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The JNCBS is devoted to the advancement of research in Buddhist studies. It aims at presenting research work on a wide range of areas in Buddhist Studies, covering Buddhist ethics, the history of Buddhism in South-east Asia, Madhyamaka and Yogācāra philosophy, Tantric Buddhism, Theravāda manuscript traditions, Pāli textual criticism, Abhidharma thought, Buddhist narrative, Buddhist art, Buddhist anthropology, Buddhism and modern pressing issues, and critical book-review articles. The research papers to be published can be of any length.

The JNCBS invites authors to submit their manuscripts to the editors: Pathompong Bodhiprasiddhinand (bodhinanda@hotmail.com) or Samantha Rajapaksha (rmskrajapaksha@gmail.com)

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Foreword

The Journal of Nāṇasaṃvara Centre for Buddhist Studies (JNCBS), which is renamed from Thai International Journal of Buddhist Studies (TIJBS), is published by the Nāṇasaṃvara Centre for Buddhist Studies (NCBS) in honour of the late Supreme Patriarch Somdet Phra Nāṇasaṃvara, the 19th Supreme Patriarch of Thailand of Wat Bovornniwet Wiharn. The late Supreme Patriarch's name has been honourably used for the Centre since its inception.

Although the title of the journal is changed, the scope remains unchanged to its previous issues. It focuses primarily on textual studies and critical editions of Buddhist manuscripts in Southeast Asia in particular. The JNCBS will entertain any research work within the umbrella of Buddhist Studies.

The maiden volume publishes some works which cover early Theravāda Buddhist concepts to modern trends in globalized Buddhism. A significant portion of the journal deals with aspects related to Pāli textual criticism. The present issue, apart from two obituaries, has two book reviews.

There are two obituaries: one is for the late Supreme Patriarch Somdet Phra Nāṇasaṃvara and Lance Cousins. The former was written in a long article by myself and was summarized for this journal by Peter Masefield. The latter is permitted by its author, Prof Rupert Gethin himself to republish here. We asked for republication it here because Lance was a major contributor and closely gave many advices to me when I started the TIJBS right from the very beginning. Lance also published his last article in his life with us entitled, 'Abhidhamma Studies II Sanskrit abhidharma literature of the Mahāvihāravāsins' in TIJBS.¹ More importantly, Lance told me that when he was in Thailand trying to practice Buddhist meditation following the Thai tradition, on many occasions, he came to practise under the guidance of Somdet Phra Nāṇasaṃvara, the late Supreme Patriarch at Wat Bowornniwet Wiharn. So it is appropriate to have the two obituaries in the same journal.

As usual, in order to maintain our standard, we follow the double-blind review policy in which both the reviewer and author iden-

¹ TIJBS Vol.IV (2556 [2013]), pp. 1-61.

tities are concealed from the reviewers, and vice versa over the course of the reviewing process of manuscripts. The policy is mentioned at the end of the journal. Lastly, We are delighted to inform you that the journal will be published yearly. Hopefully, scholars in the field of Buddhist Studies will contribute for our forthcoming volumes. We highly appreciate the contributors in the maiden volume of the journal.

Pathompong Bodhiprasiddhinand

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An Observation on the Doctrine of *Anatta* and its Relation to the Concept of *Punabbhava*

Kapila Abhayawansa

Abstract

Doctrine of non-substantiality (Anatta) in Buddhism is a corollary to the doctrine of dependent origination (Paṭicca-samuppāda) for the non-substantiality is constantly enumerated in Buddhist discourses as the invariable characteristic of conditionality which marks the reality of the world. While asserting non-substantiality as the characteristic of conditioned beings, Buddhism tries to maintain continual trans-samsāric existence of beings by means of the concept of re-becoming (Punabbhava). It is really a question not only in the mind of ordinary people but also of the intellectuals as to how Buddhism while accepting non-substantiality of the beings can simultaneously establish the concept of re-becoming without resorting to a kind of eternalism. It is proposed here to examine the attempt made by Theravādins to formulate a theory of existence of life after death showing the compatibility of both concepts namely, Anatta and Punabbhava with the assistance of Early Buddhist guidance as gleaned in the discourses of the Buddha.

That the truth of being is same as the truth of the universe is a view point, held by Brahmanic philosophical tradition in India prior to and contemporary to the Buddha.¹ The truth of the being is considered to be a part of the reality of the world.² The attempt to establish the identity of those two truths can be seen throughout Upaniṣadic philosophy. Two statements appeared in two different Upaniṣads “tat tvam asi”³ and “aham brahmā smi”⁴ (‘thou art that [Brahman]’; and ‘I am that Brahman’) show the notion of identity between the universal-reality and the individual reality held by the Upaniṣadic thinkers. The terms such as *Sat*, *Ātman*, *Brahman*, *Parabrahman*, *Viśvātman*

¹ Existence (sat) is considered to be the ultimate reality which existed alone at the beginning of the universe. See. Chāndogya Upaniṣad. Vi: “sad eva saumya idam agra asid ekam evadvitīyam”.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid Vi.8. 7.

⁴ Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad I 4, 10.

and *Jagadātman* are used to indicate the world (Cosmic or Universal) reality while the terms such as *Jīva* and *Pratyagātman* are referred to the individual reality. The term *Ātman* can be seen elsewhere referring to both realities without any distinction. The common characteristics of both the realities are considered to be permanent, everlasting and undying.

Both the liberation and the Saṃsāric existence of human beings are described on the basis of the concept of soul in the Upaniṣadic philosophy. According to Upaniṣads, Brahman or the cosmic soul is defined by three characteristics namely, 'sat' (being or existence) 'cit' (consciousness) and 'ānanda' (eternal bliss). In liberation, the individual soul is said to be united with cosmic soul which exists forever with the pure consciousness in a perfect blissful state. So long as an individual soul is not united with the Brahman, it has to remain subject to transmigration from one life to other.

The critical examination of Buddhist discourses reveal to us that there was not only the view of permanence as explained above, but also the view of annihilation which is diametrically opposed to the former. In the Kaccāyanagottasutta in the Saṃyuttanikāya, the Buddha pointed out that 'this world generally proceeds on a duality, of (the belief in) existence and (the belief in) non-existence.⁵ The former eternalist view is referred to as *sassata-ditṭhi* while the later, the annihilationist view as *uccheda-ditṭhi* in Buddhist discourses. The terms *bhava-ditṭhi* which means the belief in being and *vibhava-ditṭhi* which means the belief in non-being appeared first time in the Dhammacakkappavattanasutta.

Section I: *Anatta*

Buddhist suttas which talk about the ten questions, to which the Buddha refused to answer, bring out two statements which shed more light on understanding the proper stance of the above mentioned two views. One of the statements says that 'the soul (*jīva*) is same as the body (*sarīraṃ*)', (*taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ*), while other emphasizes that 'the soul is different from the body' (*aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ*). There is no doubt that these two statements refer to two philosophical traditions that existed during the time of the Buddha and they are none other than the nihilism and the eternalism respectively.

⁵ Kaccāyanagottasutta, Saṃyuttanikāya, Nidānavagga, (S II 17).

It is self-evident that the first statement that ‘the soul is same as the body’ denies a soul that exists external to a body. It implies that the existence of soul comes to an end after the death of the body and it does not go anywhere when the body is perished. That means that the soul is annihilated with the body at the death. This view more likely belongs to a kind of materialism mentioned in the Brahmajāla sutta of Dīghanikāya which asserts that the soul is of the form of the body and is composed of the four great elements.⁶ The materialism which upholds the belief that the soul is the product of the four great elements rejects not only the saṃsāric existence, but also the moral responsibility of the person for the reason that the soul is annihilated at the death of the body. We come to know that one of the six heretical teachers lived during the time of the Buddha, Ajita Kesakambali, according to the Sāmaññaphalasutta of Dīghanikāya, held the view expressed as follows:

There is no (value) in sacrifice or prayer (*natthi yiṭṭhaṃ natthi hutam*), ‘there is no (value) in giving (*natthi dinnam*)’; ‘there is no good and evil actions which bear fruits (*natthi sukaṭadukkaṭānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko*)’; ‘there is no (obligation to) one’s parents’ (*natthi mātā, natthi pitā*); no spontaneously reborn beings (*natthi sattā opapātikā*); ‘there is no well-behaved recluses and brahmins of good conduct, who can claim to know the existence of this world as well as the next by realizing this themselves with their higher intuition (*natthi loke samaññabrāhmaṇā sammaggatā sammā pariṇāṇā ye imaṃ ca lokaṃ paraṃ ca lokaṃ sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedenti*)’). A person is a composite of four primary elements. At death, the earth (in the body) returns to and merges with the (external) earth-substance. The fire returns to and merges with the external fire-substance. The liquid returns to and merges with the external liquid-substance. The wind returns to and merges with the external wind-substance. The sense-faculties scatter into space. Four men, with the bier as the fifth, carry the corpse. Its eulogies are sounded only as far as the charnel ground. The bones turn pigeon-coloured. The offerings end in ashes. Generosity is taught by idiots. The words of those who speak of existence after death are false, empty chatter. With the break-up of the body, the wise and the foolish

⁶ D I 34: *attā rūpī cātummabhūṭiko*.

alike are annihilated, destroyed. They do not exist after death.⁷

Quite contrary to this nihilistic view of materialism, eternalism accepts an entity of enduring substance known as 'soul' which exists within the body and hence, it maintains that the soul is one thing and the body is another thing (*aññaṃ jīvaṃ aññaṃ sarīraṃ*). Another belief attached to eternalism is that after the death of the body the soul finds another new body for its residence as pointed out earlier. The concept of rebirth (*punarjanma*) implied by the idea of transmigration of soul is further characterized by the attribute of moral retribution in the eternalist view. "The manner in which an individual's actions determine and even fashion his future life is more fully outlined in the philosophical and theological treatises of the Upaniṣads" says Terence Day.⁸

The following passage found in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad clearly confirms the fact that the transmigrating soul finds its new body as its abode in accordance with moral causation:

*yathākārī yathācārī tathā bhavati sādhukārī sādhubur bhavati
pāpakārī pāpo bhavati puṇyah puṇyena karmanā bhavati pāpah
pāpena.*⁹

(According to as one acts, according to as one conducts himself, so does he become. The doer of good becomes good. The doer of evil becomes evil. One becomes virtuous by virtuous action, bad by bad action)¹⁰

At a time when there were mutually opposed two views as shown above, with regard to the reality of man in the religious and philosophical milieu, the Buddha came into the scene with his understanding of the truth of the man. The truth realized by the Buddha is verily known as *Paṭicca-samuppāda* (conditioned emergence) which is formulated as follows:

When this is present (*asmin sati*), that comes to be (*idaṃ hoti*); from the arising of this (*imassa uppādā*), that arises (*idaṃ uppajjati*). When this is absent (*asmin asati*), that does not come to be (*idaṃ na hoti*); on the cessation of this (*imassa nirodhā*), that

⁷ D I (*Sāmaññaphalasutta*).

⁸ Terence (1982: 73).

⁹ Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad IV 5.

¹⁰ This translation is quoted from *The Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads* by Robert Ernest Hume, Oxford University Press, London, 1931.

ceases (*idaṃ nirujjhati*).¹¹

This emphasizes that whenever there is the causes and conditions the effect comes to be, from the arising of causes and conditions, the effect arises. And, whenever there are no causes and conditions, the effect does not come to be; upon the cessation of causes and conditions, the effect ceases to be. According to the formulation of this theory, both the phenomena, namely emergence and cessation, are coming under the law of causation which, according to the Buddha, is the invariable universal law.¹² Having understood this reality of the world, what the Buddha has done throughout his life time was none other than the exposition of the way of arising and ceasing of the beings. The reason why the Buddha wanted to reveal the way of arising and cessation of the being is explicitly clear from the beings themselves for they are the victims of the causal order.

The inevitable result of what is arising because of the causes and condition is cessation (*yaṃ kiñci samudaya-dhammaṃ sabbaṃ taṃ nirodha-dammaṃ*).¹³ The nature of what is arisen was precisely made clear by the Buddha by showing three characteristics of conditioned things namely, arising (*uppāda*), cessation (*vaya*) and change-in-continuance (*ṭhitassa aññatatta*).¹⁴ This clearly shows that there is no unchanging and everlasting enduring entity possessed by the things that are arisen, rather than impermanence (*anicca*). In the context of beings, impermanence itself is considered to be suffering (*dukkha*) as there cannot be permanent happiness in what is changing (*yadaniccaṃ taṃ dukkhaṃ*). Whatever is impermanent and suffering it is not the self or soul (*yaṃ dukkhaṃ tadanattaṃ*) by its own definition and hence, soullessness (*anatta*). Taking all these three characteristics of conditional existence into account Buddhist teachings call it suffering or un-satisfactoriness (*dukkha*). In the context of four noble truths, the term *dukkha* conveys the meaning of conditional existence of the beings. By means of showing the way of emergence, the Buddha intended to make people known their real nature and the causes that led to that nature and on the other hand by means of showing the way of cessation, the Buddha made clear the way of how to get rid of that conditional existence in order to obtain permanent happiness That is

¹¹ S 25.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ S V 420 (*Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*).

¹⁴ A I 152 (*Saṅkhatasutta*).

the reason why the Buddha once said to Ven Anuradha:

Both formerly and now also, Anuradha, it is just suffering and the cessation of suffering that I proclaim.¹⁵

Anicca (impermanence), *dukkha* (suffering) and *anatta* (soullessness or insubstantiality) which are the three signs or the three universal characteristics of all conditioned things (*saṅkhāra*, *saṅkhata-dhammā*) are seem to be mutually convertible terms. For each term implies other two characteristics, for example, the term *dukkha* includes the characteristics of *anicca* and *anatta* and, so are other two terms. It is more likely that the Buddha used these terms as separate categories in order to highlight the primary meanings of the terms rather than the meanings attached to them. According to eternalism, the concept of 'ātman' consists of characteristics of *nitya* (permanence) and *sukha* (happiness or bliss). Moreover, the notions of permanence, happiness and substantiality are commonly rooted in the minds of ordinary people as the result of their sensory experience which are considered to be the impediments for their emancipation according to Buddhism. Therefore, the Buddha analyzed and criticized them and pointed out their futility. In many suttas, such as in the Anattalakkhaṇasutta the Buddha made use of the terms *anicca* and *dukkha* as premises to prove the validity of non-substantiality (*anatta*) of the empirical personality for they were easier to understand by the listeners rather than non-substantiality.

However, it is quite obvious that the concept of *anatta* looms large throughout the SuttaPiṭaka. This is due mainly to two reasons. The first was the rejection of metaphysical views of *atta* and *anatta* accepted by philosophical or religious thinkers of the day.¹⁶ As pointed out earlier, both eternalism (*sassata-vāda*) and annihilationism (*uccheda-vāda*) find their significance on the basis of the concept of *ātman*. The former accepts that the soul exists permanently in spite of the death of physical body of the person while the later accepts that the soul is same as physical body, hence, with the death of physical body the soul is annihilated. It is quite evident that some people who approached the Buddha for discussions were the believers of either eternalism or nihilism. The Buddha had to present the negation of both the views based on the concept of *ātman*.

The second reason was the need to reveal the real nature of

¹⁵ S III 116 (*Anuruddhasutta*).

¹⁶ S IV 1393-1394.

empiric existence to the ordinary people who through their ignorance of their own nature trend to avoid the path of emancipation. Even without the influence of metaphysical theories attributed to the philosophical thinkers of the day, it is the nature of the common people that they incline to believe either existence or nonexistence because of their ignorance of the true nature of empirical existence. This is quite evident from the statement of the Buddha expressed to a monk called Kaccāyana-gotta. It runs as follows:

This world, O Kaccāyana, generally proceeds on a duality, of (the view of) existence and (the view of) non-existence. But he who with right insight sees the uprising of the world as it really is does not hold with the non-existence of the world. But he who with right insight sees the passing away of the world as it really is does not hold with the existence of the world. Everything exists - this is one extreme. Nothing exists - this is another extreme. Not approaching either extreme the Tathāgata (the Buddha) teaches you a doctrine by the middle (*Tathāgato majjhena dhammam deseti*).¹⁷

The prime aim of the Buddha was to lead people toward the cessation of suffering. According to the Buddha, biggest obstacle that prevents people from achieving the cessation of suffering is that people naturally incline to grasp the notion of 'I' or 'mine' derived out of their own empirical existence which is in reality, a conglomeration of five aggregates. In the Assutavatosutta, the Buddha very clearly mentioned that the ignorant uninstructed world-lings, because of their grasping to 'This is mine', 'this is I am' and 'this is my soul'. cannot get liberated from what they grasped.¹⁸ Wijesekera quotes in his booklet entitled "The Three Signata: *Anicca*, *Dukkha*, and *Anatta*" the Buddha as saying that: "Herein an ignorant worldling conceives materiality, feeling, perception, formations or consciousness as the self; or the self as the owner of any of these groups; or that group as included in the self; or the self as included in that group (SN 22: 47)".¹⁹ When the five groups of aggregates are grasped as I or mine, they become aggregates of grasping (*upādānakkhandha*). Those five groups of aggregates of

¹⁷ S II 17 (*Kaccānagottasutta*).

¹⁸ S 94: "dīgharattaṃ hetamaṃ bhikkhave assutavato putthujanassa ajjhositaṃ mamāyitaṃ parāmaṭṭhaṃ etaṃ mama eso haṃ asmi eso me attāti, Tasmā tatrāsutavā putthujāno nālaṃ nibbindituṃ nālaṃ virajjituṃ nālaṃ vimuccituṃ".

¹⁹ Wijesekera (1982).

grasping are themselves suffering.²⁰ This implies that it is inevitable to stop grasping empiric individuality as I or mine, if anyone wants to have the cessation of suffering. Therefore, the Buddha who sought sincerely ultimate happiness of people through the achievement of cessation of suffering, directed his teachings mainly, showing nature of non-substantiality of the conditional existence. Wijesekera puts it in the following way:

Thus the Buddha admonishes his disciples to analyse the whole conception of self or abiding personality and thereby the whole of experience along with every single component of the process, whereby the fallacy of Self or abiding personality arises, viewing this whole process of the arising of individuality in a perfectly objective manner.²¹

The attempt made by the Buddha to clarify the real nature of the empirical existence, in terms of non-substantiality (*anatta*) occupied the central position in the Buddhist teachings, along with the theory of dependent origination (*paṭicca-samuppāda*).

Though the Buddha presented the *paṭicca-samuppāda* as the governing principle of entire phenomenal universe, its true nature as reflected in empirical existence that was made explicit by the *anatta* doctrine. Therefore, rightly speaking, the *anatta* doctrine in Buddhism is not a separate theory but, a corollary to the theory of dependent origination. It reflects the soullessness in the conditional existence which transcends both soul theory and non-soul theory as pointed in the Kaccāyanagottasutta.

The term *anatta* is misleading. If we take connotative meaning of the term, it refers to the total eradication of soul or substance which is diametrically opposed to the position of eternalism. It seems that some modern scholars of Buddhism hold the view that *anatta* doctrine merely refers to the negation of the concept of soul and nothing more. Such an explanation of the doctrine of *anatta* leads to the idea that nothing exists after death which dines the moral causal order accepted by Buddhism. Referring to the view that ‘the soul is same as the body’ (*taṃ jīvaṃ taṃ sarīraṃ*) which leads to the idea that nothing exists after death, the Buddha pointed out that such a view amounts to the

²⁰ “*saṅkhitena pañcupādānakkhandhā dukkhā*” (*Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*).

²¹ Wijesekera (1982).

denial of the value of religious life.²² This danger was well conceived by the Buddha. The Buddha rejected the eternalist view of *atta* and nihilistic view of *anatta* as well. Instead, the Buddha explained empirical existence of the being in the middle with devoid of both *atta* and *anatta*. This was explicitly made clear by the Buddha in the Kaccāyana-gottasutta as given below:

Sabbam atthīti kbo kaccāyana ayaṃ eko anto. sabbam natthīti ayaṃ dutiyo anto. Ete te ubho ante anuṣagamma majjibena tathāgato dhammaṃ deseti

(Everything exists - this is one extreme. Nothing exists - this is another extreme. Not approaching either extreme the Tathāgata (the Buddha) teaches you a doctrine by the middle.)

This statement made by the Buddha has to be considered as an explanation of right view (*sammā-ditṭhi*) not only because of the fact that it rejects two extremist wrong views but also because the answer given by the Buddha to the question raised by Kaccāyana as to what is right view. We came to know that the Buddha explained non-substantiality of the empirical existence (*anatta* doctrine) by way of rejecting both eternalism and nihilism based on the concept of soul. Hence, it implies that the right view refers to the *Anatta* doctrine of the Buddha. In turn, this again indicates the conditionality of the empiric existence of the world which is known as *paṭicca-samuppāda*.

Most of the Buddhist scholars both in the present and in the past have taken 'a doctrine by the middle' mentioned in the Kaccāyana-gottasutta to be the doctrine of *Paṭicca-samuppāda*. Karunadasa referring to this passage in this discourse observes:

That the words 'a doctrine by the middle' are a reference to the Buddhist doctrine of dependent origination (*paṭicca-samuppāda*) is clear not only from the context but also from what follows it. For immediately after this the Buddha refers to it specifically, implying thereby that it is through this particular doctrine that Buddhism avoids both *sasatavada* and *ucchedavada*. It will thus be seen that just as the Noble Eightfold Path is called the Middle Path, because it avoids the two extremes of sensual gratification and self-mortification, the doctrine of dependent origination is called the doctrine by the middle (*majjibima-dhamma*), because

²² S 63: "Taṃ jvaṃ taṃ sarīranti vā bhikkhu ditṭhiyā sati brahmacariyavāso na hoti".

it avoids in the self-same manner their theoretical background.²³

It is a well-known fact that the founder of Mādhyamaka philosophy, Nāgārjuna too has taken this middle doctrine as the doctrine of *pratītyasamudpāda* which was equated to the doctrine of emptiness. Term ‘*madhyamā pratīpad*’ used by Nāgārjuna in order to identify it with *pratītyasamudpāda*²⁴ is clear evidence that he was greatly influenced from the passage of Kaccāyanagottasutta quoted above.²⁵

Usage of the term *paṭicca-samuppāda* can be seen in two ways in Buddhist teachings. One way is to denote the causal law or order which governs the entire phenomenal world which was expressed in the following formula: “When this is present (*asmin sati*), that comes to be (*idaṃ hoti*); from the arising of this (*imassa uppādā*), that arises (*idaṃ uppajjati*). When this is absent (*asmin asati*), that does not come to be (*idaṃ na hoti*); on the cessation of this (*imassa nirodhā*), that ceases (*idaṃ nirujjhati*)”.²⁶ Other way is in reference to the well-known twelve-linked causal formula presented in both progressive and regressive aspects. In the Paccayasutta of Nidānasamyutta explaining *paṭicca-samuppāda* as conditional existence, the Buddha advocated that this conditionality is the fixed nature of phenomena or the regular pattern of phenomena as follows:

*Katamo ca bhikkhave paṭicca-samuppādo. Jātipaccayā bhikkhave jarāmarañam uppādā vā Tathāgatānam anuppādā vā Tathāgatānam. iḥitā va sā dhātu dhammaṭṭhitatā dhammaniyāmatā idappaccayatā. Taṃ Tathāgato abhisambujjhati abhisameti.*²⁷

(And what, bhikkhus, is dependent origination?... With ignorance as condition, volitional formations’: whether there is an arising of Tathāgatas or no arising of Tathāgatas, that element still persists, the stableness of the Dhamma, the fixed course of the Dhamma, specific conditionality. A Tathāgata awakens to this and breaks through to it).²⁸

It is evident that the Buddha enumerated here that the causal order in the twelve links is a fixed nature and unchanging pattern operating in the field of emergence of the empirical existence of the being,

²³ Karunadasa (2010).

²⁴ “*Yab pratītyasamudpādab - sūnyatāṃ tām pracakṣmabe Sā prajñaptirupādāya – pratīpad saiva madhyamā*” in Mūla-mādhyamaka-kārikā, dedicatory verse.

²⁵ Kalupahana (1999: 31, 78, 232).

²⁶ S 25.

²⁷ S II 26.

²⁸ S- trsl. 551.

This causal order referred to twelve-fold formula became more popular amongst Buddhists rather than the theoretical formula known as the theory of dependent origination. This nature has to be distinguished from the causal order which govern the entire phenomenal world for it refers to the reality of the world. Causality or conditionality which is the innermost reality of existence is made explicit through two main characteristics that are emergence and cessation. This was suggested by the Buddha in two phrases in the *Kaccāyanagottasutta*: '*lokasamudayaṃ kho kaccāyana sammappaññāya passato*'- (he who with right insight sees the uprising of the world as it really is) and '*lokanirodham kho kaccāyana sammappaññāya passato*'- (he who with right insight sees the passing away of the world as it really is) The fact that both emergence and cessation together constitute existence is shown even in the first sermon of the Buddha when it says: '*yaṃ kiñci samudayadhammaṃ sabbaṃ taṃ nirodhadhammaṃ*' (whatever has the nature of emergence that all has the nature of cessation).²⁹

If reality, according to Buddhism, is taken to be causality or conditionality, characteristics of emergence and cessation of causally arisen phenomenon must be considered as the way of manifestation of reality but, not reality itself. The term *anatta* in Buddhist sense finds its significance mainly because of the nature of change of conditioned phenomena. Therefore, 'doctrine by the middle' which negates both existence and non-existence primarily refers to the doctrine of *anatta* and not to the doctrine of *paṭicca-samuppāda*. As non-substantiality (*anatta*) is a characteristic of conditionality, its relation to the doctrine of *paṭicca-samuppāda* too cannot be repudiated. This reveals to us that the doctrine of *anatta* in Buddhism is not the mere negation of the concept of soul but it has a deeper meaning rooted in the doctrine of *paṭicca-samuppāda*.

Section II: *Punabbhava*

It is not an exaggeration to say that the non-soul doctrine has succeeded to draw much wider attention of the religious circles in India over a century after the Buddha, overcoming even the doctrine of *paṭicca-samuppāda*, a core teaching of Buddhism. It became a topic for much discussions, debates and controversies not only among non-Buddhists but also among Buddhist themselves. This state of affairs has

²⁹ The *Dhammacakkappavattanasutta*, S. V. 420.

arisen not without reason. While Buddhism accepts non-substantiality of the existence, it claims continuation of existence throughout the *samsāra* irrespective of the physical death of the beings. This view looks like much similar to eternalistic theory of transmigration. We came to know that Buddhism rejects the eternalism (*sassata-vādins*) which claims that everlasting soul transmigrates leaving out old body taking a new body. This transmigration of soul is named as *punarjanma* or *punarutpatti* by eternalists. Though early Buddhist thinkers refute the notion called *punarjanma* or *punarutpatti*, they admit the re-existence of the beings calling it *punabbhava*. It is certain that to those who do not understand properly the relation between the doctrine of dependent origination and that of non-soul, Buddhist claims of the re-existence of beings seems to be paradoxical. That was the reason why non-soul doctrine became a subject matter for much discussion, debates and controversies.

Affirmation of the validity of soullessness in relation to renewed existence of the beings seems to be the major issue arising from non-soul doctrine, because it leads to a question as to how a person who has no enduring essence can have a re-existence or rebirth after his death. To put it in another way, how can a being maintain his identity between preceding life and succeeding life, if Buddhism affirms *samsāric* existence of the being? Furthermore, the theory of *kamma* accepted by Buddhists seems to be another challenge to the doctrine of non-substantiality as it requires the explanation to the question as to how the action done in the past gives its result to the same person who has done the action if there is no continuity of same person or substance existing throughout the *samsāra*. Debates discussions and controversies have taken place as there was no satisfactory answer found in early Buddhist discourses to clear out those ambiguities involved with the doctrine of non-substantiality. However, we cannot find sufficient evidence to show that this matter was subjected to discussions among the disciples of the Buddha or other non-Buddhist circles with the exception of the case referred to Bhikkhu Sāti during the life time of the Buddha.

According to the Mahātaṇhāsankhayasutta of Majjhimanikāya, a monk called Sāti, the son of the fisherman is reported to have held a wrong view that “As I know the teaching of the Blessed One this consciousness transmigrates through existence, not anything else”.³⁰

³⁰ M I 256.

This suggests that the monk Sāti accepted the Buddha's analysis of being into five groups of aggregates instead of soul but, misunderstood the nature of existence of the consciousness and held the view that consciousness is the one going through the round of birth. Referring to this K. R. Norman observes:

This would appear to be a recollection by Sāti of some such statements as those found in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad that *viññāna* continues: *idam mahad bhūtam anantam apāram viññānaghanaeva* [2.4.12], "This great being, endless, unlimited, consisting of nothing but intelligence"; *sa viññāno bhavati, sa viññānam evānvavakrāmati* [4.4.2], "He becomes one with intelligence; what had intelligence departs with him"; *sa vā eṣa mahān aja ātmā yo 'yaṃ viññānamayaṃyaḥ prāṇeṣu* [4.4.22], "Verily, he is the great unborn Self who is this (person) consisting of knowledge amongst the senses".³¹

However, in the case of Sāti, the Buddha did not explain the way the round of birth comes to be, but he reaffirmed his stance on the conditional existence. Though the question of identity between the deceased and the renewed existence remained as it was in the background, there cannot be seen any attempt made to further explanation of the doctrine of non-substantiality in relation to the re-existence of the being, until scholastic Buddhism came into being. Emergence of Abhidhamma literature in scholastic Buddhism seems to be a further attempt to provide full-fledged elucidation to the doctrine of non-substantiality based on the same method followed by the Buddha. That is none other than analysis of empirical existence into different constituents such as *khandha* (aggregates), *āyatana* (faculties) and *dhātu* (elements). It is believed that Abhidhamma schools, Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda reached to the ultimate irreducible basic factors known as dharma-s into which the whole of phenomenal existence can be resolved. The aim of analyzing the empiric individuality into such basic factors was to confirm the doctrine of non-substantiality by pointing out that there is no enduring entity rather than the basic factors onto which the concept of personality is superimposed.

Though the Abhidhammic analysis of being into irreducible factors aimed at mainly the reestablishment of doctrine of non-substantiality, it is more likely that it had a second purpose too. That is

³¹ Norman (1990).

to say to find the answer to the question of *punabbhava* and its relation to moral causation. It is quite evident from the Abhidhammic descriptions made on the nature of existence of *dbharma-s* which are supposed to be basic factors. Both Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda equally accept the real existence of *Dharma-s*. Difference with regard to the existence of *dbharma-s* between two schools is that Theravādins speak of the present existence whereas Sarvāstivādins speak of tri-temporal existence of the *dbharma-s*. According to Theravāda, *dbharma-s* do not exist in the past and in the future but only in the present. Their answer to the question as to how they exist without any relation to the past is that *dbharma-s* come into existence without having been in the past (*abuttvā sambhonti*) and cease to be after having been (*buttvā paṭiventī*).³² *dbharma-s* come to arise as the result of 'processes taking place due to the interplay of a multitude of conditions'.³³

It is true that the Theravāda interpretation of *dbharma-s* does not lead openly to a solution to the question in point, but it implies a continuation of the existence of a series of *dbharma-s* as it is considered to be a process of the interaction of a multitude of conditions. It is the same series of the *dbharma-s* to which we intrude temporal divisions as past, present and future. According to the Theravāda, time divisions are not themselves realities in the ontological sense. They are considered to be the nominal realities psychologically born. Therefore, compatible with the Theravāda Abhidhamma interpretation of *dbharma-s* we can say that the present life of a being and the future life after death is nothing but a continual existence of a series of *dbharma-s*.

The Sarvāstivāda point of view, in this respect, is quite different. They try to interpret *dbharma-s* on the temporal basis. For them *dbharma-s* appear in accordance with the time period in their modes without any change to the substance of *dbharma-s*. While a dharma continues to persist in all the three periods of time in its essence, it actualizes only in the present moment in its mode. Unlike Theravādins, Sarvāstivādins accept a duality of *dbharma-s* as substance (*dravya*) and mode (*bhāva*). A dharma as a substance exists unchanged in all three time divisions as it is and takes deferent forms or modes as appearance or phenomenon in the present moment. This distinction made by the Sarvāstivādins to their Dharma-theory was the reason why they were known as Sarvāstivādins (those who accept the theory that all exists

³² Vism 410; Abhidhammatthavikāsinī (417).

³³ Karunadasa (2010: 22).

in all time).

Though this theory leads to a kind of substantiality which goes against the doctrine of non-substantiality (*anatta*) of early Buddhism, it is more likely that these thinkers had the idea to prove the validity of karma and its efficacy to give rise to a new stream of existence (*punarbhava*) through their theory of tri-temporality. It is clear that Sarvāstivādins have been influenced from early Buddhist teachings which denote the relation between past life and the present life as well as present life and the future life. Concepts such as *kamma*, *punabbhava*, memory (*sati*), retro-cognition (*pubbe nivāsānussati*), divine eye (*dibba-cakkhu*) and knowing birth and death of beings (*cutūpapāta nāṇa*) directly refer to the existence of temporal divisions. Therefore, it was not difficult for Sarvāstivādins to formulate the theory of tri-temporality of dharma-s on the basis of such teachings of the Buddha.

Among the scholastic Buddhists who made a clear attempt to bridge the gap between non-soul theory and concept of *punabbhava*, personalists (*pudgala-vādins*) come first in the history of Buddhist dispensation. Buddhist sects known as Vātsīputīya and Sāmmitīya are mainly considered to be *pudgalavādins* whose main tenet was that besides constantly changing aggregates there is a unchanging factor of the beings which, is neither the same as five aggregates nor different from them. This unchanging factor referred to as *pudgala* (person) is the element which bridges the gap between present life and future life and goes through the round of birth until the liberation where it remain forever. According to them, though the five aggregates which are the constituents of the being are subject to change and death, 'person' (*pudgala*) exists in a true sense (*sacchikatṭha*) and in ultimate sense (*paramatṭha*). There is no doubt that the term 'pudgala' used in the discourses of the Buddha in the conventional sense has been taken by the Pudgalavādins in the ultimate sense for the formulation of their concept of *pudgala*. But, it is certain that their intention lying behind their theory was to provide a rational explanation to the question of *punabbhava*; in this regard Karunadasa observes:

The main argument of the Pudgalavādins, those who believed in the ultimate reality of the person, is that in order to give a rational explanation to concepts such as moral responsibility and rebirth it is necessary to postulate a constant factor besides

the constantly changing *dhammas*.³⁴

Postulation of constant factor called ‘*puḍgala*’ by the Pudgalavādins, though it was rejected by other Buddhist sects considering it as a veiled theory of soul, was a leading factor for Theravādins to find a more precise psychological theory in order to answer satisfactorily the question of *punabbhava* attached to non-soul theory. Theravāda theory of function of consciousness is not a separate theory from their *Dhamma* theory mentioned above other than a sub theory subsumed under the *Dhamma* theory. Concept of *Pudgala* seemed to be led the Theravāda Abhidhammikā-s to further clarification of the nature of the *dhamma*-s³⁵ in order to invalidate the Pudgalavāda. As a result, they were able to present an impersonal continuous psychological process in consonant with early Buddhist theory of conditionality. That is what we can call Theravāda theory of cognition or perception.

Theravāda theory of cognition amounts to a psychological process taking place through the interplay of causally connected *dhamma*-s without intervention of any undercurrent agent or substance. In point of fact, this process is an inevitable result of an interaction of two orders recognized by the Buddha as two governing principles which activate the human life for its continuity without having their external manifestation. Those two orders are none other than the psychological order (*citta-niyāma*) and the moral order (*kamma-niyāma*) which are considered to be mutually conducive to each other in bringing in a psycho-physical processes which are known as life process of an individual. It should be enumerated here that the moral order as recognized by Buddhism is not something which determines the position of the life series of the individual existing outside of him. It is not an agent as well, whose acts affect the life of the individual. Field of *Kamma* (*saṃkhāra*) and its effects is considered to be the moral order in Buddhism. *Kamma*-s or *Saṃkhārā*-s are the mental formations generated by the cognitive process of the consciousness specially, in the stages of *Javanā*-s. The special characteristics of those *kammā*-s are that when they are ripen they produce the resultant consciousness in the mind. Effect of the *kamma* means the resultant consciousness produced by the *Kamma*. Therefore, moral order can be recognized as a principle operating within the psychological order.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 23-24.

³⁵ Ibid. p. 23.

According to the doctrine of non-soul, the main issue of rebirth mainly depends on the question as to how an individual is connected to his next existence after his death. From the Buddhist angle this is a question wrongly formulated. Its correct form should be something like how a unit of psycho-physical process gets connected to another new unit of the same process. For Buddhism an individual is nothing other than a process of psycho-physical units which can be analyzed into five groups of aggregates or in other words into *dhamma*-s that exist as a process of causal genesis. This process is set in motion through alternative flow of two streams of consciousness. Though it is said that there are two streams of consciousness for the purpose of easier understanding, in the real sense there is only one consciousness which operates in two different ways. One way is to appear as empirical consciousness which always arises taking empirical objects leading to a cognitive process. This is called process-consciousness (*vīthi-citta*)³⁶ and other way is to appear as the process free-consciousness (*vīthi-mutta*)³⁷ which is not arisen through empirical objects.³⁸ In between two process-consciousness' there is always process-free consciousness. "It is only when process-consciousness consisting of a cognitive process subsides, that process-free consciousness supervenes".³⁹ In the real sense this process-free consciousness is the basic consciousness which is acquired by an individual with his conception in the mother's womb. It remains throughout the whole life process 'as a placid flow from birth to death unless it is not interrupted if the active process-consciousness were to operate'.⁴⁰ Therefore, this consciousness comes to be known as life-continuum (*Bhavaṅga*) consciousness.

Functions of the life continuum consciousness is delineated by

³⁶ Process-consciousness (*vīthi-citta*) is the term used in Abhidhamma to indicate the consciousness which occurs in the cognitive process. The consciousness which arises on an object other than the object of the birth linking consciousness (*paṭisandhi-citta*) runs several mind moments which are considered to be the cognitive events in a series until it gets the cognition of the object. Cognition of the object is the cumulative result of a continuum of cognitive events. According to the level of intensity of the sense object, amount of mind-moments are determined.

³⁷ Process-free consciousness (*Vīthi-mutta*) is the term given to the consciousness when it runs without cognitive events. It does not take empirical objects as its conditions to arise. In between two empirical consciousness it arises taking the selfsame object of the birth linking consciousness.

³⁸ Empirical objects are the sensory objects that come to contact with sensory organs.

³⁹ Karunadasa (2010: 140).

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Buddhagosa in his Visuddhimagga as follows:

When the *paṭisandhi-citta* has ceased, then, following on whatever kind of rebirth-consciousness it may be, the same kinds, being the result of the same *kamma* whatever it may be, occur as *bhavaṅga-citta* with that same object; and again those same kinds. And as long as there is no other kind of arising of consciousness to interrupt the continuity, they also go on occurring endlessly in periods of dreamless sleep, etc., like the current of a river.⁴¹

According to the Theravāda Abhidhamma, the last consciousness of the dying person which is known as *cuti-citta* arises on the object provided by the moral law and exists in a moment as a process-free consciousness and comes to an end giving rise to another process-free consciousness known as rebirth-linking consciousness (*paṭisandhi-citta*) taking the same object that of *cuti*-consciousness as its condition. This consciousness when it is conjoined with its concomitants which make possible the new life has to arise and vanish again and again until it is disturbed by the process-consciousness in the new life process. Providing an interpretation to a passage of Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha by Anuruddha, Bhikkhu Bodhi makes clear the Abhidhamma view of arising rebirth-linking consciousness in the following manner:

Following the dissolution moment of the death consciousness, there arises in a new existence the rebirth-linking consciousness “apprehending the object thus obtained” in the final *javana* process of the previous life. This *citta* is “supported by the heart-base” in realms which include matter, but is “baseless” in the immaterial realms. It is “generated by a volitional formation”, i.e., the *kamma* of the previous *javana* process, which in turn is grounded in the twin roots of the round of existence, “latent ignorance and latent craving”. The rebirth consciousness is “conjoined with its mental adjuncts”, i.e., the *cetasikas*, which it serves as a forerunner not in the sense that it proceeds them, but in that it acts as “their locus” (or “foundation”).⁴²

Introduction of life continuum consciousness (*bhavaṅga-citta*) into the psychological domain by the Theravāda Abhidhammikā-s is the contribution that they have made to bridge the gap between the death

⁴¹ Vism XIV 114.

⁴² Bhikkhu Bodhi (2006: 223).

and birth in order to prove the validity of soullessness introduced by the Buddha in the empirical existence of the beings. It is more likely that by accepting life continuum consciousness, Theravādins tried further to prove that the new life of an individual is not a new life in the real sense rather than the continuation of psychophysical process throughout the *saṃsāra*, in compatible with the saying of the Buddha that “*Bhikkhus*, this *saṃsāra* is without discoverable beginning. A first point is not discerned of beings roaming and wandering on hindered by ignorance and fettered by craving”.⁴³

It is not an out of place here to examine the question as to how far Theravāda interpretation of life process is in line with early Buddhist teaching. In early Buddhist discourses we cannot find the direct systematic explanation given by the Buddha or by any other immediate disciple to the question as to how can a rebirth of an individual be possible if the individual is taken to be an impersonal life process without having an endurable entity. This question is not pertaining to the Buddha as it is based on the curiosity of people. The Buddha was not interested in satisfying the curiosity of people. On the other hand, the Buddha has mainly focused his teaching to the burning problems in the present existence of the individual. He did not pay his attention to the questions like from where individual has come or where he has to go. Anyhow it should be mentioned here that there are adequate materials scattered in different discourses to delineate early Buddhist point of view about the existence of the round of birth and death of a person, which takes place in accordance with the theory of dependent origination.

Though it is not so explicit, the Buddha has delineated the way how the mass of suffering comes to exist in the twelve-linked formula of *paṭicca-samuppāda*. This twelve-linked formula can be considered as the practical employment of *Paṭicca-samuppāda* by the Buddha to explain the *saṃsāric* existence of the being. It is to be mentioned here that some modern scholars are of the opinion that twelve-linked formula can be applied only to the present existence and not to the whole *saṃsāric* existence. Buddhadasa says in his book ‘*Paṭicca-samuppāda*, Practical Dependent Origination’:

To explain *Paṭicca-samuppāda* in a way that it covers three life

⁴³ S II 178: “*Anamataggāyaṃ bhikkhave saṃsāro pubbakoṭi napaññāyati avijjānīvaraṇānaṃ sattānaṃ-taṇhāsamojjanānaṃ saṃdhāvataṃ saṃsarataṃ*”.

times is wrong. It is not according to the principles of the Pāli Scriptures. It is wrong according to letter and the spirit of the Scriptures.⁴⁴

There is no doubt that Bhikkhu Buddhāsa has in this respect, completely misunderstood the twelve-linked *paṭicca-samuppāda* and held the wrong view without discerning the proper intention of the Buddha.⁴⁵

In the twelve-linked formula relations mentioned as *saṅkhāra-paccayā viññāṇaṃ* (because of *Saṅkhāra* consciousness comes to be) and *viññāṇa-paccayā nāmarūpaṃ* (because of the consciousness name and form come into being) have special reference to the link between past existence and the present existence of a being. Here term *saṅkhāra* means the *kamma*. In different discourse the Buddha revealed the fact that the *kamma* or *saṅkhāra* is the condition for arising new consciousness in the re-existence of a being. The following discourse quite sufficiently discloses the above mentioned fact:

*yañ ca kbo bhikkhave ceteti yañ ca pakappeti yañ ca anuseti. ārammaṇam etam hoti viññāṇassa t̥bitiyā. ārammaṇe sati patit̥thā viññāṇassa hoti. tasmim̐ patit̥thite viññāṇe virūlbe āyatim̐ punabbhavabhinibbatti hoti. āyatim̐ punabbhavābhinibbattiyā sati āyatim̐ jarāmaranaṃ sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā sambhavantī.*⁴⁶

(*Bhikkhus*, what one intends and what one plans and whatever one has a tendency towards: this becomes a basis for the maintenance of consciousness. When there is a basis there is a support for the establishing of consciousness. When consciousness is established and has come to growth, there is the production of future renewed existence. When there is a production of future of renewed existence, future birth, aging-and-death, sorrow lamentation, pain displeasure, and despair come to be. Such is the origin of this whole mass of suffering).⁴⁷

In this discourse, terms ‘*ceteti*’, ‘*pakappeti*’, ‘and *anuseti*’ were used to show the way of producing *saṅkhāra* or *kamma*. Here it is vividly made

⁴⁴ Bhikkhu Buddhāsa, *paṭicca-samuppāda, Practical Dependent Origination*, Published by Vuddhidhamma Fund, P. 63.

⁴⁵ Abhayawansa (2009: 439-456).

⁴⁶ S I 65.

⁴⁷ S-trsl. 576.

clear that consciousness which arises on the condition of *saṅkhāra* is the condition for future renewed existence. This is undeniably a further explanation to the *saṅkhāra-paccayā viññāṇaṃ* and *viññāṇa-paccayā nāmarūpaṃ* in the twelve-linked formula made by the Buddha. *Nāmarūpa* in this context represents the parental contribution which should be accompanied with the consciousness (*viññāṇa*) for the new life to be born in the new existence. Dhammavihāri Thero who made a classic interpretation to the doctrine of *Paṭicca-samuppāda* remarks in this regard:

Saṅkhāra of each one of us continually builds up and nurtures [*saṅkhāra-paccayā viññāṇaṃ*] each one's life-carrier consciousness or *saṃvattanika-viññāṇa* enabling it to push human life from one birth to another through bhava [*bhava-paccayā jāti*]. This is what makes sense in the *paṭicca-samuppāda* series when it says *saṅkhāra-paccayā viññāṇaṃ viññāṇa-paccayā nāmarūpaṃ*. *Viññāṇa* plus *nāmarūpa* in this context marks the unmistakable joint-link between two life units [external from the preceding life and internal in the genesis of new life in mother's womb] of a human in the *saṃsāric* journey in *bhava*.⁴⁸

In no uncertain words, the consciousness arisen from *saṅkhāra* mentioned in above *sutta* passage is responsible for the renewed existence. According to the Buddha, it does not arise alone, but, together with name and form (*nāmarūpa*). This consciousness and the *nāmarūpa* become mutually conditions to each other. Without *nāmarūpa* as the condition consciousness does not come into being and in the same way without the consciousness as the condition *nāmarūpa* does not come into exist. Reciprocity of consciousness and name and form is enumerated in the Mahānidānasutta⁴⁹ by the Buddha and in the Nalākālāpiyasutta⁵⁰ by Sāriputta. They cannot have independent existence. The reciprocal relation between consciousness and name and form is considered to be decisive factor in Buddhist theory of renewed existence (*punabbhava*). The Buddha in several occasions tried to emphasize that the relation between consciousness and name-and-form shown in the *paṭicca-samuppāda* series is none other than the link between preceding life and the new life. Nidānasutta is more particular about it and presents the teaching of the Buddha on the matter how

⁴⁸ Dhammavihari (2006: 12).

⁴⁹ D II 56.

⁵⁰ S II 112ff.

new birth in another existence of a being takes place with the combination of *viññāṇa* and *nāma-rūpa*, in a dialogue between the Buddha and Ānanda:

‘From consciousness as a requisite condition comes name-and-form.’ Thus it has been said. And this is the way to understand how from consciousness as a requisite condition comes name-and-form. If consciousness were not to descend into the mother’s womb, would name-and-form take shape in the womb?

‘No, lord’.

‘If, after descending into the womb, consciousness were to depart, would name-and-form be produced for this world?’

‘No, lord’.

‘If the consciousness of the young boy or girl were to be cut off, would name-and-form ripen, grow, and reach maturity?’

‘No, lord’.

‘Thus this is a cause, this is a reason, this is an origination, this is a requisite condition for name-and-form, i.e., consciousness’.

‘From name-and-form as a requisite condition comes consciousness.’ Thus it has been said. And this is the way to understand how from name-and-form as a requisite condition comes consciousness. If consciousness were not to gain a foothold in name-and-form, would a coming-into-play of the origination of birth, aging, death, and stress in the future be discerned;

‘No, lord’.

‘Thus this is a cause, this is a reason, this is an origination, this is a requisite condition for consciousness, i.e., name-and-form’.

‘This is the extent to which there is birth, aging, death, passing away, and re-arising. This is the extent to which there are means of designation, expression, and delineation. This is the extent to which the sphere of discernment extends, the extent to which the cycle revolves for the manifesting (discernibility) of this world — i.e., name-and-form together with consciousness;⁵¹

⁵¹ D. II. p. 55. Translated by Tanissaro Bhikkhu, <http://www.accesstoinsight.org/tipitaka/dn/dn.15.0.than.html>.

The question “if consciousness were not to descend into the mother’s womb, would name-and-form take shape in the womb?” raised by the Buddha quite aptly implies Buddhist view as to how a rebirth or re-existence comes into being. In the term ‘*nāma-rūpa*’, *nāma* denotes *vedanā* (feeling) *saññā* (perception), *cetanā* (volition), *phassa* (contact) and *manasikāra* (attention) while *rūpa* refers to the four great material elements and the materiality that depends on them⁵² Those items coming under name-and-form (*nāma-rūpa*) are not considered to be inherited by the consciousness as it is originated taking *saṅkhāra* as its requisite condition. It is true that the consciousness and name-and-form arise simultaneously being the mutual conditions to each other and hence both cannot be separated into two independent entities. But it should be remembered that if they are separately taken into consideration for the sake of analysis, consciousness comes from the direction of past life while name-and-form come from the newly formed life potential in the mother’s womb.⁵³

The fact that when the consciousness based on *saṅkhāra* exists then only name-and-form come into occupy in the consciousness is again confirmed by the Buddha in the *Cetanāsutta* of *Samyuttanikāya* as follows:

*Yañca bhikkhave ceteti yañca pakappeti yañca anuseti arammanam etam hoti viññāṇassa t̥hītiyā ārammaṇe sati paṭiṭṭhā viññāṇassa hoti tasmim̐ paṭiṭṭhite viññāṇe virūlbe nāma-rūpassa avakkhanti hoti.*⁵⁴

(Bhikkhus, what one intends and what one plans, and whatever one has a tendency: this becomes a basis for the maintenance of consciousness. When there is a basis, there is a support for the establishing of consciousness. When consciousness is established and has come to growth, there is a decent of name-and-form⁵⁵)

According to Buddhism, cessation of suffering (*dukkha-nirodha*) too finds its significance when the consciousness cannot get connected with the name-and-form. If an individual comes to the position that his *saṅkhārā*-s are not occupied in the consciousness, then his consciousness further cannot associate with the name-and-form. That was

⁵² S II 3-4.

⁵³ Dhammavihari (2006: 1-22).

⁵⁴ S II 67.

⁵⁵ S-trsl. 577.

pointed out by the Buddha in the same Cetanāsutta of the Nidānavagga in Saṃyuttanikāya as follows:

*Yo ca kbo bhikkhve no ceteti no ca pakappeti no ca anuseti ārammaṇaṃ etaṃ na hoti viññānassa ṭhitiyā. ārammaṇe asati patiṭṭhā viññānassa no hoti. Tad appatiṭṭhite viññāṇe avirūlbe nāmarūpas-sa avakkhanti na hoti nāmarūpa-nirodhā salāyatana-nirodho -pe-
evam etassa kevalassa dukkakkhandhassa nirodo hoti.⁵⁶*

(But, bhikkhus, when one does not intend. And one does not plan, and one does not have a tendency toward anything, no basis exists for the maintenance of consciousness. When there is no basis, there is no support for the establishing of consciousness. When consciousness is unestablished and does not come to growth, there is no descend of name-and-form. With the cessation of name-and-form comes cessation of the six sense bases...Such is the cessation of this whole mass of suffering⁵⁷)

Therefore, according to the available evidences from the early Buddhist discourses referred to above, we can come to the conclusion that the new life in another existence emerges through the interplay of consciousness and name-and-form. Commenting on the Mahānidānasutta in particular and the relevant early Buddhist discourse in general in relation to the concept of Punabava, Dhammavihari Thera observes”

The Mahānidānasutta is very empathetic on the mutual interdependence or reciprocity of these two items of *viññāṇa* and *nāmarūpa* for the genesis and continuance of *samsāric* human life [... *ettāvata vaṭṭam vaṭṭati itthattaṃ paññāpanāya yadidaṃ nāmarūpaṃ saba viññāṇena*. See DN. 11. 56 ff.].⁵⁸

The passage of the Mahānidānasutta shown in the above quotation quite clearly claims that the round of birth and death revolves (*vaṭṭam vaṭṭati*) to the extent that *nāmarūpa* get connected with the consciousness. *Vaṭṭa* is another name for *samsāra* in Buddhism. Revolt of *samsāra* is the result of the consciousness accompanied by name-and-form which is prepared in the mother’s womb in the way that was pointed out in the Mahātaṇhāsamkhayasutta. Therefore this consciousness has to be distinguished from the empirical consciousness which finds expression through the sense faculties and their correspondent sense

⁵⁶ S II 66.

⁵⁷ S-trsl. 577.

⁵⁸ Dhammavihari (2006: 4).

objects. The consciousness which comes to play the rebirth linking (*paṭisandhi*) activity is not regarded as a process consciousness in the sense that it is empirically not known by the Theravāda Abhidhamma. It is considered to be the life continuum consciousness (*bhavaṅga*) as it runs through the whole life time repeatedly taking the same object until the death of the being. This idea is not a creation of Theravādins for it has been taken from the early Buddhist discourses though they have suggested and accepted a designation to it as *bhavaṅga*.

That the existence of the being is not limited to one life span limited to a period between birth and death is strongly suggested by early Buddhism as it is an invariable implication from the original teachings of the Buddha (i.e. the Four Noble Truths). Acknowledgement of *samsāra* as a real phenomenon itself suggests to the fact that the suffering remains in many round of birth and death until it ceased to be. The consciousness hindered by ignorance and fettered by craving considered to be leading force which maintains the round of birth and death. Further, it is said that one can stop her/his re-existence (*punabbhava*) only when one eradicates all the *āsavās* (*āsavakkhaya*) from his consciousness. Sampasādaniyasutta in Dīghanikāya talks about a stream of consciousness calling it as *viññāṇa-sota* which is unbroken and established in this life and the next life as follows:

*Purisassa ca viññāṇa-sotam pajānāti ubhayato abbhocchinnam idhaloke patitṭhitaṅ ca paraloke patitṭhitaṅ ca*⁵⁹

(Unbroken stream of human consciousness as established in this world and in the next).⁶⁰

Ānenjasappāyasutta of Majjhimanikāya also recognizes the same kind of consciousness by the name of *saṃvattanika-viññāṇa*⁶¹ which denotes the meaning of *samsāric* Life-carrier Consciousness.⁶² Early Buddhist concept of trans-*samsāric* psychic-component of consciousness was accepted by almost all Buddhist schools alike. If such a concept did not appear in the early Buddhist discourses, later Buddhist schools would not accept similar concept in their philosophical discourses. In the equal emphasis, in this way, we can find *bija-citta* in Sautrāntika tradition, *mūla-vijñāṇa* in Mahāsaṅghika tradition and *ālaya-vijñāṇa*

⁵⁹ D III 105.

⁶⁰ D-trsl. 420.

⁶¹ M II 262.

⁶² Dhammavihari (2006: 3).

in Yogacāra tradition. Though they describe it different way to each other, there is no doubt that they equally attempted to prove that there is a consciousness which bears karmic seeds generated by the empirical consciousness, that lead to fruition into new life processes without break down at the death. In this respect, it can be said that the Theravāda tradition seems to be more efficient in presenting a systematic theory of *punbhava* based on their scriptures in consonant with the doctrine of non-soul (*anatta*) in Buddhism. The purpose of Theravāda theory of cognition formulated by Abhidhammikā-s seems to be explained not only the human experience but also the continual existence of consciousness throughout saṃsāra.

ABBREVIATIONS

- A *Aṅguttaranikāya*. Morris, Richard and Hardy Edmund., eds. 1885-1910. *Aṅguttaranikāya* 6 vols. London/Oxford: Pali Text Society
- D *Dīghanikāya*. Rhys Davids, Thomas William/ Carpenter, Joseph Estlin., eds. 1889-1910. *Dīghanikāya*. 3 vols. London: Pali Text Society
- Dhamma Dhamma - Man Religion Society Governance in Buddhism
- M *Majjhimanikāya*. Trenckner, Vilhelm and Chalmers, Robert., eds. 1888-1925. *Majjhimanikāya*. 4 vols. London: Pali Text Society
- S *Samyuttanikāya*. Feer, Léon., ed. 1884-1904. *Samyuttanikāya*. 6 vols. London: Pali Text Society

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Towards a Buddhist Social Anthropology

Will Tuladhar-Douglas

Abstract

This article attempts to advance both anthropology and Buddhist philosophy through a mutual critique strongly informed by recent advances in biology. It is proposed that Buddhism must abandon its pre-21st century understanding of the human as a single organism, in the face of biology's new understanding that all organisms are symbiotic; and that Buddhism's relational and biocentric logic can assist anthropology to reground itself in post-human and fully relational agency. A side effect is that Buddhism is shown to be the best presently available ground from which to practice both anthropology and biology.

My intention in this paper is to bring a post-Enlightenment academic discipline, sociocultural anthropology, into fruitful conversation with the Buddhist philosophy of persons, a more ancient discipline, in the hope of improving both. Anthropology and religious studies, as academic disciplines legitimated in a post-Enlightenment political system, have often been used by colonial powers as a tool to contain and limit the transformative power of Buddhist theory and practice. Here, instead, I hope to use Buddhist theory about persons (the Buddhist equivalent of Christian 'theological anthropology') to liberate sociocultural anthropology from some of its present discontents, especially those that emerge from its unquestioned inheritance of human exclusivism. When we have begun the work of unshackling anthropology, we will in turn discover that this conversation also asks that we decolonize Buddhist studies—that we dismantle the process by which 'serious' scholars in a global context are called upon to objectify Buddhism before beginning to study with, in, or through its many doctrines, insights and debates. No Scottish, American or French scholar is ever asked to justify why they think and write from the particular intellectual history that includes the classics in Greek and Latin, the Reformation, European Enlightenment, and establishment

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of modern nation-states; but any scholar hoping for a global audience who chooses to write from the ground of some other intellectual history does in fact have to explain and justify their beginnings, be they Thai, Japanese, Tibetan or Newar. Hence we also find that we may begin to liberate ourselves from a historicist trap that prevents us, Buddhist scholars of Buddhism and many other disciplines, from theoretical innovation and fresh ethical work. This might include condemning the appalling political forms that have recently emerged from the colonization of Buddhism, such as Buddhist bigotry and ethnic nationalism. My personal aspiration is that it opens the door to an authentic Buddhist environmental ethics, freed either from being a 'resource for ethics' or having to express itself in Western terms.

This paper is a thank-offering and memorial for the Nineteenth Supreme Patriarch. It was never my good fortune to meet him. When my family and I were unexpectedly marooned in Bangkok in 2012, we discovered that Wat Bovoranives, where he was still abbot, was an island of forest tranquility in the midst of a Bangkok that had grown in size, pollution and confusion. The conversations that took place in those months with colleagues in monasteries and universities—some of whom were indigenous Himalayan Newars—were a precious solace. We discovered, when I was invited to give a *dhamma-desana* in the Nepali language, that Wat Bovoranives had even become a sanctuary for the Burmese Nepali community. Now, I am hardly the first person to observe the capacity of Thai society to generate new and powerful conversations between Buddhist scholars and conservation activists—Don Swearer, Les Sponsel and Poranee Natadecha-Sponsel, Susan Darlington, and the International Network of Engaged Buddhists all make this point in different ways—but I do hope that something stronger will emerge. We do need a genuinely Buddhist, international scholarship that eschews the sectarian tendencies inherited from European notions of religious identity, recognising and harnessing the converging and multiplying strengths of many distinct Buddhist intellectual histories from the several literary cultures of Southeast Asia, the Himalayas, East Asia and beyond as we engage with the ethical, philosophical and material crises of the twenty-first century.

The central project here is an attempt to draw Buddhist philosophy and sociocultural anthropology into a diffractive encounter. I am here drawing on Karen Barad's notion of *diffract*ion, as opposed

to *reflection*, as a governing metaphor that indicates reading projects or disciplines through each other without privileging either, in full awareness of the political and material effects and contingencies of disciplinary boundaries. She writes, ‘the point is not merely that knowledge practices have material consequences but that *practices of knowing are specific material engagements that participate in (re)configuring the world*’¹ (Barad’s emphasis). This claim is commonsensical for Buddhists, who are well aware that awareness, the senses, and that of which we are aware are entangled and interdependent, and thus that training one’s awareness affects the world. We do not consider enough, though, that the way in which we know about Buddhism in an academic context is shaped by material traditions and in turn constrains or opens up new possibilities for what we might do as scholar-activists. For anthropologists working in the Western academy—and by attraction, those anthropologists from a variety of non-Western backgrounds who aspire to the Western style of academia and its associated material comforts—there are any number of inherited assumptions that constrain how we are able to think with our informants. One particular inheritance, the rule of human exclusivism, has come to be an increasingly difficult legacy for anthropology to insert into each study and reassert as a founding principle, and I hope to exploit this difficulty as the crack through which to achieve my refractive exercise.

In anthropology, the principle of human exclusivism means that anthropology is about *human* societies and *human* culture. Anthropology prides itself on the detailed, patient learning of the lifeways, rules, bodily habits, language, even the mental habits of another society through immersion. The process is often described as a kind of apprenticeship; the researcher (a human) goes to stay with a host community and accepts that they are themselves childlike in terms of the host culture. She struggles to learn correct physical and verbal etiquette for eating, walking, asking questions, behaving politely within or across genders, recognising authority and so on. Through learning the language and the proper physical decorum, or so the theory goes, the researcher-apprentice will learn to see the world in a manner somewhat like the way in which her host society does. This process is called participant observation, and while it is usually supplemented with interviews, questionnaires, listening to traditional stories, learning important craft skills and a range of other

¹ Barad (2007: 90).

formal techniques for discovering cultural patterns, the assumption is that the researcher will somehow observe herself as she changes to conform with the explicit and implicit norms of the society who is hosting her. Yet there are profound limits to this process imposed by the principle of human exclusivism. If anthropology is supposed to be about *human* society, what should the researcher do when the host society understand itself to be comprised of a wide range of persons that extends beyond the human in some respects, or—going the other way—refuses to regard all humans as persons? I do not think I am alone among anthropologists in having been told, with no insult intended, that I am not actually a person. So, too, many communities have kinship relations or ritual relations with people—crows, cows, possessing deities, mountains—who simply cannot be people according to the laws and customs that frame my university, its city, and the financial and legal transactions that bound my research. The usual answer is to relegate all the nonhuman persons to the domain of belief—this is Tylor’s foundational move—and the nonperson humans to the failures of an unenlightened society—and that judgement creates endless awkward moments in discussions about relativism. In this sense, the category of religion, especially as it is realised in the normative discipline of religious studies, is not a descriptive category but an instrument for defending the boundaries and privileges of a Euro-American worldview.

