51–52 and Botto 82–83.

¹⁹For king and *vinaya*, cf. Kane III 51–53.

²⁰For its opposite *avinītaś ca duṣṭātmā*, cf. MBh.4.20.25.

²¹The youth of a noble-family is courteous by birth. Hence the expressions *svābhāvika vinītatva* here, and *svabhāva-vinīta* in R.2.17.13 and *vinaya sahaja* in Uttararāmacarita 4.22.

²²Cf. Hara 2000C.

²³For the inborn courtesy and later education, cf. *kṛtaka* and *svābhāvika* in

the innate splendour of fire becomes strengthened by clarified butter.²⁴

1.10. *a-vinaya* (insolence, mischief)

In the story of retribution we meet often the word *avinaya*. Ugly-looking Kabandha tells Lakṣmaṇa the story of his previous life.

*virūpaṃ yac ca me rūpaṃ prāptaṃ hy avinayād yathā
tan me śṛṇu naravyāghra tattvataḥ śaṃsatas tava.*

R.3.66.15

Listen, tiger among men, truly I shall tell you why my form was deformed through an act of insolence.

Also in Kādambarī we read,

*tad yaḥ sa kāmopahata-cetāḥ svayaṃ-kṛtād evāvinayād divya-
lokataḥ paribhraśyan martya-loke vaiśampāyana-nāmā
śukanāsa-sūnur abhavat.*

Kādambarī 578.8–9

Stupefied by love, he fell from heaven to the mortal world because of his own mischief, and was born as the son of Śukanāsa with the name of Vaiśampāyana.²⁵

1.11. In the above, we have surveyed step by step the various aspects of *vinaya*, whose original meaning is “removal”. The original meaning is apparently characterized by the “disjunctive” function of the prefix *vi-*, and the usual meanings of “modesty” and “moral discipline” are later developed in the course of its association with vices in general. Next we shall proceed to its special meaning in Sanskrit literature.

KAS.1.5.3-5.

²⁴For other expressions “modest” and “courteous”, cf. *vinayānvita* (MBh. 13.76.1), *vinayopeta* (MBh.12.285.38, 14.35.18) and *vinaya-saṃpanna* (MBh.1.106.14, 2.5.29, 6.27.17). For *vinīta-veśa* (soberly dressed), cf. MS.8.2.

²⁵For the adjectives *avinīta* (-putra), cf. MBh.5.133.9, KAS.1.17.51 and for *durvinīta*, cf. R.3.18.9, 7.53.18, 7.30.34.

2. Its particular use in Sanskrit

2.1. *vi-naya* in the sense of the absence of *naya*.

Beside its disjunctive function, the prefix *vi-* indicates absence (*yoga: viyoga*) or reverse (*kraya: vikraya*). As a result, it is possible for *vi-naya* to mean the absence of *naya*. It is this possibility of which the skilled writers in Kāvya took advantage and succeeded in composing a verse with the double-entendre. We shall see the skill of Māgha in his Śīsupālavadha, where a verse can be read in the two ways of praise and blame.

ahitād anapatrapas trasann atimātrojjhita-bhīr anāstikaḥ
vinayopahitas tvayā kutaḥ sadṛśo 'nyo guṇavān avismayaḥ.
 Śīsupālavadha 16.7

2.1.1. The first meaning, in the good sense:

Where is someone else virtuous (*guṇavat*) equal to you, possessed of decorum (*vinayopahita*), afraid of (*trasan*) evils (*ahita*), prudent (*an-apa-trapa*), yet tremendously brave (*ujjhita-bhī*), pious (*a-nāstika*) and without arrogance (*avismaya*)?

2.1.2. The second meaning, in the bad sense (*paruṣa*):

Where is someone else unvirtuous (*aguṇavat*) equal to you, afraid of the enemy (*ahita = śatru*), shameless (*an-apatrapa = nirlajja*), cowardly (*nati-mātrojjhita-bhī*) (literally, “escaping fear only by obeisance” = “without fighting bravely”), an atheist (*an-āstika*), without policy, and yet arrogant?

According to Mallinātha, here the compound *vinayopahita* in the first reading is *vinayenānaudhatyenopahito viśiṣṭa*, taking *vinaya* in the sense of *anaudhatya* (freedom from pride, modesty).

In the second reading, the compound is divided as *vinayo 'pahita*, and *vinaya* is used in the sense of *nayātīto* (gone beyond good policy (*naya*), that is, neglected policy) and *apahita* is taken in the sense of *hitād apetaḥ* (deviating from the beneficial).²⁶

²⁶For other word-play of *a-naya*, *vi-naya*, cf.

tasya tat prāpya duṣprāpyam aiśvaryaṃ muni-satkṛtam

2.2. *vinaya* as a repetition of *naya*

The repetition of a word with its prefix is not uncommon in Pali,²⁷ but it appears also in Epic Sanskrit.²⁸ For example, the prefix *upa-* is used in *vana*, *upa-vana*, *diś*, *upa-diś* and also in *niśad*, *upa-niśad*.²⁹ People often translate *upa-vana* as “small wood”, and *upa-diś* as “intermediate quarter”. The same is also the case with the prefix *vi-*, for we have such examples as *diś*, *vi-diś*, *dhātā*, *vi-dhātā*, *jñāna*, *vi-jñāna* and, here including *naya*, *vi-naya*. We notice that in addition to the “disjunctive” function, the prefix *vi-* here has a function of “differentiation”. We shall see examples below.

2.2.1. *diś* and *vi-diś*

*sā rāja-bhuja-nirmuktā nirmuktoraga-saṃnibhā
prajvālayanti gaganam diśaś ca vidiśas tathā
droṇāntikam anuprāptā diptāsyā pannagī yathā.*

MBh.7.81.31

The spear (*śakti*), hurled from the king’s arm, reached close to Droṇa, burning the sky and various quarters, like a female snake with gleaming mouth which has just cast off her skin.³⁰

*dīpo yathā nirvṛtim abhyupeto naivāvaniṃ gacchati nāntarikṣam
diśam na kāṃcid vidiśam na kāṃcit sneha-kṣayāt kevalam eti
śāntim.*

Saundarananda 16.28

vibabhrāma matis tāta vinayād anayāhatā.

H.20.28

For *naya*, *apa-naya*, *vi-naya*, cf.

*vinayam guṇā iva vivekam apanaya-bhidaṃ nayā iva
nyāyam avadhaya ivāśaraṇāḥ śaraṇam yayuḥ śivam atho mahṛṣayaḥ.*

Kirātārjunīya 12.17

²⁷Cf. Allon 199 note and 248 (*kampati*, *saṃkampati*, *sampakampati*) and Dhadhphale 217 (*neti*, *vineti*, *anuneti*), 222 (*kampi*, *saṃkampi*, *sapakampi*), 225 (*jhāyanti*, *pajjhāyanti*, *nijjhāyanti*, *apajjhāyanti*).

²⁸Hara 2000A.

²⁹Hara 2000B.

³⁰Cf. MBh.13.151.27, H.31.37, R.6.66.27.

Just as a lamp, which has reached the stage of extinction, does not depart to the earth or the sky or any of the quarters or intermediate quarters but from exhaustion of the oil merely goes out.

Tr. Johnston³¹

As Johnston takes it, the word *vi-diś* means the intermediate quarters, differentiating the preceding word *diś*.

2.2.2. *śeṣa-*, *viśeṣa*

*rājño 'pi vāso-yugam ekam eva kṣut-saṃnirodhāya tathānna-
mātrā*

śayyā tathaikāsanam ekam eva śeṣā viśeṣā nṛpater madāya.

Buddhacarita 11.48

A king too can only wear one pair of garments and similarly take only a certain measure of food to still his hunger: so he can only use one bed, only one seat. The other luxuries of a king lead only to the intoxication of pride.

Tr. Johnston

Here Johnston takes *śeṣā viśeṣā* as “the other (*śeṣa*) luxuries (*viśeṣa*) (of a king)”, but one may interpret the second word *vi-śeṣa* as a specification or differentiation of *śeṣa*. Then *śeṣa, viśeṣa* means “the rest”, or “the various remainings, large and small”.

2.2.3. *dhātā-*, *vidhātā*³²

These two are often rendered into “creator” and “distributor”, but we may take them in the sense of “various gods”. In enumerating the gods who attended the rite of the royal consecration of Skanda Kārtikeya, the text says,

*indrā-viṣṇū mahā-vīryau sūryā-candramasau tathā
dhātā caiva vidhātā ca tathā caivānilānalau.*

MBh.9.44.4

Indra and Viṣṇu of great energy, similarly the sun and moon, and *dhātṛ* and *vidhātṛ*, wind and fire³³ ...

³¹Cf. Saundarananda 16.29.

³²Cf. Durga ad Nirukta 11.11 (*dhātāiva vidhātā*) as quoted in Dhadphale 223.

³³Cf. MBh.7.69.46, 13.15.31, 13.145.39 (*sa dhātā vidhātā ...*), 3.249.4 (*dhātur*

The gods here enumerated (the sun and moon, wind and fire) compose the typical pairs, and we do not need to take the second *vidhātṛ* in the sense of “distributor”. Here *dhātā*, *vidhātā* simply means “various gods”.

2.2.4. *jñāna*-, *vijñāna*

As is well-known, F. Edgerton proposed to translate *jñāna* as “theoretical knowledge” and *vijñāna* as “practical knowledge”.³⁴ Thus he translated, for example,

*tasmāt tvam indriyāṅy ādau niyamy bharatarṣabha
pāpmānaṃ prajahi hy enaṃ jñāna-vijñāna-nāśanam.*

BhG.3.41

Thou, therefore, the senses first controlling, O bull of Bharatas, smite down this evil one, that destroys theoretical and practical knowledge.

Tr. Edgerton³⁵

But we may take them in a similar way, taking them simply as “various sorts of knowledge”.

2.2.5. *naya*-, *vi-naya*

Now we come to *naya vinaya*.³⁶ As *diś*-, *vi-diś* mean “quarters and

vidhātṛ), 12.224.49 (*dhātāiva vidadhāty uta*), R.7.20.24 (*yo vidhātā ca dhātā ca sukrte duṣkrte tathā*).

³⁴Edgerton 1933.

³⁵Cf. BhG 6.8, MS.9.41: *tat-prājñena vinītena jñāna-vijñāna-vedinā*.

³⁶Of course, we would not entirely exclude the meaning of “modesty” for *vinaya*, even when it appears in conjunction with *naya*. For example,

*vipanne ca samārambhe saṃtāpaṃ mā sma vai kṛthāḥ
ghaṭate vinayas tāta rājñām eṣa nayaḥ paraḥ.*

MBh.12.56.16

Even when some undertaking has failed, do not grieve! [In such a case] modesty (*vinaya*) is proper (to be followed), for modesty is the highest policy (*naya*) of kings.

We have mentioned above that courtesy (*vinaya*) is indispensable for the education of princes.

intermediate quarters”, that is “various quarters” as a whole,³⁷ so *naya-*, *vi-naya* may mean “various *naya* (policy, stratagems)”, instead of “policy and modesty”. Below we shall list some examples where *vinaya* is used in this sense.

2.2.5.1. In the self-praise of Kaṁsa, we read,

*ahaṁ balena vīryena nayena vinayena ca
prabhāveṇaiva śauryeṇa tejasā vikrameṇa ca
satyena caiva dānena nānyo 'sti sadṛśaḥ pumān.*

H.2.28.113 Bombay = H.73.822*7-9

Nobody is equal to me with respect to power, energy, majesty, [using] various stratagems, heroism, splendour, courage, truthfulness and giving.³⁸

2.2.5.2. In describing Kṛṣṇa, we read,

*manuṣyāṇāṃ mano-bhūtas tapo-bhūtas tapasvinām
vinayo naya-vṛttānām tejas tejasvinām api.*

H.30.36

He is the [true]³⁹ mind of men, and the [true] asceticism of the ascetics, *vinaya* of *naya-vṛttas*, and the splendour of the splendid.⁴⁰

Though we have here *vinaya* metri causa, otherwise we might expect *naya-bhūta* in parallel with *mano-bhūta*, *tapo-bhūta* in the first line, or *naya* with *tejas* in *pada* d. In this context, it is not necessary to take *vinaya* as being independent of *naya* in the sense of “modesty”, or “moral discipline”, but “the [true] *naya* of *naya-vṛttas* (the true [= distinctive] policy among politicians)”.

³⁷We have similar constructions in *diś-*, *upa-diś-*, *pra-diś-*, *pratidiś-* also.

³⁸Except for *satya* and *dāna* in the last line, all the items enumerated in the first two lines are concepts of a military and heroic nature. If so, *vinaya* in the first line is not necessarily to be taken in the sense of “modesty”, but goes together with *naya* in the sense of “various” *nayas*.

³⁹Here I take *-bhūta* in the sense of “true”, as is the case with *caitya-bhūta* and *kumāra-bhūta*. Cf. Schopen.

⁴⁰Cf. Vāyu-purāṇa 97.42 which has *vinayo naya-tṛptānām* in c.

2.2.5.3. In his monologue, Yaugandharāyaṇa says as follows :

*vairam bhayaṃ paribhavaṃ ca samaṃ vihāya
kṛtvā nayaiś ca vinayaiś ca śaraiś ca karma
śatroḥ śriyaṃ ca suhṛdām ayaśaś ca hitvā
prāpto jayaś ca nṛ-patiś ca mahāṃś ca śabdaḥ.*

Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa 4.6

[For I,] disregarding enmity, fear, and insult alike, have accomplished my work with my designs, by self-control and arrows, ending the glory of the foe and the disgrace of my friends. Thereby have I won victory, the king himself, and great renown.

Tr. Woolner

Though Woolner takes *naya* in the sense of “design” and *vinaya* “self-control”, we may take them in the sense of various sorts of *naya* (stratagem, tactic), the diplomatic means, both of which are contrasted to *śara* (arrow), the military means.⁴¹

2.2.5.4. Similarly,

*śilena sāmṇā vinayena sītāṃ
nayaṇa na prāpsyasi cen narendra
tataḥ samutsādaya hema-puñkhair
mahendra-vajra-pratimaiḥ śaraughaiḥ.*

R.3.6I.16

If you cannot recover Sītā by peaceful means (*śila*), by conciliation (*sāman*), tact (*vinaya*), or diplomacy (*naya*), lord of men, then unleash the flood of your gold-feathered arrows, as devastating as great Indra’s thunder-bolts.

Tr. Pollock

⁴¹Apparently, the second line refers to the various means of defeating an enemy. According to the *nīti* literature, the means (*upāya*) consists of peaceful tactics (*sāman*, *dāna*, and *bheda*) and violent means (*daṇḍa*). In the above verse, *naya*, *vinaya* correspond to peaceful means, while *śara* to the violent one.

Pollock rightly takes *vinaya* as “tact”. Here again the second line refers to arrows, a violent means, whereas the first line refers to peaceful diplomatic means.⁴² Under such circumstances, we do not necessarily take the words *naya* and *vinaya* literally, that is, in the sense of “tactics” and “self-control”.

3. Other special meanings

Apart from *vi-* with the “disjunctive” and “differentiating” function, we shall list below three special meanings of *vinaya* as induced from context and commentary literature.

3.1. *vinaya* in the sense of *nigāḍa* (fetter)

In the *Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa*, a chamberlain tells Pradyota how Vatsa is as a captive as follows:

*kāñcukīyaḥ — āhita-vinayatvāt pādayor aṅge tasya bahu-
prahāratvāc ca skandha-vāhyena śayanīyena madhyama-gr̥he
praveśitaḥ.*

Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa 2.13.10-11

Chamberlain: He was so tractable and had so many wounds on his feet and body, that he was carried into the Middle Palace on a litter.

Tr. Woolner

Though Woolner translated *āhita-vinaya* as “tractable”, here the compound should be taken in the sense of “having fetters placed”, as Ganapatisastri commented (*āhita-vinayatvād viniyate ‘nenāparādhīti vinaya iha nigalaḥ, sa āhito niveśito yasya sa āhita-vinayaḥ*). Here the passage describes king Vatsa as a captive, having his feet and body fettered as a criminal (*aparādhin*).

⁴²As is well known, *sāman* (conciliation), *dāna* (bribery), *bheda* (sowing dis-sension) and *daṇḍa* (open attack) are means of success against an enemy (MS.7.109, KAS.7.16.3). Here the first line corresponds to peaceful means and *śara* in the second line to violent means. Cf. also, MBh.12.223.8, R.2.37.5, 4.17.28, 4.18.8, R.6.128.82 (Bombay), H.2.28.113 (Bombay).

3.2. *vinaya* as contrasted to *visarga*

Bhīṣma enumerates various aspects of *daṇḍa*, the rod of punishment.

*aśaktiḥ śaktir ity eva māna-stambhau vyayāvvyayau
vinayaś ca visargaś ca kālākālau ca bhārata.*

MBh.12.121.28

[It is] power and impotence, arrogance, obstinacy, change and stability, discipline and letting loose, the right time and the wrong time.

Tr. Fitzgerald

Since positive and negative concepts are contrasted here, *vinaya* is the reverse of *visarga* and thus *pada c* should be translated something like “restraint and freedom”.

It is interesting to note that *vinaya* which means originally “removal” here comes to mean “confinement [in fetters]” or “restraint”, nearly the reverse of its original meaning of “taking away”.⁴³

3.3. *vinīta* in the sense of *prasārīta* (stretched, strewn)

Finally, we shall examine *vinīta* in the sense of *prasārīta*. BR lists under *vi-nī-* (*ausbreiten*) an example from the Rāmāyaṇa. Prior to the well-known scene of Sītā’s abduction, she was curious about a golden deer and asked Rāma to capture it, saying:

*nihatasyāsya sattvasya jāmbūnada-maya-tvaci
śaṣpa-bṛṣyāṇi vinītāyām icchāmy aham upāsītum.*

R.3.41.19

Were the creature to be killed, I should like his golden skin to be stretched over a cushion of straw, to make a seat.

Tr. Pollock⁴⁴

⁴³This meaning of *vinaya* as confinement and restraint may be related to that found in Pali *ariyassa vinaye*, which means “in the restricted sense of aryan”, that is, “in the Buddhist sense of the term”. However, the discussion on this subject needs another lengthy paper to be written.

⁴⁴The commentary reads as follows:

śaṣpa-bṛṣyāṇi bāla-tṛṇa-parikalpita-tāpasāsane vinītāyāṇi prasārītāyām asya

Above, we have discussed *vinaya* used neither in the original sense of “removal”, nor in the ordinary sense of “discipline” in classical Sanskrit literature.⁴⁵ Finally, we shall examine an allegorical story of *vinaya* and its relationship to *lajjā*.

4. *vinaya* and *lajjā*

4.1. It is believed that *vinaya* is essential to the well-bred woman, as is expressed by the Sanskrit compound *sādhvī-vinaya*. When Hanumān extended his hand to help her, Sītā refused his offer, being afraid of touching a man’s hand other than her husband. In his praise, we read:

*yukta-rūpaṃ tvayā devi bhāṣitaṃ śubha-darśane
sadṛśaṃ strī-svabhāvasya sādvināṃ vinayasya ca.*

R.5.36.2

Oh queen, charming lady, what you said is appropriate. It is suitable for womanhood (*strī-svabhāva*) and the providence (*vinaya*) of a chaste women!

4.2. So bashfulness (*lajjā*) is proper for the well-bred young lady.

*asaṃtuṣṭā dvijā naṣṭā saṃtuṣṭās ca mahūbhujāḥ
salajjā gaṇikā naṣṭā nirlajjās ca kula-striyaḥ.*

Hitopadeśa 3.64

The following [four] perish: twice-borns unsatisfied, kings satisfied, bashful courtesans, and unbashful women of a noble family (*kula-stri*).

Then, how are these two, *vinaya* and *lajjā*, related to each other?

*jāmbūnada-maya-ivacy upāsītum tvat-samīpe sthātum icchāmi/yad vā
bhagavad-upāsanāṃ kartum ity arthaḥ.*

Upon a golden hide, strewn (*vinīta* = *prasārīta*) over an ascetic seat, prepared with young *kuśa* grass, I wish to sit in your side, or to serve you. That is the meaning.

⁴⁵For the meaning of *Anstandsbusse* (fine due to indecorum (*Geldstrafe bei Ungebührlichkeit*) = solatium?), cf. Meyer 291 11ff. Cf. also Nārada-smṛti 6.21d (“fine”, Lariviere translation 120).

4.3. It is in the Kūrma Purāṇa 1.8 that *vinaya* is allegorically called the son of *dharma* and *lajjā*. Twenty-four daughters of Dakṣa are mentioned there, and thirteen of them are married to Dharma. Here, *lajjā* is enumerated as one of them, and she brought to her husband a son called *vinaya*. The relevant passage reads as follows:

*buddhyā bodhaḥ sutas tadvad apramādo vyajāyata
lajjāyā vinayaḥ putro vapuṣo vyavasāyakaḥ.*

Kūrma-purāṇa 1.8.23

Enlightenment (*bodha*) was born of intelligence (*buddhi*), so was mindfulness (*apramāda*). Decorum (*vinaya*) is the son of shame (*lajjā*), the determinant (*vyavasāyaka*) is the son of a handsome figure (*vapus*).⁴⁶

4.4. The mother-son relationship between *lajjā* and *vinaya* can be illustrated more concretely by some romantic passages of Bāṇa's Kādambarī.

4.4.1. We read:

*prāyena prathamam madanānalo lajjām dahati, tato hṛdayam/
ādau vinayādikaḥ kusumeṣu-sarāḥ khaṇḍayanti paścān
marmāṇi.*

Kādambarī 409.9–10

Generally, the love-fire first burns bashfulness (*lajjā*), and then the heart. Kāma's arrows first attack decorum (*vinaya*), and later the vital parts.

Once *lajjā* is defeated, it is an easy step for Kāma to destroy her son *vinaya*.

4.4.2. Similarly,

*skhalite cetasi tal-lagnā pataty eva lajjā/trapāvaraṇa-sūnye hṛdi
praviśya padaḥ kurvan kena vā nivārito durnivāraḥ*

⁴⁶Cf.

lajjāyā vinayaḥ putro vyavasāyo vasoḥ sutaḥ.

Līṅga-purāṇa 70.296

lajjāyā vinayaḥ putro vyavasāyo vasyoḥ sutaḥ.

Vāyu-purāṇa 10.36

sarvāvinaya-hetuḥ kusuma-dhanvā.

Kādambarī 497.6–7

When the mind stumbles, shame (*lajjā*) which clings to it falls. Into the heart devoid of its protecting cover (of *lajjā*), the flower-bannered one (Kāma) enters. Once he has entered, who can drive him away, the god who is hard to drive out and causes all sorts of indecorum (*avinaya*)?

When bashfulness is taken away, all sorts of decorum are exposed to danger.

4.4.3. In her self-reproach, the well-bred lady in love laments as follows:

yadi tāvad itara-kanyakeva vihāya lajjām, utsṛjya dhairyam, avamucya vinayaṃ, acintayitvā janāpavādam, atikramya sadācāram, ullāṅghya śīlam, avagaṇayya kulam... svayam upagamya grāhayāmi pāṇim/evaṃ guru-janātikramād adharmo mahān.

Kādambarī 297.3

If I approach by myself and grasp [his] hand [for marriage], like a common girl — abandoning shame (*lajjā*), giving up steadfastness (*dhairya*), unharnessing decorum (*vinaya*), neglecting people's rumour (*janāpavāda*), transgressing good conduct (*sadācāra*), traversing morality (*śīla*), neglecting the noble family[-ness] (*kula*) ... — then, through the offence to my respected elders, there would be a great sin.⁴⁷

The urge of love-passion deprives the young lady of all the virtues.⁴⁸ All these passages illustrate the close connection of *lajjā* and *vinaya*.

Minoru Hara
Tokyo

⁴⁷Cf. Kādamabarī 354.14–355.4.

⁴⁸Besides *kāma*, *mada* (alcoholic drink) also destroys *vinaya*.

paiśūnyena kulaṃ madena vinayo duśceṣṭayā pauruṣaṃ dāridryeṇa janādaro matatayā cātma-prakāśo hataḥ.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Aṅguttara Nikāya (PTS)
BR	O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth, <i>Sanskrit Wörterbuch</i>
D	Dīgha-nikāya (PTS)
H	The Harivaṃśa (Poona Critical Edition, unless otherwise indicated)
IS	O. Böhtlingk, <i>Indische Sprüche</i> (Osnabrück Reprint 1966)
Ja	The Jātaka, ed., by V. Fausbøll (PTS)
KAS	The Kauṭalya Artha-Śāstra, ed., by R.P. Kangle (Bombay)
MBh	The Mahābhārata (Poona Critical Edition)
Mil	Milinda-pañha, ed., by V. Trenckner (PTS)
M	Majjhima-nikāya (PTS)
MS	Manusmṛti (NSP)
NSP	Nirnaya-sagar Press (Bombay)
PTS	The Pali Text Society
R	The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa (Baroda Critical Edition, unless otherwise indicated)
S	Saṃyutta-nikāya (PTS)
Sn	Suttanipāta
Vin	The Vinaya-piṭaka, ed. by H. Oldenberg (PTS)
YS	Yājñavalkya-smṛti (NSP)

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Zombies and Half-Zombies: Mahāsūtras and Other Protective Measures*

My work on the Mahāsūtras, a set of Mūlasarvāstivādin texts preserved in Tibetan translation, was supported by the Pali Text Society during the presidency of Mr K.R. Norman. As a result, the Society published the first two volumes of *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha* in the series Sacred Books of the Buddhists.¹ It is therefore with great pleasure that I present further research pertaining to the Mahāsūtras in this volume dedicated to Mr Norman.

The Vinayavibhaṅga is a section of the Mūlasarvāstivādin monastic code, the Vinaya.² Lost in the original Sanskrit, it is preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. An important primary document for the study of northern Indian Buddhism, it has not, so far, been edited, systematically studied, or translated into any European language. In my study of the Mahāsūtras, I used a passage from the Vinayavibhaṅga for two purposes: as an example of a Mūlasarvāstivādin list of Mahāsūtras,³ and as supporting evidence that the Mahāsūtras were recited as protective or *rakṣā* texts.⁴ The Vinayavibhaṅga is “supporting evidence”

*I am grateful to Shayne Clarke, Jan Nattier, and Mark Allon for their close readings of this paper and for their valuable comments and corrections.

¹*Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha*, Volume I, *Texts: Critical Editions of the Tibetan Mahāsūtras with Pāli and Sanskrit Counterparts as Available*, Sacred Books of the Buddhists XLIV, 1994 (reviewed by Helmut Eimer, *Zentralasiatische Studien* 26, 1996, 235–39; by J. W. de Jong, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 40.3, July, 1997, 271–73); Volume II, Parts I & II, Sacred Books of the Buddhists XLVI, 1997. Volume II, Parts 3 & 4, and Volume III (translations), remain in a state of suspended animation. At the moment it is impossible to determine which will come first: the publication of the remaining volumes of *Mahāsūtras* or the end of the present æon.

²For a survey of this voluminous collection see Clarke 2002.

³For Mahāsūtra lists, see *Mahāsūtras* II, Parts I & II, 3–61. Earlier studies include *Hōbōgirin* I and Sasaki 1985.

⁴For the *rakṣā* status of the Mahāsūtras, see *Mahāsūtras* II, Parts I & II, 63–88

because several of the texts number among the great apotropaic classics of early Buddhism — notably the Dhvajāgra, the Āṅānāṭṭiya-, and the Mahāsamāja-sūtras.

We still know very little about how the Mahāsūtras were actually used as a set, or to what degree the rituals may have corresponded to or differed from the Paritta recitations of Sri Lanka and South-East Asia or the Rakṣā rituals of Nepal. Certainly, several of the Mahāsūtras have parallels in the Paritta, and certainly, protection through recitation and ritual was — and continues to be — one of the main functions or even duties of Buddhist monastics.

An inscription on the “pedestal of a bronze image of the Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*” from Bhagalpur District, Bihar, mentions “Mahāsūtradhāra Vahākāya”, in “characters of about the twelfth century”.⁵ Is this to be taken as published, with long “a” in “-dhāra”, meaning architect, or perhaps stage-manager? The reading remains to be confirmed. Even if the reading is correct, could “Mahāsūtradhāra” be an engraver’s error for “Mahāsūtradhara”, with short “a” in “-dhara”? If that is the case, how do we read the compound? Was Vahākāya a textual specialist, a “great Sūtradhara”, a master of the Sūtra literature, or was he a ritual specialist, an “expert in or master of the Mahāsūtras”? Could “Mahāsūtradhara” be a title, a rank, for a “master of the Mahāsūtras”? “Sūtradhara” is a technical term of some antiquity, used widely by all traditions, and attested in epigraphy, while “mahāsūtradhara” is unattested in text or epigraphy. Perhaps the full inscription will help determine the context; at present the record is ambiguous, and it is impossible to decide whether or not the inscription has any bearing on the Mahāsūtras.