Yet within a number of subdisciplines across anthropology the oppressive, ethnocentric relegation implied in the notion of ‘belief’—what I have elsewhere called the ‘jail of religion’—has been challenged not just because it is morally bankrupt, but also because it is a serious hindrance to empirical data collection. On the one hand, where the locals in many, many communities see their society as comprised of a wide range of persons, then to impose a barrier at an arbitrary point in the field of persons does violence to the data. On the other hand, it has become clear from meticulous studies with a number of non-human communities (crows, whales, chimpanzees) as well as mixed human-and-non-human (monkey and human populations sharing a temple site, human bodies as sites of symbiosis) that neither culture nor consciousness are unique to humans. Indeed, the emergence of ecological and cultural diversity and patterns now seems deeply interdependent and entangled. Any attempt to draw a human/nonhuman line, for example, through the human organismal

response to the onset of an intestinal disease has to contend with the microbial flora in the human gut, without which the human host dies; the cultural processes by which which specific societies invest their infants with gut flora through, for example, fermented or rotted foods such as yoghurt and food sharing practices such as pre-chewing food for weaning children; the history and function that commensals and domestic animals and plants may play in these processes; the human discovery and invention of a wide range of kinds of medicine; and, most recently, the cultural, scientific, economic and political battles around the overuse of antibiotics, the human creation of antibiotic-resistant bacteria, and the human creation of a whole range of diseases characterised by an inadequately rich or lost gut flora. At this point an insistence on human exclusivism becomes a millstone around the neck of anthropological research as well as an actual cause of suffering.

This is the crack opening up in the wall of human exclusivism. To use this as an opening through which to diffract anthropology and Buddhist psychology, though, we might want to ask what work the rule of human exclusivism does—why it is so dear a principle in liberal democratic states. Briefly put, it serves to define a basis for agency and culpability in law; but it is also closely bound up with the distinction between the secular and the religious that formed the basis on which European nations were able to end the wars that followed the Reformation and at the same time assert their superiority over colonized civilizations and societies. By defining the human as a special creature that had a dual aspect, a private aspect turned towards god and concerned with beliefs and a public aspect concerned with civic responsibilities (such as voting, holding office, serving on juries and in armies), economic production (using banks, earning wages, buying goods) and especially the production of knowledge (like money, guaranteed to be morally neutral through the internal division of the human), the special place of humans in creation was preserved—a key theological principle—and yet theology itself was apparently removed from the public sphere. Challenging human exclusivism is thus a threatening proposition—it reeks of fundamentalism, of ‘going native’, of missing the whole point of science—and this I think explains in part why I have encountered remarkable hostility on occasion to proposals to extend the persons that comprise the social of social anthropology to include other-than-human persons.

What sorts of person are there? In Euro-American thought—which might now be called the cosmopolitan normative model—there is only one kind of person and it can be located within concentric domains. The universe is comprised of different sorts of matter and energy. Some of that matter and energy circulates within complex self-organising systems, called life. Among living beings there is one special kind of living being, the human, that has a unique capacity for higher cognitive acts such as aesthetic experience, language, religion and so forth—and that is why only humans can be persons, but all humans are persons. There are some borderline cases, such as saints, ancestors, and perhaps a god, any of whom may have social agency or the capacity for ethical judgement, but all of whom are also held only to exist outwith the principles that give biology and psychology their scientific authority; and we will later see that there are some limited challenges to human exclusivism arising from biology and psychology.

For Buddhists, we can make a spatial model but it is not so neatly concentric. The edges of the model are the edges of *samsāra*; it is understood that it is possible to transcend the cycle of rebirth and redeath, but also that we cannot give any adequate account in language of what that might be like.² The entirety of *samsāra* consists of the world of insentient things, which comprise a sort of stage or container—the *bhājanaloka*, and the world of sentient beings who undertake actions and undergo reincarnations, called the *sattvaloka*. This is our first distinction.

Among sentient beings, there are many different kinds of rebirths, almost all of which can hear, understand, and respond to the preaching of the Dharma to different degrees. This traditionally includes a wide range of living things such as bugs, elephants, tree- or water- spirits, minor and major gods of more or less tranquil disposition, hell-beings and hungry ghosts, and many sorts of human. Neither plants nor microbes are included in the traditional list; and a modern apologist for Buddhism might or might not accept some of these kinds of birth as literally true. Hungry ancestors, for example, seem quite strange to some Scottish audiences but make perfect sense in Singapore or Bangkok.³ Among all these, the human rebirth is

² This does not preclude any number of poetic or performative strategies, such as the Vajrayāna notion of ‘taking the result as the path’.

³ I set aside here the proposal, current among some ‘secular Buddhists’, that rebirth as a whole is just a myth. It seems to me a rather timid over-accommodation in order to

one of three 'higher' rebirths, and it is special for two reasons. First, humans are particularly receptive to the Dharma because they are balanced between pleasant and unpleasant experience; and second, *only* humans can ordain as nuns or monks. It is perfectly possible for non-humans to be Buddhist—to take refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha (if it exists at that particular moment)—but they cannot become nuns or monks. This, then, is our second distinction.

Among those who do take the refuges, there are particular humans who, by taking up vows such as those around renunciant ordination as nuns or monks, become fields of merit for others. While these individuals do not necessarily attain any particular liberation at the moment of taking their vows, they do function differently than other sentient beings with respect to karma. They are both held to a higher standard of behaviour (and suffer more profound consequences if they waver), and also serve to liberate other sentient beings from undesirable rebirths through teaching the Dharma and through the transfer of merit. It is at this point that the Buddhist system ceases to be concentric, for the subsequent rebirths of those who have been nuns or monks often do take place as non-humans. While Theravāda texts describe a fairly orderly progression through higher rebirths to release for such people, the Mahāyāna picture is much more complicated; bodhisattvas may move among the ways of birth depending on need and postpone their release indefinitely. Moreover, although textual norms suggest that the formal rituals of ordination as a nun or a monk are, or create, the conditions whereby there is a change in the operation of karma that makes a field of merit, ethnographic and historical evidence suggests that a wide range of Buddhist renunciants and religious experts who may or may not have taken traditional monastic vows act as fields of merit.⁴ This domain—the domain of reincarnating fields of merit—is a fascinating and specifically Buddhist problem but an attempt at its elucidation would not contribute to the

achieve credibility in the face of secular ideology which, as Asad and others have shown, is intimately linked with specific Abrahamic theologies.

⁴ Two examples are (1) the various orders of women ascetics in Theravāda culture areas and (2) non-monastic teachers in Indo-Himalayan Buddhism, such as the South Asian Mahāsiddhas, Newar Vajrācāryas and Nyingma or Kagyu *sNgags pa*. All of these are humans who see themselves as bound by vows and who act as fields of merit, but who might be excluded using a stringent definition. For a good ethnographic discussion of the perception of fields of merit between Thai *bbikku* and *mae chii*, see Falk (2007), especially chapter 6 and p. 152 and 155.

problem presently before us. Hence, though it forms a useful third distinction, and its importance will become clear below, we will not delve into its details here.

In what follows, we will explore and compare these concentric models; but in each case we will have cause to ask how we might improve our understanding of these categories. In so doing, I hope to expose and break the implicit bonds between sociocultural anthropology and Christian theological anthropology: this is the project of re-grounding the social science of anthropology in other possible anthropologies, beginning here with a Buddhist anthropology. As we will see, this refraction also requires us to rethink long-accepted Buddhist definitions of ‘sentient being’ that are no longer coherent.

To begin with, let us explore the boundary around living things. There is a trap here, that of presuming a dichotomy between Buddhist thought and ‘Western’ science, that I wish to avoid. As Pamela Asquith⁵ has shown, Japanese scientists working outwith the Enlightenment intellectual heritage nonetheless do good science and I have certainly had the privilege of working with ecologists and biologists from Thailand, Nepal and elsewhere who saw no irresolvable conflict between experimental biology and their own assumptions, inherited from quite different intellectual traditions, about the nature of life and reincarnation. Thus the terms of our comparison here are, on the one hand, a very recent and emerging scientific consensus on the domain of life itself and some reflections on the occurrence of sentience across that domain, and on the other a normative model derived from canonical sources for mainstream Buddhism. As we will see, they each have something to learn from the other.

Within Buddhism, the entire world of transmigration falls into two parts: the social world of sentient beings (*sattvaloka*) and the tables-and-chairs realm within which they experience rebirth (*bhājanaloka*).⁶ Already here a major difference opens up: for Buddhists, there are no insentient beings, no mindless life that simply breeds. All sentient beings are possessed of intentions and faculties; all sentient beings inherit a context for their actions from past karma, and with their intentional acts at the present moment generate new frameworks for the future. This contrasts to the post-Enlightenment view that

⁵ Asquith (1983, 1986, 2002), Asquith (2002).

⁶ Rahula et al. (2001: 82) यश्च सत्त्वलोको यश्च भाजनलोकः कर्मक्लेशः जनतिः कर्मक्लेशाधिपितेयश्च सर्वमुच्यते दुःखसत्यम् (Abhidharmasamuccaya, II.1.1).

posts a potentially vast domain of living things, most of whom have little or no capacity for intentional action but rather act on ‘animal instinct’. In a biology class, a sentence such as ‘the wasp chooses to paralyse the spider for the sake of her children’ would be criticised as anthromorphism—the inappropriately sentimental imputation of human attributes to a dumb beast.

The *sattvaloka/bhājanaloka* distinction is comparable to the distinction between actors and the stage; the drama of enlightenment happens for and through the actors, but in a theatre. The relation between the two depends on shared karma; in brief, karma generated and experienced in common gives rise to consensus reality, including many elements of the nonliving and some aspects of the social, while unshared karma affects the lives of particular living beings.⁷ The question of what natural types fell into the domain of sentient beings and what natural types constituted the container realm was argued largely in terms of faculties (*indrīya*), a term which includes both senses, such as touch, sight or thought, and also capacities such as the capacity to move. This is a very different division to the division between living and nonliving that we now take to be an obvious feature of the world around us. The earlier Buddhist textual sources eventually settled on a position that there were some developing, reproducing things that were nonetheless not sentient and not part of the round of rebirths. The clearest example, from these early sources, of this category is plants.

Schmithausen⁸, and following him Findly⁹ have reviewed the evidence for the location of plants in early Buddhist texts. Findly focusses on the possibility that plants are single-sense-endowed sentient beings that, regardless of the restrictions imposed by the canonical sources, nonetheless deserve consideration in the karmic narrative. Schmithausen’s studies form part of a longer meditation on the resources available in early Buddhist texts for environmental philosophy. Indeed, in his writing he almost always uses the terms ‘sentient’ and ‘living’ together, and it is clear he (as also Findly) finds

⁷ Rahula et al. (2001: 118–9) साधारणं कर्म कतमत् । यत्कर्म भाजनलोके नानावधिं वकिल्पं करोति ॥ असाधारणं कर्म कतमत् । यत्कर्म सत्त्वलोके नानावधिं वकिल्पं करोति ॥ अपां च सत्त्वानामन्योन्याधपितेयं कर्मापि । येन कर्मबलेन सत्त्वानामन्योन्याधपितपिरत्ययः प्रोक्तः । तेषामन्योन्याधपितबिलतसत्तदप्युच्यते साधारणं कर्म । (Abhidharma-samuccaya, II.1.2).

⁸ Schmithausen (1991).

⁹ Findly (2002).

the status of plants as in some sense alive but definitely not sentient hard to accept. Nonetheless, after a careful review of the sources he determines that while plants may well have been regarded as living beings in some early texts and communities, a consensus developed that was quite firm by the time of the commentaries that plants were not properly part of the *sattvaloka* but rather belonged to the *bhājanaloka*. He speculates that this was, perhaps, in contradistinction to the Jains who do award sentience and rebirth to plants (on which see below) and did thus forbid a number of foods and activities, and that this categorisation formed a vital part of the ‘middle way’ that appealed to a wide range of potential lay supporters. The range of terms in the discussion is complex; are plants sentient beings (*sattva*); are they animate creatures with vital breath (*prāṇin*); are they unmoving but animate—and perhaps also sentient? Schmithausen neatly catches the divide between earlier and later sources, where he finds an early list of categories of animate beings, beginning with plants, at Sn 600ff with a later commentary that puzzles over why the list would have begun with what is clearly not an animate being.¹⁰ By the time of the *Sphūṭārtha* subcommentary to the *Abhidharmakośa* the line is drawn quite sharply; the pair *sattva* and *asattva*, sentient being as opposed to non-sentient being, is glossed as *prāṇi* and *vanaspatyādi*, creatures with vital breath, as opposed to forest trees and the like (*Sphūṭārtha* ad AKB 35ab).¹¹

This is an important distinction and worth chewing over for a moment: if we draw the line between the domain of sentient beings and the container realm in this way—if there are developing, changing, reproducing organisms who are not also sentient or animate beings—then certain consequences follow that we may not wish to accept. No sentient being can be reborn into the category of nonsentient living being,¹² and these living things have an existence comparable to the Materialist’s view of all life: it begins, endures and ends. Second, because these living things are part of the container realm, their existence and qualities are a result of the collective karma of sentient beings;¹³ they have no more independent existence than a crisp packet. There are other ways to draw the line between the sentient and the non-sentient; a common-sense answer that I often get from students is that the

¹⁰ Schmithausen (1991: 64–5).

¹¹ Vasubandhu (1981).

¹² Findly (2002: 253).

¹³ Findly (2002: 254).

sattvaloka contains all creatures who can experience *dubkha*. This latter criterion has some support in early Buddhist texts as there are Vinaya rules against injuring single-faculty creatures and the contradiction between the two formulations forms the substance of Findly's article.

I suggest that this is an area of Buddhist doctrine that warrants constant revision as biologists learn more about the actual processes of life within species and communities that are very unlike us. Were plants, for example, to be shown to have complex sensory capacities, the ability to communicate with each other and with other plants, and to participate in forward planning with other organisms against food shortages, our understanding of plants as not-particularly-sentient would have to be revisited—and that is exactly what we now know to be true.

Studies of individual plants and forest communities have, in the past three decades, shown that plants sense and respond not only to light and gravity, but also to attack by herbivorous insects, and that they communicate by airborne chemical signals with nearby plants of their own or other species about threats.¹⁴ Moreover, healthy topsoil comprises a rich community of fungal hyphae and plant root systems in a tight symbiotic relationship that allows for storing and redistributing scarce resources, so much so that some biologists now propose to use free-market economics as a tool for analysing the complex 'bargaining' among plants and mycorrhiza.¹⁵ A recent study¹⁶ has proved conclusively that these networks carry signals about insect threats between plants of the same species. What we think we know about the existence, diversity and inherent capacity of lifeforms is under constant revision, and because Buddhism generally takes an inclusive view towards the scope of rebirth, these discoveries have strong implications for Buddhist theories about rebirth, agency and ethics. In short, it behooves Buddhist philosophers to rewrite some foundational assumptions and include plants within the *sattvaloka*.

Yet the problem is not so easily solved. Schmithausen's detailed study of the status of plants dwells on the historical question of whether plants are sentient beings, but a different approach to the same question would be to ask if it is possible to be reborn as a plant.

¹⁴ Dicke (2003).

¹⁵ Fellbaum et al. (2014).

¹⁶ Babikova et al. (2013).

Here the conceptual difficulties of a plant rebirth show up. An annual herb has a discrete, short life: seed, flower, seedhead, death, and then from the scattered seeds in the earth new herbs emerge after the next rains—a model which is used by Buddhists to explain the working of karma. A fruiting tree grows from a seed, flowers, and yields fruits that in turn contain seeds that make new trees while the parent is still alive. Yet fruiting trees such as the Bodhi Tree (an instance of *Ficus religiosa*) as well as many other plants can also be broken up and reproduce asexually. Both as part of normal reproduction and also through human intervention, plants can reproduce clonally, yielding multiple copies of an original plant that then live on independently, but in parallel. This is the process by which a cutting of the Bodhi Tree was taken to Sri Lanka where it is still said to flourish. Early Buddhists would also have been aware (without the concept of a 'genetic clone') that some kinds of bamboo form extensive clonal clumps that can extend across an entire forest, all blooming and dying at the same time. These are not life trajectories that fit easily with the neat sequence of birth, death, rebirth that is used, for example, as part of traditional explanations of the twelvefold chain of dependent origination across three lives. For Jains, this partibility is not a challenge; in her lively discussion of plant and animal rebirth narratives, Appleton remarks on the Mahāvīra's prediction of the future lives of 'a Sāl tree, a branch of a Sāl tree and a branch of an Umbara (Uḍumbara?) tree' contained in the *Bhagavatī*.¹⁷ The two branches each had their first incarnations as whole trees,¹⁸ suggesting that moving back and forth between partial and entire plants made sense to the Jains—though there is no suggestion that one could be reborn as a dog's liver, for example, which clearly could not survive and reproduce on its own. Hence, while the evidence in support of the sentience of plants weights in favour of changing the basic assumptions of Buddhism, in fact the actual change requires that we regard reincarnating beings as, in some cases, partible.

Recent developments in our understanding both of the scope of life, and the interactions across scales among different living beings, make this move to partibility the most elegant solution to a very complex problem. A very new set of challenges to the traditional Buddhist model emerge when we consider the multi-organismic composition of a human, or indeed any almost other organism, that has emerged

¹⁷ Appleton (2014: 38).

¹⁸ Deleu (1996: 211).

from the study of bacterial symbiosis. While a newborn human has very few organisms living inside their intestines, by the time they are a year old they will have a flourishing ecology comprised of millions of bacteria (as well as some single-cell eukaryotes and even some archaea) distributed across dozens of species, without which normal human digestion cannot happen.¹⁹ The sheer quantity of organisms involved is extraordinary; ‘a human harbours a climax population of $\sim 10^{14}$ bacterial cells [and] can host 10^5 – 10^6 bacterial generations per human generation’.²⁰ The range of symbioses across living things is only just now being explored; bacteria themselves have bacteria living within them. Basic theories of organismal function are transforming: the theory of evolution has had to be modified to take into account horizontal gene transfer mediated by microorganisms, and even our understanding of how our bodies respond to disease now includes a recognition that in some cases human gut bacteria orchestrate the actions of own immune system in response to pathogens.²¹ These tiny organisms reproduce, and hence adapt to selective breeding pressures, in hours, not decades; and in simple numeric terms, they comprise the vast majority of the genetic diversity within our bodies. How they are passed to offspring is as yet not well understood, though it involves contact with the skin, milk, and mouths (at least) of parents, and quite probably among humans includes an element of transfer through foods prepared with the help of microorganisms such as yoghurts and beers.

The domains of life and our understanding of the biochemical and social interaction among lifeforms have radically expanded in the past fifty years. The most fundamental taxa into which life is organised now fall into three broad domains: the Archaea, the Prokaryotes, and the Eukaryotes, the last of which contains all plants, animals, algae and fungi.²² The very existence of organisms in the Archaea was unsuspected until the late 20th century, when whole ecologies were discovered living around deep sea thermal vents that depended on a completely different metabolic and energy pathway from that which we still assume to be ‘normal’, the chain beginning with solar energy and plant photosynthesis, passing by way of herbivores to carnivores

¹⁹ Cho & Blaser (2012: 262).

²⁰ Ibis.

²¹ Round & Mazmanian (2009).

²² Woese et al. (1990): Viruses remain enigmatic: they interact by necessity with living organisms at the cellular level, yet are not in themselves alive. For biologists, they post the same kind of category problem as the plants in early Buddhism.

and finally scavengers and decomposers.

We now have strong evidence for sociability and signalling among microbes, creatures far too small to have figured in the early Buddhist textual sources. We know that humans and other animals—especially ruminants—contain, and depend on, a significant and diverse population of microbes scattered throughout their bodies; the total genetic complement of a healthy human, for example, is mostly bacterial, yet we do depend on the adaptability of our microbial population to digest food and respond to disease. At the cellular level, fundamental components of the eukaryotic cell (most famously the mitochondrion) are the result of a symbiotic relationship between single-celled organisms yielding, eventually, a single organism—and higher organisms exhibit a similar multi-scaled symbiotic complexity. Even at the genetic level, the stable boundary between species is challenged by lateral gene transfer between taxonomically distinct species. We know much, much more about the astonishing variability of life through evolutionary time on this planet. We have extended our biochemical investigations to include spectral analysis of the planets orbiting other stars,²³ and there is considerable speculation as to the existence of life, even intelligent life, away from our planet.

Curiously, although the modern scientific worldview has extended the reach of life far beyond the imagination of the early Buddhist (or Jain) writers, it still assumes that sentience is an extremely rare property. There is now at least a debate as to whether a few species other than humans (dolphins, apes, crows, octopi) have an unusually high level of intelligence, that intelligence is scattered across a range of biological taxa, or even that some nonhuman species have consciousness. Behaviours such as play, which suggest strong sociability, have been described across a very wide range of animals²⁴ and there has been a move to formally declare consciousness as a property of some non-humans²⁵—a declaration which some found excessive, and others timid beyond belief.²⁶ There is no suggestion, though, that crows or bonobos might ever actually be scientists (or anthropologists); while the science that documents the diversity and capacity of living things is expanding rapidly, there is little sense that

²³ Salerno et al. (2007).

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Low et al. (2012).

²⁶ Bekoff (2012).

this might ever encroach on the exclusive authority of humans to describe and define life.²⁷

I think I am on solid ground when I suggest that there are very few Buddhists, whether traditional experts, university academics, or lay practitioners, who would now define the realm of living things without recourse to the criteria of modern biology. Bacteria, life in parts of the world inaccessible to humans such as the deep ocean, macro- and micro-symbiosis, and extraterrestrial life are all pertinent topics. Yet the distinction between the merely living and the sentient remains a theoretical and practical challenge for Western biology and ethics. Could constructive Buddhist philosophy make a useful contribution here, or should we rather be even more timid than before? Has the grey area between 'the living' and 'the sentient' widened to include not only plants but also microbes, fungi, and indeed the thriving internal ecologies that are necessary for us to live? That, I think, would be both poor philosophy and bad science. Rather, we should take a properly Buddhist view informed by interdependence and embrace the widest possible domain of life.

At the same time we should recognise the philosophical challenge posed by the extraordinary symbioses among living things. What does it mean, for example, to claim that *tulkus* choose their subsequent births if those births involve not a single organism but billions? We must even more firmly wield the sword of Buddhist philosophy against the notion of an autonomous individual being both at the psychological *and at the biological* level. Buddhism has at its core a well-articulated bundle theory of psychology that accounts for experience, causality, history and sociability without recourse to an atomic person; and this theory is an excellent beginning for a theoretical account of how we can act as 'one person' when we are both psychologically and biologically irreducibly multiple. Buddhism alone among the world's great intellectual traditions already has a toolkit for understanding how what appears to be a single person is in fact a bundle of processes; we must now draw on that resource to build a theory that lets us understand how what appears to be 'one person' is in fact billions of organisms acting together. Such a view would recognise that each apparently individual *sattva* is porous; it depends on others for the illusion of a self and the arising of the *skandhas* as well as for

²⁷ The only imaginable exception is in the search for extraterrestrial intelligence.

digestion and metabolism. This move greatly expands the range of beings whom we acknowledge as taking part in the production of what seem to be individual awarenesses, and it could also provide an account of the birth, death, and rebirth of persons in a plant-rebirth that does not get caught out by the problem of partibility. However, this approach privileges the problem of interdependence over the problem of reincarnation; how we will explain rebirth when each birth actually requires symbiosis is a new, and interesting problem that remains to be solved.

The second of our domains is a messy business. Buddhist texts repeatedly emphasize the great good fortune that is a human rebirth, using metaphors such as that of the turtle and the ring.²⁸ It is the only kind of birth that balances discomfort and ease in such a way as to focus one's mind on suffering while offering the possibility of reflecting on the origins of suffering and perhaps even undertaking formal Buddhist vows (*prātimokṣa*). Yet both the textual and the anthropological evidence suggest that what 'human' means in Buddhist texts and societies—certainly in the Himalayas and Southeast Asia, and arguably elsewhere—is substantially different from the universal and essentialised human-ness that Euro-American anthropology inherits from the Reformation and Enlightenment. In this section, I will explore the edges of the human rebirth in authoritative Buddhist texts and social rituals in some Buddhist societies, and for comparison, the same as reflected in British laws and rituals, using two sites of comparison: rituals and norms around the death of children, and texts about nonhumans who cannot join the Saṅgha.

It is possible to explore the edges of the human in a way that throws sharp light on the distinction between particular British and Asian ritual boundaries for personhood in humans. Such an investigation reveals a rather different aspect of the human rebirth: it is gradually attained, not acquired through the simple fact of being born. There is ample anthropological evidence to show that personhood in Himalayan and Southeast Asian Buddhist societies is not an automatic property of human bodies. Rather, it is attained stepwise through rituals performed during childhood, managed through rituals across adolescence and adulthood, and dispelled at no small risk as it persists after death. This blurred boundary around the properly human is most

²⁸ See, for example, Māṭṛceta's Śatapañcāśatka I.5.

apparent at the ends of human existence, around the time of birth and death; for that reason, many of my ethnographic examples will focus on rituals around death during childhood, both in Europe and among Buddhist societies in Asia, as this unfortunate event happens to combine entrance and exit to the human state. Having considered the messy edges of the human state, we will return to look at those non-humans who do nonetheless benefit from the teaching of the Buddha or the Saṅgha.

The death rituals of very young children in the Himalayas show that they are not fully human. Ramble reported that infants in Lo Mustang who die before they have had their mother's milk are buried with little ritual²⁹ and Ben Campbell reports a similar minimal ritual handling for dead infants among Rasuwa Tamangs whose bodies are left in caves (personal communication). Gellner, working with Lalitpur Newar Buddhist priests, learned that they buried newborns anywhere conveniently out of the way, buried small infants in a special place, but after three months cremated the child.³⁰ For Newars, I have been told that the boundary is marked by the ritual of naming; before naming, a child is buried but afterwards they are cremated. Children who have not yet had their rice-feeding ritual (around six months) are not allowed to offer *pūjā*—that is, they are on their way to being people and will be cremated, but they're not yet competent to perform even the simplest rituals themselves.

A specific asymmetry caused by this gradual attainment is demonstrated by the ritual in middle-hills and lowland Nepalese societies of Younger Brother Worship (the ritual is common to many communities, not just Buddhists). In a family with only daughters, the birth of a son is a source of happiness for the daughters as they will be able to perform Younger Brother Worship two days after Lakṣmī Pūjā (usually in September or October). For Newars, this ritual comes immediately after Mha Pūjā, the self consecration that is the first ritual of the new year. However, in a family where a son is still a newborn at that time—before he acquires a name—he cannot be worshipped; his sisters will have to wait a year to perform the ritual. By the same logic, a new younger brother who has a name but has not yet eaten rice can be worshipped, but cannot in turn offer worship to his sisters until the

²⁹ Ramble (1982: 343).

³⁰ Gellner (1993: 208).

next year when he both has a name and has eaten rice. This sequential attainment to personhood is, we might observe, intrinsically gendered: the rituals and relations all create and locate boys and girls, not people regardless of their gender.

This stepwise attainment of human status contrasts sharply with the personhood of infants in Euro-American countries. The right and obligation to have a name, to be recognised and registered in government records as a person, is guaranteed even for an abandoned, possibly preterm, stillborn—and the need to uphold that right can involve all those around, including total strangers. The United Kingdom and Scottish governments have webpages dedicated specifically to the problem of registering still births. Under Scottish law³¹ the parents must register a stillbirth with three weeks, though if they are unable to do so, the obligation then passes to relatives of the mother or, if they are legally married, relatives of the father; then to the person who was living where the stillbirth happened so long as they were aware of it; and finally to any person who was present when it happened. The necessary connection of the stillbirth with its mother's kin, but only by marriage with its father's kin, is the only element of gender here. It neither remarks nor creates any gender for the dead child; it is only that being related to the *genitor* does not carry the legal obligations of being related to the *pater*.

Outwith Scotland, the law governing England and Wales says a stillbirth should be registered within six weeks.³² Moreover, at the end of the list of those who may register a stillbirth we find a final category not present in Scotland: 'the person who found the stillborn child, if the date and place of the stillbirth are unknown'. The poignant images summoned up thereby occlude the astonishing extension of responsibility conveyed in these words. In short, any citizen who happens to discover a stillbirth has an implied duty to take up minimal kinship—becoming a secular godparent, if you will—with the unregistered, unborn, undead child so as to sort out their personhood and settle the case. No fuzzy borders are allowed: any human must become a named person, even if they were never completely alive, so as to be properly dead. One wonders if an suspected illegal immigrant to the UK would be granted some brief amnesty if they were to report

³¹ National Records of Scotland n.d.

³² UK Government n.d.

and register an abandoned stillbirth, or if they would nonetheless be imprisoned and deported.

In fact this legal requirement in Scotland and England reflects a theological debate that was central to the Reformation, and the legal position reflects this controversy and follows the position of the reformed churches but not the Anglican or Catholic ritual order. The theological, and canon legal, position in the Catholic church and the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*, was that unbaptised infants, excommunicates, and suicides could not be buried in church graveyards. In Ireland, for example, there were specific kinds of place such as *cillín* where unbaptised infants and stillbirths were buried.³³ By contrast the Kirk in Scotland argued that baptism as a ritual did not actually change the status of an infant but rather confirmed their status which was derived from their parents and the nature of a universal church.³⁴ Hence the tremendous anxiety in English and Scottish law to insure that an infant, or even a stillborn, must have a ritual to assure civil status reflects quite closely a theological anxiety that was key to the formation of British civil society—but the presumption that all infants are entitled to equal status and status equal to adult persons is characteristic of the Enlightenment theory of persons. That the insistence on doctrinal equality for infants did not quite translate to equal treatment is shown by the custom in the Northeast of Scotland, reported up to the 1980s, that a coffin carrying the body of an unbaptised infant could not pass through the gate of the kirk; rather, their coffin had to be passed over the wall of the graveyard, a ritual described as both horrifying to watch and deeply shameful for the family of the child.

No further ritual beyond naming (whether through secular registration, or through baptism) is required to create a member of society in England or Scotland. In Himalayan societies, though, there are several successive rituals that are required to completely form a ritually competent person; and the death rituals for a child as they evolve look more and more like the rituals for an adult death. Yet the stakes may, in some cases, be much higher. For Newars, the most dangerous kind of death that can occur on the way to personhood is the death of a girl during the *barha* ritual. Boys and girls undergo

³³ Finlay (2000).

³⁴ Assembly et al. 1773.

distinct sequences of coming-of-age rituals; for girls, there are two pre-adult rituals which they undertake: first, fictive marriage to a *bel* fruit (the *ibi* ritual), and then seclusion ending with fictive marriage to the sun god (the *barba* ritual), ideally before the onset of menarche. The former is a day-long ritual, the latter a twelve-day seclusion; they have been thoroughly documented among certain communities in Bhaktapur.³⁵ *Barba*, in particular, is a fearsome ritual for girls on the edge of fertility, involving household spirits (*khyāḥ*) visiting the girls during their extended liminal seclusion.

For Kathmandu Newars, if a girl dies during this liminal ritual that sits perilously between nubility and fertility, her body becomes a terrifying presence that destroys the household. The corpse must be lowered directly to the earthen foundation of the house without touching the stairs—this involves cutting holes in the floorboards—and then buried under the house, which will thereafter be haunted. A schoolyard acquaintance, not a Newar, told us the story of how she had once made the mistake of renting a beautiful old Newar home at a bargain price without inquiring into its history. Night after night she found herself waking up in other rooms than the bedroom, and eventually having terrifying dreams in which something dragged her from the bed and into other rooms. When, after some days of careful conversation, she gained the trust of a local shopkeeper he finally told her that the house had been abandoned by its owners and put up for rent soon after a daughter had died during the *barba*. It was certainly the dead girl's ghost that was dragging our acquaintance from the room where she had died. She left the house that same day. There is no equivalent ritual for boys, nor is there any equivalent risk.

Patrice Ladwig has reported that, among Lao and possibly also Isan Tai, death during childbirth of the mother and neonate is comparably catastrophic.³⁶ The spirits produced by this kind of bad death are powerful and can wreak terrible damage, but can also be transformed into powerful protective spirits; the origin story for Vientiane includes the conversion of the spirit of a pregnant woman and her unborn child into protective deities for the city.

This rather dramatic case reflects a general feature of even the best deaths. Studies of both contemporary and historical sources show

³⁵ Gutschow & Michaels (2008).

³⁶ Formoso (1998).

clearly that elderly, dying, or dead people do not suddenly cease to be human persons at the moment of brain death. This is by no means unique to Buddhism and varies significantly from society to society, but it is perhaps worth noting that Buddhist ritual and knowledge of the processes of death and rebirth mean that in many societies where Buddhism is one of several interwoven traditions, a significant amount of patronage is directed towards Buddhist ritual specialists and institutions as part of managing death. As Williams and Ladwig observe, ‘Throughout Asia it has always been recognised that Buddhists are specialists in death. One of the things that attracted Chinese (and Tibetans, for that matter) to Buddhism was its clarity about what happens at death, the processes needed to ensure a successful death – the welfare of the dead person and his or her mourners – and its clarity about what happens after death and its links with the whole way someone has lived their life. ... It was a major factor in the successful transmission of Buddhism from its original Indian cultural context’.³⁷ I would argue that this is still an important factor in the success of Buddhism worldwide. It is not just that ancestors are part of Buddhist societies, but that in complex societies with many ritual and doctrinal traditions, Buddhist rituals and doctrines do a very good job of explaining and managing the dead and deaths of many sorts, from accidentally unhappy ghosts to venerable but disapproving great-grandparents. We will see below that the neatly bounded picture of the human rebirth is substantially complicated by the postmortem trajectory of those who have had significant meditative attainments during their human birth.

Before we turn to non-humans, however, it is important to address a particular boundary that affects humans—the possibility of significant cognitive or physical disability. Indo-Himalayan textual sources assert that the advantage of the human rebirth is the capacity to learn the Dharma—yet not all humans have or can exercise that innate capacity. Mipham’s *mKha’ jug* outlines ‘four human unfree states’ that block one born into the human rebirth from being able to study the Dharma: ‘To belong to a primitive border tribe, to hold wrong views, to dwell in a realm where a buddha has not appeared, or to possess defective faculties or mental capacity, such as being imbecilic, inept or incapable of communicating’.³⁸ This makes it clear that, whatever

³⁷ Williams & Ladwig (2012: 1).

³⁸ Rimpoche & Kunsang (2013: 17).

suffering may accompany a human rebirth where the faculties are not complete, that person is nonetheless human and indeed no less human than a human with complete faculties who is simply handicapped by the ideology of the society where they happen to be. My observations among Newars bear out this textual claim; young people with physical disabilities or mild cognitive disabilities not only perform rituals fully, but may well grow up to become experts, and those with significant cognitive disabilities that impede their ability to undertake rituals, such as life cycle rituals, are assisted so that they can perform them.

We now turn to consider those beings who are not human, yet do receive teaching from the Buddhas and learn something of the Dharma. Lingering at the edges of the Buddhist *manuṣya* (human), there are a number of passages in early texts that show other-than-human persons learning from encounters with Buddhist teachers. The first section of the Pāli Saṃyuttanikāya has several chapters concerned with one or another kind of interlocutor: Brahmins, tree spirits, minor gods, and so forth. In each case the chapters contain, or refer to, considerations on the status of that particular community; so, for example, the section on Brahmins includes a fair amount of banter about caste privilege as opposed to deportment and self-discipline. In some cases the non-humans are *devatās* who, after a human rebirth in which they took refuge with the Buddha, have taken rebirth as minor deities; in other cases they are *yakṣas* who challenge the Buddha, warn renunciants to keep their discipline, or even berate villagers who show insufficient respect to a nun. What is clear from all the cases in the Saṃyuttanikāya is that these near-humans can never actually join the Saṅgha; they may well meet a Buddha, enjoy the Dharma and indeed even attain stream-enterer status through hearing it, but they cannot take monastic precepts.

A striking example from the Saṃyuttanikāya is the yakṣa Āḷavaka,³⁹ who challenges Śākyamuni with a series of riddles; the conversation ends with the yakṣa promising to travel from town to town, revering the completely enlightened one and the excellence of the Dharma—that is, two of the Three Jewels, leaving aside the assembly of the wise. On numerous occasions Śākyamuni converses with the gods of the thirty-three higher planes and teaches them; this seems especially common when a human dies and is born among the thirty-three, then returns (as a god) to seek Śākyamuni, but famously

³⁹ S I 10, 12.

he also goes to the realm of the thirty-three to teach his birth mother. This point is reiterated in the *Anāthapiṇḍakovada Sutta*,⁴⁰ in which the well-known lay Buddhist *Anāthapiṇḍika*, as he is dying in great pain, receives a profound teaching from Śāriputra that was not usually given to lay followers. The unexpected depth and clarity of this teaching cause him to weep with joy, and he begs Śāriputra to please give such profound teachings to lay Buddhists as well as nuns and monks. *Anāthapiṇḍika* dies, is reborn in *Tuṣita* heaven as a godling, and comes to the Jeta Grove that evening, to visit Śākyamuni and praise the Saṅgha that practices there.

Something similar can be said for the Sanskrit tradition outwith *Mahāyāna* sources. The *Divyāvadāna* and the Gilgit *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* preserve any number of stories in which *nāgas* go to great lengths to hear the Buddhist teachings, and as Tattelman has pointed out⁴¹ the *nāgas* in these stories are both enthusiastic and somewhat comic. In one episode, where the notorious troublemaking ‘six monks’ squabble with an elderly monk who can only recite one section of the *Vinaya* as he tries to preach to a *nāga*, the *nāga* simply teleports their entire monastery into his ocean realms,⁴² In this case, the Buddha observes that the monks should not have irritated this emanation (*nirmita*)—that is, the magical transformation of the *nāga*—and then promulgates a rule against unsolicited teachings.

In short, what we see is that there is a path for non-humans, typically *devas* of one sort or another, that allows them to encounter the Dharma, to become Buddhist, and to proceed along the path without ever having to take a human birth. This runs sharply counter to a modernist reading of Buddhism but it is precisely that modernism—and its ethnocentric assumption of human exclusivism—that I am calling into question across this essay. In pursuit of a rather different argument, Peter Masefield nonetheless made the same point through a close reading of the early Pāli sources: that the important distinction is between those beings who have attended to the Dharma and set out on the path, rather than the distinction between humans and non-humans.⁴³ This makes ethnographic sense as well: much of the work of establishing the Buddhist teachings in a specific place is the

⁴⁰ M 143.

⁴¹ Tattelman (2000: 153–4).

⁴² *Divyāvadāna* 204.002-015; MSV Gilgit v3.4 p. 27-8.

⁴³ Masefield (1986: 18–21).

discovery of the deities of that place, whether they are *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, or some other sort. Once discovered they must be transformed from, for example, wrathful child-eaters (as in the case of Hārītī or Āḷavaka), to righteous protectors of the Dharma.⁴⁴ They become protectors (*dharmapāla*) through understanding⁴⁵ the teachings. From that point onwards they, too, will progress along the path, and there is no requirement that they take rebirth as a human for them to progress towards its conclusion.

What these beings cannot do, though, is become part of the renunciant Saṅgha. There is a fine dividing line here between those beings who can take up five or eight training precepts, and those beings who can actually take preliminary or higher ordination. The actual ordination ceremony includes a series of questions designed to eliminate unsuitable candidates. One of these is, ‘Are you a *nāga*?’ This is explained by a story contained in the Mahāvagga in which a *nāga* takes the shape of a person in order to be ordained, is found out and expelled. The details of the story reveal how keenly felt the divide between *nāgas* and humans might be; the *nāga*’s whole reason for taking ordination is disgust at his *nāga*-birth. When Śākyamuni expels him from the order (and no formal ritual of expulsion is performed), he is told that he may undertake the eight-vow uposatha fast and in that way cast off his *nāga*-birth, but that *nāgas* generally are not acceptable as ordinands because they are unable to grow in the Dharma and Vinaya—and the *nāga*, who already despised himself for being a *nāga*, is overwhelmed with grief at being told this.⁴⁶ The rule subsequently established by Śākyamuni is that no animal (though *nāgas* are not always classed as animals) can be ordained, and if any are discovered they should be expelled. This, together with the use of the term *nirmita* in the story above, may explain why, where the Pāli ritual order only asks if the postulant is a *nāga*, the Mūlasarvāstivāda text covers both aspects and asks, “Are you not an emanation? (*sprul pa* = Skt *nirmita*) Are you not an animal? (*dud ‘gro* = Skt. *tiryāñc*)” (Derge Kanjur, ‘dul ba gzhi, Vol Ka 45b, TBRC fol. 108. Banerjee misunderstands *dud ‘gro* and, after *mā nāgaḥ* supplies *mā pāśuḥ*).⁴⁷ The Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācānā simply asks the postulant if she is a magical

⁴⁴ see also Cohen (1998).

⁴⁵ Masfield makes a strong argument that ‘understanding’ here originally meant a profound act of *hearing* (1986, p. 45 ff.).

⁴⁶ Mahāvagga I.63.1-5, PTS Vinaya vol. V p 86-8, tr. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg (1881).

⁴⁷ Banerjee (1977: 63).

emanation (*nirmittikā*).⁴⁸

Outwith the early sources, across the wide range of Buddhist narratives there are many stories in which non-human s pose as humans in order to learn the Dharma. One of the most famous is contained within the koan of Hyakujo and the fox. Hyakujo teaches at a mountain monastery, and every day there is an old man who comes to listen to his talks along with the monks. He finally explains to Hyakujo that he had been a monk who studied with the past Buddha Kāśyapa and had become the Zen master who taught on that same mountain. One day, in answering his own students' questions, he gave a poor answer to the question of whether karma affects fully enlightened Buddhas and was thus trapped in the form of a shape-shifting *kitsune* (fox spirit) for hundreds of lifetimes. He had used his powers to manifest as a human hoping to learn the proper doctrine from Zen master Hyakujo. When Hyakujo and he engage in a successful question-and-answer session, he is freed from his rebirths as a fox spirit and asks Hyakujo to give his fox's body the death rituals befitting a monk, which Hyakujo duly does. While the point of this particular koan is not to encourage speculation about the boundary between humans and non-humans, it does nonetheless combine magical transformation, karma and rebirth, and the rituals that make a monk so as to show quite clearly that rituals are used to protect the boundaries of the Saṅgha from non-humans and, as in this case, to restore appropriate monastic status to a monk who had been forced to use emanations to restore his relationship to the Three Jewels.

What emerges from our second comparison is, quite simply, that the hard work of marking boundaries happens in different places. Our examples from English and Scottish law and Christian ritual show that simply being born as human is the key to human status. Granted, that birth (even if it is a stillbirth) requires legitimation through inscription of a name in government records (and possibly also in church), and that ritual of inscription in turn may even require strangers to adopt the burden of kinship; but there is no sense in which a stillbirth, an infant, a toddler, and an adolescent can be ranked as 'increasingly human', or that non-humans credited with human-like agency such as a chimpanzee, 'the stock market,' or 'Google' might covertly manifest as humans in the hope of getting a legal identity

⁴⁸ Schmidt (1993: 253).

or being baptised. So far as I have been able to determine, rituals of baptism in the Christian churches do not check the infant (or their parents) to be sure they are human, nor do driving license examiners or university admissions officers check their respective petitioners. Nor, so far as I can determine, do rituals for turning ordinary humans of various sorts (orphans, petitioners, priests) into monks ever enquire as to whether they are actually human.

By contrast, our ethnographic and textual evidence suggests that for Buddhists in the Himalayas or Southeast Asia, the boundaries of the human are fuzzy. Becoming human is not just a question of being born; it requires a significant ritual effort to become properly human, and there may well be any number of people who look human but aren't. However, the boundary around becoming a renunciant member of the Saṅgha is very tightly guarded; there are rituals in place to keep non-humans out, and a wealth of stories that show what the risks are.

What is at stake? In the post-Enlightenment world, what all humans do—or should—get is human rights. The history of civil society is measured by the successful inclusion of once-marginalised communities: slaves, women, homosexuals, the mentally or physically disabled, transgenders and so on. In the modern academy these categories surface both as domains of engaged practice—agitating for immigrant rights, for example—as well as the legal requirement to structure our didactic and administrative practices according to an expanding legal framework that protects the civil rights of potentially disenfranchised individuals. At the same time, any impetus to extend human rights to, for example, intelligent animals such as chimpanzees is strenuously resisted.

This ubiquitous, uninterrogable, and theological human exclusivism presents some interesting challenges for Buddhist activists and intellectuals who have enough distance from post-Enlightenment norms to see that they are not actually discovered universals but enforced norms. Lauren Leve has documented a particular moment in Nepalese history, the People's Movement of the early 1990s, when the Theravāda Buddhist Saṅgha, in an attempt to force the Nepalese government to relinquish its exclusively Hindu identity, appealed to the discourse of international human rights, the obligations of the Nepalese state as a participant in international legal accords, and in particular the right to freedom of religion. Leve points out that

these Nepalese Buddhists had to ‘live the contradictions’ between ‘the nature of the “human” as assumed by liberal law’ and ‘the nature of the “human” as revealed in Buddhist experience’⁴⁹ That this appeal to the liberal state failed is not surprising once we recognise that Nepal is not a liberal state. Nepalese citizenship rituals and regulations do not guarantee universal access to the human state or human rights, nor are they intended to; rather, they are designed to prevent many humans from being Nepalese. A Nepalese national ID card is only available to a child with a Nepalese father who also possesses Nepalese citizenship.⁵⁰

For Buddhists, the stakes are very different. The teachings and meditative disciplines that nuns and monks had access to were, in general, more profound and demanding than those available to lay Buddhists. However they were sometimes taught to lay Buddhists, and in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries this has become far more widespread. Similarly, while nuns and monks (at least in the early literature) are far more likely to achieve advanced states such as stream-entry that guarantee higher rebirths, this is also possible, though much less likely, outwith the ordained Saṅgha. What is different about nuns and monks is that they become fields of merit (*punyaḥsetra*). By taking the novice and higher disciplinary vows, they change the entire economic, causal and moral economy within which they endure rebirth and re-death. As ordinary people, they receive and return gifts like all other such people, but once they undergo the rituals that make them members of the Saṅgha, they are able to receive material gifts without any obligation of material return.⁵¹ Rather, the act of giving to a field of merit generates a magical reward that can be redirected across all the possible ways of rebirth—but that extraordinary capacity is only possible because the field of merit is bound by far more stringent codes of moral behaviour than ordinary folk, and the consequences if they transgress are more serious. Nāgas and other non-humans are not wholly reliable partners in ordinary human exchange relations (as indeed are many kinds of human!), but it is unimaginable that they could become fields of merit. This does not mean, however, that they are not fully social. In fact it is precisely because nonhumans do enter into social relationships and exchanges with humans that the boundary around the creation of fields of merit

⁴⁹ (Leve 2007: 80).

⁵⁰ Rajbhandary (2015).

⁵¹ Strenski (1983); Falk (2007: 6).

has to be sharply marked.

As I indicated above, both contemporary and historical evidence suggests that it is not only nuns and monks who become fields of merit; but the rituals of ordination are the exemplary ritual through which this transformation is achieved. It seems, therefore, that the careful policing of the boundary that sets nuns and monks apart from ordinary folk is motivated in part by the need to reserve more challenging teachings and practices, but largely in order to prevent non-humans from becoming fields of merit. Were they to do so, then systems of exchange that allow not-yet-enlightened humans to gain at least some control over the wheel of rebirth would become available to beings in other rebirths. In this sense, then, although the Buddhist theory of persons does not make a sharp distinction in terms of cognitive capacity, affect, sociability or intention between humans and non-humans, it is the case that carefully guarding access to the rituals that make nuns and monks does prevent non-humans from joining a specifically human system of exchange.

Buddhism, taken as a broad taxonomy of intellectual histories, locates agency in a much wider field of living things than does the European Enlightenment with its inheritors such as liberal political theory and sociocultural anthropology. So long as Buddhism is historicized, colonized, and relegated by its own interpreters to nothing more than a religion, then there is no encounter between the two notions of agency; within the theory of liberal democracy, the category of religion is a device for circumscribing and demoting alternative accounts of personhood and agency. The long Buddhist intellectual tradition, expressed in such different fields as medicine, jurisprudence and political theory, is—from the Euro-American position—founded on mere religious belief, and according to liberal political theory beliefs are no more than a private preoccupation of properly secular humans (and only humans). Thereby, any real challenge to the Eurocentric assumptions of anthropology or ethics can be cut off before it has a chance to start. The circularity, let alone the ethnocentrism, of this argument is rarely challenged; but if we are to decolonize Buddhist studies a solid first move would be to acknowledge that the human exclusivism that informs international law, economics, and the study of religion is founded on an unquestioned and unjustified doctrine that is itself, properly, religious: human exclusivism is an Abrahamic

inheritance. The incongruity of this position has long been apparent within Europe; Anatole France's 1908 satirical novel *Penguin Island* begins with a nearsighted bishop who baptizes a colony of auks, thus creating a dilemma for the Christian god, as they could not have been baptized if they were animals who by definition lack souls. For the curious: the Christian god, in France's novel, resolves the dilemma by granting the auks souls and thus making them human.

We Buddhist scholars perpetuate our own irrelevance when we discuss questions such as whether or not trees are properly sentient beings solely on the basis of ancient textual traditions. This is not to dismiss the meticulous efforts of Schmidhausen (who is well aware that he is discussing the historical precedents to a very modern question) It is as though Buddhism were even more text-bound and fundamentalist than the most literalist schools of Protestant Christianity or Islam. The debate, in real terms, has long since moved on: biologists, ecologists and doctors in academic institutions where Buddhist cultural values inform their worldview, such as Japan or Thailand, conduct research across the whole range of life: viruses that may or may not be fully alive; the history of symbiosis preserved within the organelles of eukaryote life; the rich microbiome that lives inside higher animals (including us humans) without which we would be unable to digest food or react to infection; zoonotic diseases that leap between species; complex mechanisms of horizontal gene transfer; or the Archaea, a wholly new kingdom of life discovered only in the 20th century among whom are organisms that metabolize methane or sulfur and live deep underground, in volcanic hot springs, in sub-glacial lakes, and human navels among other sites. We are aware now that plants have multiple sense faculties and interact across whole woodlands through mycorrhizal networks involving plant and fungal communities. Our understanding of the complexity, diversity, and interdependence of living beings far outstrips simplistic debates about whether plants are one-faculty beings; and in the same way that Buddhist scholars long ago abandoned antiquated cosmologies, debates about the domain of sentient beings should take place in full cognizance of recent developments in biology.

In fact, the contribution of Buddhist cultural values to biological research has been remarked already. Kenji Imanishii, the founder of Japanese primatology, approached his field with a set of

assumptions: that monkeys thought, that they had families, that their extraordinary capacity to learn new behaviours could not be explained through individual competition—and even that it made sense to hold religious services for the monkeys that had died each year. This ran so counter to the Euro-American norms of the mid 20th century that his work was castigated by Beverly Halstead in the journal *Nature* as ‘Japanese in its unreality’;⁵² yet Imanishii and his students made fundamental discoveries that transformed Western primatology as well. The outstanding primatologist Renee van der Waal later asked how Halstead, and *Nature*, could be ‘so rude’ and went on to observe that this was ‘one culture perceiving another’s biases more acutely than its own’.⁵³ Asquith has studied Imanishii’s worldview and intellectual heritage at length. Although Halstead and his fellow critics accused Imanishii of rejecting Darwin (which, to some extent, he did), Asquith points out that Darwin’s theory at its introduction was ‘offensive’ to the Western hierarchical conception of God above man, and man above animals. By contrast, in Japan, where Buddhist doctrine made it clear that the relationship between humans and other living things was more equal and, through reincarnation, exchangeable, Darwin’s theory of variation, selection and descent ‘was subject to none of the moral implications Westerners attributed to it’.⁵⁴ Where Westerners saw monkeys as non-human animals, the Japanese primatologists saw them as sociocultural beings. Where Westerners performed experiments, the Japanese undertook long-term studies that looked closely and quietly, rather than trying to ‘squeeze the information out of nature’.⁵⁵ The result, as van der Waal argues, is that the Japanese achieved results far beyond what their Western colleagues could and, utterly without acknowledgement, the Japanese methods were adopted by Western researchers as well.

What, then, have we learned from this brief exercise in diffraction? On the one hand, a comparison with Buddhism throws a sharp light on the theological anthropology that hides inside human exclusivism as it is received by social anthropology from the Enlightenment. On the other hand, the broader field of agents in Buddhism is shown to rely on the assumption of biologically unitary

⁵² Halstead (1985).

⁵³ de Waal (2003).

⁵⁴ Asquith (1986: 64).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

organisms, a premodern ignorance of microbes, and an unjustified prejudice against plants. If we are to undertake a properly Buddhist social anthropology, then, we must be brave enough both to liberate Buddhist theory from the 'jail of religion' and also to subject Buddhist theory to rigorous critique and improvement in the light of scientific enquiry. Our social anthropology is an anthropology of and for all sentient beings, including those that early Buddhist texts did not know or rejected. At the same time we must sharpen the doctrines of interdependence and emptiness to acknowledge the inherent plurality, partibility, interdependence and sociability of all beings both in their psychology and their biology, and to take this as the ground from which any Buddhist social anthropology must begin.

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Buddhism Goes Digital. New Phenomena in the Old Tradition.

Joanna Grela

Abstract

The development of digital technologies and the Internet makes the information increasingly more accessible, which implies new phenomena in the sphere of everyday and occasional religiousness. The paper sheds light on some trends and potential threats to Buddhism developing online. Apart from the uncontrolled deluge of content labelled „Buddhism”, used for commercial, ambitious and other purposes, as a serious, brand new problem the Author sees the gradual elimination of human teachers or even the human factor entirely, when it comes to conveying Buddhist content. The harbingers of this technological shift can already be observed in East Asia and, in the Author’s opinion, the change, supported by artificial intelligence and deep learning, may present a considerable challenge for Buddhism, especially the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna, which are more flexible and adaptive than Theravāda tradition.

Introduction.

The contemporary Buddhism can be discussed from many angles. One of them, which has long been a part of the sociology of religion, claims the constant secularization of societies, and another, developing in the last two decades, advances theses to the contrary. The first sprang up in Western Europe, stemming from the interpretation of a phenomenon, present there since at least the mid-20th century, of the growing number of people, who abandoned practice or practised only occasionally for conventional reasons, as well as people unconnected to any religious institutions or indifferent to religion, mostly in an urbanized setting.¹ The process is further encouraged in the modern, digital age, in which it’s easy to pass time in a variety of pleasant ways and which facilitates the pluralism of ideas as well as their free expression

¹ Cf. G. le Bras. 1955, 1956. *Études de sociologie religieuse*, 2 vol., Paris : Presses universitaires de France; P. Berger. 1967. *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*, Garden City: Doubleday; and nowadays P. Norris, R. Inglehart. 2004. *Sacred and Secular. Religion and Politics Worldwide*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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and their availability.

The theory does not take into account the phenomena and processes taking place in other parts of the world. Still, regardless of the secularization tendencies mentioned above, in many regions and within maybe all universal religions, in the last two decades one can also observe global anti-secularization trends, particularly in the generation of young adults (under 34 years of age),² be it within the individual religiousness, or through a strong presence of religion and its values in the public domain. A criticism of the secularization theory also points to its ideological roots in the Western notional dichotomy: sacral versus secular, and a positivist myth of a universal development, the progress of reason and the resulting connection between the secularization and the modernization process.³

Thomas Luckman arrived at different conclusions based on the same data collected from Western Europe pointing to a trend of tweaking beliefs and religious practices to one's individual needs. He formulated a concept of privatisation of religion and morality, writing about the so-called invisible religion, which is a personal, individual, custom-made religion.⁴ He claims that in modern societies religion is less and less connected to the system, church or an institution, while still being an important part of social life and often also being an overall world view. Luckman's theses on the privatisation of religion are considered classical now and, to a great extent, seem to describe the modern online Buddhism as well. A good illustration of that are numerous instances of people visiting portals administered by, e.g., Buddhist centres or Buddhist teachers, treating those sites in a highly selective way as regards the religious content, compiling from various ideas and practices, an individual, changeable and eclectic spiritual-

² Cf. research results of the international institution Worldwide Independent Network/Gallup International Association published in, e.g., *Losing our religion? Two thirds of people still claim to be religious* 2015-04-13 (online)

http://www.wingia.com/en/news/losing_our_religion_two_thirds_of_people_still_claim_to_be_religious/290/ (accessed 2017-09-18); and supplementary data concerning China – H. H. Lai. "The Religious Revival in China". In *Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* No. 18, 2003: 40–64; Zh. Ji, V. Goossaert. 2011. "Introduction: Social Implications of the Buddhist Revival in China". In *Social Compass* No. 58(4), pp. 491–497.

³ E.g. the works of José Casanova, a Spanish-American religion sociologist (born in 1951).

⁴ Th. Luckman. 1967. *The Invisible Religion. The Problem of Religion in Modern Society*, New York: The Macmillan Company.

ity, that isn't controlled by religious authority figures. Grace Davie calls such circumstances "a faith without affiliation".⁵ At the same time many instances can be called the opposite: just an affiliation without a proper faith. These are some of the results of an unrestricted religion dissemination on the Internet, but also of diasporic diffusions, trans-cultural transits and globalisation.

Advantages of a progressing digitalization

The advancement of technologies and digitalization might be the factors supporting anti-secularization trends, making it possible for religious specialists (monks, priests, etc.) and religious institutions to reach their followers. With reference to Buddhism in the last two decades there have been increasingly more publications concerning its situation and role in the nowadays societies. A significant majority of the books and articles primarily emphasize the advantages, resulting from yet another breakthrough as regards availability and popularisation of ideas. After the transition from the oral transmission to the written culture and then the discovery of print, we are dealing with the next medium significantly influencing wide dissemination of locally developed ideas.

The benefits resulting from the digital turn happening, are universally evident. The progressing digitalization opens more doors to Buddhist sources: the documentation and digitalization of iconographic resources, canonical writings and classical commentaries from various Buddhist traditions, an option to record and post online the teachings, given orally at present, a worldwide access to all kinds of platforms for exchanging information or discussions in many languages, available on a 24/7 basis.⁶ Provided that the translations from source languages and other data are introduced and monitored by competent persons, and the discussions are competently moderated, all those projects and activities make it much easier to get oneself acquainted

⁵ G. Davie. 1994. *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing Without Belonging*. Oxford; G. Davie. 2000. *Religion in Modern Europe: A Memory Mutates*. Oxford.

⁶ Such as (online) <http://www.freesangha.com/forums/index.php> - "A friendly *Buddhist forum* and chat where people of all traditions can meet to discuss the Dharma and share experiences"; <https://dharmawheel.net/> - "A Buddhist discussion forum on Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism"; <https://www.buddhismwithoutboundaries.com/> (all accessed 2017-08-20), to name just a few English-speaking ones.

with Buddhism and participate regardless of a place of residence or individual limitations. It can be confirmed by such statements as the one below, concerning a site dedicated to the teachings of one of the teachers from the Tibetan Buddhism tradition:

Similar remarks on connecting geographically disparate individuals via the web were made during the class I took, when one participant expressed her joy and appreciation at discovering Ocean because of the significant distance between her home and the nearest Shambhala Centre. As she described, this distance prevented her from being able to attend and participate regularly in a live Buddhist community. Another participant exclaimed that practicing online was preferable to practicing at a Shambhala Centre because it was less distracting, without people moving around her.⁷

Many authors believe that the constant online presence changes our behaviours and so the religious practice is adopting a network approach, where the identity and relations are built through free associations and affiliations, rather than through traditional relations based on one's own life story, an authority figure, hierarchy, locality.⁸ This aspect of digital influences is particularly important in some new phenomena, which I have noticed recently and which, in my view are poorly explored in relation to religion or Buddhism.

Potential threats to Buddhism

With the development of the Internet, the number of websites dedicated to Buddhism has been rising rapidly. There are sites of centres and individual teachers, sites connected to digitalization projects, academic pages, etc. In my paper I would like to focus on a few potentially negative aspects of the development of online Buddhism. One

⁷ E. Yonnetti. "Tibetan Buddhism in the Digital Age: Exploring Online Buddhist Study, Practice, and Community on Ocean: The Vast Teachings of Chögyam Trungpa". In *NEXT* Vol. 5, Article 6, pp. 12–13 (online) <http://scholar.colorado.edu/next/vol5/iss1/6>, accessed 2017-08-14.

⁸ H. A. Campbell (ed.). 2012. *Digital Religion: Understanding Religious Practice in New Media Worlds*. London: Routledge; H. A. Campbell. 2012. "Understanding the Relationship between Religion Online and Offline in a Networked Society". In *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 80, no. 1, pp. 64–93; H. A. Campbell, S. Garner. 2016. *Networked Theology: Negotiating Faith in Digital Culture (Engaging Culture)*, Campbell/Garner.

of them is an uncontrolled, occasionally random selection of posted content and more frequent randomness and incompetency of authors of this content, compared to the traditionally transmitted Buddhism 1.0.⁹ Another, brand new phenomenon is a possible elimination of human teachers and the human factor as such, in the process of conveying Buddhist and pseudo-Buddhist thought and guiding students, the symptoms of which can already be seen.

With reference to the first group of phenomena, due to the easiness of publishing and virtually unlimited storage capacity of the content published online, it poses much less effort now, compared to the pre-Internet era, to disseminate worldwide any texts, images or animations without any legitimization from a traditional temple or a Dhamma centre. Looking at the contemporary Buddhism, especially in the West, one can readily find many self-proclaimed teachers, usurping positions and titles, establishing their own centres or just people sharing online their opinions rather than authentic knowledge on Buddhism, on websites, blogs, forums, etc., they set up themselves.

Some of those entries, e.g. pages with the so-called Buddha quotes, or memes about Buddhism, spreading unpredictably and going viral, are created by random Internet users, sometimes even considering themselves to be Buddhists, sometimes however, a published opinion or an image distorts Buddhists ideas¹⁰ or is nothing but a “bricolage”, composed of a number of ideas similar to those of the New Age movement, and popular notions – about *nibbāna*, *kamma*, *zen*, etc. – sometimes ridiculing Buddhism¹¹ or appear in a form of humorous associations.

However, despite the fact that any information with any label can be posted online virtually by anyone, institutional Buddhism has

⁹ I'm using a phrase borrowed by Stephen Batchelor from the digital world, where Buddhism 1.0 is traditionalist, hierarchical, religious-goal-oriented – see S. Batchelor. *Buddhism 2.0: A Secular Manifesto* (online) <https://againstthestreamnashville.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/buddhism2.pdf> p. 3 (accessed 2018-01-06); S. Batchelor, 2012. “A Secular Buddhism”. In *Journal of Global Buddhism* 13, pp. 87–107.

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. *Hate Religion. Become Buddhist* (online) <http://buddhismwoot.weebly.com/internet.html>; <http://knowyourmeme.com/memes/hipster-kitty/photos> (accessed 2017-08-31).

¹¹ How to be ultra spiritual (funny) – with JPSears. (online) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1kDso5ElFRg> (accessed 2017-08-22).

developed in modern times mechanisms and procedures partially protecting against false gurus and substantially false content, presented on websites. With online access to classic, canonical publications and pages of renowned authority figures, one can to some extent verify any other content published online, on top of which there are now pages warning about the abuses of usurpers and teachers, if their teachings or behaviour stir up controversy.¹² A separate issue is the legitimization of these sites, of each entry there, the accuracy of each legitimization ad infinitum.

In the trend not necessarily in conformity with Buddhist teachings or inspirational references to Buddhism I also include a myriad of loose callbacks to Buddhism in pop culture (from the name like “Nirvana” – an American rock band, through some ideas, like in the film *Little Buddha* by Bernardo Bertolucci, to the notions and free associations, such as the ones in *Enter the Void*, the movie by Gaspar Noé, etc.), all kinds of reality shows¹³ etc., as well as using the label of “Buddhism” for commercial purposes when advertising services and products, which I often come across researching the contemporary forms and digital presence of Buddhism and its elements. An example of this could be a number of marketing campaigns, in which *zen* is a synonym of relaxation, like in the case of French cosmetics brands *Lancôme* (with its lines of face creams, Hydra Zen Neurocalm, Hydra Zen Anti-Stress and many other products), Nocibé (I’m zen, in original French: Je suis Zen), Japanese Shiseido, many hotels with the word “zen” in the name (like the Italian: Zen Hotel Cesenatico, Spanish Hotel Zen, Turkish ZEN The Inn Resort & Spa Hotel, Nirvana SPA in Great Britain), using it as a way to promote comfort and a chance to relax, not teaching or/and offering Zen practice sessions, to name just a few. Popular search engines show as first the sites positioned by companies, which are supposed to attract potential clients and not necessarily what we are actually looking for. That’s why, when searching the word *zen*, for instance, quite often we’ll only see ads for products and services and pop culture artefacts, which have nothing to do with the Zen Buddhism. A more serious problem, which should provoke reflection and confrontation, seem to be however, the robotization and

¹² E.g. <http://viewonbuddhism.org/controversy-controversial-teacher-group-centre-questionable.html> (accessed 08.2017-08-23).

¹³ E.g. “Fist of Zen”, MTV series with numerous episodes available on You Tube since 2007.

artificial intelligence, which are inevitably becoming more advanced and applied in all areas of life.

Virtuality and artificial intelligence factor eliminating humans

Apart from interesting discussion topics, raised from the end of the 20th century, concerning ethics or metaphysics, like (1) a possibility of accumulating *kamma* while playing all kinds of computer games, including those in which killing opponents is purely virtual or in role-playing games, (2) regarding the possibility of (self)-consciousness, which might sound like science-fiction, but which is an option one cannot totally rule out, or (3) questions about a potential Buddha nature of robots, as not driven by emotions, acting without the sense of “I”, etc.,¹⁴ I consider important to consider another aspect of the contemporary Buddhism, namely a gradual elimination of a man, a human teacher as a source of Dhamma transmission.

Four separate observations prompted me to raise this question: the activity of the English-language websites, connected to two Tibetan teachers of Buddhism, known in Europe and the United States: Chogyal Namkhai Norbu Rinpoche (Tib. *chos rgyal nam mkha'i nor bu rin po che*) and Chogyam Trungpa Rinpoche (Tib. *chos rgyam drung pa rin po che*), the appearance and popularity of robot monks in China and Japan, as well as a phenomenon of a Japanese virtual singer, Hatsune Miku (Jap. 初音 ミク).

Chogyal Namkhai Norbu Rinpoche, born in 1938 in Dege (Tib. *sde dge*, Chin. 更庆镇), in childhood was recognized as a re-incarnation of a great master of the Dzogchen (Tib. *rdzogs chen*) tradition. After receiving a traditional education and completing a full Buddhist training, he left and settled in Italy at the invitation of an Italian Tibetologist, Giuseppe Tucci. After years of academic work as a professor of the Tibetan and Mongolian language as well as literature

¹⁴ See e.g. a book by a Japanese roboticist and a Buddhist practitioner, M. Mori. 1981. *The Buddha in the Robot: A robot engineer's thoughts on science and religion*. transl. Ch. S. Terry, Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co. (first published in Japanese in two volumes, Mori Masahiro no Bukkyō Nyūmon and Shingen, 1974) and a South Korean movie by Kim Jee-woon, Yim Pil-sung (dir.). 2012. *Doomsday Book*, 2nd part *The Heavenly Creature (Robot-Buddha)*, which includes references to this concept; a famous sentence: "Perception is what classifies one as Buddha and another as machine" is said at 2'32" in the movie clip posted on You Tube (online) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G9xPhf61NBQ> (accessed 2018-03-04).

at the Naples Eastern University, he dedicated himself, among other things, to teaching Dzogchen in the West and creating an International Dzogchen Community. For almost two decades, apart from the teachings he gave personally all around the world, his teachings have also been available online, including live sessions.¹⁵ They start with a collective chants and meditational practice online, and then, after a session of teaching and Dharma instructions, at the end of a webcast Rinpoche may give the oral authorization for a practice (Tib. *lung*), which is believed to have the same effect as a given personally face to face. As a registered member of the community, one can participate in individual webcasts live, in real time, as well as watch or listen to archived versions at any time.

The second mentioned website is administered by the students and volunteers of the late mediation master and khenpo (i.e. holder of a degree in higher Buddhist studies in the Tibetan tradition), born in 1939 in Nangchen (Tib. *nang chen*; Chin. 囊谦), who was believed to be the 11th incarnation in one of the lines of the Buddhist Kagyu school. Chogyam Trungpa Rinpoche was also educated in the Nyingma tradition and advocated the non-sectarian Rime movement. After living in India, Rinpoche settled in Great Britain and then in the US, where he ran and opened many Vajrayāna centres, becoming very popular but also provoking great controversies. He passed away more than 30 years ago. The teachings, seminars, etc., he gave before he died, are available post-mortem on the webpage¹⁶ administered mostly by the Rinpoche's students of long standing, but also new volunteers; the platform is also used for practices, meetings and discussions among its users on at least two continents in an interactive digital 'shrine room' available on a desktop, laptop and an app for tablets and smartphones. On the website we read, that the goal of this undertaking is:

to further the study and practice of Chogyam Trungpa's teachings, and to nurture community amongst old and new students alike. We will develop introductory classes and a broad curriculum of in depth learning, drawing from all aspects of Chogyam Trungpa's teachings. We will create a network of support for all levels of dharma practice, and collaborate with the variety of other initiatives by Chogyam Trungpa's students furthering his

¹⁵ (online) <http://webcast.dzogchen.net/> (accessed 2018-06-08).

¹⁶ *Ocean: The Vast Teachings of Chogyam Trungpa* (online) <https://ocean.chronicleproject.com/learn-more/> (accessed 2017-03-20).

*teachings.*¹⁷

The framework of teaching the Dhamma, disseminating the words of the teacher, who died many years ago like Trungpa Rinpoche, or of a living one, while making his talks available as videos also through an archive, like Namkhai Norbu Rinpoche, was moved online and first of all, deterritorialized, removed from locality, and second of all, through video-filming and digitalization, detemporized, separated from a particular time of an event, so next generations can draw from it as well. A physical presence can nowadays be replaced with not only writing or a real life transmission by students in real time, but also with a digital image, available around the clock and in the near future also a hologram (though, this type of recording might already be utilized by Buddhist websites), and personal visits to a temple or pilgrimages might for some people be substituted by Second Life or virtual reality, giving the illusion of participating in a real life situation. In our times, besides the phenomenon of the Dhamma being spread via digital carriers and the Internet as well as consuming the resources available online, what Christopher Helland called *religion online*, also the possibilities of participating in the religious life through the Internet, that is *online religion*, to use an early distinction, made by him, are becoming more and more available.¹⁸

Other phenomena, important in the context of the modern religiousness are: robotization and self-learning software, based on, among other things, genetic algorithms or models of neural networks. Robots and autonomous robots already disburden people on a massive scale, like in the case of jobs connected to manufacturing, construction, transport, commerce, etc., and artificial intelligence, being much more efficient than a human one in collecting, analysing and profiling data, is used in an increasing number of services. Therefore, in a number of areas of the human activity, a gradual process is taking place of eliminating humans and entire work groups, which in the near future may apply, for example, to drivers,¹⁹ pilots, etc., once autonomous ve-

¹⁷ <http://ocean.chronicleproject.com/about/mission/> (accessed 2017-08-27).

¹⁸ Ch. Helland. 2000. *Online Religion/Religion Online and Virtual Communities*. In *Religion on the Internet: Research Prospects and Promises, Religion and the Social Order*. D. E. Cowan and J. K. Hadden, eds. New York: JAI Press, after: E. Yonnetti, *Tibetan Buddhism...*, op. cit. p. 5.

¹⁹ E.g. NuTomy Company plans to implement in 2017 autonomous taxis, first in Singapore, then in Boston – A. Lian, D.-A. Durbin. 2016. *World's First Self-Driving*

hicles are implemented on a larger scale. Leaving aside all kinds of social and psychological problems, which will be generated by the population growth combined with the increasing oversupply of manpower, i.e., a growing number of people, but people unemployed, let's take a look at the way, in which the phenomena of artificial intelligence and robotization are already represented in Buddhism.

On the one hand, we are dealing with websites containing Buddhist-related thought, which are perhaps still created by people, but on the other, on social networks, in order to filter out spam in e-mails (e.g., in Gmail) and in Internet search engines, artificial intelligence is massively used. As I mentioned earlier, the recipient doesn't necessarily have any influence on the positioning and displaying web content and links, which he or she will see after typing in a "Buddhism" keyword. Most importantly however, the program DeepText, based on the neural networks, decodes meaning, including the contextual meaning of posts, and Baidu with the Deep Speech 2, based on deep neural networks, translates speech and text between languages from distant language families. Siri, VocalIQ and Viv can already give sensible answers to general questions, Netflix suggests movies to Internet users, LinkedIn or Facebook suggest or select people you might know, to name just a few types of software and their capabilities. To my knowledge there is at least one Buddhist chatbot, in China, so it's only a matter of time, before more appear to manage Buddhist sites and the Q&A sessions.

Going back to robotization, soon we might not be sure whether in real life, e.g., in the Dhamma centre, we will be greeted by a person, a hologram or a humanoid robot. The first Buddhobot in the world, that is a 3D Buddhist robot-assistant, made its debut in autumn of 2015 in China²⁰ and now can be usually seen in the Longquan (Chin. 龙泉寺) temple on the north-west outskirts of Beijing. This 60 cm tall first generation robot, called Xian'er (Chin. 贤二), is not yet an imitation of a human, though has a shaved head, saffron robes, walks, answers simple questions via a touch-pad screen on the chest or in a

Taxis Debut in Singapore. 2016-08-25 (online) <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-08-25/world-s-first-self-driving-taxi-debut-in-singapore> (accessed 2017-08-26).

²⁰ Didi Kirsten Tatlow. 2016. *Meet Xian'er, the world's first robot monk.* 2016.04.27 (online) <https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/world/2016/04/27/meet-xian-world-first-robot-monk/bszSRO6Wv9ug6z40zKoSEP/story.html> (accessed 2016-12-12).

voice of a 9 year old boy, chants sutras and as Yun Ke says, “It attracts more than 60,000 visitors and many young high-educated people stay there for volunteering at Longquan Animation [Longquan Monastery Animation Centre]”.²¹ The temple is visited by many people, so not everyone has a chance to talk to the 3 D robot or ask it a question, some can only watch it and take a selfie. An online version of Xian'er, the Buddhists chatbot, is available on the 24/7 basis, and a popular WeChat, where it has an account as Xianerjiqiseng (贤二机器僧), enables users to follow the latest cartoons and animations with the chatbot.

A physical form of the robot-monk comes from a cartoon, was created mostly for non-Buddhists by two students, Master Xian Shu and Master Xian Fan, on the basis of the Dharma talks of their teacher, the abbot Ven. Master Xue Cheng. The main cartoon character, Xian'er, was transformed into a characteristic robot in cooperation with artificial intelligence researchers from the top Chinese universities as well as a technology company, as “a reflection of innovative Buddhist spirit ... [who] might help traditional Buddhism reach a wider public more easily”.²²

The second generation robot monk, AD 2016, is twice as tall, recognizes faces of the people it has met before, perfectly remembers each conversation and it's beginning to communicate not only in Chinese, but also in English,²³ and in the very near future it should know all the canonical texts of the Chinese Buddhism. Soon two other Buddhist robots are set to appear: Master Xue Cheng's (the current abbot of the monastery) robot edition, who will know all the entries from the abbot's blog and many Buddhist texts, and the other robot: Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Chin. Guanyin).

Equipped with artificial intelligence Buddhist robot monks, which are already a reality, can answer millions of questions based on

²¹ Yun Ke. 2016. “Finding Robot Monk Xian'er. Understanding Buddhism in Longquan Animation”. In *Journal of Visual and Media Anthropology*, Vol. 2 No. 1, pp. 7, 13.

²² *Robot monk to spread Buddhist wisdom to the digital generation*, (online) <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/apr/26/robot-monk-to-spread-buddhist-wisdom-to-the-digital-generation> (accessed 2017-08-24).

²³ Currently in an online version available on the WeChat portal, but equipping the physical form with the voice function is only a matter of time – J.Cui. 2017. *Robot monk learns to 'speak' English*. 2017-08-18 (online) http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2017-08/18/content_30762588.htm (accessed 2017-08-22).

the Big Database, and deep learning enables them to recognize faces with an increasing efficiency, but that's not all. Artificial intelligence makes it possible to recognize voice, read gestures and emotions as well as read lips better than human experts, so it's possible that the third generation Xian'er will possess those skills.

There is a generation growing up, who next to the image of Buddha, put on the altar the image of Xian'er, treated like a Bodhisattva or a Sangha jewel. When visiting a monastery, they look for the robot, instead of a human monk, they bow to the robot monk or say "goodnight" to it every night on WeChat, before going to bed.²⁴

Such behaviours are evocative of a cult. There hasn't been any research yet, which would make it possible to assess the scale of the phenomenon, but the popularity of Xian'er, who's account I followed for two weeks in August of 2017 on regular basis and occasionally for a year now, is clearly massive. Chinese media report that its Chinese-language "account on WeChat has about 1.2 million followers, increasing daily by over 1.000", and the next day after launching the English version, Internet users posted 42.000 questions on its English account.²⁵

A robot/chatbot, equipped with artificial intelligence arouses great interest or even veneration, both in the virtual form online and physical form in a temple. A human teacher, even though the robot uses his wisdom, knowledge and many phrases, was pushed into the background. A significant group if not the majority of recipients refer only to this creation, not reaching for the source.

The materials, available on the first generation robot monk on You Tube, show that its followers like to describe it as "cute" in the English equivalent.²⁶ Similarly, the pop culture virtual creation Hatsune Miku, which name means "the first sound from the future" first (初 *hatsu*), sound (音 *ne*), future (ミク *miku*) is also described as "cute".²⁷ Hatsune Miku is a fully virtual female singer, a virtual, humanoid

²⁴ Cf. Yun Ke. *Finding Robot Monk Xian'er*.... op. cit. pp. 19, 22.

²⁵ Cui Jia. *Robot monk learns to 'speak' English*. op. cit.

²⁶ *Buddhism's High-Tech Upgrade Is This Cute Robot Monk* (online) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_jFv_7G4iBg (accessed 2016-05-29); *China's robot monk has lessons on Buddhism* (online) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m7DNflc1SJ0> (accessed 2017-08-22) 0'41"; *Robot monk spreads wisdom of Buddhism in Beijing* (online) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pyeiTatXJWQ> (accessed 2017-08-22), 0'28".

²⁷ Cf. the interviews presented in the movie by Ann Oren. 2017. *The World Is Mine*.

star, promoted since 2008 and it is a vocaloid, a creation attracting and activating a large community of cosplayers and fans. Hatsune Miku looks like a 16 year old and has characteristic features like turquoise hair, unique clothes, etc. At crowded concerts it acts as a singing and dancing hologram, which sings songs now composed entirely by the fans, its “followers”, who are not only Japanese. I refer to this creation to point out, that completely artificial creations and their representations, not based on a human prototype, can attract crowds and be worshipped by all forms of a cult, similarly to real people, regardless of whether we are dealing with a religious, pop cultural, individual or collective context.

To sum up, Buddhism in the Digital Era doesn't only mean an unlimited capacity to archive the Buddha Dhamma, using various digital resources in studying and practising it. It also implies many challenges, connected to the risk of contamination of the Dhamma with any possible content or propagating it by usurpers and incompetent people on a scale larger than before the digital turn. Brand new possibilities of the Dhamma dissemination, through the Internet, social media, animations, robots and artificial intelligence, at the same time present brand new challenges.

Artificial intelligence with its deep learning and cognitive systems, which make it possible to systematically and autonomously acquire new features and skills, is beginning to exceed human minds in almost any field, also as regards general knowledge and increasingly more often when it comes to social skills. Robot or virtual Dhamma teacher might possess flawless knowledge of all canonical and other texts, can remember millions of people it has ever met and all conversations with them. Thanks to the recognition of not only natural language, including the contextual recognition supported by deep learning, but also to the reading of the body language: emotions, gestures, etc., it can personalize the message. On top of that it doesn't sleep, never gets sick or tired and can always be smiling as well as available around the clock.

As far as the Dhamma dissemination is concerned, we are dealing with another medium of communication with an almost unlimited reach, “a perfect vessel for spreading the wisdom of Buddhism” to quote Master Xian Fan,²⁸ who designed the image of the first robot

²⁸ After New China TV, *Robot monk spreads wisdom of Buddhism in Beijing*, op. cit., 0'42"-0'45".

monk. But, in my opinion, another layer we can see is that people visit temples less frequently, while becoming netizens more and more fully. This will be further facilitated by the development of the virtual reality, possible abandoning human teachers by followers who will move to worship characters from cartoons, animations and similar human creations, which seems to be the case based, among other things, on the growing popularity of the Chinese robot monk and frequent looking for answers and explanations online, in the search engines like Google and other popular locally, rather than from a specific human authority figure, a teacher. For example, it's much easier to understand, how to generate (Tib. *bskyed rim*) a multipartite, complicated Vajrayāna visualisation, e.g., in the Kalacakra practice, when you can see a relevant computer animation²⁹ rather than only through listening to the description of its subsequent stages.

Conclusion

The growth of an *online religion* phenomenon, or more specifically online Buddhism with its online missionaries, cybertemples, e-prayers (e.g. digital mantras, digital prayer wheels in the Tibetan Buddhism),³⁰ Vajrayāna empowerments shown on large screens, group meditations online, justified, among other things, by a loss of confidence in some teachers or the discomfort of the human contact,³¹ have become ubiquitous throughout the world. Even Buddhist ceremonies, conducted for centuries by human monks and masters, might be taken over by robots, like the Japanese humanoid robot, “Pepper”, an automated funerary Buddhist priest to hire, who can chant appropriate sutras while tapping a drum, and which has just been presented at the Life Ending Industry Expo in Tokyo Sept. 23, 2017. Media report that its services might be about five times cheaper than the ceremony conducted by a human priest.³² This robot, unlike the Chinese one, was

²⁹ Cf. interactive Flash image to explain the 10-fold Powerful One at International Kalachakra Network (online) http://kalachakranet.org/kalachakra_tantra_10-fold_powerful.html (accessed 2018-05-28).

³⁰ Cf. *Digital Prayer Wheels* (online) <http://www.dharma-haven.org/tibetan/digital-wheels.htm> (accessed 28-08-2017).

³¹ See e.g. observations of Eben Yonnetti “several users expressed their interest in *Ocean* because they did not feel comfortable at a religious centre and felt they could practice better surrounded by a digital community rather than a live one”. – E. Yonnetti. *Tibetan Buddhism in the Digital Age...* op. cit., p. 13.

³² *Pray with Pepper, Japan's New Robotic Buddhist Priest*, (online) <https://sputniknews.com>.

not created by Buddhist monks and a monastery volunteers, but by SoftBank, Commerce & Service Corp., so it will most likely be soon commercialized.

The algorithms of deep learning and the development of artificial intelligence are leading to a new wave of technological and civilization revolution, redefining our contacts, interactions and activities. Even if the needs for religiousness and interest in Buddhism are still present, and the Digital Era offers many opportunities mentioned above, at the same time there are more risks (1) to change the Dhamma into a commercial product, (2) to practice self-made or self-chosen online meditations, i.e. tweaking beliefs and religious practices to one's individual needs, and (3) most of all turn to robot teachers, reducing the demand for human ones. The place for human teachers as observed in *Mahāyāna* and *Vajrayāna* milieus definitely starts to shrink in the 21th century.

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Towards a Critical Edition of the *Tiṭṭaka*

Bryan Levman

Abstract

The new Sīlakkhandavagga edition of the Dhammakāya Foundation represents a major milestone in the history of the Pāli textual tradition, as it is the first time that so many mss have been gathered and utilized in a new edition. The edition brings up several methodological issues involved in the critical, evaluative process for the creation of a “critical edition”. This paper discusses several of these, starting with the definition of a critical edition and its goal, which is defined as the restoration of the earliest inferable state of a text. This necessarily results in an eclectic text that in some cases may reach back to the earliest oral traditions of Buddhism, and in other cases is constrained by the orthography of the written tradition from approx. the first century BCE; the earliest texts did not notate geminates or long vowels and were therefore subject to some potential confusion as later traditions attempted to interpret the witnesses passed down to them. The -by-/-vy- interchange in the Sinhalese and Burmese traditions may stem from the absence of phonemic distinction between b and v in the early eastern Prakrits. The various reasons for voicedness variation and their usefulness for the critical process are also discussed.

Introduction

The new Dhammachai Tipiṭaka Project by the Dhammakāya Foundation (DK) was established in 2010 with the aim of producing a “new, critically edited, version of the Pāli canon”. Just released (2013) is their first volume, the *Sīlakkhandhavagga* of the *Dīghanikāya*, which utilizes nineteen manuscripts (mss) of the Burmese, Sri Lankan, Cambodian and Thailand traditions (the earliest dating from 1679), “in order to reconstruct a basic text from which all extant manuscripts can be theoretically derived”. The stated aim of the project is to reproduce the recension of the Pāli Tipiṭaka known to Buddhaghosa, although the editors acknowledge that “a word for word reproduction of Buddhaghosa’s archetype is beyond historical reconstruction” (xvi).

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Critical Edition?

“The business of textual criticism is to produce a text as close as possible to the original” (Maas 1958, 1). In the field of stemmatics, this involves the creation of a family tree (*stemma*) which shows the inter-relationship of all the witnesses and their relationship to the original, much like Darwin’s descent with variation: how the different descendants of a species relate to their common ancestors. Unfortunately this is not generally reconstructable in the Pāli tradition, as we have very few manuscripts and they are generally very late; not to mention that the earliest Buddhist teachings were transmitted orally and were not written down for two to three centuries after the *parinibbāna* of the teacher. The oldest Pāli manuscript we possess is perhaps ninth century (von Hinüber 1991), and while we do have many earlier Gāndhārī (and other Sanskritized Prakrit) manuscripts which are often useful in clarifying Pāli ambiguities, there has been “contamination” (*contaminatio*, that is the combination of several exemplars) in the tradition (Maas, 3), making it impossible to delineate a clear genealogy of texts.

Many of the early Pāli “critical editions” are therefore not critical in a stemmatic sense at all. They instead are an attempt to get the best reading amongst a limited set of manuscripts; by “best reading” I mean a reading which is considered to be the closest to the original. Because of the paucity of manuscript materials these editions may take one or more manuscripts as a base (or copy-text, see below) with corrections/improvements/cross-references incorporated into the text and so noted in the apparatus with other variants. So Andersen & Smith’s edition of the Suttanipāta (first published 1913) is based on two Sinhalese texts (C^k and C^b) and two versions of the *Paramatthajotikā* commentary (Pj^k and Pj^g), with the notes representing three Burmese redactions and other editorial changes. The editors also consult a Siamese manuscript (S^d) of the *Sallasutta*, a Sinhalese manuscript of the Majjhimanikāya (M^k, which contains the text of the *Sela-* and *Vāsetṭha’utta*) with its commentary (*Papañcasūdanī*) and the *Niddesa* printed text.

In his edition of the Majjhimanikāya (first published 1888), Trenckner uses only two manuscripts, a Sinhalese (A) and Burmese (M) redaction. He uses ms A for his basic text and gives the Burmese variants in the apparatus. He also of course consults Buddhaghosa’s commentary (*Papañcasūdanī*) and numerous parallel passages in other parts of the *Nikāyas* and in the Buddhist Sanskrit writings and pro-

vides various corrected and improved readings in the text, according to his judgment, which are explained in the apparatus.

In the PTS Dīghanikāya edition (first published 1890), Rhys Davids and Carpenter have access to only two manuscript copies, a Sinhalese (S^m) and Burmese (B^p). The Sinhalese is used as a base text with Burmese variations noted in the apparatus along with variants from four nineteenth century copies of Buddhaghosa's *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* (three Sinhalese and one Burmese). Although it does not give criteria for word choice, it sometimes gives cross-references within the *Tipiṭaka* and other Buddhist works.

The DK is to be greatly commended for their tremendous effort in gathering so many manuscripts of the Dīghanikāya and this first, comprehensive attempt to create a *Sīlakkhandhavagga* critical edition. The purpose of this article is to discuss some methodological issues raised by the new edition. Dr. Alexander Wynne, the editor of the DK project, has kindly read over this article and made comments on certain points; I include these in the text and footnotes where applicable.

Goal of a Critical Edition

The goal of a critical edition is to present a “critical text that is constructed by the textual judgments of the editors,” whose aim is to produce a textual archetype, that is, “the earliest inferable state of the text” (Hendel 2013, 203). It is not the original text (which is often beyond recovery), but the latest common ancestor of all the texts consulted, from which they all derived. The process involves two major types of text-critical decision:

“1. Adjudicating among variants to determine which is most plausibly the archetype, i.e. which reading is ancestral to the others. 2. Proposing a reconstruction or conjecture of the archetype where none of the variants is plausibly the archetype” (Hendel 2008, 330).

Since a critical edition draws from many sources it is called “eclectic”. The actual reconstructed text will probably not exist in that form in any one manuscript; by its nature it cannot be localised to any one time, like that of Buddhaghosa. The apparatus should list variants, a selection of proposed emendations and a critical evaluation of variants and conjectural emendations, as in the only critical editions of the Bible, the *Biblia Hebraica* and the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*; the

new Scholars (formerly Oxford) Hebrew Bible project also contains an additional section of text-critical commentary (complementing the apparatus) which briefly explains the basis of the editorial decisions in the apparatus, referring to the appropriate literature. A critical edition should therefore present - as much as is feasible - the whole history of the text, from its earliest inferable state of the text “through its small and large transformations as an interpreted text, including new editions, linguistic and theological updating, explication and harmonization, and scribal accidents” (Tov 1992, 373; Hendel 2013, 16).¹

The goal of an eclectic, critical edition should be the earliest recoverable transmission, which means the earliest inferable transmission, based on the available data. Though all our surviving witnesses are textual, the earliest inferable state is not necessarily textual, but may in fact be traced to a pre-textual oral transmission. In his study of the *Sabbhiyasutta* for example, K. R. Norman suggests that the poem dates back to before the Theravādin-Mahāsaṅghika split in about the third century BCE, and that the verses may well have been uttered by the Buddha himself (1980, 179). Certain words in the *sutta* like *virayo* (for which we have two different reflexes, *virato* and *virajo* in corresponding verses of the Suttanipāta and *Mahāvastu*) go back to a common ancestor of the surviving witnesses, a language which has been characterised as “une langue pré-canonique”, (Lévi 1912), a *lingua franca* (Geiger 1916, 4), *koine Gangétique* (“of which Ardhamāgadhī and Pali represent the oldest normalizations”, Smith 1952, 178), or Buddhist Middle Indic (BMI, von Hinüber 1983, 9) into which the Buddha’s teachings were translated at a very early time (perhaps during or shortly after his lifetime), and from which further translations were made into Pāli and the other Buddhist dialects.² The underlying stratum - whether *lingua franca* or lost dialect form - was a very malleable speech-form, where many of the dialect differences had been homogenized and/or removed, allowing the hearer to make what substitu-

¹ For a sample see <http://ohb.berkeley.edu/samples.htm>.

² See also Oskar von Hinüber, 1985a, 65, where the author says the P and BHS “have branched off from the same root, a language obviously earlier than both, but later than the earliest language of the Buddhist tradition. For the linguistic movement from east to west had taken place already at this stage of development of a language, which might be called Buddhist Middle Indic”. K. R. Norman, (2006, 95) maintained that the earlier linguistic forms through which the Theravādin canon was transmitted was a “mixture of dialects or sub-dialects...employed in the East at the time of Aśoka and probably earlier”. Norman (1995, 310) disagreed with the notion of a *lingua franca* (which he characterized as a form of “standard Middle Indic”).

tions and additions he/she required for understanding. Geiger termed this language, “surely no pure dialect of the people, but a language of the higher and cultured classes (*Hoch und Gebildetensprache*) which had been brought into being already in pre-Buddhistic times through the needs of inter-communication produced by social interaction (the *Verkehr* in *Verkehrssprache*) in India. Such a *lingua franca* naturally contained elements of all the dialects, but was surely free from the most obtrusive dialectal characteristics”.³ Lüders (1954, 7–8) called the earliest recoverable transmission of Buddhism an “Urkanon” which he equated with the language of Alt-Ardhamāgadhī and the Aśokan Kanzleisprache (administrative language) but at a more advanced stage of development. The *lingua franca* may well have been “un langage réellement parlé”, and remnants of it are recoverable, especially when we have more than one linguistic witness which has survived from different traditions branching off from a common source (Filliozat 1954, 166; Levman 2014). When the linguistic variants are all from the same tradition (e.g. south east Asian: Thai, Cambodian, Burmese and Sri Lanka), this common source is not necessarily recoverable, as the direction of change is often not inferable. In that case, all one can do is list the variants in the critical apparatus and let the reader decide. When two or more forms make linguistic and grammatical sense, it is particularly difficult to establish priority.⁴

³ Geiger 1916, 3–4. “...gewiss kein reiner Volksdialekt, sondern eine darüber stehende Hoch- und Gebildetensprache, wie schon in vorbuddhisticcher Zeit die Bedürfnisse des Verkehrs in Indien sie geschaffen hatten. Eine solche *lingua franca* enthielt naturgemäss Elemente aus allen Dialekten, wird sich aber gerade von den auffallendsten mundartlichen Erscheinungen frei gehalten haben“. English translation by Ghosh in Geiger 1916/1943, 4–5. The original *lingua franca* was a trade language in the eastern Mediterranean in the late Middle Ages, used for dealings between people who had different mother tongues, per Trask 2000, 196. I have changed Ghosh’s translation of “reiner Volksdialekt” (“no purely popular dialect”) to “pure dialect of the people” as above, which I think represents the German better.

⁴ For example, *Dhammapada* v. 335-d where we have four variants of the P word *abbivaṭṭham* (Burmese), *abbivaṭṭham* (PTS), *abbivaḍḍham* or *abbivutṭham* (Thai), *abbivudḍham* (Cambodian) and the meaning is clearly between two choices (*abbivaṭṭam*, *abbivaṭṭham* or *abbivutṭham* < *abbivṛṣṭa* “rained upon”) and *abbivaḍḍham*, *abbivudḍham* < *abbivṛddha* “increased,” the latter construction agreeing with *pavaddhanti*, “it increases” in *pada* c). Normally the directionality of lenition (unvoiced > voiced) would suggest that the *-ṭṭ(h)-* group was earlier (as *-ṭ-* > *-ḍ-* and *-ṭh-* > *-ḍh-* per Pischel §198); however, the *-ṭṭh-* geminate does not generally respond in the same way as single intervocalics, and in any case, dialect confusion in intervocalics often results in random voicing changes (see discussion below).

Arguably, the most important goal of a critical edition is to deal with substantive issues of the meaning of words, but features of spelling, punctuation and orthography are often just as important, as they can affect the meaning; for example, the fact that geminate consonants were not written in the first renditions of the *Tipiṭaka* led to potential confusion later on, when scribes had to decide what a word meant and what its correct spelling should be (Norman 1994, 247-49).⁵

The “eclectic” aspect of a critical edition means that the reconstruction will have varying time scales; it is an idealized edition which can not be localized to any particular time, mixing some elements of the early oral tradition perhaps close to the time of the historical Buddha with other issues which are much later, relating for example to orthography and textual transmission issues from the time the canon was first written down (first century BC) to Buddhaghosa (fifth century AD) and even later. The majority of the transmission will have been harmonized by scribes over the centuries so that only some of the more perplexing and intractable variants will remain. In this respect the word “archetype” used in biblical text criticism is not an accurate term, as it suggests that this “latest common ancestor” actually existed at one point and place in time, whereas it is really just an idealized conception for an earliest recoverable transmission. Although much more has been lost that can ever be recovered, and even if sometimes the transmission history seems an “impenetrable blur” (Hendel 2013, 8), it is undeniable that the *Buddhavaṇana* was meant to be memorized (Levman 2014, 109-140 and references therein) and often - when parallel cognate passages from different traditions have been preserved - this common, earlier source can be recovered, at least in part.

Matters of substance

All issues of meaning are matters of substance and must be dealt with in the critical apparatus. So, to take one example, consider the famous *gāthā* about the nature of *nibbāna* in the *Kevaṭṭasutta* (DK 214¹³, DN 1 223¹²):

⁵ For example the word *nimināti* “exchange” and *nimmināti* “construct”. For examples of what writing at the time of the canon’s first inscription (first century BCE) may have looked like, see Paranavitana 1970 which lists cave inscriptions in the early Brāhmī script (in Old Sinhalese) between the 3rd century BCE and the 1st century CE. See especially page xxxiv, where the author notes that “not a single example of a conjoint consonant has been found to occur in the documents included in Section 1 [early Brāhmī script]”.

viññāṇaṃ anidassanaṃ anantaṃ sabbato-pabbhaṃ

“Non-manifesting consciousness, endless, *sabbato-pabbhaṃ*”.

The PTS edition here has *sabbato-pabaṃ*, listing no variants (even though there are some in the commentary). The DK has *sabbato-pabbhaṃ* and list variants *-pabbhaṃ*, *-sabbaṃ*, *-sataṃ* and *-pabaṃ*, with no attempt to explain why the editors chose *-pabbhaṃ*. When one studies the surviving Indic and Tibetan witnesses of this compound, one finds four variations: “a pathway to everywhere” < *-patha* (and in the commentary a related word *-papa*, referring to a fording place); “shining everywhere” < *-prabhā*; “extending everywhere” < *-pṛthu*; “everywhere the lord” < *-prabhu*; all of which may be attributable to the root form *sabbato-paba* or *sabbato-pabu* (with a north-western nominative ending).⁶ The form with the aspirate only is the earliest recoverable form, as the change of aspirated stops to aspirates only is a well known feature of the *lingua franca/koine* and happened very early on, and is certainly a feature of the oral, pre-writing tradition;⁷ this form (*-pabaṃ*) is the best candidate for the earliest form of the text from which other variants can be derived and should be in the main text with the other variants listed and the relevant literature referred to. The word *paba(u)* explains all the surviving reflexes of the word except for the two beginning with an *s-* (*sataṃ* and *sabbaṃ*) which must be explained as either a mistake or a deliberate alteration by a scribe who didn’t understand *-paba*, or whatever he/she had in his exemplar. Should the editor disagree and propose *prabha* as the earliest form, then the rationale for his/her choice should also be explicated.⁸

⁶ K. R. Norman 1987, 23-31 lists all of these variants except *-pṛthu* (for this variant, see Zhou 2008, 9 in Anālayo 2011, 297) and further discussion in Levman 2014, 378-387. Norman feels that the confusion over *-paba* and *-pabba* is due to the similarity of the *-ba-* and *-bba-* *akṣaras* in Sinhalese (although earlier in the article he does say that “perhaps the earliest version of the epithet had the form of *sabbato-paba*”, 187), while I argue that it goes back to the oral tradition. I do not list the non-canonical variant found at Sadd 622²¹, *-pabba*. For *-u* as a north-western ending see Brough 1962, §75. Hereinafter GDhp.

⁷ This phonological feature appears as early as the Vedic writings; see Bloomfield and Edgerton 1932, §115-124; and is present in the Aśokan edicts, e.g. *laghu* > *labu* in PE 7, section KK. See Levman 2014, 151-52 for a list. The use of aspirates for aspirated stops accounts for such confusions as *parigha* (“cross bar”) and *palikbā* (“moat”) in DhP 398-c and corresponding UV verse 33.58A-c (discussion in Levman 282-86).

⁸ Wynne states that DK has followed the parallel MN version “where the primary reading *pabbhaṃ* is not in doubt, and feel that this is probably the correct interpretation

Another example of confused meaning from the same *sutta* is the word *dhamaṃsemi* DK 205¹³, DN 1, 211²⁰. This is the majority transmission (nine of nineteen) which suggests a derivation from S √*dhvam*s, caus. (“to destroy, disturb”) which, however, does not seem right in this context, although the commentary seems to endorse this reading (Sv 2 388²⁴-389²: *na dhamaṃsemi ti na guṇa-vināsanena dhamaṃsemi, sīla-bbedamaṃ pāpetvā na anupubbena ucca-tṭhānato otārento nīca-tṭhāne tṭhapemi, attha kho aham Buddha-sāsanassa vuddhiṃ paṇḍāsanto kathemī ti dasseti*, “I do not destroy”; through destroying virtue, I do not destroy. ‘Having caused a breach of morality, gradually lowering from a high place, I do not place it in a low place; but I speak, desirous of the growth of the Buddha’s teaching,’ so he points out”).⁹ But Kevaṭṭa is not saying “I do not destroy the Blessed One”. Rather (as the PED suggests) the derivation is much more likely from S √*dhṛ*s, “dare to attack, treat with indignity, deride” which suggests that the transmission without *anusvāra* (ms LS3, *dbasemi* < S *dharaṣayāmi*) is more apt (“I do not offend you”).¹⁰ The *dbasemi* reading may be further corroborated by the *dhammaṃ desemi* Burmese variant (from the earliest Burmese ms BY1 of 1679 CE, which also happens to be the earliest ms of all those referred to in DK) of which *dbasemi* may be a contraction, i. e. an example of haplology in the oral or written transmission, e.g. *dhammaṃ desemi* (“preach the dharma”) > *dhamaṃsemi* > *dbasemi*. This variant also occurs in a Sinhalese version of the commentary (S^c, PTS p. 211, footnote 6, omitted in DK) and the variant *na desemi* (“I do not teach”) also occurs in another Sinhalese commentary (S^d, op. cit., not cited in DK), which of course is another possibility (“I do not teach the Blessed One...”). This accounts for all the variations except *tṭhapesi(m)*, which probably comes from the commentary (as noted above: *na guṇavināsanena dhamaṃsemi, sīlabbedamaṃ pāpetvā anupubbena*

of the underlying form *pabam*” as the Ee (PTS) reading of the DN and commentary which contains *pabam* is probably a mistake for *pabbam* because of the similarity of the *akṣaras* in Sinhalese script (as per footnote ⁶ above).

⁹ The *ṭikā* glosses *na dhamaṃsemi with na cāvemi* (“cause to bring to fall, cause to drive away, cause to distract”). Volume 1, p. 507 in the Burmese edition.

¹⁰ Per M. Cone in her *Dictionary of Pāli*, Pt 2, 456, 480, this verb can also appear with *anusvāra*. According to *Saddanīti* (Smith 1928, 568⁸), however, it is written with a single *-s-*, *dhaseti* = *dhasaṣayati* (marked by Smith as “approximatif” and “inusité” that is, “uncommon”, p. 1173) which comes from Skt. √*dhṛ*s in the meaning *pabāsane/pabasane* (“mockery, derision”). See Westergaard (1841, 377) for Sanskrit root √*dhṛ*s (34⁴³) where he gives the meaning *prasabane* (“overcome, defeat”) with var. *prabasane* (“mockery, derision”).

uccatṭhānato otārento nīcatṭhāne na ṭhapemi), and *semi* which looks like a scribal error for *dhasemi*.

There are then five possibilities for this lemma: 1) *dhamsemi* < Skt. \sqrt{dhvam} s, “I do not destroy”; 2) *dhamsemi* from Skt. \sqrt{dhr} ṣ, “I do not deride” or a haplogy of *dhammaṃ desemi*, “I do not teach [the Blessed One] the dharma”; 3) *dhasemi* from Skt. \sqrt{dhr} ṣ, “I do not deride”, or a haplogy of *dhammaṃ desemi*; 4) *dhammaṃ desemi*, and 5) *desemi* < Skt. \sqrt{di} ś, causative, “I do not teach [the Blessed One]” from word loss *dhammaṃ* > \emptyset , leaving *desemi*. So although we can not determine which of these variants is earlier, the fourth (“I will not teach the Blessed One the dharma”) appears to be the most likely candidate as 1) this exact phrase, *dhammaṃ desemi*, occurs in the previous line where the Buddha says he doesn’t teach this type of dharma to the monks, DK 205¹⁰; 2) it makes the most sense semantically in the context; 3) it occurs in the two principal traditions, Sinhalese and Burmese, plus 4) it can account for all the variants. It is unlikely that *dhamsemi* is the earlier form, at least in the form derived from Skt. \sqrt{dhvam} s, and its derivation from \sqrt{dhr} ṣ is questionable. As the reader can see, this evaluation is quite complex and one’s reasoning for the form chosen should be illustrated in the critical apparatus (and notes if there are any), with references to any literature on the subject, if available. This is what makes a critical edition critical – the exercise of evaluative judgment, although in this case the decision is perhaps not as clear-cut as the previous *-paha* example.¹¹

¹¹ Wynne suggests that *dhammaṃ deseti* is a scribal error taken from its occurrence in the previous line and cautions that BY1 is “full of scribal mistakes and slips”. But as I have noted, it also occurs in the Sinhalese tradition. He suggests that *dhamseti* (the lemma in the DK version) is derived from *dharṣayati* (< \sqrt{dhr} ṣ, causative) > *dbasseti* > *dbamseti* in analogy with *gharṣati* > *ghamṣati* or *utkarṣati* > *ukkamṣati*. I am not convinced about this derivation which I would construe as *dhrṣ* > *dhasati* > *dbasayati* > *dbaseti*, as per *Saddanīti* (without the *anusvāra*) and in analogy with, for example, *krṣ* > *kasati* (“to plow”); however, both *dhas-* and *dhamṣ-* may be possible, if Cone is correct. If *dhamsemi* is my editorial choice I would justify it in the apparatus as derived from \sqrt{dhr} ṣ as Wynne has done above and cite Cone’s apparent concurrence and *Saddnīti*’s divergence (*dbasati*). It is then up to the reader to decide, as neither word is definitive. One might also cite (if he/she felt it was a reasonable explanation) the possible haplogy identified above (*dhammaṃ desemi* > *dhamsemi* > *dhasemi*). There is also a Chinese translation of this *sutta* which unfortunately omits the phrase in question, although Kevaṭṭa (堅固, Jiāngù “firm”) does ask three times 當為現神足顯上人法 *Dāngwéi xiàn shén zú xiǎn shàng rén fǎ*, T01n0001_p0101b20 = “you should display [your] spiritual powers and demonstrate the dharma of superior people” translating PTS DN 1, 211¹⁰⁻¹¹, *uttari-manussa-dhammā iddhi-pāṭihāriyam karottha*; DK 205⁶⁻⁷,

Orthography

Often orthography will affect the meaning and the editor will have to make various decisions which must be defended. In DK 206⁹, the word *abbhijamāne* (with variants in *-o*, “not breaking, not separating”) occurs which is mirrored in the PTS DN 1, 212²⁵ with *abbhijamāno*. The difference between *-e* and *-o* endings could refer to case (nom. vs. loc.) or it could be dialectal, the nom. *-e* ending being typical of the northwestern and eastern dialects (Hultzsch 1969, xc, civ). The PED calls the reading with the *-e* ending “doubtful” although that is how Buddhaghosa takes it in the *Visuddhimagga* (396¹¹).¹² The CPD calls the spelling with *-o* “wrong reading” (w. r.), however it may well be a P translation (or mis-translation) of an underlying *koine* form in *-e*.¹³ There are three possible ways of translating the phrase in which this occurs (*udake pi abbhijamāne gacchati seyyathā pi paṭhaviyaṃ*): 1) “he also goes on the unbroken waters as if on land”, with the participle modifying *udake* 2) “he also goes on the waters, not breaking/sinking into (it), as if on land”, with the participle modifying “he” and in an active sense (not usually the case), and 3) “with the water not being broken, he also goes (on it), as if on land”, as an absolute construction, essentially the same as #1. They all are very similar in meaning; nevertheless one must be chosen and the evaluation with references placed in the apparatus (even if is only, as the CPD has it, w.r.). Since this is a common trope in the *Tiṭṭaka* and the instances of each fairly evenly divided in the Pāli tradition, one may have to look further afield in order to arrive at

and taking *uttari* as an adjective modifying *manussa*) and a Tibetan version in the *abhidharmakośa-tīkopyikā-nāma* where Kevaṭṭa (here the son of a fisherman) asks the question only once and the relevant phrase is omitted. The Tibetan translation of the phrase *uttari-manussa-dhammā iddhi-pāṭibhāriyaṃ* is different than the Chinese, taking *uttari* as an adverb qualifying *dhammā*, rather than as an adjective qualifying *manussa* as the Chinese have it (Buddhaghosa shows it both ways): *mi'i chos bla mar gyur pa'i rdzu 'phrul* (“magic powers beyond the nature of men”). <http://asianclassics.org/reader.php?collection=tenggyur&index=4094.02 pecha 62b4>.

¹² “Here water that one sinks into when trodden on is called ‘broken’, the opposite is called ‘unbroken’. *ettha yaṃ udakaṃ akkamitvā saṃsīdati, tam bhijamānan ti vuccati, viparītaṃ abbhijamānaṃ*. Vsm 396¹¹⁻¹³ Translation per Nānamoli 1976, 392.

¹³ Wynne suggests that we take it as a passive present participle agreeing with *udake* and leave it at that; i. e., *abbhijamāno* is a wrong reading. However this misses the point; when so many sources translate with the variant reading, it is no explanation to say that the “BHS, Tibetan and Chinese sources have probably misunderstood and mistranslated”. One must also ask why that is this case, and in this particular instance it is probably due to dialect differences.

an answer, or at least to examine all available evidence. In the Tibetan translation of the *Kevaṭṭasutta*, *abbijamāno* modifies the subject: *chu la yang 'bying ba med par 'gro ste*, “He also goes on the water, not sinking (in it)”.¹⁴ In the Chinese translation, it omits any mention of “sinking”: 若行水上。猶如履地 (*Ruò xíngshuǐ shàng. Yóurú lǚ dì*), “He walks on water just like on earth”¹⁵ The word also occurs in several parallel BHS texts as *abbidyamāno* in an active form where it is translated as “without sinking into” (Conze, 1975, 80)¹⁶; and in a passive form (as *bhidyamāne*) at *Udānavarāga* 14.5-c, where it is used in a locative absolute construction with the meaning “when the *saṅgha* is being split” (*saṃghe hi bhidyamāne 'smin*).¹⁷ Before reaching a decision one must ask another, grammatical question: can a transitive verb like *bhīdati* (< S √*bhid*), be used in the passive form (S *bhidyamāna* = P *bbijjamāna*) in an active sense (“sinking into”)? An intransitive verb can be used in an active sense in the passive (e.g. *gramāṃ gataḥ*, “he went to the village”), but this is not usually the case for a transitive verb like √*bhid* where the forms *bhinna* (p.p.) and *bhidyamāna* (pr. p.) seem to always be found used passively, not actively. The normal verb for “sink into” would be *ava* + √*sad* or √*majj*/*ava* + √*majj*,¹⁸ as in the previous sentence (*paṭṭhaviyā pi ummujja-nimujjaṃ karoti seyyathā pi udake*, “He sinks into the ground and emerges from it as if it were water”), which has apparently influenced this one, transferring the present participle from the water (“not being broken”) to the person (“not sinking” or “without breaking the surface”) because of the parallel structure.¹⁹ On balance, then Buddhaghosa’s interpretation of the meaning “unbroken

¹⁴ Pecha 63a2 of the *Upāyikā* (see footnote 11). This transitive meaning (“without sinking into”) is also the definition found in Edward Conze 1973, 59

¹⁵ T01n0001_p0101c14

¹⁶ Conze translates “He walks on water without sinking into it.”.. which is a translation of the *Abbisamayālaṅkāra*. The word *abbidyamāno* also occurs in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* 15:12 (*udake'pyabbidyamāno gacchati*; available on line at <http://www.dsbcproject.org/node/6027>); in the *Kyavānḥbhaṇḥsaṃvaraparivartaḥ* 47 (available on line at <http://www.dsbcproject.org/node/4744>) and in the *Samādhiraṅgāsūtra* 38.47.

¹⁷ UV 14.5 seems to be an altered form of a *gāthā* from the *Uppakilesa suttaṃ* MN 3, 154² (*saṃghasmim bhijjamānasim*) where Nāṇamoli & Bodhi (1995, 1009) translate “Though the Sangha is being split”.

¹⁸ Pāṇini 3, 4.72 allows for active use of past participles where they are verbs of motion. Kacc 559 allows for it when the past participles are from verbs signifying knowing, and going.

¹⁹ DN 1, 212¹³⁻¹⁴; DK 206⁸⁻⁹; Walshe (1995, 105) translates this sentence, “he walks on the water without breaking the surface as if on land”, taking *abbijamāno* in an active sense.

water” seems to be correct, with the *-e* ending (locative) misinterpreted by some as a nominative; however, since it can also be a nominative, the meaning is still ambiguous, as it has been so taken above in the various Pāli, Tibetan and BHS recensions.

Whatever meaning one arrives at does not change the sense very much, but sometimes the orthography can result in more significant semantic implications. In the same *sutta*, DK 207¹⁰; DN 1, 213¹⁷⁻¹⁸ the question *kiṃ maññasi* (“What do you think?”) occurs with with four variants of *ki(i)maññasi* (“What do you know?”). In this case it clearly has the former meaning, but this is not always the case and ambiguities do arise because of the *niggabīta* (nasal) of *kiṃ* running into the first syllable of the following word, probably originating in the oral tradition and continued in the written. The grammarians recognized this problem and prescribed separating the two words to clarify the meaning.²⁰ If they are not separated *kiṃmaññasi* can easily be heard as *kiṃ maññasi*. We have other examples of this in the Dhṃ 414-b where *samsāraṃ moham accagā* (“has overcome *samsāra*, delusion.”..) in Pāli has a corresponding form *samsāraugham upatyagāt* in *Udānavarga* 33.41-b (“has renounced the flood of *samsāra*”). This seems to be the result of a faulty oral/aural transmission where the final *-ṃ* of *samsāraṃ* was transferred to the anlaut of the following word *-oha*, which, although not a P form, is a valid eastern ArdhaMāgadhī form (AMg) for *ogha* meaning “flood,” with *-gh-* > *-b-*; it also occurs as *oha* in the GDhṃ (78-d, 85-b and 294-c).²¹ At the same time the

²⁰ Kaccāyana prescribed that one should separate a final consonant with no vowel from a following word starting with a vowel. See Pind 2013, 3, *sutta* #10, *pubbam adboḥbitaṃ assaraṃ sarena viyojaye*, translated by E. Senart 1871, 12, On sépare de la voyelle [initiale du mot suivant] la consonne finale, non accompagnée de voyelle, qui la précède (“One separates the final consonant of a preceding word which does not have a vowel, from a following word which starts with a vowel”).

²¹ See also *Sūtrakṛtāṅgaṃ*, 1, 11, 1d *ohaṃ tarai duttaraṃ* compared to Sn 176: *oghaṃ tarati duttaraṃ*. “He crosses over the flood which is difficult to cross”. For a brief discussion of this verse see also K. R. Norman 1992, 332. The commentary (Dhṃ-a 4, 194⁶⁻⁹ and Pj 2, 469¹⁵⁻¹⁸ ad Sn 638) also takes *moham* in the sense of “delusion,” but also includes a reference to the “four floods,” evidently preserving both traditions: *tass’ attho: yo bhikkhu imaṃ rāgapalipatthaṃ c’eva kilesaduggaṃ ca samsāravatṭaṃ ca catunnaṃ saccānaṃ appaṭivijjhanakamohaṃ ca atīto, cattāro oghe tiṇṇo butvā pārāṃ anuppatto...* “The meaning of this (*gātbā*) is whichever monk has overcome the difficult path of passion, the difficult road of the afflictions, and the round of *samsāra*, and has gone beyond the delusion of not comprehending the four truths, he has crossed over the four torrents and has reached the other side...” Another example of the transference of a *niggabīta* to the following word may be found in Dhṃ 74-a where *Mam’ eva kata*

final *-a* in *saṃsāra* was nasalized with a *niggahīta* > *saṃsāraṃ*. The Tib translation of this verse (33.50) has *klung* (“river”) for *moba/oba*, which means they understood it in the sense of *oba* or *ogba* “stream” or “flood”. The Ch version has 斷生死河 (*duàn shēngsǐ hé*, “cut off the river of life and death”), where 河 evidently translates *ogba*.²² Based on this evidence one may reconstruct an earlier transmission of **saṃsāraṃ obam*, from which the P redactor construed *saṃsāraṃ mobam* and the UV *saṃsāraugbam*. The latter is ruled out as the earlier form as it would also have made perfectly good sense in P (with *-au-* > *-o-*, i.e., *saṃsārogham*) and therefore cannot account for what has come down to us in the P exemplar.

Consonant doubling

An orthographic problem like a *niggahīta* running into the anlaut of the next word, altering its meaning, could well go back to pre-writing, that is oral times. The same is not true with issues of consonant doubling in nouns and verbs and the ambiguities that arise therefrom. As is well known, the earliest writing did not double consonants and showed no geminates (Norman 2006a, 107). This is evident in the Aśokan edicts (mid third century BCE) and the Gāndhārī Dhṛ, one of the earliest Middle Indic (MI) dialect manuscripts that has been preserved (in Kharoṣṭhī script), dated to the first or second century CE. Coeval MI inscriptions from this time in Brāhmī are also written with single consonants and not geminates (Sircar 1965), as are all of the early (third century BCE to second century CE) Sinhalese Prakrit cave inscriptions in Śrī Laṅka in the period (Müller, 1883; Paranavitana, 1970, xxxiv; Geiger 1935, §36). Sanskritization of MI came into epigraphic use in the first century BCE and became more and more prevalent during the first four centuries CE, until more or less standard S completely replaced Prakrit in epigraphic use by the Gupta times (fourth to sixth centuries CE; Salomon 1998, 81-86). Sanskritization of course required the use of conjunct consonants and we may infer that it was sometime during this period that the writing of conjuncts (and geminates) came into common usage, both on the sub-continent and in Śrī Laṅka. The first copy of the *Tiṭṭaka* written down in the first century BCE presumably did not show geminates, but gradually

maññantu (“Let them think it was done just by me”), is reconstructed by Norman (2006, 84) as *Mam’ eva kataṃ aññantu* (“let them know that this was done by me”).

²² T04n0210\p0572c15.

over the next few centuries these were replaced with geminates in the appropriate places; this required decisions to be made as to what the word meant, as K. R. Norman and O. von Hinüber have shown.²³ Certain words meant different things depending on whether the single consonant was retained or doubled: e.g. *mago*, “deer” and *maggo* “path” or the *-tā* suffix which could refer to the gerund *-tvā* (S *kṛtvā* = Prakrit *kattā*) or the *nomen agentis* nom. sing *-tā* ending (S. *kartā*, Prakrit *kattā*), or a word ending in *-tā* (like *katā*, “having done,” nom. pl). The addition of geminates to the Pāli canon was probably completed not later than the fifth century CE, by the time Buddhaghosa made his revision to the old Sinhalese commentary (von Hinüber 1989, 64).

Let us look then at a common situation which the redactors of the canon would have had to deal with (and the editors of a critical edition), the doubling of verbal anlauts when preceded by a prefix ending in a vowel, for example, DN 1, 77¹³, *ṇavābheyya*, “he may draw forth” which appears in DK 70¹ as *ṇabbābheyya*. Here is the context from the PTS edition (DN 1, 77¹²⁻¹⁵):

seyyathā pi mahā-rāja puriso muñjambā isīkaṃ ṇavābheyya (var. *ṇabbāḷḷheyya*). *tassa evaṃ assa: ayaṃ muñjo ayaṃ isīkā, añño muñjo aññā isīkā, muñjambā tv eva isīkā ṇavāḷḷhā* (var. *ṇabbāḷḷhā*). “It is just as if a man were to draw forth a reed from its grass sheath. It may occur to him, ‘This is the grass sheath, this is the reed; the sheath is different from the reed and the reed has been drawn forth from the grass sheath.’”

The Sinhalese has *v-* for the anlaut of the verb in all manuscripts, as does the Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti*, whereas most of the other Burmese mss in DK have *b-* along with the Cambodian and the Thai. What is the verb here? *ṇavābheyya* looks like it derives from the caus. opt. of *pra + √vah*, “to cause to bring, lead”. The past participle which follows therefore should be *ṇavūḷḷha* or *ṇavūḷḷha*, “drawn forth” (< S *pra + ūḍha* = *praūḍha*), but we have *ṇavāḷḷhā* instead, with *-ā-* instead of *-ū-*. This word (*ṇavāḷḷhā*) is in fact the past participle of *ṇabābati*, “to pull out, draw forth” (< S *pra + √vrh* or *pra + √vrh*, p.p. *ṇabrāḍḍha* or *ṇavrāḍḍha* > *ṇavāḍḍha* > *ṇavāḷḷha* in Pkt), suggesting that *ṇavābheyya*, is actually a variant of this verb where the *-b-* > *-v-*, a common enough OI and

²³ See footnote 5. See also Oskar von Hinüber 1989, 63-66, where he provides more examples. For a discussion on the suffix *-tā*, see Oskar von Hinüber 1983, 5-8.

Pkt change.²⁴ This indeed makes better sense with the two forms of the same verb in the same sentence, but why the double *-bb-* in the DK version? The grammarians' rule seems to be that consonants are doubled before a prefix ending in a vowel, when the original form had a conjunct. As stated in the sixth or seventh century grammar by Kaccāyana, *saramhā parassa byañjanassa dvebhāvo hoti ṭhāne* (*sutta* 28): "After a vowel, there is a doubling of a following consonant in certain circumstances". These circumstances are outlined in the *Padarūpasiddhi*, and are always when the following form has a conjunct consonant at the beginning.²⁵ Sometimes simple, non-conjunct consonants are doubled by analogy - i. e. *sugati* ("good existence") which also occurs as *suggati* in analogy with *duggati* (< S *durgati*), but this is not the norm.²⁶ So the "correct" orthography for DK is not *pabbāb-*, but rather *pabāb-*, with a single *-b-*, which means that the PTS edition is right in having only one consonant, even if the change of *-b-* > *-v-* is potentially confusing. The verb *pavāvāb-* with two *vv's* (or *bb's*) is an AMg word, with the meaning ("he may bother, pester, annoy" < S *pra* + √*vyath*, "frighten, disquiet, distress"), which of course does not make sense in this context.²⁷ The *-vv-* represent the conjunct *-vy-*. The earliest attested form we have is therefore *pavābheyya* from the S^m ms in the PTS edition; the Burmese *pabbāheyya* appears to be an error.²⁸

²⁴ Per Bloomfield & Edgerton (1932, 109) the alternation of *b* and *v* is a "widespread interchange, tho partly graphic, largely phonetic, and very common in later times". On page 112 the authors state that in the root *vṛh/bṛh* the original consonant is "uncertain" although Wackernagel (1896, 183) regards *v* as earlier. See also Pischel §201 and von Hinüber 2001, §183, who says the *b* and *v* are occasionally interchangeable in P and cites *pabāḷho* vs. *pavāḷho* as variants for the past participle *pabāḷito*.

²⁵ *Kaccāyana* and *Kaccāyanavutti*, *sutta* #28, (Pind 2013, 8). For *Padarūpasiddhi*, see #40 at chrome://digitalpalireader/content/index.xul?loc=g.4.1.0.0.7.0.m&query=paradvebh%C4%81vo%20%E1%B9%ADh%C4%81n¶=23&analysis=appa.tivijhanakamoha-nca. Deokar (2008, 4), formalizes this rule, as due to "the underlying Sanskrit roots begin with a cluster".