In this paper, I give an English translation of the Vinayavibhaṅga passage, extracted from the commentary on the third *pārājika*, followed by editions of the Tibetan from the Vinayavibhaṅga, supplemented by

and Skilling 1992A, 125–29.

⁵Srinivasan 1986, p. 34. As far as I know the inscription has not been edited and no photograph or rubbing has been published.

its commentary, the Vinayavibhaṅga-padavyākhyāna. Both texts were translated by Jinamitra and Lui Gyaltsan (Klu'i rgyal mtshan), two of the leading translators during the “first diffusion” of Buddhism in the Land of Snows, circa 800 C.E.⁶ Given the extraordinary proficiency of the two translators — and their teams, since they undoubtedly headed translation committees — the passages are clearly and consistently rendered. The author of the Vinayavibhaṅga-padavyākhyāna is Vinītadeva, about whom very little is known. He seems to have lived and worked in northern India in the eighth century.

The passage itself is macabre. It concerns a monk who raises a corpse — a *vetāḍa* or zombie — and orders it to kill someone, sending it on its way in a two-wheeled cart, with two bells round its neck and a double-bladed sword in hand.⁷ The primary concern of our text is not the ethics of the matter as such, but what sort of infringements of the monastic rules might be involved.⁸ The protective measures against such an eventuality are interesting in their own right. I have divided them into three groups. Group A lists protections that belong to the folklore of the time, and are not as such Buddhist. In Group B, the protection comes from the presence of a powerful and meritorious being — a Buddha, a *cakravartin*, or a bodhisattva. The idea of the protective presence of the Buddha is certainly ancient. In the *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta*, for example, it is said that “in whatever village or town Samaṇa Gotama

⁶For what little we know about Jinamitra, who along with Xuanzang ranks among the great translators of all time, see *Mahāsūtras* II, Parts I & II, 115–125.

⁷For the spelling *vetāḍa* see Skilling 1992A, 111 n. 4; the Pāli equivalent is *vetāla/vetāḷa*. For *vetāḍa* see *Hōbōgirin* I 68–69, s.v. “Bidara”. The creature has become well-known as a “vampire”, for example in Burton (tr.) 1893. But the habits of the “vampire” of Burton’s “Baital-Pachisi” are quite different from those of the *vetāḍa* of our text, which seem closer to those of the “zombie”. We therefore choose to translate the term with “zombie”, a name of African origin, rather than with “vampire”, a term of Slavic origin.

⁸There is nothing remarkable in this, since the Vinayas do not deal with ethics as such — they are monastic codes.

stays, non-humans do not harm the people of that village or town”.⁹ Group B has close parallels in the Saṃgīti-paryāya, which modern scholarship describes as one of the earliest texts of the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma;¹⁰ it is possible that the passage is old, dating back to at least the first century B.C.E. Group C names texts which if recited will offer protection — the Prātimokṣa and the Mahāsūtras.

If the frustrated zombie turns back on the instigator and kills him, the monk incurs a heavy fault (*sthūlātyaya*). I do not know whether there are any other cases of posthumous penalties in the monastic codes, but here we have at least one. At the end the text notes that the transgressions are the same in the case of a “half-zombie” (*ardha-vetāḍa*). This curious creature is similar to the common or garden-variety zombie: but in its case the monk installs it in a one-wheeled cart, ties a single bell around its neck, and places in its hand a single-bladed sword.¹¹ The Sanskrit term *ardha-vetāḍa* is confirmed in the Saṃgha-bhedavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinayavastu from Gilgit, and it also occurs in other sections of the Vinayavastu preserved in Tibetan translation but no longer extant in Sanskrit.¹² That is, the “half-zombie” belongs to the necromantic bestiary of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. To the best of my knowledge there is no equivalent Pāli term.

The narrative runs smoothly, and is a good example of the style of at least certain sections of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya. It appears that for the redactors the didactic function of narrative was paramount: good stories, to be recited at least to the monastics within the walls of the Mahāvihāras, were used to communicate the monastic rules. This

⁹D I 116,14: *samaṇo khalu bho gotamo yasmim gāme vā nigame vā paṭivasati na tasmim gāme vā nigame vā amanussā manusse viheṭhenti*. See Skilling 1992A, pp. 110–111.

¹⁰To the references given in the notes may be added Stache-Rosen 1968, p. 111, last paragraph of translation of Saṃgīti-paryāya.

¹¹The half-zombie is not well-known, and it is comforting to think that at least the readers of this journal will know what to do in the event — the unlikely event, I dare say! — that they encounter one.

¹²See below, footnote 34.

editorial goal has, perhaps, confused modern scholarship, which has tended to read Buddhist texts through the dim spectacles of historicism.

Translation¹³

1. With the intention to kill a man, a woman, or a hermaphrodite, a monk goes to a charnel ground (*śmaśāna*) on the night of the fourteenth day of the waning moon (*kṛṣṇapakṣa*),¹⁴ and looks for a corpse that has not been harmed (*akṣata*) or damaged (*akhaṇḍa*) by any creature, even by one as tiny as an ant (*pipīlikā*).

2. Finding one, he rubs it with white chalk (*makkola*); having rubbed it with white chalk, he bathes it in scented water (*gandhodaka*).¹⁵ Having bathed it in scented water, he dresses it in new cloth, anoints its feet,¹⁶ and utters a spell (*mantra*): when it gets to its feet and stretches, he places it on a two-wheeled cart, ties two bells round its neck, and places in its hand a double-bladed sword.

3. When it gets up, it grunts¹⁷ and asks, “Whom should I slay?”¹⁸ Whom should I kill? Whose life should I take?” Then the monk says to the zombie (*vetāḍa*), “Do you know such and such a man, woman, or

¹³I am grateful to Fritz Grohmann (Taipei) for explaining the Chinese, for which see also *Hōbōgirin* I, 69.

¹⁴The commentary points out that this is the twenty-ninth day of the month.

¹⁵For the use of white chalk and scented water, see Schopen 2004: 288 (translating from *Vinayavibhaṅga*, D *ñā* 65a2–66a4) and his remarks on terminological problems, pp. 291–92.

¹⁶*de’I rkañ pa gñis kyañ skud par byed*: *skud pa* translates forms of the roots $\sqrt{\text{lip}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{mraks}}$: see e.g. Negi 1993, 182 (*skud pa*), 279 (*bskus*). The Chinese has here “besmeared its feet with ghee” (Shayne Clarke).

¹⁷This is a guess for what the commentary helpfully describes as “utters the *blag blag* sound”. I do not know what zombies do in such circumstances.

¹⁸From the context, the verb *gtoñ ba* (= $\sqrt{\text{muc}}$) in its various forms here (*gtañ bar bya*) and in the following (*thoñ sig*, *gtoñ bar byed*) can only mean kill, although I have not found this meaning in any Tibetan lexicons or, for $\sqrt{\text{muc}}$, in Buddhist Sanskrit or Pāli usage. Cf. Monier-Williams 1976, p. 820c, $\sqrt{\text{muc}}$ “with *prāṇān*, to deprive of life, kill ... with *kalevaram*, *deham*, *prāṇān*, or *jīvitam*, to quit the body or give up the ghost, i.e. to die”.

hermaphrodite?” When it replies, “I do”, he says, “Slay him! Kill him! Take his life!” If the zombie slays, kills, or takes [that person’s] life, then that monk is defeated.

4. If protective measures are taken, such as:¹⁹

- 4.A. (1) at the door a garland of forest-flowers is strung up,²⁰
 (2) a vase full [of water] is set out,
 (3) a cow and calf of matching [colour] are tethered,²¹
 (4) a sheep is tethered,²²
 (5) a mortar and pestle are set out,
 (6) an *indrakīla* is laid at the door,²³
 (7) or a fire is kept burning,²⁴
- 4.B. (8) if the Conqueror (Jina) is staying there,
 (9) or one appointed by the Conqueror [is staying there],²⁵

¹⁹The list of protections in the Chinese Bhikṣu and Bhikṣuṇī Vinayavibhaṅga is very close in items listed, order, and number. Cf. *Hōbōgirin* I, 69.

²⁰Commentary: “a garland made from flowers and fruits that grow in the forest”; Chinese: “medicinal herbs made into garlands”. Cf. *Śikṣāsamuccaya* in Bendall 1992, p. 139.11, *vanakusumāni*, in the context of *rakṣā*.

²¹The Chinese has “a cow together with a calf of the same colour is tethered at the door”. The Commentary has “the offspring, both, [have] the same hair-colour”(?). “Garland” (*mālā*), “vase full of water” (*pūrṇakumbha*), and “cow” are included in lists of *maṅgala*, “auspicious things”: see Karunaratne 1971, p. 48. “Cow with calf” (*savacchakadhenu*) is one of the *maṅgala* on the feet of the Buddha: see Karunaratne 1976, p. 60 (item 79). The “full pot” is important in the Theravādin *paritta* ceremony: see de Silva 1981, pp. 79–86. Cf. the list of auspicious symbols connected with the Buddha in Skilling 1992B.

²²Chinese: “a ewe together with a lamb of the same colour is tethered”.

²³*khor gtan* = *indrakīla*, Mahāvvyutpatti (Sakaki 1926) § 5582 (an alternate translation, *sgo’i them pa*, also given at Mahāvvyutpatti § 5582, is used at Mahāsūtra I 10.A and B, § 1.3). The *indrakīla* is important in the Theravādin *paritta* ceremony: see de Silva 1981, pp. 57–79.

²⁴For the last three, the Chinese has “(5) or in the house is a stone for pounding medicine together with a grinding stone; (6) or at the door is an *indrakīla*; (7) or a never-extinguished fire”.

²⁵The Commentary interprets the phrase “one appointed by the Conqueror” as

- (10) if a Wheel-turning Emperor (*cakravartin*) [is staying there],²⁶
- (11) or a Wheel-turning Emperor is entering his mother's womb,²⁷
- (12) if a bodhisattva [is staying there],²⁸
- (13) or a bodhisattva is in the process of entering his mother's womb,²⁹
- 4.C. (14) if one is about to recite³⁰ the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*,³¹
- (15) or recites it out loud in full (*vistareṇa svareṇa*)

referring to “a messenger (*dūta*) of the Lord” or “one specified (*ādiṣṭa*) by the Lord”. Cf. Kośabh 2:45ab, (P) 75.3, and Dīpa 103.8: a messenger of the Conqueror (*jinādūta*) or one appointed by the Conqueror (*jinādiṣṭa*) cannot be killed by either self or another; Kośabh 3:85a, (P) 176.4: a *jinādūta* and a *jinādiṣṭa* cannot die before their time. Cf. La Vallée Poussin 1971, I 220, nn. 1, 2.

²⁶Cf. Kośabh 2:45ab, (P) 75.6, Dīpa 103.9: a *cakravartin* is not killed by either self or another.

²⁷Cf. Kośabh 2:45ab, (P) 75.6, Dīpa 103.10: a *cakravartin*'s mother is not killed by either self or another; Kośabh 3:85a, (P) 176.5: a *cakravartin*'s mother cannot die before her time.

²⁸The Commentary glosses “a bodhisattva in his last rebirth” (*caramabhavika*). Cf. Kośabh 2:45ab, (P) 75.5, Dīpa 103.9: a bodhisattva in his last rebirth (*caramabhavika*) is not killed by either self or another; Kośabh 3:85a, (P) 176.4: a bodhisattva in his last rebirth cannot die before his time.

²⁹Cf. Kośabh 2:45ab, (P) 75.5, Dīpa 103.9: a bodhisattva's mother is not killed by either self or another; Kośabh 3:85a, (P) 176.5: a bodhisattva's mother cannot die before her time.

³⁰I am not certain of the meaning of *ma bton pa 'don par byed pa*. The Commentary has *kha ton du ma bslabs pa'o*: does this mean “in the reading of which one is not trained” or “silently”? There seems to be some contrast with the following “reads out loud in full”, which the commentary glosses as “with a voice heard by others”. The Chinese seems to interpret the first phrase as “is going to recite”, “is about to recite”. For now I follow this interpretation, with the idea that the power of the text is sufficient to drive away zombies and other nuisance-makers even when it is about to be read.

³¹In the *Antagaḍa Dasāo*, Chapter 6, the Jain ascetic Sudāmsaṇe is protected from a dangerous Jakkha by making “full profession of the monastic vows” (Coomaraswamy [1928–29] 1980, Part I, pp. 21–22).

- svādhyāyaṃ karoti*),³²
- (16) if one is about to recite any of the four classes of sūtras
(*caturṇām sūtranikāyānām anyatamānyatamaṃ sūtranikāyaṃ*),³³
- (17) or recites them out loud in full (*vistareṇa svareṇa svādhyāyaṃ karoti*),
- (18) if one is about to recite the great and lofty sūtras:
1. Cūḍasūnyatā
 2. Mahāsūnyatā
 3. Pañcatraya
 4. Māyājāla
 5. Bimbisārapratyudgamana
 6. Dhvajāgra
 7. Āṭṅāṭīya
 8. Mahāsamāja
- (19) or recites them out loud in full (*vistareṇa svareṇa svādhyāyaṃ karoti*):

5. and, because of his failure [to kill his victim], the zombie decides to kill the monk instead: if the zombie kills the monk, the monk incurs a heavy fault (*sthūlātyaya*).

6. If the monk kills the zombie, the monk incurs two heavy faults: the first from killing the zombie, the second from the previous stratagem (*pūrva-prayoga*).

7. As for a zombie, so for a half-zombie (*ardha-vetāḍa*),³⁴ but between a

³²For the Sanskrit see *Carmavastu*, in *Gilgit Manuscripts* (Dutt 1984) III–4 188,10.

³³The commentary interprets the “four classes of sūtras” as “the Dīrghāgama, Madhyamāgama, Saṃyuktāgama, and Ekottarikāgama”: see Mahāsūtras II, 20–22.

³⁴Cf. *Saṅghabhedavastu* (Gnoli 1978 238,24) *vetāḍārdhahavetāḍa* (Tibetan in Gnoli’s note h as here); *Bhaiṣajyavastu* (Tib.) ge 68a6; *Vinayaśūdraka* (Tib.) ne 200b3, Tib. *idem*. The “definition” of *vetāḍārdhahavetāḍa* in the *Āgamaśūdraka-vyākhyāna*, *žu* 197b4, resembles that of our text: *ro laṅs ni*

zombie and a half-zombie there are these differences: [the monk] places it in a one-wheeled cart; he ties a single bell around its neck; he places in its hand a single-bladed sword. This is a half-zombie. The establishment of transgression (*āpatti*) should be described as entirely the same as the preceding.

Peter Skilling
École française d'Extrême-Orient
Bangkok, Thailand

ABBREVIATIONS

Dīpa : see Jaini 1977.

Kośabh (P) : see Pradhan 1975

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'khor lo gñis dan ldan pa'i śiñ rta la źon pa lag pa gñis kyis ral gri so sor 'dzin pa'o. ro lañs (read ro lañs phyed?) 'khor lo gcig pa'i śiñ rta la źon ciiñ ral gri gcig 'dzin pas ñe bar mtshon pa'o.

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TIBETAN TEXTS³⁵

“Text A” compares ten Kanjur versions of an excerpt from the *Vinayavibhaṅga* on the subject of *vetāḍa*. All variants, including contractions and the use of the *śad*, are recorded. Minor variants, most involving the *śad* (especially after *dañ*, *’am*, or *cin*), are listed separately at the end by paragraph number and reference letter. Retained as notes are genuine variants and variants that show the main lines of affiliation of the Kanjurs consulted; sub-groups such as BQ, CJ, or LN are placed with the minor variants. The pattern of affiliation agrees with that shown for the Pravrajyāvastu in Eimer 1983: LNST represent the Them spangs ma lineage, and BCDJQ the Tshal pa lineage. As with the Pravrajyāvastu, there are no major recensional differences (of the type seen in, for example, the Drumakinnararājā-paripṛcchā or the Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra) between the two lineages.

“Text B” is an excerpt from Vinītadeva’s commentary on the *Vinayavibhaṅga*. It compares five Tanjurs, noting all variants. The general affiliation is CD against GNQ. The root text is given in bold-face type.

A. Extract from *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinayavibhaṅga*

’Dul ba mnam par ’byed pa (Vinayavibhaṅga), translated by Jinamitra and Klu’i rgyal mtshan, 3rd *pārājika* (10th *bam po*):

B6.2	<i>’dul ba</i>	<i>cha</i>	191b1	[Vol. 6]
C1033	<i>’dul ba</i>	<i>ca</i>	159a3	[Vol. 99]
D3	<i>’dul ba</i>	<i>ca</i>	142b3	[Vol. 5] ³⁶
H3	<i>’dul ba</i>	<i>ca</i>	200a1	[Vol. 5]
J3	<i>’dul ba</i>	<i>ca</i>	143b3	[Vol. 5]
L	<i>’dul ba</i>	<i>ka</i>	173b4	[Vol. 1]
N3	<i>’dul ba</i>	<i>ca</i>	212a1	[Vol. 5]
Q1032	<i>’dul ba</i>	<i>che</i>	128b5	[Vol. 98] ³⁷
S3	<i>’dul ba</i>	<i>ca</i>	205a3	[Vol. 5]
T1	<i>’dul ba</i>	<i>ka</i>	158a6	[Vol. 1]

1. dge sloṅ gis skyes pa *dañ* ^(a) bud med *dañ* ^(b) ma niñ la gsad pa’i sems kyis

³⁵Sigla, abbreviations, conventions and editorial principles are as in *Mahāsūtras* I.

³⁶Berkeley reprint Vol. 2, p. 223.3.3.

³⁷Otani reprint Vol. 42, p. 193.4.5.

l³⁸ zla ba mar gyi ño'i tshes^(c) bcu bži la^(d) dur khrod^(e) du soñ ste l³⁹ ši ba'i ro^(f) tha na srog chags grog sbur⁴⁰ phra^(g) mos kyañ ma smas^(h) ma ñams⁽ⁱ⁾ pa tshol bar byed ciñ^(j)

2. rñed nas sa kar^(a) gyis dril^(b) phyi byed ciñ l sa kar^(b) gyis dril^(c) phyi byas nas spos chus 'khru bar byed la l^(d) spos chus⁴¹ bkru nas ras sar pa skon par byed ciñ l de'i rkañ pa^(e) gñis kyañ skud par byed l gsañ sñags kyañ rjod par byed pa na l⁴² de lañs par (T158b) 'gyur⁴³ te bya smyañs^(f) byed pa'i tshe l⁴⁴ des de^(g) 'khor lo gñis dañ l dan pa'i šiñ rta la 'jog par byed ciñ l de'i mgul du^(h) dril bu⁽ⁱ⁾ gñis kyañ 'dogs par byed l lag par ral gri⁴⁵ so gñis pa yañ sbyin par byed pa na l⁴⁶

3. de lañs te^(a) blag blag^(b) zer žiñ^(c) 'di skad ces ñas gañ gtañ bar⁴⁷ bya l ñas gañ gsad^(d) par bya l ñas gañ srog (S205b) dañ bral^(e) bar bya žes zer ba'i (L174a) tshe l⁴⁸ dge sloñ des ro lañs de la 'di skad ces khyod kyis^(f) skyes pa dañ l^(g) bud med (Q129a) dañ l^(h) ma niñ che ge mo žig šes sam⁽ⁱ⁾ žes^(j) smras pa na l šes so^(k) žes zer ba'i tshe l⁴⁹ de thoñ šig⁵⁰ l^(l) de sod cig l de srog dañ bral bar (B192a) gyis šig ces smras nas l^(m) (C159b) gal⁽ⁿ⁾ te ro lañs des de gtoñ bar byed dam l (D143a) gsod par byed dam l srog dañ bral bar byed na l⁵¹ dge (N212b) sloñ pham par 'gyur ro l^(o)

4. gal te de na sruñ bar byed pa 'di lta bu 'di lta ste l⁵²

(1) sgor nags kyi phreñ ba btags pa 'am l

³⁸l LNST : BCDHJQ om. l.

³⁹l HLNST : BCDJQ om. l.

⁴⁰grog sbur CDJQS : grog bur BHNT : bur (only) L.

⁴¹chus BCDHJQS : chu LNT.

⁴²l HLNST : BCDJQ om. l.

⁴³'gyur BCDJQ : gyur HLNST.

⁴⁴l HLNST : BCDJQ om. l.

⁴⁵ral gri BCDHJQ : ral grir L : ral gyir NT : ral gri'i S. For the spelling *ral gyi* in Tun huang Mss, see Skilling 1992B, p. 79, n. 94.

⁴⁶l HLNST : BCDJQ om. l.

⁴⁷gtañ bar CDJST : gtañ par Q : btañ bar BHLN.

⁴⁸l HLNST : BCDJQ om. l.

⁴⁹l HLNST : BCDJQ om. l.

⁵⁰šig BCDJQ : žig HLNST.

⁵¹l HLNST : BCDJQ om. l.

⁵²l BCDJQS : HLNT om. l.

- (2) bum pa^(a) gañ (H200b) ba (J144a) bźag pa^(b) 'am l
 (3) ba dañ^(c) be'u 'dra ba btags^(d) pa 'am l
 (4) lug btags pa 'am l
 (5) mchig mchig gu^(e) dañ bcas pa bźag^(f) pa 'am l
 (6) sgor 'khor gtan bsñal⁵³ ba 'am l
 (7) me^(g) tshugs sbar ba 'am l
 (8) rgyal ba bźugs pa 'am l
 (9) rgyal bas bka' stsal pa 'am l
 (10) 'khor los sgyur ba 'am l
 (11) 'khor los sgyur ba'i ma'i mñal du 'khor los^(h) sgyur ba źugs pa 'am l
 (12) byañ chub sems dpa' 'am l
 (13) byañ chub sems dpa'i⁽ⁱ⁾ ma'i^(j) mñal du byañ chub sems dpa' źugs pa 'dug pa 'am l^(k)
 (14) so sor thar pa'i mdo ma bton pa⁵⁴ 'don par byed pa^(l) 'am l
 (15) bton pa⁵⁵ rgya cher dbyaṅs kyis kha ton byed pa 'am l
 (16) (T159a) mdo sde'i sde tshan bźi po gañ yañ⁵⁶ ruñ ba ma bton⁵⁷ pa 'don par byed pa 'am ^(m) l
 (17) bton pa rgya cher dbyaṅs kyis⁽ⁿ⁾ kha ton byed pa 'am l
 (18) mdo (S206a) chen po che ba 'di lta ste l chuñ ñu stoñ pa ñid dañ l chen po stoñ pa ñid dañ l lña gsum pa dañ l sgyu ma'i dra ba dañ l gzugs can sñiñ pos bsu ba dañ l (L174b) rgyal mtshan dam pa dañ^(o) l kun tu^(p) rgyu ba dañ l^(q) kun tu^(r) mi rgyu ba dañ ^{s} 'thun⁵⁸ pa'i mdo dañ l (B192b) 'dus pa chen po'i mdo de dag ma bton⁵⁹ pa 'don par byed pa dañ l
 (19) bton pa dag rgya cher dbyaṅs kyis kha ton byed pa^(l) bźag par gyur na l
 5. gtañ ñes pa yin pas ro laṅs (N213a) kyis dge sloñ bdag ñid gsod par sems par⁶⁰ 'gyur bas⁶¹ l gal te ro laṅs kyis dge sloñ gsod^(a) par byed na l⁶² dge sloñ

⁵³bsñal BCDHJQ : sñal LNST.

⁵⁴pa BCDJQ : par HLNST. See below, item (16).

⁵⁵pa CDHJLNST : la BQ.

⁵⁶yañ BCDJQS : HLNT om. yañ.

⁵⁷bton CDHJLNST : gton BQ.

⁵⁸'thun CJLNT : mthun BDHQST.

⁵⁹bton CDHJLNST : gton BQ.

⁶⁰par BCDJQS : pa HLNT.

⁶¹'gyur bas BDJQS : gyur pas HLNT.

⁶²l HLNST : BCDJQ om. l.

la^(b) ñes pa sbom por 'gyur ro ll^(c)

6. gal te dge sloñ gis^(a) ro lañs gsod par byed na l⁶³ dge sloñ la^(b) ñes pa sbom po^(c) gñis su^(d) 'gyur te l gcig ni ro lañs bsad (Q129b) pa las so ll^(e) gñis pa ni sbyor ba sña ma de ñid las so ll^(f)

7. ro lañs (C160a) la ji lta ba (H201a) bžin du ro lañs phyed la⁶⁴ yañ de bžin te l ro lañs dañ^{65} ro lañs phyed la bye brag ni 'di yod de l 'khor lo gcig dañ ldan pa'i šin rta^(a) la 'jog pa dañ l mgul du dril bu gcig 'dogs pa dañ l lag par ral gri so (D143b) gcig pa sbyin pa ni ro lañs phyed ces bya'o ll^(b) ltuñ ba rnam par gžag pa ni thams cad sña ma bžin du brjod par bya'o ll^(c)

Minor variants to Extract "A"

1(a). l BCDJLNQS : HT om. l.

1(b). l BCDJQS : HLNT om. l.

1(c). *tshes* CDJLNQST : *tsh* B.

1(d). T adds *la* below line.

1(e). *dur khrod* CDJLNQST : *du khrod* B.

1(f). *ro* CDJLNQST : *no* B.

1(g). *phra* CDJLNQST : *phu* B.

1(h). *smas* CDJLNQS : *smras* BT.

1(i). *ñams* CDJLNQST : *ñems* B.

1(j). S adds l : not in BCDHJLNQT.

2(a). *nas sa kar* CDJQS : *nas sa dkar* H : *na sa kar* NT : *nas kar* BL.

2(b). *sa kar* BCDJLNQST : *sa dkar* H.

2(c). *gyis dril* BCDJLNQS : *gyi dri* T.

2(d). l BHQS : CDJLNT om. l.

2(e). T adds *pa* below line.

2(f). *smyañs* BCDHJLNQT : *rmyañs* S.

2(g). *de* BCDHJLNQT : *de'i* S.

2(h). *du* BCDHJLNQT : S om. *du*.

2(i). *dril bu* CDJLNQST : *dri bu* B.

3(a). *te* CDJLNQST : B om. *te*.

3(b). *blag* CDJLNQST : *glag* B.

⁶³l ST : BCDJLNQ om. l.

⁶⁴la CDHJLNST : pa BQ.

⁶⁵BCDJQ add l : not in HLNST.

- 3(c). T adds *zin* below line.
 3(d). *gsad* BDHJLNQST : *gsod* C.
 3(e). *bral* CDJLNQST : *zlal* (!) B.
 3(f). *kyis* CDJLNST : *kyi* BQ.
 3(g). | BCDJQS : HLNT om. l.
 3(h). | BCDJQS : HLNT om. l.
 3(i). HLNT add | : not in BCDJQS.
 3(j). *zes* CDJLNQST : *zin* B.
 3(k). *ses so* BCDJQS = *seso* LN : T om. *ses so*.
 3(l). | BCDHJQS : LNT om. l.
 3(m). | BDHJLNQST : C (end of line) om. l.
 3(n). *gal* CDJLNQST : *lag* B.
 3(o). 'gyur ro || BCDJQS : 'gyuro || LN : 'gyur ro | T.
 4(a). *bum pa* BCDHJQS : *bun pa* LN : *bun ba* T.
 4(b). *pa* BCDHJLNST : Q om. *pa*.
 4(c). *dan* CDJLNQST : *lan* B.
 4(d). *ba btags* BCDJLNQS : *bar tags* T.
 4(e). T adds *gu* below line.
 4(f). *bzag* CDJLNQST : *bzab* B.
 4(g). *me* BDLNQS : *mi* CJ : *ma* T.
 4(h). *los* CDJLNQST : *lor* B.
 4(i). *dpa'i* BCHJLNQST : *dpa'* D.
 4(j). *ma'i* CDJLNQST : *mi'i* B.
 4(k). | BDHJLNQST : C om. l.
 4(l). *pa* BCDHJLNST : *ma* Q.
 4(m). B adds dittographic *par byed pa 'am* l.
 4(n). *kyis* BCDHJNQST : *kyi* L.
 4(o). *dan* BCDHJLNQT : *dam* S.
 4(p). *kun tu* CDHJLNST : *kun du* BQ.
 4(q). | DHLNST : BCJQ om. l.
 4(r). *kun tu* CDHLNST : *kun du* BJQ.
 4(s). DHLNST add | : not in BCJQ.
 4(t). *pa* BCDJLNQS : *par* T.
 5(a). *gsod* BCDHJLNQT : *bsod* S.
 5(b). *la* CDH(J)LNST : BQ om. *la*.