²⁶ See von Hinüber 2001, §281. Another example of the confusion on consonant doubling is the past participle *pabbajito* ("one who has renounced" < S *pra* + √*vraja*) and *pabājito* with single *-b-* (same meaning and same root).

²⁷ Mylius 2003, 438, shows the causative form. Not attested in Pāli. Note that in AMg the double *vv's* always represent a S conjunct.

²⁸ Wynne comments "there are also forms in P like *brabant* < Skt. *bṛhant* where *b-* before *-ṛh* has resulted in *brab-*. For this reason we are disinclined to dismiss the Burmese reading as a mistake: a development *bṛh* > *brab* > *bbab* is plausible. Hence we have decided to stick with actually attested mss reading, rather than emend due to philological conjecture without knowing any attested Middle Indic development of *pra-bṛh*

Why is this important? Isn't it just a minor matter of spelling? It is certainly a matter of spelling, but it is not minor, as spelling often determines meaning, and the clarification of meaning is the first job of a critical edition. If the anlaut of words in compounds are indiscriminately doubled it leads to confusion and ambiguities. Take the following common verbs. The word *anusarati* is derived from S *anu* + √*sr̥* and means “to follow”; in P it takes the form *anusarati* (“he follows”). The word *anussarati* (“he remembers”) is derived from S *anu* + √*smṛ* and means “to remember”; in P it takes the form with the double *-ss-* representing the S conjunct *-sm-*. Yet we know from the discussion above, that they were both written down with a single *-s-* as *anusarati*. Thus every occurrence of this word (and others like it) in the canon is suspect. Did the scribe get the meaning right? Presumably, the oral tradition would have distinguished between the two forms, either with the pronunciation of the the *-ss's* or with a doubling on the *-u-* length (*-ū-*), indicating that it was a long syllable metrically since it was followed by two consonants. But in the written tradition, the oral check was lost. Usually context makes the meaning clear, but sometimes both meanings are appropriate and it is impossible to distinguish the correct one.²⁹

The *vy/by* problem

There is an inconsistent orthography with regard to the conjuncts *vy* and *by* in the *Tiṭṭaka*. The Sinhalese tradition generally prefers *vy* and the other South East Asian traditions (SEA) use *by*. The DK

> *pabāb*”. In fact there are three recensions (all Sinhalese, PTS and the Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti*) which have *pavābeyya*, which is the correct form as I have argued. The change from *-v-* > *-b-* may simply be orthographic (see discussion below). All forms in Pāli which retain the *br-* conjunct are derived from the Skt. root √*br̥h*, “to increase, grow strong” (*brabant*, *brahma/brāhmaṇa*, and *brūheti*) and these are known to be Sanskritizations, as the *br-* conjunct does not make position (make the preceding vowel long; see Norman 1995 vol.1: lxii; vol. 2: xc; 2004, 84). The earliest recorded Prakrit forms for *brāhmaṇa* for example (in the Aśokan edicts) were spelled with *br-* only in the north-west and two instances (of seven) in Gīrnār. The eastern forms all begin with *ba-*. See Levman 2014, 363.

²⁹ See for example AN 1, 207⁵⁻⁸, where the Buddha tells Visākhā, a female disciple how to purify an impure mind: *idha, visākhe, ariyasāvako Tathāgataṃ anussarati — itipi so bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi sattvā devamanussānaṃ Buddho Bhagavā'ti*. “Here Visākhā the noble disciple follows after (*anusarati*) or remembers (*anussarati*) the Tathāgata.”.. followed by the standard trope. Which is the “correct” reading?

editors decide that the “most plausible interpretation of this variation is that forms in *-bb-* are the oldest, with *-by-* and *-vy-* both resulting from subsequent attempts to Sanskritize them”. They hypothesize that word initially the earliest Pāli form was *vy-* which was Sanskritized to *vy-* in the Sinhalese tradition and to *by-* in SEA; and medially the oldest form is *-bb-* which was often retained in both traditions, but sometimes Sanskritized to *-by-* in SEA and sometimes to *-vy-* in the Sinhalese tradition. They therefore decide that “*-bb-* is preferable to *-by/vy-* wherever there is any such variation, but in cases where there is variation between *(-)vy-* and *(-)by-*, the preferable forms are initial *vy-* and medial *-by-*”. They also acknowledge that this might appear “potentially confusing, especially where cognate words occur in divergent forms in the same sentence” (e.g. *vyāpāda*, “malevolence” and *abyāpanna*, “free from malice” at DK 64¹⁷(page v).

This is indeed a sticky wicket. We know for example that in the MI Prakrits at least, the earliest form of the OI *(-)vy-* conjunct was either resolved, with the addition of an epenthetic *-i-*, that is, *(-)viy-* or assimilated to a geminate *-vv-* which in the earliest inscriptions and writing was noted as *-v-*. That this was also the case in Pāli is proven by the fact that the later restoration of *vy-* at the beginning of a word does not make position, as Norman has shown (Pischel §286. Norman 1979, 326-27 and Norman 1995, lx, §50.d). However, why *-bb-* should be older than *-vv-* is not clear. Von Hinüber points out (2001, §255) that the oldest Prakrit and P inscriptions and mss have *-vv-* instead of *-bb-* (*veditavvo*, *ññāpetavvo*),³⁰ and the evidence from the Aśokan inscriptions shows no trace of *-bb-* in the Prakrits; here the common conjunct *-vy-* is either retained (most cases at Gīrnār (Gir), one case in Jaugaḍa), assimilated to a single *-v-* (in Shābāzgarhī=Sh, Mānsehrā=M), or resolved with an epenthetic *-i-* (*-viy-*; Kālsī, Sh, M, most cases in Jaugaḍa and Dhāuli, Pillar Edicts); only Gir keeps the con-

³⁰ Wynne comments that in the Nepalese ms in question (von Hinüber 1991) it is impossible “to distinguish between *v* and *b* in proto-Newārī scripts of the sort used in the *Vinaya* folios from Nepal”. Von Hinüber says that “although an *akṣara ba* is available in this script as demonstrated by numerous occurrences of the word *brāhmaṇā* in the Vallée Poussin fragment [containing a similar, coeval script]...it is strangely enough, not used by the scribe of the *Vinaya* fragment” (page 9, footnote 14). All occurrences of *-b-* and *-bb-* in this ms are written with *-v-* and *-vv-*. Norman calls this a “scribal idioyncrasy” (1993, 283).

junct at the beginning of a word.³¹ This ambivalence is reflected in the P orthography where there are several words spelled in different fashions, e.g. P *dibba* (*divya*, “divine”); which is also spelled *divya* and *diviya* (*divva* in Prakrit and AMg); *vyatta* (“learned”), also spelled *viyatta*; *vyākaraṇa* (“grammar, explanation”) also spelled *veyyākaraṇa*, to name a few. This is not just a matter of spelling, as the reading without the conjunct is in most cases the earlier reading; the restoration of the conjunct being a later Sanskritization.³²

We know that in the cases where the conjuncts were assimilated (*-vy-* > *-vv-*) the earlier transmission was not written with a geminate but a single consonant *-v-*. When and why this changed to *-b-* is not clear, as the usual change in MI is the other way around (*-b-* > *-v-*, a normal form of lenition, change of a stop to a glide), although there has been a certain amount of phonetic and orthographic inconsistency since Vedic times.³³ But we do know, based on the evidence of the Aśokan edicts and the Gāndhārī Dhṛp, that the change – at least orthographically – was late, post second century CE; for the latter work has no example of such a change, but many of *vy-* > *v-* in the anlaut and inlaut, and a random scan through Sircar’s *Inscriptions* shows *nivāṇa* spelled with a *-v-* (and not doubled) in the latter half of the third century CE.³⁴ It was around this period (third to fourth century

³¹ For Gir. see Hultzsich 1969, lxi, except for *pūjetayā* (RE 12, E, “to be honoured”) with a similar change in Jaugāḍa [*icchi*]/*taye* < S *ṣṭitavya* (Separate Edict 1, M, “you should strive”). In Sh, *vy* > *v* in most cases per Hultzsich, lxxxix, e.g. *divani* < S *divyāni*, “marvellous” at RE 4, B; *vapaṭa* < S *vyāpṛtā*, “occupied” at RE 5, J, K but also *viyapaṭa* at L, M, N in the same edict; *vasana* < S *vysana*, “misfortunate” at RE 13, H; for M see Hultzsich, xcvi, where in most cases it is resolved (*-viy-*) and in two (*vapaṭa*, “occupied”, RE 5, J & RE 12, M) *vy* > *v*. in Jaugāḍa and Dhāuli it is resolved with the epenthetic *-i-*. (Hultzsich, ciii), except in one case where it remains (*saṃcalitavye*, “one should move”, Jau. Separate Edict 1, Q) and in another where *vy* > *y* (*icchitaye*, above).

³² As for example *avyattena* vs. *aviyattena* (“unlearned”) in von Hinüber 1983, 81-82, where the author argues that the latter reading without conjunct is the earlier reading.

³³ Pischel §201. In the inlaut. e.g. S *pibati* > P *pivati*. In von Hinüber 2001, §183, the author says they are occasionally interchangeable, giving the example *bābeti/vābeti* (“remove, reject”), a denominative verb from *babi* (“to keep outside”). Here the Sinhalese preserves the *b-* (the “original”) tradition, while the Burmese and Thai manuscripts change the *b-* > *v-*. See footnote 24.

³⁴ Sircar, “Inscriptions”, 229¹. The Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription of Virapurushadatta. See also Vogel 1929-30, 16, 22, where Skt. *sarva* is written *sava* and Pūrvaśaila was spelled Puvaseḷa. For GDhp see, for example, *vaya* for *vyaya* (“destruction”) in GDhp 56, 181, and 317 and *vade’a* for P *vyadheti* in GDhp 335.

CE) that geminates began to be notated in the inscriptional record (Salomon 1998, 77). There is an example for Pāli in the Devnimori inscription (early third century CE?) in Brahmi script where we find the word (*su*)*havvo* (“well called”? < Skt. $\sqrt{hū/hve}$), with the *-vv-* geminate (von Hinüber 1985b, 188). Most of the above examples relate to the Prakrits and Gāndhārī and are not necessarily typical of Pāli, as Wynne points out (private communication); and if the evidence of the oldest Pāli manuscript is to be discounted (because of the similarity of *-vv-* and *-bb-* in the Newārī script, see footnote 30), then we don’t know when this “rule” developed which calls for the occlusivization of geminate voiced fricatives, that is the change of *-vv-* > *-bb-* (Junghare 1979, 95-96), which is a form of fortition not generally expected in historical phonological evolution. But Pāli is not consistent even with this rule (e.g. *uviṭṭa* < *uvviṭṭa* < *udviṣṭa*, “having entered”).

The answer to this conundrum may well lie in the fact that the *-v-* and *-b-* *akṣaras* were not sonically differentiated (i.e. phonemic) in early Pāli or the dialect(s) on which Pāli was based. Grierson (1925, 231-234) points out that in Modern IA languages it is only in the west that *b* and *v* are phonemic; in the east they are not, both being pronounced *b*, as is the case, for example, in Spanish where *v* is an allophone of *b* (both being voiced bilabial fricatives, β). In Bengali and Oṛiyā the same character (ঐ) corresponds both to Nāgarī *va* (व) and *ba* (ब). The eastern grammarians did not recognize the existence of *-v-*, only *-b-*, per Grierson; therefore conjunct consonants like *-dva-*, *-vya-* or *-rva-* change to ঐ and are then (much later historically) doubled to *bb*, not *vv*. That this may have been the case in early Pāli (or the Prakrit(s) on which P was based) is suggested by Sn verse 537 which contains a pun on *-vv-* and *-bb-* which “only works in a dialect where *-bb-* > *-vv-*” (Norman 2006b, 263), or vice versa.³⁵ The oldest Pāli manuscript, discussed above, where all occurrences of *-b-* and *-bb-* are written *-v-* and *-vv-* offers further evidence of a *-b-* = *-v-* equivalence, at least in some forms of P. Another rule in the historical phonology of Pāli is the “fricativization of *w*”, a sound from which Junghare derives the Pāli semi-vowel *v* (1979, 79-83; Warder 2001, 3, footnote 6). Here the glide *w* becomes either the bilabial fricative β or the labio-dental fricative *v*, “depending on the dialect”. These sounds are not easily distinguishable and would easily lead to confusion. Junghare posits

³⁵ *parivajj-* “to shun, avoid, keep away from” < Skt. *pari* + \sqrt{vrj} in causative; *paribbājaka*, “mendicant” < Skt. *pari* + \sqrt{vraj} , wander about”.

continuum of sounds from an original $w > \ddot{w}$ (a glide with spread, rather than rounded lips) $> \beta > v$. As is well known, in modern Hindi, w and v are allophones in certain situations.

While Pāli is a mixed Prakrit which has both eastern, western and north-western features (Levman 2010), it has always been assumed that it was “originally” based on an eastern dialect as that is where the Buddha lived and taught; if this dialect made no differentiation between v and b this would explain the wide variety of mixed forms that we find in P which use now a b and now a v (*vyūha*, *byūha*; *vyāpāda*, *byāpāda*; *viyaggha*, *biyaggha*; etc). This is probably also influenced by the fact that some of the indigenous languages (Tibetan, Proto-Munda, Krorainic and Tocharian) also lacked a v -sound, for which they would have substituted a b or β . This interchange goes right back to Vedic times as we have seen (footnote 24 page 15 above) and has led to longstanding semantic and orthographical ambiguity. Bloomfield and Edgerton comment (1932, §208):

The variation is about equally common with original b and original v , and in not a few cases it is impossible to be sure which was original. Among indications of greater originality three criteria may be considered, aside from the number and relative antiquity of the texts concerned. First, general prevalence of one spelling in the language as a whole. Second, such prevalence in the older texts. Third, the evidence of etymology. When all are combined, the case becomes quite clear. But especially b is for the most part doubtful historically and etymologically (cf. Wackernagel 1 §158b, 162), so that the variant words whose etymology is certain nearly all contain v .

This latter statement echoes a statement in Kuiper (1991, 33) where he calls b a “foreign phoneme”; Wackernagel gives several examples of words whose origin is enigmatic and “der Verdacht fremdländischen Ursprungs nahe” (§162), no doubt influenced in part by the lack of the v phoneme in some of the indigenous non IA languages and other IA languages like Tocharian (as well as in some of the eastern dialects, as noted above).

Bloomfield & Edgerton’s methodology — the evidence of etymology — provides us with a potential solution to the intractable problem of $b > v$ interchange. It can not be solved through diachronic

linguistics due to the randomness of the changes and the uncertainty of what sound the letter *-v-* actually represents. There are then only two possibilities: 1) use *b* or *v* according to the original etymology of the relevant word, which we can usually determine with a fair degree of accuracy, or 2) use the phoneme *b* consistently throughout, eliminating *v* altogether, that is, taking it as an allophone of *b*. Either one of these methods would work better than the hybrid that DK has proposed where two words from the same root have different phonemes (*vyāpāda* and *abyāpanna* above), which is inconsistent and confusing. These forms would then be noted as *vyāpāda* and *avyāpada*, *-panna* (etymologically correct < Skt. *vy + ā + √pad*) or as *byāpādā* and *abyāpada*, *-panna* (etymologically incorrect). It is curious that all of these four forms are attested in the Sinhalese *Tiṭṭaka* (in no discernible phonetic environment), and all but *avyāpāda* are attested in the Burmese canon.³⁶ Where the etymology was an either/or situation which is quite common – as in the example above (page 15) with *pavābeyya* which derives from Skt. *√vr̥h* or *√br̥h* – one would follow the lead of the majority textual tradition (if one was following the etymological method).

Copy-text

While the critical edition may contain material from varying time scales – perhaps some lexemes which can be confidently inferred from an earlier, underlying *koine* and orthographic elements which have been restored to an earlier inferable state – most of the material will be from fairly recent manuscripts, no earlier than (in the case of the DK), the late seventeenth century. While the DK is to be commended for their careful accumulation of variant readings, it is immediately apparent that most of the mss in most places substantially agree on the readings, or have been harmonized by the scribes in non-contentious situations.³⁷ The editors, for example, state that they have left out “simple mistakes” and only include readings considered “historically valuable” (page viii); that is, “all variants which are both grammatically plausible and not obvious mistakes, or where the manuscript tradition

³⁶ *vyāpāda* only occurs once in the Burmese commentary to the *Āṅguttaranikāya*, AN 2-a (*Manorathapūraṇī*), 85³⁴.

³⁷ In a typical page there are approx. 300-400 words, but only 10-12 of them have variant readings (3-4%).

lacks clarity. In practice this means that it includes only those readings over which some deliberation was required” (page ix). Omitted are 1) simple mistakes, which seems to include “mistaken voicing or unvoicing of intervocalic consonants, and the mistaken aspiration or de-aspiration of intervocalics (page viii), 2) variations in vowel strength, except where there is uncertainty about the correct reading, 3) geminates which are not restored where all the mss agree on the non-geminated form (e.g. *supaṭipanno* vs. the historically correct *suppaṭipanno*), although this practice does not always appear to be consistent.³⁸ Since the decision re: geminates involves an editorial decision potentially affecting meaning, all variants should be scrupulously recorded. For the same reason simple mistakes and variation in vowel length should be included, even when they do not appear to affect the meaning. First of all this editorial decision (that they do not affect meaning) should be capable of evaluation and confirmation by other readers, and secondly these variations do offer, as the editors of the DK have noted, “valuable information on the transmission of the *Tipiṭaka*” which should be available in a critical edition; certainly if this were a western biblical text, there would be no question of their omission - why should the *buddhasāsana* be any different?³⁹ I do not, however, think that issues of voicing have “in most cases...little historical value” (page viii) and I will discuss that separately below.

This brings up the question of what text to be used as a “copy-text”, or whether there should be a copy-text. This is a term proposed by W. W. Greg, a textual critic of English Renaissance literature, which “should govern (generally) in the matter of accidentals”. By “accidentals” Greg meant readings which are not substantive (that is affecting meaning) but which affect spelling, punctuation, word

³⁸ Even though both forms are found in P, e.g. *supaṭipanno* (“entered upon the right path”) and *suppaṭividdho* (“thoroughly understood”), both derived from the same prefixes *supra*-. In fact DK does not include all geminate variants, as for example DK49¹⁸ *anikujjento*, where Ee 57¹² *anikkujjanto* is not cited. Since the verb is probably a form of Buddhist Sanskrit *nikubjayati* (Cone 2010, 534), then the form with single *-k-* is correct.

³⁹ Wynne points out that this desideratum may be impractical : “you are perhaps unaware of the extent of minor variation in Pali manuscripts. If all the explanations and variant readings you ask for were included, it would barely be possible to get more than one or two lines on to a single page. This is a serious practical problem”. Wynne says that the DK project will make available all the variants and actual mss images on line, and “possibly perhaps in printed form”.

division and the like;⁴⁰ in the *Tipiṭaka* it would also include such elements as compound division, capitalization of proper names, use of punctuation like semi-colons, dashes and colons, etc. These are “accidental” (that is, “Not essential to the existence of a thing; not necessarily present, incidental, secondary, subsidiary”, per OED) to the main meaning and generally do not affect sense except in cases of potential incorrect compound division or sentence punctuation. Since much of this work has already been done in the existing PTS editions, I would propose that they be used as the copy-text, with the various differences of substantive readings clearly indicated by sigla in the main text. This does not of course prevent the correction of any new errors discovered in the copy-text (e.g. incorrect compound divisions), by slavish adherence to one copy. According to the editor, DK is not using PTS as a copy-text, nor the text of any of the other primary traditions (Sinhalese, Burmese, Thai, Cambodian); its presentation is original to the project, the PTS edition being “seriously flawed, with mistakes in compound and even sentence division” (Wynne 2014, personal communication). Of the five previous editions, the PTS is the only one that attempts compound division; the others treat the compound as

⁴⁰ See Hendel 2008, 343–346 who discusses the copy-text in detail and refers to Greg's work which may be found in Greg, ed Rosenblum 1998, 213–228. I quote below Greg's definition of the copy-text which may be found in Hendel (343–44) and on page 215 of Rosenblum:

[W]e need to draw a distinction between the significant, or as I shall call them “substantive”, readings of the text, those namely that affect the author's meaning or the essence of his expression, and others, such in general as spelling, punctuation, word-division, and the like, affecting mainly its formal presentation, which may be regarded as the accidents, or as I shall call them “accidentals”, of the text. The distinction is not arbitrary or theoretical, but has an immediate bearing on textual criticism, for scribes (or compositors) may in general be expected to react, and experience shows that they generally do react, differently to the two categories. As regards substantive readings their aim may be assumed to be to reproduce exactly those of their copy, though they will doubtless sometimes depart from them accidentally and may even, for one reason or another, do so intentionally: as regards accidentals they will normally follow their own habits or inclination, though they may, for various reasons and to varying degrees, be influenced by their copy. . . . Since, then, it is only on grounds of expediency, and in consequence either of philological ignorance or of linguistic circumstances, that we select a particular original as our copy-text, I suggest that it is only in the matter of accidentals that we are bound (within reason) to follow it, and that in respect of substantive readings we have exactly the same liberty (and obligation) of choice as has a classical editor.

a continuous series of words which is how they are found in the mss. Examining the first section of the *Kevaṭṭasutta* shows that the PTS and DK agree on most compound divisions with only one potential difference in substance discussed in footnote 11 above, although the fact that PTS notates *uttari-manussa-dhammā*, rather than DK's *uttari manussa-dhammā* does not necessarily mean that they are treating the first word as an adjective, rather than an adverb, for an adverb can also be part of a compound. The other differences between PTS and DK are very minor, being differences of capitalization, spacing (PTS *ekamantaṃ* vs DK *ekam antaṃ*) treatment of the homorganic nasal (PTS *upasaṅkami* vs. DK *upasaṅkami*), and colons vs. commas. The PTS DN text itself used a Sinhalese text (S^m) and noted variants in a Burmese text (B^p) and four *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* commentaries – three Sinhalese and one Burmese. The other traditions do the same, using a good base text from their own tradition and noting differences from the others and PTS. While there is nothing wrong with establishing a new base for their critical edition project, one wonders whether it would have simpler, more expedient and more academically continuous to use the PTS as a base text; that way as well, the PTS variants would automatically become part of the data base, instead of being omitted, which is often the case – as, for example, the *na dhammaṃ desemi* Sinhalese variant discussed above (page 8 above). Not to mention the omission of PTS critical notes which refer to other parts of the canon, *Mahāvvyutpatti*, parallel BHS works, etc.

Voicedness

Voicing of intervocalic stops and aspirated stops in P and MI is a very complex issue which I can only deal with cursorily in this space. One can not say that they have little historical value, for on the contrary they are one of the prime markers for the change of OI > MI. Traditionally they have been regarded as due to 1) normal phonological lenition over time, that is unvoicedness > voicedness > glide consonant (or fricative) > Ø, 2) dialect differences (already present in the Vedic writings) or recensional differences (e.g. Burmese, Śri Laṅkan, etc) based on local practices, 3) hypercorrection (“forms which are unlikely to have had a genuine existence in any dialect, but which arose as a result of bad or misunderstood translation techniques”) and, 4) confusion over voicedness by scribes who learned MI as a second language and whose source language lacked the phonemic distinction between

voicedness and unvoicedness with regard to stops (Levman 2016). A corollary to this last point is indigenous or *deśi* words incorporated into the canon where no one was quite sure how to spell them in the MI syllabary.⁴¹

An Example

An example of this last point is the word *kuddaṃ* which appears in the compound *tiro-kuddaṃ* (“through a wall”?) in the *Kevaṭṭasutta* (DK 206⁷ and DN 1, 212²²) where the mind-made body exercises its various superpowers, passing through “fences, walls and mountains unhindered as if through air”.⁴² DK gives four variants in aspiration, voicing and vowel length: *kuddhaṃ*, *kuṭṭaṃ*, *kuṭaṃ* and *kūṭaṃ*. The five variants alone should give rise to a suspicion that the word is not well understood. The prevalence of the retroflexes suggest that this is not an Indo-Aryan word, and that would account for the variation in spelling, for in Dravidian, intervocalic voiced stops are allophones of the unvoiced stop (Zvelebil 1990, 16).⁴³ Kuiper suggests that *kuṭa* has a Dravidian origin meaning “house” derived from Tamil *kūṭu*, “nest” (1955, 148; 1991, 14, 27); it may also related to Tamil *kuṭi* (“house”), Telugu, *kōṭa* (“fort”), and Kuwi *kūḍu* (“wall”), and there are comparable words in Austroasiatic (Munda) languages as well (? < Santali *kuṭaṃ* “hammer”).⁴⁴ Its Sanskrit origin from *kuḍya* (“wall”) is suspect, as the derivation of this word is unclear (<√*kṣud*? “crush, pound”), “nicht genügend erklärt”, (Mayrhofer 1963, 221, 224). Hemacandra

⁴¹ For examples of interchange of voiced and unvoiced intervocalic stops from the Vedic writings see Bloomfield and Edgerton 1932, vol. 1. For hyperform definition and discussion see K. R. Norman 1989, 375; for more examples of what Lüders believed to be hyperforms see his *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des Buddhistischen* (1954, §122-148). For discussion on the effects of indigenous language groups on phonemic distinction, see Levman 2014 Chapters 10 and 11.

⁴² DN 1, 78³⁻⁴: *tiro-kuddaṃ tiro-pākāraṃ tiro-pabbataṃ asajjamāno seyyathā pi ākāse*. Translation from Walshe 1995 105. Rhys-Davids translates (1899, 88), “he goes, feeling no obstruction, to the further side of a wall or rampart or hill, as if through air”.

⁴³ For a discussion on the question of the origin of the retroflex phonemes in Indo-Aryan and their potential borrowing from Dravidian see Levman 2014, 504-505; 2016, 14.

⁴⁴ The range of meanings shown in Böhtlingk and Roth 1990, vol. 2, p. 311 confirms this uncertainty as to the word’s derivation and meaning: “waterpot, house, fort, hammer, tree, hill”. Cf, Tamil *kuṭaṃ*, “waterpot”; Pengo *kuṭa*, “stump of a tree”; and the other near homonyms noted above.

calls it a *deśi* (indigenous) word with the meaning *āścaryam* (“wonder, miracle, marvel, prodigy”) which only fits this context in a very general way (Banerjee 1931, 68, §2.35).

Of the two basic forms – unvoiced vs voiced dental retroflex – one can not be entirely certain which is earlier; although the non IA form is a good hypothesis, one could still argue for a Skt. derivation. In a case like this then, one would go with the copy text form (*kuddaṃ*) while noting in the apparatus the variant readings and the non IA forms which may be the source of the orthographic (and perhaps semantic) confusion. This provides the reader invaluable information for the linguistic and socio-cultural environment of historical Buddhism and the diffusionary influence of the indigenous peoples’ language on Middle Indic (Levman 2013, 147-152).⁴⁵

Another example of voiced/unvoiced confusion from DK 207¹³⁻¹⁴ = DN 1, 213²¹⁻³:

imaṃ kbo abhaṃ kevaṭṭa iddbi-pāṭibāriye ādinavaṃ sampassamāno iddbi-pāṭibāriyena aṭṭiyāmi harāyāmi jīgucchāmi.

“And that is why, Kevaddha, seeing the danger of such miracles, I dislike, reject and despise them” (Walshe 1995, 176).

Except for the spelling of Kevaddha (PTS; *kevaṭṭa*, DK) both editions are identical. The PTS edition has variant reading *addhiyāmi* (in the Sinhalese recension and Burmese and Sinhalese commentary) and the DK has variants *aṭṭiyāpi*, *aṭṭiyāmi*, *ajjīyāmi*, *addhiyāmi* and *aṭṭiyāmi*.

Other variant spellings reported in the CPD and BHSD are *addhiyati*, *addiyati* (CPD), *ar(t)tiyati*, *ar(t)tīyati*, *aṭṭhiyati*, *aṭṭhīyati* (BHSD). Edgerton suggests that all of these words are a denominative from *ārti* (“pain, injury, sickness” < Skt. *ā* +√*r*, “to incite, to inflict”, past participle), but others suggest that the voiced dental forms may be derived from Skt *√ard* in caus. “to make agitated, stir up torment,

⁴⁵ Incidentally, the name *Kevaṭṭa* itself is probably non-Aryan in origin. There are three different spellings: In the Burmese recension it is spelled both *Kevaṭṭo* and *Kevaḍḍbo* (in the Burmese commentary *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*; see PTS edition p. 211); Thai and Cambodian recensions spell it *Kevaṭṭo*. Along with DK; Sinhalese, *Kevaḍḍba* and PTS *Kevaddba*. DK mistakenly says that the PTS uses *kevaḍḍb-* (rather than *Kevaddba*) on page 205, footnote 1. The word is derived from either Tamil or Munda, suggesting that the correct spelling is with the retroflex *-ṭṭ-*, as the DK has it. See Kuiper 1991, 27 and DED #1252 s.v. Tamal *kayal*, “carp”. The S equivalent *kevarṭa* (“fisherman”) is “unerklärt” as to etymology per Mayrhofer 1963 (KEWA), vol. 1, 267.

distress” (DP sv *addiyati*). PED also suggests that *aṭṭiyati* is a denominative from *aṭṭa* < Skt. *ārta*, in the meaning, “to be anxious, to be troubled, to be worried”, while the meaning from $\sqrt{\text{ard}}$ seems more à propos, although both fit the context. If derived from the latter verb, the form would be the passive causative *ardayati* > *ardiyate* > *ardiyate* (addition of eastern epenthetic vowel) > *addiyate* or *aḍḍiyate* (change or *-rd-* > *-dd-/ḍḍ-* a common Pkt. change, Pischel §291); this also would account for the variant *ajjiyāmi* (as *-dy-* regularly changes to *-jj-*). It is not clear, however, why the aspiration (*addhiyate* or *aḍḍhiyate*) is added, nor why the *-dd(h)-/ḍḍh-* > *-ṭṭ(h)-*, a form of fortition. A derivation from *ārta* or *ārti* runs into similar problems in explaining the aspiration of *-ṭṭh-* and the occurrence of the dental stop, which is present in the oldest use of the word in *Theragāthā* 406-b, *addito* (“afflicted”) for example or *Therīgāthā* 77-b, *additā* (var. *aḍḍitā*, *aṭṭitā*) and 89-d *additā*, also with same variants). $\sqrt{\text{ard}}$ is an old Sanskrit root attested in the *Atharva Veda* 12.3.3b (Śāunaka recension), while *ārta* is somewhat younger first found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (4,5,2,3; but *ā+* $\sqrt{\text{r}}$ is found in the *R̥g Veda*). DK takes it as derived from the latter and shows *aṭṭiyāmi* in the main text and the editor also suggests that with respect to the Sinhalese variant *addhiyāmi*, the *-ddh-* is used for *-ṭṭ-* (Wynne, personal communication); however the variant *-ddh-* and *-ḍḍh-* is widespread in other recensions as noted above, including the Burmese.

In the end, although the editor might infer that the dental is the earlier form, it might also be a Sanskritization, and it is impossible to date with certainty which stop, dental or retroflex, is earlier (or why the dental was aspirated); so in this case one would go with the copy-text (PTS: *aṭṭiyāmi*) with appropriate references in the apparatus and notes to indicate to the reader the existence of the two possible derivations, which appears to be at least one of the causes of the confusion, dialectal differences in voicing being probably a close second.

Summary

We do not know what the original words of the Buddha were. We do not even know what language(s) he spoke and in what language(s) his teachings were transmitted, whether in Māgadhī or Old Ardhamāgadhī (Lüders 1954, 7-8), Old Māgadhī (Norman 1980, 71)⁴⁶,

⁴⁶ Norman believed that some of the Buddha's teachings must have been in Old Māgadhī, but that “there was no single language or dialect used by the Buddha for his

Ardhamāgadhī (Alsdorf 1980, 17-23) and/or in one of the indigenous languages like Dravidian or Munda. What has survived are translations of these teachings in Pāli, Gāndhāri and other Prakrits, which can reveal, by comparing known corresponding texts and extrapolation, a transmissional layer which is earlier than any of the witnesses; a stratum that must have existed in order to account for the witnesses in front of us. One might call this “linguistic stratigraphy”, a tried and true method in philology which allows for the glimpse at an earlier language of Buddhism. We have suggested that this might be a *lingua franca* or *koine*, probably a trade or administrative language of north India, from which major dialect difference were removed to facilitate ease of communication across linguistic boundaries. In some cases we are able to tentatively establish some of the lexemic content of this underlying stratum (e.g. *pāba(u)*-), - whether a *lingua franca* or lost dialect - which takes us back to a very early oral tradition that may have existed at the time of the Buddha or shortly thereafter. We may hypothesize that the teachings of the Buddha were translated into this form during or shortly after his lifetime, and from there into the other Prakrits of which we have a surviving record. But our time scale is necessarily very obscure as nothing was written down until the first century BCE and our earliest mss date from perhaps the first or second centuries CE. Because of the plasticity and malleability of the *lingua franca* and dialect differences in the target dialects, it often led to linguistic ambiguities, when the source words were translated and later Sanskritized; these ambiguities are often preserved in the different mss traditions in the form of variant readings in both the main text and commentary. These variants are extremely useful in tracing the history of language change over time, and a knowledgeable editor can sometimes plausibly reconstruct directionality of change (if not an absolute timeline) like *dhammaṃ desemi* > *dhamsemi/ dhasemi/ desemi* as possibly due an oral haplology at the *bhāṇaka* level. Other substantive issues like incorrect word divisions also appear to operate primarily at the oral level. There are many other situations which occur at the written level which also affect meaning - like the doubling of consonants in compounds; if done incorrectly this can alter the meaning of the words involved. We know that the notation of geminates did not take place until the popularization of Sanskrit - requiring the means of writing conjunct consonants - which became increasingly dominant

preaching" (1980, 75).

as a pan-Indic language in the early centuries CE. Other orthographic peculiarities of Pāli - like the change of *-vv-* > *-bb-* - may have resulted from the loss of *-v-* as a phoneme in Pāli or one of its dialects.

Issues of lenition and fortition are especially troublesome as they may indicate directionality of change, but also may simply be due to dialect issues, tradents' phonemic threshold capacities, and indigenous words which the *bhāṇakas* and scribes were not sure how to communicate and notate, that is interference phenomenon due to under-differentiation, by for example, a Dravidian bilingual speaker unable to hear the phonemic difference between a voiced and unvoiced retroflex stop in MI. Nevertheless, each one tells a story which must be noted and interpreted, even if we can not isolate where the nodes occur on the overall phylogenetic scale.

As is apparent, an eclectic edition is eclectic, not only because it draws from many sources, but also because it draws from many different times. The ms created is an idealization, a theory and reconstruction of how and why the transmission changed over time from its earliest inferable state through the various substantive and accidental transmissions that have left their imprint. It is a history of descent with variation, which - because so much more data has been lost than preserved (as is also the case in the evolutionary record), - is necessarily incomplete and will change as new mss surface, new discoveries are made, and new research is done. The new DK edition represents a major milestone in the history of the Pāli textual tradition, as it is the first time that so many mss have been gathered and utilized in a new edition, providing much more data than was ever previously available about the complicated transmissional history of the *Buddhadhamma*.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ I am very thankful to DK editor Alexander Wynne for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper. Wynne suggests that many of the aims I have outlined are unrealistic and somewhat impractical, given the space it would require to list all variants; all the material will be included in a future electronic edition (see footnote 39). As for the other *desiderata* (incorporation of *deśi* words, evaluative rationalization, references, etc), he comments that there are many ways of producing a critical text. Indeed most "critical editions" of *Buddhavacana* simply list variants and do not explain in the apparatus the evaluative process by which a word is chosen, and DK has followed this method, although it does contain a lengthy introduction which discusses some of the criteria. Some editions offer more details like Trenckner's 1888 edition of the MN which has numerous explanations and cross-references. Clearly, a critical edition along the lines of the Scholars Hebrew Bible Project (with full apparatus, critical notes and

references) would require much more time, work, resources and funds than may be available to DK and would require an expert editor for each *Nikāya* or perhaps even each book in each *Nikāya*, to properly execute . In the meantime, until such a project is contemplated and initiated, the DK will be the most comprehensive edition available to scholars and practitioners, and an indispensable aid to study the teachings and their transmission.

ABBREVIATIONS

- A Aṅguttaranikāya. Morris, Richard and Hardy Edmund., eds. 1885-1910. Aṅguttaranikāya 6 vols. London/Oxford: Pali Text Society
- BHSD Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary. Edgerton, Franklin. 1953. reprinted 1998. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers
- CPD A Critical Pāli Dictionary. Trenckner, Vilhelm/Ander-
sen, Dines/Smith, Helmer., eds. 1924-2011. Copen-
hagen: Munksgaard
- DED ADraavidianEtymologicalDictionary. Burrow, T and Eme-
neau, M.B. 1961. A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary.
Oxford: Clarendon Press
- D Dīghanikāya. Rhys Davids, Thomas William/ Carpenter,
Joseph Estlin., eds. 1889-1910. Dīghanikāya. 3 vols.
London: Pali Text Society
- DOP A Dictionary of Pāli. Cone, Margaret. 2001-2010. A
Dictionary of Pāli, part I-II. Oxford: Pali Text Society
- GDhp Gāndhāri Dharmapada. John, Brough., ed. 1962. Gāndhāri
Dharmapada: with an introduction and commentary.
Oxford: Oxford University Press
- KEWA Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindis-
chen, A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary. Hei-
delberg: Carl Winter-Universitätsverlag
- PED Pali- English Dictionary. Rhys Davids, Thomas William/
Stede. Pali-English Dictionary. 1921-1925. London:
Pali Text Society
- Pj II Paramatthajotikā II (Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā). Smith,
Helmer., ed. 1916/1989. Suttanipāta Commentary being
Paramatthajotikā II, Vol. I Uravagga Cūlavagga. Ox-
ford: Pāli Text Society

- Sadd Saddanīti. Smith, Helmer., ed. 1928-1954. Saddanīti La Grammaire Palie d'Aggavaṃsa. Oxford: Pali Text Society
- SEA Southeast Asian
- Sv Sumaṅgalavilāsini. Thomas William/ Carpenter, Joseph Estlin., eds. 1886-1932. Sumaṅgalavilāsini. London: Pali Text Society
- Th Theragāthā. H. Oldenberg, R. Pischel., eds. 1966. Theragāthā with Appendices by K. R Norman, L. Alsdorf. London: Pali Text Society
- Thī Therīgāthā. H. Oldenberg, R. Pischel., eds. 1966. Therīgāthā with Appendices by K. R Norman, L. Alsdorf. London: Pali Text Society

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The *Sūtra* Illustrating the Origins of the *Stūpa*
Commemorating Bodhisattva's Body-sacrifice
to save a Starving Tigress, Transmitted in Gandhāra:
Text and English Translation^{1*}

Junko Matsumura

Abstract

This article presents an edited text of a sūtra dealing with one of the Vyāghrī Jātaka versions existing only in a Chinese translation (Taishō no.172) together with its English translation and annotations. The text is obviously connected to a monastery once existed in the Gandhāra region, to which Chinese Buddhist pilgrims like Faxian and Xuanzang visited and left records. The translator of the text, Fasheng, also traveled to India shortly after Faxian, and probably obtained the original Indic text at the same monastery, and after returning home, he translated the text into Chinese. However, the Chinese text in Taishō has an extraordinary large number of variant readings, many of which clearly seem to be better choices. This fact comes from the predicament that Taishō's text is just a copy from the Korean Tripitaka 2nd imprint. Therefore, it was necessary to make a new edition by systematically comparing all variant readings in the xylographical editions of Song, Yuan and Ming. Along with these, the Shōgōzō MS and never-before collated Kongōji MS in facsimile are elucidated.

Introduction

Below are the newly edited text and its translation of the *sūtra* named the *Foshuo pusa toushen (yi) ebu qita yinyuan jing* 佛說菩薩投身(飴)餓虎起塔因緣經 (Taishō no.172, 3: 424b5-428a12). This *sūtra* was translated from the Indic (probably Sanskrit) original by a Chinese monk, Fasheng 法盛 (ca. 406-479 CE), from Turfan at the time of Northern Liang dynasty (397-439 CE). The content is a version of the

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famous Tigress *Jātaka*, which narrates the Bodhisattva's self-sacrifice to save the lives of a starving tigress and her cubs.¹ Although this *jātaka* story is very popular and widespread all over the Buddhist countries, the version found in this *sūtra* is particularly unique, because its plot line is very different from any other versions, and because this story is evidently connected with the *stūpa* that still exists in the Gandhāra region. The famous Chinese pilgrims, Faxian 法顯 (ca. 337-422 CE) and Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 603-664 CE), made references to this *stūpa* in their travel accounts,² and based upon their descriptions, Cunningham

¹ For various versions of Tigress-*jātaka*, see Matsumura (2010). The most famous and popular version is the one in the *Suvarṇa(pra)bhāsa-sūtra*: See Emmerick (2004), pp. 88-100. In the preceding *jātaka* story in the same *sūtra* the Bodhisattva is a merchant son, Jalavāhana, and learns medicine from his father in order to cure people's illnesses.

² Faxian relates as follows (Giles (1877), p. 18 (=Taishō no. 2085, 51:858b8-10); cf. Legge (1886), p. 32):

Again travelling eastwards [from Taxila] for two days the pilgrims arrived at the place where he [= the Bodhisattva] gave his body to feed a hungry tiger. In these two places there are also great pagodas, adorned with all kinds of precious stones. The Kings, Ministers, and people of all the neighbouring countries vie with each other in making offerings, in scattering flowers and lighting lamps without intermission.

Xuanzang's account is as follows (Beal (1884), pp. 145-146 (=Taishō no. 2087, 51: 885c13-23):

From this place going back to the northern frontiers of *Ta-ch'a-shi-lo* [Taxila], crossing the *Sin-tu* river and going south-east 200 *li* or so, we pass the great stone gates where formerly Mahāsattva, as a prince, sacrificed his body to feed a hungry Wu-t'u (*Ôtu*, a cat). To the south of this place 40 or 50 paces there is a stone *stūpa*. This is the place where Mahāsattva, pitying the dying condition of the beast, after arriving at the spot, pierced his body with a bamboo splinter, so as to nourish the beast with his blood. On this the animal, taking the blood, revived. On this account all the earth and the plants at this place are dyed with a blood colour, and when men dig the earth they find things like prickly spikes. Without asking whether we believe the tale or not, it is a piteous one. To the north of the body-sacrifice place there is a stone *stūpa* about 200 feet high, which was built by King Aśoka. It is adorned with sculptures and tastefully constructed (*built*). From time to time spiritual indications are apparent. There are a hundred or so small *stūpas*, provided with stone niches for movable images (*or* stone movable niches) around this distinguished spot. Whatever sick there are who can circumambulate it are mostly restored to health.

In the early 6th century, Songyun 宋雲 and Huisheng 惠生 also visited the same place (Wang (1984), p. 232 (= Taishō no. 2092, 51:1020b6-11):

Travelling through the mountains southeastward from the capital city for eight days, they arrived at the place where Tathāgata, in his asceticism, gave himself up to feed a starving tigress. The high mountains presented a majestic appearance, and perilous cliffs soared into the clouds. Auspicious trees and sacred fungi grew on top [of the cliffs] in clumps. The forest and fountains were beautiful, and colours of

identified it with Mānikyāla Stūpa near Islamabad.³

Fasheng himself also traveled to India about 25 years later than Faxian, and obtained the original text during his travels, most probably at the temple where the *stūpa* belonged, and he translated it after he returned to China.⁴ However, the Indian original text seems not to be extant.

This *jātaka* story is also interesting from the viewpoint of Buddhist concerns with medicine. In this *jātaka*, the Bodhisattva cures leprosy with an ox-head sandalwood, which is often referred to as the most precious kind of sandalwood in Buddhist literature. Moreover, when he decides to offer his body to the starving tigress and her cubs,⁵ he makes a vow that the *stūpa* to be built [in order] to contain his remains should cure all illnesses of those who come to worship it, and this vow is given a guarantee by the deities to realize. In this *jātaka* story, his body directly saves the lives of the tigress and her cubs from danger of death, and afterwards, through the *stūpa* containing his remains, he indirectly cures the illnesses of many people.

There are some other *jātaka* stories, in which the Bodhisattva's body directly cures diseases. For example, in the *Padmaka-jātaka*, the Bodhisattva cures people from an epidemic disease by having killed himself and being reborn as a huge red fish.⁶

The Chinese text in the *Taishō Tripitaka* is quite defective as the fact that there exist such a large number of variant readings in proportion to rather a short text may indicate. Especially when the variant readings of <三> in the *Taishō Tripitaka* edition, *i.e.* Song, Yuan and Ming editions, differ from the text of the *Taishō Tripitaka*, they always appear to be better readings⁷. Therefore, before making the transla-

the flowers dazzled one's eyes. Sung Yün and Hui-sheng contributed some of their traveling money to build a *stūpa* at the summit, including a stone monument with an inscription in the *li* (clerical) style to record the achievement of the Wei. On the mountain there was a Shou-ku Monastery 收骨寺 (Monastery of Collected Bones), which housed more than three hundred monks.

Cf. Chavannes (1903), pp. 411-412 and p. 411, fn.3. He refers to this *sūtra* in the footnote.

³ Cunningham (1871), pp. 152-172. Based upon Xuanzang's account, Cunningham thinks that the present Mānikyāla Stūpa did not exist at Xuanzang's time.

⁴ For Fasheng's biography and his travel account, see Matsumura (2012), pp. 58-66.

⁵ Cf. Durt (1998).

⁶ About the various versions of the *Padmaka-jātaka* and similar *jātaka* stories, see Lamotte (1970-1981) V, pp. 2298-2300; Okada (1992); Itō (1998).

⁷ Refer also the editorial principles below.

tion, it was necessary to make a critically edited text. I collated all of the readings shown in the *Taishō Tripitaka* edition's footnotes together with MS reserved in the Kongōji 金剛寺 Temple in Kawachinagano 河内長野, Japan⁸, and the Shōgozō 聖語藏 MS published in digital form, and made an edited text. As far as I know, no previous translation of the *sūtra* has yet been published.

Abbreviations of the material used for the collation

- T:** Text in Taishō edition
- K:** Kongōji 金剛寺 temple MS, undated
- S:** Readings of Song edition as given in Taishō
- Y:** Readings of Yuan edition as given in Taishō
- M:** Readings of Ming edition as given in Taishō
- Sh:** Shōgozō 聖語藏, *i.e.* <宮> in Taishō, collated directly from MS published in DVD edition. According to the colophon, the MS was completed in the 2nd year of Jingokeiun 神護景雲(CE 768).

Editorial Principle

The edited text is made based upon **Sh**, because this MS is the oldest among the MSS and xylographical editions I could make use of. Its readings usually coincide with **SYM** and **K** (there are only two case that only **SYM** have unique reading: See fnn. 282 and 283 below), which means that the readings found only in **T** are unique ones simply adopted from the Korean second xylographical edition. Sometimes **Sh** shows closer affinity with **K** than with other material. Unique readings only found in **Sh** are as a principle not adopted, because most of them are apparently scribal errors. Although it is desirable to maintain a uniform principle in choosing readings throughout the whole text, I

⁸ The photographs of this MS were taken by the members of the Research Institute for Old Japanese Manuscripts of Buddhist Scriptures at the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies in Tokyo. For the database of the old Buddhist MSS preserved in Japan, see: https://koshakyo-database.icabs.ac.jp/about/site_en (last retrieved on 2/8/2018).

was sometimes tempted to adopt the readings which seemed to be better in the context for convenience to present a smooth, readable text. Whether this method could be pertinent, the readers can judge from the variants given in the footnotes.

Generally, I did not note all the alloforms of Chinese characters that appear in MSS, since there are often no printable fonts for them. However, as far as I could I noted them for the interest of students of paleography. **K** and **Sh** write instead of 爾 simplified form [亼-山+小], almost like modern 尔, throughout the text. **Sh** always writes 无 for 無, and 万 for 萬; **K** almost always does so. There are also some Chinese characters which **Sh** and **K** write simplified forms, like 辭 for 辭, 隕 for 墮 etc.

Chinese Text

佛說⁹菩薩投身¹⁰餓虎起塔因緣經¹¹

北涼高昌國¹²沙門法盛譯

如是我聞，一時昔¹³佛遊乾陀越國毘沙門波羅大城。於¹⁴北山巖蔭下，爲國王大臣人民¹⁵及天龍八部人非人等，說法教化度人無數。教化垂畢時佛便¹⁶微笑口出香光。光有九色遍照諸國香薰亦¹⁷爾。時諸大衆覩光聞¹⁸香皆大歡喜。時光明還遶佛七匝復從口入。爾時阿難整衣服長跪叉手白佛言：“今者世尊現奇瑞相必有因緣，多所饒益衆生蒙祐。唯¹⁹願天尊說其因緣。佛告阿難：“如汝所言²⁰諸佛密口凡所現相有大²¹因緣。汝欲聞

⁹ S omits 佛說.

¹⁰ TK add 餒; S adds 飼.

¹¹ Sh adds 一卷.

¹² S omits 國.

¹³ TK omit 昔.

¹⁴ TK add 城.

¹⁵ For 大臣人民, TK 臣民.

¹⁶ TK omit 便.

¹⁷ K omits 亦.

¹⁸ For 聞, Y 問.

¹⁹ For 唯, YM 惟.

²⁰ For 言, S 說.

²¹ For 有大, S 皆有.

乎。”阿難曰：“諾²²唯天中天。”佛告阿難：過去九劫時世無佛，有一大國名乾陀摩提。王名²³乾陀尸利。夫人名曰釵²⁴摩目佉。太子名曰栴檀摩提。其國廣博豐樂饒人。人壽千五百歲。太子福德，天下太平無偷劫賊。人民和順不相剋伐。太子慈仁聰明智慧。貫練群籍及九十六種道術。威儀靡不通達。少小已來常好布施，於身命財無所遺惜，慈育衆生甚於赤子，大悲普覆平等無二，孝養父母禮儀備舉。爾時父王爲太子去城不遠造立園觀。其園縱廣面八由旬。列種華果，奇禽²⁵異鳥²⁶，清淨嚴飾。²⁷處處皆有流泉浴池。池中常有優鉢羅華，鉢頭摩華，拘物頭華，分陀利華，及餘雜²⁸種赤白蓮華。孔雀，鴻[鶩-巾+子=鶩]，鳩鵲，²⁹鴛鴦遊戲其中。清涼³⁰香潔微妙第一。爾時，太子與群臣百官及后妃嫔女，導³¹從前後詣園遊戲，經一七日迴駕還宮。爾時國界有貧窮孤獨老病百疾，聞太子還悉來在道側，張手向太子。太子見已即以身瓔珞服飾及金錢銀錢車乘象³²馬，悉用布施。及至城門無復餘物。貧者猶多恨不周接。³³太子還宮，念諸貧人憂不能食。王問太子：“爲何恨何³⁴也。”太子答曰：“近出遊觀見諸貧人，來³⁵在道³⁶側求索所乏。即以身所有施之，猶不周足，故自愁耳。今欲從大王乞中藏財物周給天下，不審大王賜所願不。”王言：“國家庫藏防備緩急不宜私用。”

於是太子所願不果愁倍於前。太子傍臣名曰闍耶，見太子不食悲感懊惱，長跪叉手白太子言：“臣有金錢十千，奉上大天³⁷隨意所用，願莫憂貧³⁸飲食如先，錢若不足臣當賣身供奉大天。”於是闍耶即以金錢十千奉上太子。太子使人持錢出城

²² S omits 諾.

²³ S adds 曰.

²⁴ For 釵, TK 差.

²⁵ For 禽, S 獸; K 獵? (almost illegible).

²⁶ K 身? (almost illegible).

²⁷ For 飾, T 好; S 麗.

²⁸ For 雜, SK 種.

²⁹ For 鳩鵲, Sh 翡翠.

³⁰ For 涼, K 淨.

³¹ For 導, K 道.

³² For 象, K 鳩.

³³ For 接, TS 足.

³⁴ For 恨何, TK 何恨.

³⁵ For 來, T 夾.

³⁶ For 道, T 路.

³⁷ For 大天, Sh 丈夫.

³⁸ For 貧, S 負.

布施³⁹。盡十千數，猶不得周⁴⁰。還白太子言⁴¹：“金錢已盡貧者尚多。”於是太子即使傍臣斷⁴²檢私藏，復得金錢十⁴³千布施貧者⁴⁴猶不充⁴⁵足。太子自念：“夫人之苦，皆由貧窮，求不得苦。今當自賣所愛之身，救彼人苦，令得安樂。”思惟是即⁴⁶却珍寶衣，著凡故服默出宮城，投適他國名裴提舍。自銜⁴⁷賣身與一婆羅門得千金錢。即以此⁴⁸錢施諸貧人。

時婆羅門，使奴將車入山斫樵於市賣之。經於多時後復取薪，乃於山中得牛頭梅檀，一段重一百斤。時彼國王本有癩病。醫方呪術不能令差。王便怒曰：“用醫何爲。夫人百病皆有對⁴⁹治之藥，而我此病何獨不蒙。”令收諸醫於市斬刑。時有一⁵⁰醫白王言：“今王此病對治之藥世間難有。雖有其名未曾得見⁵¹。”王曰：“藥名何等？”答曰：“牛頭梅檀⁵²。”王曰：“夫人罪福業行不同。自⁵³有福人，脫⁵⁴有此藥。”即教宣令天下：“誰有此藥，當分半國從其市之。”

時婆羅門，喚奴語曰：“爾⁵⁵從來賣薪雖獲微直。不如今者富貴之利。國王有病，今以半國市牛頭梅檀。汝今可齎⁵⁶此梅檀，往奉大王。必得如意。吾當與汝非⁵⁷同此樂也。”⁵⁸時奴便⁵⁹持牛頭梅檀，奉上國王。王得之已，磨以⁶⁰塗身，癩病即愈。王大歡喜。舉國臣民各蒙慶賴。即召群臣大設施會，放赦囚徒，布施貧乏，上下和樂。王使大臣破半宮殿，及所領國

³⁹ TK add 貧人。

⁴⁰ For 得周, TK 周遍。

⁴¹ TS omit 言。

⁴² For 斷, T 料。

⁴³ For 十, Y 千。

⁴⁴ For 布施貧者, T 施諸貧人; K 布施諸貧人。

⁴⁵ For 充, M 克。

⁴⁶ For 即, TS 已。

⁴⁷ T omits 銜。

⁴⁸ For 即以此, TK 以此金。

⁴⁹ For 對, K 勤。

⁵⁰ K omits 一。

⁵¹ For 得見, T 見之; K 得見之。

⁵² For 牛頭梅檀, T 名牛頭梅檀。

⁵³ For 自, K 囚。

⁵⁴ For 脫, YM 設。

⁵⁵ For 爾, KSh 你。

⁵⁶ For 齎, KSh 賣 throughout。

⁵⁷ T omits 非。

⁵⁸ Sh omits 也。

⁵⁹ For 便, T 即。

⁶⁰ For 以, TK 用。

民金銀珍寶錢財穀帛奴婢車乘象⁶¹馬牛羊悉皆分半。莊嚴寶車百乘馬騎千匹，⁶² 作倡伎樂香華幢幡百味飲食迎奴還國。即⁶³便請之共坐寶床⁶⁴，作倡伎樂飲食娛樂。王問奴曰：“見卿福德威相有殊於世，何緣處賤，願聞其志。”奴曰：“甚善，卿欲聞者今當說之；如卿所疑，吾⁶⁵本非奴。卿⁶⁶頗⁶⁷曾⁶⁸聞，乾陀摩提國王有太子名梅檀摩提，好布施不？”答曰：“我數聞名⁶⁹但未⁷⁰見耳。”曰：“吾便是也。”其王聞已倍更敬重。曰：“何緣致是？”太子曰：“吾好布施，盡國財物，不足周用。窮者猶多，本願不遂。是以捨國，自賣身耳。”王曰：“夫人宿行隨業受報。修善則⁷¹樂，行惡受⁷²苦。非卿所爲，非父母與。何乃虧⁷³國大望處險涉⁷⁴難。如此之事，天下少有。必有異見，願聞⁷⁵其志⁷⁶。”太子答曰：“吾本發意誓度群生，行諸波羅蜜志求菩提。”王曰：“善哉”，甚大隨喜。太子語王：“今以國還，卿，唯求一願儻⁷⁷不見違。”答曰：“所願何等？”太子曰：“欲得中藏錢財之物，以周給天下貧窮孤老尪羸百病疾肆，⁷⁸ 意布施滿五十日。其中功德與卿共之。”王曰：“甚善，錢財之物隨卿用之。⁷⁹ 所賞半國是卿功分，吾不敢受。”太子曰：“善，卿以財施我，我以國奉卿。我好布施。卿之樂國。人物殊性⁸⁰志欲不同。”王曰：“此行弘深非吾所及，卿得道時，願見濟度。”太子即遣使宣告諸國，“若有貧窮孤老尪羸之者，悉令來會。”爾時太子使人開諸庫藏，運輦財物於平坦地，布施貧人滿五十日。貧者得富莫不歡喜。

⁶¹ For 象, K 鳩.

⁶² For 匹, K 疋.

⁶³ For 即, TK 王.

⁶⁴ For 床, K 牀.

⁶⁵ For 吾, M 我.

⁶⁶ Sh omits 卿.

⁶⁷ For 頗, K 匹? (almost illegible).

⁶⁸ Sh omits 曾.

⁶⁹ For 我數聞名, TSh 數聞.

⁷⁰ S adds 曾.

⁷¹ For 則, K 財.

⁷² For 受, YM 則.

⁷³ For 虧, K 窺.

⁷⁴ For 險涉, Sh 嶮沙; K 嶮涉.

⁷⁵ For 聞, TK 說.

⁷⁶ For 志, TK 意.

⁷⁷ For 儻, SK 當.

⁷⁸ For 疾肆, S 疾恣; TK 病肆.

⁷⁹ For 用之, STK 施用.

⁸⁰ For 性, TKSh 姓.

爾⁸¹時太子委國去後，群⁸²臣驚怖啼哭白王：“昨夜忽亡⁸³太子不知所在。”王聞是語從床⁸⁴而落迷不識人。夫人宮中后妃嫠女，及諸⁸⁵臣⁸⁶莫不驚怪。悲感懊惱舉聲號叫，奔出四向追覓⁸⁷太子。王夫人懼失太子忽忽⁸⁸如狂。即與后妃⁸⁹褰裳被髮奔走出城，東西⁹⁰尋覓太子。王恐夫人念子懊惱或能致命。即與群臣嚴駕出城，追覓夫人并太子消息。去國十里於空澤草中，乃見夫人從數⁹¹胸涕泣⁹²頭亂目腫。披指⁹³草叢求覓太子身⁹⁴。其王見已更增悲，結前捉夫人手，涕泣⁹⁵交流諫夫人曰：“吾子福德慈孝布施與物無怨。盡以財物布施天下猶不周足。常懷悔恨無物施用。子今密⁹⁶去必投他國求財布施。或自賣身周⁹⁷給貧乏。⁹⁸且共還宮，勿大憂愁。吾今當遣使到⁹⁹諸國中，訪問消息，必得子還。”夫人罵曰：“由王慳貪，護惜錢財，不念我¹⁰⁰子，今寧可以錢財爲子身不。”王曰：“吾失在先，今悔¹⁰¹何及。且共還宮。保不失子。今¹⁰²當躬身，四出求索，要得¹⁰³子還。”夫人垂淚曰：“今失我子用生何爲，寧死於此，不空¹⁰⁴還也。我觀子身不知飢渴。雖遭病苦¹⁰⁵不以爲患。今還守

⁸¹ For 群, K 郡.

⁸² For 群, K 郡.

⁸³ For 亡, S 失.

⁸⁴ For 床, K 牀.

⁸⁵ TKSh omit 諸.

⁸⁶ TS add 佐吏民; K adds 喚.

⁸⁷ K omits 覓.

⁸⁸ For 忽忽, YMK 忽忽.

⁸⁹ For 后妃, T 妃后.

⁹⁰ STK add 馳逐.

⁹¹ For 搥, S 椎.

⁹² For 涕泣, T 啼哭.

⁹³ For 指, T 百; S 擘.

⁹⁴ TS omit 身.

⁹⁵ For 涕泣, T 啼淚.

⁹⁶ For 密, K 蜜.

⁹⁷ For 周, T 賙.

⁹⁸ For 乏, SK 苦.

⁹⁹ For 到, Sh 至.

¹⁰⁰ For 念我, T 愛念; K 愛念我.

¹⁰¹ For 悔, Sh 誨.

¹⁰² Sh omits 今.

¹⁰³ For 得, S 當; Sh omits 得.

¹⁰⁴ For 空, K 宮.

¹⁰⁵ For 病苦, S 大苦.

宮，¹⁰⁶ 何所怙恃。”¹⁰⁷ 於是太子后妃，¹⁰⁸ 被髮亂頭¹⁰⁹號天叩地，四望顧視不見¹¹⁰太子。號天叩頭，飲淚而言：“天地日月父母靈神，若我有罪今悉懺悔。願與我丈夫¹¹¹早得相見。”於是國王強¹¹²牽夫人及太子后妃，載車¹¹³還宮。

太子爾時遙在他國，兩目手足三反矚¹¹⁴動。心中愁怖似有忘失。¹¹⁵ 即辭彼王還歸本國。王令傍臣莊嚴寶車百乘馬騎千匹，金錢十千銀錢十萬。¹¹⁶ 王有五百大臣人，各¹¹⁷金錢十千銀錢十萬，以贈送¹¹⁸太子。王與群臣十千萬人，送太子到國界頭，施設大會歡喜相謝。於是別去。太子惟曰：“從小以¹¹⁹來，足不妄動目不妄矚。¹²⁰ 吾前出國不辭父母，必是父母及國臣民，¹²¹ 恐失我故憂愁苦惱。今當速去令知消息” 又復惟曰：“道途¹²²曠遠不可卒到。恐我父母哀念情重，或喪身命。¹²³ 當作何方得令¹²⁴消息速達。” 時有烏鳥善能人語。白太子言：“仁¹²⁵德至重恩潤普及。憂何¹²⁶不辦。欲何所為吾當助之。” 太子答曰：“欲託一事，願見不違。” 烏曰：“奉命。” 太子曰：“煩卿送書與我父王。”¹²⁷ 烏曰：“宜急，今正是時。” 太子作書以授¹²⁸與烏。烏口銜書飛到本¹²⁹國，以書置王前。王披書讀。

¹⁰⁶ For 宮, T 空; K illegible.

¹⁰⁷ For 怙恃, TKSh 恃怙.

¹⁰⁸ For 后妃, KSh 妃后.

¹⁰⁹ For 亂頭, KSh 頭亂 (頭 can mean “hairdo”).

¹¹⁰ Sh omits 不見.

¹¹¹ For 丈夫, TSK 大夫; YM 大天. The reading, 丈夫 “husband” is better, since 大夫 means “senior official, physician, doctor”.

¹¹² K adds [旌 - ㄣ].

¹¹³ For 載車, S 車載.

¹¹⁴ For 反矚, S 返矚; T 反[目+需]; K 返.

¹¹⁵ For 似有忘失, in K only 忘 is legible; other three characters are illegible.

¹¹⁶ For 萬, KSh 万 throughout.

¹¹⁷ For 各, TK 以; Sh omits 以.

¹¹⁸ TKSh add 送.

¹¹⁹ For 以, TK 已.

¹²⁰ For 矚, T [目+需]; K 矚.

¹²¹ For 臣民, S 臣人.

¹²² For 途, TK 塗.

¹²³ For 喪身命, KSh 時喪命.

¹²⁴ For 得令, S 令得.

¹²⁵ For 仁, KSh 道.

¹²⁶ For 憂何, TK 何憂.

¹²⁷ For 王, S 母.

¹²⁸ For 授, Sh 投.

¹²⁹ K omits 本.

知太子消息甚大歡喜。即起入宮語夫人曰：“如我¹³⁰語卿知不失子。不過數日必得見子。”夫人聞已如死還蘇。¹³¹拍手稱善曰：“令一切天下安隱¹³²快樂，所願皆得壽命無量。”爾時國中群臣豪族男女大小，聞太子還皆稱萬歲。王即與群臣數千萬人，嚴駕導從，出迎太子。道路相逢，太子見父。即下寶車，前接足禮，啓白父王：“自道¹³³不孝，¹³⁴枉屈尊神，驚動國界。幸蒙原恕。”王曰：“甚善。”父子相見，悲喜交集，迴駕還宮。舉國民庶，莫不歡喜。遠方諸國貧窮乞人，聞太子還多得錢財。皆從遠來詣太子乞。太子使人擔輦錢物，於大路頭平坦空地，布施諸貧人，一年之中日日不絕。四方來者皆得如意。爾時父王與諸大臣語太子曰：“從今已往國藏珍寶隨所須用，莫自疑難。夫施之德遠近所重。怨敵惡人聞太子功德者，自然修善。”

爾時有五通¹³⁵神仙道士名曰勇猛，與五百弟子，在此山上大巖窟中。修禪行道志求菩提欲度衆¹³⁶苦，教化天下皆令修善。爾時太子梅¹³⁷檀摩提，齎持種種百味飲食，上山供養諸仙人。於時仙師，呪願太子因爲說法。太子心喜志樂無爲。不欲還國。顧惟宮室生地¹³⁸獄想，妻子眷屬生柁械想，觀五欲樂爲地獄想。思惟是已，即解¹³⁹瓔珞嚴身上服，及車馬人從悉付傍臣遣令還國。於是太子披¹⁴⁰鹿皮衣留住山中。從師學道攢¹⁴¹尋道術。時太子傍臣還國白王：“太子上山供養仙人，留彼學道不肯還宮。經書呪術悉令通達自要當¹⁴²還。”王曰：“一何苦哉。世人得子以致歡樂。¹⁴³憑賴老時益國除患。吾得此子常懷憂苦。不欲富貴不親眷屬。此之惱子何道之有。”即召群臣共論此事。諸臣啓¹⁴⁴曰：“太子好道不貪世榮，志樂無

¹³⁰ For 我, S 吾.

¹³¹ For 蘇, K 蘇.

¹³² For 隱, K 穩. 安隱 is obviously used as an equivalent of 安穩. When we search 安隱 in SAT database, we get 8344 hits, while 安穩 hits 1383 cases. See DDB s.v. 安隱.

¹³³ For 白父王自道, TK 父王曰子道.

¹³⁴ Note that *zidao* 子道 “filial duties” is the title of the 24th chapter of the *Xunzi* 荀子.

¹³⁵ For 五通, K 五百神通.

¹³⁶ For 衆, K 衆生.

¹³⁷ For 梅, S 旃.

¹³⁸ For 地, Sh 徒.

¹³⁹ For 解, K 排.

¹⁴⁰ For 披, S 被.

¹⁴¹ For 攢, S 鑽.

¹⁴² For 當, T 不.

¹⁴³ For 樂, K 喜.

¹⁴⁴ T omits 啓.

爲，既不還國。非可如何，王宜遣使審定其意。必不還者當量其宜。”王即遣信¹⁴⁵往問太子。“吾今待子如渴思飲。停留山中不還何意。今夫人后妃揮涕¹⁴⁶望塗¹⁴⁷。悲號¹⁴⁸懊惱不自任處。夫子道安親¹⁴⁹不宜苦逆。隨使必還。”使者受命旨白¹⁵⁰如是。太子答曰：“萬物無常形不久存。室家歡娛離別則苦。性¹⁵¹命由天不得自在。無常對至。雖有父子不得¹⁵²相救。今求無爲欲度衆苦。得道之日先度父母。今此處不遠，亦當時往奉觀目下。此志已¹⁵³定。王宜更計續立國嗣。”還信白王具說上事。王即召集群臣，更立太子。時王夫人與太子后妃嫫¹⁵⁴女營從，齎持太子衣服嚴身之具，及種種甘美¹⁵⁵飲食香華伎樂，導¹⁵⁶從前後上山，到太子處餉¹⁵⁷諸仙衆，因迎太子。夫人曰：“夫種穀防飢掘井待渴，立郭¹⁵⁸防賊養子侍¹⁵⁹老。汝今不還者¹⁶⁰吾命不全。”太子長跪白夫人曰：“捨家處山改形易服。如唾出口不中食用。閑居道士於國無施。理分已定，非可改移。寧碎身於此終不還也。願母時還尋爾修覲。”於是夫人及太子后妃，見太子至¹⁶¹意堅固無有還意，悲哭懊惱隨路而歸。於時國王唯¹⁶²望夫人得太¹⁶³子還，與諸群¹⁶⁴臣出城迎待。¹⁶⁵唯見夫人與太子后妃，被髮亂¹⁶⁶頭槌¹⁶⁷胸號¹⁶⁸叫隨¹⁶⁹路空歸。王益不樂。

¹⁴⁵ For 信, TK 使.

¹⁴⁶ For 涕, T 淚.

¹⁴⁷ For 塗, TK 途.

¹⁴⁸ K omits 悲號.

¹⁴⁹ For 安親, K 吾觀.

¹⁵⁰ For 白, T 曰.

¹⁵¹ For 性, T 姓.

¹⁵² For 得, T 能.

¹⁵³ For 已, K 以.

¹⁵⁴ For 嫫, Sh 綵.

¹⁵⁵ For 美, T 果.

¹⁵⁶ For 導, K 道.

¹⁵⁷ For 餉, TKS 飯.

¹⁵⁸ For 郭, KSh [土+郭].

¹⁵⁹ For 侍, K 待.

¹⁶⁰ For 還者, T 還國者; S omits 者.

¹⁶¹ For 至, S 志.

¹⁶² For 唯, S 惟.

¹⁶³ Sh omits 太.

¹⁶⁴ For 群, K 郡.

¹⁶⁵ For 迎待, TS omits 待; Sh 近待.

¹⁶⁶ For 亂, K 乱.

¹⁶⁷ For 槌, S 椎; KSh 槌.

¹⁶⁸ For 號, Sh, K [号+希].

¹⁶⁹ For 隨, K 隨.

群臣萬衆莫不涕¹⁷⁰淚。回¹⁷¹駕還宮。於是國王諫謝夫人及太子妻：“吾子好道世間難有。慈育普濟莫不蒙恩。此國之寶非凡器也。今樂居山¹⁷²以修其志。但令安隱¹⁷³時復相見。今且與子相去不遠。餉致飲食消息往來可以自慰。”於是¹⁷⁴夫人得王諫已憂情¹⁷⁵小歇。時時遣人齎持飲食，及諸甘果¹⁷⁶種種美饌。往到山中供養太子。如是多年。太子亦時時來下¹⁷⁷問訊父母。乃¹⁷⁸復還山修道。

其山¹⁷⁹下有絕崖深谷。底有一虎母¹⁸⁰新產¹⁸¹七子。時天大降¹⁸²雪。虎母抱子已經多¹⁸³日不得求食。懼子凍死守護餓¹⁸⁴子。雪落不息。母子飢困喪命不久。虎¹⁸⁵母既¹⁸⁶爲飢火所逼¹⁸⁷還欲噉¹⁸⁸子。時山上¹⁸⁹諸仙道士，見是¹⁹⁰事已更相勸曰：“誰能捨身救濟衆生。今正是時。”太子聞已唱曰：“善哉。吾願果矣。”往到崖頭下向望視，見虎母抱子爲雪所覆生大悲心。立住¹⁹¹山頭寂然入定。即得¹⁹²清淨無生法忍。觀見過去無數劫¹⁹³事，未來亦爾。即還白師及五百同學：“吾今捨身願各隨

¹⁷⁰ For 涕, T 啼.

¹⁷¹ For 回, KSh 迴.

¹⁷² For 居山, S 山居.

¹⁷³ For 隱, K 穩.

¹⁷⁴ For 是, S 時.

¹⁷⁵ For 情, YM 憤; KSh 憤.

¹⁷⁶ For 果, KSh 菓.

¹⁷⁷ For 來下, TK 下來.

¹⁷⁸ For 乃, T 仍.

¹⁷⁹ For 山, YM 上.

¹⁸⁰ S omits 母.

¹⁸¹ For 產, SSh 生.

¹⁸² For 大降, TM 降大; K omits 大.

¹⁸³ For 多, SK 三.

¹⁸⁴ For 護餓, TS 餓護.

¹⁸⁵ Sh omits 虎.

¹⁸⁶ For 既, Sh 即; K 既即.

¹⁸⁷ 飢火所逼 literally means ‘fire of hunger that presses on’. For example, 當知一切餓鬼，飢火所逼，身心焦惱 You should know that for all hungry ghosts the fire of hunger is so imminent that their bodies and souls are being tortured (The *Pusa benyuan jing* 菩薩本緣經 Taishō no. 153, 3:59a1).

¹⁸⁸ For 噉, K 敢.

¹⁸⁹ SSh omit 上.

¹⁹⁰ For 是, S 此.

¹⁹¹ For 住, Sh 往; K illegible.

¹⁹² For 得, Sh 逮.

¹⁹³ For 觀見過去無數劫, K illegible.

喜。”師曰：¹⁹⁴“學道日淺知見未廣。何忽自¹⁹⁵捨所愛¹⁹⁶身。”太子答曰：“吾昔有願應捨千身，前已曾¹⁹⁷捨九百九十九身。今日所捨足滿¹⁹⁸千身。是故捨耳。願師隨喜¹⁹⁹。”師曰：“卿志願高妙無能及者。必先得道。勿復見²⁰⁰遺。”²⁰¹太子辭師而去。於是²⁰²大師與五²⁰³百神仙道士涕淚²⁰⁴滿目，送太子到山崖頭。

時²⁰⁵有富蘭長者，將從男女五百²⁰⁶人，齎持飲食²⁰⁷上山供養。見太子捨身悲感啼²⁰⁸哭。而亦²⁰⁹隨²¹⁰太子至山崖頭。於是太子²¹¹在衆人前發大誓願：“我今捨身救衆生命，所有功²¹²德速成菩提，得金剛身常樂我淨無爲法身。未度者令度，未解者令解，未安者令安。我²¹³今此身無常，苦惱衆毒所集。此身不淨九孔盈流。四大毒蛇²¹⁴之所蜇²¹⁵螫。五拔刀賊追遂傷害。²¹⁶如此身者爲無返²¹⁷復。甘饈美味及五欲樂供養此身，命終之後無善報恩。反墮地獄受無量苦²¹⁸。夫人身者唯應令苦不得與樂。太子種種呵責其身諸²¹⁹過咎已。又發誓言：“今²²⁰

¹⁹⁴ S adds 鄉.

¹⁹⁵ For 天, SK 爰; Sh [天+·].

¹⁹⁶ For 愛, K 受.

¹⁹⁷ For 曾, KSh 曾.

¹⁹⁸ S adds 一.

¹⁹⁹ For 喜, K illegible.

²⁰⁰ For 見, K illegible.

²⁰¹ 見遺: 見 is here used as a verbal auxiliary denoting passive voice. 遺 ‘to forget’. The literal translation of the phrase may be ‘you should never be forgotten.’

²⁰² For 是, KSh 時.

²⁰³ Sh omits 五.

²⁰⁴ For 涕淚, S 涕泣; KSh 泣涕.

²⁰⁵ K adds 到?

²⁰⁶ S adds 餘.

²⁰⁷ For 飲食, T 食飲.

²⁰⁸ For 啼, K 涕.

²⁰⁹ For 而, TK 亦.

²¹⁰ For 隨, KSh 隨.

²¹¹ KSh omit 於是太子.

²¹² For 有功, K illegible.

²¹³ For 我, K illegible.

²¹⁴ For 蛇, KSh 虵.

²¹⁵ For 蜇, Sh 蛆.

²¹⁶ For 傷害, S 傷割; Sh 復割; K 復(?)割.

²¹⁷ For 返, T 反.

²¹⁸ For 無量苦, K illegible.

²¹⁹ For 諸, K illegible; S add 惡.

²²⁰ K omits 今.

我以血肉²²¹救彼餓虎。餘舍利骨，我父母後²²²時必爲起塔。令一切衆生身諸病苦宿罪因緣，湯藥針灸²²³不得差者。來我塔處至²²⁴心供養，隨病輕重不過百日必得除愈。若實不虛者，諸天降雨香華。”諸天應聲²²⁵雨曼陀²²⁶羅華²²⁷。地皆振²²⁸動。太子即解鹿皮之²²⁹衣以纏頭目，合手投身虎前。於是虎母²³⁰得食菩薩肉母子俱活。

時崖頭諸人下向望視，²³¹見太子爲虎所噉骨肉狼藉。悲號大叫聲動山中。或有搥胸自撲宛轉臥地，或有禪思，或有叩頭懺悔太子。爾時首陀會諸天，及天帝釋四天王等，日月諸天數千萬衆，皆發無上菩提之心。作倡伎樂燒香散華曼陀羅華供養太子。而唱是言：“善哉，摩訶薩埵。從是不久當坐道場。”如是三唱已各還天宮。五百仙人皆發無上正眞道意。神仙大師得無生忍。

王及²³²夫人明旦²³³遣使齋持飲食。上山餉太子，到常住²³⁴石室。唯見臥具，鹿皮衣，傘蓋，鉢盂，錫杖，水瓶，澡罐²³⁵悉在室中，不見太子。周遍問²³⁶人無有應者。唯見仙人十五五相向啼泣。到大師所，唯見仙師以手拄²³⁷頰，涕淚滿目呻吟而坐。周遍²³⁸推問²³⁹無肯²⁴⁰應對。使²⁴¹者怖懼。即以飲食施諸仙士。走還白夫人具說上事。夫人曰：“不見我子見諸仙不。”

²²¹ For 血肉, T肉血.

²²² For 後, K復.

²²³ For 灸, S灸.

²²⁴ For 至, S志.

²²⁵ S adds 即.

²²⁶ For 陀, Sh 陁. For 應聲雨曼陀羅, K illegible.

²²⁷ For 華, K花.

²²⁸ For 振, S震.

²²⁹ For 之, K illegible.

²³⁰ For 虎母, S母虎.

²³¹ Sh omits 望視.

²³² K omits 及.

²³³ For 旦, T日.

²³⁴ For 常住, S住常; Sh omits 常.

²³⁵ For 罐, S罐; KSh 灌.

²³⁶ For 問, K門.

²³⁷ For 拄, KSh 柱.

²³⁸ For 遍, T匝; S徧; K illegible.

²³⁹ For 問, KSh 求.

²⁴⁰ For 肯, T有.

²⁴¹ KSh omit 使.

答曰：“但見仙士十五五²⁴²相向涕泣。”²⁴³ 夫人曰：“禍哉，吾子死矣。” 搥胸大叫奔走詣王。王聞是已從床而落迷不知人。²⁴⁴ 群臣萬衆來集王側，叩頭諫曰：“太子在山未審虛實。何爲哀慟。願王小息。” 於是王及夫人后妃²⁴⁵嫜女臣佐吏民²⁴⁶褰徒跣²⁴⁷奔走上山。爾時長者富蘭亦逆來告王曰：“太子昨日投身巖下，以肉飼²⁴⁸虎。今唯餘²⁴⁹骨狼藉在地。” 於是長者即引導王到太子屍²⁵⁰處。王及夫人后妃嫜女群臣吏民，舉聲悲哭振動山谷。王與²⁵¹夫人伏²⁵²太²⁵³子屍²⁵⁴上，心肝斷絕悶不識人。妃前扶頭理太子髮，心肝摧碎啼哭聲噎²⁵⁵曰：“一何薄命生亡我尊。今日永絕不復得見。寧令²⁵⁶我身碎如塵粉。不令我天²⁵⁷奄²⁵⁸忽如今。太子已死我用活爲。” 時群²⁵⁹臣白王：“太子布施誓度群生。無²⁶⁰常殺鬼所侵奪也。未及²⁶¹臭²⁶²爛²⁶³宜設供養。” 即收骸骨出山谷口。²⁶⁴ 於平坦地積梅檀香薪²⁶⁵及種種香木，諸香²⁶⁶蘇²⁶⁷油繪蓋幢幡，以用闡維太子。收取舍利以寶

²⁴² For 五五, K 五.

²⁴³ For 涕泣, T 泣涕.

²⁴⁴ 不知人 means 'to faint, to swoon'. Cf. 王聞臣言, 乃更大驚, 從床而墮悶不知人. 以冷水灑之良久乃蘇 The king heard the minister's words and, furthermore, was greatly surprised. He fell from the bed and, in anguish, he fainted. People sprinkled him cold water, and so he recovered after a short while (the *Taizi Zudana jing* 太子須大拏經 (Taishō no. 171, 3:419c22-24).

²⁴⁵ For 后妃, KSh 妃后.

²⁴⁶ For 褰, Sh 褰.

²⁴⁷ For 徒跣, Sh 躡踐.

²⁴⁸ For 飼, T 飴; KSh 食.

²⁴⁹ For 唯餘, S 餘骸; K illegible.

²⁵⁰ For 屍, Sh 尸.

²⁵¹ For 與, Sh K 及.

²⁵² For 伏, K 休.

²⁵³ For 太, T 大.

²⁵⁴ For 屍, Sh 尸.

²⁵⁵ For 噎, T [言+害]; K illegible.

²⁵⁶ For 令, T 使.

²⁵⁷ For 天, SM 夫.

²⁵⁸ For 奄, S 淹.

²⁵⁹ For 群, K 郡.

²⁶⁰ For 無, KSh 非無.

²⁶¹ For 未及, T 及未.

²⁶² For 臭, KSh [自above 死].

²⁶³ For 爛, K writes a character similar to 繭.

²⁶⁴ Sh omits 口.

²⁶⁵ SSh omit 薪.

²⁶⁶ S omits 香.

²⁶⁷ For 蘇, M 酥; KSh 蕪.

器盛之。即於其²⁶⁸中起七寶塔，種種寶物而莊校之。其塔四面縱廣十里。列種種華果²⁶⁹流泉浴池端嚴淨潔。王常令四部伎人，晝夜供養娛樂此塔。

佛告阿難：“時²⁷⁰太子者我身是也。²⁷¹ 時父王者即今我²⁷²父闕²⁷³頭檀是， 時夫人者母摩耶是， 爾時后妃²⁷⁴今瞿夷是， 時大臣闍耶者²⁷⁵阿難是， 爾時山上神仙大師者彌勒是也。 裴提舍王者難陀是也。²⁷⁶ 時婆羅門者羅雲是也。 彌勒菩薩從昔已來常是我師。 以吾布施不惜身命救衆生故， 超越師前懸²⁷⁷校²⁷⁸九劫， 今致得佛濟度無極。” 佛說是時天龍及人八萬四千， 皆發無上平等道意。 八千比丘漏盡結解得應眞道。 王及²⁷⁹群臣天龍鬼神聞佛說法。²⁸⁰ 皆大歡喜， 禮²⁸¹佛而去。²⁸²

爾時國王聞說已， 即於是處起立大塔， 名爲菩薩投身餓虎塔。 今現在塔東面山下有僧房講堂精舍， 常有五千衆僧四事供養。

法盛，爾時見諸國中有人癩病及顛²⁸³狂聾盲手脚蹠跛， 及種種疾病， 悉來就此塔燒香然手脚蹠跛及種種疾病， 悉來就此

²⁶⁸ KSh omit 其.

²⁶⁹ For 種種華果, KSh 衆華菓.

²⁷⁰ For 時, S 爾時.

²⁷¹ T omits 也.

²⁷² S omits 我.

²⁷³ For 闕, SSh 悅.

²⁷⁴ T adds 者.

²⁷⁵ Sh omits 者.

²⁷⁶ Sh omits 也.

²⁷⁷ For 懸, Sh 玄.

²⁷⁸ For 校, YM 較.

²⁷⁹ For 及, T 與; K illegible.

²⁸⁰ For 說法, TK 所說.

²⁸¹ For 禮, S 礼.

²⁸² T adds 丹鄉本續有 (Tanxiang=Khitani edition has a sequel); Both YM have the ending title of the *sūtra* in the next line (禮佛而去次行YM俱在下末題); T comments that in S, 127 characters from 爾時 up to 絕時 directly follows after 禮佛而去 (爾時...絕時百二十七字 <宋> 連續禮佛而去), which means that S's text is same with K and Sh. 丹鄉本 indicates 契丹大藏經: See Fujimoto (1996), pp. 241-282. T's reading, 丹鄉本續有, gives the impression that the remaining paragraph may be an later interpolation, but Song edition, Shōgōzō MS, Kongōji MS and Tanxiang 丹鄉edition (which was collated to make the second imprint of the Korean Tripitaka) have the last paragraph without any sign of its being a later interpolation. The fact that Y and M do not include the last paragraph may not be the proof that the last paragraph is a later interpolation.

²⁸³ For 顛, SYM read 癩.

塔，燒香然燈香泥塗地修治掃灑。并叩頭懺悔百病皆愈。前來差者便去後來輒爾，常有百餘人，不問貴賤皆爾，終無絕時。

佛說²⁸⁴菩薩投身餓²⁸⁵虎起塔因緣經²⁸⁶

English Translation

The *Sūtra* on the Cause of Erecting a Memorial *Stūpa* to the Bodhisattva for his Self-sacrifice for a Starving Tigress as Told by the Buddha

Thus have I heard: Once the Buddha travelled to a large city, *Vaiśravaṇapāla 毘沙門波羅, in the kingdom of *Gandhāra 乾陀越國. Under the shade of a rocky mountain to the north of the city, he preached the Dharma for the sake of the king, his subjects, eight kinds of beings including gods and snake-gods, humans and non-humans, and he converted the people. The number of people led to the right path was innumerable. When the preaching was over, the Buddha smiled and his mouth emitted fragrance and light. The light had nine colours, which illuminated the whole world and the fragrance also spread in the same manner. Then, the great multitude of people saw the light and smelled the fragrance, and all were greatly pleased. Then, the rays of light circumambulated the Buddha seven times, and finally re-entered him through his mouth.

Then Ānanda, having adjusted his robes, knelt down with his hands folded together and addressed the Buddha, “Now when the World-honoured One shows miraculous signs, there must be a reason. Great are the benefits that help to save living-beings from ignorance. I truly wish that the Most Honored One among divine beings would explain the reason.” The Buddha said to Ānanda, “As you say, whenever Buddhas keep silence yet show the signs, there is a great reason. Do you want to hear it?” Ānanda said, “Yes, the Most Divine One among Divine Beings!”²⁸⁷ The Buddha related the following to Ānanda:

²⁸⁴ SYM omit 佛說.

²⁸⁵ For 餓, T 飴餓; YM 飼餓.

²⁸⁶ Sh adds 一卷.

²⁸⁷ *tian zhong tian* 天中天 is a translation of Skt. *devātideva*: Cf. Iwamatsu (1985).

Nine eons ago, when there was no Buddha in the world, there was a great kingdom called *Gandhamati 乾陀摩提. The king's name was *Gandhaśrī 乾陀尸利, the queen's name was *Kṣemameghā 釵摩目佉, and the crown prince's name was *Candanamati 梅檀摩提 ('sandalwood heart'). The kingdom was large, rich and happy, with many subjects. Men's lifespans were fifteen hundred years. The crown prince was endowed with virtues. The kingdom was at peace; there were neither thieves nor plunderers; people lived in harmony without quarreling or fighting each other. The crown prince was merciful, bright and endowed with wisdom. He was thoroughly learned in all kinds of books and the ninety-six kinds of philosophies and arts. His deportment was so perfect that there was no defect. Since his childhood he always loved to give alms; he was ready to give away even his body, his life and his whole riches. He cherished all living beings, as one loves his own children. His great mercy was widespread, and his impartiality was incomparable. In addition, he was dutiful to his parents and well mannered.

At that time, his father, the king, had a scenic garden constructed not far from the capital for the use of the crown prince. The garden was as large as eight leagues lengthwise and crosswise. There were rows of various kinds of trees bearing flowers and fruits, homes to rare and uncommon birds. It was pure and beautiful. There were brooks and bathing ponds throughout the garden. In the ponds, there were always blue, red, white lotuses and white water-lilies blooming. There were also other variegated red and white lotuses. Peacocks, ibises, herons, and pairs of ducks were playing in them. The garden was refreshingly cool, fragrant and pure; its beauty was unassailable.

At that time, the crown prince, together with all the kingdom's ministers, officials of all ranks, the crown princess, and ladies-in-waiting, guarded in front and back, went out to visit the garden and enjoyed it there for some time. After spending a week, he got back in his carriage to return to the palace. At that time, there were in the kingdom's territory the poor, the old and lonely, and sick people afflicted with all kinds of diseases; having heard that the crown prince was leaving and returning to the capital, all came to both sides of the road and stretched their arms towards the crown prince. When he saw them, he gave all his ornaments and even the clothes he was wearing on his body, all the gold and silver coins, carriages, elephants and

horses; he gave all of them as alms to the people. When he reached the capital's gates, there was nothing left to give, but there were still many poor people, and he regretted that he had not enough to give away to all around.

The crown prince returned to the palace, but, when he thought of the poor people, he could not eat because of his sorrow. The king asked the crown prince, "What worries you so?" The crown prince replied, "When I went out to spend a pleasant time, I saw many poor people coming to both sides of the road asking for what they needed. Even though I gave alms with all the things I had with me, still it was not sufficient for everyone. That is why I am distressed. Now I wish I could ask Your Majesty to take out the treasures in the storehouses and offer them to everybody in the whole kingdom. I wonder if Your Majesty might grant me my wish." The king said, "The kingdom's storehouses have provisions for emergencies. It is not appropriate to use them for personal needs."

Upon hearing this, as the crown prince's plea turned out fruitless, his sorrow became twice as much as before. The crown prince's minister, named Jaya 闍耶, saw that the crown prince did not eat but was in sorrow and grief, so he knelt down with his hands folded and addressed the crown prince, "I, your servant, have ten thousands of gold coins, which I respectfully offer to Your Highness to use it as you please. I beg you not to grieve for the poor but to drink and eat as before. If the coins are not enough, your servant shall sell his own self and offer [that money] to Your Highness." Then Jaya presented the ten thousand gold coins to the crown prince.

The crown prince commanded his men to carry the money out of the capital to give it as alms. However, even though he used up all ten thousand gold coins, it was still not enough to reach all of the poor. The men returned and reported to the crown prince, "The gold coins were used up, but there are still many poor people." Then the crown prince ordered his ministers to examine his private treasury, and again obtained ten thousand gold coins, with which he gave alms to the poor people. Yet even this was not sufficient. The crown prince said to himself, "People's sufferings are only because they cannot get what they want on account of poverty. Now I should sell my dear self to save people from sufferings and to comfort them." Having pondered thus, he threw away his clothes ornamented with precious jewels, put

on a commoner's old clothes, and secretly left the palace. He went to another kingdom called *Vidiśā 裴提舍.²⁸⁸ There he sold himself to a Brahman and obtained a thousand gold coins. Using this money, he gave alms to many poor people.

The Brahman made his new 'slave' pull a carriage into the mountains, and made him cut firewood to sell it in the market. After a long time of this work, when the slave again went to get firewood, there, in the mountains he found one *duan* (a unit of length) of ox-head sandalwood 牛頭梅檀 (*gośīrṣacandana*), which weighed one hundred *jin* (a unit of weight).

At that time, the king of Vidiśā suffered from leprosy since his childhood. No medicine or spell could make the slightest difference [to its symptoms]. Therefore the king said angrily, “What use are doctors? For all kinds of diseases of mankind there are suitable medicines. Why does my illness alone not receive any benefit from medicine?” He ordered all the doctors to gather in the market place and beheaded them.

There was one doctor, who bowed down and addressed the king, “At this time it may be difficult to find the medicine that can cure Your Majesty's disease. Although I have heard its name, I have never seen it.” The king said, “What is the name of this medicine?” The doctor replied, “Its name is 'ox-head sandalwood.’” The king said, “One's *karmas* are various; some people have evil *karmas*; others have good ones. A man of virtuous *karmas* just might happen to possess that medicine.” He immediately issued an official notice throughout his kingdom, which said, “If there is one who has this medicine, I will divide the kingdom in half and with one half of the kingdom I will purchase it.”

²⁸⁸ Vidiśā (*Peitishi* 裴提舍) is one of the places Fasheng visited on his travel in India, today's Bilsa near Ujhani (= Ujjain). The name appears in the *Fanfanyū* 翻梵語 as a citation from the *Liguochuan* 歷國傳, the now lost travel account by Fasheng: “裴提舍城、譯曰四惟” (Taishō no. 2130, 54:1039b22); *siwei* 四惟 is an obvious mistake for *siwei* 四維 (the four intermediate compass directions): Compare with “裴提舍城、此云四維、出翻梵語集成 (*v.r.* 出翻梵語集成)” in the *Duoluoyeji* 多羅葉記 (Taishō no. 2707, 84:580b23). For the *Fanfanyū* 翻梵語 and the *Liguochuan* 歷國傳, see Chavannes (1903) 411, fn.3 and 437; Ono (1931, 1936); Suwa (1958); Chen (2004); Raghu Vira and Yamamoto (2007). Ono (1931) made it clear that the author of the *Fanfanyū* is Baochan 寶唱 (495-528 CE), not Shingyō 信行 of Asukadera temple, Japan. Chen does not refer to Ono (1931) and Suwa (1958), and so she retains the view to attribute the work to Shingyō.

Then, the Brahman called out the slave and said, “Although you have been selling firewood for a long time, your earnings are still meager. In this manner, you will never obtain any riches. The king of this land has an illness, and now he will buy ox-head sandalwood for the price of half his kingdom. You should take that sandalwood and go. If you present it to His Majesty, he is sure to be very pleased. And why should I not share this luck with you?”

So then slave crown prince took the ox-head sandalwood and presented it to the king. When the king received it and rubbed it over his body, his leprosy was immediately cured. The king was immensely pleased. Every subject in the whole kingdom shared in his happiness. He summoned the whole body of ministers to organize a great alms-giving festival. He released prisoners and gave alms to the poor. The people in both high and low ranks were in harmony and happy. The king ordered his ministers to halve the palace, his subjects, gold and silver, precious stones, money, grains and silk, male and female slaves, carriages, elephants and horses, cattle and sheep: he divided everything into halves. He made a hundred jeweled carriages and a thousand horses decorated magnificently; he received the slave into the capital with singers, musicians, incense, flowers, banners, flags, and all kinds of drinks and food. Then the king invited him to sit together with him on a jeweled couch, and entertained him with songs, music, foods and drinks.

The king asked the slave, “You look to be endowed with auspicious and majestic signs, outstanding in the world. For what reason are you in such low circumstances? I wish to hear your story.” The slave said, “Very good! If you wish to hear it, I will explain. As you have surmised, originally I am not a slave. Have you ever heard of the king of Gandhamati Kingdom having a crown prince named Candanamati, who loves giving alms?” The king answered, “I have often heard his name, but I have not yet met him.” The crown prince said, “I am that person.” Having heard this, the king respected him even more and said, “Why did you become a slave?” The crown prince replied, “I liked to give alms. But, even though I used up all the riches of my kingdom, they did not suffice the need; the poor people were still so many. My true wish was not fulfilled and therefore I abandoned my kingdom and sold myself.”

The king said, “One's fate is subject to the deeds in one's past

lives. Those who practiced good deeds are rewarded with happiness; those who did evil are subject to sufferings. Neither you nor your parents can be held responsible. Why then should you abandon your kingdom but that your great ambition made you put yourself in danger and undergo hardships? This kind of thing is rare under the heavens. You must have a different reason. I want to hear about your motive.” The crown prince replied, “I originally made a vow to save all living beings, and by practicing all the Perfections (*pāramitās*), I wished for Enlightenment.” The king shouted “Excellent!”, and rejoiced extremely. The crown prince addressed the king, “Now, on the occasion of my returning to my own kingdom, I have a single wish. I hope you will not refuse me.” The king replied, “What do you wish?” The crown prince said, “I would like to receive the money and riches in the storehouses, and with those I want to provide for the poor people, the solitary old people, the handicapped and the weak who have all kinds of illnesses. I want to give out alms for a full fifty days. The moral good produced by this act will be shared with you.” The king said, “Very good! You may use the riches as you like. Half of the kingdom granted to you as the price for the medicine is the reward you have earned. I don't dare to take it back.” The crown prince said, “Good! If you give me the riches, I will respectfully return you my half of the kingdom. I like to give alms. You should make your kingdom happy. Even though we both have excellent characters, our aspirations are different.” The king said, “Your act is generous and profound, which I cannot excel. When you attain Enlightenment, remember to save me.”

The crown prince immediately sent an announcement throughout the land saying, “If there are any who are poor, old and alone, handicapped or weak, let them all come together.” Then the crown prince ordered his men to open all the storehouses, take out all the riches, and place them on an even ground, and gave alms to the poor for a full fifty days. The poor people obtained wealth, and there was nobody who did not rejoice.

At that time the crown prince suddenly removed himself and left his own country, the entire body of ministers was surprised and frightened, and, crying, they reported to the king, “Last night, the crown prince suddenly disappeared, and we don't know where he is.” The king, hearing these words, fell down off his couch and lost consciousness. The queen, the crown princess, the ladies-in-waiting in

the harem, and the ministers as well: there was no one that was not surprised and puzzled. Being worried, grieving, and crying out loudly, they ran out in all directions to look for the crown prince. The queen, in fear of losing the crown prince, became anxious as if she had gone mad. And together with the crown princess, the two, lifting up their skirts and covering their hair, ran out of the capital and searched for the crown prince to the east and to the west.

The king was afraid that the queen was so worried about their son and so grieved that she might lose her life. Therefore, he, together with the entire body of ministers, riding on their horses, left the capital to search for the queen and the crown prince. Ten miles away from the kingdom, in the empty swamp grasses, the king saw the queen, accompanied by several attendants, beating her chest, wailing, disheveling her hair, and with swollen eyes, searching for the crown prince with her fingers in the grass thicket. The king saw this and grieved even more. Holding the queen's hands in his, he shed tears and, communing with her, he comforted the queen, "Our son is endowed with virtues; he is affectionate, filial, and offers everything up without regret. He has used up his riches to give alms, but they were not enough to spread to all over under heaven. He always regretted that he had nothing to give away. Now, our son must have left secretly and gone to another kingdom in search of wealth to give as alms, or he may have sold his own self to give alms widely. For now, let us return to the palace together; do not be so worried. I will send messengers to all the kingdoms to ask for news of our son's whereabouts. I will surely persuade my son to return."

The queen abused the king saying, "Because Your Majesty was stingy and greedy; you cherished and begrudged your wealth, and did not love your own son. Now what can wealth do for our son?" The king replied, "I made a mistake before. But now, what is the use of regrets? For now, we should together return to the palace. I promise you that we will not lose our son. Now I, myself, will go to search everywhere and I shall get our son's return." The queen, with tears dropping, said, "Now when I have lost my son, what is the use of my life? I prefer to die here than to return in vain. Until I see my son, I will have neither hunger nor thirst. Even if I become ill with any disease, I do not care. Now, when we go back and guard the palace, upon what can I rely?" And the crown princess, with her hair disheveled, cried out

to the heavens, beat the earth, and searched in all directions, but she did not see the crown prince. Hitting her head, swallowing tears, she cried out to the heavens uttering, "O heaven and earth, sun and moon, my father and mother, spirits and gods! If I committed any sins, I will repent all of them. I pray you to let me see my husband immediately." Thereupon, the king forced his queen and the crown princess to climb into the carriages, and they returned to the palace.

At the same time, the crown prince was far away in the foreign kingdom. His eyes had tics, his hands twitched, and his legs often shook; and his heart was so full of sorrow and fear that he looked as if he had lost himself. Therefore, he asked to say goodbye to the king of Vidiśā. The king ordered his ministers to outfit a hundred of jeweled carriages and a thousand horses, and to give ten thousand gold and a hundred thousand silver coins. The king had five hundred great ministers, each of whom presented the crown prince with ten thousand gold coins and a hundred thousand silver coins. The king and the entire body of his kingdom's population, ten million people altogether, accompanied the crown prince up to the kingdom's border to see him off. They held a great feast there, and rejoiced and thanked each other. And there they parted.

The crown prince pondered, "Since I was a child, my legs have neither shaken involuntarily nor have my eyelids had tics. Before I left my kingdom, I did not bid farewell to my parents, so surely my parents and their subjects at home are worrying and grieving. Now I should go back speedily and let them know my whereabouts." And again he thought, "But the way home is long and far. It is impossible to reach there immediately. I am afraid that, because of their deep sorrow, my parents might lose their lives. In some way or other I should let my whereabouts be sent to them quickly."

Then, there was a crow who could speak human words well. He talked to the crown prince, "Your benevolence is indeed unsurpassed; your generosity is well-known. What worries you so? Whatever you wish to do, I am ready to help you." The crown prince replied, "I want to entrust to you just one thing. I hope you will not fail." The crow said, "Give me the order!" The crown prince said, "I wish to send a letter to my father, the king." The crow replied, "You had better to hurry up. Indeed, this is the right time." The crown prince wrote a letter and entrusted it to the crow. The crow, holding the letter in his beak, flew

to the kingdom and placed the letter in front of his father, the king.

The king opened the letter and read it. Having learned the whereabouts of the crown prince, he rejoiced exceedingly. Then he stood up, entered the ladies' palace, and told the queen, "As I said to you, I knew we would not lose our son. In a few days, we will surely see him." Having heard this, the queen became as one returned to life. Clapping her hands, she cried out "Wonderful!" and continued, "May the whole kingdom be peaceful and happy. May all our subjects obtain what they wish, and may their lives be immeasurably long!"

At that time, the entire body of ministers, vassals, men and women, adults and children throughout the whole kingdom heard of the crown prince's home-coming, and all shouted out cheers. The king, then, together with tens of millions of retainers, majestically leading the carriages, went out to meet the returning crown prince. Where the two roads met, the crown prince saw his father. He descended from his jeweled carriage, and, after having bowed down at the feet of his father, the king, said respectfully, "My behaviour lacked of filial piety; I did not humbly venerate holy gods but put the whole kingdom in alarm. I humbly ask for your forgiveness." The king said, "Very good!" As father and son met each other, sorrow and joy alternating in their hearts, they turned round their carriages and went back to the palace. In the whole kingdom, all the people were delighted.

In distant countries poor beggars heard that the crown prince had returned and that he had obtained abundant riches. They all came from afar to visit the crown prince to receive alms. The crown prince had his men load carts with money and goods, and gave alms to the poor people in the plaza at the top of the main road every day for a year without interruption. All the people coming from all directions obtained what they needed. Then the king, his father, and the ministers said to the crown prince, "From now on, you may go and use the precious riches in the kingdom's storehouses for whatever is needed. Do not doubt yourself; the merit of alms-giving is revered everywhere. If enemies and wicked people hear of the crown prince's virtue, they will practice good deeds on their own accord."

In those days there was an ascetic named *Vīrya 勇猛, who was possessed of the five supernatural powers, living in a large cave on this mountain (*i.e.* mountain under which the Buddha gave this

sermon), together with five hundred disciples. He led a virtuous life, practiced meditation, and sought Enlightenment, wishing to save all living beings from suffering. He converted all the people under heaven and encouraged them to practice good deeds. The crown prince, Candanamati, taking various kinds of tasty foods and drinks, went up the mountain and made offerings to those ascetics. At this time, the master of the ascetics (*i.e.* Vīrya) blessed the crown prince, and preached the Dharma for him. The heart of the crown prince was filled with joy. He wished for Enlightenment,²⁸⁹ and did not want to return to his kingdom. When he recalled the palace, it appeared to him to be a hell; wives, children and relatives seemed to chain him down. When he contemplated the pleasures of the five sense-organs, they seemed hellish to him. Having thought thus, he then removed the ornaments and the clothes that had adorned his body. These, together with his carriages, horses and attendants, he handed over to his ministers and ordered them to go back to the kingdom.

Thereupon the crown prince put on deerskin garments and stayed on the mountain. Following the master, he learned and studied various philosophies and sciences. Meanwhile, the crown prince's ministers returned to the kingdom and reported to the king, "The crown prince went up the mountain and venerated the ascetics. He stays there to study and is not willing to return to the palace. When he masters all the scriptures and spells (*mantra*), he will certainly return on his own accord." The king said, "What a pity! If people in the world beget sons, they are happy for this reason. They can rely on their sons when they get old; this benefits kingdoms and removes any worries. However, although I begot this son, I always have sorrows. I wish for neither wealth nor esteem; I do not need relatives. What way is there to deal with this worrisome son?"

Then he summoned all his ministers and made them discuss this matter. The ministers respectfully said, "The crown prince loves the right path, not indulging in worldly prosperity. His intent lies in the hope of attaining Enlightenment. He may never come back to the kingdom. In order to know whether this is true or not, the king should send messengers to ask his intentions. It is suitable to find out whether he will surely not return." The king sent this message to the crown prince and asked, "Now I wait for my son like a thirsty man

²⁸⁹ The original word *wuwei* 無為 literally means the mental state free from any bonds; an equivalent word for Enlightenment.

thinking of drink. Why do you stay in the mountains and not come back? Now the queen and the crown princess wipe their tears away and cherish their hopes. Do not allow cries and anguish to arise everywhere. The duty of a son is to comfort his parents; please do not make us worry. Be sure to come back with the messengers.”

The messengers received the order and reported the king's message to the crown prince as they had been told. The crown prince replied, “All things are impermanent, and no forms are eternal. Even families living in happiness get separated [someday] and then there is suffering. Since our lives depend on destiny, we have no control over them. Impermanence prevails. Even father and son cannot save each other. Now I will seek Enlightenment. I want to save all living beings from suffering. When I accomplish my aim, I will first save my father and mother. Now this my place is not far. Now and then I can also present myself before Your Majesty. This resolution is already firm. Your Majesty should now make an arrangement to install a new heir to the kingdom.”

This reply was brought back and they told the king in detail what was said above. The king then summoned all the ministers and installed a new crown prince. One day, the king had the queen, the crown princess and the ladies-in-waiting, followed by attendants, go up the mountain, carrying clothes and ornaments for the crown prince, various kinds of tasty drinks and foods, incense, flowers, and musicians, guarded in both front and back. Having arrived at the place where the crown prince lived, they venerated the multitude of ascetics with the food and so on, and then greeted the crown prince. The queen said, “You cultivate grains to provide food against hunger. You dig a well to quench your thirst. You erect ramparts to protect yourself from burglars, to foster the young, and to look after the old. But as you do not return home, my life is unfulfilled.” The crown prince knelt down and said to the queen, “I have abandoned a householder's life, living on the mountain, and changing my appearance and clothes. Such a mouth as mine used to expel saliva is not suitable for eating food. Ascetics living in solitude do not receive alms from the kingdom. My principles are settled, and should not be altered. I would rather destroy my body here than go back home. Mother, I wish you would go back immediately to show yourself [before the king to inform this my resolve].”²⁹⁰ At this,

²⁹⁰ The meaning of the original word, *xiujin* 修覲, is not clear for me. However, as 覲

the queen and the crown princess saw that the crown prince's resolve was so firm that he had no intention of returning, and they went home along the road, wailing with sorrow.

During this time the king could only hope that the queen had persuaded the crown prince to return, and he went out of the capital to receive her with all his ministers. But he saw just the queen and the crown princess, with their hair disheveled, their heads shaking, beating their chests and wailing, coming home fruitlessly along the road. The king became more disappointed. Among all the ministers and the multitudes of people there was no one that did not shed tears. They turned their carriages and went back to the palace. Thereupon the king comforted the queen and the crown prince's consort, "That my son loves the Path is rare in this world. To tenderly foster and save all the living beings far and wide surely deserves reward. He is a treasure of this kingdom, a man of extremely high caliber. Now he lives pleasantly on the mountain and so is cultivating his goal. Just leave him in peace, and sometimes you might well meet with him. Furthermore, now you are not far from him; you can send him drink and food; you can exchange news, and so comfort yourselves." Thereupon the queen accepted the king's words and her grief found a little rest. From time to time they sent carriers taking drink and food and various sweet fruit and all kinds of tasty meals. They went to the mountain to venerate the crown prince. In this manner, many years passed. The crown prince also from time to time came down to visit his parents, and then he again returned to the mountain and practiced austerity.

Below the mountain top there were precipices with a deep gorge, at the base of which a tigress had newly given birth to seven cubs. At that time it was snowing very heavily, and the mother tigress had to spend many days with her cubs and so she could not hunt food. Fearing that her starving cubs would freeze to death, she protected them. The snow did not stop. The mother and the children suffered

means 'to present oneself before [emperor]', I translated thus. Cf. "善男子、於彼天宮有諸衆生多放逸者、於菩薩所生歡喜心、戀著欲樂而不欲往、修觀菩薩亦不承事、其作是念。菩薩常在我等亦在 (Good sons, at that celestial palace there are many indulgent beings; although they give rise of joyful mind toward Bodhisattvas, they still adhere to sensual desires and do not want to resort to Bodhisattvas; even though they present themselves before Bodhisattvas, they do not accept this fact, but make this thought, 'Bodhisattvas are always there, so we, too')" (The *Dasheng baoyun jing* 大乘寶雲經 Taishō no. 659, 16: 262c17-20).

extreme hunger, and it seemed to be not long until they would die. The tigress was so overpowered by the fire of hunger that she even wanted to devour her own babies.

Meanwhile, the ascetics on the mountain saw this and they invited each other saying, “Is there no one that will give his body away to save the living beings? Now is the right time.” Hearing this, the crown prince shouted out, “Excellent! My wish is fulfilled!” He went to the edge of a precipice and looked far downward. When he saw the mother tigress drape herself over the cubs to shield them from snow, great empathy arose in him. Standing at the top of the mountain, quietly he slipped into meditative absorption. Then he acquired the pure cognition based on patience, that all things have unproduced nature.²⁹¹ He visualized all events in the past, innumerable eons back and also the same in the far future.

Then he went back and said to his master and the five hundred ascetics with whom he studied together, “I will now give my body away. I wish every one of you to rejoice.” The master said, “Since you began study, you have not yet spent many days, and your knowledge is not yet broad enough. Why would you suddenly give your dear body away?” The crown prince replied, “In one of my past lives I made a vow to give my body away for a thousand times. I have already given my body nine hundred and ninety-nine times in my previous lives. If I give my body away today, it can fulfill the number of one thousand. For this reason I will do this. I wish my master will rejoice.” The master said, “Your aspiration is very excellent. No one can excel you. You will surely attain Enlightenment earlier than I will. You will never be forgotten.” The crown prince took his congé and left. Thereupon the great master and five hundred ascetics, their eyes filling with tears, saw the crown prince off to the edge of the mountain precipice.

²⁹¹ *wu sheng fa ren* 無生法忍, also written *wu sheng ren* 無生忍, Skt. *anutpattikadharma-kṣānti*, is one of the most difficult terms to translate, since the Skt. *kṣānti* means only 'patience', not 'cognition.' It is noteworthy that, in Chinese, *ren* 忍 'patience, endurance' can be (and, is) regarded as an equivalent of *ren* 認 'cognition, recognition'. For example, Mochizuki (1954-1958) *s.v.* 無生法認 *mushōbōnin* (5. 4835bff.) explains this term as 即ち諸法無生の理を觀じて之を諦認するを云ふ (this means that [Bodhisattvas], having contemplated on the truth of the unproduced [nature] of the *dharmas*, clearly recognize this fact). As for the argument that this notion or idea may be a new and core element the early Mahāyānists introduced, see Schopen (2005), chp. 4, esp. pp. 125-139 and n.84.

At that time a wealthy layman named *Pūrṇa 富蘭, accompanied by men and women, five hundred altogether, carrying drink and food, came up the mountain to pay his respect. When he heard that the crown prince was about to abandon his body, he grieved and cried. Then he followed the crown prince further and arrived at the edge of the mountain precipice. There, the crown prince made a great vow in front of all the people saying, “Now I abandon my body to save the lives of the living beings. With this meritorious deed I shall attain Enlightenment speedily, shall acquire an adamantine body,²⁹² and shall be forever pleased in my pure unconditioned existence. I will save those not yet saved, will enlighten those not yet enlightened, and will ease those not yet eased. Now this body of mine is impermanent; it is a place where all poisons of suffering accumulate. This body is impure; from the nine orifices overflow bodily fluids;²⁹³ four snakes of the four gross elements sting and bite there.²⁹⁴ Five bandits with drawn swords chase and injure.²⁹⁵ Such a body is not worth regaining. Tasty meals, delicacies and pleasures of the five organs entertained this body. So, after death, it will not enjoy any good reward, but it will fall into the hells and suffer immeasurable tortures. Human bodies are indeed only to be tormented and not to gain pleasures.”

The crown prince variously reproached his body and all its faults. Then, again he made a vow saying, “Now I will save the starving tigress and her cubs with my flesh and blood. Afterwards, with my remaining bones, my parents will certainly erect a *stūpa*. They will let all the people²⁹⁶ that have various kinds of illnesses caused by sins they made in previous existences, and bad *karmas*, obtain decoctions, or acupuncture and moxibustion treatment, without discrimination. Those who come to the place of my *stūpa* and sincerely venerate it will get cures within a hundred days regardless of the illness being light or serious. If, indeed, my words are not vain, all gods should rain fragrant

²⁹² Adamantine body: Ch. *jīngāngshēn* 金剛身; Skt. *vajrakāya*. For detailed discussion of this terminology and its importance as a notion of Buddha's embodiment, see Radich (2011).

²⁹³ The nine orifices are two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, mouth and two lower excretory organs.

²⁹⁴ Four gross elements (Ch. *Sida*四大, Skt. *catur-mahābhūtas*) are earth, water, fire and air.

²⁹⁵ 'Five bandits with drawn swords 五拔刀賊' indicate the five aggregates, Ch. *wuyun*, Skt. *pañca-skandhas*. Cf. “觀此五陰念念生滅、亦如五拔刀賊、觀色集色滅受想行識識集識滅” (the *Pinimu jing* 毘尼母經, Taishō no.1463, 24:805c23-24).

²⁹⁶ Literal meaning is 'the bodies of all the living beings.'

flowers.” Responding to his voice, all the gods rained coral tree flowers, and the earth shook. Then the crown prince removed his deerskin garments, and with them he wrapped his head and putting his palms together, he threw his body off, down in front of the tigress. Thereupon the mother tigress could eat the Bodhisattva's flesh, and both the mother and the cubs survived.

At that time, all the people on the edge of the precipice looked far downwards and saw that the tigress devoured the crown prince's bones and flesh violently. Their wails and great cries echoed in the mountains. Some of them struck their breasts, fell and rolled on the ground; some meditated; and some beat their heads and repented [their sins] toward the crown prince. At this moment, all the gods of the Pure Abode (*Śuddhāvāsa*) Heaven, and God Indra, the four god-kings of the four directions, the sun, the moon and so forth; thousands of tens of thousands of gods all gave rise to the mind bent on the unsurpassed Enlightenment. They venerated the crown prince by singing songs, playing music, burning incense, and sprinkling coral tree flowers. Then they shouted out, “Excellent, Bodhisattva! Before long from now you will sit on the seat [of Enlightenment].” They thrice shouted these words and then each of them returned to his own celestial palaces. In all of the five hundred ascetics' hearts there arose a desire for unsurpassed right and true Enlightenment. The great master of the ascetics also attained the pure cognition based on patience, that all things have unproduced nature.

The next morning, as usual, the king and queen sent messengers with drinks and food. They went up the mountain to entertain the crown prince and arrived at the rock cave where he had always lived. They saw only the bed, deerskin garments, an umbrella, a bowl, a cane, a water pot, and a bathing jar that were all in the room, but did not see the crown prince. They asked people all over, but no one replied. They just saw the ascetics weeping in groups of fives or tens, facing each other. They went to where the great master was, but saw the master sitting, holding his cheeks in his hands, tears filling his eyes, and moaning. They questioned all around, but nobody dared to answer. The messengers were frightened. Then they gave alms to all the ascetics, drinks and food. They ran back and told the queen in detail what is mentioned above

The queen said, “You did not see my son, but saw the ascetics; is

it true?" They replied, "We just saw the ascetics weeping in the groups of fives or tens, facing each other." The queen said, "It's a sign! My son must have died." She beat her chest, cried loudly and rushed to see the king. Having heard this, the king fell from his couch and fainted. All the ministers and a great many people came together to the sides of the king. They bowed down and comforted him saying, "The crown prince is on the mountain; we have not yet examined whether it is false or true. For what reason do you wail? We wish the king to calm down for a while." Thereupon, the king, the queen, the crown princess, the ladies-in-waiting, the ministers and the officers, lifted up their skirts, and, with bare feet, rushed up to the mountaintop.

At that time the wealthy layman, Pūrṇa, was on his way down and said to the king, "Yesterday, the crown prince threw himself down into the gorge and with his flesh fed a tigress. Now only the remaining bones are left, ruined on the ground." Thereupon he led the king to the place where the crown prince's remains were. The king, the queen, the crown princess, the ladies-in-waiting, the ministers and the officials cried and wailed so loudly, that it made the mountains and the ravines tremble. The king and the queen fell on the crown prince's remains, and as if their hearts were cut asunder, they writhed in agony and fainted. The princess held up the crown prince's head, and, combing his hair, broken-hearted, she wailed, choked with tears, saying, "How short-lived! You are dead, my darling! From today on, I cannot see you again forever. I would rather that my body be broken into dust and powder. May heaven not let me stay alive now! Since the crown prince has died, I have no use for my life."

Then the ministers said to the king, "The crown prince practiced alms-giving and made a vow to save all living beings. Perhaps evil spirits will not occupy him. Before the body decomposes, it may be better to perform the funeral ceremony." Thereupon, they collected the remaining bones and left the mountain. On a place of even ground, they piled up fragrant sandalwood and other various kinds of fragrant wood, and with all kinds of incense, butter, umbrellas and banners they cremated the crown prince. Then they took out the bones and put them all into a jeweled casket. Thereafter, they erected a seven-jewel *stūpa* and placed them inside,²⁹⁷ and ornamented the *stūpa* with many

²⁹⁷ According to the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論, "七種寶, 金, 銀, 毘琉璃, 頗梨, 車磔, 馬瑙, 赤眞珠 (seven kinds of precious substances are gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, cat's eye(?), agate, and red pearl)" (Taishō no. 1509, 25:134a1-2). There are other

kinds of precious objects.²⁹⁸ The four sides of the *stūpa* were ten miles (*li*) in length and breadth. It was furnished with the rows of various kinds of flowering and fruit-bearing trees, and with fountains and bathing ponds; they were extremely pure and serene. The king ordered four sorts of musicians to venerate and entertain the *stūpa* always, day and night.

The Buddha said to Ānanda, “The crown prince at that time was I. The father, the king, at that time is now my father, Śuddhodana; the queen at that time is my mother, Māyā; the crown princess at that time is now Gopī; the minister, Jaya, at that time is now Ānanda; and the great master of ascetics on the mountain at that time is [Bodhisattva] Maitreya. The king of Vidiśā is Nanda. The Brahman at that time is now Rāhula. Bodhisattva Maitreya had, from the past time, always been my teacher. Since I gave alms without sparing my life, and as I saved the living beings, I have gone ahead of my teacher for far more than nine eons, and now have become a Buddha and save living beings limitlessly.” When the Buddha preached thus, gods, snake-gods and humans, eighty-four thousands in total, all of them made up their minds to pursue the most supreme right path. Eight thousand monks extinguished their worldly desires, and, having been released from all bondages, became *arhats*.²⁹⁹ The king, the ministers, the gods, the snake-gods, and the spirits listened to the Buddha's sermon, and they all rejoiced extremely, and, having venerated the Buddha, went back to their homes.³⁰⁰

Then, having heard the Buddha's sermon, the king [of

enumerations found in other *sūtras*; for example, “言七寶者，一金，二銀，三吠琉璃 (*vaidūlyā*, lapis lazuli), 四牟婆洛揭婆 (see BHSD *s.v. musālagalva*, sapphire or a kind of coral?; cf. PTSD *s.v. masāragalla*), 五過濕摩揭婆 (*aśma-garbha* emerald?), 六赤眞珠。謂赤蟲所出名赤眞珠。或珠體赤名赤眞珠。七羯鷄怛諾迦 (Skt. ?)” (the *Fodijing lun* 佛地經論, Taishō no.1530, 26:293a13-16). Cf. Lamotte (1981) I. pp. 598-599 and p. 598, fn. 2.

²⁹⁸ *zhongzhong baowu er zhuangjiao zhi* 種種寶物而莊校之: Exactly the same phrase appears in Kumārajīva's translation of the *Lotus Sūtra*: “爾時佛前有七寶塔 從地踊出住在空中, 種種寶物而莊校之” (Taishō no. 262, 9:32b17-19) = Jñānagupta's version with 莊校 instead of 莊校 (Taishō no. 264, 9:166c29-167a2). Obviously *zhuangjiao* 莊校/莊校 is a synonym of 莊嚴 meaning 'to decorate, to ornament'.

²⁹⁹ *yingzhen* 應眞 is one of the Chinese translations of Skt. *arhat*, meaning 'a worthy true one', saint of the highest of four stages, free from any bonds.

³⁰⁰ See fn. 282 above. According to Fujimoto (1996), 丹郷本 indicates Khitan Tripitaka, corresponding to 丹國本 in Sugi守基's *Goryeoguk sinjo daejanggyeong gyo jeong byeor rog* 高麗国新雕大藏經校正別錄.

Gandhāra] had a great *stūpa* erected at the place and named it “the *Stūpa* Commemorating the Bodhisattva's Throwing his Body to the Starving Tigress.”

Now, at the present time, on the east side of the *stūpa*, there are monks' apartments, a preaching hall and a cloister. There live always five thousand monks and [lay people] venerate them with four kinds of requisites.³⁰¹

Fasheng (the translator of this *sūtra*) saw at that time that people from all countries who had illnesses of various kinds like leprosy, mental diseases, deafness, blindness, or lameness in hand or foot, came to visit this *stūpa*. They burned incense, lit lamps, spread scented mud on the ground, made repairs to and swept around the *stūpa*; and when they bowed down and repented their sins, all the diseases were cured. Immediately after the one that had come earlier left, the next one came and did all in the same manner. There were always more than a hundred people without distinction of rank, who all did everything in the same way, and thus, there was no interruption.

The Sūtra on the Cause of Erecting a Memorial Stūpa to the Bodhisattva for his Self-sacrifice for a Starving Tigress as Told by the Buddha [ends.]

³⁰¹ *sishi* 四事: Four kinds of requisites are food, clothing, bedding (*i.e.* dwelling place), and medicines.

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An Edition and Study of the *Buddhānussati* in the Pāli *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā*

Suprañee Panitchayapong

Abstract

Buddhānussati (a recollection of the Buddha) is a meditation object which the Buddha appraised as superior to other such objects. Because of its importance, it was placed first in the four meditation objects (*catukammatṭhāna*) that were extensively used by novices, monks and lay people in South and Southeast Asian countries such as Sri Lanka, Thailand and Myanmar. This paper examines the *Buddhānussati* in a non Pāli canonical text entitled “*Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā*” (commentary on the four protective meditations). Although a great many palm leaf manuscripts of this text are preserved in the National Library and monasteries in Thailand, no printed edition is available for readers. Accordingly, before details of the text could be studied, it was necessary to produce an edition of the *Buddhānussati*. The edition was based on four Khom palm leaf manuscripts preserved in the Thai National Library. The text was then analysed in relation to the characteristics of the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* palm leaf manuscripts, author and date of composition, place of composition and transmission, and content.

Introduction

Pāli *Tiṭṭhaka* and its commentaries (*Aṭṭhakathā*) attribute two meanings to *Buddhānussati*: (1) a recollection of the Buddha and (2) a recollection of the qualities of the Buddha. The first meaning occurs in many places in the Pāli *Tiṭṭhaka* and its commentaries. For example, when Piṅgiya contemplated the *Buddhānussati* by recollecting the Buddha, he was able to see the Buddha with his mind as clearly as with his physical eye (Sn.221.1142). Vimalakoṇḍañña saw Buddha characteristics (*buddhalakkhaṇa*) as a gold radiance that was produced by the Buddha himself. His mind was delighted, and he made those characteristics into a symbol of meditation that preserved his delight in the Buddha. After he passed away, he was reborn in Tusita Heaven

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(Th-a.I.155-156). After becoming a stream enterer (*sotāpanna*), furthermore, Siṅgālamātā sincerely wished to see the Buddha. After recollecting him for a short time, she attained arahatship (Ap.II.604-605.20-21). All of these are examples of contemplation by recollecting a part of the physical body of the Buddha.