- 5(c). 'gyur ro || BCDJNS : 'gyuro || L : 'gyur ro | QT.
 6(a). T adds *gis* below line.
 6(b). *la* CDJLNQST : *kha* (!) B.
 6(c). *po* BDHJLNQT : *por* CS.
 6(d). *gñis su* BCDHJQST : *gñisu* LN.
 6(e). *las so* || BCDHJST : *las so* | QT : *laso* || LN.
 6(f). *las so* || CDHJS : *las so* | QT : *laso* || LN : *lal*(!) *so* || B.
 7(a). *śiñ rta* DLNQST : *śiñ ta* BC(J).
 7(b). *bya'o* || CDHJLNS : *bya'o* | T : *bya ba'o* || B : *bya ba'o* | Q.
 7(c). || BCDJLNS : | QT.

B. Extract from Vinayavibhaṅga-padavyākhyāna of Vinītadeva⁶⁶

'Dul ba rnam par 'byed pa'i tshig rnam par bśad pa (Vinayavibhaṅga-padavyākhyāna) of 'Dul ba'i lha (Vinītadeva), translated by Jinamitra and Klu'i rgyal mtshan:

C4081	'dul ba	tshu	71b4–72a5
D4114	'dul ba	tshu	62b2–63a2
G	rnam 'byed	vu	84b3–85a4
N 3607	mdo	vu	69a6–69b5
Q5616	'dul ba'i 'grel pa	vu	74a4–74b5

1. **zla ba mar gyi ño'i tshes bcu bži** žes bya ba ni tshes ñi śu dgu'o || **śi ba'i ro** žes bya ba ni mi'i ro'o || **ma smas** žes bya ba ni bu gu ma byuñ ba'o || **ma ñams pa** žes bya ba ni yan lag dum bur ma gyur pa'o ||
 2. **bya rmyaṅs⁶⁷** žes bya ba ni lus gyen du 'chu⁶⁸ ba'o ||
 3. **blag blag zer žiñ** žes bya ba ni sgra blag blag zer žiñ ño || **ro lañs** žes bya ba ni 'dre ^{69} la sogs pa mi ma yin pa'o ||
 4. (1) **nags kyi phreñ ba** žes bya ba ni nags tshal gyi nañ nas skyes pa'i me tog dañ 'bras bu la byas pa'i phreñ ba'o ||
 (2) **bum pa gañ ba** žes bya ba ni⁷⁰ chus bkañ ba'o ||

⁶⁶All variants are recorded. The paragraph numbers correspond to those of the root-text (Text A). Citations from the root-text in the Commentary are placed in bold-face type.

⁶⁷*rmyaṅs* GNQ : *rmyaṅ* CD.

⁶⁸'*chu* CDNQ : *chu* G.

⁶⁹Q adds *ba* : not in CDGN.

⁷⁰*ba ni* GNQ : *ba'i* CD.

- (3) **ba dañ be'ur 'dra ba** źes bya ba ni smad gñis spu ga mthun pa'o ll
 (5) **mchig mchi gu dañ bcas pa** źes bya ba ni mchig smad phrugs su ldan pa'o ll
 (7) **me tshugs sbar ba** źes bya ba ni me bud pa'o ll
 (8) **rgyal ba** źes bya ba ni de bźin gśegs pa'o ll
 (9) **rgyal bas bka' stsal pa** źes bya ba ni bcom ldan 'das kyi pho ña 'am l bcom ldan 'das kyi bstan pa'o ll
 (12) **byañ chub sems dpa'** źes bya ba ni srid pa tha ma pa'o⁷¹ ll
 (14) **so sor thar pa** źes bya ba ni dañ por thar pa'o ll **ma bton**⁷² **pa** źes bya ba ni kha ton⁷³ du ma bslabs pa'o ll **rgya cher dbyañs kyi** źes bya ba ni gźan gyis thos pa'i sgras so ll
 (16) **mdo sde'i sde tshan**⁷⁴ **bźi po** źes bya ba ni luñ riñ po dañ l luñ bar ma dañ l yañ dag par ldan pa'i luñ dañ l gcig las 'phros⁷⁵ pa'i luñ dag go ll
 (18) **mdo chen po** źes bya ba ni phas kyi rgol ba las rgyal bar byed pa'i phyir dañ l gnod sbyin gdug pa la sogs pa las rgyal bar byed pa'i phyir l 'bras bu chen po źes bya ba'i tha tshig go ll **che ba** źes bya ba ni don zab pa ñid kyi⁷⁶ don che ba'o ll de dag kyañ gañ źe na mdo chen⁷⁷ che ba bryad de l **'di lta ste** źes bya bas dños su bstan pa dag yin no ll de dag gi luñ riñ po la sogs pa dag gi⁷⁸ rgyud du gtogs pa yin no ll
5. **gtañ** źes bya ba ni gnas ma yin par gtañ ba'o ll **dge sloñ bdag ñid gsod par sems par 'gyur bas** źes bya ba ni ro lañs des dge sloñ sñags pa rañ ñid gsod par byed do źes bya ba'i tha tshig go ll

⁷¹ma pa'o GNQ : ma'o CD.

⁷²ma bton GN : ma gton Q : kha ton CD.

⁷³kha ton GNQ : kha don CD.

⁷⁴tshan CDGQ : mtshan N.

⁷⁵'phros CD : 'phos GNQ.

⁷⁶CDNQ : kyi G.

⁷⁷GNQ : CD om.

⁷⁸CGDN : dgag Q.

Three Pāli Works Revisited

Since it came into existence 125 years ago, the Pāli Text Society has kept editing works belonging to the Tipiṭaka in its narrow sense as well as other texts of all kinds. Some of those, however, have perhaps not attracted as much attention as they deserve, partly because the interests of Pāli scholars and the fashion of scholarship have not been in their favour. My modest purpose here is to awaken two of these somnolent works which are fully entitled to have corresponding entries in any history of Pāli literature: (1) the Buddhaghosuppatti (Bu-up) and (2) the Paṭhamasambodhi (Paṭh).¹ Finally, I would like to collect some preliminary information on a third work, this time unpublished, (3) the Vidaddhamukhamaṇḍaṇa (Vid),² with the hope that the Pāli Text Society could include it on its agenda, thus contributing to fulfilling one of the desiderata for further Pāli studies mentioned by K.R. Norman: “The biggest deficiencies in Pāli publications in the West, however, are in editions of *ṭīkāś* and of Pāli texts composed in South-East Asia” (1994: 13–14 = 1996: 80–81).

1. The Buddhaghosuppatti or Buddhaghosaniḍāna

As the author of the Visuddhimagga and the famous commentator of the Tipiṭaka, Buddhaghosa is a highly venerated figure in the Buddhist world, especially in South-East Asia. The recent reprint by the Pāli Text Society (in 2001) of the edition and translation of the so-called Buddhaghosuppatti by James Gray, originally published in 1892, is an occasion to have a new look at the way the Pāli tradition at some point, in some

¹Both of them were read *in toto* or in part with students during classes held at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (“Philologie moyen-indienne”) in 2001–2002 and 2004–2005. Brief preliminary remarks are available in the annual reports (*Livret-Annuaire*) and, for Bu-up, in Balbir 2001. — I am grateful to Dr Peter Skilling who provided Thai editions of these two works and a Burmese edition of the Jinālaṅkāra (Jināl, see below section 2).

²See below, n. 21.

place, looked at Buddhaghosa. Although Gray does not stand among the most famous representatives of Pāli philology, he did some useful work in the field during the years he spent in Burma where he taught Pāli in schools and translated some works which were of current use among Buddhists of Burma at the end of the nineteenth century.³ His interest in biographical and hagiographical works was materialised by his edition and translation of two works: the *Jināḷāṅkāra* (see below, section 2) and the *Buddhaghosuppatti*, for which he expressed his strong liking in unambiguous terms: “The narrative is intensely interesting.... It reads in fact like an Arthurian romance.... The story in its entirety will be found highly diverting as well as instructive” (Bu-up 1892, 1981: 2, 9). But he was aware of the historical limitations of the work: “Facts of historical value cover only a limited space on the comparatively broad canvas of the narrative, and will probably add very little to what is already known of Buddhaghosa. The story, however, brings the personality of that eminent man vividly before our minds and enforces a greater interest in him than ever; and if it does this only, it can be safely said that it was not written in vain” (Bu-up 1892, 1981: 9). Indeed, given the interests of Buddhist studies of those times in chronology, this brief work of thirty pages had less to bring than the Sinhalese *vamsas* since it does not mention any king’s name or any date which could be cross-checked. But it certainly contributes to constructing “la légende de Buddhaghosa”, to quote the title of Louis Finot’s stimulating article (1921), and could well have been included among the sources studied by the contributors to the volume *Sacred Biography in the Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia* (ed. Schober 1997).

Like other works dealing with Buddhaghosa, the present account is organized around his pivotal rôle in the transmission and renewal of the scriptures and their original language. It starts with his birth on earth as a reincarnation of a god sent by Sakka for the special mission of “translating” the teachings from their original “Sinhalese”, which could

³See Balbir 2001, n. 2.

no longer be understood, into “the language of Magadha”.⁴ This narrative frame, which has been clearly drawn along the lines of Nāgasena’s career as sketched in the *Milindapañha* (see Finot 1921: 113; Bu-up 1892, 1981: 69; Law 1923: 25–47), sets Buddhaghosa in the broad perspective of an *avatāra*. The biography extends “before the Cradle and past the Grave”, in the way traditional Burmese biographies do (*at-htok-pat-ti*, Houtman in Schober 1997: 311): before his advent on earth Buddhaghosa is a god, after his death on earth he will be Maitreya’s disciple. In between, the eight brief chapters which recount his life are meant to show that in order to become a great man one requires more than intellectual qualities.

If several episodes are viewed from this perspective, they do not appear to be secondary or simply entertaining. On the contrary, they play a part in providing the biography with meaning. The emphasis laid on Buddhaghosa’s childhood is a part of the plan meant to show that the intellectual brightness which is his outstanding characteristic has always been there. The utterance of a paradoxical assertion which cannot be understood by the audience first provokes derision, then a respect which leads to an inversion of the ordinary social rôles when Buddhaghosa’s father admits, “You are my father and I am like your son” (40,27ff.). In the fifth chapter, which could seem a diversion, Buddhaghosa is a witness to a dispute which has come up between two ladies and takes note of the insults they throw at each other. These notes will have a determining rôle to play in solving the matter at a later stage. They are one of the several cases in this biography where the written document appears to be of importance as a reserved, discrete testimony which can be used when the situation arises. Such episodes underline both the lucidity and modesty of the teacher and his connection with transmission in general. The question of learning and the use of languages is also dealt with in narrative disguise: apart from the initial replacement of Sinhalese by Pāli, the competition between Pāli and Sanskrit, and the

⁴On this question see Granoff 1991.

status of Sanskrit in the context of Buddhism are salient: as the son of a Brahman working as a royal chaplain, the young Buddhaghosa is probably conversant with Sanskrit. After his conversion to Buddhism, he seems to leave it in the background and follows a purely Buddhist curriculum sketched out in the story through selected technical terms. But the idea that no education could be complete without a knowledge of Sanskrit seems to be stressed when Buddhaghosa has to prove that he masters this language in front of monks who thought he was ignorant of it by reciting a few Sanskrit stanzas (rather badly treated in the manuscripts: Bu-up 1892, 1981: 72–73).

The origin and diffusion of the text need further investigation. Gray's edition is based on four manuscripts in Burmese script, for which no details are given. On the other hand, on the basis of the ascription of the text to a Thera Mahāmaṅgala found at the end, Gray was of the opinion that the text could have come from Ceylon or could be dated "to the thirteenth century as the period when the Piṭakas and their commentaries were taken to Ceylon from Burma" (Bu-up 1892, 1981: 33). A little more can be said now that more documentation is available. First, no manuscript seems to have emerged from Ceylon, whereas a rather large number are to be found in South-East Asian collections, whether they are kept in Burma, Thailand, or the West.⁵

The title Buddhaghosanidāna is largely prevalent over the title *°uppatti* (which, anyway, is a sort of synonym, and could remind us of the term used in Burma). The text is often provided with a *nissaya* and was sometimes equated to a Jātaka (in the broad acceptance of the term). References to it or summaries are met with in late Pāli historical texts written in Burma (Jinakālamāli, Gandhavaṃsa, Sāsanavaṃsa), where it seems to have become the standard for other works on Buddhaghosa.⁶ As for Thailand, the Pāli scholar Sammot Amarabandhu (1860–1915), who wrote an introduction in Thai to an edition of the Pāli

⁵See Balbir 2001, n. 28 for further details.

⁶See, respectively, PTS ed., p. 71, line 17; Minayeff 1886, pp. 65 and 75; B.C. Law's translation (London, 1923), pp. 32–33 (text, pp. 29–30).

text and its Thai translation, mentions the fact that people liked very much to have sermons on this subject, which was called *Thet Phra Phuttakhosa*, and that it was considered to convey benefits (*ānisaṃsa*). He also indicates that the verses, which are interspersed at several places in the text, are borrowed from the *Vaṃsamālinī*, that the style of composition does not resemble older texts and that it is likely that the work was composed in Thailand, Laos, or Burma, since it is not in the style of old texts from Lanka.

In Burma, the Pāli Bu-up has served as a basis for retellings in Burmese.⁷ I would also suggest that Bu-up seems to exhibit a combination of canonical and local elements. Some technical details seem to be in tune with what is known otherwise from South-East Asian traditions and practices, although any interpretation should be done with great caution. The narrative of Ghosa's conversion to Buddhism, which could be inspired by the *Milindapañha*, is not a mere reproduction of it. The ordination ritual is different from canonical narratives as well. After the first stage, the removal of hair and beard expressed through the well-known formula *kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā*, the next one is to "take off the layman's smell through moist sandal powder" (*alla-candana-cuṇṇehi gihi-gandhaṃ jhāpetvā*, 44.27). This feature does not seem to be mentioned before the commentary on the *Vinaya* and the texts based on it. More relevant, the candidate wears white clothes and receives as the ordination formula the five topics of meditation (*pañca kammaṭṭhāna*), i.e. the list of the first five body elements (*kesā, lomā, nakhā, dantā, taco*, 44.26ff.). This process recalls the traditions of the *pabbajjā* as they have been observed in South-East Asia.

Bu-up is a vivid example of the way religious instruction is provided. Conversion of both Ghosa's father (chapter 3) and Ghosa himself is achieved through a teaching with practical or immediate purpose, not through any elaborate doctrinal discussion, and the Buddha's teaching is called a *manta* (43.5, 44.4 ff.). Strikingly, the *iti pi*

⁷See Braun and Myint 1985, No. 222.

so formula is one of the media in use.⁸ Finally, the way Buddhaghosa as an enthusiastic new convert proceeds with his father, putting him for a time in a *gabbhakuṭī* (46,24) carefully locked (cf. *yanta*, 47,2) is reminiscent of the “embryogénie sacrée visant à fournir à l’adepte un modèle dans sa quête du Nibbāna qui passe par une régression utérine”.⁹

On the other hand, it remains to be seen whether any conclusion can be drawn from the analysis of the verses scattered in Bu-up and from their identification or available parallels. In some cases, they are helpful for a better establishment or understanding of the text. One of the most striking cases is provided by the technically elaborated passage of chapter 2 (43,16*-23*), the edition of which is unsatisfactory but can be improved through recourse to the *Abhidhammāvatāra* and its commentary (chapter 1, stanzas 29, 31, 62).¹⁰

2. THE PAṬHAMASAMBODHI

The Paṭthamasambodhi (Paṭh) can be described as a biography of the Buddha coming from South-East Asia, and even more precisely from Thailand, where the nineteenth-century version written by the prince-monk Paramanuchit-chinorot (= S^c) is a well-known text: “[The Pathamasambodhikatha] is a series of sermons intended for ritual recitation at events such as the *Wisakha Buuchaa*, which are held all night in commemoration of the Buddha’s birth, enlightenment, and decease. It represents a Thai version of the standard biography of the Buddha, which is based on canonical and Sinhalese commentarial works and written in ornate prose style” (Taylor 1997: 292). Although the Pāli Text Society edition was published only a few years ago, the interest in this work is not new. It was brought to light by the French scholar George Cœdès (1886–1969) who published two articles on this work (1916A and 1968) and had prepared its text using a large number of

⁸For bibliographical references regarding these two elements see Balbir 2001, nn. 18 and 19.

⁹Bizot 1980, p. 222.

¹⁰See Balbir 2001, pp. 350–51 for further textual details.

manuscripts. This text is the basis of the PTS edition (= E^c), finalized for publication by Dr Jacqueline Filliozat. Reading Paṭṭh through this edition leaves the reader in a rather confused state, facing a large number of variants which are not really helpful. On the other hand, the tools which could be of use in understanding what Paṭṭh is or is meant to be are missing. Given the form of the work where prose and verses alternate, an index of stanzas, for instance, with a concordance would have been appropriate; instead the concordances to the verses of the Nidānakathā (Nidāna-k),¹¹ to which the Paṭṭhasambodhi is obviously connected, when mentioned, are buried among the variants. The stanzas other than those examined below are either difficult to identify or come from canonical works of wide circulation.¹²

Both George Cœdès and Jacqueline Filliozat were rightly puzzled by the varying structure and contents of the work as evidenced by the manuscripts. The number of chapters, for instance, is not always the same. But one may go further into the textual history of the Paṭṭhasambodhi and its composition. In many ways the form of Paṭṭh is reminiscent of a prose commentary to a verse text. Narrative prose passages of varying lengths end with formulas of the type *tena dassento āha*, accusative + *dassento āha*, or *tena vuttaṃ*, followed by one or

¹¹Ja I 2–94.

¹²For instance Paṭṭh (references are to verse numbers) 70 = Nidāna-k (references are to verse numbers) 271; Paṭṭh 106 = Nidāna-k 272; Paṭṭh 184–85 = Sn 544–45; Paṭṭh 190–91 = Dhp 153–54 and Nidāna-k 278–79; Paṭṭh 160 = Dhp 179 and Nidāna-k 280; Paṭṭh 198–99 = Vin I 3,27–30 and Ud 10,18*–21* (my attention was drawn to these two stanzas by Thī Phumthapthim, *Kānsuksā prīapthiāp kamphī lalitwisatara ke khamphī pathomsomphōt. A comparative study of the Lalitavistara and the Pathamasambodhi*, Bangkok, Silpakorn University, 2543 [2000], who on p. 6 draws a parallel between two Paṭṭh stanzas and Lalitavistara, p. 380, lines 16–19 (Lefmann edition), p. 276 (Vaidya edition), but does not mention their old Pāli occurrences. The parallel is interesting but is it conclusive for any connection between the Pāli and the Sanskrit biographies of the Buddha?); Paṭṭh 224 = Nidāna-k 289; Paṭṭh 225 = Nidāna-k 290; Paṭṭh 226 = Dhp 168 and Nidāna-k 292; Paṭṭh 227, 228 = Dhp 169 and Nidāna-k 293.

several stanzas. Their total number is 254 in E^c, but for a right assessment of the situation it is better to take into account only the part of the text going up to the end of the chapter *Dhammacakkaparivatta* which is common to E^c and S^c, i.e. the first 223 stanzas of E^c, to which nine stanzas wrongly not printed as verses (see n. 14) should be added.¹³ Fifty-nine of them, i.e. approximately one fourth, are similar to or identical with stanzas found in the Jinālaṅkāra (Jināl; see Table below). This starts almost at the very beginning:

dasa-pāramī-dasa-upapāramī-dasa-paramattha-pāramiyo sabba-samā-tīsa-pāramiyo pūresi. idāni evaṃ bodhisatto pāramī pūrento yathā ambarrukkhā-sadisā jana-chāyā phala-paribhoga-puñña-bīja-ropita-kkhaṇe yeva taṃ upamaṃ saṃsando imā gāthā āha (text quoted as in S^c, p. 24; compare E^c, p. 2)

tath' eva saṃsāra-pathe janānaṃ ... (= Jināl 30)

yo sāgare jalam adhika-rudhiraṃ adāsi ... (= Jināl 31)

buddhā lokāloke loke jāto ... (= Jināl 172)

Here, the verse concordance is not the only sign of the presence of the Jinālaṅkāra. The preceding prose sentence (“like the shade for people similar to the mango tree even at the time of sowing the seed of merit for the enjoyment of the fruit”) is already a somewhat terse and elliptic rewriting of verse 29 of this text preserving its important words with a loose syntactic connection between them:

*yo magga-passe madhur'-amba-bījaṃ
chāyā-phal'-atthāya mahā-janānaṃ
ropesi tasmīṃ hi khaṇe va tena
chāyā-phale puññaṃ aladdham uddhaṃ* (Jināl 29)

He who has sown the seed of a sweet mango on the roadside with the object of providing shade and fruit, even in the very moment of sowing it, in virtue of the shade and the fruit [he intends to provide], there is acquired by him whatever merit had not been obtained before (Gray's translation, p. 85).

¹³S^c represents an amplified version in 29 chapters (Cædès 1968 in PTS edition: lvi–lvii) where, after this point, a great deal of additional material in prose and verse is found.

In one case, the verses are precisely introduced with reference to their literary form (*yamakagātham āha*, Paṭh E^c 73,12), unmistakably pointing to the Jinālaṅkāra, which is well known as a unique composition replete with *tours de force*, especially *yamakas* (see Paṭh 74 = Jināl 73). In another case, the sophisticated style of the stanza which makes use of alliterations and paradoxical statements speaks for itself:

*bhajitaṃ cajitaṃ pavanaṃ bhavanaṃ
jahitaṃ gahitaṃ samalaṃ amalaṃ
sugataṃ agataṃ sugatiṃ agatiṃ
namitaṃ (v.l. namāmi) amitaṃ namatiṃ sumatiṃ*

Paṭh 53 [= 136,19–37,2 not printed as verse in E^c] = Jināl 173

In a single case, an author's name is explicitly mentioned: *taṃ dassento Buddharakkhitācariyo āha* (E^c 114,12; S^c p. 87), followed by a verse (numbered 145 in E^c) which is identical to Jinālaṅkāra 115 (E^c). This suggests that the connection between the two works was clear to the redactor of the Paṭhamasambodhi himself and that the implied grammatical subject of *āha* in many other cases is also the author of the Jinālaṅkāra. This gives support to the identity of Buddharakkhita as the author of the Jinālaṅkāra, a fact which was not unanimously admitted in the tradition.¹⁴ The evidence of the Paṭhamasambodhi confirms what we know for certain from the statements found at the end of the commentary on the Jinālaṅkāra and from the colophons (Norman 1983: 157; von Hinüber 1996 §407), that the author of the Jinālaṅkāra was indeed Buddharakkhita, a Thera born in Rohaṇa (Ceylon) who wrote it in 1156 C.E.

On the other hand the distribution of the fifty-nine stanzas common to the Paṭhamasambodhi and the Jinālaṅkāra is not without significance. They are not spread over the fourteen chapters which build Paṭh in its most complete form. They are found only in the part narrating the life of the Buddha from his last incarnations in the Tusita heaven up to his

¹⁴See the conflicting evidence of the Gandhavaṃsa (Buddhadatta) and of the Saddhammasaṅgaha (Buddharakkhita) quoted in I.B. Horner's foreword to the reprint of the Jinālaṅkāra.

Enlightenment (Abhisambodhi, chapter VIII in E^c; chapter XI in S^c), not in the later chapters. This fact could be additional evidence to support the hypothesis made by Cœdès about the progressive development of Paṭh in three stages starting around a core corresponding to this period of the Buddha's life:

The Paṭhamasambodhi originally may have included eight chapters which traced the life of the Buddha from his life in the Tusita heaven to his awakening... A little later, the addition of two or three chapters continued the story up to the sermon in Benares. This stage corresponds to the Yuon translation in the manuscript of Copenhagen. Later still, the story was continued up to the *parinirvāṇa*. This stage included about fifteen chapters and is represented by the eighteenth-century manuscripts (Paṭh E^c lx).

As for the first stage, one can now state that the Jinālaṅkāra stands among its main sources. The table of correspondences (below) shows that verses from the Jinālaṅkāra are often quoted in blocks so that some sections of the Jinālaṅkāra are incorporated *in toto* or in part in the Paṭhamasambodhi. Thus both works have a close intertextual relation. This observation also gives weight to the chronological deductions proposed by Cœdès on the basis of two other converging facts: (1) the oldest sculptures that depict the Earth wringing out her hair in order to inundate Māra's army date from the twelfth century; (2) a stanza of the Paṭh found in an inscription from Nakhon Pathom in Thailand also appears in the Sāratthasamuccaya, which also dates from the twelfth century. Since the Jinālaṅkāra also dates back to the same period, and since the quotations from the Jinālaṅkāra appear precisely in the same part of the work, we could be slightly more assertive than Cœdès, who wrote, "We should not go as far as to imply that the Paṭhamasambodhi itself dates from this period, even if the two chapters that include the legend of the Earth and the stanza are part of the oldest part of the text" (Paṭh E^c lxiv).

Trying to read the verses of Paṭh through the PTS edition is not an easy task. First, there are passages which have been printed as prose

while they should have been printed as verses,¹⁵ or incorrect word separations. Despite the considerable number of manuscripts used, the text is often unsatisfactory, even in cases where it offers no special difficulty. Both the Thai edition of Paṭh reflecting the full modern version prepared by Prince Paramanujit in 1845 (= S^c, pp. 278–79 for the colophon verses already quoted in Cœdès 1916B: 4, n. 1) and the editions of the Jinālaṅkāra have to be called on for help. On the other hand, the establishment of the text of the latter would also benefit from a comparison of the two texts (see Table below).

It is not only in the verses that the connection between the Paṭhamasambodhi and the Jinālaṅkāra is clearly seen. Comparing the prose of the former with the commentary on the latter underlines their mutual affinity. Although Paṭh is not strictly speaking a commentary, it has some formal features of the genre: the style of the introductory formulas preceding the quotation of stanzas is one of them (see above). Another one is the typical device of singling out a word of a stanza just quoted for explanation:

sayam Nārāyanabalo abhiññābalapāragū
jetuṃ sabbassa lokassa Bodhimaṅḍam upāgamī ti (Paṭh E^c 148, S^c p. 88,
 v.l. *pāramibalapāragū* = Jināl 118)
tattha “Nārāyanabalo” ti ... tattha Nārāyanabalo nāma dassento āha:
kāḷāvakaṃ ca Gaṅgeyyaṃ
paṇḍaraṃ tāmba-piṅgalaṃ
gandhaṃ maṅgalaṃ hemaṃ ca
uposathaṃ chaddan t’ ime dasā ti (Paṭh E^c 149, S^c p. 88; Jināl-ṭ B^c p. 275)
tattha “dasā” ti ...

The wording of the commentary on *Nārāyanabalo* in Paṭh and in the Jinālaṅkāra-ṭikā (Jināl-ṭ, B^c) are almost identical, and the stanza listing the ten powers is also found at the same place in this commentary. A

¹⁵The following passages should be printed as verses: E^c 23,8–10 (S^c p. 40); E^c 79,11–13 (*Māra ... atthiko*) and 79,13–14 (*sabbaṃ ... anuttaro*) are two anuṣṭubhs (S^c p. 69); E^c 95,5–7 (S^c p. 77); E^c 111,14–15 is the continuation of the stanza numbered as 142 (S^c p. 86); E^c 128,15–17 (S^c p. 96); E^c 136,15–137,2 (3 stanzas, see below; S^c pp. 100–101).

full fledged comparison of the prose of both texts, which cannot be undertaken here, would easily show that this is just an instance out of many where prose passages in both works have the same wording and where stanzas incorporated in Paṭh are quoted at the same place in the Jināl-ṭ.¹⁶ The ultimate source of these common stanzas could well be a third text: the five stanzas listing the bad omens appearing before Māra's army in Paṭh (E^c 161–65) are also found (with variant readings) in the Jināl-ṭ (B^c pp. 277–78), where they are introduced with the sentence: *vuttaṃ h' etaṃ porāṇe ti*. Needless to say, great benefit could be taken from such a comparison for improving the often deficient or unclear text of Paṭh as given in E^c (despite the impressive critical apparatus). The interrelation with Jināl, however, is rather complex. The passage where the goddess Earth (*Vasundharā vanitā*) wrings out her hair in order to inundate Māra's army and cause his final defeat (Paṭh E^c 134,17ff.), made famous by Coëdès's article (1916A) is specific to the Paṭhamasambodhi, and appears to be deliberately so, as the version of the Jinālaṅkāra is in conformity with the classical depiction with the earth shaking, the terrestrial noise, and the roaring noise in the sky caused by a thunderbolt.¹⁷ Except for these few lines, the rest of the prose of Paṭh is rather close to what can be found in the corresponding Jinālaṅkāra-ṭīkā (B^c p. 285): what comes before this episode is a commentary on stanza 181 (= Jināl 138) similar to Jināl-ṭ and what comes after it (135,11ff.) is similar to Jināl-ṭ on Jināl 140–41 (not quoted in Paṭh).

¹⁶Compare, for instance, Paṭh E^c p. 137 and Jināl-ṭ quoted in Jināl E^c p. 63 (B^c p. 289); Paṭh E^c 136,15–19 (not printed as verses!) = S^c p. 86 = Jināl-ṭ B^c p. 286 as stanzas 161 and 162.

¹⁷The Earth as a beautiful lady who appeared in front of the Buddha is given at an earlier stage of the narrative as told in Paṭh, at the time of the Great Renunciation: *tadā Dharaṇī varavanitā Bodhisattassa vitakkaṃ ñatvā*, etc. (E^c 80,8).

Table¹⁸

Paṭhamasambodhi verse number in E ^c (chapter) ¹⁹	Jinālaṅkāra verse number in E ^c (chapter)
3 (Tussita); b reads differently in S ^c : <i>atthāya attānam achādayanto</i> ; c has been transmitted differently in Path and Jinā ²⁰	30 (Bodhisambhāradīpanīgāthā)
4 (Tussita); read <i>jaladhikarudhiraṃ</i> in a E ^c	31 (Bodhisambhāradīpanīgāthā)
5 (read <i>ko nu mmatto</i> ; <i>bho</i> prob. to be read as <i>ko</i>) = 54 (Tussita)	172 (Abhisambodhidīpanīgāthā)
6 (Tussita)	32 (Gabbhokkantidīpanīgāthā)
7 (Tussita)	33 (Gabbhokkantidīpanīgāthā); superfluous <i>ca</i> in c
13 (Gabbhābhiniikkhamana); d is unmetrical in all versions (<i>dasa-sahassī pakampītha</i> Jinā).	34 (Gabbhokkantidīpanīgāthā)
14 (Gabbh.)	35 (Gabbhokkantidīpanīgāthā)
18 (Gabbh.); note <i>Lumbali / Lumbani</i> in b; read <i>vijāyi taṃ</i> in d E ^c	36 (Vijāyanamaṅgaladīpanīgāthā)
19 (Gabbh.)	39 (Vijāyanamaṅgaladīpanīgāthā)
20 (Gabbh.); c <i>vivattanti</i> ; d <i>na dissare cāmarachattagāhakā</i>	38 (Vijāyanamaṅgaladīpanīgāthā); c <i>vipatanti</i> E ^c ; <i>vijenti</i> B ^c ; d <i>kha-jjimsu bherī ca nadimsu saṃkhā</i>
46 (Gabbh.); d <i>te devā dātā</i> E ^c is strange (no v.l.); S ^c <i>te devā tadā</i> makes more sense.	178 (Navaguṇadīpanīgāthā); d <i>te devā brahmā</i>
48 (Lakkhaṇapariggaha); b E ^c <i>subhattā</i> , S ^c <i>subhuttā</i>	44 (Vijāyanamaṅgaladīpanīgāthā); b <i>subhuttā</i>
53 (Lakkhaṇa.)	173 (Abhisambodhidīpanīgāthā)

¹⁸Based on the comparison of Paṭhamasambodhi E^c with Jinālaṅkāra E^c.

¹⁹Chapter division as in E^c.

²⁰Only the most significant variants are recorded here; incorrect word separations are not taken into account. For a full critical edition of the verses all available documents would have to be taken up systematically and their readings considered in view of the metrical constraints.

54 (Lakkhaṇa); not in S ^c at this place; see above 5	172 (Abhisambodhidīpanīgāthā)
55 (Lakkhaṇa); wrong divisions of some words in E ^c ; not in S ^c at this place	180 (Navaguṇadīpanīgāthā)
56 (Rājābhiseka); b E ^c <i>ābhāyikaṃ</i> ; S ^c <i>abbhāyikaṃ</i> , compare Gray Jināl p. 56.	45 (Vijāyanamaṅgaladīpanīgāthā)
57 (Rājābhiseka); d E ^c S ^c <i>devaputtam upāgami</i>	43 (Vijāyanamaṅgaladīpanīgāthā); d <i>devaputtattam āgami</i>
58 (Rājābhiseka)	47 (Agāriyasampattidīpanīgāthā)
59 (Rājābhiseka); minor variants	48 (Agāriyasampattidīpanīgāthā)
73 (Mahābhiniikkhamana); d <i>itthiyo</i> in E ^c to be cancelled as indicated in the note.	72 (Pādudhāravimhayadīpanīgāthā)
74 (Mahābhiniikkhamana)	73 (Pādudhāravimhayadīpanīgāthā)
75 (Mahābhiniikkhamana)	74 (Pādudhāravimhayadīpanīgāthā)
76 (Mahābhiniikkhamana); d E ^c S ^c <i>saṃghuṭṭhā</i>	75 (Pādudhāravimhayadīpanīgāthā); d <i>ghuṭṭhā</i> .
79 (Mahābhiniikkhamana); b E ^c <i>jiṇṇavirūpāni raticchidāni</i> but S ^c <i>thīnaṃ virūpāni ratacchidāni</i>	81 (Apunarāvattigamanadīpanīyamakagāthā); b <i>thīnaṃ virūpāni ratacchidāni</i>
81 (Mahābhiniikkhamana)	50 (Nekkhammajjhāsayaḍīpanīyamakagāthā)
82 (Mahābhiniikkhamana); c E ^c <i>paccamukhe</i> but S ^c <i>maccumukhe</i>	52 (Nekkhamma.); c <i>maccumukhe</i>
83 (Mahābhiniikkhamana)	53 (Nekkhamma.)
84 (Mahābhiniikkhamana); c E ^c <i>payāte</i> ; S ^c <i>mayā te</i> ; d <i>vinay(y)ā</i>	54 (Nekkhamma.); c <i>mayā te</i> ; d <i>vineyya</i>
85 (Mahābhiniikkhamana); d E ^c <i>sutaṃ sutan</i> ; S ^c <i>sutaṃ sutantaṃ</i>	59 (Nekkhamma.); d <i>sutaṃ sutantaṃ</i>
87 (Mahābhiniikkhamana); c E ^c <i>Gāyābhirūpaṃ pi Yasodhara-varaṃ</i> ; S ^c <i>tāyābhirūpaṃ pi Yasodharaṃ varaṃ</i>	88 (Dvipādabyāsayamakagāthā); c <i>tāyābhirūpaṃ pi Yasodharaṃ varaṃ</i>

88 (Mahābhiniikkhamana); c to be emended: the pun on the verb <i>riñcati</i> which is the main point of the verse is lost in the text as it is printed; compare Jināl	89 (Dvipāda.)
91 (Mahābhiniikkhamana); c is different in Path and Jināl	68 (Pāduddhāravimhayadīpanīgāthā)
92 (Mahābhiniikkhamana); b the correct reading should be <i>bhābhānibhāni</i>	85 (Apunarāvattigamanadīpanīyamakagāthā)
93 (Mahābhiniikkhamana); d E ^c S ^c <i>yāto tato hi nimittehi surissarehi</i>	86 (Apunarāvatti.); d <i>yāto tato hi mahito purissarehi</i>
94 (Mahābhiniikkhamana); minor variants	69 (Pāduddhāra.)
95 (Mahābhiniikkhamana); to be fully reconsidered	70 (Pāduddhāra.)
97 (Mahābhiniikkhamana)	78 (Apunarāvatti.)
98 (Mahābhiniikkhamana)	79 (Apunarāvatti.)
99 (Mahābhiniikkhamana)	80 (Apunarāvatti.)
100 (Mahābhi.)	81 (Apunarāvatti.)
101 (Mahābhi.)	82 (Apunarāvatti.)
102 (Mahābhi.)	83 (Apunarāvatti.)
103 (Mahābhi.)	84 (Apunarāvatti.)
145 (Buddhapūjā); c <i>Bodhim parājītāsane</i> ; d E ^c S ^c <i>yuddhāya Māre niccalo nisīdi</i>	115 (Māraparājayadīpanīgāthā); c E ^c <i>bodhimhi parājītāsane</i> ; B ^c <i>bodhim uparājītāsane</i> ; d <i>yuddhāya Mārenacalo nisīdi</i>
146 (Buddhapūjā)	116 (Māraparājaya.); a read <i>mānusam</i> (not <i>maṃsam</i> as printed in E ^c ; but the translation is right).
147 (Buddhapūjā)	117 (Māraparājaya.)
148 (Buddhapūjā); S ^c <i>pāramibala-pāragū</i>	118 (Māraparājaya.)
166 (Māravijaya); b E ^c S ^c <i>chaddetha chedakam imaṃ</i>	120 (Māraparājaya.); b <i>chaṭṭetha cetakam imaṃ</i>
170 (Māravijaya); a E ^c <i>āsinno</i> ; S ^c <i>āsi no</i>	123 (Māraparājaya.); a <i>kasmā āsi nu</i> E ^c , no B ^c

171 (Māravijaya)	124 (Māraparājaya.); read <i>dayāparo</i> instead of <i>daya°</i> in E ^c
172 (Māravijaya); d E ^c S ^c <i>balō</i>	125 (Māraparājaya.); d <i>khaḷo</i>
173 (Māravijaya); c E ^c <i>ekapārimissā pi</i> ; S ^c <i>ekapāramissā pi</i>	127 (Māraparājaya.); c <i>ekapāramiyā</i>
174 (Māravijaya)	128 (Māraparājaya.)
175 (Māravijaya); d E ^c <i>anumato sacetano</i> ; S ^c <i>anumatto</i>	129 (Māraparājaya.); d <i>anummatto sacetano</i>
176 (Māravijaya)	130 (Māraparājaya.)
177 (Māravijaya)	131 (Māraparājaya.)
178 (Māravijaya)	132 (Māraparājaya.)
181 (Māravijaya)	138 (Māraparājaya.)
p. 136,19–37,2 (wrongly not printed as a verse in E ^c) = 53	173 (Abhisambodhidīpanīgāthā)

3. THE VIDADDHAMUKHAMANĀḌANA²¹

A solid hint as to the existence of this work in Burma is supplied in Aggavaṃsa's *Saddanīti* (see Kraatz 1968 1: xvi):

mā vuccati sirī; tathā hi Vidaddhamukhamaṇḍana-ṭīkāyāṃ mālinī ti pādass' atthaṃ vadatā “mā vuccati Lakkhī, alinī ti bhamarī” ti vuttaṃ, lakkhī saddo ca sirī-saddena samān'-attho, tena “mā vuccati sirī” ti attho amhehi anumato (244,19ff.).

mā means “prosperity”. In fact, when giving the meaning of the word *mālinī*, the commentary on the Vidaddhamukhamaṇḍana says, “*mā* means

²¹At this stage I can only collect a few preliminary remarks. More details on the text will follow on another occasion. I am grateful to all those who, in addition to Dr Peter Skilling, helped me to progress in this research during my stay in Bangkok (August 2007): Peter Nyunt, who is cataloguing the Fragile Palm Leaves Manuscripts; Venerable Mahathiab Malai of Wat Jetuphon (Wat Pho), who granted permission to see the manuscripts kept there; Jacqueline Filliozat, who kindly sent the relevant information contained in her unpublished catalogue of the manuscripts at Wat Jetuphon (Wat Pho) and accompanied me there during our brief visit on 29 August; Mr Dokrak Payaksri and Mr Wisithisak Sattapan (EFEO, Bangkok), who kindly devoted a few hours to the reading of parts of the two Tham manuscripts, photocopies of which were kindly provided by Dr Peter Skilling (see below).

prosperity, *alinī* means bee.” The word *lakkhī* has the same meaning as the word *siri*. This is why we have admitted the statement “*mā* means prosperity”.

This passage occurs within a section devoted to the discussion of monosyllables (*ekakkhara*, 239,6–46,8) in the context of nominal declension and the establishment of grammatical gender of the words considered. They are reviewed in alphabetical order, just as a specialized lexicon of the class *Ekakkharakosa* would do. Starting with *ko* meaning “Brahmā, wind, and body” (239,6ff.), the list ends with *saṃ* (245,4ff.). Compounds formed with monosyllables are treated along the way (such as *vindo*, “lord of the birds”, *vi + indo*, 240,4–5). As always with Aggavaṃsa, the discussion is substantiated by examples and quotations taken from various texts.

The presence of this quotation in the *Saddanīti* implies that not only the work itself but a corresponding commentary were known at the time of Aggavaṃsa, that is to say, in the second half of the twelfth century C.E. The question of its origin and diffusion, however, have not yet been solved. *Vid* is not specifically a Pāli work; there is a *Vid* in Sanskrit, which, in four chapters, presents both definitions and illustrations of various types of riddles, and was widely disseminated in India. It is a sophisticated work which calls for knowledge of grammar and vocabulary (especially monosyllable words or rare words) in all their niceties. Therefore in addition to manuscripts and editions containing the verses only, there are many where an elucidating commentary is also provided. The religious affiliation of the author, a certain Dharmadāsa, about whom nothing reliable is known, has been debated: was he a Buddhist, a Jain (*Vid* is highly popular in Jain circles, where other authors have also composed similar works), or neither? His date is also very uncertain: near the seventh century (Kraatz 1968: xviii) or much later (the eleventh, thirteenth, or fifteenth century).

The passage quoted by Aggavaṃsa refers to a stanza which reads as follows in Sanskrit:

urasi Mura-bhidaḥ kā gāḍham āliṅgītāste ?
sarasija-makarandāmoditā nandane kā ?
giri-sama-laghu-varṇair arṇavākhyātisaṃkhyair
gurubhir api kṛtā kā chandasāṃ vṛtti-ramyā ?
mālinī. mā = lakṣmīḥ ; alinī = bhramarī ; mālinī nāma chando vṛttam
 (2.36).

Which lady remains closely embraced to Mura's murderer ?

In the Nandana who (fem.) is rejoiced in the pollen of the lotuses ?

Having a number of light syllables identical to [the number of] mountains, and heavy syllables numbering the word "ocean", which among the metres is pleasant ?

The answer to the first question is *mā*, a monosyllabic designation for Lakṣmī, the answer to the second one is *alinī* "a bee", whereas the addition of both produces the answer to the third question, *mālinī*, as the name of the famous metre having eight light and seven heavy syllables (4 × ◡◡◡◡◡◡◡◡, -◡◡◡◡◡◡). The stanza is meant to illustrate the variety of riddles known as *vṛttanāmajāti*, where the answer to be found is the name of a metre. It is the second example of this variety: in the preceding stanza, 2.35, the name of the metre to be guessed through a similar method is *śikhariṇī*. An additional nicety: although Dharmadāsa's definition does not state it explicitly, both his examples show that the riddle verse is written in the metre to be discovered.²²

This parallel suggests that the Pāli and the Sanskrit Vid are closely interrelated. Further, Aggavaṃsa's quotation could make one expect that manuscripts of a Pāli Vid with commentary following the Sanskrit model could be found in Burma. There are serious hints, indeed, to suggest that the tradition relating to Vid was kept alive in Burma even later than Aggavaṃsa's time. At a later period there are stray references found in historical documents or lists of books. For instance, *Vidagdha*, rightly understood by Bode (1909: 108, No. 265) as the abbreviation of *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana*, is mentioned among the non-canonical works found in the Pagan inscription dated 1442 A.D. which gives the contents

²²This additional feature is made clear in the Jain reworking of the definition in Mahākavi Ajitasena's *Alaṃkāracintāmaṇi*, see Balbir 2004, p. 299.

throughout. The verse to which Aggavaṃsa refers is found on fol. *kū* recto and verso :

urasi muda (sic)-bhidā kā gādhyam āliṅgitāste?
sarasija-makarandānanditā moditā kā?
gīri-sama-laghu-varṇair aṇṇavākyāta-saṅkhye (sic)
garubhir api kūtā kā cchandasā (sic) vīttir agrā? || mālini || vīttanāma-jāti ||
 |||

A few lines above (*kū* recto, line 5) the verse occurs which successively gives the definitions of two varieties of riddles, the second of which is the *vīttanāma-jāti* (see below). On the whole, the manuscript is correct. Neither Vid nor the rest of the manuscript have any date or place of copying. As is well known, the position of Sanskrit learning in Burma was very different from that of Ceylon. Pāli and Burmese were the common languages in monastic education. Sanskrit, however, was not absent and remained associated with specialized traditional disciplines of knowledge (*śāstras*). Vid, which combines knowledge of grammar, lexicography, metrics, poetics, etc., belongs to such a sphere. In particular, “King Bodawpaya (1781–1819) ... sent a number of missions to collect Sanskrit works in Varanasi and other places in India and Ceylon. These books were transliterated into Burmese script and many of them were translated into Burmese language or into Pāli” (Bechert and Braun 1981: xxxix). The manuscript of Vid could date from this period and could belong to this Sanskrit renaissance, although the work does not appear in the rich list of “Sanskrit texts imported into Burma between 1786 and 1818” (Than Tun 1960: 132–41). Thus, this idea is only a mere hypothesis for the time being. Given the small number of Sanskrit works in Burmese script, it is certainly remarkable :

The scope of Sanskrit studies in Burma remained, however, a quite limited one so that today not many Sanskrit works can be found in manuscripts written in Burmese script (Bechert and Braun 1981: xxxix).²⁴

²⁴See *loc. cit.* for examples : “only eight Sanskrit manuscripts in Burmese script with 14 different works, mostly grammatical and lexicographical texts, can be traced” in the unpublished catalogue of the Mandalay collection.

As for the presence of Vid in other South-East Asian countries, the situation is the following: no manuscript seems to be available today in Cambodia.²⁵ A manuscript from Laos has been reported long ago.²⁶ The existence of vernacular versions, however, has been reported (Skilling and Pakdeekham 2002, 2004).

Nevertheless, the existence of a Pāli Vid is not a myth. It is attested in several manuscripts from Siam, all of which have not yet been collected.²⁷ On the other hand, the list of works making an extensive “painted Tipiṭaka” found on the walls of the main hall in Wat Thong Noppakhun (Thonburi; end of the nineteenth century) shows that Vid was known among works dealing with language (*Saddāvisesa*), both in its Pāli and in its Sanskrit versions until late: sixty titles are listed in this category. No. 27 is *Pāḷi-Bidakdha* and No. 55 is *Pāḷi-Bidakdha-sakaṭa* (Skilling, forthcoming).

My preliminary investigation of the Pāli Vid is based on the following material:

One manuscript in Khom script kept at Wat Jetuphon (Wat Pho). No. 6/40. See Jacqueline Filliozat, “EFEO DATA Filliozat 2005, fichier 108”. The whole bundle concerns Vid. The Pāli version (*Brah pāli vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana*) is found on fol. *ka* to *gū* and was the only one I could see briefly during my visit. The next ms (7 *phūks*) is the *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana-dīpanī-ṭīkā*, followed by the *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana-yojanā* (4 *phūks*) and the *Mukhamaṇḍanavidagdha-upadesa*.²⁸

Two photocopies made on the basis of the microfilms of two manuscripts in Tham script from Wat Sung Men, Phrae Province. These manuscripts

²⁵Information kindly given by Dr Olivier de Bernon (EFEO ; letter dated 7 May 2001). But see Coedès 1912 : 178 who saw a manuscript of the *ṭīkā*.

²⁶Finot 1917 : 214 : R 676 (= Luang Prabang Royal Library) containing 6 *phūks*.

²⁷It would be important for a further study to have access to the ms kept in the Royal National Library.

²⁸For other manuscripts, including some containing vernacular renderings or explanations, see Skilling & Pakdeekham 2002 under 4.49, 4.72 (*Nissaya-Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana-Phadet*), 4.99 (*Yojanā-Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana* “composed in Pukām [Pagan] by Dhammakitti Thera Lokarājamoli”), 4.110 and 111 ; Skilling & Pakdeekham 2004 under 5.101–104.

were microfilmed under the “Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Project” (a Thai–German undertaking on which see Hundius 1990: 15ff.). Reference is to the *phūk* number and the Arabic numbers added on each page of the microfilmed manuscripts.

WS 010408801 (= A), 6 *phūks*, 5 lines, complete, dated C.S. (= Cūḷasakarāja) 1198 = 1836 C.E.

WS 010409203 (= B), 6 *phūks*, 5 lines, complete.

Both manuscripts are additional documents attesting the brilliant activity of the senior monk Venerable Gruu Paa Kañcana Araññavāsīn whose personality emerges from the colophons of the manuscripts he had copied, and came to light through the superb study of the colophons of Pāli manuscripts from Northern Thailand conducted by Hundius (1990, especially 34–36). In the 1830s this monk was greatly instrumental in preserving and restoring Northern Thai culture in Lanna. His home monastery, Wat Sung Men, “rose to become a centre of Pāli and Buddhist studies. Manuscripts were systematically collected and numerous copying campaigns covering Phrae, Nan, Chiang Mai, Chiang Saen, Rahaeng and Luang Prabang were pursued” (Hundius 1990: 34). Together with the ruler of Phrae he had ms A copied. His name also appears in the colophon located at the end of each *phūk* of ms B. Under his leadership, and with the cooperation of his disciple, this ms was copied in Luang Prabang and brought to Lanna.

The Khom manuscript contains the root text of the Vid in Pāli: definition verses, illustrative verses followed by the answers to the riddles. It is the work of Vipulabuddhi Thera, disciple of Sāgarabuddhi Thera:

iti Sāgarabuddhithera’-antevāsika-Vipulabuddhithera-viracite Vidatthamukhamaṇḍane catuttho paricchedo ... pāḷi Vidatthamukhamaṇḍanaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ (fols. *gū-ge*).

This should be compared with the Gandhavaṃsa of Nandapañña, admittedly a modern work, where the number of works composed by Vepullabuddhi Ācārya (either five or six as there seem to be conflicting opinions) is discussed. Among them is one Vidadhimukhamaṇḍanaṭṭikā

(Minayeff 1886: 64 and 74–75). The variant spelling *vidadhi* is no hindrance to the identification. But the work available in the Khom manuscript is not a commentary.

The two Lanna manuscripts are identical to each other and contain the *Vidagdhāmukhamaṇḍana-dīpanī* (= Vid-d; cf. *Vidagdhāmukhamaṇḍana-dīpaniṃ vakkhāmi*, B I,1, line 3; A I,1, line 3). It is an extensive Pāli commentary on the Pāli Vid. The verses of the *mūla* are quoted pāda by pāda. They are identical to the work represented in the Khom manuscript. Vid-d ends: *iti varamati- seṭṭhagaruna vajjirapañño ti vihita-nāmadheyyena para-hitesinā uttama-dhamma-gavesi tena nibbānālambaṇa-cittena therena racitā Vidaggamukhamaṇḍana-dīpanī nāmāyaṃ ṭīkā anantarāyena samattā* (B VI,30, line 5).²⁹

The author of the Pāli Vid explicitly considers himself to be a translator of Dharmadāsa's work at the outset:

... *karissāmi sa-mātikam ahaṃ Magadha-bhāsāya Vidagdhāmukhamaṇḍanam.*

The verses that follow, ending with the conclusion *ti mātikā* (Wat Pho ms, fol. *ki* recto), list all the varieties of riddles which will be treated in the work. These verses are Pāli translations of the corresponding verses found in Dharmadāsa's work (1.9–18) with minor adjustments in the use of particles. The technical designations are identical. The verses supplying the definitions also conform to their Sanskrit model. The definition of the first variety discussed in the Pāli Vid reads:

*siyā pada-vibhāgena kevalen' eva pucchitam
yaṃ byattham taṃ samattham yaṃ samudāyena pucchitam* (fol. *ki* recto,
line 2)

²⁹The *Vidagdhāmukhamaṇḍana-dīpanī-ṭīkā* in Khom script (Wat Pho ms, see above) has the same end and is the same work.

cf. Dharmadāsa:

*piṣṭaṃ pada-vibhāgena kevalenaiva yad bhavet
vidur vyastaṃ samastaṃ yat samudāyena picchayate* (1.19).

This is just one instance to illustrate an overall conducted method. The *vitta-nāma-jāti*, which I focus on here because of Aggavaṃsa's quotation, is defined along with the *viśama-jāti* in the same verse. In Dharmadāsa's version:

*yatra bhaṅgasya vaiśamyam viśamaṃ tan nigadyate*³⁰
vittanāmottaraṃ piṣṭaṃ bhavet tad vittanāmakaṃ (2.32)

variant: *vittaṃ nāmottaraṃ yatra praśnaṃ tad vitta-nāmakaṃ*
(Kraatz 1968: 32).

... [Where] the question has as its answer the name of a metre it would be a *vittanāmaka*.

In Dharmadāsa as found in the Burmese manuscript (No. 510 see above) it reads :

*yatra bhaṅgasya veśamaṃ viśamaṃ ti nigadyate
yatra praśnāsthitaṃ s tan nāmottarāda (?) vitta-nāmakaṃ.*

In the Pāli Vid (ms B III,25, line 2):

*yatra pabandhe bhaṅgassa vesamaṃ atthi taṃ visamaṃ ti nigadyate
yatra pabandha (for: -e) nāmottaraṃ pañhā-ṭṭhitaṃ (sic) taṃ vutta-
nāmakaṃ.*

Thus, the general plan of both the Pāli and the Sanskrit versions goes along the same line. The fourth and last section, for example, also deals with the same varieties as the Sanskrit model in the same sequence. It relates to varieties where one has to discover a hidden verb, a case form, a compound or an ending: *kriyā-guttaṃ, katta-guttaṃ, kamma-guttaṃ, karaṇa-guttaṃ, sampadāna-guttaṃ, apadāna-guttaṃ, adhikarāna-guttaṃ, sambandha-guttaṃ, ālapana-guttaṃ, samāsa-guttaṃ, etc.*³¹

³⁰Cadence of an even pāda in a.

³¹Ms B *phūk* 6 fols. 4–15 ; compare Vid in Skt. chap. 4 vv. 33ff.

If the matter stopped here, it would be very artificial to speak of a Pāli Vid. The originality of the Pāli tradition regarding this work lies in the illustrative verses. This is not surprising as the riddles are highly dependent on linguistic constraints, which are partly different for Sanskrit and Pāli. No generalization is possible without a complete reading of the work (not done so far). But the section concerning the “metre name variety” shows that the examples are utterly different from those in Dharmadāsa’s Vid. Therefore, up to now, Aggavaṃsa’s reference remains the only available trace of a Pāli commentary on Vid where the illustrative verse is supposed to be the same as in the Sanskrit version.

Dharmadāsa had two examples for this variety (2.35 *sikhariṇī* and 2.36 *mālinī*). The Pāli Vid as represented in our Khom and Tham manuscripts also supplies two. But the metres they select are *rucirā* and *ketumatī*.

Example 1³²

- (i)³³ *jinassa kā jalati varassa bhuvane?*
- (ii) *pahanti ’kena ’ghika-pajāya tena ke?*
- (iii) *abhiñña pañca garu lahu ’ttha sānikā*
- (iv) *muni’-gga-vaṇṇa-ghaṭṭita-bandha-vutti kā? — rucirā*

Commentary: aññaṃ lakkhaṇassa lakkhaṇam āha jinass’ icc-ādinā. tattha rucirā ti.

(i) *varassa jinassa kā bhuvane jalati? ruci. tattha bhavanti³⁴ sattā ettha bhavana(m?)³⁵ loko “bhū sattāyan” [= Dhātupāṭha I.1] ti ti vā tu*

³²Ms A *phūk* III, 35–37; ms B *phūk* III, 28–30. My aim is to give a sample of the text because so far no discussion of the Pāli Vid has been based on any textual evidence. The present transliteration and translation, however, are highly tentative and have gaps. Unfortunately, the relevant pages of the photocopies are of rather poor quality and, at some places, hardly legible.

³³These numbers refer to the question in the riddle. In Example 2 one of them does not correspond to the pāda boundary.

³⁴B: bhavanta.

³⁵A: etthā ti bhavanaṃ.

yu-ssa³⁶ anattaṃ u-kārassa³⁷ uvattañ ca.³⁸ rucati attano guṇena virocati ti ruci raṃsi.

(ii) **tena ekena**³⁹ **aghika-pajāya ke pahanti**⁴⁰ ti. arā. arā. tattha pahanti 'kenā ti pahiyante ekena seṭṭhena.⁴¹ **aghika-pajāyā** ti dukkhita-sattassa. arā ti kilesā saṃsāra-cakkāro vā.