The second meaning of the *Buddhānussati* is found in many places in the Pāli *Tiṭṭaka*, its commentaries and *Visuddhimagga*. All of these assert that the *Buddhānussati* is the contemplation of nine qualities of the Buddha: (1) *arahaṃ* (worthy, holy); (2) *sammāsambuddho* (fully enlightened); (3) *vijjācaraṇasampanno* (endowed with knowledge and good conduct); (4) *sugato* (one who has gone well); (5) *lokauidū* (knower of the worlds); (6) *anuttaro purisadammasārathī* (supreme leader of persons to be tamed); (7) *sattbā devamanussānaṃ* (teacher of *devas* and human beings); (8) *buddho* (one who knows and causes others to know); and (9) *bhagavā* (the fortunate one) (A.III.285; Mp.II.20-21; Vism.198).

In the *Subhūtittherāpadāna*, Buddha said that the *Buddhānussati* is superior to other meditation objects because it confers many benefits on practitioners, such as a rebirth in the state of the great emperor, a rebirth in the state of wealthy person, a rebirth in the heavenly world, and the attainment of four kinds of discrimination (*paṭisambhidā*), eight kinds of liberation (*vimokkha*), and six supernormal forms of knowledge (*abhiññā*) (Ap.I.36-52). It is also stated in the *Apaṇṇakajātaka* that a contemplation of the *Buddhānussati* results in the attainment of various states of *Dhamma*, from stream-enterer (*sotāpanna*) to arahatship (*arahanta*) (Ja.I.97). Such attainments are possible because, as the Buddha says in the *Dutiyanāmasutta*, the *Buddhānussati* could eliminate three types of defilement: lust (*rāga*), hatred (*dosa*), and delusion (*moha*). Consequently, the practitioner's mind is steady and his body is calm and happy (A.III.285).

The *Buddhānussati* also supports other types of meditation object (*kammaṭṭhāna*). The *Manorathapūraṇī* states that when a monk contemplated loathsomeness, his mind was dissatisfied and unjoyful and did not follow the path. Having abandoned the contemplation of loathsomeness, he recollected the worldly and supramundane quality of the Buddha, and his mind become delighted. When he returned to contemplating loathsomeness again, he was able to attain the noble *Dhamma* (Mp.II.20-21). Because of its importance, the *Buddhānussati*

was placed as the first of the four protective meditation objects (*caturārakkhakammaṭṭhāna*), which were brief summaries of the main meditation object. They were very popular among monk practitioners in South and Southeast Asian countries such as Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia.

The term *Caturārakkhakammaṭṭhāna* means “four meditation objects of protection”. It consists of a recollection of the Buddha (*Buddhānussati*), a recollection of loving-kindness (*Mettānussati*), a recollection of loathsomeness (*Asubhānussati*) and a recollection of death (*Maranānussati*). Many wise monks composed Pāli texts explaining the content of the four meditation objects of protection (*caturārakkhakammaṭṭhāna*). For example, Dhammasiri, a Sri Lankan monk, composed Pāli verses explaining four protective meditations named *Khuddasikkhā* (Khuddas.120-121). Aggadhama, a Burmese monk, compiled Pāli verses called *Caturārakkhādīpanī* (CS). Although the author’s name was unknown, people in Cambodia and Thailand believed that Buddhaghosa, a great commentator in the 4th-5th century A.D., composed short Pāli verses called *Caturārakkhā* (Śrī Vācissara 1983: 329-331) or *Buddhā*, as they were named in a Northern Thai Chanting book (ทวี เขื่อนแก้ว 1981: 218-221). The content and style of composition of each text are different, possibly reflecting differences in their intended purpose or audience.

This study examined the *Buddhānussati* in the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* (commentary on the *Caturārakkhā* or *Buddhā*). Despite the significance of the *Buddhānussati*, the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* has not yet been published, although a great many palm leaf manuscripts have been copied and preserved in various locations in Thailand. The aims of the study reported here were to: (1) provide an edited version of the *Buddhānussati* in the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā*, describe the study materials and methodology, illustrate a Pāli text of the *Buddhānussati* in the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā*, and examine the characteristics of the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* palm leaf manuscripts; (2) investigate the author and date of composition; (3) identify the place of composition and transmission; and (4) to study the content of the *Buddhānussati* in the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* to determine how people at the time of the text has known and understood the *Buddhānussati* and if such knowledge matches that in the Pāli *Tipiṭaka* or its commentaries. As such, it enhances knowledge and understanding of the *Buddhānussati*

for researchers and scholars.

1. Edition

Because the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* was copied and transmitted over a long period of time, some misspellings and wording errors are inevitable due to some inadvertences or insufficient knowledge of the Pāli language. Before other details of the text can be studied, it is thus necessary to reconstruct the text more accurately. Since this paper focuses on the study of the *Buddhānussati* in the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā*, only a section of the *Buddhānussati* meditation was edited.

1.1 Study Materials

The four manuscripts used in the present edition were selected because they were produced by a King, were easy to access, and contained readings that were clear and complete. All four manuscripts are preserved in the Thai National Library, Bangkok. Their details are as follows:

- Kh¹ Khom manuscript belonging to King Rama I. No. 6659/kha/1. 1 *phūk*. *Chabup Rongthrong*. It has 38 folios. One page has 5 lines. The writing is beautiful, clear and easy to read. This manuscript has been re-edited. Words or passages are deleted or corrected in pen. Some Pāli readings have been added. In some places, the editor has added a full text whereas the manuscript abbreviates a passage by using *-pe-*.
- Kh² Khom manuscript belonging to King Rama III. No. 10065/kha. 1 *phūk*. *Chabup Rotnamdamek*. It has 39 folios. One page has 5 lines. The writing is beautiful, clear, and easy to read. This manuscript has not been re-edited or corrected. It is combined with the *Caturārakkhāpāli* no. 10065/kha/1.
- Kh³ Khom manuscript. No. 6863/ca/1. 1 *phūk*. *Chabup Thongthuep*. It has 39 folios. One page has 5 lines. The writing is beautiful and clear. This manuscript has not been re-edited.
- Kh⁴ Khom manuscript. No. 6674/kha/5. 1 *phūk*. *Chabup Longchat*. It has 39 folios. One page has 5 lines. The writing is clear. This manuscript has been re-edited. It has been

corrected by pen in many places. For example, some words or passages have been added or omitted. In many places, some characters or Pāli spellings have been corrected.

1.2 Editing Methodology

In the editorial process, the best reading is selected on the basis of correct Pāli spelling, grammar and metre. The selected reading will be placed in the main text while other variant readings (valid or invalid) are put into footnotes. The source of the selected reading will be placed after *so*, such as *so* Kh¹⁻²; *attuppāmāya* (Kh³⁻⁴). Emendations are used where necessary. The emended reading is put into the main text and indicated by *em.* in the footnote, such as *em. asādharanañāñaddhe* (Kh¹⁻⁴).

1.3 A Pāli *Buddhānussati* in the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* bra-aṭṭhakathācaturārakkhā¹

namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>buddhānussati mettā ca</i>
<i>iti imā² caturārakkhā</i> | <i>asubhaṃ maraṇassati</i>
<i>bhikkhu bhāveyya silavā.³</i> |
| 2. <i>anantavittbhāraguṇaṃ⁴</i>
<i>bhāveyya buddhimā bhikkhu</i> | <i>guṇato ’nussaraṃ munim</i>
<i>buddhānussatim ādito.</i> |
| 3. <i>savāsane kīlese so</i>
<i>abū⁵ susuddhasantāno</i> | <i>eko sabbe nighāṭṭiya</i>
<i>pūjānañ ca sadāraho.</i> |
| 4. <i>sabbakālagate dhamme</i>
<i>sabbākārena bujjhitvā</i> | <i>sabbe sammā sayamaṃ muni</i>
<i>eko sabbaññutaṃ gato.</i> |
| 5. <i>vipassanādivijjāhi</i> | <i>silādicaraṇehi ca</i> |

¹ *em. bra-aṭṭhakathācaturārakkhā paripuṇṇā niṭṭhitā*; (Kh¹); *bra-aṭṭhakathācaturārakkhāparipuṇṇa lae* (Kh²⁻⁴).

In Thai tradition, in order to show a significance and respect to the Buddha’s teachings, the word ‘bra’ will be placed in front of the title of Pāli Buddhist texts.

² *em. iti imā* (Kh¹⁻⁴). Here, ‘*iti imā*’ were taken from the Sinhalese version of the *Caturārakkhā* in the “*Maha Pirit Pota*” (Śrī Vācissara 1983: 329). In the old *pathyāvatta* metre, two short syllables may often be replaced by one long syllable (Warder 1967: 214).

³ *so* Kh¹; *silavā* (Kh²⁻⁴).

⁴ *em. anantavittbhāraguṇaṃ* (Kh¹⁻⁴).

⁵ *em. abu* (Kh¹⁻⁴).

- susamiddhehi sampanno* *gaganābhehi⁶ nāyako.*
6. *sammā⁷ gato subhaṅṭhānaṃ* *amoghavacano ca so*
tividhassā pi lokassa *ñātā niravasesato.*
7. *anekehi guṇoghehi* *sabbasattuttamo abu*
anekehi upāyehi *naradamme damesi ca.*
8. *eko sabbassa lokassa* *sabba-atthānusāsako*
bhāgya-issiriyādīnaṃ *guṇānaṃ paramo nidhi.*
9. *paññāssa⁸ sabbadhammesu* *karuṇā sabbajantusu*
attatthānaṃ paratthānaṃ *sādbikā guṇajetthikā.*
10. *dayāya pāramī citvā* *paññāyattānaṃ uddhari*
uddhari sabbadhamme ca *dayāyaññī eva uddhari.*
11. *dissamāno pi tāv 'ssa* *rūpakāyo acintayo*
asādhāraṇāñāṇaddhe⁹ *dhammakāye kathā va kā ti.*
- buddhānussatibhāvanā samattā.*
12. *attuppmāya¹⁰ sabbesaṃ* *sattānaṃ sukhakāmatam*
passitvā kamato mettaṃ *sabbasattesu bhāvaya.*
13. *sukhī¹¹ bhaveyyaṃ nidukkho* *ahaṃ niccaṃ ahaṃ viya*
hitā ca me sukhī¹² hontu *majjhatā catha verino.*
14. *imambhi gāmakhattambi* *sattā hontu sukhi sadā*
tato parañ ca¹³ rajjesu¹⁴ *cakkavāle 'dha jantuno.*
15. *samantā cakkavāḷesu* *sattānantesu pāṇino*
sukhino puḅgalā bhūtā *attabhāvagatā siyumu.*
16. *tathā itthi pumā c' eva* *ariyā anariyā pi ca*
devā narā apāyattbhā *tathā dasadisāsu cā ti.*

mettānussatibhāvanā.

⁶ *em. gagaṇābhehi* (Kh¹⁻⁴).

⁷ *em. samā* (Kh¹⁻⁴).

⁸ *so* Kh¹⁻²; *paññāssa* (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁹ *em. asādhāraṇāñāṇaddhe* (Kh¹⁻⁴).

¹⁰ *so* Kh¹⁻²; *attuppmāya* (Kh³⁻⁴).

¹¹ *so* Kh³; *sukhi* (Kh¹⁻² Kh⁴).

¹² *so* Kh¹⁻³; *sukhi* (Kh⁴).

¹³ *so* Kh¹⁻²; *carañ ca* (Kh³⁻⁴).

¹⁴ *so* Kh¹ Kh³⁻⁴; *rajjesu* (Kh²).

- | | |
|---|---|
| 17. <i>aviññāṇāsubhaṃ nibhaṃ
kāyaṃ asubhato passaṃ</i> | <i>saviññāṇāsubhaṃ imaṃ
asubhaṃ bhāvaye yati.</i> |
| 18. <i>vaṇṇasaṅṭhānagandhehi
paṭikūlāni¹⁵ kāye me</i> | <i>āsayokāsato tathā
kuṇapāni dvisolasa.¹⁶</i> |
| 19. <i>patitambā pi kuṇapā
ādhāro hi suci tassa</i> | <i>jegucchaṃ kāyanissitaṃ¹⁷
kāye me kuṇapeṭṭhitaṃ.</i> |
| 20. <i>miḷhe kimi va kāyo 'yaṃ
anto asucisampunṇo</i> | <i>asucimbi samuṭṭhito
puṇṇaveccakuṭi viya.</i> |
| 21. <i>asuci sandate niccaṃ
nānākimi¹⁸ kulāvāso</i> | <i>yathā medakathālikā
pakkacandanikā¹⁹ viya.</i> |
| 22. <i>gaṇḍabbūto²⁰ rogabbūto
atekiṅccho 'tjieguccho</i> | <i>vaṇabbūto samussayo²¹
pabbinnakuṇapupamo ti.²²</i> |
| <i>asubbhānussatibhāvanā.</i> | |
| 23. <i>pavātadipatulyāya
parūpamāya sampassaṃ²³</i> | <i>sāyusantatiyā kbayaṃ
bhāvaye maraṇassatiṃ.</i> |
| 24. <i>mabāsampattisampattā
tathā ahaṃ marissāmi</i> | <i>yathā sattā matā idha
maraṇaṃ mama bessati.</i> |
| 25. <i>upattiyā sab' eve 'daṃ
maraṇattbhāya okāsaṃ</i> | <i>maraṇaṃ āgataṃ sadā
vadbako viya esati.</i> |
| 26. <i>īsakaṃ anivattantaṃ
jīvitaṃ udayā atthaṃ</i> | <i>satataṃ gamanussukaṃ²⁴
suriyo viya dhāvati.²⁵</i> |

¹⁵ *em. paṭikūlāni* (Kh¹⁻⁴).

¹⁶ *so* Kh¹⁻²; *dvisodasa* (Kh³⁻⁴).

¹⁷ *so* Kh¹⁻² Kh⁴; *kāyanissitaṃ* (Kh³).

¹⁸ *so* Kh¹⁻² Kh⁴; *ad. va* (Kh³).

¹⁹ *em. pakkacandanikā* (Kh¹⁻⁴).

²⁰ *em. gandhabbūto* (Kh¹⁻⁴).

²¹ *so* Kh¹⁻²; *samusayo* (Kh³⁻⁴).

²² *so* Kh¹⁻²; *patinnakuṇapupamo ti* (Kh³⁻⁴).

²³ *em. sampannaṃ* (Kh¹⁻⁴).

²⁴ *so* Kh¹⁻² Kh⁴; *gamanussukaṃ* (Kh³).

²⁵ *so* Kh¹⁻²; *ad. su sattānantesu pāṇino sukkinno puggalā bhūtā attabhāvagatā siyuaṃ tathā itthi pumā c' eva anariyā-anariyā pi ca devā narā apāyathā tathā dasadisāsucāti. mettānussatibhāvanā. aviññāṇāsubhaṃ nibhaṃ saviññāṇāsubhaṃ imaṃ kāyaṃ asubhato passaṃ asubhaṃ bhāvaye yati. vaṇṇasaṅṭhānagandhehi āsayokāsato tathā paṭikūlāni kāye kuṇaniddhi solasa patitambā pi kuṇapā jegucchaṃ kāyanissitaṃ ādhārohisucitassa kāye tu kuṇapeṭṭhitaṃ miḷhe ki-m-iva kāyo 'yaṃ asucimbi samuṭṭhito anto asucisampunṇo puṇṇaveccakuṭi viya asucisandhate niccaṃ yathā medakathālikā nānākimikulāvāso cakkā-*

27. *vijjububbula-ussavaṃ* *jalarājiparikkhayaṃ*
ghāṭako 'va ripu tassa *sabbatthā pi avāriyo.*
28. *sayasapuññathāmiddhi²⁶* *buddhivuddhe²⁷ jinadvyaṃ*
ghāṭeti maraṇaṃ khippaṃ *kā tu mādisake kathā.*
29. *paccayānañ ca vekalyā* *bāhirajjhattupaddavā²⁸*
marāmorāṃ nimissāmi *maramāno anukkhaṇaṃ ti.*
marañānussatibbāvanā.
30. *bbāvetvā caturārakkhā* *āvajjeyya anantaraṃ*
mahāsamvegavatthūni *aṭṭha atthitavīriyo.*
31. *jāti jarā byādhi cuti apāyaṃ²⁹*
atīta-appattakavaṭṭadukkhaṃ³⁰
idāni āhāragavesidukkhaṃ³¹
saṃvegavatthūni imāni aṭṭha
32. *pāto ca sāyaṃ pi³² c' eva imaṃ vidhiṃyo.*
āsevate satatam attabitābbilāsi³³
pappoti so 'tivipullaṃ batapāripantho³⁴
setṭhaṃ sukhaṃ muni viṣiṭṭhamataṃ sukhenā ti.
namāmi buddhaṃ guṇasāgarantaṃ
sattā sadā honti sukhi averā
kāyo jigbañño sakalo dugandho
gacchanti sabbe maraṇaṃ ahañ ca.
namāmi dhammaṃ sugatena desitaṃ.
sattā sadā honti sukhi averā
kāyo jigbañño sakalo dugandho

candanikā viya gandabbhūto roḡabbhūto vaṇṇabbhūto samusayo atekiccho 'ti jeguccho pabbhin-nagunapūpamo ti. asubbabbāvanā. pavāṭadipatulyāya sāyusantaniyākkhayaṃ parūpamāya sappassaṃ bhāvaye marañassati. mahāsampattisampatā yathā sattā mattā idha tatthā abhaṃ marissāmi marañam mama bessati upattiyā sab' eve 'daṃ marañam āgataṃ sadā marañatthāya okāsaṃ vudbako viya esati. isakaṃ anivattantaṃ satataṃ gamanussukaṃ jīvitaṃ udayā atthaṃ suriyo viya dbāvati (Kh³⁻⁴).

²⁶ so Kh¹⁻²; sayasatthāmapuññiddhi (Kh³); sayasathāmapuññiddhi (Kh⁴).

²⁷ so Kh¹⁻²; budhi- (Kh³); buddhivudde- (Kh⁴).

²⁸ so Kh¹; bāhirajjhattupaddhavā (Kh²); bāhirajjhattupaddhavā (Kh³⁻⁴).

²⁹ em. catu-apāyaṃ (Kh¹); catu-apāya (Kh²).

³⁰ em. atitamappattakavaṭṭadukkhaṃ (Kh¹⁻²).

³¹ so Kh¹; dukkha (Kh²).

³² so Kh¹; sāya pi (Kh²).

³³ em. satatattabitābbilāsi (Kh¹⁻²).

³⁴ em. battapāripantho (Kh¹⁻²).

*gacchanti sabbe maraṇaṃ abhañ ca.*³⁵
namāmi saṃghaṃ munirājasāvakaṃ
sattā sadā honti sukki averā
kāyo jigbañño sakalo dugandho
gacchanti sabbe maraṇaṃ abhañ ca.

caturārakkhā samattā

catusaccaṃ dassaṃ nāthaṃ natvā sabbagaṇākaraṃ
caturārakkhagāthānaṃ atthaṃ samvaṇṇayissāhaṃ.

tattha ārakkhā ti sati-y-eva. sā hi sumaggā okkama-uppatham abbi-
dbāvantaṃ bhantarathaṃ sārathi viya. kusalañ ca sā okkama-akusalupa-
*thamabbimukhadbhāvantaṃ cittasantānaṃ ākaḍḍhitvā*³⁶ *kusalañ ca sā*³⁷
sammā carāpetvā rakkhatī ti ārakkhā. yathāha sati ārakkhasārathī ti.
sā dasavidhā. vuttaṃ hi dasānussatiyo ti. idha pana sabbattakakam-
maṭṭhānavasena catubbidhā va adhippetā. kiñcā pi mettā catubrahmavi-
bārino idha pana sati sīsena vuttā.

buddhānussati mettā ca asubhaṃ maraṇassati
iti imā caturārakkhā bhikkhu bhāveyya silavā.

*bhikkhu saṃsārabbayaśilo saddhāpabbajito yati.*³⁸ *silavā ti*³⁹ *pātimok-*
khasaṃvarindriyasamvarājīva-pārisuddhapaccayasannissitasamkhāta-
*catupārisuddhasīlasampanno.*⁴⁰ *buddhānussati ti sammāsambuddhassa*
*arabādīnavagaṇānussaraṇaṃ.*⁴¹ *mettā cā ti hitamañjhatābitasattesu met-*
*tāpharaṇakammaṭṭhānaṃ.*⁴² *asubhaṃ sakalasarirākīṇṇakesalomādīdvatti*
ṃsākārāsubbapaṭīkūlamanasikārasamkhātaṃ asubbānussati. maraṇassati
ti ekabhavapariyantānaṃ maraṇānussaraṇaṃ. iti imā caturārakkhāsāññitā
*catubbidhā anussatiyo bhāveyya vaḍḍheyya punappunaṃ*⁴³ *manasikareyya.*
*taṃ bhāvetu kāmena catupārisuddhisīlaṃ visodhetvā*⁴⁴ *sappāyadbutaṅgaṃ*
*pariharitvā pi. paripuritavattena*⁴⁵ *anurūpasenāsane viharitvā cariyā-*

³⁵ so Kh¹; abbreviate kāyo jigbañño sakalo dugandho gacchanti sabbe maraṇaṃ abhañ ca with -la- (Kh¹⁻²).

³⁶ em. ākaḍḍhitvā (Kh¹⁻²).

³⁷ em. so (Kh¹); se (Kh²).

³⁸ em. yotī (Kh¹⁻⁴).

³⁹ so Kh¹⁻²; om. mahāsaṃvegavatthūni-sīla- (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁴⁰ so Kh¹; -paccayya- (Kh²⁻⁴).

⁴¹ so Kh¹⁻² Kh⁴; gaṇānussaraṇaṃ (Kh³).

⁴² so Kh¹⁻² Kh⁴; mettāpharaṇaṃ kammaṭṭhānaṃ (Kh³).

⁴³ em. punappannaṃ (Kh¹ Kh³⁻⁴); punappunnaṃ (Kh²).

⁴⁴ so Kh¹⁻² Kh⁴; vidhesādbetvā (Kh³).

⁴⁵ so Kh²⁻⁴; paritavattena (Kh¹).

nukulaṃ kammaṭṭhānaṃ gabetvā

anantavittbhāraṇaṃ *guṇato 'nussara ṃ munim⁴⁶*
bhāveyya buddhimā bhikkhu *buddhānussatim ādito*

bhikkhu pāpadhammabbindanasīlo⁴⁷ yo ti buddhimā attano samkilesamalavikkhālanāṇa-sampannāgato. ādito pathamam eva⁴⁸ anantavittbhāraṇaṃ anantākāśasadisāparimitalokadhātu-pbaraṇakā-tivitthāra-asādhāraṇakāṇāṇādiguṇaṇayuttaṃ munim munirājaṃ⁴⁹ guṇato arahādiguṇa-koṭṭhāsato anussaraṃ satiyārammanakaraṇavasena punappunaṃ anussaranto buddhānussatiṃ buddhaguṇārammaṇasati-kammaṭṭhānaṃ⁵⁰ bhāveyya iti pi so bhagavā ti-ādinā⁵¹ nayena bhāveyya uppādeyya vadheyya. idāni buddhaguṇānaṃ bhāvanākāraṃ dassetum āradhamaṃ⁵² savāsaneṭṭyādi.

savāsane kīlese so *eko sabbe nighāṭiyaahū*
susuddhasantāno *pūjanaṃ ca sadāraho.*

so bhagavā eko adutiyo paropadesarabito savāsane amanāpa-kāyavacīpayogasamkhāta-vāsanādosasabite sabbe kīlese rāgadosādisakaladiyaddhasabassakīlesasamube⁵³ nighāṭiya maggapaṭipāṭiya⁵⁴ samadhi-gatena⁵⁵ arabattamaggaṇāṇena niravasesato ghāṭetvā susuddhasantāno niravasesakīlesamala-visodhanato⁵⁶ attisayena⁵⁷ parisuddhacittasantāno. pūjanaṃ ca paccayapūjāpaṭipatti pūjanaṃ ca sadā sabbakālaṃ arabo yuttarūpo abhu abosi yasmā tasmā arabaṃ nāma.

sabbakālagate dhamme *sabbe sammā sayamaṃ muni*
sabbakārena bujhitvā *eko sabbaññutaṃ gato.*

muni⁵⁸ sabbaññū. muni sabbakālagate atītānāgatavattamānakālat-tayampavatte⁵⁹ sabbadhamme samkhāravikāralakkhaṇanibbānapaññatti-

⁴⁶ so Kh¹ Kh³⁻⁴, muni (Kh²).

⁴⁷ so Kh² Kh⁴, -bbinnanasīlo (Kh¹); bbindhanasīlo (Kh³).

⁴⁸ so Kh¹⁻² Kh⁴, pathamam eva (Kh³).

⁴⁹ so Kh²⁻⁴, manirājaṃ (Kh¹).

⁵⁰ so Kh²⁻⁴, -kammaṭṭhānaṃ (Kh¹).

⁵¹ so Kh¹ Kh³⁻⁴, bhagati- (Kh²).

⁵² so Kh¹⁻², dassetum āradhamaṃ (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁵³ em. rāgadosādisakaladiyaddha- (Kh¹⁻²); rāgadosādisakaladiyaddha- (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁵⁴ so Kh¹⁻², maggapaṭipāṭiya (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁵⁵ so Kh²⁻⁴, samādhi-gatena (Kh¹).

⁵⁶ so Kh¹⁻², niravasesakīsa- (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁵⁷ so Kh¹⁻², attisayena (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁵⁸ so Kh²⁻⁴, mani (Kh¹).

⁵⁹ so Kh¹⁻², -pavattatte (Kh³⁻⁴).

*samkhāte sakale ñeyyamaṇḍale sammā aviparito sayam paropadesam vinā sayambhū-y-eva*⁶⁰ *sabbākārena aniccādilakkhaṇarasapaṭivedha-vasena*⁶¹ *sabbenākārena bujjhitvā anāvaraṇañāṇena paṭivijjhitvā*⁶² *eko adutiyo sabbaññutaṃ gato sakalavattbujjānanañāṇa-samkhātāṃ sabbaññubhāvaṃ yasmā adbigato tasmā sammā sammāsambuddho nāma.*

*vipassanādivijjābhi*⁶³

*sīlādicaraṇehi*⁶⁴ *ca*

susamiddhehi samphanṇo

*gagaṇābhehi*⁶⁵ *nāyako*

*nāyako tilokassa nāyakācariyo munirājā. vipassanādivijjābhi ti vipassanāñāṇādīhi vipassanāñāṇa-manomayiddhīñāṇa-iddhividhīñāṇadibbasotañāṇaparacetopariyañāṇa*⁶⁶ *pubbenivāsānussatiñāṇadibba-cakkhuñāṇa-āsavakkhayañāṇasamkhātābhi atṭṭhabhi vijjābhi.*⁶⁷ *vuttaṃ hi vipassanāñāṇamanomayiddhī-iddhīppabhedo*⁶⁸ *pi ca dibbasotaṃ parassa cetopariyañāṇaṃ pubbenivāsānugatañāṇaṃ dibbacakkhu*⁶⁹ *āsavakkhayo ti etāni ñāṇāni imāni atṭṭha vijjā-alamkāranīyāni. munidhammadehavisesasobhā guṇamajjhu-petā ti.*⁷⁰ *sīlādicaraṇehi cā ti pātimokkhasaṃvarādīhi*⁷¹ *paṇṇarasābhi*⁷² *caraṇehi. vuttaṃ hi sīlasaṃvaram indriyasamvaro ca mattaññutā jāgariyaṇuyogo saddhā hīrotappabussutattaṃ parakkamo c' eva sati mati ca cattārijjhānāni ti tānimāni ti paṇṇarasā*⁷³ *dharmacaraṇāni jaññā ti. iti imābhi atṭṭhabhi vijjābhi imebhi ca paṇṇarasābhi caraṇadhammebhi susamiddhebhi atisayebhi samiddhebhi gagaṇābhebhi anantākāśasādisebhi samphanṇo pariṇuṇṇo yasmā tasmā vijjācaraanasaṃphanṇo nāma ahoṣi.*

*sammā gato subhāṇḍānaṃ*⁷⁴
tividhassā pi lokassa

*amoghavacano ca so
ñātā niravasesato.*

⁶⁰ so Kh²⁻⁴; *sayambha-y-eva* (Kh¹).

⁶¹ so Kh¹⁻²; *-rasappaṭivedhavasena* (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁶² *em. paṭivijjhitvā* (Kh¹⁻⁴).

⁶³ so Kh¹ Kh³; *vipassanādivijjābhi* (Kh² Kh⁴).

⁶⁴ so Kh¹⁻² Kh⁴; *sīlādicaraṇābhi* (Kh³).

⁶⁵ *em. gagaṇābhehi* (Kh¹⁻² Kh⁴); *gagaṇābhehi* (Kh³).

⁶⁶ so Kh¹⁻²; *-paracetopariyañāṇa-* (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁶⁷ so Kh³⁻⁴; *vijjābhi* (Kh¹⁻²).

⁶⁸ so Kh¹⁻² Kh⁴; *vipassanāñāṇamanomayiddhī-* (Kh³).

⁶⁹ *em. dibbañaccakkhu* (Kh¹⁻⁴).

⁷⁰ so Kh²⁻⁴; *guṇamajjhu-petā ti* (Kh¹).

⁷¹ so Kh³⁻⁴; *pātimokkhaṃ saṃvarādīhi* (Kh¹⁻²).

⁷² so Kh¹⁻²; *paṇṇarasābhi* here & next (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁷³ *em. pañca* (Kh¹⁻⁴).

⁷⁴ so Kh¹⁻²; *subhāṇḍānaṃ* here & next (Kh³⁻⁴).

so munirājā subhañṭhānaṃ nibbānaṃkḥātāṃ⁷⁵ sundarañṭhānaṃ⁷⁶ sammā silādipaṭṭipattiyā⁷⁷ gato patto. amoghavacano ca atucchavacano nīyānikavacano yaṃ buddho bhāsati⁷⁸ vācaṃ sabbasattānukampako⁷⁹ taṃ sammāpaṭipanno ca sabbadukkḥā paṃuñcatī ti. vuttaṃ hi tasmā bhagavā sugato nāma abosi. tividhassā pi lokassā ti sattaloka-okāsalokasaṃkḥārālokaṃkḥātassa lokattayassa niravasesato niravasesena nātā avedi tasmā lokavidū nāma abosi.

anekehi guṇoghehi⁸⁰

sabbasattutamo abu

anekehi upāyehi⁸¹

naradamme dāmesi ca.

so sakyasīho anekehi⁸² guṇoghehi dasabalacatuvesārājjañānādiguṇehi⁸³ sabbasattutamo⁸⁴ khattiyabrahmaṇadevabrahmādināṃ⁸⁵ sattānaṃ uttamo tasmā anuttaro nāma abu abosi. anekehi upāyehi saṅghapbarusādīhi upāyehi naradamme aññātakonḍaññattherādike damitabbapurise⁸⁶ maggaphala-sampāpanavasena⁸⁷ dāmesi ca sāresi vinesi tasmā purisadammasārathī nāma abosi.

eko sabbassa lokassa

sabba-atthānusāsako

bhāgya-issariyādinaṃ⁸⁸

guṇānaṃ paramo nidhi.

so sabbaññu muni eko asabāyo sabbassa lokassa sakalassa kāmalokādīlokassa sabba-atthānusāsako sakalassa dānasīlādīkassa diṭṭhadhammikasaṃparāyīkaparamatthassa anusāsanakaro tasmā deva-manussānaṃ sattḥā nāma abosi. bhāgya-issariyādinaṃ aparimitasamayasaṃpacittapuññasabbalokissara-yasasiri-ādinaṃ⁸⁹ guṇānaṃ paramo nidhi uttamanidhānaṃ tasmā bhagavā nāma abosi.

paññāssa sabbadhammesu

karuṇā sabbajantusu

attatthānaṃ paratthānaṃ

sādbhikā guṇajetthikā.

⁷⁵ so Kh¹ Kh³⁻⁴; nibbāsaṃkḥātāṃ (Kh²).

⁷⁶ so Kh¹ Kh³; sundarañṭhānaṃ (Kh² Kh⁴).

⁷⁷ em. samāsīlādi- (Kh¹⁻⁴).

⁷⁸ em. sabbāti (Kh¹⁻⁴).

⁷⁹ so Kh¹; sabbasattānukampako (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁸⁰ so Kh¹⁻²; guṇoghehi (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁸¹ em. uppāyehi (Kh¹⁻⁴).

⁸² so Kh¹⁻²; anehi (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁸³ so Kh¹; catuvesārājjañānādiguṇagūṇehi (Kh²⁻⁴).

⁸⁴ so Kh²⁻⁴; sabbasabbasattutamo (Kh¹).

⁸⁵ so Kh¹⁻² Kh⁴; -devabrahmānaṃ (Kh³)

⁸⁶ em. dammitabbapurise (Kh¹⁻⁴).

⁸⁷ so Kh¹; -sampāpanavasena (Kh²); -sappipunavasena (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁸⁸ so Kh¹; isiriyādinaṃ (Kh²⁻⁴).

⁸⁹ so Kh¹⁻²; -saṃpacittapuññasabbalokassa- (Kh³⁻⁴).

*assa munirājassa paññā sabbadhammesu dukkhasaccādikesu sakal-
adhammesu dukkha-parijānanādyākārehi pavattittha. athavā paññā
sabbaññutañāṇaṃ sabbadhammesu samkhāravikāra-lakkhaṇanib-
bānapaññattisamkhātesu niravasesañeyyadhammesu salakkhaṇarasādi-
paṭivedhavasena yathāruciṃ pavattittha. karuṇā mahākaruṇā sabba-
jantūsu apadadipadādikesu sakalasattesu dukkhāpanayanākāravasena
pavattittha. assa munirājassa karuṇā paññāsamkhātānaṃ cuddasa⁹⁰ bud-
dhaññādināṃ sakalabuddhaguṇānaṃ jeṭṭhikā padhānā ādipariyosānab-
hūtā attatthānaṃ sabbaññutañāṇāriyamaggaphalānaṃ paratthānaṃ
paresaṃ devamanussānaṃ silādi-anupāda-parinibbānantānaṃ atthānaṃ
sādhikā sampāpunadivasena nipphādikā abhesuṃ.*

*dayāya pāramī citvā paññāyattānaṃ uddhar
uddhari sabbadhammesu⁹¹ dayāyaññe ca uddhari.*

*sabbalokānukampako lokanātho dayāya sakalasattavisayāya
mahākaruṇāya samussāhitamānaso dānapāramidāna-upapāramidāna-
paramatthapārami-ādayo samatiṃsapāramiyo citvā vicinitvā upacitvā
paripūretvā paññāya caturāriyamaggañāṇena sakalasamsāradukkhato
attānaṃ uddhari. paññāya sakalavatthuisayena sabbaññutañāṇena sab-
badhamme niravasesañeyyadhamme uddharitvā pakāseti. desanāñāṇena
vā kusalādikbandhādiddhamme ca uddhari desanāvasena pakāte akāsi.
dayāya karuṇāya aññātakoṇḍaññatherapamukhaṭṭhārāsa-brabmakoti-
ādayo⁹² aññe ca devamanusse saṃsārasāgarato⁹³ uddharitvā nibbānapāre
paṭiṭṭhāpeti.⁹⁴*

*dissamāno pi tāv 'ssa rūpakāyo acintayo
asādhāraṇañāṇaddhe⁹⁵ dhammakāye kathāvaka.*

*assa munirājassa dissamāno samupacitakusalamūlānaṃ deva-
manussānaṃ paññāyamāno rūpakāyo pi tāva dvattiṃsamahāpurisa-
lakkhaṇa-asityānubyañjanabyāmapabhāketumālādi-anantāparimey-
ya-guṇasamudayo⁹⁶ pasobbhito ghanasiniddhisaṅhasarīrasamkhāto rūpa-
kāyo rūpakāyassa sampatti pi tāva acintiyō cittavisayātikantatāya cinti-
tum asakkuṇeyyo.⁹⁷*

⁹⁰ *em. cuddhāsa* (Kh¹⁻⁴).

⁹¹ *so* Kh¹⁻²; *sabbadhamme ca* (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁹² *so* Kh¹; *-koṇḍiñāthera* (Kh²); *-koṇḍiyāthera* (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁹³ *so* Kh¹⁻²; *saṃsārasāgarato* (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁹⁴ *so* Kh¹⁻³; *paṭiṭṭhāpeti* (Kh⁴).

⁹⁵ *em. asāradhāraṇa-* (Kh¹⁻⁴).

⁹⁶ *so* Kh¹⁻²; *-byāmapakābhāketumālādi-* (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁹⁷ *so* Kh¹; *-sakkuṇeyyo* (Kh²⁻⁴).

*asādhāraṇañānāddhe indriyaparopariyatte nāṇaṃ sattānaṃ
āsayānusaye nāṇaṃ yamakapāṭibire nāṇaṃ mabākaruṇāsamāpat-
tiyā nāṇaṃ⁹⁸ sabbaññūtañānaṃ anāvaraṇañānaṃ ti imehi sāvakehi
asādhāraṇehi chahi nāṇehi addhe samiddhe dhammakāye dasabala-
vesārajjacatupaṭisambhidā-aṭṭhārasāveṇīkabuddhadhammappabhū-
ti-anantāparimānaguṇa-samudayo⁹⁹ pa¹⁰⁰sobbitasīlasamādhīpaññā-vi-
muttiñānādidhammasarīre kā kathā va kiṃ vattabham eva sabbaṃṇānaṃ
asaṃkhātasabhāvato. vuttaṃ hi*

*buddho pi buddhassa bhaṇeyya vaṇṇaṃ
kappam pi ce aññaṃ abhāsamāno
khiyetha¹⁰¹ kappo ciradigham antare
vaṇṇo na khiyetha tathāgatassā ti.¹⁰²*

buddhānussatibhāvanā niṭṭhitā.

1.4 Characteristics of the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* Manuscripts

The compositional structure of the four *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* manuscripts is similar. It consists of a title, a beginning statement, all of the content of the *Caturārakkhā*, an explanation of the meaning in the *Caturārakkhā*, and a concluding statement. All four manuscripts give a similar title. Three manuscripts (Kh²⁻⁴) are entitled *bra-aṭṭhakathācaturārakkhā paripuṇṇa lea* whereas Kh¹ has a slightly different title, *bra-aṭṭhakathācaturārakkhā paripuṇṇā niṭṭhitā*. At the beginning of the text, the author shows respect to the Buddha through the sentence: *namo tassa bhagavato arabato sammāsambuddhassa*. Such a salutation formula is commonly used in Pāli palm leaf manuscripts. After this statement, all of the content of the *Caturārakkhā*, consisting of 32 verses (*gāthā*), is displayed. The first 29 verses deal with four kinds of meditation objects (*kammaṭṭhāna*): a recollection of the Buddha (*Buddhānussati*), a recollection of loving-kindness (*Mettānussati*), a recollection of loathsomeness (*Asubhānussati*), and a recollection of death (*Maraṇānussati*). The other three verses present the eight bases of urgency (*saṃvegavatthu*): birth (*jāti*), ageing (*jarā*), sickness (*byādhi*), death (*marañā*), the state of loss and woe (*apāya*), the round of

⁹⁸ so Kh¹⁻²; *nāṇa* (Kh³⁻⁴).

⁹⁹ so Kh¹; *-guṇasamuddhayo* (Kh²⁻⁴).

¹⁰⁰ so Kh¹⁻²; *ca sobbita-* (Kh³⁻⁴).

¹⁰¹ so Kh¹; *khiyetha* here & next (Kh²⁻⁴).

¹⁰² so Kh¹⁻² Kh⁴; *tathāgatassā ti* (Kh³).

suffering in the past and the future (*atīta-appattakavaṭṭadukkha*), and suffering in the search for food (*āhāragavesidukkha*).

In general, other commentators only explain a word, phrase or passage. Placing all 32 verses of the *Caturārakkhā* before an explanation of the meaning of each verse in the *Caturārakkhā* is a unique feature of the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā*. Putting all of the content before the explanation of each verse might be a way of indicating that this commentary is dealing with this text, and not other texts about the four protective meditations. It is also possible that all of the text is provided before the explanation because it is relatively short. Such a structural characteristic in the composition of a text might mean that it was designed for use in a lesson on meditation objects (*kammaṭṭhāna*) for Buddhist monks and novices.

All four manuscripts (Kh¹⁻⁴) have the same Pāli concluding statement, namely:

‘*ñāṇamaṅgalatherena vīracittena dhīmatā caturārakkhāgāthānaṃ atthasamvaṇṇanā katā. iti caturārakkhāgāthāttbhavanānaṃ samattā. nibbānapaccayo hotu.*’

A wise monk Ñāṇamaṅgala whose mind was mighty explained the meaning of the verses of *Caturārakkhā*. An explanation of the *Caturārakkhā*'s meaning ended in this way. May (the result of composing a text) be a factor for *Nibbāna*.

A reading of the *Buddhānussati* in the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* showed that Kh¹⁻² and Kh³⁻⁴ were copied from different sources. This is evident from the addition of many passages after *suriyo viya dhāvati* in Kh³⁻⁴ but not in Kh¹⁻². Moreover, Kh³⁻⁴ omitted a great number of passages between the words *mahāsamvegavatthūni* and *silā*—whereas Kh¹⁻² had full passages. It was also found that the Pāli readings in Kh¹⁻² differed from those in Kh³⁻⁴ in many places. For example, Kh¹⁻² gave *attuppamāya* whereas Kh³⁻⁴ had *attuppāmāya*, Kh¹⁻² used *parañ ca* whereas Kh³⁻⁴ had *carañ ca*, and Kh¹⁻² gave *maggapaṭipāṭiyo* whereas Kh³⁻⁴ had *maggapaṭipāṭiyo*.

The palm leaf manuscript Kh¹, which was produced by King Rama I, contains the best Pāli reading. Although the reading of Kh², which belongs to King Rama III, is generally similar to that of Kh¹, it contains more errors. Overall, Kh¹⁻² give a better quality of Pāli readings than Kh³⁻⁴, which contain many mistakes resulting from

carelessness on the part of the scribe. In some places, nevertheless, Kh³⁻⁴ provide a better reading than Kh¹⁻². For example, Kh³ is the only manuscript that gives the correct Pāli reading *vipassanādivijāhi* whereas Kh¹⁻² Kh⁴ have *vipassannādivijāhi*. Similarly, Kh¹⁻² give *vijāhi* while Kh³⁻⁴ have *vijjāhi*, which is more appropriate in the context. Despite the many misspellings and errors in Kh³⁻⁴, it was necessary to use them for editing to produce a more accurate and complete text. In summary, a manuscript produced by the King is finer and more accurate than one produced by ordinary people, but it is vital to use many manuscripts to generate a text that is complete and correct.

2. Author and Date of Composition

The concluding statement in all four palm leaf manuscripts (Kh¹⁻⁴) clearly stated that the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* was composed by a monk named Ñāṇamaṅgala, but the date of composition was not mentioned. According to the catalogue card of the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* manuscripts written by staff of the Thai National Library, Bangkok, *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* manuscript Kh¹ used for the present edition belonged to King Rama I, who reigned from A.D. 1782-1809 (กรมศิลปากร 2017: 113). Hence it can be concluded that the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* was compiled before A.D. 1782.

Further search of Pāli literature compiled in South and South-east Asian countries revealed that the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* was mentioned in the *Gandhavaṃsa*, which was written by a Burmese monk. *Gandhavaṃsa* describes a short history of the origin and development of Pāli literature in South and Southeast Asia, such as *Tipiṭaka*, Pāli *Aṭṭhakathā*, *Ṭikā*, and other modern non Pāli canonical texts. The book states that the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* was one of 40 texts composed by a group of knowledgeable teachers in Island of Lankā in order to promote Buddhist doctrine and a continuance of *Saddhamma*.¹⁰³ It is not known if this version of the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* is the same as the one found in Thailand. If it is the same version, the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* must have been composed before the *Gandhavaṃsa*. In his book, *The Gandhavaṃsa: A History of Pali Literature*, Bimalendra Kumar (1992: 5-6) argues that the *Gandhavaṃsa* must have been written before the 17th century A.D. since it mentions the

¹⁰³ *catubbhānavārassa aṭṭhakathā...caturārakkhāya aṭṭhakathā saddavuttipakaraṇassa navaṭṭhikā cā ti imāni cattiṭṭhāpakaṇāni attano matiyā sāsanassa jutiyā ca saddhammassa ṭhitiyā ca lankādīpādīsu viṣuṃ viṣuṃ ācariyehi katāni* (Minayeff 1886: 75).

Kāyaviratigāthā, which was composed in the 17th century A.D. From this, we can infer that the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* was written before the 17th century A.D. or before the date of *Gandhavaṃsa*.

3. Place of Composition and Transmission

Saddhātissa (1990: 93) states that the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* originated in Cambodia. My research, however, indicated that the Cambodian palm leaf manuscripts of this text might not have survived to the present day because they have not been found in Cambodia whereas there is the great number of palm leaf manuscripts of this text that are preserved in the National Library and many royal monasteries in Thailand. For example, the Thai National Library, Bangkok, contains the following 8 manuscripts:

1. *Bra-aṭṭhakathācaturārakkhā*
No. 3662/kha/1. 1 *phūk*. Khom script. Pāli language.
Chabup Longchat. *Phrayasrisabathep* (pheng) produced.
2. *Bra-aṭṭhakathācaturārakkhā* by Phrañāṇamaṅgala
No. 4535/ga/1. 1 *phūk*. Khom script. Pāli language.
Chabup Thongthuep.
Phrayaphisansudphon produced in A.D. 1868.
3. *Bra-aṭṭhakathācaturārakkhā* by Phrañāṇamaṅgala
No. 5124/ja/2,4. 2 *phūk*. Khom script. Pāli language.
Chabup Longthuep.
4. *Bra-aṭṭhakathācaturārakkhā* by Phrañāṇamaṅgala
No. 6674/kha/5. 1 *phūk*. Khom script. Pāli language.
Chabup Longchat.
5. *Bra-aṭṭhakathācaturārakkhā* by Phrañāṇamaṅgala
No. 6863/ca/1. 1 *phūk*. Khom script. Pāli language.
Chabup Thongthuep.
6. *Bra-aṭṭhakathācaturārakkhā* by Phrañāṇamaṅgala
No. 10065/ka. 1 *phūk*. Khom script. Pāli language.
Chabup Rotnamdamek. This manuscript belongs to King Rama 3. It is combined with the *Caturārakkhāpāli* no. 10065/kha/1.
7. *Bra-aṭṭhakathācaturārakkhā* by Phrañāṇamaṅgala

No. 6659/kha/1. 1 *phūk*. Khom script. Pāli language.
Chabup Rongthrong. This manuscript belongs to King
Rama 1.

8. *Bracaturārakkhabhāvanā*

No. 13983/1. 1 *phūk*. Khom script. Pāli language.
Chabup Thongthuep. One *phūk* of Khom-Pāli *Caturārak-
khā-aṭṭhakathā* no. 349 is also preserved in the National
Library in Paris (Cabaton 1980: 73).

It is noteworthy that all palm leaf manuscripts of the *Caturārak-
khā-aṭṭhakathā* were written in Khom script and have mostly been
preserved in the National Library and royal temples in Thailand.
Two palm leaf manuscripts were also found to have been produced by
the Kings Rama I and Rama III. This suggests that the *Caturārak-
khā-aṭṭhakathā* may be one of the Pāli texts that the Thai Kings caused
to be collected from various locations and copied for preservation, uti-
lisation or donation as a wish for merit to many royal temples at that
period. In Thai history, after a war with Myanmar, many cities and
temples were burned or otherwise destroyed. King Phrachaotaksin,
who reigned from A.D. 1768-1782 (กรมศิลปากร 2017: 107), was afraid
that the Buddhist doctrine would disappear, so he asked Phrathepkavi,
a royal monk, to search for and collect original Pāli texts such as *Viśud-
dhimagga* from Cambodia and other places (สุรสิทธิ์ ไทยรัตน์ 2013: 120).
Hence it is possible that the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* was brought
into Thailand from Cambodia.

In summary, this text was possibly composed in Cambodia and
disseminated in Thailand. The popularity of copying the *Caturārak-
khā-aṭṭhakathā* in the early Rattanakosin Period (Kings Rama I and
Rama III) demonstrates a wish to rehabilitate and support Buddhist
doctrine after the war with Myanmar. It also indicates an interest in
studying, learning and practising the four meditation objects (*kam-
matṭhāna*) during that period.

4. Content of the Buddhānussati in
the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā*

To help the reader follow the explanation of the content of the *Bud-
dhānussati* in the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* presented below, this sec-
tion begins with a brief summary of the background and method of
Buddhānussati contemplation in the *Caturārakkhā*.

As mentioned earlier, the *Caturārakkhā* consists of 32 Pāli verses. The first 29 verses deal with contemplation of the four meditation objects, namely: recollection of the Buddha (*Buddhānussati*), recollection of loving-kindness (*Mettānussati*), recollection of loathsomeness (*Asubbhānussati*), and recollection of death (*Maraṇānussati*). The last three verses are the eight bases of urgency (*saṃvegavatthu*): birth (*jāti*), aging (*jarā*), sickness (*byādhī*), death (*maraṇa*), the state of loss and woe (*apāya*), the round of suffering in the past and the future (*atīta-appattakavattadukkha*), and suffering in the search for food (*āhāragavesidukkha*). The author and date of composition of the *Caturārakkhā* are unknown. In Thailand and Cambodia, however, it is believed to have been compiled by Buddhaghosa, a great commentator in the 4th-5th centuries A.D (Saddhātissa 1990: 92). This seems reasonable because the style of composition of the *Caturārakkhā* is quite similar to that of Buddhaghosa. An examination of all of Buddhaghosa's Pāli literary works by Malalasekera (1928: 94-98), however, failed to locate the title "*Caturārakkhā*". Therefore, it is unlikely that Buddhaghosa was the author of this text.

A comparison of verses of the *Caturārakkhā* with those in other Pāli literary works found that verse 11 of the *Caturārakkhā* appears in *Saddanīti*¹⁰⁴, which was composed by a Burmese monk named Aggavaṃsa in A.D. 1154. *Saddanīti* is a book explaining the Pāli grammar contained in the Pāli *Tipiṭaka*, commentaries, sub-commentaries, and other Pāli non-canonical texts. This shows that the *Caturārakkhā* was composed before A.D. 1154. Further study also revealed that the first two *pāda* of the first verse of the *Caturārakkhā* appear in the *Caturārakkhāniddesa* in the *Kbuddasikkhā* for the purpose of explaining the meaning of the word "*Caturārakkhā*", as follows:

'*caturārakkhā ti buddhānussati mettā ca, asubhaṃ maraṇassati...*'
(Khuddas.120)

Therefore the *Caturārakkhā* was believed to have existed before the *Kbuddasikkhā-Mūlasikkhā*. Malalasekera (1928: 76-77) states that the *Kbuddasikkhā-Mūlasikkhā* is a short summary of the *Vinaya*, which was written by a monk in *Anurādhapura*. It existed before Buddhaghosa came to Sri Lanka. According to Dr. Müller (1883: 86-87), the characteristics of language and wordings indicate that this

¹⁰⁴ *dissamāno pi tāv' ass rūpakāyo acintīyo
asādharaṇāṇaṇaṭṭhe dhammakāye kathā va kā ti* (Sadd.I.77).

text is likely to have been composed between the 6th and 7th centuries. Geiger (1943: 35-36) argues that it is impossible for the date of the *Kbuddasikkhā-Mūlasikkhā* to be later than the 11th century. Hence it is difficult to reach a firm decision about the date of this text. It is known, however, that the *Kbuddasikkhā-Mūlasikkhā* was mentioned in the great stone tablet of King Parākramabāhu I at the Gal Vihāra in the town of Polonnaruva in Sri Lanka in A.D.1065 (cf. Malalasekera 1928: 76). Therefore, it can tentatively be concluded that the *Caturārakkhā* was composed before A.D. 1065.

As far as we know, the *Caturārakkhā* was disseminated in Sri Lanka, Thailand and Laos. It is very popular in Sri Lanka, where it is still used by novices for chanting or recitation during meditation. The text was included in the appendix of “*Maha Pirit Pota* “ (Śrī Vācissara 1983: 329-331), a well-known chanting book for Buddhists in Sri Lanka. It is also found in “*Theravadi Samanera Banadabham Pota*” (Ranjith 1980: 37-39), a handbook for monks and novices in Sri Lanka. In Thailand, a great number of palm leaf manuscripts of the *Caturārakkhā* are preserved in the Thai National Library and monasteries. The *Caturārakkhā* also appears in the Northern Thai chanting book used in some northern provinces of Thailand such as Phrae, Nan and Lampang (Lanna Kingdom), where it appears under the title “*Buddhā*” rather than “*Caturārakkhā*” (ทวี เขื่อนแก้ว 1981: 218-221). Nowadays, there is no evidence of chanting the *Caturārakkhā* in Laos. Only a small number of palm leaf manuscripts have been found in some temples in Luang Prabang.

The content of the *Buddhānussati* contemplation appears in Verses 2-11 of the *Caturārakkhā*. Verses 2-10 describe the *Buddhānussati* contemplation by recollecting nine qualities of the Buddha: (1) *arabam* (he alone destroyed all the corruptions and predispositions, and was always fully pure; he is worthy of worship at all times); (2) *sammāsambuddho* (The sage by himself has, in every way, completely awakened to all *Dhamma* throughout the whole of time, and alone he has arrived at omniscience); (3) *vijjācaraṇasampanno* (being endowed with knowledge such as insight and with good conduct such as virtue); (4) *sugato* (he has rightly gone to the beautiful place and never spoken foolish words); (5) *lokavidū* (he knew the threefold world system completely without leaving anything out); (6) *anuttaro purisadammasārathi* (he is supreme among all beings with countless good qualities and he

tamed those men who could be tamed with countless skilful means); (7) *sattbā devamanussānaṃ* (he alone teaches all good things to the whole world); (8) *buddho* (through sympathy, having performed the perfections, he raised himself up by wisdom; he raised (himself) up above all *Dhamma* and raised up others through sympathy); (9) *bhagavā* (he is the highest treasure, having qualities such as good fortune, mastery, and so on).¹⁰⁵

In addition to the nine qualities of the Buddha, the eleventh and last verse of the *Caturārakkhā* describes the contemplation of the *Buddhānussati* by recalling the qualities of the two bodies of the Buddha: (1) *Rūpakāya*, a physical body of the Buddha that is beyond reflection (*acinteyya*); and (2) *Dhammakāya*, a body of *Dhamma* that is rich with supernormal knowledge (*asādhāraṇāñāṇa*).¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the *Caturārakkhā* does not show a connection between the nine qualities and a physical body (*Rūpakāya*) or a *Dhamma* body (*Dhammakāya*) of the Buddha.

Analysis of the *Buddhānussati* in the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* showed that part of the content of the *Buddhānussati* is extracted from Pāli commentaries. At the beginning, the author of the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* describes a way of preparing for the contemplation of the *Buddhānussati* that corresponds to the description in the *Papañcasūdanī*:

*anagāriyo vā imasmiṃ sāsane pabbajitvā parisuddhacitto catu-
pārisuddhisīlaṃ sobhetti. terasa dbutaṅgāni samādiyati. aṭṭha-
tiṃsārammaṇesu attano anukūlakammaṭṭhānaṃ gabetvā
pantasanāsaṇaṃ paṭisevamāno kaṣiṇaparikkammaṃ katvā
jhānasamāpattiyo nibbatteti. sotāpattimaggam bhāveti...anāgāmi
maggam bhāveti. ayaṃ assa anagāriyapaṭipattisugati?* (Ps.I.168).

A homeless person, having gone forth in this order, has a pure mind and purifies four moralities consisting in purity (*catuṣpārisuddhisīla*). He follows thirteen ascetic practices (*dbutaṅga*). Having learned the meditation object (*kammaṭṭhāna*) appropriate for his own thirty-eight objects (*aṭṭhatiṃsārammaṇa*), he settles in a solitary resting place and makes preparation for *Kaṣiṇa* meditation. He brings forth an

¹⁰⁵ Translation from Verses 2-10 of the *Caturārakkhā*.

¹⁰⁶ *dissamāno pi tāv' assa rūpakāyo acintayo
asādhāraṇāñāṇaddhe dhammakāye kathā va kā* (Verse 11 of the *Caturārakkhā*).

attainment of absorption (*jhāna*). He develops the path of stream-entering (*sotāpattimagga*)... realises the path of non-return (*anāgāmicimagga*). This is the righteous path of practice for a homeless person.

Similarly, the *Buddhānussati* in the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* states:

*taṃ bhāvetu kāmena catupārisuddhisīlaṃ visodhettvā sappāyad-
butaṅgaṃ pariḥarivā pi pariḥarivattena anurūpasenāsane vi-
harivā cariyānukulaṃ kammaṭṭhānaṃ gahetvā*

*anantaviṭṭhāraguṇaṃ guṇato 'nussaraṃ munim
bhāveyya buddhimā bhikkhu buddhānussatim ādito.*

A monk who desires to develop (that recollection) purifies four moralities consisting in purity (*catupārisuddhisīla*), maintains beneficial ascetic practices (*sappāyadbutaṅga*), fulfils his duty, dwells in an appropriate resting place, and learns a meditation object (*kammaṭṭhāna*) appropriate to (his own) behaviour.

Recollecting by quality a sage's endless and extensive quality, a wise monk should initially develop a recollection of the Buddha (*Buddhānussati*).

It is significant that both texts identify this as a meditation object (*kammaṭṭhāna*) only for one who has gone forth.

Subsequently, the author of the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* makes clear that a contemplation of the *Buddhānussati* is a recollection of the qualities of the two bodies of the Buddha - physical body (*Rūpakāya*) and *Dhamma* body (*Dhammakāya*). The physical body (*Rūpakāya*) of the Buddha is described in the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* as exquisite:

*assa munirājassa dissamāno samupacitakusalamūlānaṃ deva-
manussānaṃ paññāyamāno rūpakāyo pi tāva dvattiṃsa-
mahāpurisalakkhaṇa-asityānubyañjanabyāmapabbhāketu-
mālādi-anantāparimeyyaguṇasamudayo pasobhito ghanasinid-
dhisaṅhasarīrasaṃkhāto rūpakāyo rūpakāyassa sampatti pi tāva
acintiyō cittāvisayātīkantatāya cintitum asakkuṇeyyo.*

Even the physical body (*Rūpakāya*) of that sage King, being seen or appearing to devas and human beings filled with goodness, arises from endless and incomparable qualities such as thirty-two characteristics of a great man (*mahāpurisalak-*

khana), eighty minor characteristics (*anubyañjana*), and a fathom of garland of rays (*byāmapabbhāketumālā*). His physical body (*Rūpakāya*) is splendid. In other words, it is a very exquisite and resplendent body. Even the integrity of the physical body (*Rūpakāya*) should not be thought. In other words, it should not be able to think because it has passed beyond the region of thought.

The *Dhamma* body (*Dhammakāya*) of the Buddha is shown in verse 11 of the *Caturārakkhā*, where the author of the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* explains that it is a type of meditation that involves recollecting the qualities of the *Dhammakāya* of the Buddha – qualities that are incomparable and endless and cannot be explained in one aeon (*kappa*), as explained in the following Pāli passages:

*asādhāraṇañāṇaddhe indriyaparopariyatte ñāṇaṃ sattānaṃ
āsayānusaye ñāṇaṃ yamakapāṭihire ñāṇaṃ mahākaruṇāsamā-
pattiyā ñāṇaṃ sabbaññutañāṇaṃ anāvarenañāṇaṃ ti imehi
sāvakehi asādhāraṇehi chahi ñāṇehi addhe samiddhe dhamma-
kāye dasabalavesārajjacatupatisambhidā-aṭṭhārasāveṇikabud-
dhadhammappabhūti-anantāparimānaguṇasamudayo pasobbi-
tasīlasamādhīpaññāvimuttiñāṇādidhammasarīre kā kathā va kiṃ
vattabham eva sabbaṅgānaṃ asaṃkhātāsabbāvato. vuttaṃ hi*

buddho pi buddhassa bhaṇeyya vaṇṇaṃ
kappam pi ce aññaṃ abhāsamaṇo
khīyetha kappo ciradigham antare
vaṇṇo na khīyetha tathāgatassā ti.

By innumerable state of all qualities, which speech or what should be said about the body of Dhamma (*Dhammakāya*) which is rich with supernormal knowledge (*asādhāraṇañāṇa*). That is: it is flourishing or prosperous with these six supernormal knowledges that are uncommon to disciples. These are: knowledge of what goes on in the sense faculties of others (*indriyaparopariyattañāṇa*), knowledge of the disposition of beings (*sattānaṃ āsayānusaye ñāṇaṃ*), knowledge of the miracle of the double appearances (*yamakapāṭihire ñāṇa*), knowledge of attainment of great compassion (*mahākaruṇāsamāpattiñāṇa*), omniscience (*sabbaññutañāṇa*), and the knowledge of non-hindrance (*anāvarenañāṇa*). In other words, *Dhammasarīra*

arises from endless and immeasurable qualities such as the ten powers (*bala*), the knowledge of four subjects of confidence (*vesārajjañāṇa*), four kinds of discrimination (*paṭisambhidā*), and eighteen exceptional Dhamma of the Buddha (*āveṇikabuddhadhamma*). Furthermore, *Dhammasarīra* comprises virtue or moral conduct (*sīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), wisdom (*paññā*), liberation (*vimutti*), and knowing and seeing the liberation (*vimuttiñāṇadassana*). As it was said,

if not having spoken about others for an aeon,
even the Buddha would speak about the special quality
of the Buddha, an aeon would exhaust for a long time.

The special quality of *Tathāgata* would not be exhausted.