(iii–iv) **abhiñña pañca garu laṭṭha sānikā**⁴² **muni-'gga-vaṇṇa-ghaṭṭita-bandha-vutti kā?** rucirā. tattha **abhi. la. sānikā** ti abhiññā-saṃkhātehi pañca-garuhi ceva⁴³ sānika jhāte samāpatti-saṃkhātehi ca atṭhahi lahuhi ti samāno. **muni. la. vutti** ti agga-munino guṇena **ghaṭṭita-bandha-gāthā. kā?** ti, kā nāmā? **rucirā** ti evaṃ-nāmakā⁴⁴ gāthā abhivisesena ra-guṇaṃ⁴⁵ jānāti ti. abhiññā gāraviyate alahukaraṇa ca sena bhaṇiyate ti garu, lahu ...⁴⁶ guṇiyate ti garu-nirutti-nayena,⁴⁷ sānati⁴⁸ vā ...⁴⁹ karotī ti sāna samāpatti tāya sānāya sampannā sānikā gāthā. vaṇṇiyate saṃsiyate⁵⁰ ti vaṇṇo,⁵¹ guṇā sa garu

³⁶A: yussā.

³⁷A: u-kārass' uvattañ ca.

³⁸Indigenous etymology of *bhavana/bhuvana* with reference to the root *bhū* and grammatical formation of the word: *yu* is the technical name of the suffix *-ana-* (cf. Kaccāyana 549 *nandādīhi yu* and 624 or Sadd 859,23); *-u-* *uv-* in words having this suffix.

³⁹So A; B: *te jinena na ekena aghika*°.

⁴⁰B: *panti*.

⁴¹B: written as *sebbena*.

⁴²A: *samānikā* (here, but later: *sānikā*).

⁴³B: *cava*.

⁴⁴A: *evaṃ-nāmikā*.

⁴⁵So in both mss. Read: °*gaṇaṃ* ?

⁴⁶Very uncertain reading: *ke vyaddhi vya* (??).

⁴⁷Indigenous etymology of the word *garu*.

⁴⁸Any connection with Sadd 398,5 *sāna tejane. tejanaṃ nisānaṃ, sānati* ?

⁴⁹Too uncertain.

⁵⁰So A; B: *pasiyate*.

⁵¹B: *vaṇo*. Indigenous etymology of the word *vaṇṇa*.

*lahu hi rucati dippati ti*⁵² *rucirā*.

(i) What is it (fem.) of the excellent Jina that shines in the world? — His brightness (*ruci* ; i.e. his rays, see *cty ram̐si*).

(ii) What are those (plural masc.) of a suffering creature that he alone kills? – The spokes (*arā*).

(iii–iv) Five higher knowledges [are] heavy, eight light ...⁵³ which is the syllabic verse arrangement produced by the best of the sages? — The (metre) *rucirā*.

The metrical structure of this metre is as follows: 4 × ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ - (thus eight light and five heavy syllables; cf. Sadd 8.3.2.4 and Vutt 89). As per Dharmadāsa's model, the riddle verse itself is composed in the metre to be discovered. It is a *rucirā*.

Example 2

(i) *kissa vidhassa jantu muni bhaṅgo*

(ii) *loka-varo 'ssa dhamma-vidutā kā?*

(iii–iv) *vutti lahu ccha pañca garu bandha*

nātha-guṇaṅga-vaṇṇa-racitā kā? — ketumatī.

Commentary: aññam āha: *kiss' icc-ādinā. tattha ketumatī* ti.

(i) *loka-varo muni jantu kissa vidhassa bhaṅgo* (?) ti. *ketu. tattha kissa vidhassā ti kidisassā mānassa, jantu ti jantuno. ketu hi unnati-bhāvena dhaja-sadisassa mānassa ...*⁵⁴ *māno kināti*⁵⁵ *unnamati ti ki unnamati ketu*⁵⁶.

(ii) ⁵⁷*as(s)a dhamma-vidutā kā?* ti *mati. tattha dhamma-vidutā ti dhamma vijānana-bhāvo, mati ti.*

(iii–iv) *pañcāsanāthagūṇaṅgavaṇṇa-racitā lahu ccha pañca garu*

⁵²Indigenous etymology of *rucirā* as the name of the metre, meaning “pleasing, shining, illuminating”.

⁵³Despite the commentary I am at a loss to understand the word *sānikā*.

⁵⁴Uncertain: *vidhati ettha naṃ vidahati ti vivo* (?) in B; A is illegible.

⁵⁵Compare Abhidhamma-avatāra 2 : *kināti vināseti vā para-dukkhan ti karuṇā*.

⁵⁶Etymology of *ketu* connected with the root *ki, kināti*.

⁵⁷This part not in A.

questions are a *charade*: Answer 1 + Answer 2 are components of the complete word (*ruci+arā > ruci'rā*; similarly *ketu+mati > ketumati*).

As could be expected, in contrast with Dharmadāsa's riddles the cultural references of which are Hindu mythology (and this could be a clue to his religious affiliation), the universe of the Pāli Vid is a Buddhist universe. The questions concern the Buddha's personality, his physical and intellectual features.⁶² The answers presuppose a knowledge of the tradition, which is expanded in the commentary. Thus, (ii) of Example 1, where *hanti* "to kill" occurs in the question and *arā* in the answer (equated with *kilesā* in the commentary), is a reference to some of the etymologies of the word *arahaṃ* where two components are distinguished:

arā saṃsāra-cakkassa hatā nāṇāsina yato
loka-nāthena ten' esa arahan ti pavuccatī ti (quoted in Sadd 579,9-10) or
saṃsāra-cakkassa vā arā kilesā hatā anenā ti arahā .
 (Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha)

Similarly, the metrical structure of the *rucirā* with five heavy and eight light syllables is also understood at a doctrinal level and connected with the five *abhiññās* and the eight *samāpattis*. These qualities are ascribed to the Buddha in several passages (e.g. *Mahāvagga-aṭṭhakathā* II 632: *mahāpuriso pana sabbā pi aṭṭha samāpattiyo, pañca abhiññāyo ca nibbattetvā...*; Ja I 30,11). Finally the equation *ketu/māna* (Example 2, i) is common in traditional exegesis, where the two words are synonyms (*māno ahaṃkāro unnati ketu paggaho avalepo ti pariyāyā*, Sadd 485,14) or where *ketu-hā* is explained as *māna-ppahāyī* in the commentary on Th 64 (a stanza revolving around the manifold meanings of *ketu*).

On the other hand, the *genre* of learned riddles such as those of Dharmadāsa or his Pāli counterpart implies a special usage of the language where all its niceties and rarities are called for. Monosyllables

⁶²A similar tendency can be observed in Jain riddles whether they are adapted or not from Dharmadāsa's work : the personality of the Jinās is a source of the questions asked. See Balbir 2002.

are one such extreme case. They are not used in our Pāli illustrative verses. Rare words or formations are, however, present. Pāli *aghika* (example 1, ii) seems to be based on *agha* or, at least, seems to be understood in this way by the commentator when he equates *aghika-pajāya* with *dukkhita-pajāya*. This equivalence is similar to Aggavaṃsa's discussion of the word *agha* (Sadd 527,3off.): *aghan ti dukkhaṃ ... agho ti kilesa, tena aghena arahā anagho*. The abstract noun *vidutā* (in *dhamma-vidutā*, example 2, ii) is a secondary derivative from a well-known compound and shows the productivity of the suffix *-tā*.

In brief: for a correct appraisal of the diffusion of Pāli literature, for the understanding of its making and for the establishment of the texts, the intertextual Pāli (or Sanskrit) network to which a given work belongs should not be put aside. For works combining prose with verses, no edition should be published without the basic tools that make it possible to assess the place and possible sources of these verses. This is a necessary stage in the process of any critical edition, as relevant as the consultation of a large number of manuscripts.

Nalini Balbir

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Manuscripts: see above, section 3.

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What's in a Repetition? On Counting the Suttas of the Saṃyutta-nikāya*

I. Introduction

One of the stylistic features of ancient Indian Buddhist texts is their repetitiveness. Of course, other ancient Indian literatures display some of the same repetitive devices, yet it seems that none develops the art of repetition quite to the extent that Buddhist texts do (cf. Allon 1997, p. 360). While this stylistic feature has been frequently noted, as Allon comments, it “has never been satisfactorily analysed or quantified” (1997, p. 273). Certainly Mark Allon’s own 1997 study of the function of certain stylistic features in Pāli texts (the product of doctoral research carried out in Cambridge under the supervision of K.R. Norman) makes an important contribution to our understanding of the nature of repetition in early Buddhist literature, but his study was not intended as exhaustive and more remains to be said.

In his analysis of repetition in the Udumbarikasihanāda-sutta (D III 36–57), Allon calculates that 30% of the full text can be classified as “verbatim repetition”, while 86.8% can be classified as repetition of one sort or another (pp. 358–59). He distinguishes five types of repetition : verbatim, repetition with minor modifications, repetition with important modifications, repetition of structure types 1 and 2 (p. 287). While the five different types are important for his calculations, in the present context I shall collapse Allon’s first three categories into what might be called “narrative repetition” and his last two into “structural repetition”.

By “narrative repetition” I refer to repetition of blocks, with or without modification, in the course of a narrative. Thus a text may describe events relating to person A who then describes these events in full to person B who then in turn relates to them to person C in full who then meets person A and asks, describing the events in full yet again,

*I am grateful to Peter Jackson for his observations on a first draft of this paper.

whether they are true.¹ By “structural repetition” I refers to the practice of providing a framework structure which can then be used as the basis for a series of repetitions by substituting different items and/or modifying the frame. For example, the *Gaṅgā-peyyāla* of the Saṃyutta-nikāya uses the following frame: “Just as the river Ganges flows to the east, so a *bhikkhu* who develops the noble eightfold path resorting to seclusion flows to nirvana.” By substituting different rivers for the Ganges, different items for the noble eightfold path, “great ocean” for “east”, different expressions for “resorting to seclusion”, a whole series of repetitions are achieved (S V 38–41). Such repetitions are especially characteristic of the Saṃyutta- and Aṅguttara-nikāyas and also the canonical Abhidhamma texts.

Both kinds of repetition are routinely abbreviated in the manuscripts and printed editions by the use of the term *peyyāla*, itself usually abbreviated to *pe* or *la*. The use of abbreviation in this connection poses something of a problem for the full analysis of repetition in Pāli texts, since it is not always clear precisely what is to be repeated. In the present paper, offered on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of the founding of the Pali Text Society in 1881 and K.R. Norman’s 80th birthday in 2005, I should like to focus on the use of structural repetition in the Saṃyutta-nikāya, considering in the first place its extent and in the concluding section its possible significance and function.

2. Counting the suttas of the Saṃyutta-nikāya

With reference to the 56 *vaggas* that make up the Saṃyutta-nikāya, K.R. Norman observes that “[t]hey contain 2,889 suttas in all, in the European edition, although Buddhaghosa states there are 7,762 suttas”

¹As K.R. Norman (2006, pp. 70–71) has pointed out, this kind of repetition is well exemplified by the opening of the Alagaddūpama-sutta (M I 130–31); this describes how Ariṭṭha is beset by a pernicious view, how *bhikkhus* hear of this and proceed to ask Ariṭṭha if it is true, how Ariṭṭha confirms it is true, how the monks reprimand Ariṭṭha and then report to the Buddha, relating everything in full to him.

(1983, p. 50). This discrepancy between the European edition and Buddhaghosa is worth pondering. Buddhaghosa also gives figures for the number of suttas in the other Nikāyas: 34 for the Dīgha-nikāya, 152 for the Majjhima-nikāya and 9,557 for the Aṅguttara-nikāya.² The fact that the figures Buddhaghosa gives correspond to the number of suttas found in modern European editions in the cases of the Dīgha-nikāya and Majjhima-nikāya but are wildly out of line in the cases of the Saṃyutta-nikāya and Aṅguttara-nikāya (the European edition of the latter counts between 2,308 and 2,363)³ should give us pause for thought. Buddhaghosa's figures do not seem intended as vague big numbers — like, say, 84,000 — but as a precise count, so either the tradition he reports was talking about a very different text from the one that has come down to us, or it counted suttas in a very different way. In fact it is clear from the introductions to their editions that both Feer and Hardy struggled with how to present the Saṃyutta-nikāya and Aṅguttara-nikāya and that a significant issue was the problem of repetition and what to count as a single sutta. Feer claims that by counting the suttas of the Saṃyutta-nikāya in a different way “the sum of 7,762 can be attained, but not be got from the data of the MSS” (S V ix). Yet his claim that he “counted the suttas according to the Uddānas” is problematic,⁴ because, as we shall see, in the first place the *uddānas* are not always clear on numbers and in the second place he seems on occasion to ignore — or at least interpret in a conservative way — the *uddānas*' instructions to expand.⁵

²Sp 18 = Sv I 17 = As 18 (cf. Spk I 2). The Chinese translation of Sp gives the number of suttas for D as 44 (possible variant noted), for M as 252, but the numbers for S and A are as in the Pāli Sp. See Bapat and Hirakawa 1970, pp. 10–11.

³See Norman 1983, p. 54.

⁴Elsewhere Feer seems in fact to favour counting larger numbers in certain instances S IV xii: “But if we count 247 suttas in the Saḷāyatana and 1,463 in Asaṅkhata, — what the text seems to permit — if not require, — this total would amount to 1,850 suttas.”

⁵For example the *uddāna* at S II 133 is explicit that 132 suttas should be counted.

The same problem has troubled these texts' translators. For the most part C.A.F. Rhys Davids and Woodward followed Feer's lead, though correcting some obvious slips. In the introduction to his recent translation Bhikkhu Bodhi makes some attempt to address the problem of the number of suttas in the Saṃyutta-nikāya, providing tables of Feer's and his own count, and suggesting that since Buddhaghosa's Sāratthappakāsinī comments on a text that seems to correspond to what we have, "the difference in totals must certainly stem merely from the different ways of expanding the vaggas treated elliptically in the text", although he still finds it "difficult to see how the commentator could arrive at so large a figure" (2000, p. 26).

The "problem" of repetition seems to have two facets. The first is that, as the editors point out, the manuscripts they had before them were inconsistent, using different ways of presenting an abbreviated text, though it is not exactly clear that this meant different numbers of repetitions were evidenced in the manuscripts. The second facet of the problem is that editors seem to have found the repetitions "tiresome", so much so that they were predisposed to play down the numbers of suttas implied by the repetitions.⁶ Certainly it seems worth trying to establish whether it is possible on the basis of the text of the Saṃyutta-nikāya that has come down to us to arrive at the number of suttas Buddhaghosa counted. It also seems worth pondering further the question of why all these "tiresome" repetitions.

Ideally the question of counting the suttas of the Saṃyutta-nikāya should be addressed by going back to representative manuscripts. In the present context I shall confine myself to carrying out a preliminary study on the basis of a selection of modern printed editions: the five

⁶So Feer at S V v–vi comments, "The tiresome repetitions, peculiar to the buddhist scriptures, abound exceedingly in the Mahā-Vaggo, and form so great a proportion in several of its Saṃyuttas that important abridgments are required. The singhalese and burmese MSS. differ so much in the manner and quantity of their abbreviation that they seem to have nothing in common, although they are dealing with the same subject." On the issue of the early European tendency to abbreviate Pāli texts, see also Norman 2006, p. 113.

volumes of Feer's PTS edition of 1884–1898 (E^c); the five volumes of the *Syāmaratṭha-tepiṭaka* of 1927 (BE 2470) (S^c); the three volumes of the *Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti-piṭaka* of 1957 (B^c); the six volumes of the *Buddhajayanti-tripiṭaka* of 1960–83 (C^c).⁷ Of course, this is not ideal since all these Asian editions may have been influenced to some extent by Feer's European edition.⁸

As I have already indicated, Feer gives his count of the total number of suttas in the introductions to each volume of his edition; unfortunately, for the most part S^c counts paragraphs or sections rather than suttas, so does not make explicit how many suttas it recognizes, though the edition is still useful for comparing the number of repetitions understood in the text. Both B^c and C^c give a running count of suttas for each of the five *vaggas* of *Samyutta-nikāya*. Bhikkhu Bodhi also offers a count in the introduction to his translation. The various enumerations of suttas are set out in Table 1.

Table 1. Numbers of suttas counted in the *Samyutta-nikāya*

vagga	suttas			
	E ^c Feer	B ^c CS	C ^c BJT	Bodhi
Sagātha	271	271	271	271
Nidāna	286	246	406	286
Khandha	733	716	716	716
Saḷāyātana	391	420	2286	434
Mahā	1208	1201	3977	1197
	2889	2854	7656	2904

⁷I have had access to S^c and B^c in both the printed editions and also the digital editions in the form of the BUDSIR (Bangkok: Mahidol University, 1994, 1996) and "Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana" (Igatpuri: Vipassana Research Institute, 1999) CD-ROMs respectively. Unfortunately I have only had direct access to the digital edition of C^c (Sri Lanka Tripitaka Project, Colombo; www.buddhistethics.org/palicanon.html), though I am grateful to Peter Jackson for supplying me with some details directly from the printed edition.

⁸The *Syāmaratṭha* edition has been reprinted with the addition of at least some variants in 1956 (BE 2499), 1979 (BE 2522), 1995 (BE 2538). I have used the 1995 reprint; how far this differs from the original is unclear.

In each *vagga*, except the Sagātha-*vagga* where the counting of suttas seems unproblematic, there is some variation; particularly in the Saḷāyātana- and Mahā-*vaggas* the discrepancies are considerable. Tables 2–5 show the differences in detail for each *vagga*. The figures which appear initially discrepant are highlighted in bold. These discrepant figures allow us to identify places where it seems likely different methods of counting are in operation. In tables 2–5 I have added a column giving my own count of suttas.

The discrepancy in the *nidāna-saṃyutta* turns out to be precisely connected with a repetition section that closes the *saṃyutta*, the *antarā-peyyāla* (S II 130–33). This *peyyāla* applies a structure based on the four truths to each of eleven links of the formula of dependent arising in turn (*avijjā* is omitted): someone who does not know or see old age and death, etc., their arising, their ceasing, and the path leading to their ceasing as they truly are should seek the Teacher in order to know them as they truly are. This gives eleven suttas.⁹ The *peyyāla* section then gives a further eleven alternatives to seeking the Teacher that someone who does not know or see should do in order to know and see. This gives a total of (11 × 12 =) 132 repetitions or suttas acknowledged in the *uddāna*.¹⁰ This gives C^c's total of 213 for the *saṃyutta*.¹¹ In fact, all editions recognize the same number of repetitions, but in B^c these are counted as just one, and by Feer and Bodhi as 12. In the preceding *samaṇabrāhmaṇa-vagga* where Feer, C^c and Bodhi count 11, B^c treats

⁹S II 130,28–29 makes it clear at the end of the initial treatment of *jarāmaṇa* that someone at some point in the history of the texts regarded this as a sutta: *suttanto eko. sabbesaṃ evaṃ peyyālo*.

¹⁰The *uddāna* has a number of variants in the manuscripts and printed editions: S II 133,5 talks of *suttā dvattiṃsasatāni*, presumably to be construed as “suttas numbering thirty-two and a hundred”, while the variant Feer records from his Sinhalese manuscripts has *antara-peyyālassa suttantā ekasatañ ca dvattiṃsa bhavanti*.

¹¹Strictly C^c seems not to recognize a *nidāna-saṃyutta*, but counts it as part of the *abhisamaya-saṃyutta*.

a similar application of a formula to each of the same eleven links as two and thus reaches a total of only 73 for the *nidāna-saṃyutta*.

In the *lābhasakkāra-saṃyutta* and *Rāhula-saṃyutta* B^c in fact counts the same number of suttas in each of the four (10 + 10 + 10 + 13 = 43) and two *vaggas* (10 + 12 = 22) that make up these *saṃyuttas*, but the running total of suttas for the whole Nidāna-vagga anomalously counts eight abbreviated suttas as one at S (B^c) I 430,18–19, six as one at S (B^c) I 438,1–2, and a further eight as one at S (B^c) I 443,14–15.

In the *khandha-saṃyutta* Feer's edition simply omits a sutta which should have *dukkhānupassī vihareyya* for the *aniccānupassī vihareyya* of sutta 147 (S II 179).

The arrangement of the *diṭṭhi-saṃyutta* is problematic; see Feer at S III ix–x and Bodhi 2000, pp. 1097–98 (n. 264). Since there are *in toto* 26 views and four different frames, one would expect 104 as the total number of repetitions, but the initial frame appears to be only applied to 18 views, so we have $18 + (26 \times 3) = 96$. Feer suggests, somewhat anomalously, counting 114.

In the *saḷāyatana-saṃyutta* the main problem is the *saṭṭhi-peyyāla* (S IV 148–56). Since this *peyyāla* seems to upset an implied structure for the whole *saṃyutta* of four sets of fifty suttas (*paññāsaka*), each comprising five *vaggas*, Feer asked: “Ought not this *peyyāla* to be lessened? I thought so.” (S IV viii) Notwithstanding its name, he suggests reducing this *peyyāla* to 20 by not treating certain repetitions as qualifying as suttas.

At S IV 126–28 Feer counts only one sutta, but B^c, C^c, and Bodhi count two: the first with verses, the second precisely the same without verses. This seems unusual and Feer may well be right in counting only 11 suttas in this *vagga* rather than 12.¹²

In the final *vagga* of the *vedanā-saṃyutta* Feer counts only 9 where B^c, C^c and Bodhi count 11, understanding new suttas to begin at S IV

¹²The *uddāna* as given by Feer at S IV 132 reads: *agayha dve honti palāsinā*, and Feer presumably takes the *dve* as applying only to *palāsinā*.

233,25 and at S IV 235,21. The *uddāna* at S IV 238 might be construed in either way, but the latter seems more likely to me.

In the two *peyyāla-vaggas* of the *mātugāma-saṃyutta*, C^c repeats the formula *pañcahi kho Anuruddha dhammehi samannāgato ... nīrayaṃ upapajjati ti* containing *kodhano ca hoti* (S IV 240,25–241,2) twice, thus creating an extra sutta. And later it counts what is clearly an introductory paragraph (S IV 243,16–24) as a separate sutta. Its count of 36 for this *saṃyutta* is thus a clear error.

The *Sāmañḍaka-saṃyutta* is a straightforward repetition of the 16 suttas of the immediately preceding *Jambukhādaka-saṃyutta* substituting *Sāmañḍako paribbāko* for *Jambukhādako paribbāko* throughout; B^c gives only the first and last sutta separated by the comment *yathā Jambukhādakasamuttam tathā vitthāretabbaṃ* (S (B^c) II 455,20), and counts only 2 suttas although it recognizes the repetition of all 16.

The difference in the count for the *Moggallāna-saṃyutta* is more complex and concerns what in E^c and B^c are counted suttas 10 (S IV 269–280) and 11 (S IV 280). The former initially describes how Sakka accompanied by 500 devas approaches Moggallāna and they both agree that going for refuge in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha is a good thing since as a result some beings are reborn in heaven (S IV 269,21–270,24). What follows is abbreviated with *pe* but indicates that the preceding section should be repeated a further four times in full with Sakka approaching with, in turn, 600, 700, 800, and 80,000 devas (S IV 270,25–271,19).¹³ The second section repeats all this — in effect five suttas — in full but this time Sakka and Moggallāna agree that the good thing is having trust in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha that is based in understanding (*avecca-pasāda*) (S IV 271,21–274,27). The third section once again provides five further repetitions by returning to the theme of going for refuge as the good thing, but adding that the beings reborn in heaven surpass other devas in ten respects (S IV 274,29–276,31). A fourth section gives five more repetitions by combining the

¹³As Bodhi 2000, p. 1440 (n. 282) notes, E^c in fact has *asītiyā devatāsatehi* but other editions have *asītiyā devatāsahassehi*.

trust based in understanding (section two) with the ten respects in which beings surpass devas (S IV 276,33–280,19). To this point we have thus had twenty repetitions. What is counted as sutta 11 indicates that Sakka is to be replaced by the names of five further devas (Candana, Suyāma, Santusita, Sunimmita, Vasavatti) followed by the instruction *ime pañca peyyālā yathā Sakko devānam indo tathā vittharetabbānī ti*. This gives five further sets of 20 repetitions and a total for this *saṃyutta* of 129 suttas — $9 + (20 \times 6)$.

The *asaṅkhata-saṃyutta* (S IV 359–73) begins with a sutta setting out the “unconditioned” (*asaṅkhata*) and “the path leading to the unconditioned” (*asaṅkhatagāmi-magga*). The latter is explained as *kāyagatā-sati*. This is followed by a second sutta identical in every respect except that the path is this time explained as *samatha* and *vipassanā*. The same structure is then repeated with a further nine explanations of the path, and thus a total of eleven suttas (S IV 359–61). This concludes the first *vagga*. Explanations 2–11 are in the form of numerically increasing sets of items: *samatha* and *vipassanā* ; three kinds of *samādhi*, a further three kinds of *samādhi*, four *satipaṭṭhānas*, four *sammappadhānas*, four *iddhipādas*, five *indriyas*, five *balas*, seven *bojjhaṅgas*, the eightfold path. The second *vagga* now proceeds by using the same framework but explaining “the path leading to the unconditioned” as each individual item from each of these ten sets in turn, giving a total of 45 suttas ($2 + 3 + 3 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 5 + 5 + 7 + 8$). We have now had a total of 56 (11 + 45) suttas, although Feer arbitrarily counts the second *vagga* as only a single sutta. The third *vagga* replaces *asaṅkhata* and *asaṅkhatagāmi-magga* with *anta* and *antagāmi-magga*. Feer's PTS edition gives — or rather suggests — in radically abbreviated form a further set of 45 suttas. These are followed by 31 further sets of 45 suttas achieved by replacing the original *asaṅkhata* by 31 different terms. Feer's edition thus implicitly recognizes a total of 1,496 suttas for the *saṃyutta* — $11 + (45 \times 33)$ —

although he himself prefers to count only 44 (11 + 33).¹⁴ The oriental editions of this *saṃyutta* seem to understand things differently. The Siamese Royal Edition states of *anta* and the final term *parāyana*: *yathā asaṅkhatam vitthāritam tathā vitthāretabbam*.¹⁵ This suggests that we should in fact understand the *saṃyutta* as containing a total of 1,848 suttas: $(11 + 45) \times 33$. The Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti and Sinhalese Buddha-jayanti-triṭṭaka seem to understand the text similarly.¹⁶

The largest number of discrepancies in the counting of suttas in the different editions is found in the Mahā-vagga. The first *saṃyutta* — the *magga-saṃyutta* — ends with a series of nine *vaggas*, five of which are explicitly referred to in the manuscripts as *peyyālas*, that almost entirely consist of repetitions once more indicated by the term *pe* or *la* in the manuscripts.

The *aññatitthiya-peyyāla* gives a series of eight items for the sake of which the spiritual life is lived. In each case it is further explained that the way or path to reach the aim of the spiritual life is the noble eightfold path. This gives a total of eight radically abbreviated suttas.

The *suriya-peyyāla* gives a series of seven items which prelude the arising of the noble eightfold path just as the dawn preludes the arising of the sun. In each case it is further explained that it is to be expected of a *bhikkhu* who is accomplished in the particular item that he will

¹⁴Woodward 1927 and Bodhi 2000 follow Feer in counting 44. Feer, however, then seems to get misled by his own method of counting and so at S IV x–xi claims the second *vagga* comprises only 44 alternative “paths leading to the unconditioned” instead of the actual 45, which leads him to conclude that the total number of suttas can be counted as either 44 or 1,463 $(11 + (44 \times 33))$. This error is repeated by Wynne (2004, p. 107, n. 24). Collins (1998, pp. 199–200) suggests a different enumeration for this *saṃyutta*: 1,485 (45×33) — although he states 32) or 1,518 (46×33) .

¹⁵S (S^c) IV 450, 453.

¹⁶S (B^c) II 541, 543; (C^c) IV 656, 666: *yathā asaṅkhatam tathā vitthāretabbam*. The numbering in C^c also makes explicit that the editors understood the repetition of a full set of 56 suttas for each of 33 items. Skilling (1994, pp. 79–81) also concludes that this *saṃyutta* comprises 1,848 suttas.

develop the noble eightfold path. This is followed by a statement of how the *bhikkhu* develops the eightfold path: he develops each constituent of the path with reference to two different formulas: the *vivekanissita* and *rāgavinaya* formulas. This then gives us a total of fourteen (7×2) abbreviated suttas.

The *ekadhamma-peyyāla I* and *ekadhamma-peyyāla II* take the same seven items used in the previous *vagga* and state how each represents one quality in particular suited to the arising of the noble eightfold path (*ekadhamma-peyyāla I*) or how the Buddha sees no other single quality which leads to the arising and full development of the noble eightfold path (*ekadhamma-peyyāla II*). The two *vaggas* then follow the pattern of the *suriya-peyyāla*. This gives two further sets of fourteen suttas.

The *Gaṅgā-peyyāla* describes how just as five separate rivers and then all five rivers together flow (1) to the east and (2) to the great ocean so the *bhikkhu* who develops the noble eightfold path flows to *nibbāna*. This gives an initial set of twelve suttas. But as in the *Suriya-* and *ekadhamma-peyyālas*, each sutta incorporates a statement of how the *bhikkhu* develops the eightfold path: but here he develops each constituent of the path with reference to *four* (not two) different formulas: the *vivekanissita*, *rāgavinaya*, *amatogadha* and *nibbānaninna* formulas. This then gives the *peyyāla* a total of 48 suttas ($6 \times 2 \times 4$).

The *appamāda-vagga* gives a set of ten different similes for the way in which wholesome qualities are rooted in heedfulness (*appamāda*). In each case it is further explained that it is to be expected of a *bhikkhu* who is heedful that he will develop the noble eightfold path. This is followed by a statement of how the *bhikkhu* develops the eightfold path: he develops each constituent of the path with reference to *four* (not two) different formulas: the *vivekanissita*, *rāgavinaya*, *amatogadha* and *nibbānaninna* formulas. This then gives the *vagga* a total of 40 suttas (10×4).

The *balakaraṇīya-vagga* gives a set of twelve different similes relating to the way in a *bhikkhu* develops the noble eightfold path. As in

the *appamāda-vagga*, this is followed by a statement of how the *bhikkhu* develops the eightfold path: he develops each constituent of the path with reference to the same four formulas: the *vivekanissita*, *rāgavinaya*, *amatogadha* and *nibbānaninna* formulas, though Feer, mistakenly in my view, questions whether all four formulas should apply here.¹⁷ So on the assumption that they should, this gives the *vagga* a total of 48 suttas (12 × 4).

The *esana-vagga* gives 10 — or 11 if the final repetition based on *tasinā* is treated as a distinct repetition from that based on the preceding *taṇhā*, which I suspect it should not be¹⁸ — items for the direct knowledge (*abhiññā*) of which the eightfold path is developed. Once

¹⁷At the end of the first sutta of this *vagga* Feer's PTS edition states *paraṅgāpeyyālivāṇṇiyato paripuṇṇasuttan ti viṭṭhāramaggī*. Feer notes (p. 46, n. 3): "This phrase is to be found in the burmese MSS. which add, according to the preceding case, the three statements referring to 1. *rāga-dosa-moha*; 2. *amata*; 3. *nibbāna*. — Nothing of this appears in the singhalese MSS. Therefore I bound myself to this note upon this matter." However the same phrase appears in the Syāmaratṭha edition at S (S^c) V 68, which then proceeds to repeat the sutta with the additional three formulas: the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti does the same at S (B^c) III 42–43, while BJT simply gives all four formulas in full. Woodward (1930) does not translate the concluding phrase and simply passes over the question of whether the sutta is to be repeated with all four formulas; Bhikkhu Bodhi (2000, p. 1553), however, notes that each of the twelve suttas of the *vagga* is to be expanded by way of the four formulas, though he does not count each as a separate sutta in his numbering.

¹⁸This explains the extra sutta counted by B^c for the *magga-saṃyutta* when compared with E^c and Bodhi's translation; while both the latter include the *tasinā* repetition they do not number it separately (see Bodhi 2000, p. 1898, n. 46). It also explains similar discrepancies in some of the other *saṃyuttas* of the Mahā-vagga. The word *tasinā* (or *tasinā*) is, of course, simply another Prakrit form, alongside *taṇhā*, of Sanskrit *trṣṇā*, showing svarabhakti rather than assimilation of the consonant group (cf. Geiger & Norman 1994, § 30.3). This alternative form is extremely rare, however, such that it would seem appropriate to regard it as anomalous in Pāli. In the present context *tasinā* is not included in S^c and C^c, while E^c (S V 58, n. 1) notes that it is not found in the Sinhalese manuscripts. Electronic searches of E^c, C^c, S^c and B^c give no other occurrences of the form *tasinā*, while the form *tasinā* appears at Dh 342–43, Nidd I 488 (v.l. and other editions, *tasitā*), and Nidd II 221.

again it is explained that the *bhikkhu* develops each constituent of the path with reference to the *vivekanissita*, *rāgavinaya*, *amatogadha* and *nibbānaninna* formulas. A further set of repetitions is then obtained by substituting thorough knowledge (*pariññā*), destruction (*parikkhaya*) and abandoning (*pahāna*) for *abhiññā*. This gives the *vagga* a total of 160 suttas ($10 \times 4 \times 4$).

The *ogha-vagga* exactly repeats the pattern of the *esana-vagga* by giving a further set of 10 items for the direct knowledge, thorough knowledge, destruction, and abandoning of which the eightfold path is developed. The *vagga* thus again contains a total of 160 suttas ($10 \times 4 \times 4$).

These nine *peyyālas/vaggas* of the *magga-saṃyutta* thus contain a total of 506 suttas. The figure of 506 repetitions is not in doubt (apart from the issues with the *esana-* and *balakaraṇīya-vaggas* noted above): it is simply that Feer and the Mahā-vagga's two English translators have chosen somewhat arbitrarily not to count each repetition as a sutta in its own right. The BJT C^c edition, however, makes its total number of suttas for the *magga-saṃyutta* explicit: 546. And while the Syāmaratṭha edition does not give a running total for suttas, it indicates the beginning of repetitions with the expression *Sāvattḥīnidānaṃ*,¹⁹ making clear that it is treating each as a sutta. Moreover, as we shall discuss presently, it is only by counting such repetitions as suttas in their own right that we can arrive at something like the figure Buddhaghosa gives for the number of suttas contained in the Saṃyutta-nikāya. In other words, there must be a long tradition of treating such formulaic repetitions as suttas.

The last five of the above nine *peyyālas/vaggas* (comprising 456 repetitions in the *magga-saṃyutta*) occur again in a further seven *saṃyuttas* of the Mahā-vagga, substituting in each case for the eightfold path the set of items that constitute the subject of the *saṃyutta*: the seven *bojjhaṅgas*, the four *satipaṭṭhānas*, the five *indriyas*, the four

¹⁹Although this expression itself gets lost in the abbreviations and does not occur 506 times.

sammappadhānas, the five *balas*, the four *iddhipādas*, and the four *jhānas*. In the case of the *sammappadhānas*, the *balas* and the *jhānas*, this set of five *peyyālas/vaggas* in fact constitutes the entire *saṃyutta*.

However, rather than allowing a full set of 456 repetitions in the contexts of these seven *saṃyuttas*, Feer's edition (followed by the English translations) seems to suggest a reduction in the number of repetitions. That Feer wants to limit the number of repetitions is clear from the figures he gives in the table in the introduction to his edition (S V v). Yet it is not clear from the text presented by Feer himself that such a reduction in repetitions is warranted.

Feer's edition is based on rather limited materials, just four manuscripts, two in Sinhala script and two in Burmese ; one of the Sinhala manuscripts had three missing sheets, while one of the Burmese he describes as "unfortunately very deficient in this part, as many sheets are wanting" (S V vii). It is also difficult to follow in the abbreviated sections, perhaps reflecting inconsistencies in the manner of presentation of the abbreviations in his manuscripts.

In the case of the *bojjhaṅgas*, *indriyas* and *balas*, Feer concludes that only the *vivekanissita* and *rāgavinaya* formulas apply (omitting the *amatogadha* and *nibbānaninna* formulas), which effectively reduces the number of repetitions by half from 456 to 228. Feer's conclusion is apparently based on the fact that his manuscripts only make explicit that these two formulas apply. In the case of the *satipaṭṭhānas*, *sammappadhānas*, *iddhipādas*, and *jhānas*, Feer's text omits all four formulas (*vivekanissita*, *rāgavinaya*, *amatogadha* and *nibbānaninna*), which effectively reduces the number of repetitions by three quarters to 114. Feer's conclusion is apparently based on the fact that his manuscripts fail to make explicit that any of these formulas apply — if they do apply they are lost in abbreviation.

Nevertheless, apparently following Burmese manuscripts, the *bojjhaṅga-saṃyutta* ends in his edition with *yad api maggasaṃyuttaṃ vitthāretabbaṃ tad api bojjhaṅgasamṃyuttaṃ vitthāretabbaṃ* (S V 140), the *satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta* with *yathā maggasaṃyuttaṃ vitthāritaṃ*

evaṃ satipaṭṭhānasamyuttaṃ vitthāretabbaṃ (S V 192), and the *jhāna-samyutta* with *yathā maggasamyuttaṃ evaṃ jhānaṃ samyuttaṃ vitthāretabbaṃ* (S V 310). The *Gaṅgā-peyyāla* of the *indriya-samyutta* concluded again in his Burmese manuscripts with *yathā maggasamyutte evaṃ bhavati indriyasamyutte* (S V 240, cf. n. 1). Notes at the end of the *indriya-* and *bala-samyuttas* (S V 243, n. 1; 253, n. 3) record that in fact his two Sinhalese manuscripts included a reference to the two additional formulas (*amatogadha* and *nibbānaninna*), while the *ogha-vagga* of the *bala-samyutta* in his Sinhalese manuscripts also had *yathā pi maggasamyuttaṃ tathā pi indriyasamyuttaṃ vitthāretabbaṃ* (S V 251, n. 3). In the case of the remaining *samyuttas*, which Feer presents as limited to the *vivekanissita* formula, we have only phrases such as *Gaṅgapeyyāla* [sic] *satipaṭṭhānavasena vitthāretabbaṃ* (S V 190), *sammappadhānasamyuttassa Gaṅgāpeyyāli sammappadhānavasena vitthāretabbā* (S V 245), *Gaṅgāpeyyali iddhipādavāsena vitthāretabbaṃ* (S V 291) — phrases which would seem to leave the question of whether or not all four formulas apply at least open. These various phrases are, incidentally, omitted by the *Mahā-vagga*'s English translators.

In sum, the manuscript evidence as presented by Feer would seem in fact capable of being interpreted differently, and might be taken as suggesting that in every case the full 456 repetitions are to be understood. Moreover, as a general rule in Pāli texts, where we find abbreviations, we would expect to refer back to the place where the unabbreviated text first occurred in full, in this case the relevant *peyyālas/vaggas* of the *magga-samyutta*.

Turning to the modern Asian editions, however, there is some confusion and inconsistency on this issue. Like Feer, both S^c and B^c generally make only the application of the *vivekanissita* and *rāgavinaya* sets of repetitions explicit in the case of the *bojjhaṅgas*, *indriyas* and *balas*. Yet they both contain anomalies. At the equivalent of S (E^c) V 137,8, both S^c and B^c seem to indicate that all four formulas should

apply to the *bojjhaṅgas*.²⁰ The numbering of suttas in BJT C^c makes clear that it understands all four formulas should apply in all cases.

It is also worth noting that the *amatogadha* formula is anyway applied to the *indriyas* at S V 220–23, 232–33, while the *nibbānaninna-nibbānapoṇa-nibbānapabbhāra* formula is already in effect applied in each of these *saṃyuttas* since it is imbedded in the *Gaṅgā-peyyāla* frame. This makes clear that we should not think in terms of there being some sort of a priori doctrinal objection to applying these formulas to items other than the eightfold path.

None the less, although BJT C^c wants to apply all four formulas in all cases,²¹ it is not entirely clear how to apply any of the four formulas. Usually they are inserted after *bhāveti*,²² but the exposition of the *satipaṭṭhānas*, *sammappadhānas* and *jhānas* does not follow the same pattern; the main verb is *viharati* or *padahati* rather than *bhāveti*, and it is not clear how the formulas would fit into such sentences.²³ In other

²⁰S (S^c) V 187,19–188,6 = (B^c) III 120,18–25: *idha, bhikkhave, bhikkhu sati-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāveti vivekanissitaṃ virāganissitaṃ nirodhanissitaṃ vossaggaparīṇāmiṃ* || *pa* || *upekkhāsambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāveti rāgavinayapariyosānaṃ dosavinayapariyosānaṃ mohavinayapariyosānaṃ* || ***amatogadhaṃ amataparāyanaṃ amatapariyosānaṃ*** || ***nibbānaninnaṃ nibbānapoṇaṃ nibbānapabbhāraṃ***. *imesaṃ kho, bhikkhave, bhikkhu pañcannaṃ uddham-bhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ abhiññāya pariññāya parikkhayāya pahānāya ime satta bojjhaṅgā bhāvetabbā*. The above occurs at the conclusion of the first rehearsal of the *ogha-vagga*, which begins by applying only the *vivekanissita* formula and is followed by further rehearsals of the *Gaṅgā*-, *appamāda*-, *balakaraṇīya*-, *esanā*- and *ogha-vaggas* applying the *rāga-vinaya* formula.

²¹Thus, for example, S (C^c) V 340 states with reference to the *Gaṅgāpeyyāla* in the *satipaṭṭhānasamyutta*: *vivekanissitādivasena rāgavinayapariyosānādivasena amatogadhādivasena nibbānaninnādivasena ca ekekaṃ cattāro cattāro katvā aṭṭhacattālīsasuttantā vitthāretabbā*.

²²*bhikkhu sammādiṭṭhiṃ bhāveti vivekanissitaṃ virāganissitaṃ nirodhanissitaṃ vossaggaparīṇāmiṃ*, etc.

²³To apply the *vivekanissita* formula to the sentence *idha bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassaṃ*, the only option would seem to be to make *vivekanissita* qualify *bhikkhu* which is hardly possible.

contexts in the Nikāyas we find the *vivekanissita* formula only applied to the *magga*, *indriyas*, *balas* and *bojjhaṅgas*, though in the Nettippakaraṇa and some Buddhist Sanskrit sources it is applied to the *iddhipādas*/*iddhipādas* (Gethin 1992A, pp. 92, 162–68). On balance I think Feer was probably right to exclude the application of all four formulas from the *satipaṭṭhāna*-, *sammappadhāna*-, *iddhipāda*- and *jhāna-saṃyuttas*, but wrong to limit the application of these to the *vivekanissita* and *rāgavinaya* formulas in the case of the *bojjhaṅga*-, *indriya*- and *bala-saṃyuttas*.

Finally in the *sacca-saṃyutta*, C^c counts 15 instead of the 11 of the other editions. The 4 extra suttas are found by taking the terms in the compounds *tulākūṭa-kamsakūṭa-mānakūṭa* (S V 473,15–16) and *ukkoṭana-vañcana-nikati* (S V 473,20–21) as the basis of six separate suttas rather than just two. This is possible though somewhat arbitrary given the occurrence of dvandva compounds in other suttas of this *vagga* which are not so treated.

3. Conclusions

1. Buddhaghosa's total of 7,762 suttas for the Saṃyutta-nikāya suggests that the Pāli tradition itself has long opted for the maximum number of repetitions in considering this text. Moreover, in contrast to the text's European editors and translators, it has wanted to count these repetitions as "suttas" in their own right.

2. But even taking the option of the maximum number of repetitions, I have not succeeded in reaching Buddhaghosa's total. The figure I reach is 6,696, a figure which is still 1,066 short of his total.²⁴ This suggests that either I have made a mistake and overlooked some section of repetitions or that the text of the Saṃyutta-nikāya that has

²⁴We might add 342 to the total for the *iddhipāda-saṃyutta* on the grounds that the *vivekanissita*, etc., formulas could conceivably be applied, but that still leaves us 724 short, and if, against reason, we attempt to apply the *vivekanissita*, etc., formulas and add 342 also in the case of the *satipaṭṭhāna*-, *sammappadhāna*-, and *jhāna-saṃyuttas* we have 8,064 — 302 over.

come down to us is not as Buddhaghosa himself (or at least his source for the figure 7,762) had it.

3. What then are we to make of these repetition sections of the Saṃyutta-nikāya? Mark Allon (1997, pp. 360–63) has summed up some of the suggestions that have been made concerning the significance and function of repetitions generally in Buddhist texts. To paraphrase, these include aiding memorization, getting the message across, cultivating mindfulness, and enhancing the aesthetic appeal of the texts.

4. It is difficult to see how the structural repetitions of the kind we have been considering have a straightforward mnemonic function in so far as they themselves are what is to be remembered rather than an aid to remembering it. But certainly we might see these kinds of repetition as functioning as a way of getting the message across, cultivating mindfulness, and enhancing the aesthetic appeal of the texts. The doctrinal and practical importance of the items that are the subject of the most repetitions — the unconditioned, and the seven sets of items that come to be termed “*dhammas* that contribute to awakening” (*bodhipakkhiya-dhamma*) — is clearly highlighted and enhanced by the repetitions. Moreover this kind of structural repetition involving as it does the substitution of various items in turn must require and develop a certain mental alertness and agility that goes beyond mere rote repetition, such that it might be considered a practice for developing the Buddhist meditative virtues of mindfulness and concentration. But we can perhaps go a little further in considering this function of repetition.

5. Although the items that are the subject of structural repetition may be doctrinally important, it is hard to see how it could be doctrinal considerations that are driving the repetitions. That is, in the *Gaṅgā-peyyāla*, it would seem it does not matter *doctrinally* whether it is the river Ganges or the Yamunā; or whether they are flowing to the “east” or the “great ocean”. What is driving the repetition seems to be the very requirement to repeat. This gives this kind of repetition something of the quality of the kind of repetitive recitation that is found in various religious traditions and often associated with the use of a rosary as a

means of counting off the repetitions. Of course, I am not suggesting that a rosary was actually used in the recitation of the Saṃyutta-nikāya, merely that consideration of broader religious practices can help us understand the possible functions of repetition in early Buddhist texts.

6. Given that what matters is not whether we are talking of the Ganges or the Yamunā, but repetition for its own sake, why in the *Gaṅgā-peyyāla* stop at six rivers? Why not throw in a few more? Why in the *asaṃkhata-saṃyutta* not add a few more substitute terms for the unconditioned? One response to such questions might be to say that one cannot add any more rivers because this is *buddhavacana* and this is the text and it cannot be changed. But such a response seems to me to miss the point. Certainly the modern editions and the manuscripts on which they are based each provide a fixed text, but when these different fixed texts are considered collectively, although we can move some considerable way towards determining a textual consensus, we are confronted by the fact that in certain places the editions and manuscripts indicate patterns of repetition that are *by their very nature* at least to some extent open ended. My suggestion is that, although over time these repetition sections have become more or less fixed, they originally seem to have been composed in a manner that invites addition and expansion — within certain parameters.²⁵

7. The term *peyyāla* itself is rather curious. It appears to represent Sanskrit *paryāya* in the sense of “repetition”: *paryāya* > *payyāya* >

²⁵I made somewhat similar observations in Gethin 1992A (p. 252) and 1992B (pp. 157–58) which have recently been the subject of criticism by Alexander Wynne (2004, pp. 104–108): while I would wish to tighten the use of the term “improvisation” and exclude the implication of composition in performance, on grounds that I hope are apparent in the present paper, I would wish to stand by the claim that there are good reasons for thinking of different recensions of Buddhist texts crystallizing after a period of somewhat freer composition and adaptation. These are extremely complex issues and it seems to me that we still lack a convincing model for the oral composition and transmission of early Buddhist texts that can explain the kinds of difference *and* correspondence that we find between versions of material in Pāli, Sanskrit, and Chinese and Tibetan translations.

peyyāya > *peyyāla* (cf. Geiger 1994, §§ 52.5, 52.9, 46.3 ; Trenckner 1908, p. 117). But the technical sense of “repetition” seems to be reserved for this particular form, which occurs alongside Pāli *pariyāya*, used in other senses. Similar Middle Indic forms such as *peyāla* and *piyāla* are found used in the same way in Buddhist Sanskrit texts (q.v. *BHSD*). Thus the term *peyyāla* in the sense of “repetition” seems to have become frozen and is left unchanged when Buddhist texts are transposed from one Middle Indian dialect to another. K.R. Norman (2006, p. 114) has drawn attention to the fact that *peyyāla* seems to represent an eastern dialect form. If we assume that *peyyāla*, *pe*, and *la* were only used in abbreviating *written* texts, then as Norman points out, the eastern form of the word might indicate that the texts began to be written down before they were transposed into a western dialect ; alternatively *peyyāla* in its technical usage is borrowed from some other source at some later date. Another alternative, however, might be that *peyyāla* was already used to abbreviate texts in *oral* recitation. It does not seem to me implausible — *pace* Wynne 2004, p.107 — that reciters and teachers of the texts might have resorted to the use of *peyyāla* to establish the framework for patterns of repetition of the kind we have been considering in the Saṃyutta-nikāya ; these specific repetitions might then have been recited in full as a religious exercise.

Table 2. Numbers of suttas counted in S II (Nidāna-vagga)

saṃyutta	suttas				
	E ^c Feer	B ^c CS	C ^c BJT	Bodhi	RMLG
nidāna	93	73	213	93	213
abhisamaya	11	11	11	11	11
dhātu	39	39	39	39	39
anamatagga	20	20	20	20	20
Kassapa	13	13	13	13	13
lābhasakkāra	43	31	43	43	43
Rāhula	22	14	22	22	22
lakkhaṇa	21	21	21	21	21
opamma	12	12	12	12	12
bhikkhu	12	12	12	12	12
TOTAL	286	246	406	286	406

Table 3. Numbers of suttas counted in S III (Khandha-vagga)

saṃyutta	suttas				
	E ^c Feer	B ^c CS	C ^c BJT	Bodhi	RMLG
khandha	158	159	159	159	159
Rādha	46	46	46	46	46
diṭṭhi	114	96	96	96	96
okkantika	10	10	10	10	10
uppāda	²⁶ 10	10	10	10	10
kilesa	10	10	10	10	10
Sāriputta	10	10	10	10	10
nāga	50	50	50	50	50
supaṇṇa	46	46	46	46	46
gandhabba	112	112	112	112	112
valāhaka	57	57	57	57	57
Vacchagotta	55	55	55	55	55
jhāna/samādhi	55	55	55	55	55
TOTAL	733	716	716	716	716

Table 4. Numbers of suttas counted in S IV (Saḷāyatana-vagga)

saṃyutta	suttas				
	E ^c Feer	B ^c CS	C ^c BJT	Bodhi	RMLG
saḷāyatana ²⁷	207 (247)	248	248	248	248
vedanā	29	31	31	31	31
mātugāma	34	34	36	34	34
jambukhādaka	16	16	16	16	16
sāmaṇḍaka	16	2	16	16	16
Moggallāna	11	11	57	11	129
citta	10	10	10	10	10
gāmaṇi	13	13	13	13	13
asaṅkhata	44 (1463)	44	1848	44	1848
avyākata	11	11	11	11	11
TOTAL	391	420	2286	434	2356

²⁶Table at S III xi has “13” but this must be an error.

²⁷C^c counts with next.

Table 5. Numbers of suttas counted in S V (Mahā-vagga)

saṃyutta	suttas				
	E ^c Feer	B ^c CS	C ^c BJT	Bodhi	RMLG
magga	180	181	546	180	546
bojjhanga	187	185	632	184	632
satipaṭṭhāna	103	104	506	104	164
indriya	185	180	526	178	526
sammappadhāna	54	54	456	54	114
bala	110	108	456	108	456
iddhipāda	86	86	488	86	146
Anuruddha	24	24	24	24	24
jhāna	54	54	114	54	114
ānāpāna	20	20	20	20	20
soṭāpatti	74	74	74	74	74
sacca	131	131	135	131	131
TOTAL	1208	1201	3977	1197	2951

Rupert Gethin
University of Bristol

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The Career of Women Disciple Bodhisattas*

The whole purpose of conditioned existence is the attaining of awakening, Nibbāna, according to the Theravāda Buddhist view of the world. Eventually, individuals who develop their minds correctly will all attain the state of being Noble Ones, *arahats*. The Pāli Canon and commentaries can be seen as being based on this concept. The teachings and stories, the rules of conduct, and even the explanation of the meaning of words all revolve around awakening. In the Canon, the awakening of Buddha Gotama is the key event because he was able to discover how to reach awakening and then teach others to do the same.

Like the Vinaya-piṭaka, many of the commentaries begin by describing the career of the Great Bodhisatta (*mahā-bodhisatta*), or Great Being (*mahā-satta*) as he is also called, who became the Teaching Buddha Gotama (*Sammā-sambuddha*). The Vinaya-piṭaka account leads up to the rules for the monks and nuns, the Pātimokkha. The introduction to the Jātaka commentary (*SGB*) leads up to Anāthapiṇḍika's gift of the Jetavana monastery to the Buddha and the Order of Monks, presumably because this place was used by former Buddhas and was the place most of the Jātaka stories were told. The Therīgāthā commentary leads up to the founding of the Order of Nuns.

The details of how an individual becomes a Teaching Buddha or a Pacceka Buddha are readily available in translations into English.¹ There is less information about what an individual does to become an awakened disciple of a Teaching Buddha, so I would like to give an overview of the career of those intent on awakening as women disciples, taking most of my information from the Apadāna verses (many of

*It is a privilege to make a contribution to this celebration of the hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the Pali Text Society and the eightieth birthday of K.R. Norman.

¹Besides *SGB*, see also *CSM*, the commentary on the Buddhavaṃsa ascribed to Buddhadatta, and *TP*, from Dhammapāla's commentary on the Cariyāpiṭaka.

which are included in Thī-a), Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Aṅguttara-nikāya (Mp),² and Dhammapāla's commentaries on the Cariyāpiṭaka and the Therīgāthā as well as his introduction and conclusion to his commentary on the Theragāthā. This is mainly limited to women disciples and should not be considered to be a comprehensive view of the subject.

The teachings found in the Canon concentrate on attaining arahatship, or at least one of the three lower states of awakening that mean an individual is assured of becoming an *arahat*. The commentaries tell of the countless number of human beings, Devas, and Brahmās who have done the necessary preparation in the past to encounter a Teaching Buddha, hear the Doctrine, practise it, and attain the highest goal. There are, however, some indications of people who are merely started on the path. For some lay people, the Buddha only taught the beginning steps of generosity and moral conduct.³ Much more information about the disciple's path is found in the commentaries. This could be seen as reflecting the view that after the Buddha's demise, fewer and fewer people are born who have made the necessary preparations in past lives to attain Nibbāna in this life. It is seen as crucial for these people, who are unready to attain the final goal, to make a maximum effort to be generous and live moral lives. These actions lead to good lives in the future, lives in which they can begin to put the Buddha's Doctrine into practice. If possible, a person in this life should also study the Buddha's Doctrine and practise training the mind and training in insight.

First, let us look at a few details of what must be done to become a Teaching Buddha or a Pacceka Buddha. An individual (not necessarily a human being) must encounter a Teaching Buddha, one of his disciples, or a Pacceka Buddha and have faith in them. This faith profoundly stirs that individual's mind. That leads to doing a good deed, and eventually, the individual is able to hear the Doctrine taught by the Buddhas and make an aspiration to attain awakening. Then the individual begins to

²The passage on the foremost bhikkhunīs is found in *WL*.

³See his discourses to two pairs of old brahmans, for example (A I 156).

put the Doctrine into practice. Over a number of lifetimes, the ten perfections are cultivated,⁴ until the individual is ready to experience Nibbāna for himself or herself. At this point, certain individuals aspire to something higher: either becoming a Pacceka Buddha or a Teaching Buddha.⁵ From this point on, the individual will never be born on a plane lower than the animal world and will never be female. Pacceka Buddhas develop the ten perfections on another level, spoken of as the twenty perfections. Teaching Buddhas develop a third level, or the thirty perfections.⁶ The length of time is longer for Teaching Buddhas than for Pacceka Buddhas, and even Teaching Buddhas can develop them for three differing lengths of time. There are many events and characteristics of Teaching Buddhas that are true for all of them and others that vary from Buddha to Buddha.

Dhammapāla speaks of three categories of Buddhas: Sammā-Sambuddhas (Teaching Buddhas), Pacceka Buddhas, and Sāvaka Buddhas (Disciple Buddhas) (Th-a I 10). Canonical texts use the title *arahat* (or *arahant*) for all three types of Buddhas, and their *parinibbāna* is said to be equal.⁷ Dhammapāla also uses the terms *sammā-sambodhi*, *pacceka-sambodhi*, and *sāvaka-sambodhi* (Th-a I 8, III 205f.). Disciple Buddhas are divided into three categories: chief disciples (*agga-sāvaka*), leading disciples (*mahā-sāvaka*), and ordinary disciples (*pakati-sāvaka*) (Th-a III 206).

⁴A Burmese Buddhist explained to me once that an action done while aspiring to the attainment of Nibbāna would come under the category of the perfections and would continue to give results until a person became an *arahat*. An action done while aspiring to something lower, such as wealth, would only work for that effect and would be exhausted once the goal was reached.

⁵On the eight qualities that must be present for this aspiration to be effective, see *TP* 262.

⁶See *TP* 312f. Dhammapāla gives several different explanations that have been handed down concerning the interpretation of the ten, twenty, and thirty perfections. One explanation is that ten perfections are necessary for awakening for a disciple, twenty for a Pacceka Buddha, and thirty for a Teaching Buddha.

⁷See *TP* 324.