According to the Pāli passages above, the author of the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* describes the qualities of the body of *Dhamma* (*Dhammakāya*) of the Buddha as follows:

1. His *Dhammakāya* is rich with six supernormal knowledges that are uncommon in disciples: knowledge of what goes on in the sense faculties of others (*indriyaparopariyattañāṇa*), knowledge of the disposition (*āsāyānusayañāṇa*), knowledge of the miracle of the double appearances (*yamakapāṭibireñāṇa*), knowledge of attainment of great compassion (*mahākaruṇāsamāpattiñāṇa*), omniscience (*sabbāññutañāṇa*), and knowledge of non-hindrance (*anāvaraṇaṇāṇa*). These six kinds of knowledge explained by *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā*'s author are compatible with those that appear in the *Visuddhajanavilāsini*.¹⁰⁷

2. His *Dhammakāya* is *Dhammasarīra* which arises from endless and immeasurable qualities such as knowledge of ten powers (*balañāṇa*), knowledge of four subjects of confidence (*vesārajjañāṇa*), four kinds of discrimination (*paṭisambhidā*), and eighteen exceptional *Dhamma* of the Buddha (*āveṇikabuddhadhamma*).

The analysis shows that the commentator's explanation of qualities of the physical body (*Rūpakāya*) and the first and second qualities of the *Dhamma* body (*Dhammakāya*) of the Buddha have been extracted from a commentary of *Cariyāpīṭaka*, as indicated in the fol-

¹⁰⁷ *buddhānaṃ pana catūsu asaṅkheyyesu kappasatasabbesu ca pāramiyo pūretvā bodhiñāṇa ssādhigatattā ca indriyaparo-pariyattiñāṇamabākaruṇāsamāpattiñāṇayamakapāṭibirañāṇasabbāññutañāṇa-anāvaraṇa-āsāyānusayādi-asādhārāṇa-ñāṇaṇasamadbigatattā ca ekāya pi dhammadesanāya...apadānaṃ kāraṇaṃ buddhāpadānaṃ* (Ap-a. 100).

lowing Pāli passages:

samāsato tāva sammāsambuddhabbhāvo etāsaṃ phalaṃ. vitthārato pana dvattimsamahā-purisalakkhaṇa-asīti-anubyañjana-byāmapabbhādi-aneka-guṇa-gaṇasamujjalarūpakāya-sampatti. adhiṭṭhānadasabalacatuvesārajjacha-asādhāraṇa-ñāṇa-aṭṭhārasāveṇikabuddha-dhammappabbuti-anantāparimāṇa-guṇa-samudayo pasobhinī dhammakāyasiri. yāvataṃ pana buddhagunā ye anekehi hi kappehi sammāsambuddhenā pi vācāya pariyosāpetuṃ na sakkā idaṃ etāsaṃ phalaṃ.

buddho pi buddhassa bhaṇeyya vaṇṇaṃ

kappam pi ce aññam abhāsamāno

khīyetha kappo ciradīghamantare

vaṇṇo na khīyetha tathāgatassā ti

(Cp-a.332; See also Ud-a.87; It-a.I.13).

Briefly, the state of the perfectly enlightened-one is just the fruit of those (perfections). But in detail, (the state of the perfectly enlightened-one) is the integrity of the physical body (*Rūpakāya*), which is resplendent with various qualities such as thirty-two characteristics of the great man (*mahāpurisalakkhaṇa*), eighty minor characteristics (*anubyañjana*), and a fathom of garland of rays (*byāmapabbhāketumālā*). In addition, the beautiful body of *Dhamma* (*siridhammakāya*) is exquisitely beautiful and arises from immeasurable and endless qualities - self-determination (*adhiṭṭhāna*), knowledge of ten powers (*balañāṇa*), knowledge of four subjects of confidence (*vesārajjañāṇa*), six supernormal knowledges, and eighteen exceptional *Dhamma* of the Buddha (*āveṇikabuddhadhamma*). Over many aeons, furthermore, even the perfectly enlightened-one is unable to explain all of the qualities of the Buddhas. This is the fruit of those (perfections). As it was said:

Even the Buddha would proclaim the quality of the Buddha, if not proclaiming others by aeon, the aeon would exhaust for a long time, the quality of *Tathāgata* would not exhaust.

3. His *Dhammakāya* is *Dhammasarīra*, which comprises qualities such as morality (*sīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), wisdom (*paññā*), liberation (*vimutti*), and knowing and seeing the liberation (*vimuttiñāṇadassana*). *Manorathapūraṇī* states that morality (*sīla*), concen-

tration (*samādhi*), wisdom (*paññā*), liberation (*vimutti*), and knowing and seeing the liberation (*vimuttiñānadassana*) are components of *Dhammakhandha*.¹⁰⁸ This shows that the author of the *Caturārak-khā-aṭṭhakathā* understood that *Dhammakhandha* is *Dhammasarira* or *Dhammakāya* of the Buddha and his *Dhammakāya* consists of morality (*sīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), wisdom (*paññā*), liberation (*vimutti*), and knowing and seeing the liberation (*vimuttiñānadassana*). Such understanding is also evident in passages in the *Paramatthadīpanī* where the Buddha is called *bhagavā* because he has *Bhāgadhamma*. *Bhāgadhamma* is *Dhammakhandha* or the body of *Dhamma* (*Dhammakāya*) comprising special qualities uncommon in other people. These are: morality (*sīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), wisdom (*paññā*), liberation (*vimutti*), knowing and seeing the liberation (*vimuttiñānadassana*)... four kinds of discrimination (*catuṣṭaṣṭambhidā*), the knowledge determining four realms of existence (*catuyoniparicchedakañāna*), four noble lineages (*ariyavaṃsa*), the knowledge of four subjects of confidence (*vesārajjāñāna*) ... knowledges (*abhiññā*), six supernormal knowledges (*asādhāraṇāñāna*)... ten powers of *Tathāgata* (*tathāgatabala*), eleven advantages of loving-kindness (*ānisaṃsamettā*), twelve manners of the wheel of *Dhamma* (*dharmacakkākāra*), thirteen ascetic practices (*dbutaṅga*), fourteen knowledges of the Buddha (*buddhañāna*), fifteen *Dhamma* leading to the perfection of liberation (*vimuttiṣaṭṭhāna*), sixteen recollections of breathing in and breathing out (*ānāpānasati*), seventeen successive burning *Dhamma* (*aparantapanīyadhama*), eighteen *Dhamma* of the Buddha (*buddhadhamma*) ... and the knowledge of exposition of things such as the inclination (*āsayādivibbhāvanāñāna*) of boundless beings.¹⁰⁹

Besides the three qualities of the Buddha mentioned above, the Pāli *Tipiṭaka* and its commentaries merely state that the *Buddhānussati*

¹⁰⁸ *evaṃ imasmim sāsane sīlasamādhivipassanāmaggaḥbalanibbānehi na vadḍhanti. yathā ca so gopālo pañcabi gorasehi paribāhiro hoti evaṃ evāyaṃ asekkhena sīlakkhandhena asekkhena samādhipaññāvimuttivimuttiñānadassanakhandhenā ti pañcabi dhammakhandhehi paribāhiro hoti* (Mp.V.92-93).

¹⁰⁹ *tattha kathaṃ bhagavā ti bhagavā. ye te sīlādayo dharmacakkhandhā guṇakoṭṭhāsā te anaññasādhāraṇā niratisayā tathāgatassa atthā upalabbhanti. tathā hi ssa sīlasamādhipaññāvimuttivimuttiñānadassanaṃ ... catasso ṭaṣṭambhidā catuyoniparicchedakañānāni cattāro ariyavaṃsā cattāri vesārajjāñānāni ... cha abhiññā cha asādhāraṇāñānāni ... dasa tathāgatabalāni ekādasa mettānisaṃsā dvādasa dharmacakkākārā terasa dbutaṅgagūṇā cūddasa buddhañānāni pañcadasa vimuttiṣaṭṭhānaṃ dhammā soḷasavidhā ānāpānasati sattarasa aparantapanīyā dhamaṃ aṭṭhārasa buddhadhammā ... anantānaṃ sattānaṃ āsayādivibbhāvanāñānāni cā ti* (It-a.I. 6-7).

is a recollection of nine qualities of the Buddha. The author of the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā*, however, further explains that those nine qualities of the Buddha (*arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavā*) are indeed the qualities of the *Dhamma* body (*Dhammakāya*) of the Buddha. This is clearly indicated in a section explaining one of the qualities of the Buddha (*buddhagūṇa*), *vijjācaraṇasampanno*. According to the *Caturārakkhā*'s author, it means "being endowed with knowledges such as insight and with good conduct such as virtue".¹¹⁰ The author of the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* provides further explanation in the following Pāli passage:

*nāyako tilokassa nāyakācariyo munirājā. vipassanādivijjābhi ti
vipassanāññānādībhi vipassanāññānāmanomayiddhīññāna-iddhivi-
dhiññānadibbasotaññānaparacetopariyaññāna-*

*pubbenivāsānussatiññānadibbacakkhuññāna-āsavakkhayaññāna-
saṃkhatābhi aṭṭhabhi vijjābhi. vuttaṃ hi vipassanāññānāmanomayid-
dhi-iddhippabhedo pi ca dibbasotaṃ parassa cetopariyaññānaṃ pub-
benivāsānugataññānaṃ dibbacakkhu āsavakkhaya ti etāni ññāni
imāni aṭṭha vijjā-alamkaraniyāni. munidhammadhevīsesasobbhā
gūṇamajjhupetā ti.*

A sage King is a leader or a teacher leading three worlds. The term "*vipassanādivijjābhi*" means knowledges such as insight or eight knowledges. These are: knowledge of insight (*vipassanāññāna*), knowledge of the power of spiritual creation (*manomayiddhīññāna*), knowledge of the direction of power (*iddhividhīññāna*), knowledge of the divine ear (*dibbasotaññāna*), knowledge of an expert in the ways of hearts (*cetopariyaññāna*), knowledge of the remembrance of former births (*pubbenivāsānussatiññāna*), knowledge of the divine eye (*dibbacakkhuññāna*), and knowledge of the exhaustion of taints (*āsavakkhayaññāna*). As was said, those knowledges (*ññāna*) - namely, insight (*vipassanā*), the power of spiritual creation (*manomayiddhi*), the direction of power (*iddhividhi*), the divine ear (*dibbasota*), the knowledge of an expert in the ways of other hearts (*cetopariyaññāna*), knowledge of the remembrance of former births (*pubbenivāsānussatiññāna*), the divine eye (*dibbacakkhu*), and knowledge of the extinction of

¹¹⁰ *vipassanādivijjābhi
susamiddehi sampanno*

*silādicaraṇebhi ca
gaganābhehi nāyako* (Verse 5 of the *Caturārakkhā*).

taints (*āsavakkhayañāṇa*) - are the components of these knowledges (*vijjā*). The excellent beauty of the *Dhamma* body of the sage was endowed with (these) qualities.

The last sentence - *munidharmadehavisesasobbhā guṇamajjhupetā* (the excellent beauty of the *Dhamma* body of the sage was endowed with [these] qualities) is noteworthy. It clearly shows the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā*'s author's understanding that eight knowledges (*vijjā*), one component of the nine qualities of the Buddha, are the qualities of the *Dhammakāya* of the Buddha. In other words, the nine qualities of the Buddha are the qualities of the *Dhammakāya* of the Buddha. Such an understanding is not explicitly stated in the Pāli *Tipiṭaka* and its commentaries. According to the study of the relationship of *Dhamma* principles, however, it is obvious that such understanding is compatible with the content in the Pāli commentaries. A clear example that demonstrates the nine qualities of the Buddha as the quality of the *Dhammakāya* is the term “*bhagavā*”. *Samantapāsādikā* gives the meaning of “*bhagavā*” as follows:

‘*bhaggarāgo bhaggadoso bhaggamoho anāsavo*
bhaggāssa pāpakā dhammā bhagavā tena vuccatī ti.

bhāgyavatāya c’ assa satapuññalakkhaṇadharassa rūpakāyasampatti dīpitā hoti bhaggadosatāya dhammakāyasampatti’ (Sp.I.123-124).

He destroyed a lust (*rāga*), hatred (*dosa*), and delusion (*moha*). He has no taint. He destroyed unwholesome deeds. Therefore, he is called “*bhagavā*”.

Indeed, the integrity of the physical body (*rūpakāya*) of him who comprises one-hundred characteristics of merit (*puñña*) is shown by his fortunate body. The integrity of the body of Dhamma (*Dhammakāya*) is shown by his elimination of hatred (*dosa*).

Another example appears in the *Paramatthadīpanī*. The meaning of the term “*arahaṃ*” is given as follows:

‘*arabatā ti imināssa anavasesakīlesappahānadīpanena āsavakkhaya*
paḍaṭṭhāna-sabbaññutañāṇādhigamaparidīpakato dasabalacatuve-
sārajjacha-asādhāraṇāñāna-aṭṭhārasāveṇika-buddhadhammādi-
acinteyyāparimeyyādhammakāyasampatti dīpitā hoti’ (It-a.I.13).

By this term “*arabata*”, the integrity of *Dhammakāya* should not be thought and measured such as the knowledge of ten powers (*balañāṇa*), the knowledge of four subjects of confidence (*vesārajjañāṇa*), six supernormal knowledges (*asādhāraṇañāṇa*), and eighteen exceptional *Dhamma* of the Buddha (*āveṇikābuddhadhamma*). It is demonstrated by the complete elimination of his defilements or by the attainment of omniscience (*sabbaññutañāṇa*), which is an element of the extinction of his taints.

This explanation shows that the author of the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* was knowledgeable about the *Dhamma* contained in the *Tiṭṭhaka* and Pāli *Aṭṭhakathā*. The author explained that the *Buddhānussati* is a recollection of the qualities of two bodies of the Buddha - *Rūpakāya* and *Dhammakāya* - which are supernormal and beyond reflection. In particular, the qualities of the *Dhammakāya* of the Buddha obtained after his enlightenment have great power. The immeasurable and endless qualities of his *Dhammakāya* are literal, as is commonly found in the Pāli *Aṭṭhakathā*.

6. Conclusion

The main considerations emerging from the process of editing and analysing the *Buddhānussati* in the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* can be summarised as follows: (1) Palm leaf manuscripts made for the King are of the best quality because they were produced with great care and contain few errors; (2) In order to produce a correct and complete text, it is necessary to use a great number of palm leaf manuscripts in the editing process to maximise the number of alternative readings; (3) The date of the content is more important than the date of composition. Although the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* was composed before the 17th century A.D., its content is very old and invaluable since it is based on knowledge from the commentaries dating from around the 5th century A.D.; (4) The existence of many copies of the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā* manuscripts in Thailand at the end of the 18th century indicates faith in Buddhism and interest in studying, learning and practising the four meditation objects (*catukammaṭṭhāna*) in that period; (5) To facilitate understanding of the *Dhamma* in the *Tiṭṭhaka* and its commentaries, it is crucial to study non Pāli canonical texts because those texts are a summary of a wise monk’s knowledge of

the *Dhamma* principles contained in the *Tiṭṭaka* and its commentaries. His account demonstrates that the nine qualities, such as *arabaṃ* in the *Buddhānussati*, are the nine qualities of the *Dhammakāya* of the Buddha, not ones of the Buddha or his physical body (*Rūpakāya*). In addition, the term “*Dhammakāya*” can be used in other wordings such as *Dhammasarīra*, *Dhammakhandha*, and *Bhāgadhamma*. Those things are not explicitly stated in the *Tiṭṭaka* and its commentaries. Analysis of the *Buddhānussati* in the *Caturārakkhā-aṭṭhakathā*, however, shows that such understandings are indeed taken from the Pāli commentaries.

ABBREVIATIONS

- A *Aṅguttaranikāya*. Morris, Richard and Hardy, Edmund., eds. 1885-1910, Vol. VI: Indexes by Hunt, M. and Rhys Davids, C.A.F. *Aṅguttaranikāya*. 6 vols. London/Oxford: Pali Text Society
- ad. Addition
- Ap *Apadāna*. Lilley, Marry. E., ed. 1925-27. *Apadāna*. London: Pali Text Society
- Ap-a *Visuddhajanavilāsini* (*Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā*). Godakumbura, C.E., ed. 1954. *Visuddhajanavilāsini* (*Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā*). London: Pali Text Society
- Cp-a *Paramatthadīpanī* (*Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā*). Barua, D.L., ed. 1939; reprinted with indexes by Kopp, H, 1979. *Paramatthadīpanī* (*Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā*). London: Pali Text Society
- CS CD-Rom of the Burmese *Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti* (= *Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyanā*) version of the Pāli Tipiṭaka (Vipassana Research Institute (VRI))
- em. Emendation
- It-a *Paramatthadīpanī* (*Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā*). Bose, M.M., ed. Vol.I (1934) and Vol. II (1936); reprinted as one volume 1977; Vol III: Indexes by Kopp, H, 1980. *Paramatthadīpanī* (*Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā*). 3 vols. London: Pali Text Society
- Ja *Jātaka*. Fausbøll, Viggo., ed. 1877-96, 1990-1; Vol. VII: Indexes by Andersen, Dines, 1897. *Jātaka*. 6 vols. London: Pali Text Society
- Khuddas *Khuddasikkhā*. Müller, Edward., ed. 1883. *Khuddasikkhā*. Journal of Pali Text Society, pp. 86-121
- Mp *Manorathapūraṇī* (*Aṅguttaranikāya-aṭṭhakathā*). Walleser, M. and Kopp, H., eds. 1924-57. *Manorathapūraṇī* (*Aṅguttaranikāya-aṭṭhakathā*). 5 vols. London: Pali Text Society

- om. Omission
- Ps Papañcasūdanī (Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathā). Woods, J.H., Kosambi, D., and Horner I.B., eds. 1922-38; reprinted as one volume 1977, ed. Horner, I.B. Papan̄casūdanī (Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathā). 5 vols. London: Pali Text Society
- Sadd Saddanīti. Smith, Helmer., ed. 1928-66, 2001. Saddanīti. 5 vols. London: Pali Text Society
- Sn Suttanipāta (New Edition). Andersen, Dines and Smith, Helmer., eds. 1913. Suttanipāta. London: Pali Text Society
- so Adopted reading
- Sp Samantapāsādikā (Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā). Takakusu, J and Nagai, M., eds. 1924-47, Vol. VIII: Indexes by Kopp, H, 1977. Samantapāsādikā (Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā). 8 vols. London: Pali Text Society
- Th-a Paramatthadīpanī (Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā). Woodward, F.L., ed. 1940-59. Paramatthadīpanī (Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā). 3 vols. London: Pali Text Society
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- Vism Visuddhimagga. Rhys Davids, Caroline Augusta Foley., ed. 1920. Visuddhimagga. London: Pali Text Society

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A Preliminary Work on the Critical Edition of the *Rasavāhinī*: Laos Recension Reflects the Archetype of the *Rasavāhinī*

Samantha Rajapaksha

Abstract*

In order to reconstruct the archetype of the Rasavāhinī (Ras) from the extant materials, at the outset 14 manuscripts which include 12 Sinhalese and 2 Southeast Asian (SEA) manuscript recensions were utilized along with its related witnesses of which the Saddharmāṅkāraya (Sdhlk) occupies the most important position. The Sinhalese rendering which serves as the valuable secondary testimony transmitted separately from the Rasavāhinī. The research concluded that Southeast Asian manuscript recensions, especially Laos recension reflects the archetype of the Rasavāhinī despite its orthographical peculiarities than that of all primary witnesses combined. The finding alters the previous assumption that the Southeast Asian traditions as a whole seem to stand for an independent textual transmission.¹ This supposition was mainly drawn from the internal evidences of the Rasavāhinī and then from the fact that those readings can be attested in the Saddharmāṅkāraya as corresponding word to word matching. With the acquisition of new set of 8 Khmer script manuscripts of the Rasavāhinī quite recently out of 45 at the National Library, Bangkok (NLT) and some more manuscripts from Laos via the Digital Library of Laos Manuscripts (DLLM), we found that this particular Laos recension further certifies its reliability and deviation within the mainland tradition. The Northern Thai recension seems to be unique in offering variant readings consistently against all the other recensions. The first part of this paper deals with a brief overview of the text and some problems of the printed editions

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while the second part examines the Laos recension and its relationship with the rest of the witnesses.

Brief overview of the Rasavāhinī

The Pāli text Rasavāhinī² which is also known as the Madhurasavāhinī or Madhurasavāhinī³ earns its place in the Theravāda Pāli literature as a post-canonical text representing pakaraṇa genre.⁴ Its epilogue ascribes authorship to Vedeha Thera, the same Thera who was responsible for composing the Pāli work Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā⁵ and the Sinhalese grammar text, Sihaḷasaddalakkhaṇa. However, the exact date of the text is disputed as none of the sources gives information in support of the date of compilation. It is though assumed that the text was composed in the latter half of the thirteenth century.⁶ This mediaeval Pāli text which provides an additional vital piece of evidence in reference to the language of Pāli by name, *pāḷibhāsā*, as in one of its opening verses *bitāya parivattesi pajānaṃ pāḷibhāsato* (Se: 1914-21:1). It is among a very few mediaeval Pāli textual evidences which recognize Pāli as a language name. Some other texts which specify Pāli as a language name are the Vinayavinicchaya-ṭikā⁷ and Cūlavaṃsa.⁸

² The title has been rendered as stream of delights by Rahula (1981); Matsumura (1992); and stream of sentiments by von Hinüber (2008).

³ As noted by Malalasekera (1928: 26), the reasoning Burma identifies Rasavāhinī as Madhurasavāhinī is the influence of one of the opening verses as *sumadburam rasavāhinintaṃ*. Apart from Burma, the text known to Laos and Thailand as Madhurasavāhinī, Madhurasavāhinī or Prāmadhurasavāhinī. The Pāli recension in the mainland is a well established textual transmission which is relatively less investigated. As noted by Malalasekera, it is rather Laṅkāḍīpuppattikathā than Sihaḷadīpavatthu. Additionally, Somadasa (1959-1964: 61) identifies Rasavāhinī as Madhurasavāhinī.

⁴ Minayeff (1886: 72); *madhurasavāhinī nāma pakaraṇaṃ attano matiṃ rāṭṭhapālā-cariyena kataṃ*. In the *Gandhavaṃsa*, Ras has been identified as *pakaraṇa* class of literature and it is interesting to note here that Rāṭṭhapāla Thera has been identified as the author of Ras rather than Vedeha Thera. Even the catalogue information at the NLT identifies Rāṭṭhapāla Thera as the author of Ras. Perhaps this is due to the misconception of the introductory verses in Ras as *rāṭṭhapālo ti nāmena silācāraguṇākaro* (1914-21: 1), the author of the *Gandhavaṃsa* could have taken this to point out Rāṭṭhapāla as the author of Ras.

⁵ A collection of Pāli verses in praise of the Peak of the Samanta Mountain. The text contains eight hundreds verses in total.

⁶ For detailed discussion on the authorship, its date and sources of Ras, see also Matsumura (1992: xxvi- ixxxiii).

⁷ CSCD (1. 4): *tasmā tam āropiya pāḷibhāsaṃ*.

⁸ Cūlavaṃsa (516: 90. 83): *jātake pāḷibhāsato Sihaḷāya niruttiṃ kamato parivattetvā, piṭakattayadhārinam*.

The prologue of the text maintains that Ras is not an original work rather a revised and extended version of the Sahassavatthupparakaṇa (Sah) which was compiled by Raṭṭhapāla Thera, a fellow resident monk of the Mahāvihāra fraternity. Raṭṭhapāla Thera also drew his material from an original source which was compiled by a group of unknown Theras orally in the local language.⁹ The primitive form of the text was repetitive and corrupt all throughout.¹⁰ Hence, the Vedeha Thera's task was to refine the text as much as possible and add his own knowledge of Pāli both verse and prose structure. In doing so, Vedeha Thera, apart from his autonomous deliberation, seems to have borrowed materials from canonical as well as non-canonical sources. Occasionally, the text has borrowed material especially from the Apadāna and Vaṃsatthappakāsinī (Mhv-ṭ) in the presentation of the verses while some other texts including the Visuddhimagga (Vism), which is relatively less investigated, also serve as material. Quite often, Ras borrows only verse portion of a parallel text. It is to be noted here, however, that Vism has been quoted word to word at least in the latter part of Ras, in particular in the Naṇḍivāṇijakavatthu, in which both verse and prose portion being cited.¹¹

Se 140, 35-38 Vism 232, 12-15

*sabbaṃ ārogyaṃ vyādhipariyosānaṃ sabbaṃ jobbanam
jarāpariyosānaṃ sabbaṃ jīvitaṃ maraṇapariyosānaṃ sabbo
yeva lokasannivāso jātiyā anugato jarāya anusato¹² vyādbinā
abhibhūto maraṇena abbhāhato¹³ti āha.*

This particular prose section appears with no mentioning to an authority, though immediate following verse portion begins referring to an authority i.e. *tenāhu porāṇā*. This is a good indication that internal textual evidence of Ras which suggests that not only verses but also prose portion appears randomly borrowed from parallel sources.¹⁴ Thus, in some accounts, Ras does not stand for a fully autonomous work.

The text contains two major portions i.e. Jambudīpuppattikathā

⁹ Se (1914-21:1): *abbāsum dīpabbāsāya ṭhapesuṃ taṃ purātanā*.

¹⁰ Se (1914-21:1): *punaruttādīdosehi taṃ āsi sabbam ākulaṃ*.

¹¹ Rajapaksha (2016: 23).

¹² *anusatṭho* (Se).

¹³ *abbbāgato* (Se).

¹⁴ Rajapaksha (2016: Iviii- Ix).

and Laṅkāḍīpuppattikathā, the stories originated in the ancient Indian social milieu and stories originated in the early Ceylon social context respectively. The former contains four vaggas in which each vagga elaborates ten stories totaling to forty stories while the latter has six vaggas which include sixty stories with three supplementary stories in the last vagga which is followed by avasānagāthā, epilogue verses. The whole text contains one hundred and three narratives some of which relatively longer stories exceeding more than one hundred verses in its entirety apart from the prose segments while shorter narratives confine themselves in as many as two printed pages. The stories in prose are interspersed with verses as its salient structure. The verses in the entire text exceed more than one thousand and seven hundreds.

The very last three stories of the text appear only in the Sinhalese manuscript recension in total as an supplementary portion while some of the SEA MSS seem to have abbreviated this section altogether.¹⁵ In the beginning of Ras, the number of the stories in the text is listed as one hundred and three vatthus¹⁶ as according to the Sinhalese manuscript recension.¹⁷ All and all the Sinhalese recension remains consistent in giving the number of the vatthus. However, all 7 manuscript recensions for Laṅkāḍīpuppattikathā of the both Northern Thai recension and Central Thai recension are divided into two groups. One group with the omission of all three vatthus altogether while the second group with the inclusion of the first vatthu of the three. K1¹⁸ and L1 are the only two manuscripts which have omitted last three vatthus altogether. This compels to consider that the last three vatthus are unknown to some manuscript recensions of the SEA altogether¹⁹ while two vatthus are unknown to some other manuscript recensions.²⁰

¹⁵ 8 Khmer script manuscripts have been examined so far out of 45 stationed at the NLT. Of them, 5 for Laṅkāḍīpuppattikathā, and 3 for Jambudīpuppattikathā and also additional 2 manuscripts obtained at the DLLM each for Khmer and Laos script. In total, 10 SEA manuscripts were examined so far. For the previous research, only 2 SEA MSS were utilized representing the Northern Thai and Central Thai traditions.

¹⁶ vatthu is used to refer narrative.

¹⁷ Se (1914-21:2): *jambudīpe tāḷisa sībaladīpe tesaṭṭhi*.

¹⁸ Rajapaksha (2016); for the initial research, all 12 Sinhalese manuscripts were named as C1- C12, Khmer manuscript as K1 while Northern Thai manuscript as L1. The variant readings later were compared with the newly acquired Khmer manuscripts at the NLT and with L2 and K2 which were found in Laos via DLLM.

¹⁹ This appears after 100th vatthu; ...*katāya rasavābiniyā...vaṇṇanā samattā* (K1); *niṭṭhitam paṭipunnam pālīmadburassabābini* (L1).

²⁰ All five Khmer script MSS at the NLT read after 101st story as *mahallikāya vatthum*

However, all three vatthus occur as corresponding rendering in Sdhlk. This inconsistency of varying number of vatthus seems to indicate that even though in the prologue of the SEA traditions maintains that the stories are as many as one hundred,²¹ in reality, some recensions include one hundred and one stories precisely.²² But K1 and L1 are the only exception to this figure they exactly maintain same figure as in the prologue, which is one hundred narratives.²³ It is possible to assume that Rasavāhini-ṭikā (Ras-ṭ)²⁴ may have composed with the help of K1 and L1 recension as Ras-ṭ commented upon the hundred vatthus only.

Each story is narrated in prose followed by a verse portion which is often an identical repetition of the prose portion. The Sinhalese and Southeast Asian manuscript recensions have variations on the structure and order of vatthus. The title varies as Madhurasavāhini or Madhurasavāhini against the Sinhalese tradition.²⁵ As pointed out earlier, Raṭṭhapāla Thera is known to have been the composer to the SEA textual transmission of Ras. Often Sinhalese manuscripts appear in one fascicle while the SEA manuscripts have several fascicles. Their version of this chapter breakdown is called phūk. One text may have several phūks. This is a common feature in the SEA manuscript traditions including the Burmese tradition even for other genre of Pāli literature including the mūla texts. In the Sinhalese recension, salutation and prologue of the text is followed by Jambudīpuppattikathā. On the contrary, the salutation and prologue is followed by Laṅkāḍīpuppattikathā in the SEA recension. The matter of deciding Laṅkāḍīpuppattikathā or Jambudīpuppattikathā should come first, we need to consider several matters. The immediate conclusion can be drawn from the way in which the preamble of the text explains the order. The text identifies the order as: *tattha jambudīpe tāḷisa sīhalādīpe saṭṭhi* (Se 1914-21: 2) which suggests that the text itself recognizes Jambudīpuppattikathā must come first.²⁶ Logically, since the text mainly deals with perfecting of generosity, the Bodhisattva generally begins his career first by per-

madhurasavāhini niṭṭhitā.

²¹ So far surveyed all Jambudīpa 6 manuscripts: *jambudīpe tāḷisa sīhalādīpe saṭṭhi.*

²² Matsumura (1992: Ixv) maintains that this is due to giving a round figure.

²³ *jambudīpe tāḷisa sīhalādīpe saṭṭhi* i.e. 40 narratives Indian origin and 60 narratives Ceylonese origin totaling 100 narratives.

²⁴ It is assumed that Ras-ṭ was composed in SEA rather than Sri Lanka.

²⁵ See also Matsumura (1992: Ixiii-Ixv).

²⁶ Ibid.

fecting generosity and the sacrificing life itself is the highest stage of the dāna perfection, paramatthapāramī which is exactly reflected from the Dhammasoṇḍaka tale, although this tale is not found in the Theravāda collection of Gautama Bodhisattava's former birth stories. It is a perfect embodiment of highest form of dāna perfection. Therefore, the arrangement of Dhammasoṇḍakavatthu as the first tale makes a sense as it is the reflection of Bodhisattva's highest form of sacrifice rather than Migapotakavatthu which is the first story known to the SEA recension. The Migapotakavatthu does not reflect any perfection of generosity rather it reflects the value of hearing to the sacred utterances of the Buddha. Because of this, the order of the two chapters of the Sinhalese manuscript recension can be considered as the original order known to Vedeha Thera than the order of some SEA recensions. This can be further proved by looking at the order of Sah and Sdhlk, both of which have chosen the Dhammasoṇḍakavatthu as the inaugurating narrative. Even some of the SEA manuscripts identify Migapotakavagga to be first chapter of the text in words.²⁷ However, most of the SEA manuscripts maintain that the exact original order of the text i.e. Migapotakavagga to be the fifth vagga though placing it as the beginning chapter. What caused the SEA recension to arrange Laṅkāḍīpuppattikathā to be the first chapter remains unresolved. Possibly, since the text was imported to the mainland from Sri Lanka, the SEA tradition might have considered the Sinhalese stories to be the initial section. The second aspect of the two recensions is that the SEA recension produces two separate bundles for the text while the Sinhalese tradition produces single bundle. Again, this difference between the two main traditions is a distinctive feature which is also commonly found even when other texts of the Pāli literature are written down onto palm leaves. For instance, in the Sinhalese manuscript recension, the entire Dīghanikāya has been produced as single bundle while the SEA recension has three separate bundles.

Rasavāhinī and its editions

The inaugural printed edition of Ras began in 1845 by Friedrich von Spiegel by editing Jambudīpuppattivatthu, the first 40 narratives in Devanāgarī script.²⁸ Since then the editions on Ras were produced

²⁷ *Migapotakavaggo paṭhamo*, two Khmer manuscripts at the NLT identify so.

²⁸ See forward by Bechert for Matsumura (1992: i-ii); von Hinüber (2004: 45); Balbir (2009: 1), Rasavāhinī was contemporaneous to Kammavākya and Dhammapada editions in Europe.

both in the West and East utilizing especially Sinhalese script manuscript recension until 1992 when Matsumura initiated the utilization of Southeast Asian recension apart from the Sinhalese recension despite it being a partial edition too. Telwatte Rahula Thera (1978) made a critical edition for the first 40 narratives²⁹ while Junko Matsumura (1992) made an edition from 41st to 60th.³⁰ Sven Bretfeld (2001)³¹ edited the text portion dealing with Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and His Ten Warriors while Samantha Rajapaksha (2016) edited the last the two vaggas with additional three narratives.³² In the first place, one of the common features of the latter three partial editions is that the utilization of the SEA recension though this is an exception to Rahula Thera's edition which is derived wholly from the Sinhalese recension. Secondly, Sdhk has been used as a criterion in reconstructing the archetype of Ras. Based on the SEA manuscript recensions, all three studies conclude that the necessity to consult more SEA manuscripts which seemingly less deviated and transmitted as an independent recension from the Sinhalese recension. However, Rajapaksha (2016) who, utilized completely different Northern Thai manuscript of what previously studied, proposes, in addition to above finding, that L1 manuscript recension of Laos reflects most closely the archetype of Ras than the rest of the SEA recension.³³ Additionally, the studies highlight the importance of complete critical edition with the use of more Southeast Asian manuscripts and producing a new translation based on the reconstructed text as there is neither complete Romanized edition nor English

²⁹ An edition along with an English translation. His work encompasses the entire portion of the Jambudīpuppattikathā. The work consists of nine Sinhalese manuscripts and no Southeast Asian manuscript was used in the editorial undertaking. The materials were heavily drawn from Sdhk for editing and translating. The work remains unpublished.

³⁰ The study focuses mainly on the historical authenticity of the text while presenting an edition along with a summary of stories. In her editorial work, she has used manuscripts belonging to Sinhalese, Cambodian and Laotian recensions of the text.

³¹ Sven Bretfeld (2001) has produced a critical edition along with a German translation consisting stories of the Yodhavagga and Dutiya Yodhavagga of Ras on king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and his Ten Warriors. The work titled: *Das singhalesische Nationalepos von König Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya*. The work has been produced in German language. Bretfeld also has used Southeast Asian tradition manuscripts besides Sinhalese manuscripts. Bretfeld has utilized exact same three SEA manuscripts used by Matsumura. However, Rajapaksha (2016)'s partial edition used an additional Northern Thai manuscript.

³² Rajapaksha (2016).

³³ Rajapaksha (2016: 276-278).

translation of the text. Further, some textual problems of the existing complete editions have been pointed out by previous studies of Ras.³⁴ The following are some of the unexplored problems of the all three complete printed editions in particular Kāligama Vijithananda edition (Ve) which was published quite recently, apparently little or no study focuses on this new edition as of yet.

The complete editions of the Rasavāhinī based on the Sinhalese manuscript recension

Quite contrary to manuscript distribution of the three traditions, the production of printed editions on the text has been occurring at a slower phase with a fewer deviations. As of now, there are only four complete Sinhalese script printed editions being produced on the text which include the quite recent complete edition produced by Kāligama Vijithananda (2004) and a fewer number of partial editions too. Saraṇatissa's edition (Se) was the inaugural complete edition of the text which was produced in 1891-1893.³⁵ M. Somaratna (1906)³⁶ has also produced a complete edition followed by Kiriāllē Nāṇavimala (Ñe) in 1961. Kāligama Vijithananda's edition is provided with additional sannaya notes. It is interesting to note that almost all the editions, published in Sri Lanka, are identical versions with the Saraṇatissa edition.³⁷ Similarly, S. Gandhi's roman script edition was a mere transcription derived from the Kiriāllē Nāṇavimala edition rather than manuscript derived edition³⁸ while Seng Manividura compiled a complete translation into Thai language, again based on Se, which is the only complete translation so far being produced to any modern languages. Firstly, internal evidences of the complete printed editions firmly corroborate the fact that subsequent Sinhalese script editions of Ras are mere reproduction of Se rather than newly edited upon manuscript recension (s).³⁹ Secondly, Se itself seems to have utilized manuscript recension (s) which represents a contaminated manuscript family. This can be observed when the readings of Se are compared with majority of the witnesses along with Sdhlk corresponding ren-

³⁴ See Telwatte (1978); Matsumura (1992); Bretfeld (2001); Rajapaksha (2016).

³⁵ The inaugural edition is not accessible for the present research instead second and fourth impressions are used.

³⁶ Inaccessible to the present research.

³⁷ Somaratne edition is not accessible to this research work.

³⁸ Matsumura (1999:165).

³⁹ Matsumura (1992,1999), Bretfeld (2001), Rajapaksha (2015).

derings. Hence Se is proved by far not to be even close to the archetype of Ras. In what follows is the presentation of textual evidence in support of the two points.

The printed editions do not reflect
the Sinhalese manuscript recension perfectly

Overall these two aspects of the Sinhalese printed editions, apart from the Vijithananda edition, have been examined by both Matsumura and Bretfeld.⁴⁰ However, both L1 manuscript, from Northern Thailand, and the Vijithananda edition seem to provide some more additional information in order to identify not only the printed editions but the Sinhalese manuscript recensions too. The fact that L1 recension and Ve were unknown to the previous research works and identifying the textual problems with almost some untouched portions of the text makes this effort worthwhile.⁴¹

Some textual features of the received text of the three complete printed editions (Pe) firmly affirm that Ñe and Ve are mere reproduction of Se rather than collation of any manuscript recension (s). In support of our argument, one textual portion in the Tissasāmaṇeravathu (94/103), the beginning of the story can provide a strong evidence i.e. one rather long phrase appears to have lost in all Pe. This particular textual statement paraphrases the qualities of *Tissa*, the novice monk, who dwells at the *Nāga Monastery*. What is retained in all fourteen manuscripts is as follows;

tatth' eko dabarasāmaṇero evaṃ paṭivasati; so sīlavā vattācārasampanno mahāsaddho ca abosi. svāyaṃ sāmaṇero anāgate ettha dhanasāraṃ bhikkhūnaṃ anupakāraṃ hutvā vinassatī ti. (MSS)

From *evaṃ paṭivasati; so sīlavā vattācārasampanno mahāsaddho ca abosi. svāyaṃ sāmaṇero*, appears to have lost in all Pe. The following is what all three printed editions retain;

tatth' eko dabarasāmaṇero anāgate ettha dhanasāraṃ bhikkhūnaṃ anupakāraṃ hutvā vinassatī ti. (Pe)

Here Pe and MSS seem to belong to two different groups. With the absence of the several words in Pe, the phrase seems not much affected in the interpretation, as the missing text portion is as an adjectival

⁴⁰ Matsumura (1992,1999), Bretfeld (2001).

⁴¹ Rajapaksha (2016).

phrase for the novice monk. Obviously, since all of the manuscripts have retained this phrase, it is worthwhile to be investigated. The missing reading can be recovered by looking at two internal evidences if it is, one of which is within the text as Ras often rephrases in verses what has been paraphrased in prose as a part of its narrative technique. Verses following immediately seem to have fragments cited from the prose section.

āgacchanta ime bhadda buddhasettihassa sāvakā,

silavā vattasampannā sabbasattahite ratā (both Pe and MSS)

The very first verse shortly after the prose section cites two words one with a compound, *silavā vattasampannā* indicating the traces of the missing text. However, it is insubstantial to conclude at this stage. Therefore, the reading can be further compared with the internal evidence of Sdhlk if it is.

Sdhlk 670, 20-22

*ē vibārayehi tissa nam sāmaṇēra kenekun vahansē vasanasēka,
unvahansē silvat sēka, guṇavatsēka, vatpīlivet sarusēka, ācāra
sampaṇna sēka, mahat vū sāndābhā āti sēka.*

The exact same word to word matching of the missing phrase in Pe is found in Sdhlk as its corresponding attestation which indicates that the missing reading bears originality. Hence it can be assumed that the editor of printed edition (Se), in this case Saraṇatissa misread the text unintentionally. This kind of omission is called homeoteleuton.⁴² When Se recorded, Se has somehow accidentally copied the latter *sāmaṇera* leaving the former unnoticed. Thus, it is likely that the mistake might have happened when Saraṇatissa copied the MS mistakenly and the mistake has been preserved and transmitted in all two subsequent printed editions as another recension. More importantly, this evidence points out that the subsequent editors unlikely consulted Sinhalese manuscript recension even when printed versions were reprinted again and again. Since all 12 Sinhalese manuscripts and the SEA recensions, which are supported by Sdhlk rendering, have retained this particular reading, one could assume that there may have existed completely independent recension supporting for Se. It is however, improbable at this stage as evidences are more inclined to the retention

⁴² Eye skipping similar words is called homeoteleuton.

of the reading. The preceding textual instance may lead us to conclude that both successive editions Ñe and Ve simply copied Saraṇatissa edition rather than collating any manuscript evidence. In other words, the successive editions seem to have consulted the printed edition of Saraṇatissa for most part of prose sections while Sdhlk serves as the basis for verse section of the text along with the Rasavāhinī-gāthāsannaya (Ras-gāthāsannaya).⁴³ Apart from this, occasionally, editors may have engaged in the process called silent emendation⁴⁴ in which editor or copyist may “correct” text by applying knowledge of Pāli language. For instance, when a learned scribe with good knowledge of Pāli takes the job of copying, it is highly likely that the text tends to be “corrected”. When it comes to some textual variations, it is interesting to note that the editions have taken stand as against the manuscript variations. Perhaps, the followings are such cases of emendation adopted to the text by the editors of the printed editions. One of such textual variations occurs as *olambeti* and *olambati*.

Re 94, 7–11

so dadanto ca tatttha tatttha gantvā bahu bhikkhū nimantesi, bhojanasālāya cittavitānaṃ bandhitvā mālādāmādayo olambeti,⁴⁵ āsanāni ca pāṇīyaṇi ca paribhojanīyaṇi ca dantakaṭṭhādayo ca upaṭṭhapeti, pāto’va yāgukhajjakena te bhikkhū santappettā upakaṭṭhāya velāya paṇitena bhojanena parivisati.

Tentative translation;

He set out various places and invited bhikkhus in substantial numbers for alms. The refectory hall was decorated with a colourful canopy being fastened and garlands of flower and so on were made to hang down. The seats, water, food, tooth brushing sticks and the like were made prepared. At the dawn, those bhikkhus were made satisfied with gruel, and when the time drew near for the morning meal, those bhikkhus were served with delicious food.

The variation between *olambati* as Pe record while all manuscripts including newly surveyed at the NLT record as *olambeti*.⁴⁶ The decision

⁴³ Matsumura (1992).

⁴⁴ Cf. Matsumura, Geiger Cxv.

⁴⁵ *olambati* (Se, Ne, Ve).

⁴⁶ *olambeti* (12C.7K. 2L).

is relatively straightforward whether the causative form or present indicative form. *Olambeti*, the causative form of *olambati*, means “makes hang down, lets hang down” while *olambati*, regular present indicative form, means “hangs, hangs down”.⁴⁷ By looking at the sequence of the preceding and following actions and their verb formations, it can be decided which form fits perfectly. In the same long sentence, the causative form *upaṭṭhapeti*, of *upaṭṭhabati* has been used which is apparently the correct reading for the all three printed versions. Since the novice monk seems to have assigned a series of work to be done by others, the causative form of *olambati* seems to fit the context perfectly. Sdhlk seems to interpret the same statement quite similarly for what the Pāli passage paraphrases.⁴⁸ Even exact corresponding causative form, *malolambu ālvā*, is attested. Thus, it does not have any deviation between manuscript evidence and its corresponding phrase in Sdhlk. It seems that Se has corrected this to *olambhati* as against manuscripts. The possible reasoning that led to correct this word perhaps the preceding absolute form of *bandhati*, *bandhitvā*. Here it is *bandhitvā* rather than *bandhāpetvā*. However, Sdhlk also renders in support of *bandhitvā*⁴⁹ rather *bandhāpetvā* which strongly confirms that perhaps if we are not wrong, Vedeha Thera has not offered the correct reading. However, we are not emending the text here but the manuscripts’ reading is prioritized which is also backed up by Sdhlk corresponding attestation.

The variation between *kuṭumbika* and *kuṭimbika* is consistently inconsistent in both manuscripts and printed editions. The printed editions try to be consistent in comparison to manuscript evidence. The term occurs as many as twenty times in the text. The correct reading *kuṭumbika*⁵⁰ has been found mostly unaltered in the SEA manuscripts. The following occurrences show how these two variants occur in the manuscripts and printed editions.

Some occurrences in manuscripts of the latter 23 stories;

Re 151

-*kuṭumbiya*- (C1.C2.C7.K1); *kuṭimbiya*- (C4.C5.C6.C8.C9.
C10.C11.C12)

⁴⁷ DOP, *olambati* s.v.

⁴⁸ Sdhlk 670, 27-30 *malolambu ālvā... pīḷiyēla karavā... genvā... panavā... sodhavā... salasvā... vaḷaṇḍavā... vaḷaṇḍavana sēka*.

⁴⁹ Sdhlk 670, 26 *visituru viyan bānda*.

⁵⁰ DOP, *kuṭu* s.v.

-*kuṭumbikaṃ* (C1.C6.C10.C11.C12);-*kuṭimbikaṃ* (C2.C3.C4.C5.C7.C8.C9)

-*kuṭumbiya* (C1.C2.C3.C7.C10.K1); *kuṭimbiya* (C4.C5.C6.C8.C9.C11.C12); *kaṭhumbiya* (L1)

Printed editions;

kuṭumbika as Se96 twice,97 thrice,98 twice,99 twice ,100,101,102 twice,103

kuṭimbika (Se86; Ve192; Ñe190, Se93/ Ñe197 (corrected to *kuṭumbika*), Ve198, Se671, Ñe171 (*kuṭibbika*), Ve175, Se86/190Ñe/ ve192/ and Se113/, 217 (corrected to *kuṭumbikassa*)/ve 217 (*kuṭimbiyavihāraṃ* 185. *dantakuṭimba*191).

Ñe seems to have corrected this in some places where Se has incorrect variant, *kuṭimbika*. However, Ñe has been inconsistent in the entire text in adopting the correct variant while Ve was faithfully copying exactly as in Se in all places. Perhaps Ve has copied exactly from a version of Se at its disposal. It is to be noted that both Sinhalese manuscripts and printed editions vary similarly in adopting correct form of *kuṭumbika*. However, in the case of the SEA recension, the situation is not as bleak as anticipated unless its orthographical deviation, adopts correct reading as much as possible. It is not entirely sure how this kind of contaminated readings came into exist in the Sinhalese recension of Ras. The orthography of correct *-kuṭu-* to incorrect *-kuṭi-*, cannot be placed entirely on the local dialectical influence on the Pāli orthography. Partially, the entire corresponding rendering in Sdhk of this word does not have any clue to explain this orthography as the rendering closer to *-kuṭu-*, as *kuṭumbaya* etc. rather than *-kuṭi-* as the contaminated form of *-kuṭu-*. If it so, rendering should be *kuṭimbaya* which is never found in Sdhk. The correct form *koṭapabbatavāsi*⁵¹ never appears in all three printed versions though majority of manuscripts reads correctly. The proper name appears consistently as *koṭṭagallapabbatavāsi*⁵² throughout the text in all three printed versions. Again, *pac-*

⁵¹ Rajapaksha (2016: 113, 7 and 240) and DPPN, *Koṭapabbata* s.v., according to Malalasekera this is also known as *Koṭipabbata*. Malalasekera quoted from various textual sources including *Mahāvamsa* and *Visuddhimagga*. Therefore, *Koṭapabbata* or *Koṭipabbata* is identified as a locality in *Mahāgāma*. All three printed versions of Ras do not identify so.

⁵² So in Se (1914-21:175), Ñe (1961: 279),Ve (2004:278).

itvā as MSS evidence against Pe as *pivivā*.⁵³ The decision is contextual.⁵⁴ Further, the variation between *chinditvā* as all MSS and *bhinditvā* as all printed editions in *kīlesajālaṃ chinditvā sabassanayapatimāṇḍitaṃ sotāpattiphalāṃ sacchikāsi*.⁵⁵ In the Pāli mūla texts, with reference to defilement, the verb *chindati* is used in the sense of removing defilement while *bhindati* is used to divide or create schism. In this context, it is referred as *kīlesajālaṃ, net of defilement*. *chindati* is also supported by Sdhk corresponding attestation *siṇḍabāra*.⁵⁶ This may indicate that most probably Se has corrected the word. There are no manuscript evidence for *bhindati* at all. Either Se has copied from a contaminated manuscript recension or simply corrected *chindati* to *bhnidati*. Both assumptions are possible, if we incline to the latter then it is a good indication that Se adopted “silent emendation”. *kīlinnabhūtaṃ* vs *alitabbhūtaṃ* as MSS vs Pe.⁵⁷ It seems both terms can be used as both fit in the context. However, the MSS evidence is supported by Sdhk.⁵⁸ Therefore *kīlinnabhūtaṃ* can be taken as the established form in the text. The following long sentence shows how the subject formation is mistaken to all printed versions;

Re 97, 1-3

*devaputto*⁵⁹ *bhante ambhākaṃ nivāsanatṭhānaṃ etasmin ti vatvā bhikkhū ādāya attano vimāne nisīdāpetvā dibbanapānaṃ āharathā ti attano paricārikadevatānaṃ ānāpesi*.⁶⁰

The variation sways between manuscripts and Pe as to the plural form of the subject or singular form of the subject. In deciding whether this sentence would be singular or plural, several points within the sentence

⁵³ Rajapaksha (2016: 116).

⁵⁴ *thero osadhena telāṃ paṇḍitvā natthukamme kate so ābādho paduminiṇaṇṇe udakabindu viya vinivaṭṭetvā agamāsi* (Re 116); the tentative translation; *When the elder has done nose treatment after having cooked the clarified butter with medicine, the sickness went away as if water drop rolls over on the leave of lotus plant* (Re 246).

⁵⁵ Rajapaksha (2016: 135, 2).

⁵⁶ Sdhk 685, 2; *keles nemāti aul dāla siṇḍabera*.

⁵⁷ Rajapaksha (2016: 135, 9); *milāyitvā sīse sedajallikāya kilinnabhūtaṃ duggandhaṃ mālādāmaṃ disvā*.

⁵⁸ Sdhk 685, 10; *kīḷiṭu vū*.

⁵⁹ *devaputtēna* (C1.C2.C4.C5.C6.C7.C8.C9.C10.C12); *devaputte* (C3); *devaputto* (C11.K1.L1); *devaputtāpi* (Pe)

⁶⁰ Tentative translation; *The young deity said “Reverend Sir! Our dwelling place is here” and the deity accompanied the bhikkhus to his mansion and asked them to be seated, and he ordered his deity attendants “bring heavenly food and beverage”*.

can be considered. Most importantly, all fourteen manuscripts and three printed versions agree that the verb *āṇāpeti* should be regular past singular sense, *āṇāpesi*. Then how comes the explanation of plural subject?. Adopting *devaputtā 'pi* by all three printed versions may possibly explain by the fact that the following genitive plural form of, *abam* which agrees with the plural form of the subject. This perhaps may have led to correct to direct subject to plural form, *devaputtā*. However, *attano*, the genitive singular sense, occurs twice in the same sentence rather than *attānam*, genitive plural form. Most of the manuscripts adopt as *devaputtena* and *devaputte* which cannot be explained at this stage. However, there are no manuscript variation in support of all three printed versions.

As of the preceding observation, the second aspect of the printed editions, it is most likely that Saraṇatissa edition might have made by simply copying one Sinhalese script manuscript of the Rasavāhīnī in the preparation of the edition. By examining the internal evidence of the text, it is clear that manuscript recension used by Se, the inaugural complete edition, does not retain what likely to be the original reading. These readings can be found randomly in some manuscripts and it is strange enough to reappear those readings in the rendering of Sdhlk. It is true that finding a manuscript which reflects the archetype is quite challenging as most of the manuscripts in Sri Lanka bear homogeneous character and at the same time the validity and extent that Sdhlk can be used in recovering the archetype of Ras also questionable. However, the limit and delimit of Sdhlk is dealt separately in forging discussion. When as many Sinhalese MSS as possible are in place, it is inevitable noticing certain patterns and slight deviations emerge. In the case of the Siluttavagga and Cūlagallavagga of Ras, a textual evidence suggests that some manuscripts support printed editions while some are not so. The two groups can be categorized as one group which retains the reading while second group does not retain it.

“tena 'ssa nissandena puññakammēna ekam ratanāvattam sīta-sugandham udakadhāram saṭṭhiyojanam 'pi uggantvā tassa manonukūlam hutvā matthake patanto sarire utum gāhāpeti. so atba aññataram manussam bodhiyā vedikam kurumānam disvā sayam' pi catupañ ca paṃsupiṇḍe upanesi tena 'ssa nissandena” (C1.C4.C10.C11.K1.L1).⁶¹

⁶¹ Newly acquired 6 Khmer MSS and L2 read so.

All three printed editions along with C2.C3.C5.C6.C7.C8.C9.C12 do not retain this particular reading. The context of the story is that in the Cūlagallavatthu (91/103)⁶² where Maliyamahādeva Thera accompanied Cūlagalla devotee to the Tusita heaven. The Thera identifies various devas and their previous good deeds, one of which was the act of digging of a pond and the deed resulted in appearance of a giant waterfall. The entire narrative has been explained in the reading. The exact same rendering of the phrase appears in Sdhlk too;

Sdhlk 666, 8-12

*dān ē kuŚālānubbāyayen vaḍu rīyanak vaṭa āti sibil suvañ-
da jaladbāravek sāṭayodun paṃaṇa tān abasaṭa neṅgi mo-
hūge abhiprāya vū pariddan ismudunehi vabanaya keremin
sakalaŚarīraya ṛtu ganvā mohu satutu karavannēya. nāvata
dawaseka ek puruṣayaku bodhikenakun vahansēṭa vedikāvaka
baṇdana dāka māṭi kīpa piṇḍak genavut dina.*

Retention in one set of MSS and omission in the remaining set of MSS along with printed editions suggest that manuscript recensions are widely distributed. In order to recover the missing reading, it can be investigated under several textual cases including the neighbouring contexts. Contextually, when tracing back the textual problem, it is likely that since a list of good deeds is discussed one after another and *tena nissandena* has been repeated as many as six times.⁶³ Since the phrase *tena nissandena* has been repeated over and over again, the text is likely to be confused easily in scribing and transmission. It is highly possible that the text disappears due to this repetitive nature of the content. The MS, which has discarded this particular phrase perhaps must have made at the early stage of transmission, and might have distributed as a separate recension over time, a separate recension emerged on which Se might have copied along with its subsequent faithful editions. The fact that the exact rendering is found word for word in Sdhlk suggests that the reading may bear authenticity if Sdhlk were to be taken as a criterion for the reconstruction of Ras. Similarly the contaminated recension of Se can be further observed by the following textual instance;

Re 86, 11

⁶² The sequence of the order of the vatthus.

⁶³ See Rajapaksha (2016: 75-76).

bhikkhusaṅgho 'pi bhuñjitvā vibāram eva agamāsi. attha so nabātvā bhuñjitum gebam agamāsi.

so nabātvā bhuñjitum gebam agamāsi (C1. C2. C3. C4. C5.C6. C7. C8. C9. C12. Ñe. Se)

omit *vibāram agamāsi* (10)

gebam agamāsi (C11.K.L)

gebam (Ve)

saṅghayā vabansē vaḷaṇḍā vibārayata vāḍisēka; ikbīti amātyayā is sodhā nabā bat anubhavakarannaṭa geṭa gosin unnēya; (Sdhlk 648, 22-23)

The confusion occurs with the variation between *geba* and *vibāra* in most of the Sinhalese manuscripts and editions. In the entire text, both *vibāra* and *geba* is clearly defined as the former refers to the dwelling place of bhikkhūs while the latter for *gabattḥas* or lay people though both offer synonymous implication. Thus, according to the context (92/103), the affluent minister was supposed to arrive at the dining table for the meal after his bath at his residence. On the contrary, the meal has been ready at the monastery as many manuscripts and printed versions identify. The fact that the alms offering was held at his residence, *vibāra* can be simply ignored as a scribal error though majority of manuscripts and printed versions preserved it. The reasoning, Ve has omitted *geba*, may be intentional knowing the unfittingness in the context. If it is so, this is also a silent emendation done by Ve. Secondly, the reading is attested by Sdhlk as *geṭa* which is the rendering of *gebam*. For the former, similarly, such textual problem was also detected and pointed out by Matsumura. In her study, significant portions of the text were lost in all two printed editions along with some of Sinhalese manuscripts.⁶⁴ Concurrently, corresponding reading was found in Sdhlk rendering.⁶⁵ Our assumption of the authenticity of two respective textual cases was mainly done with the help of Sdhlk. It is interesting to note that in either textual cases, the Southeast Asian recension seems quite consistently accurate in spite of the presence of overwhelmingly large number of scribal errors and orthographical peculiarities compared to the Sinhalese recension.

⁶⁴ Matsumura edition (1992:136-137).

⁶⁵ Sdhlk (1996: 380).

The Sinhalese and Southeast Asian manuscript recensions

Somadasa's catalogue alone identifies more than four hundred manuscripts for Ras in Sinhalese script.⁶⁶ Besides this, there are some uncatalogued manuscripts stationed at various manuscript repositories in Sri Lanka. This leads to conclude immediately how widespread is Ras within the early Sinhalese cultural milieu. In addition to the Sinhalese recension, there are a Southeast Asian manuscript recensions which can be divided as Northern Thai tradition and Central Thai tradition. However, the two script traditions seem to have less distributed and often stand as one independent transmission. Quite often Sinhalese recension of Ras is uniquely homogeneous with relatively less scribal errors in comparison to SEA recension. In Burma, Ras is preserved in the form of nissaya and only the Laṅkāḍīpuppattikathā is known to Burmese recension.

Matsumura (1992) and Bretfeld (2001) propose that Khmer and Laos recensions of Ras are as one independent recension separately transmitted from the Sinhalese recension.⁶⁷ For this claim, both of them have used the exact same 2 Khmer manuscripts and just 1 Tham Lannā script manuscript but for different vatthus within the text. The former has used for the five narratives of the fifth vaggā (41-60/103) while the latter has used king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and His Ten Warriors of the seventh and eighth vaggas (63-73/103). In the latter's case, Duṭṭhagāmaṇīvatthu, which is the longest narrative of Ras, and Nandimittavatthu do not appear in the SEA recensions at all even in the newly examined manuscripts at the NLT. Matsumura has used both external and internal evidences to prove that the SEA recensions as independent textual transmission of Ras. However, given the nature of the Northern Thai single witness⁶⁸ which is full of scribal errors, Matsumura never collated the last fifteen narratives of her twenty nar-

⁶⁶ Somadasa (1959-1964: 61), von Hinüber (2004: 45).

⁶⁷ As noted by Matsumura (1992: cviii); The three South-East Asian MSS have a far closer relationship to one another than to any of the Sinhalese MSS. We may, therefore, assume that they belong most probably to an independent recension which reflects the South-East Asian tradition of the text. By examining Bretfeld's thesis in particular the reconstructed text in Romanized script and through exchange of emails, I came to understand that he had used the same SEA recensions manuscripts used by Matsumura. This was later confirmed by Matsumura.

⁶⁸ This MS is not available to me. However, both studies show Tham Lannā belongs to the same Khmer recension.

ratives.⁶⁹ In other words, her information for the Tham Lannā manuscript appears only just for five vatthus. This means both of them had to skip a substantial portion of the Laos manuscript information on reasonable grounds. Bretfeld draws similar conclusion with regard to the SEA manuscript recensions.

As three manuscripts of the SEA are treated as a far closer to one another than any of the Sinhalese MSS, they are considered as one family.⁷⁰ These three SEA MSS belong to Matsumura's X group recension of MSS. But precisely speaking, they form an independent unity against Sinhalese MSS belonging to X group. It is significant to notice that even newly examined 10 MSS of Northern Thai and Central Thai traditions so far perfectly assure the same assumption drawn by Matsumura and Bretfeld though both utilized only a very few number of MSS. However, in my 2016 thesis proposes that even though L1,⁷¹ belongs to the same textual transmission of the SEA tradition on several textual cases, reflects some unique features on its own which do not find in any other SEA manuscripts explored so far, even in the manuscripts utilized by both Matsumura and Bretfeld. The Sinhalese recension is also an exception to this. It deviates well within the SEA manuscript tradition consistently at least in the latter 20⁷² stories of the text. The distinctive features of L1 appear similarly in the Saddharmālaṅkāraya as corresponding attestations. Initially, this supposition was mainly drawn from the internal evidences of L1 along with 12 Sinhalese MSS and just one Khmer MS. With the acquisition of new manuscripts from the NLT, amounting to 8 manuscripts examined so far out of 45 MSS and the manuscripts at the DLLM, the uniqueness of the Northern Thai recension of Ras and its reflection of the archetype of the text continue to persist. The situation looks similar even if random cases in the text are looked at. The deviations of L1 from other SEA recensions are concurrently attested in the Sdhlk

⁶⁹ Matsumura (1992: cxv); I have decided to spare only L from the collation after Ras V.6, since this MS contains too many errors caused by misreading of the original Tham MS.

⁷⁰ We can treat these three MSS as a unity (Matsumura (1992: cviii)).

⁷¹ In the critical edition, this manuscript is designated as L1 and this particular manuscript was given to me by Matsumura and it was originally in the possession of Prof. Oskar von Hinüber. This Laotian manuscript was not accessible to either Matsumura or Bretfeld when they did their research.

⁷² Last three vatthus do not appear in this particular MS though rest of the Khmer script and Laotian MSS retain the first of the last three vatthus.

renderings. Such readings do not appear even in the Sinhalese MSS. The following investigation is mainly based on L1 readings which are compared with rest of the manuscripts and then again with Sdhk corresponding renderings. Initially, readings were confined to last twenty vatthus of Ras and later some random textual cases were investigated covering the entire text.