For Teaching Buddhas, the amount of time they must prepare themselves as individuals intent on awakening (*bodhisatta*) falls into three categories: (1) the minimum (four incalculables [*asaṅkheyya*] and 100,000 æons⁸), (2) the middle figure (eight incalculables and 100,000 æons), and (3) the maximum (sixteen incalculables and 100,000 æons) (*TP* 325f.). Pacceka Buddhas must develop the perfections for two incalculables and 100,000 æons (Th-a I 11).⁹ The three types of disciples who attain awakening must prepare themselves for the following periods: (1) chief disciples, one incalculable and 100,000 æons; (2) leading disciples, 100,000 æons (Th-a I 11); (3) ordinary disciples, 100 to 1,000 æons (?).

For the last category of ordinary disciples, no specific number seems to be given. In the *Visuddhimagga* (XIII ¶16) Buddhaghosa says other sectarians remember back 40 æons; ordinary disciples remember as far back as 100 to 1,000 æons (because their understanding is strong); the eighty great disciples remember as far back as 100,000 æons; the chief disciples remember as far back as an incalculable and 100,000 æons; Pacceka Buddhas remember as far back as two incalculables and 100,000 æons; but there is no limit to how far back Teaching Buddhas can remember. In his commentary on the list of the foremost bhikkhunīs (*Mp* I 376–77), Buddhaghosa says that Therī Bhaddā-Kaccānā, whom he identifies with the wife of the Buddha, was one of four disciples who possessed great supernatural knowledge (*mahā-bhīṇṇā*). The other three were the two Chief Disciples (Sāriputta and Mahā-Moggallāna) and Thera Bakkula. These four could remember further back than any of the other disciples: “The rest of the disciples can recall a hundred thousand æons, but, on the other hand, these four, after attaining to great supernatural knowledge, can remember an

⁸*TP* 325 has “great æons” (*mahākappa*), but “æon” (*kappa*) seems to be used elsewhere. See the note on *TP* 325 concerning the length of time involved in an *asaṅkheyya* and a *mahākappa*.

⁹According to Buddhadatta, it takes them one incalculable and more than 100,000 æons (*CSM* 88).

incalculable (*asāṅkheyya*)] plus a hundred thousand æons” (based on the translation by Bode, *WL*, p. 789).

The wife of the Buddha is exceptional in that she is said to have first been associated with the future Buddha when he made his first resolve to become a Teaching Buddha. In the *Apadāna* her name is given as *Yasodharā*,¹⁰ who says she gave eight handfuls of lotuses to the Bodhisatta *Sumedha*, and he offered these to Buddha *Dīpaṅkara*. She does not make an aspiration to become awakened in that life, however.

Dhammapāla says there are distinct differences between a Great Bodhisatta and *Pacceka* and disciple bodhisattas. These differences are seen in their faculties (*indriyata*), ways of practice (*paṭipattita*), and skilfulness (*kosallata*). The Great Bodhisatta has lucid faculties and lucid knowledge, and he practises not for his own welfare, but for the welfare of others. The other two types of bodhisattas do not. The Great Bodhisatta applies skilfulness to his practice through his ingenuity in creating opportunities (to benefit others) and his skill in distinguishing what is possible from what is not possible (*TP* 266*f.*). But for all of them, the perfection of virtue is the foundation of their awakening (*TP* 276), with the difference that compassion and skilful means are the forerunners for a Great Bodhisatta (*TP* 303). *Dhammapāla* points out that the first chapter of the *Visuddhimagga* discusses virtue as it should be practised by those who seek to become awakened as disciples (*TP* 303).

We can also see how individuals aspiring to become *Pacceka* Buddhas or disciples have lower aspirations than a future Teaching Buddha. The Great Bodhisatta, *Dhammapāla* says, does not dedicate the merits from his practice of virtue to his own release from affliction in the unfortunate destinations or to his own achievement of kingship in the fortunate destinations or to becoming a Universal Monarch, a *Deva*, *Sakka*, *Māra*, or *Brahmā*, and he does not dedicate it to his own attainment of the threefold knowledge, the six types of higher knowledge, the

¹⁰*Ap* II 592–96. For details of the different names used for her, see *Bureau* 1995. At the time of *Dīpaṅkara*, her name was *Sumittā*.

four discriminations, the awakening of a disciple, or the awakening of a Pacceka Buddha. He only dedicates it to becoming an omniscient Buddha (*TP* 303). We can deduce that disciple bodhisattas aspire to these lesser attainments.

Now let us look at the stories given in the Apadāna and the commentaries about the past lives of the group of women who became *arahats* and whose poems are included in the Therīgāthā. Tables 2 and 3 provide an overview.

A good story is one of the most useful teaching devices. A story not only gets across a message in an entertaining way, it can also give us information that does not appear in a general discussion of a topic. The stories of the careers of women who attained awakening at the time of Buddha Gotama or shortly after give us many details of the steps leading up to arahatship. For an individual who will become a Teaching Buddha, it is at that point that he defers the attainment of arahatship and resolves to work for the more difficult goal of becoming an omniscient Buddha. Here, we will only look at the career for the disciples.

For many of the women there are two versions of their story in the Therīgāthā commentary. One is in the prose text of the commentary proper. The other is in the Apadāna verses that may have been included in the commentary by Dhammapāla but were perhaps added later. There are some problems as to whether the right verses are associated with the right women. Since the names given with the Apadāna verses sometimes refer to the action done in a past life and are not the names of the women at the time of Buddha Gotama, it is understandable that some confusion could arise. I will not go into all the variants here, but the tables show how the Apadāna verses tend to give more details; when “Ap” is given, the information is only found in those verses. It is also possible that some of the stories in the prose text are associated with the wrong nuns, but that is not crucial to our discussion.

The first step involves being born in a plane of existence where one is sufficiently intelligent and where one can perform meritorious deeds. In the stories of the women elders, they were either human beings —

all of them but one being women in past lives — or they were *kinnarī*, depicted as half-human, half-bird. Such an existence assumes good deeds through generosity and moral restraint in prior lives, but we will begin the disciples' careers with the life during which they first had faith in either a Teaching Buddha, a Pacceka Buddha, or a disciple of a Teaching Buddha (a chief disciple, an *arahat* monk, or an *arahat* nun). They are usually said to have been impressed with the demeanour of the *arahat* they saw. In one case, an old woman visits a Bodhi tree and thinks to herself, "If the Buddha, the Blessed One, is incomparable, without equal, unrivalled, then may this [tree] of awakening show me a marvel." The tree shines forth, its limbs looking like gold, and the woman is so impressed she sits there under the tree for seven days and seven nights, then honours it with lighted lamps.¹¹

At the very least, the believing individual pays respects to the *arahat*, but she usually makes a gift of flowers, food, robes, etc. Table 1 includes a list of the various gifts given by the women in past lives.¹² The stories emphasize the material good results of such gifts, telling us about the women's lives in Deva worlds and the human world, about their being beautiful and having large retinues, being wealthy, being the chief queen of Deva kings, Universal Monarchs, or kings ruling over large realms, etc. And this confirms the remark made above about the motivation of disciples not being as lofty as that of future Teaching Buddhas.

Other examples of such limited aspirations are found in the stories when women wish for such things as many children or beauty. Uppalavaṇṇā, for example, gave a gift of five hundred grains of fried rice and a lotus flower to a Pacceka Buddha who had just come out of the cessation state. She wished for as many children as there were grains of

¹¹Thī-a 60 (CVT 83).

¹²All of the foremost Bhikkhunīs mentioned in Mp I 337–81 are included in Thī-a except for Bhaddā Kaccānā and Sigālakamātā. No details are given concerning their good deeds in past lives aside from aspiring under Buddha Padumuttara to a foremost position.

rice and for lotus flowers to spring up at every footstep. In a later life, she gave birth to five hundred sons, all of whom become Pacceka Buddhas. And lotuses sprang up with every footstep she took.¹³ These lesser aspirations are not frequent in the stories, however.

The women who became chief disciples or great disciples under Buddha Gotama saw Buddha Padumuttara praise a nun who was foremost in a specific quality. This inspired them to make a gift, pay respects, and aspire to become foremost in that same quality. Buddha Padumuttara then looked into the future to see if their wish will come to fruition and makes a prediction. They all make their aspiration under the same Buddha because he lived one hundred thousand æons ago, and that is the time required to become a leading disciple. This also seems to be the period of time for the two chief disciples among the nuns (Khemā and Uppalavaṇṇā), as only one of the nuns is said to have encountered a Buddha earlier than Padumuttara. The exception is found in the Apadāna (no. 28) under the name Yasodharā, one of several names for the former wife of the Buddha.¹⁴ At the time of Buddha Dīpaṅkara, four incalculables and 100,000 æons ago, she gave eight handfuls of lotuses to the Bodhisatta Sumedha, the future Buddha Gotama, who offered them to Buddha Dīpaṅkara. This was the lifetime during which the Bodhisatta received his first prediction of Buddhahood.

For the chief disciples among the monks (Sāriputta and Mahā-Moggallāna), preparations took one incalculable and one hundred thousand æons. They made their aspiration under Buddha Anomadassī.¹⁵ We only find mentioned eleven women in the Therīgāthā commentary as aspiring to be foremost in some particular quality, thus becoming leading disciples. Dhammapāla, in his concluding remarks, simply says that the leading disciples among the nuns were Mahā-Pajāpatī Gotamī, etc. (Thī-a 271, CVT 382). For the leading disciples

¹³Thī-a 177, 179, 181 (CVI 233, 236, 239).

¹⁴For a discussion of the information found on the Buddha's former wife, See Bateau 1995.

¹⁵See Th-a III 90ff., CSM 255 (and the references in the note there).

among the monks, however, he gives all eighty names (Th-a III 205*f*).

Ten laywomen who were foremost in some quality are listed in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* (A I). The commentary (Mp I 401–404) says that each of them made an aspiration to attain the quality in the presence of Buddha Padumuttara, just as the foremost Therīs had done. They are then said to have had many lives among devas and men up to the time of Buddha Gotama. Only one is mentioned as having encountered Buddha Kassapa, and that was the laywoman Visākhā, who was one of the seven sisters who were King Kiki's daughters and sisters of Buddha Kassapa.

There is great variety in how the various women developed the qualities necessary to attain arahatship. A few did bad deeds that led to lives in hell. Two insulted an *arahat* nun, one committed adultery. Others did mixed deeds that led to mixed results. One nun filled a Pacceka Buddha's bowl with mud, but she repented when a crowd of people criticized her. She cleaned the bowl and filled it with food. As a result, she had very bad breath in future lives, but was able to cure it. Another woman gave a Pacceka Buddha a lotus, took it back because she thought that he would have no use for a flower, then decided it would be useful as a cover to his bowl and gave it again. She too experienced pain for having taken back the flower, but eventually overcame her problems in future lives. It is important to note the fact that the mental attitude of the person doing an action is the main factor in what the results will be. Also, the message is clearly that you cannot wipe out a bad deed, but you can do a good deed to help mitigate the results.

These stories, of course, were meant to serve as an inspiration to Buddhists. The suffering caused by bad deeds should be a deterrent. The rewards for good deeds should be encouraging. Even the smallest deed done for an *arahat* — especially one who has just come out of the cessation state — is of great reward in many lives. Large gifts give even better results. The message here is that even a poor person can do meritorious deeds that will establish him or her on the path to liberation.

There is also the idea that being wealthy means one is able to make large gifts, that possessing wealth carries the responsibility of being generous (assuming one wishes to be happy in the future).

The standard phrase for women disciples for whom details of past actions are not given is: she did meritorious deed(s) under previous Buddhas and accumulated good (actions) as her basis for various lives (*ayam pi purimabuddhesu katādhikārā tattha tattha bhava vivaṭṭūpanissayaṃ kusalaṃ upacinantī*). In the stories given, the good actions most frequently mentioned are paying respects, giving, and leading virtuous lives. Exceptionally, some women ordained under former Buddhas. Only one woman (Bhaddā Kāpilānī) is said to have developed the ability to go into absorption states (*jhāna*) in a past life. As a result, she is the only woman said to have had a life in a Brahmā world.

Another important aspect of the disciples' mental attitude is being profoundly stirred (*saṃvega*).¹⁶ In his introductory remarks to his commentary on the Therīgāthā, Dhammapāla says,

Women of good family, daughters-in-law of good family, and young women of good family heard of the full awakening of the Buddha, of the Doctrine in accord with the [true] Doctrine, and of the proper establishment of the Order. They had faith in the teaching and a profound stirring concerning continued existence. Then they had their own husbands, mothers and fathers, and relatives give them permission, and devoting themselves to the teaching, they went forth. Having gone forth, they were of good and virtuous conduct. They received instruction in the presence of the Teacher and all the various theras. Then, striving and making effort, they realized arahatship after a very short time.

Thī-a 4 (CVT 8)

In the individual stories, the women are usually said to be profoundly stirred after listening to a discourse on the Doctrine, and then they are ordained. The only women for whom being profoundly stirred is mentioned in past lives are those who ordained as nuns under former Buddhas. So *saṃvega* is a reaction to the conditioned world that

¹⁶Venerable Nāṇamoli (*Path*) translates as “sense of urgency”. Mr Norman uses “religious excitement”.

motivates the individual to make a maximum effort to transcend the misery (*dukkha*) that results from constant change (*anicca*) and the lack of a permanent, controlling self (*anattā*). The usual order of events in the attainment of arahatship during the time of Buddha Gotama is (1) hearing the Doctrine, (2) being profoundly stirred, (3) ordaining in the Community of Nuns, and (4) developing insight. For a number of women, the Buddha, while seated in his Perfumed Chamber, sends forth a luminous image of himself that appears before the woman as she is meditating. The image pronounces a verse that gives the woman just what she needs to hear in order to understand correctly and attain arahatship.

This brief look at the careers of the women elders does not give a complete picture for the disciple *arahats*, of course. Other details or variants in versions of stories are found in other commentaries, and there are especially the number of occasions found in the Jātaka commentary when various women were born at the same time as the Great Bodhisatta. As we saw, the women chief disciples do not prepare as long as the men chief disciples. Other differences are to be expected, so this essay should be seen as only a first step in examining this subject.

William Pruitt

ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

Abbreviations of Pāli texts follows *A Critical Dictionary of Pāli*.
References to Thī-a are to the second edition.

- Bureau, André, 1995. “L’*épouse du Buddha*”, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha* III, Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, pp. 119–47.
- CSM* *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning (Madhurattavilāsini)*, tr. by I.B. Horner, Pali Text Society, 1978
- CVT* *The Commentary on the Verses of the Therīs*, tr. by William Pruitt, Pali Text Society, 1998
- Path* *The Path of Purification (Visuddhimagga)*, tr. by Venerable Ñāṇamoli, Buddhist Publication Society, 1956
- SGB* *The Story of Gotama Buddha (Jātaka-nidāna)*, tr. by N.A. Jayawickrama, Pali Text Society, 1990
- TP* “A Treatise on the Pāramīs,” in *The Discourse on the All-Embracing Net of Views* (pp. 254–330), tr. by Venerable Bhikkhu Bodhi, Buddhist Publication Society, 1978
- WL* “Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* n.s. XXV (1893), pp. 517–66, 763–98; with Pāli text and tr. by Mabel Bode from Mp I 337–81

Table I

	Gd dds	Gd dds/Bd	Padu	Pac Bu	Ord.	Bad dd	Verse
1. Therikā		×		×			
2. Muttā		×					×
3. Puṇṇā	×			3			×
4. Tissā 1	×						×
5. Tissā 2	×						×
6. Dhīrā 1, = 5	×						×
7. Dhīrā 2, ≠ 5	×						
8. Mittā, = 5	×						×
9. Bhadrā, = 5	×						×
10. Upasamā, = 5	×						×
11. Muttā		× Ap					
12. Dhammadinnā	×						
13. Visākhā, = 6	×						×
14. Sumanā, = 4	×						×
15. Uttarā, = 4	×						×
16. Sumanā 2	×						
17. Dhammā	×						
18. Saṅghā	×						×
19. Nandā		×					
20. Jentī, ≠ 19							
21. Unknown 1	×						
22. Aḍḍhakāsī		×			×		
23. Cittā	×			×			
24. Mettikā		×					
25. Mittā		×					
26. Abhayamātā		×					
27. Abhayattherī		×					
28. Sāmā	×						
29. Sāmā 2		×					
30. Uttamā		×					
31. Uttamā 2	×						
32. Dantikā							
33. Ubbirī		×					
34. Sukkā		×					
35. Selā							
36. Somā, ≠ 27		×	×				
37. Bhaddā Kāpilānī							
38. Unknown 2	×		×	× (3)			
39. Vimalā	×						
40. Sīhā	×						
41. Nandā, ≠ 19		×					
42. Nanduttarā	×						
43. Mittakālī	×						
44. Sakulā		×			×		
45. Soṇā		×					×
46. Bhaddā, former Jain			×				
47. Paṭācārā			×				
48. Thirty nuns	×						
49. Candā	×						

	Gd dds	Gd dds/Bd	Padu	Pac Bu	Ord.	Bad dd	Verse
50. Five hundred nuns	×					×	
51. Vāsiṭṭhī	×						
52. Khemā			×		×		
53. Sujātā	×						
54. Anopamā	×						
55. Mahā-Pajāpati Gotamī			×	×			
56. Guttā	×						
57. Vijayā	×						
58. Uttarā	×						
59. Cālā	×						
60. Upacālā	×						= 59
61. Sisūpacālā	×						= 59
62. Vadḍha's mother	×						
63. Kisāgotamī		×					
64. Uppalavaṇṇā				× ^a			
65. Puṇṇikā		×		×	×		
66. Ambapālī		×		×			
67. Rohiṇī		×					
68. Cāpā	×						
69. Sundarī		×					
70. Subhā, the smith's daughter				×	×		
71. Subhā Jivakambavanikā							
72. Isidāsī	×				3		
73. Sumedhā	×						

Gd dds = good deeds, Gd dds/Bd = good and bad deeds, Padu = Padumuttara, Pac Bu = Paccaka Buddha, Ord. = ordained, Bad dd = bad deeds, Verse = verse of radiance

Gifts, good acts :

A. Unspecified (4–11, 13–18, 21, 28, 37–45, 48–51, 53, 54, 56–63, 65, 66, 68)

B. Good deeds :

Paid respects (2, 69), ordained (22, 34 [expert in Doctrine], 52, 65, 66), kept Observance Days (30), went forth as female ascetic and developed absorption states (37), learned a discourse by heart (52), outstanding merit with regard to the Triple Gem (73)

Gave two gifts when told to give one (12), great gift (41), good deeds like giving (55)

C. Food :

Gift (Ap: food) to a chief disciple after he rose from the state of cessation (12), food (25, 33), ladle full of food (26), three cakes (31, 52), invited Buddha and Saṅgha for seven days (47, 52, 55 Ap, 64), cakes (67), spoonful of food (69 Ap)

D. Food and flower(s) :

Fried rice (500 grains) and lotus (64)

E. Flowers

Flowers & perfumes (1), garland of reeds/reeds and flowers (3, 23), seven lotuses (27, 36), salaḷa flowers (29), sāl branches (32 Ap), flowers (32), seven flowers (64 Ap), lotus

^a Mixed.

flowers (64 Ap)

F. Robes :

Set of three robes (1, 47, 55, 64 Ap), two robes (25), yellow cloth (64 Ap)

G. Lodgings :

Pavillion of branches (1), built monastary (46, 47, 52, 64), park (73)

H. Requisites :

Requisites (45 Ap), huts, requisites (couches, seats, drink, food, bowls, etc.) (56)

J. Made or honored a shrine :

Honored shrine (19, 20 ?), jewelled belt (given to shrine) (24), made a shrine (24 Ap), honored Bodhi tree with lamps (5 lamps, Ap) after sitting there seven days and nights (35), golden umbrella with gems (19, 20 ?), golden tile for shrine (37), honored shrine with oil (44)

K. Participated in great offering :

Presumably joined citizens in the following event : “When the teacher approached, all the citizens, happy, pleased, went to meet him and strewed sand [for the festivities]. They swept the road and prepared banners and pots full of plantains. The teacher was honoured with smoke (of incense), powder, and flowers. A hall was prepared, the guide was invited. A great offering was given in hope of full awakening.” (11)

L. Shared in other’s merit :

Rejoiced at husband’s gift (37) : (a) robe, (b) meal, jewelled pavilion, bowl of gold, (c) 7,000 bowls with 7 jewels, filled with ghee ; lamp wicks by thousands, lit, (d) shawl, (e) supported Pacceka Buddhas for 3 months ; gave sets of three robes

M. Gift of hair :

Let hair fall down and gave it as a gift (52)

Bad deeds done in past

A. Insulted a nun (22, 66)

B. Unspecified (led to children dying) (50)

C. Adultery (72)

Mixed deed (partly bad)

A. Filled a Pacceka Buddha’s bowl with mud but repented and cleaned it (37)

B. Gave a lotus, took it back, then gave it again (64)

Gifts to : Teaching Buddha, Pacceka Buddha, Chief disciple, disciple (*arahat*), nun (*arahat*), shrine to the Buddha, Bodhi tree (which showed her a marvel [35])

Table 2

	Pa	Si	Ti	Ph	Vi	Si	Ve	Kak	Koṇ	Kass
1. Therikā									×	×
2. Muttā 1					×					
11. Muttā 2	×	Ap								
12. Dhammadinnā*				×						× ^a
19. Nandā					×					
22. Aḍḍhakāsī										×
24. Mettikā		×								
25. Mittā										×
26. Abhayamātā		×								
27. Abhayattherī						×				
29. Sāmā 2				×						
30. Uttamā					×					
31. Uttamā 2					×					
33. Ubbirī	×									
34. Sukkā					×	×	×	×	×	×
35. Selā	×									
36. Somā										
37. Bhaddā Kāpilānī*	×				×					
41. Nandā*	×									
44. Sakulā*	×									×
45. Soṇā*	×									
46. Bhaddā, former Jain*	×									× ^a
47. Paṭācārā*	×									× ^a
52. Khemā* **	×				× ^a					× ^a
55. Mahā-Pajāpati Gotamī*	×									× ^a
63. Kisāgotamī*										
64. Uppalavaṇṇā* **										× ^a
65. Puṇṇikā					×					×
66. Ambapālī			×	Ap	×					
67. Rohiṇī					×					
69. Sundarī										
73. Sumedhā									×	×
Bhaddā Kaccānā*	×									
Mp I 376–77										
Sigālakamātā*	×									
MP I 381										

*Foremost in some quality. **Two chief women disciples

Buddhas : Pa = Padumuttara (100,000 aeons ago), Si = Siddhattha (94 aeons ago), Ti = Tissa (92 aeons ago), Ph = Phussa (92 aeons ago), Vi = Vipassī (91 aeons ago), Si = Sikhī (31 aeons ago), Ve = Vessabhū (31 aeons ago), Kak = Kakusandha (the present aeon), Koṇ = Koṇāgamana (the present aeon), Kass = Kassaya (the present aeon)

^aOne of seven sisters, daughters of King Kikī. At Ja IV 481, The Buddha's mother, Mahāmāyā, is given as one of the seven in place of Bhaddā the former Jain. The seventh sister is the laywoman Visākhā

^bOrdained.

Table 3

	Hell	Deva worlds	Lives in		Chief queen of	
			Specific Deva worlds	Brahmā world	Deva kings	Univ. kings Mon.
1. Therikā ^a		×				
2. Muttā			4			
3. Puṇṇā			2		36	10
11. Muttā		×				
12. Dhammadinnā		×	2 (twice)			
19. Nandā		×				
22. Aḍḍhakāsī	×					
23. Cittā		×				
24. Mettikā		×				
25. Mittā		×	2 (Ap)		30	20
26. Abhayamātā		×	2 (Ap)		36	50
27. Abhayattherī					70	36
30. Uttamā			2		64	63
31. Uttamā 2		× ^b				
32. Dantikā		×	2 (Ap)		36	10
33. Ubbirī			2			
34. Sukkā		×	2, 4			
35. Selā		×	2		80	100
37. Bhaddā Kāpilānī		×	Ap	×		
41. Nandā			2–6		many	
44. Sakulā		× ^c	1			
45. Soṇā		×	2 (Ap)			
46. Bhaddā, former Jain		× ^d	2, 2–6 (Ap)		many	×
47. Paṭācārā		×	2 (Ap, twice)			
52. Khemā		×	2, 4, 2–6 (Ap) and all 6 (Ap)		many	many many
55. Mahā-Pajāpati Gotamī		×	2 (Ap)			
56. Guttā		×				
63. Kisāgotamī		×	2 (Ap, twice)			
64. Uppalavaṇṇā		×	2 (Ap, twice)			
66. Ambapālī	×		2 (Ap)			
67. Rohiṇī			2 (Ap)			
69. Sundarī			2 (Ap)			
72. Isidāsī	× ^e	×				
73. Sumedhā		×	2, 2–6		many	many many
Mp Bhaddā Kaccānā		×				
MP Sigālakamātā		×				

Deva worlds: six sensuous worlds (*kāma-loka*): 1. Cātummahārājikadeva, 2. Tāvatiṃsa, 3. Yāma, 4. Tusita, 5. Nimmāna-ratī, 6. Paranimmita-vasavattī (or Vasavattīpura). Some women are said to be born in five Deva worlds, presumably numbers 2–5.

^aAlso only in Deva worlds for a Buddha interval.

^bNo lower births for 91 aeons.

^cDeva worlds only.

^dGood lives for a Buddha interval.

^eBecause she committed adultery when she was a man, she cooked in hell for hundreds of years, was born three times as an animal, then as a hermaphrodite, and finally as a woman in a poor family.

On the Correspondence of Helmer Smith and Gunnar Jarring

During the years 1988 and 2000, when I was acting as the delegate of the Royal Swedish Academy of Literature, History, and Antiquities at the Union Académique Internationale, it was one of my regular duties to give an annual report on the latest meeting of the Academic Union. Whenever I did so, I frequently had the occasion of mentioning *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, which, being one of the oldest projects, had been placed under the auspices of the International Academic Union at an early stage. After one of my autumnal reports at the Plenary Session of our Academy in Stockholm, Gunnar Jarring¹ remarked to me that my presentation had interested him, particularly my comments on the progress of *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, since he had kept up a long-lasting correspondence with Helmer Smith.²

Gunnar Jarring (1907–2002) was born in southern Sweden (Skåne). He received his Ph.D. from Lund. In the very beginning he went in for German and Scandinavian languages, but soon took up Sanskrit and comparative Indo-European philology, with Helmer Smith as one of his teachers, and made profound studies in Slavic languages, above all Russian, which finally led him to his chief subject, Turkology. A very industrious and competent lecturer, Gustaf Raquette (1871–1945),³ taught Turkish at that time at the University of Lund. Before his academic career docent Raquette had spent twenty-five years (1896–

¹Staffan Rosén, “Gunnar Jarring”, in *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Årsbok 2003* (Stockholm 2003); pp. 34–40; VEM ÄR DET '99 (Stockholm 1998), p. 540.

²Björn Collinder, “Helmer Smith”, in *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Årsbok 1956* (Stockholm, Lund, 1956), pp. 55–59. Hans Hendriksen, “Helmer Smith 26th April 1882–9th January 1956”, in *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. II (Copenhagen 1960), pp. v–viii.

³Cf. S. Rosén, 2003, p.35. Raquette is often mentioned in Helmer Smith's letters to Gunnar Jarring.

1921) as a missionary in Kashgar in East Turkestan (today's Xingjiang). He was fluent in Turkish, especially East Turkish, and, naturally, had a decisive influence on the young Jarring.⁴ In the same year in which Jarring obtained his doctor's degree (1933), he was employed as "docent" and examiner in Turkish linguistics at Lund University. In 1940 Jarring's lectureship expired, but thanks to his excellent knowledge of Russian and Turkish, he was now placed in the Swedish Security Service, first in Ankara and in 1941 in Teheran. From this year onward he followed a diplomatic career.

He held many outstanding posts. To mention only his most important assignments, he was chargé d'affaires in Addis Abbaba (1946), ambassador in New Delhi (1948–1952), ambassador in the Swedish Foreign Office (1952–1956), ambassador to the United Nations (1956–1958), ambassador in Washington (1958–1963) and, finally, ambassador in Moscow (1964–1973). In his spare time Jarring continued to pursue his beloved oriental studies.⁵

⁴After his return from Kashgar, Raquette taught two years at the Mission School of the Swedish Missionsförbund (1922–1924) in Lidingö, a suburb of Stockholm. He worked in Lund from 1924–1937. Here he was given the degree of a doctor honoris causa in 1937, an honour probably suggested by Jarring. "You awarded Raquette a doctorate; this was well done" ("Ni promoverade Raquette, det var bra gjort") remarks Smith in a letter dated 2 June 1937. Raquette published a series of fundamental works on East Turkish, as, for example, *Eastern Turki Grammar*, 3 vols., 1912–1914; *English–Turki Dictionary*, 1927; *The Accent Problem in Turkish*, 1927; and edited East Turkish literature.

⁵For his comprehensive scientific work see the publications listed in *Gunnar Jarring — en bibliografi redigerad av Christopher Toll & Ulla Ehrensvärd* (Stockholm 1977); *The Published Writings of Gunnar Jarring 1977–1988: A Bibliography Compiled by Ulla Ehrensvärd. Turcica et Orientalia; Studies in Honour of Gunnar Jarring on His Eightieth Birthday 12 October 1987* (Stockholm 1988), pp. 192–204; and *Gunnar Jarring: En bibliografi redigerad av Ulla Ehrensvärd* (Stockholm 1997). See also Roger Nilsson and Johan Fresk, eds., *A Bibliography of Literature on Journeys and Explorers in Asia in the Gunnar Jarring Library at Stockholm University* (Stockholm 2007).

Helmer Smith (1882–1956), born in Stockholm, studied at the University of Uppsala, where he took the degree of Fil.lic. (M.A.) in the year 1908. In 1925 he received the honorary doctorate from the University of Lund. After having spent many years abroad, mainly in Berlin, Paris and Copenhagen, he obtained a lectureship (“docentur”) at Lund (1921–1935). Thus both Jarring and Smith lived many years in this old university town at times which partially coincided.

In a recently published article⁶ Olle Kvarnström narrates how Gunnar Jarring met Helmer Smith the very first time. Kvarnström writes, “The diplomat and orientalist Gunnar Jarring mentioned that during his years as a student in Lund a man was living in the house opposite (his own flat) in Nygatan. The gentleman in question seemed to devote the greater part of the day to something that looked like playing at patience. A fact that particularly struck Jarring was, however, that at regular intervals a lady entered the room and collected the cards which were then kept in an adjacent room. By and by, Jarring was introduced to the gentleman on the other side of the road and got to know that what had looked like patience cards were, as a matter of fact, excerpt cards for the *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* founded by Helmer Smith and Dines Andersen.”⁷

In 1936, at the age of fifty-five, Helmer Smith was called to occupy the professorship of Sanskrit and Comparative Indo-European Linguistics at the University of Uppsala, a chair he had applied for

⁶“Från Hampton Roads to Lundagård. Forskning om indiska religioner vid Lunds universitet 1880–2005”, in *Årsbok* 2006, pp. 42–56.

⁷“Diplomaten och orientalisten Gunnar Jarring har berättat från sin studietid i Lund om en man som var bosatt i huset mitt emot honom på Nygatan. Mannen ifråga tycktes ägna större delen av dygnets timmar åt vad som såg ut att vara patiens. Vad som förbryllade Jarring var emellertid den kvinna som regelbundet trädde in i rummet för att samla ihop kortlapparna vilka sedan förvarades i ett angränsande rum. Jarring blev så småningom presenterad för mannen på andra sidan gatan och fick då veta att vad som såg ut som patienskort i själva verket var excerptlappar avsedda för den av Helmer Smith och Dines Andersen grundlagda *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*.”

somewhat hesitatingly. He held it until 1947. Though mainly devoted to Pāli and Sinhalese studies, he shared many interests with Gunnar Jarring. His predecessor in Uppsala was Jarl Charpentier (1884–1935).

Both Smith and Jarring were ordinary members⁸ of the Royal Swedish Academy of Literature, History, and Antiquities in Stockholm. Smith was elected in 1940, Jarring in 1969. In his inaugural lecture Smith discussed “En detalj i den indiska metriken” (“a detail in Indian metrics”), while Jarring devoted his lecture to “Poltava och karolinskt kulturarbete i Turkiet och Sibirien”.⁹ Jarring’s lecture was published in the Academy’s yearbook, but Helmer Smith’s — due to the ongoing World War II — unfortunately not. Only a handout of seven pages with verses in Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, and Latin as well as metrical patterns is supposed to be left of this inaugural lecture.¹⁰ Interestingly, a minor incident occurred while Smith delivered his paper on Indian metrics, a subject which certainly was of no great interest to most of his colleagues in the learned audience. At that time His Royal Highness Gustav Adolf, later King Gustav VI. Adolf (1950–1973), was the Patron of the Academy and liked to act as chairman at the Academy meetings. As he was only moderately attracted by the subject dealt with by Smith, the Crown Prince nodded off for a while. Helmer Smith, who, as it seems, was easily offended, felt so distressed by this lack of interest on the part of His Royal Highness that he never attended another meeting of the Academy.

The two gentlemen were rather different with regard to birth, temperament, work, and lifestyle. Smith was the proud specialist of Pāli grammar and prosody which he had mastered brilliantly, while Jarring stood out as the indefatigable explorer of Turkish and Central Asian languages. Whereas Smith was one of those scholars who had neither visited the Indian subcontinent nor any of the various countries where Pāli is still spoken and studied, Jarring made many journeys, sometimes

⁸In Swedish called “arbetande ledamöter”, that is to say, “working members”.

⁹“Poltava and Carolingian cultural work in Turkey and Siberia”.

¹⁰B. Collinder, p. 58.

even painstaking land travels on horseback. On his paternal side Smith was of British descent.¹¹ His great-grandfather had been a sea captain from Belfast. Jarring, however, came from the countryside. He was the son of a couple of farmers from Brunnby in Malmöhus län named Gottfrid Jönsson and Betty Svensson, but changed his family name in early adulthood to Jarring. Already before he obtained his doctor's degree with a thesis on "Studien zu einer osttürkischen Lautlehre", he undertook research trips to Central Asia and East Turkestan, particularly Kashgar, where his teacher Gustaf Raquette had spent so many years.

Some time after his death Gunnar Jarring's personal library and other documents of his legacy — among them also the letters written to him by Helmer Smith — were transferred to the Institute of Oriental Languages in Stockholm on the initiative of Staffan Rosén, professor of Korean language and literature at Stockholm University. His books are still kept in Stockholm; his letters and papers, however, have been deposited in Lund. I was, of course, curious about the letters and postcards which Helmer Smith, twenty-five years older than Jarring, had sent to his young colleague and, therefore, some time ago requested the authorities in charge of Jarring's legacy to kindly grant me access to Smith's letters, which are now preserved at the Manuscript Department ("Handskriftsavdelning") of the Library of the University of Lund.¹²

The "Collection Gunnar Jarring" contains altogether 181 letters, letter-cards and postcards from Helmer Smith, most of which were sent to Jarring during the first five years of the two scholars' acquaintance—

1934: 26 letters, 1 letter-card, and 1 postcard,
1935: 50 letters and 7 letter-cards,
1936: 43 letters, 6 letter-cards, and 1 postcard,
1937: 22 letters and 2 postcards, and

¹¹B. Collinder, p. 56.

¹²I would like to record my gratitude to Birgitta Lindholm, Chief Librarian at the Manuscript Department of the University Library in Lund, for all the generous help I received from her during a short stay in Lund in March 2007. In this article Helmer Smith's letters and other Swedish documents have been translated into English. The Swedish originals are quoted in the footnotes.

1938: 14 letters and 2 letter-cards —

while during the following seven years Jarring received relatively little mail from his correspondent, namely —

1939: 4 letters,
 1940: 1 letter,
 1947: 1 letter,
 1949: 4 letters,
 1950: 8 letters,
 1951: 7 letters, and
 1952, four years before Helmer Smith's death, again only 1 letter.

All the letters are handwritten, in an even and easily readable *ductus litterarum*. Smith addresses Jarring always as “Broder”, that is to say, “brother”, a formal address still used, particularly in academic circles. Every single letter is fully signed with “Helmer Smith”, never with simply “Helmer”, although the pronoun used is the familiar “du” and the verb form that of the second person singular. The letters were generally sent from Lund or Uppsala, some also from Stockholm. Most of them were, however, posted in Kummelnäs, his favourite abode, which he, being an only child, inherited from his well-to-do father's wife and was beautifully situated in the inner Archipelago of Stockholm, at about fifteen kilometres distance from the centre and opposite Vaxholm.

As can be seen from the table given above, between 1949 and 1951 Helmer Smith sent again a few more letters to his former disciple. It was during these years that Jarring was Swedish ambassador in New Delhi, a position that evidently made quite an impression on Helmer Smith.¹³ Moreover, Smith was interested in certain books published in India.¹⁴

Before I started going through his correspondence, I had hoped

¹³Though Jarring was not yet ambassador when he stayed in Teheran, Smith addressed his letter of the 27 November 1951 to “His Exc. Dr Gunnar Jarring, Royal Swedish Legation, Teheran”.

¹⁴A name that occurs several times is Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

above all to find in his letters many passages in which he discussed problems connected with Pāli and Sinhalese. To my great disappointment, however, this is rarely the case. Most letters deal with events in his daily academic life, his contacts with colleagues, their ability and behaviour, their applications for university posts, their successes and, more frequently, shortcomings and failures. Almost all Scandinavian scholars of Sanskrit, Iranian and related studies of the time pass review, in his correspondence, but need not be mentioned by name in this paper. In particular, Smith often refers to Hannes Sköld (1886–1930), then one of the most outstanding linguists of the University of Lund, in whose edition of the “Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen” (1936) Helmer Smith was deeply involved.¹⁵ “I have now been acting under the strict supervision of my Danish employer,¹⁶ and thus ‘Sköld’ has rested...”,¹⁷ writes Smith on 8 August 1935. He also assisted Wilhelm Geiger in Munich in his *A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language*, which appeared in Colombo in 1941.¹⁸

Smith’s correspondence shows naturally a clear predilection for lexicography and etymology. Almost every letter abounds in words or phrases from the numerous languages he knew (in addition to Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prakrit especially Sinhalese, Khotanese, Hindi, Tamil, Burmese, Tibetan, Persian, Urdu, Turkish, and other idioms). While reading his letters, we must bear in mind that Smith’s correspondent

¹⁵An internationally especially renowned work of this untimely deceased scholar — “docent” at the University of Lund — is, of course, his “The Nirukta, Its Place in Old Indian Literature, Its Etymologies” (1926); cf. O. Kvarnström, p. 47.

¹⁶This was, of course, Dines Andersen, with whom Helmer Smith together with Hans Hendriksen had edited Vol. I of *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* (1924–1948). Hans Hendriksen (1913–1989) was Smith’s successor in Uppsala (1947–1951). Dines Andersen (1861–1940) held the chair of Indian Philology at the University of Copenhagen from 1903 to 1927.

¹⁷“Jag har nu i sex veckor stått under omedelbar uppsikt av min danske arbetsgivare, så ‘Sköld’ har vilat”.

¹⁸See Wilhelm Geiger, *Kleine Schriften zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde*, Heinz Bechert, ed. (Wiesbaden 1973), p. *131.

was a specialist in Turkish and that, therefore, Central Asian languages are in the foreground. Once, when Jarring was abroad on his first journey to East Turkestan and, while undertaking various trips, he had not given a more detailed indication of his whereabouts than just “next address Kashgar”, Smith sent a letter to Mrs Jarring, dated 2 June 1935, requesting her, “as a deputy guide for Turkish studies”,¹⁹ to inform him about useful manuals of Osman Turkish presenting the new writing system. “I shall never learn it,” he confesses, “but I need putting my nose into one thing and the other”. He took a great interest also in Khotanese, the ancient south-east Iranian language of the Sakas. This got him in touch with Sir Harold Bailey (1899–1996) in Cambridge, though Smith’s letters to Jarring do not reveal which of the two contacted the other first.

Helmer Smith liked to associate with his friends. In a letter sent on 2 June 1937, he gladly informs his addressee of the good news that his wife “Ellen has succeeded in getting a little housemaid for the summer which means that it will be easier for us to receive our friends this summer”.²⁰ Colleagues with whom he entertained especially close relations were his French “friends from the twenties”, such as Jules Bloch, Louis Renou, Armand Minard, Pierre Meile, and Jean Filliozat, who are all mentioned in his letter of 22 August 1937. There he also reports to Gunnar Jarring that “Ellen and I could spend almost the whole month of July in Paris (more correctly in Sèvres as parasites at Jules Bloch’s), amidst a bustle of orientalism and orientals”.²¹ But already in a much earlier letter, dated 14 September 1936, he records that “two Parisians (Jules Bloch and Mrs Foucher²²) came from

¹⁹“I Er egenskap av vikarierande turkologisk vägledare.”

²⁰“Ellen har lyckats få en liten jungfru för sommaren, vilket betyder att vi nog får det lättare att ta emot våra vänner den här sommaren.”

²¹“Ellen och jag fick leva nästan hela juni månad i Paris (rättare i Sèvres som snyltgäster hos Jules Bloch), mitt i ett myller av orientalism och orientaler.”

²²The wife of Alfred Foucher.

Copenhagen and stayed with us”.²³

Smith speaks little of his university teaching. On 21 November (probably 1937) he tells Jarring that “during the Spring seminar we will deal with ‘style and metre in the Upaniṣads’ and accept with gratitude all parallels and contributions to the world’s art of verse from the Turk²⁴ in Lund himself”. In a letter dated 18 April 1937 Smith comments with enthusiasm on Jarring’s suggestion of holding a series of joint seminars on the Sakas, “Your proposal of joint seminars on the Sakas is genial, ... it should, however, be called ‘Every third (fourth) week H.S. Nyberg and Helmer Smith will hold sem(inar) ex(ercises) on Central Asiatic texts together with doc(ent) G. Jarring.’”

As can be seen from many remarks already quoted, Smith was not only a loyal friend but also had a good sense of humour as well as a wise and subtle irony which could concern also himself. He begins his letter of the 29 August 1935 with the words: “Thus my metrical follies have found you in the heart of Asia! — in Pakistan ...”.²⁵ Although he was very hard working, he did not despise festive occasions, even when they tended to be somewhat excessive as, for example, the celebration of “Dines Andersen’s last day in Sweden” (letter dated 19 August 1935) which caused “fatigue and a nosebleed”. On 25 July 1937 Smith recounts, “We work joyfully: two cigars and five fillings of the pipe are the time-measure of a working day for Dines — then I have seventeen hours for airing our study. We shall see if it will end on the 10th of August.”²⁶ On 25 May 1938 he communicated humorously to Jarring: “You have thus seen [in the newspapers] that I have been considered

²³“Det kom tv parisare (Jules Bloch och fru Foucher) från K(ö)b(en)h(a)vn och stannade en vecka hos oss —.”

²⁴“I vår behandlar vi ‘stil och metrum i upaniṣaderna ‘ och alla paralleler och bidrag till världsverskonstens teori mottas med tacksamhet ... från självaste lundturken” (that is to say, Gunnar Jarring).

²⁵“Så har mina metriska tokerier funnit dig i hjärtat av Asien! — i Pakistan...”

²⁶“Så vi arbetar gladeligen: två cigarrer och fem pipstopningar är tidsmättet på Dines’ arbetsdag — sen har jag 17 timmar att vädra arbetsrummet på. Vi får se, om det slutar 10de augusti.”

decrepit enough to enter the Academy of *Antiquities*...²⁷ He also makes fun of Charpentier and his name, when in one of his earliest letters written on 17 March 1936, he requests Jarring to carefully proofread some newly edited, unspecified text:²⁸ “Well, this is what it looks like. Would you kindly take the trouble of seeing to it that the corrections are not misunderstood, then it can be printed. But we must have a third proof of sheet 16, likewise of the remaining sheets. Otherwise the whole thing will become Charpentier (the blessed man considered that proofreading belonged to the lower classes — including some German case- and number-endings). — And I am still far from being appointed a Charpentier.”²⁹

Some letters refer to his outdoor work in Kummelnäs which he did willingly, although it often prevented him from studying. “Again Kummelnäs,” he writes on 6 May 1937, “and this means Sakish, as well as it may go, but the day after tomorrow we shall plant potatoes the whole day.”³⁰ And after a few days, on 9 May 1937: “Now the potatoes are in the ground and I have started presenting the meaning of one of our Sakish pages (§§ 18–29 of a tractate which speaks of bodhisattvas such as Kṣitigarbha and Mañjuśrī), unfortunately, the correct understanding must be established from a Chinese source. But we can look at it, can’t we?” And twelve years later, on 23 August 1949, Smith writes, “Shortly my farm servant will come, and we shall fell three firs with dry tops to get firewood for the winter. Farming takes at least six

²⁷“Du har således sett att jag befunnits skröplig nog att komma i *Antikvitets* akademien...”

²⁸Probably Sköld’s *Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen*.

²⁹The whole letter runs like this: “Ja, så här ser det ut. Vill Du ha besväret att övervaka att rättelserna inte missförstås, så kan det sedan tryckas. Men av ark 16 måste vi ha ett 3dje korr(ektur) och så av de övriga arken. Annars blir det Charpentier av det hela. (Salig människan ansåg att korrekturläsning hörde hemma i underklassen — inklusive en del tyska casus- och numerusändelser. — Och jag är ju ännu inte utnämnd till Charpentier på långa tag.”

³⁰“Kummelnäs igen, och det betyder sakiska, så gott det går, men i övermorgon skall vi lägga potatis hela dagen.”

hours every day, and also other pleasant things can get in the way [to keep me] from reading modern Hindi and Pali.”³¹

But what about Pāli and Middle Indian? May we guess that Smith did not consider Jarring to be a correspondent sufficiently versed in this field? The letter dated (Uppsala) 11 April 1938 would perhaps not corroborate this hypothesis, though it deals, on the other hand, more or less exclusively with Middle Indian forms for “Turk(ish)”:

I have had trouble with a sporadic sound-law in Middle Indian — that is to say, a sound-rule which seems to be valid for the adaptation of learned Sanskrit words (respectively loan words) to Pāli–Prakrit habits of pronunciation, the clearest examples of which are:

Sanskrit *mūrkhā* “idiot”, which in the regular way develops into Pkt *mukkha* (*rkh* assimilated, *u* shortened before the [consonant] group) but which (Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen* § 139) also appears as *murukkha*, whilst *kh* is geminated (a well-known rule in Sanskrit school pronunciation) and anaptyctical *u* is developed.

Sanskrit *pūrva* “first”, etc., normally *puvva* (like above, but sometimes *puruvva* parallel with above).

If, while this rule functioned, one had borrowed the word *turk*, it would have necessarily become an *-a* stem, hence **turka*, and from it (parallel with *mūrkhā*) *turukka*. The form exists and is noted by Pischel (op. cit. § 302), but as an example of loss of aspiration, as one normally said *Turukkha* which comes from Sanskrit *Turuṣka*.

From this I draw a conclusion which is sure: that *turukkha* never had a *kkh* but came directly from *< turk*. Secondly, I believe in the possibility that the same *turk* *> turukka* could become *turukkha* in conformity with the similar — and excuse me — therewith associated *murukkha* “thick-skull” and *milakkhu* (*°kkh* sporadic in Pāli) “barbarian (as concerns language)”.

Thirdly, if the Sanskrit form *Turuṣka* is not older than that, it could be a learned transformation of *Turukkha*. (The form *Turaṣka*, which is said to exist, is without phonological value.)

³¹“Nu kommer min gårdskarll, och vi skall fälla tre tallar med torrtopp till ved för vintern. ‘Lantbruket’ tar minst 6 timmar var dag; och även andra angenäma saker kommer i vägen för läsningen av nyindiska och pali.”

You would know better what the scholars say about *Turuṣka*....³²

The very last document of the “Collection Gunnar Jarring” is not a letter from Helmer Smith addressed to Gunnar Jarring but the photocopy of an undated letter Smith addressed to Nils Simonsson.³³ In a few added lines dated 30 November 1989 Jarring comments upon it as follows: “Dear Per,³⁴ This photocopy of a letter from Smith to Simonsson shows Lund in a glorified light. May I suggest that you put it at the end of Helmer Smith’s “dossier” in my collection of letters. By the way,

³²“Jag har haft bestyr med en sporadisk ljudlag i medelindiskan — d.v.s. en ljudregel som tycks gälla för anpassningen av lärda sanskritord (resp. lånord) till pali–prakritiska uttalsvanor — vars klaraste exempel är:

sanskrit *mūrkhā*, som i rätlinig utveckling ger präkr. *mukkha* > *rkh* assimilerat, *ū* förkortat [framför] gruppen, men som också (Pischel *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen* § 139) uppträder som *murukkha* i det *kh* gemineras (en känd regel för det skolmässige sanskrituttalet) och anaptyktiskt *-u-* utvecklas.

sanskrit *pūrva* “först”, etc., normalt *puvva* (som ovan, men ibland *puruvva* parallellt med föregående.

Om man, då den regeln verkade, hade lånat in ordet *turk*, skulle det med nödvändighet ha blivit en *-a*-stam, således **turka*, och därav (parallellt med *mūrkhā*) *turukka*. Formen finns och antecknas av Pischel (§ 309), men såsom ett exempel på aspirationsförlust, eftersom det normalt heter *Turukkha* och detta kommer av sanskrit *Turuṣka*.

Härav drar jag en slutsats som är säker: att *turukka* aldrig haft något *kkh* utan kommit direkt < *turk*.

För det andra tror jag på möjligheten av att samma *turk* > *turukka*, kunnat bli *turukkha* efter de snarlika — och ursäkta ! — därmed associerade *murukkha* “tjurskalle” och *milakkhu* (*°kkha* sporadiskt i pali) “barbar [till språket]”.

För det tredje är sanskritformen *Turuṣka* icke äldre än att den skulle kunna vara en lärd ombildning av *Turukkha*. (Formen *Turaska*, som förekommer, saknar “fonologiskt” värde).

Vad de lärde säger om *Turuṣka* etc., vet Du nog bättre...”

³³Nils Simonsson (1920–1994) was Professor in Indian Languages and Literature at the University of Oslo from 1963–1975 and Professor in Sanskrit and Comparative Indo-European Linguistics at the University of Uppsala from 1975 to 1985.

³⁴Chief librarian at the University Library in Lund, now retired.

Helmer Smith's letters to me need not be kept in a closed envelope any more but should be preserved in the same manner as the other letters. Yours faithfully, Gunnar."³⁵ Smith's letter (or a part of the letter) runs as follows:

The commentary is in general well informed ... but I am becoming more and more convinced that there exist two kinds of Pāli: one which was spoken by Buddha and was written by Buddhaghosa [and] the Tīkākāras, Aggavaṃsa, Moggalāna and other theras and was understood and read by Fausbøll and Trenckner and others. This is the first kind of Pāli; the other kind of Pāli is more flexible and more suited to express the fundamental doctrines of Christianity and the philosophy of Epicurus. This is the Pāli of Comparative History of Religions, it is spoken *inter alia* in Lund; it is a fortunate language, because its vocabulary is small and it is not troubled by any grammar.³⁶

The contents of this document are unfortunately disappointing and would not be accepted by any of today's scholars of Pāli. The statement that Pāli is "spoken in Lund" and thus "shows Lund in a glorified light" is absurd and tinged by strongly local patriotism. It is rather strange that Jarring wished this message to be incorporated into his letter

³⁵“Käre Per, denna fotokopia av ett brev från Smith till Simonsson kastar ett förklarat ljus över Lund. Får jag föreslå att Du lägger den i slutet på Helmer Smiths “dossier” i min brevsamling. Helmer Smiths brev till mig behöves f.ö. inte längre ligga i slutet kuvert utan férvaras på samma sätt som andra brev. Din tillgivne Gunnar.”

³⁶“Kommentaren vet i allmänhet väl besked ... men jag blir mer och mer övertygad om att det finns tv “Käre Per, denna fotokopia av ett brev från Smith till Simonsson kastar ett förklarat ljus över Lund. Får jag föreslå att Du lägger den i slutet på Helmer Smiths “dossier” i min brevsamling. Helmer Smiths brev till mig behöves f.ö. inte längre ligga i slutet kuvert utan férvaras på samma sätt som andra brev. Din tillgivne Gunnar.” sorters pali: en sort som talades av Buddha och skrevs av Buddhaghosa [och] tīkākāraerna, Aggavaṃsa, Moggalāna och andra theraer och förstods och lästes av Fausbøll och Trenckner mfl. detta är första sortens pali; den andra sortens pali är smidigare och mera ägnat att uttrycka kristendomens grundläror och Epikuros filosofi — det är den komparativa religionsforskningens pali, det talas bl.a. i Lund; det är ett lyckligt språk, för dess ordförråd är ringa och det besvärar icke av någon grammatik.”

collection.³⁷

On the whole, the “Collection Gunnar Jarring” gives us a rather good picture, perhaps not so much of the work on Pāli, but of the personality and the various activities of Helmer Smith. It remains, however, surprising that Smith, in the period between 1934 and 1938, sent somewhat more than 150 letters to Gunnar Jarring, who was not an Indologist, though he had numerous interests in common with Smith. A field of intense interest shared by both of them was above all lexicography. Jarring was undoubtedly an ambitious and extremely talented young man, to whom Helmer Smith could easily take a liking, and Smith was probably sincere, when he in his letter dated 19 August 1935 praised Jarring by jokingly quoting two lines from a students’ theatrical parody, a “spex”:³⁸

For you know languages which no tongue speaks,
and you can interpret what nobody thought.³⁹

Siegfried Lienhard

³⁷A contemporary of Helmer Smith who mastered the Pāli language with unparalleled ease was, however, Wilhelm Geiger (1856–1943) from the University of Munich. In his book *Wilhelm Geiger: His Life and Works* (Colombo: Tübingen 1977 (2nd ed.), p. 135), H. Bechert mentions “a famous Sinhalese scholar who had corresponded with Geiger since 1928.... This was Aggamahāpaṇḍita Polvattē Buddhadatta Mahānāyaka Thera (1887–1962). Buddhadatta Thera gives a detailed account of his acquaintance with Geiger in his autobiography, “Sri Buddhadattacaritaya”, in which he also gave the text of several of Geiger’s letters. The first letter from Geiger to Buddhadatta was written in Pāli, and was later included as a reading-exercise in Buddhadatta’s text-book of Pāli (see *ibid.*, note 52: A.P. Buddhadatta, *Aids to Pali Conversation and Translation* (Ambalangoda 1951), pp. 130f. and the plate between 80 and 81: “First page of a Letter written by Wilhelm Geiger to Ven. Sri Subhuti Thera”).

³⁸From Latin *spectaculum*. “Spexes” had become popular since about 1850, especially at the University of Lund.

³⁹“För du kan språk som ingen tunga talar, och du kan tyda det som ingen tänkt.”

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME

Professor Dr Oskar von Hinüber
Kartäuserstr. 138
D-79102 Freiburg
Germany

Dr Petra Kieffer-Pülz
Wilhelm-Külz-Str. 2
99423 Weimar
Germany

Venerable Bhikkhu Bodhi
Chuang Yen Monastery
2020 Route 301
Carmel NY 10512
U.S.A.

Dr Paul Dundas
Department of Sanskrit
University of Edinburgh
7 Buccleuch Place
Edinburgh
EH8 9LW
U.K.

Dr Margaret Cone
Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern
Studies
University of Cambridge
Sidgwick Avenue
Cambridge
CB3 9DA
U.K.

Professor Gregory Schopen
Dept of Asian Languages and
Cultures
290 Royce Hall
University of California, Los Angeles
Box 951540
Los Angeles, CA 90095
U.S.A.

Dr Eivind Kahrs
Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern
Studies
University of Cambridge
Sidgwick Avenue
Cambridge
CB3 9DA
U.K.

Professor Padmanabh S. Jaini
Department of South & Southeast
Asian Studies
7233 Dwinelle Hall # 2520
University of California,
Berkeley, CA 94720-2520
U.S.A.

Dr Kate Crosby
Dept of the Study of Religions,
SOAS
Thornhaugh Street
Russell Square
London
WC1H 0XG
U.K.

Professor Sodo Mori
No.3-13-50 Saiwai-cho, Shiki-shi
Saitama 353-0005
Japan

Professor Dr Nalini Balbir
32 rue des Bruyères
F-92310 Sèvres
France

Professor Dr Lamber Schmithausen
Dobbertinweg 24
21266 Jesteburg
Germany

Dr R.M.L. Gethin
Dept of Theology and Religious
Studies
University of Bristol
3 Woodland Road
Bristol
BS8 1TB
U.K.

Professor Richard Salomon
Department of Asian Languages and
Literature
University of Washington
225 Gowen
Box 353521
Seattle, WA 98195-3521
U.S.A.

Dr William Pruitt
36 Lake View
Calne, Wiltshire
SN11 8JA

Dr. Peter Skilling
129/123 Muu 3 Perfect Place
Soi Sai Ma, Ratanathibet Road
Bang Rak Noi, Muang District
Nonthaburi 11000
Thailand

Professor Siegfried Lienhard
August Wahlströms väg 1, 8 tr
S-18231 Danderyd
Sweden

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