Laos recension reflects the archetype of the Rasavāhinī than all other extant witnesses

Before findings are re-explored, L1 testimony needs further elaboration in order to identify its antiquity and validity. The date of the MS is identified as CS 1198 as according to the pdf file information. The year can be converted to modern Era as 1836 C.E.⁷³ The date is given not in the MS but in the electronic file. The pdf copy of the MS was given to me by Matsumura. The following information appears in the pdf file. The pdf file has 84 pages in total. The first five pages provide following details;

Ras für J. Matsumura: Rolle 65Nr. 1: Phrae 01.04.115.00; 10 phūk. CS 1198 Madhurasavāhinī Rolle 140 Nr.35: Phrae 01.20.171.03; 2 phūk Madhurasavāhinī. In the third page Thai script appears as โครงการอนุรักษ์ คัมภีร์โบราณล้านนา ศูนย์ส่งเสริมศิลปวัฒนธรรม มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่ and its English translation appears as Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Project Centre for the promotion of Arts and Culture, Chiang Mai University, 1988. Possibly the original location is identified as Wat Sung Men Phrae Province. The MS has 10 phūk. The manuscript is complete and fairly legible.

Tex begins // namatthuttayaṃ//satthupasetṭhaṃ saraṇaṃ janānaṃ//

Text ends // cudaggalika vaggo saṭṭhamaṃ// madhurassabāhini pakaraṇaṃ samattaṃ ete heva sahi pattehi paṭimaṇḍitaṃ ete tassa vaggassa dassa vatthumaṃ iti pubbāparāpilāsasobhamānaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ// paripuṇṇaṃ//ti// pālimadhurassabāhinaḥāṇinike-samiti //

⁷³ CS is referred to *Chula Sakarat* which was one of the earliest format year adopted by the Southeast nations down to 19th century. In order to convert *Chula Sakarat* to modern Common Era, simply 638 years need to be added as this year was launched in 638 C.E.

The readings of L1 were compared initially with 12 Sinhalese manuscripts along with a Khmer manuscript and later with additional 9 Khmer manuscripts and L2 along with Sdhlk corresponding renderings.⁷⁴ In common, both Laos and Khmer manuscript traditions of Ras share both internal and external evidences which do not appear in the Sinhalese manuscript recension as such. These include the title of the text as Madhurasavāhinī, number of narratives as 101,⁷⁵ separate two bundles as Laṅkā and Jambū, and most of shared orthographical affinities and the deduct of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Nandimitta vatthus in all manuscripts investigated so far. Then the problem comes how such an independent textual transmission would vary within? In other words, how the deviation of L1 testimony from the rest of the witnesses of the SEA origin happens? The textual coherency and consistent correspondence to Sdhlk are the two main points which likely to consider that L1 transcends all the extant witnesses despite its orthographical peculiarities and swollen scribal errors. In what follows is the proving of two main points and L1's place among the Sinhalese and SEA witnesses. In the first textual case, all extant witnesses including the newly acquired manuscripts at the NLT and the DLLM are divided into two main recensions.

Se 132, 21-22

tato so aparabhāge anekāni puññakammāni katvā sutappabuddhoviya gantvā tusitapure varakanakavimāne nibbattī ti (12C.9K.L2.Pe)

tato so aparabhāge anekāni puññāni katvā sutappabuddhoviya cavitvā tusitapure varakanakavimāne nibbatti ti (L1)

The absolute variation between *gantvā* and *cavitvā* has to be dealt in the context of rebirth. *Cavitvā* is preferable as the verb *cū*⁷⁶ fits the context of rebirth much better than *gam*. However, *gantvā* is preferred by almost all the testimonies. The critical edition of Sdhlk too was struggling in choosing the accurate term as almost all witnesses choose *gos*, *having gone*. The reconstructed text of Sdhlk is preferred *gantvā* while *cavitvā* being consigned to critical apparatus which has the same

⁷⁴ 8 manuscripts examined so far out of 45 at the NLT, of them 5 for Laṅkāḍipuppattikathā and 3 for Jambudīpuppattikathā. Additional two manuscripts obtained each for Khmer and Laos script at the DLLM.

⁷⁵ L1 has just only hundred vatthus as indicated rightly in the colophon.

⁷⁶ DOP, *cavati* s.v.

situation as for Pāli manuscripts for Ras.

Sdhlk 603, 2-3

Bobō kusal koṭa eyin gos⁷⁷ niṇḍā pibidiyakbu men tusitabbava-nayebi utum vū ranvimaneka upannēya.

The variant reading of D, *miya* in Sdhlk is the only single witness in support of L1, *cavitvā* in this case. However, this suggests that L1 is not just alone and trying to consolidate its position among the rest of manuscript witnesses. This case can be further investigated by looking at some parallel occurrences within the text as *suttappabuddho* occurs as many as fourteen times in the text. However, *suttappabuddhoviya gantvā* occurs only just two times in the Visamalomakumāravatthu (13/103) apart from the Siluttavatthu. Even though many of the witnesses are in favour of *suttappabuddhoviya gantvā* as in the case of the Siluttavatthu, Sdhlk does not seem to have translated the exact same reading of the majority witnesses. It has been translated as one awakened from asleep excluding absolute form, *gantvā*.⁷⁸ The only case which agrees with the Dāthāsenavatthu (74/103) where *suttappabuddhoviya gantvā* has been used. Furthermore, the words associated with *suttappabuddho* can be examined in the light of preceding or following words. The reading can be observed as *cavitvā suttappabuddhoviya* as in the Duṭṭhagāmaṇivatthu (63/103), *tato cuto suttappabuddho viya* as in the Phussadevavatthu (72/103) and Cūlagallavatthu (91/103) which likely to conclude that the different form of *cavati* is well associated with *suttappabuddho viya* rather than its association with *gantvā*. This is well established when it comes to canonical and its exegeses where *cavati* can be observed as the mostly used word in terms of moving from one existence to another. One possible explanation as to how the substandard Pāli form *suttappabuddhoviya gantvā* appears in the Sinhalese manuscripts is that Sinhalese scribes are more familiar with this form. Therefore, *gantvā* is the preferred form than *cavitvā*. Perhaps this is one of the instances where Pāli formation is contaminated by the Sinhalese morphology. Sdhlk provides a clue to substantiate our argument as renderings follow exactly what looks to be the contaminated Pāli form. However, luckily, at least L1 has preserved this important variation despite its stand against all extant witnesses consulted so far. This division between L1 and the remaining extant wit-

⁷⁷ *miya* (D) refers *having deceased* in Sinhalese.

⁷⁸ Sdhlk (1996: 284, 25); *niṇḍā pibidiyakbu men divyalokayebi*.

nesses can be further solidified by investigating following textual cases. Incidentally, L1 readings are consistently supported by Sdhlk. Even though in many cases, remaining witnesses do not do so.

In the Cūlagallavatthu (91/103), Maliyamahādeva Thera accompanies a devotee to visit Cūlāmaṇicetiya in the Tusita heaven. Metteyya, the future Buddha appears in the beginning of the story who is surrounded by a company of gods while Metteyya reappears at the latter part of the story. The majesty of the Bodhisattva has been explained without mentioning the name at the latter part of the narrative;

tasmim 'pi atikkante maṇikanakādisattaratanamayāni paccekaṃ caturāsītikuntasahassāni purato katvā (12C.9K. L2.Pe)

*tasmim 'pi atikkante **metteyyabodhisatto** maṇikanakādisattaratanamayāni paccekaṃ caturāsītikuntasahassāni purato katvā (L1)*

The text explains the power of the future Buddha which does not appear in any of the witnesses by name except L1 which seems to have retained the reading. Consequently, the text regains its meaning, unless the subject has to be implied. L1 is backed up by Sdhlk corresponding rendering;

Sdhlk 667, 5-7

tava da ē divyaṃputrayā etāna ikma giya kalhi met mahabō-satāṇō divyamaya mutu māṇik ran ridi ādi vū daṣavidha ratnayan visituru anekaprakāra...

The exact same phrase with the subject appears in Sdhlk. The powerful deva is identified as the future Buddha. The fact that the devotee was unaware this deva being Bodhisattva, the Thera re-explains the presence of Metteyya in verses.⁷⁹ The absence of this particular reading in any of Khmer manuscripts and even in one of the Laotian recensions, L2, suggests that entire Khmer manuscript recension deviates along with L2 within the SEA recension against L1 as two main groups. From the preceding two textual cases, it is obvious that the SEA recensions are divided as two recensions. In order to establish these two recensions, more witnesses should be in place. Similarly, one

⁷⁹ Se (1914-21:162-163); *sametteyyo jinaṅkuro* occurs in all four verses.

such textual case is found again in the Nesādavattu (82/103) where the narrative begins identifying the locality as *Rohaṇa* region in the early Ceylon.

rohaṇajanapade mahāgāme vidholo nām' eko nesādo paṭivasati
(12C.9K.L2.Pe)

laṅkāyaṃ rohaṇajanapade mahāgāme vidholo nām' eko nesādo
paṭivasati (L1)

mema lakdīva rubuṇu janapadayehi māgama viyadi nam vād-
dek veseyi (Sdhlk 596, 20)

Again same as the previous two textual cases, the extant witnesses are divided into two main recensions. L1, Sdhlk as one recension and all the remaining witnesses as another recension. The retention of *laṅkāyaṃ* in L1 along with Sdhlk and the omission in the rest of witnesses further indicate the deviation of L1 within the SEA recension. *Laṅkāyaṃ* is unknown to any of the SEA MSS or any of the Sinhalese MSS except L1. In preceding three textual cases, Sdhlk corresponding renderings appear as back up evidence to the L1 recension. Finding such similar cases may help to prove our supposition further.

pāto'va yāgukhajjakena upakaṭṭhāya velāya paṇītena bhojanena
parivisati (12C.9K.L2.Pe)

pāto'va yāgukhajjakena te bbikkhū santappettā upakaṭṭhāya
velāya paṇītena bhojanena parivisati (L1)

udāsana keṇḍa avuḷu vaḷāṇḍavā dabaval noyek sūpabyañjanay-
en yukta āhāra vaḷāṇḍavanasēka (Sdhlk 670, 29-30)

In the Tissasāmaṇeravattu (94/103), the absence of *te bbikkhū santappettā* in this context makes the sentence partially incomprehensible. *te bbikkhū santappettā* has been only retained in the L1 witness while it has been supported by Sdhlk.

Random minor textual cases supporting our theory

1. *yāvā' haṃ bhesajjaṃ upaṭṭhāpemī ti taṃ nimantesi.80* *thero*
adhivāsesi tuṅhībāvena (Re 59, 3-4)81

⁸⁰ All 12 C, 9K, L2 and Pe have omitted *taṃ nimantesi* while it is retained only in L1 which is backed up by Sdhlk as *invited as āradhanā keḷeya*; (Sdlk: 655, 27).

⁸¹ Rajapaksha edition (2016: 59).

2. *atha te bhikkhū upāsaka etasmim pabbate manussāvāso natthi kuhim no nesī ti pucchimsu*⁸² *devaputto bhante ambhākaṃ nivāsanaṭṭhānaṃ* (Re 96, 13-15)
3. *atha so*⁸³ *aññataraṃ... disvā paṃsupiṇḍe apanesi* (Re 76, 3-4)
4. *evañ ca pana vatvā te*⁸⁴ *eso sāmi no disvā balisaṃ ca macche ca pādena aṭṭhāsī ti āhaṃsu* (Re 87, 1-2)
5. *dhammaṃ sotuṃ varataran ti cintetvā*⁸⁵ *kassaci*

Random textual cases in disagreement with our supposition and possible explanation

Saddharmālaṅkāraya does not seem to support each individual case of Ras text even though all 103 vatthus appear in Sdhlk. In what follows is such textual occurrences where Sdhlk deviates altogether.

Re 19, 3

sīhalādīpe kira mahātitthapaṭṭane nandinām' eko vāñijako paṭivasati. so saddhāsampanno vatthuttaya parāyaṇo abosi. ath' ekasmim samaye so dāraparivajjaṃ katvā vāñijattamaṃ nāvāya gato, tatttha tiṇi saṃvaccharāni atikkameti.

Sdhlk 631, 3-7

mema laṅkādvīpayehi māvaṭu nam paṭungama nandiya nam veleṇḍāṇa keṇek veseti. ē veleṇḍāṇō śraddhāsampannayaha. tunuruwan ma maṭa piṭṭaya yi mamatvaya ātiyaha; ū tumu māta bhāgāyehi taman hā samāna veleṇḍa kulayekin rūpasampanna vū kumārikā kenakun genavut un hā samaṅga sepaṣē vasanuvō veleṇḍām piṇisa nevu neṅgī mubudin etera go tun auruddak ehi ma visūha.

⁸² *pucchimsu* is the direct aorist verb which is absent in all witnesses except L1 without which the sentence seems to be incomplete. The corresponding rendering appears *kisēka* (*spoke*) (Sdhlk 672, 13), probably *inquired* (*pucchimsu*) being rendered as *spoke*.

⁸³ The entire phrase seems to have lost the subject, *atha so aññataraṃ... disvā paṃsupiṇḍe apanesi*. Without its doer, the sentence remains complicated. However, L1 offers the reading as *so* which saves the sentence while C.Pe.K.L2 have missed the subject. The corresponding rendering appears in Sdhlk as *mema divyaputrayā* (Sdhlk 666, 6-7) which being rendered as *this young deity*.

⁸⁴ To all witnesses except to L1, the sentence does not have any subject. Presumably, L1 has recovered *te* as the subject.

⁸⁵ Absolutive *cintetvā* appears only in L1 while its Sinhalese equivalent absolutive reappears in Sdhlk as *sitā* in (385, 19-20) *dharmaya āsīmama utum vannēyayi sitā*.

The Pāli text which, is supported by all the witnesses including L1, reappears in Sdhlk almost word to word except the phrase (*ū tumu māta bbāgayebi taman hā samāna veḷeṇḍa kulayekin rūpasampanna vū kumārikā kenakun genavut un hā samaṅga sepasē vasanuvō*) which paraphrases how Nandi merchant found his family and how their family life was, which is barely found in the Pāli text instead the text mentions that the merchant simply departed the family for the sake of trading straightway. This is just a reflection of such odd cases even in the prose section, some information is not found word to word. Similar cases were also pointed out by Matsumura.⁸⁶ Sdhlk seems presenting additional information which is not found in any of Ras witnesses. The additional information was presented by Sdhlk and the fact that the same piece of information is not found in Ras seems to question the limit in the existing Ras recensions. It also points to the level at which Sdhlk well deviates. The occurrence of this type of textual cases in the text may have two explanations. One possibility is that either there may be another recension which is unknown to us and the second possibility is that Dhammakitti Thera, the author of Sdhlk, may simply have altered and rendered the readings of the Pāli in a way that he could convey to the readers. Both possibilities can not be ruled out in the availability of evidence. For the first since there are many undocumented manuscripts scattered in Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka for Ras, there may likely to exist recension (s) which reflects better than what we have explored so far and secondly, Dhammakitti Thera has well deviated in some cases from Ras in a way which is unknown to any available recensions. Therefore in each and every textual case, we can not rely in Sdhlk in reconstructing Ras. Even the L1 testimony can not be considered reliable all the time. Some textual cases indicate that it may have lost some readings which are considered to be grammatically correct. The following is just a reflection of such situation.

antovāpiyaṃ gocaraṃ pariyesamāno itocito vicarati (12C.9K. L2.Pe)

antovāpiyaṃ gocaraṃ pariyesamāno ito vicarati (L1)

ē gama samāpayebi vāvakaḥ baḍa goduru soya āta māta āvidinēya (Sdhlk 615, 21-21)

The omission of *-cito*, of the indeclinable *itocito* in L1 is likely to explain that simply at copying, the scribe might

⁸⁶ Matsumura (1992: Ivii–Iviii).

have dropped unintentionally.

candasatā vā sabassam vā satabassam vā (Se 1, 25-26)

candasatā vā sabassam vā (L1)

saṇḍamaṇḍulu siyayak hō dabasak hō lakṣayak hō (Sdhlk 391, 11-12)

Similarly the case of *candasata*, *-sabassa* and *-satabassa* in the Mi-gapotakavatthu (41/103) depicts apparently L1 does not retain the latter *satabassa*, *hundred thousand* though rest of the witnesses retain including the newly acquired manuscripts at the NLT and the manuscripts obtained at the DLLM. In the preceding both textual instances, the corresponding renderings appear in Sdhlk. In such situation despite the fact that L1 does not retain we are not faithful to L1 as such assuming that L1 may have omitted at the copying and transmitting stage and we adopt the majority reading as correct. Then the faithfulness of Sdhlk can be questioned to the extent that it can be used as critical tool in the reconstruction of Ras.

The validity of the secondary testimony in the archetype building and its limit

The fact that many scholars have identified the Rasavāhinī being the source book for the Saddharmālaṅkāraya⁸⁷ which can be used as secondary testimony in order to examine the Pāli text. Saddharmālaṅkāraya, the Sinhalese version of Ras was composed at the latter part of the fourteenth century which is exactly a century later than when Ras was composed originally. To be exact Ras was compiled eight hundred years ago while Sdhlk was compiled seven hundred years ago. This means Sdhlk was composed from manuscript(s) which was very closer to the original handwritten copy of Vedeha Thera. Even we can not rule out the possibility that Sdhlk may have utilized the exact same handwritten copy of Vedeha Thera given the assumption that both Theras represent Araññavāsī fraternity of Gaḍalādeṇi of the contemporary lineage.⁸⁸ Even though it was not so, the version, Dhammakitti Thera may have used in the rendering, reflects the original version of Ras. Thus, as in the West, for the reconstruction of the New Testament, there were three types of witnesses which include ancient translations

⁸⁷ Malalasekera (1994: 226); Bechert (1992: i-ii, forward in Matsumura's work).

⁸⁸ Matsumura (1992: Ivi; 1999: 164).

which have been considered immensely useful in the reconstruction of New Testament. So in the East, in the reconstruction of Pāli text we could use ancient translation of Ras as critical criterion. However, the fact that Sdhlk being parallel textual transmission of Ras, it too has several recensions. A critical edition of Sdhlk was recently published by the Sri Lanka Oriental Society with the use of 12 MSS and 6 printed versions. This edition is critically important in recovering the archetype of Ras. The problem comes though Sdhlk being a Sinhalese text, one might argue the extent of the usefulness in the reconstruction of its source Pāli text. This claim may be counter-argued under several areas. It is though a Sinhalese text but verses are in Pāli and thus can be considered another verse redaction of Ras despite all of its verses do not appear in Sdhlk. This exact verse redaction presumably may have helped in the emergence of the Ras-gāthāsannaya. Secondly, Sdhlk, is almost word to word rendering version of Rasavāhinī, follows exact same structure and content as in Ras. Thirdly, If Sdhlk were to be back translated into Pāli, the text would be very similar to Ras except own remarks by Dhammakitti Thera. More importantly, Sdhlk has been the text critical tool for the previous partial critical editions.⁸⁹ However, there are some limitations that the text can be used in the reconstruction of Ras. The limit of the use of Sdhlk can be examined as in terms of the verse and prose sections of Ras. For the prose section, as if the text appears in any of manuscript witnesses, we would consult its corresponding rendering unless we disregard as mere elaboration in Sdhlk.

However, for the verse portion, all one thousand and seven hundreds over verses do not occur in Sdhlk. The reason perhaps as Matsumura explains that the Sdhlk's intention was to reach common people in simple prose narration⁹⁰ and in doing so, verses are randomly cited from Ras not necessarily all of the verses. However, in the reconstruction of verses, Sdhlk along with Ras-gāthāsannaya are taken as critical criterion. Again, the extent of the use of Ras-gāthāsannaya can be questionable as there is no manuscript recension for Ras-gāthāsannaya.

Rasavāhinī-gāthāsannaya does not have
any manuscript recension

⁸⁹ Rahula (1978); Matsumura (1992); Bretfeld (2001); Rajapaksha (2016).

⁹⁰ Matsumura (1992: Iviii).

Ras-gāthāsannaya is the verse recension of Ras being transmitted separately from Ras. It is an independent textual transmission of Ras inspired by the Sdhlk verses rather than any Ras manuscript recension. The intention of presenting interverbal paraphrase along with verse version of Ras has been explained in the preamble of Ras-gāthāsannaya.⁹¹ The most compelling reason to compile such work as according to the compilers, was the lack of paraphrase for the verses in Sinhala. The verse version remains untranslated. In order to fulfill increasingly growing this demand, Vipulasāra Thera along with Sārānanda Thera initiated a collaborative word to word rendering of each verse which appears in Ras. The fact that the existence of previous work called Ras-gāthāsannaya has also been discussed.⁹² According to the information, an incompetent Thera had prepared random verses paraphrase, based on oral explanation of his teacher, which was composed partially, and with full of misinterpretation. Thus, the compilers were hesitant to consider it as one of the sources.⁹³ We have to rely what has been discussed in the preamble of the Ras-gāthāsannaya. In fact, other than this we have no information with regard to the existence of a work called Ras-gāthāsannaya previously. This information in the preface of Ras-gāthāsannaya is good enough to assume that there never existed any verse version with paraphrase of Ras in manuscript form as an independent transmission. Our supposition can be acknowledged by the fact that W.A. de Silva and K.D. Somadasa catalogues do not identify any work called Ras-gāthāsannaya in manuscript form though vast amount of Rasavāhinī Sinhalese manuscripts were catalogued in particular the latter. This leads to assume that there never existed Ras-gāthāsannaya in manuscript form as such other than in printed forms. Assumingly, the printed version was compiled in contemporary to the inaugural Sinhalese script edition of the Rasavāhinī relying heavily on Sdhlk at the turn of the eighteenth century.⁹⁴

⁹¹ I obtained both 1898 and 1913 versions of Rasavāhinīgāthāsannaya both of which were compiled by Vipulasāra and Sārānanda Thera as collaborative work. The inaugural complete edition of Rasavāhinī was compiled in 1891-1893 and one of the earlier versions which I obtained for the Rasavāhinīgāthāsannaya is of 1898 which means Rasavāhinīgāthāsannaya was produced five years after Ras edition was produced if this was the first compilation. The copy I obtained was digitized by the University of Toronto and code is 31761017958232.

⁹² Ras-gāthāsannaya (1898-1913: i-ii).

⁹³ Authors further remark that their view of the previous work was also justified by contemporary scholarly community.

⁹⁴ The inaugural edition of Rasavāhinī was compiled in 1891-1893 and one of the

There are over one thousand and seven hundreds verses in the entire text with the exception of citation of same verses within the text.⁹⁵ The verses of Ras-gāthāsannaya, Rasavāhinī printed editions and Saddharmālaṅkāraya indicate that verses are closely connected as they are representation of one recension⁹⁶ which indicates that Sdhlk has been inspired by both Ras-gāthāsannaya and Rasavāhinī printed versions in reflection of verses. Most strikingly the Sinhalese manuscript recension is not found in Ras-gāthāsannaya. Then, the problem arises as to how these verses are borrowed by Ras-gāthāsannaya. It is possible that Ras-gāthāsannaya may have consulted version of Sdhlk along with Saraṇatissa edition in 1891-1893. Thus, in most cases, Ras-gāthāsannaya recension resembles to the SEA manuscript recension rather than Sinhalese manuscript recension given the fact that mostly reading adopted by Sdhlk. In other words, the later impressions of Se may have improved the standard of the verses by looking at the Ras-gāthāsannaya. That may be the case the verse version of the printed editions combined are closer to the SEA recension than the prose version of the latter. All and all, verse version of Ras-gāthāsannaya may reflect exact copy of Saddharmālaṅkāraya verse recension. It is highly possible that in most cases Saddharmālaṅkāraya present paraphrase of verses which has been basis for the Ras-gāthāsannaya in presentation of interverbal paraphrase. Thus, it can be concluded that Ras-gāthāsannaya was composed contemporary to the inaugural edition of Saraṇatissa Thera while Ras-gāthāsannaya borrowed heavily from Saddharmālaṅkāraya rather than manuscript recension of Ras or printed editions of Ras. It is also possible that the successive impressions of printed editions over time may have copied from Ras-gāthāsannaya in the presentation of verses. Thus in the critical edition, we are utilizing Ras-gāthāsannaya as one of the secondary testimony side by side while manuscript witnesses being prioritized. In cases, manuscript variants are inaccurate, readings of Sdhlk and Ras-gāthāsannaya are considered to be trustworthy after proper investigation of meters of the verses.

Conclusion

Although the editing of the Rasavāhinī began in Europe in 1845, there

versions I obtained for the Ras-gāthāsannaya has been compiled in 1898 which means five years after Ras was first edited, Ras-gāthāsannaya was edited if this is the first edition.

⁹⁵ Rajapaksha (2016: Ixi-Ixiii).

⁹⁶ Matsumura 1998.

is no complete edition in Romanized script as of yet despite its strong presence of the Theravāda manuscript recensions with relatively less investigated Northern Thai recension in particular. Since then it took almost one and half century to retrace the Southeast Asian manuscript recension until Matsumura (1992) initiated partial edition on the text followed by Bretfeld. Both conclude that the Southeast Asian textual tradition of the Rasavāhinī as an independent textual transmission from the Sinhalese manuscript recension which reflects the archetype of the Rasavāhinī given the fact that the readings appear as corresponding renderings in the Saddharmālaṅkāraya. Both Matsumura and Bretfeld have used the exact same three manuscripts representing Southeast Asian textual tradition including Northern Thai manuscript recension.

However, Rajapaksha (2016), with the finding of another Northern Thai recension, concluded initially that the Northern Thai manuscript recension deviates, from the independent textual transmission found by both Matsumura and Bretfeld, considerably and consistently. The preservation of variant readings in this particular Tham Lannā recension such as *cavitvā* for *gantvā*, *metteyya bodhisatta* and *rohaṇajanapada* as pointed out in the preceding discussion seem to indicate such considerable deviations against all traditions. The readings found at the L1 are unique and most often they are backed up by the Saddharmālaṅkāraya corresponding renderings. This leads to conclude that the Northern Thai recension seems to transcend all extant witnesses of the Rasavāhinī and reflect the archetype than all other witnesses utilized previously. It has been further solidified with the internal examination of 1 Tham Lannā manuscript, 1 Khmer manuscript in Laos via DLLM and 8 Khmer manuscripts examined so far at the NLT, out of 45 witnesses. Initially last 23 vatthus of the text were collated and later random textual cases in the entire text were examined with the help of 22 manuscripts in total.

With regard to the renderings of the Saddharmālaṅkāraya, there are though some random cases in which neither L1 nor the rest of the SEA recension or even the Sinhalese recension do not support. This may lead us to assume that either there may be another recension which is unknown to us or simply the Dhammakitti Thera, the author of the Saddharmālaṅkāraya, may have altered the text over the course of the rendering. Both arguments can be justified on the

availability of extant evidence. For the first since there are many undocumented manuscripts scattered in Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka for the Rasavāhinī, there may likely to exist recension (s) which reflects the archetype of the Rasavāhinī better than what we have explored so far. The second aspect is that Dhammakitti Thera, though has committed literal translation of the Rasavāhinī, may have well deviated in some cases from the Rasavāhinī. Whatever the circumstances may be we assume that until and unless we find new manuscript recension of the Rasavāhinī, the Northern Thai recension is relatively a better reflection of the archetype of the Rasavāhinī given the fact that its corresponding attestations appear in the Saddharmālaṅkāraya.

Lastly, when the remaining Khmer script manuscripts at the National library, Bangkok are completely examined, hopefully we may find recension which represents exact same Laos recension or completely different recension (s) from all manuscripts so far examined.

ABBREVIATIONS

CSCD	Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-Rom version 4.0, Vipassanā Research Institute, 2018 (https://www.tipitaka.org/cst4)
DLLM	Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts, (online) http://lannamanuscripts.net/en/ (accessed 11.10.2018)
DOP	Cone, Margaret. 2001-2010. A Dictionary of Pāli, part I-II. Oxford: Pali Text Society
MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts
Ñe	Ñāṇavimala, Kiriāllē, ed. 1961. Rasavāhinī. Colombo: M.D.Gunasena
NLT	National Library of Thailand (Bangkok)
Pe	All three printed editions (Ñe.Se.Ve) unanimous
Ras	Rasavāhinī
Ras-gāthāsannaya	Sārānanda, Kalutara and Vipulasāra, Mullēriyāvē, ed.1898, reprint 1913. Rasavāhinī-gāthāsannaya, Jinālaṅkāra Press: Hunupitiya
Re	Rajapaksha, Samantha, ed. 2016. The Siluttavagga and Cūlagallavagga of the Rasavāhinī: a critical edition and English translation together with annotated notes. Peradeniya: an unpublished thesis submitted for the degree of doctoral philosophy in the Postgraduate Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Peradeniya

- Sah Buddhadatta, A, ed. 1959. Sahassavatthupakaraṇa: Sahassavatthupakaraṇam, Polwattē: Ambalangoda
- Sdhlk Sri Lanka Oriental Society, ed. 1996. Saddharmālaṅkāraya. Battaramulla: Education Publication Department
- Se Saraṇatissa, ed. 1914 part i, 1921 part ii in one volume. Rasavāhini. 4th Impression, Colombo: Jinālaṅkāra Printers
- SEA Southeast Asia
- Ve Vijithananda, Kāligama, ed. 2004. Rasavāhini. Boralessgamuwa: Seedeve offset Printers and Publishers
- Vism Visuddhimagga. Rhys Davids, Caroline Augusta Foley., ed. 1920. Visuddhimagga. London: Pali Text Society

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- ဝစီရုဘာသထေရ၊ အရှင်၊ ဘုရား၊ မရုသဝါဟိနိဝတ္ထု၊ မန္တလေး၊
ပဒေသာပိဋကတ် ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်။
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The Horn of Rhinoceros: A Text that Speaks Unorthodoxy

G. A. Somaratne

Abstract

This article has its aim to create an awareness of the necessity of reading any piece of early Buddhist text or a discourse as it is presented in the Pāli (text), without letting its meaning to be clouded by the interpretations given by the Commentaries. To achieve this objective, it undertakes a case study of producing an English translation of The poem of the Horn of Rhinoceros (Kbhaggavisāna) of the Suttanipāta. In producing this translation, it rejects the Commentarial interpretation of seeing the verses of the poem as inspired utterances of different Pacceka-buddhas; instead, it views the verses as a single poem composed aiming at inspiring the young laity and the young monks at the earliest period of Buddhism to adopt a pragmatic solitary life in order to practice the path leading to the cessation of suffering here and now, with a sense of urgency. As such the poem commends the minority forest-dwelling monks and critiques the majority orthodox village monks who display no sense of urgency in attaining the cessation of suffering.

Introduction to the Poem

Every text has its own agenda and this is also the case with regard to each of the Buddhist texts, whether single or composite, diffused or compact, Canonical or Commentarial. Therefore, when translating an early Buddhist Canonical text, if the Commentary of the text is to be used, it must be used mindfully, without being caught up in the Commentator's agenda. This case study of *The Poem of the Horn of Rhinoceros* is to show that the Commentator of this text wants the reader to read it as a collection of inspired utterances of the *Pacceka-buddhas*. However, as this study reveals, nowhere in the poem is given any indication to support such an interpretation. The reason for the Commentator to come up with such an agenda is that the poem advocates unorthodoxy at the time, the norm of the minority forest-dwelling monks who meditate with a sense of urgency to end the suffering here and now. This unorthodoxy has been present throughout the history

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of Buddhism side by side with the orthodoxy, the majority norm that approves the monastic community life in temples engaging in merit-making activities while postponing the cessation of suffering to a distant future.

The poem here advocates the “pragmatic individualism” reflecting the early Buddhist view of hurrying things up to end suffering here and now, during this human life. Hence, it encourages the youth to renounce the world without involving in a married family life and the young monks to adopt a solitary ascetic life, disengaging in social activities of both the monastic and the lay life. Thus, the poem echoes both a critique of the orthodox coenobitic monks and a commendation of the forest-dwelling monks. For example, the poem, identifying the orthodox monks as “some who have gone-forth” (*pabbajitā pi eke*), describes them to be those who are those “hard to please” (verse 43) and are not in a position “to experience even a temporary freedom” (verse 54). The verse 53 clearly recommends that “one must walk into forest to practice”. Therefore, this poem is significant for several reasons. First, it helps understanding the early history of early Buddhism. Second, it tells how the earliest message for the monks to practice with a sense of urgency has been neglected by the orthodoxy. Third, it reveals why the poem has been downgraded to be a part of the utterances of some unknown *Pacceka-buddhas* without giving a place within the main collections of the discourses. It is to emphasize the point that the poem represents unorthodoxy, and not what the Commentator thinks it to be, that in this article I have added an improved English translation, translating every single word of each verse grammatically as much as possible, while also preserving the simplicity of both the verse and the poem as a whole, without following the Commentator’s agenda.

The *Khaggavisāṇa* is not a discourse (*sutta*) in the usual sense but a poem, consisting of 41 verses (Sn verses 35–75). It appears in the Suttanipāta of the Khuddakanikāya of the Pāli Canon and is also commented in the *Cullaniddesa* (56-72) confirming its existence in the earliest history of the Canon formation as an independent text. Even though it is identified as a discourse, it has no narrative introduction as in many other discourses of the Canon. Hence, we cannot know anything about its context or background. As a result, we are left with speculating the context, as the Commentator of the *Paramatthajotikā*

II and the *Pacceka-buddhāpadāna* author of the *Apadāna* did. Because there are huge collections of *Suttas* in the *Dīghanikāya*, the *Majjhimanikāya*, the *Samyuttanikāya* and the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, a question to be raised is that, if it is a *Sutta*, why has it not been treated within any of the above four *Nikāya* collections. These same verses also occur inserted in the *Pacceka-buddhāpadāna* section of the *Apadāna* (verses 9–49 of Ap 8–13). However, just like the *Suttanipāta*, the *Apadāna* is also a *Khuddakanikāya* text. In this *Pacceka-buddhāpadāna*, it is stated that the Buddha, in replying to a question posed by Ānanda, spoke about the *Pacceka-buddhas* quoting also these verses as they were originally spoken by them.¹ This is also the Commentarial position.² According to the Commentator each verse is uttered by a *Pacceka-buddha* conveying his inspiration of attainment as well as his explanation of how he attained his awakening (*udāna-vyākaraṇa-gāthā*).³ This attribution of each verse to a *Pacceka-buddha* is unacceptable when we consider both the fact that nowhere in this composition of the 41 verses, there gives any reference explicitly or implicitly either to a particular *Pacceka-buddha* or to the notion of *Pacceka-buddha* ideal and the fact that the presentation of the verses sounds them to be of a single poem.

The name of the poem, *The Horn of the Rhinoceros* (*Khagga-visāṇa*), seems to inform the main intention behind these verses. Each verse, except the Sn verses 45 and 46, comes with its last line (*pāda*) having the refrain: ‘One should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros’ (*eko care khagga-visāṇa-kappo*). Some scholars, following the Commentarial attribution, consider that the Indian single-horned rhinoceros who fares alone could be comparable to a *Pacceka-buddha*. If these verses were to have been spoken by the *Pacceka-buddhas*, then they could be understood as an appeal to the laity to follow the *Pacceka-buddha* ideal, to go forth from the household life to a homeless life, renouncing everything, both physically and mentally, and to lead a solitary life even after the attainment of the spiritual goal of enlightenment for which attainment one goes forth.⁴ There is no indication either in this poem or elsewhere in the early discourses to confirm that in the early history of Buddhism, practicing to attain *Pacceka-buddha*-

¹ Ap 7, verse 5: *sayaṃ eva buddhānaṃ mahāisinaṃ - sādhubūni vākyaṇi ... sunoṭha sabbe supasannacittā*.

² See Pj II 47-52.

³ See for example, Pj II 67, 11-12: *tadā pi so tam eva attano udānavyākaraṇagāthamaṃ bhāsati*.

⁴ See for example, Wilshire (1990: ix-xxv).

hood has been an ideal. Therefore, I really doubt this *Pacceka-buddha* story that is linked to this poem. I do not think that these verses of the poem make any attempt to recommend the laity that they should either try to attain the *Pacceka-buddhahood* or to follow a lifestyle modelling after a *Pacceka-buddha*. If these verses were to have the aim of persuading the laity to do so, then at least in one single place, we should be able to locate either a reference or a mere indication given to the *Pacceka-buddha* or the *Pacceka-buddha* ideal. I do not see such evidence or at least a hint left by the composer/s and the early redactors of the *Suttanipāta* version, which could definitely be the original version of the poem, as the *Apadāna* has already been identified by the Buddhist studies scholarship to be a later work.⁵

My hypothesis is that, as the refrain ‘one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros’ (*eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo*) conveys, these verses constitute a composition intending to appeal the unmarried young lay persons to renounce the world without getting involved in a married life (See verse 41) and then to those young renouncers to follow the path of practice individually taking the responsibility to oneself, without depending on others or even looking for any companions. As such, I think these verses carry the message of early Buddhist pragmatic individualism emphasized for the practice of the path to liberation. As the popular textual statement on the qualities of the *Dhamma* states, each disciple must work out one’s own path and reach the goal individually (*paccattam veditabbo viññūhi*). For the young lay persons, the poem recommends leaving the home early in life while one is still a single, without entering into a married family life. For the young monks, it recommends that they should lead a solitary life for such life is the most appropriate for the meditative practice leading to the cessation of suffering here and now, within this life itself. As it could clearly be seen, the poem culminates in the practice of meditation aiming at the destruction of passion, hatred and delusion. In order to convey this message effectively, the poet makes a comparison between the perils of the family and socially involved life and the advantages of the renounced and solitary life of the forest-dwelling practitioner. This contrast is the underlying theme of the whole poem. The verses of the poem tell us both the constraints in the family life and the freedom that the monk enjoys remaining single and leading a solitary life of a renouncer.

⁵ See for example, the “Editor’s Note” at Ap v.

When we consider of the origin of early Buddhism and also the emphasis given to an extreme type of pragmatic individualism in the beginning verses of this poem, it is also possible to speculate that either these verses were drawn from a source or sources of the Indian asceticism in general or the contents of the verses reflect the period of Buddhist eremitic life prior to the establishment of the Buddhist monastic community (*saṅgha*) proper.⁶ If the latter is the case, this poem indicates the origin of Buddhist ascetics. If the former is the case, then it tells that there were other ascetics in pre-Buddha India preaching pragmatic individualism and also recommending the abandonment of family and social ties for the pursuit of liberation. As the accepted norm, such pragmatic individualism was the teaching in the larger *Śramaṇic* movement as against the *Brāhmaṇic* tradition's household life. However, as recent scholarship has shown, Indian asceticism is a mixture of two streams: the *Śramaṇic* asceticism and the *Brāhmaṇic* asceticism.⁷ In the early discourses, the Buddha identified both groups of ascetics by employing the phrase: "either recluses or brāhmins" (*samaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā*) meaning either *Śramaṇic* ascetics or *Brāhmaṇic* ascetics. Concerning the pragmatic individualism presented throughout the poem, we can come up with another hypothesis which I think could be the most plausible.

Gotama, the Buddha-to-be was an individual who renounced the world and undertook a wandering life as a recluse. He renounced the world having been first a married man, leaving behind his son, wife, and parents. It could be assumed that this was a painful experience for the Buddha-to-be and also to his family. For example, see the following text that explains his renunciation:

"Monks, later while still young, a black-haired young man endowed with the blessing of youth, in the prime of life, though my mother and father wished otherwise and wept with tearful faces, I shaved off my hair and beard, put on the yellow robe, and went forth from the home life into homelessness".⁸

Now our poem echoes a voice encouraging people to remain single and then as singles renounce the family and social life and ties to pursue the ideal of the eremitic or hermitic life. For the renouncers, the ideal

⁶ This is the view held by many early European scholars. See Clarke (2014: 3ff).

⁷ See Bronkhorst (1998: 3).

⁸ MI 163, 27-31 (*Ariyapariyesanasutta*).

is again not to join the monastic community of *saṅgha* of the orthodox but to lead a solitary life of practice until one achieves the final goal by oneself. Hence, these verses speak unorthodoxy, that is, they commend the eremitic forest-dwelling monkhood. The orthodox ideal for the most part as reflected in the Commentaries, the *Vinaya* texts, and also of archaeological findings, has been the coenobitic life, that is, the renouncers to live together as a special monastic community (*saṅgha*) with their teachers and companions while sharing a common code of discipline, a belief system and practice. It is my opinion that this poem did not fit the orthodox view and practice during the time of the Canon formation and as a result it was left to be a part of the Khuddakanikāya collection, somewhat degrading it to be a collection of the utterances of the so-called *Pacceka-buddhas*, not the actual teachings of the historical Buddha. In my view, these verses reflect that prior to the establishment of the Buddhist monastic institution proper, the early Buddhist mendicants were wandering ascetics who had fully committed to a life of practice aiming at ending the suffering here and now, with a sense of urgency. These verses inform us how in this early period the young people were encouraged to withdraw from the material world both physically and in spirit.

As this poem conveys, the goal of spiritual practice is the experiencing of happiness (*sokhya*), and it cannot be achieved by remaining within the traditional society for the social relationships enforce physical and emotional constraints. In the words of the poem, affection (*sneha*), love (*pema*), resentment and the strands of sensuality (*kāma-guṇa*) develop from social interaction (*samsagga*). They result in creating states of fear (*bhaya*) and situations of threat (*ādinava*). The psychological captivity to the worldly life is characterized to be a bondage (*bandhana*), enticement (*paṭibaddha*), fetter (*saṃyojana*), clinging (*saṅga*), net (*jāla*) or a fish-hook (*gaḷa*). The sense of freedom that is experienced by the forest-dwelling solitary wanderer is highlighted by comparing him with the forest-dwelling animals such as the deer, the elephant, and the lion.

When it comes to the Commentarial period, such urgency for attaining the end of suffering had been lost. As the Commentaries were the product of the village-dwelling and socially involved monks, regarding the attainment of the liberation from suffering, they present a very pessimistic attitude. According to their view, for instance, one

must aspire for liberation many eons, while collecting merits by offering alms and other facilities to the Buddhist monks.⁹

It should clearly be noticed, as P.D. Premasiri has also pointed out on the philosophy of *muni* in his introduction to the Sinhala translation of the *Suttanipāta*,¹⁰ that the individualism defined in this poem is not anti-socialism at all. Individualism is encouraged for the pragmatic purpose of meditative practice leading to the attainment of the end of suffering. This pro-socialist pragmatic individualism could be seen from several verses of this poem. For example, the verse 73 states that the ascetic must, being unopposed with the whole world, cultivate loving-kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity. Again, the verses 45–47 encourage the ascetic to find a mature friend who is either superior or equal to him. To understand the difference between the worldly life and the ascetic life, the pragmatic individualism presented in this poem, and also to see that this poem has nothing to do with a *Pacceka-buddha* concept and that these verses constitute a single poem starting with renunciation and culminating in meditative practices, before moving into the text and translation proper, I will present below the summary of the verses highlighting these points. Notice particularly the flow of the content presented in the poem for it confirms that these verses are not a collection from different authors but a single composition, a poem, containing the actual teaching of the Buddha, identified in the poem as the Solar Kinsman (*ādicca-bandhu*), though the Commentator says it refers to the *Pacceka-buddha* (see the notes of verse 54).

Content of the poem

The aspirant of the ascetic ideal must undertake a life of non-violence and loving-kindness to all beings. He must give up the family life and in turn remove all social ties (verse 35). It is the associations with others that lead to affection and affection in turn leads to suffering (verse 36). The intimacy that is necessary for a social and family life is a danger to the ascetic pursuit. Intimacy requires sympathizing and spending time with friends and companions but the ascetic ideal requires that one leads a solitary life renouncing all social and family engagements (verse 37). Being entwined and enwrapped by the intimacy

⁹ This is comparable to “the dark-age” (*kaliyuga*) of Hinduism and the *mappo* of East Asian Buddhism.

¹⁰ See Premasiri (2010: 30).

of children and wives, the family man has no freedom to be independent (verse 38). Unlike the ascetic who is free and independent (verse 39), the family man has no independence for he must engage with his companions, answering their requests all the time (verse 40). By playing and enjoying with companions and children, the family man develops abundant love for them. Parting from the loved ones is always painful. Therefore, one must leave home life before getting involved in a family life (verse 41).

One who enters into hermitic life becomes a person of the four directions, being free, without hostility, and being contented with whatever one gets. The hermit must endure troubles without panicking (verse 42). He must be content with little, no need to care too much for others. He should not be like those coenobitic monks and householders who are hard to please (verse 43). The hermit must remove all characteristics and bonds of the householder (verse 44).

Only if the ascetic can find a wise, mature, and right-living companion, he can wander with him. If he cannot, better live alone (verses 45-46). It is good to have a companion who is either equal or superior but such a companion is hard to find (verse 47). Where two people live together, it is possible to arise conflicts, disputes, and abuse. Therefore, the ascetic must fear this possibility (verses 48-49).

Sensual pleasures bewitch the mind. The ascetic must fear and abandon them (verses 50-51). He must be ready to endure cold and heat, hunger and thirst, wind and the heat, gadflies and snakes (verse 52). He must leave everything behind and walk into forest to practice (verse 53). It is not possible for those who delight in company to experience even a temporary freedom. That is the teaching of the Solar Kinsman (the Buddha) (verse 54). The ascetic must abandon all wrong views and come to the right course of practice, determine to attain the knowledge by oneself (verse 55), and give up all defilements such as covetousness, deceit, craving, hypocrisy, and delusion, without seeking for worldly aspirations (verse 56).

The ascetic must avoid evil companions (verse 57) and associate only a good friend. He must know one's goals and dispel doubt (verse 58). He must not desire for sport, love, and sensual pleasure. He must be free from longings, abstain from adornment, and be a speaker of truth (verse 59). Leaving behind family, relatives, wealth and excessive sensual pleasures (verse 60), knowing that the home life is bondage,

full of misery (verse 61), the ascetic must destroy all fetters, not think of returning to home life (verse 62).

The ascetic must guard his senses, protect the mind from sensual lust (verse 63), and discard the householder's marks as someone who has gone forth wearing a saffron robe (verse 64). He must give up greed for food and collect food going on a begging round (verse 65). Removing the five obstructions and all defilements (66), he must gradually come to experience the equanimity and calmness (verse 67). Exerting to attain the supreme goal (verse 68), he must practice meditation constantly and understand the perils of continuity as 'I' or 'self' (verse 69). He must aim to achieve the destruction of craving by being equipped with discipline, energy, mindfulness, and understanding of the doctrine (verse 70). Being unshakable, detached, and undefiled (verse 71), the ascetic must resort to secluded lodgings (verse 72). Unopposed with the whole world, he must pursue freedom by loving-kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity (verse 73), shatter the fetters and abandon passion, hatred, and delusion (verse 74).

A Note on the Translation

In this translation, I have attempted to translate every word of each verse of the poem while presenting both the text and the translation next to each other, and also matching each word or phrase of the verse by inserting a number. This numbering system is to show that when translating from Pāli to English, we need to re-arrange the word-order of a Pāli verse to a certain extent in order to present its meaning clearly in English. But as it could be seen below, this re-arrangement could be done to a minimum level as there is a close affinity between the two language structures. The basic structure of a Pāli sentence is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) and the basic structure of an English sentence is Subject-Verb-Object (SVO). However, in a Pāli verse, due to the poetic licence, this basic structure is not often followed.

Furthermore, the numbering system indicates, that when translating a Pāli verse into English, we must first analyse the grammatical relationships and the meaning of each word and phrase of the whole verse drawing the complete meaning conveyed by it. This drawn meaning can be transferred to the English reader properly only if we are, to a certain extent, willing to allow the Pāli idiom to be replaced by a comparable English idiom. I have also not even thought of converting

the Pāli verses into English verses for not only I am not a poet¹¹ but also I consider it is unnecessary for when translating an early Buddhist text, what is more important is not its literary quality but its message. Therefore, what is aimed at in this translation is to translate the poem giving priority to the meaning over the poetic quality and attitudes. It is also one of the reasons for my decision to present the Pāli verse together with its translation, so that one could easily notice that what has been translated into the narrative is a verse with poetic quality.

Furthermore, I consider this translation is unbiased in one sense and biased in another. I have not used the Commentarial agenda to understand and interpret this poem, though of course I have used the Commentary to understand the meaning of the words; hence I have dropped the Commentator's *Pacceka-buddha* idea to read and understand the meaning of the poem. I consider this is a serious issue. Why should we read the positive message of the 6th century discourses of the Buddha from a negative message of the 5th century AD Commentaries of the scholar monks? My own bias, if I may, is that I have my own perception of the poem. I think this poem is an admonition to the youth at the time of the Buddha or at the earliest part of the Buddhism's history, encouraging them to renounce the world and to undertake a life of the ascetic ideal believing that the attainment of the goal is possible here and now, in this very life, and that the understanding and practising of the Buddha's teaching must be done individually. I have also presented the verses not as a discourse but as a poem. This approach of mine will also have an impact on the reader to appreciate the message of the poem and its poetic quality at the highest possible level.

The Pāli text translated here is the PTS edition. In four places (36b, 46d, 62a and 74b), I have given preference to the readings of the *Apadāna*, which are listed in footnotes under each verse. It should also be noted that even though I reject the Commentarial interpretation, I still recommend it to be used or at least checked for the Commentarial definitions given to the Pāli words are highly valuable for understanding the text. Therefore, I will quote some of the Commentarial definitions on words in my notes if I consider them to be useful for understanding the meaning of the verses.

¹¹ See Norman (1992B: 74) where he says: "no-one should try to write poetry unless he is a poet".

When producing a new translation, the scholars of modernism who think that there is only one fixed meaning to be found in a text tend to ask the question why is it necessary to produce another translation for this poem as there is already a good English translation done by K. R. Norman. As I have already pointed out, to a scholar of post-modernism who advocates interpretivism, this question of the scholar of modernism is unacceptable. In any case, I will justify with some examples why there is always space for other translations to appear even when we are having a good translation of a text. Let me first invite the reader to take a look at the verse 46d where PTS edition abbreviates reading: *eko care* This abbreviation seems to indicate the poem's usual refrain: *eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo*. However, this is a mistake of the PTS edition. Mislead by this mistake, Norman translates the last line taking the usual refrain: "one should wander solitary as a rhinoceros horn". However, as Ap. 20d confirms, and also the content of the verse demands, this line should be read as *eko care mātaṅgaraññe va nāgo*. Hence, my translation reads: "one should roam single like the elephant in the Mātaṅga wilds". In this same verse, Norman translates 46b: *saddhiṃ caram sādhu-vihāri dhīraṃ* as "an associate of good disposition, (who is) resolute" but as I understand, it should mean: "a fellow traveler, right-living and wise".

Norman takes the verse 73ab: *mettaṃ upekkhaṃ karuṇaṃ vimuttiṃ āsevamaṇo muditañ ca kāle* to have the meaning: "Cultivating at the right time loving-kindness, equanimity, pity, and release". However, I translate it as "Pursuing at the right time the freedom (of mind) through loving kindness, equanimity, compassion and sympathetic joy". In this case, I take the accusative case in the sense of instrumental (*karaṇatthe dutiyā*). Furthermore, anyone who is familiar with the Buddha's teaching knows that in the discourses a group of temporary liberations (*sāmayikā cetovimutti*) is identified with the titles: *mettā-cetovimutti* (liberation of mind through loving-kindness), *karuṇā-cetovimutti* (liberation of mind through compassion), *muditā-cetovimutti* (liberation of mind through altruistic joy), and *upekkhā-cetovimutti* (liberation of mind through equanimity).¹²

See also 75c: *attaṭṭhapaññā asucī manussā* where Norman translates it as "Wise as to their own advantage, men are impure" but the line clearly states "Impure people are wise as to their own advantage".

¹² See for instance, A III 290-92; S III 296.

Norman takes 69b: *dhammesu niccaṃ anudhamma-cārī* to mean “constantly living in accordance with the doctrine in the world of phenomena”. But this translation makes little sense. Therefore, I have translated it to mean “constantly living in accordance with the teachings”. The Commentary has also seen a problem in this line concerning the use of the locative case and thinks that it is used in the text, perhaps, with the poetic license, for composing the verse beautifully and with ease (*tattha dhammānaṃ niccaṃ anudhamma-cārī ti vattabbe gāthā-bandhana-sukhattaṃ vibhatti-vyattayena dhammesū ti vuttaṃ siyā*).¹³ Norman translates the verse 68b: *alīna-citto akusīta-vutti* as “with intrepid mind, not indolent” but in my understanding it should be translated as: “with unattached mind, not lazy in conduct”.

Sometimes Norman takes simple things in a more complicated way. For example, the verse 59ab: *kbiddhaṃ ratim kāma-sukhañ ca loke analaṃkaritvā* is translated by him as “Not finding satisfaction in sport and enjoyment, nor in the happiness (which comes) from sensual pleasures in the world” but I have translated it as it is: “Not finding satisfaction in sport, love, and sensual pleasure in the world”. Norman takes 58a: *babussutaṃ dhamma-dharaṃ bhajetha* as “One should cultivate one of great learning, expert in the doctrine” but it actually means “One should befriend with one of great learning, bearer of the teaching”. Norman translates 57b: *anattba-dassim* as “who does not see the goal” but in the context it means “one seeing evil purpose”. See also the popular verse 50ab: *kāmā hi citrā madhurā manoramā virūpa-rūpeṇa mathenti cittaṃ*. Norman translates it as “For sensual pleasures, variegated, sweet (and) delightful, disturb in mind, with their manifold form” but as I understand, it should be translated as “Sensual pleasures are indeed elegant, honeyed, and charming. They bewitch the mind with their manifold forms”. There are many others that I could point out not only for how my translation differs from that of Norman but also to justify why doing other translations are still possible not only for this particular poem but also for all Canonical discourses and texts, despite the fact that scholars have already produced good translations.

My comparison above will also show that we should not impose restrictions in producing new translations of what has already been translated. As I have already pointed out at the beginning of this introduction, any translation is of the translator for it carries the translator’s

¹³ Pj II 123,15-17.

perspective, understanding, skills, learnings, biases and also his or her hidden agenda. The Western academics of modernism who claim that they can translate a Buddhist text objectively often either dislike or totally discourage the Buddhists from translating the Buddhist texts for they consider it is in their domain. For example, Norman states that “a Buddhist cannot translate a Buddhist text” and that if he still wants to do, he must put aside his personal beliefs and faith on one side.¹⁴ In my view, this is totally unacceptable for a post-modernist interpretivist scholar. Of course, every Buddhist will not undertake the task of translating Buddhist texts; only those who have the knowledge and skills and also understand the importance of having another translation will undertake to do so. Contrary to Norman’s view, my view is that the translator being a Buddhist is an added qualification to produce a good translation of a Buddhist text. The Buddhist translator who has the translating skills and has acquired both the source language and the target language is better off to undertake a translation of a Buddhist text than by a disbelieving philologist who either does not care or has no idea of what the Buddha’s teaching is. The Buddha states to his monks’ audience:

Monks, those monks who exclude the meaning and the *Dhamma* by means of badly acquired discourses whose phrasing is a semblance are acting for the harm of many people, for the unhappiness of many people, for the ruin, harm, and suffering of many people, of gods and humans. These monks generate much demerit and cause the good *Dhamma* to disappear.

Monks, those monks who conform to the meaning and the *Dhamma* with well-acquired discourses whose phrasing is not mere semblance are acting for the welfare of many people, for the happiness of many people, for the good, welfare, and happiness of many people, of gods and humans. These monks generate much merit and sustain the good *Dhamma*.¹⁵

Therefore, in this translation I do not attempt to fit into the modernism’s goal of achieving ultimate objectivity for I consider any translation is a subjective enterprise and mine is no exception. Moreover, I believe, if the translator is a Buddhist in the real sense, he or she will necessarily look at things objectively as they truly are (*yathā-bhūta*)

¹⁴ Norman (1992B: 80).

¹⁵ A I 69, 22-33.

for to be Buddhist is also to be honest and unbiased too. Therefore, I invite others including those learned Buddhists to come up with better translations of ancient Buddhist texts to communicate the Buddha's message to the English speaking world, both in the East and the West.

Text and Translation

The *Suttanipāta* 1. 3: *Khaggavisāṇa suttaṃ* The Text of the Horn of Rhinoceros

1 [Sn verse 35]¹⁶

sabbesu bhūtesu² nidhāya daṇḍaṃ¹
avibethayaṃ³ aññataram pi tesam⁴
na puttam iccheyya⁵ kuto sabhāyam⁶
eko care⁷ khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁸

Renouncing violence¹ for all living beings,² harming not³ even a certain one of them,⁴ one should not wish for a son,⁵ let alone a companion.⁶ One should roam single⁷ like the horn of rhinoceros.⁸

2 [Sn verse 36]¹⁷

samsaggajātassa¹ bhavanti snehā²
snehanvayaṃ³ dukkham idaṃ paboti,⁴
ādīnavam snehajaṃ⁶ pekkhamāno⁵
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷

¹⁶ Following the parallel verse in Mvu I 359 that comes with the plural form *sabhāyān*, *sabhāyam* is taken here by scholars (Lüders, Norman) as an example of Pāli *-am* as a masculine accusative plural ending. *Khagga* means either sword (Skt. *khadga*) or rhinoceros (*khagga-miga*). *Viṣāṇa* (Skt. *viṣāṇa*) means the horn (of an animal) or the tusks (of an elephant). As pointed out by Norman, the Divy 294 (=Sn 36) has *khadga-viṣāṇa* referring to 'the horn of a rhinoceros'. See Pj II 65, 10-11: *ettha khagga-viṣāṇam nāma khagga-miga-siṅgam*. Pj II 65, 14-15: *khaggavisāṇa-kappo ti khaggavisāṇa-sadiso ti vuttam hoti*. Pj II 63, 25-30: *daṇḍan ti kāya-vacī-mano-daṇḍam, kāya-duccaritādīnam etaṃ adbhivacanam, kāya-duccaritam hi daṇḍayatī ti daṇḍo, bādheti anayavyasanam pāpetī ti vuttam hoti, evaṃ vacī-duccaritam mano-duccaritañ ca; pabaraṇa-daṇḍo eva vā daṇḍo, tam nidhāyati pi vuttam hoti*. Pj II 63-64, 31-1: *na puttam iccheyyā ti attajo khettajo dinnako antevāsiko ti imesu catusu puttesu yaṃ kiñci puttam na iccheyya*. Pj II 64, 2-5: *eko ti pabbajjā-samkhātena eko, adutiyaṭṭhena eko, tanhā-ppabānena eko, ekan-ta-vigata-kīleso ti eko, eko pacceka-sambodhiṃ abhisambuddho ti eko*.

¹⁷ 36a: *bhavati sneho* (Ee); Ap 10a reads *bhavanti snehā*.

For one who has associations,¹ there are affections.² Following on affection,³ this suffering arises.⁴ Seeing⁵ the peril born from affection,⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

3 [Sn verse 37]¹⁸

*mitte subajjē² anukampamāno¹
bāpeti attham⁴ paṭibaddha-citto,³
etaṃ bhayaṃ santhave⁶ pekkhamāno⁵
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

Sympathizing¹ with friends and companions,² one who is enticed in mind³ misses the goal.⁴ Seeing⁵ this peril in intimacy,⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

4 [Sn verse 38]¹⁹

*vamso vīsālo va³ yathā visatto⁴
puttesu dāresu ca² yā apekhā,¹
vaṃsākaḷīro va⁵ asajjamāno⁶ [Ee Page 7]
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

The concern¹ for sons and wives² is like a huge bamboo tree³ that is entwined (with others).⁴ Like a (young) bamboo shoot⁵ not caught up (with others),⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

5 [Sn verse 39]²⁰

*migo araṇṇambhi¹ yathā abaddho²
yen' icchakam⁴ gacchati gocarāya,³
viññū naro⁵ seritaṃ pekkhamāno⁶
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

A deer in forest¹ as he is not tied up² goes for forage³ wherever it wishes,⁴ the wise person,⁵ seeing his independence,⁶ should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

6 [Sn verse 40]²¹

¹⁸ Pj II 73, 6-7: *tattha mettāyana-vasena mittā, subadaya-bhāvena subajjā*. Pj II 74, 4-5: *bāpeti vināseti*. Pj II 74, 12: *tividho santhavo taṇhā-dīṭṭhi-mitta-santhava-vasena*.

¹⁹ 38c: *vaṃsākaḷīrova* (Ee); Ap 12c reads *vaṃsakaḷīro va*. Pj II 76, 1: *vamso ti veḷu*. Pj II 76, 1-2: *va-kāro avadhāraṇattho*. Pj II 76, 4: *visatto ti laggo jaṭito saṃsibbito*.

²⁰ Pj II 83, 17-18: *seritaṃ ti sacchanda-vuttitaṃ aparāyatta-bhāvaṃ*.

²¹ Pj II 85, 4-5: *idaṃ me suṇa, idaṃ me debhī ti ādinā nayena tatthā tatthā āmantanā hoti, tasmāhaṃ tattha nibbijivā*.

*āmantanā hoti¹ sabāya-majjhe²
vāse ṭhāne² gamane cārikāya,³
anabbijjhitam⁶ seritam pekkhamāno⁵
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

There is a request¹ in the midst of companions,² whether one is resting, standing,² going (or) wandering.³ Seeing the independence⁵ not coveted (by others),⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

7 [Sn verse 41]

*khīḍḍā ratī hoti¹ sabāya-majjhe²
puttesu⁴ ca vipulaṃ hoti pemaṃ,³
piya-vippayogaṃ⁶ vijigucchamāno⁵
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

There is sporting and enjoyment¹ in the midst of companions.² There is also abundant love³ for sons.⁴ Loathing⁵ parting from what is dear,⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

8 [Sn verse 42]²²

*cātuddiso¹ appaṭiḅho ca hoti²
santussamāno³ itarītarena,⁴
parissayānaṃ sabhitā⁵ achambhī⁶
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

The one belonging to the four directions¹ is without hostility,¹ and is content³ with whatever one gets.⁴ Enduring troubles⁵ without panicking,⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

9 [Sn verse 43]

*dussaṅgahā⁴ pabbajitā pi eke¹
attho gabaṭṭhā² gharam āvasantā,³
apposukko⁶ para-puttesu⁷ hutvā⁵
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁸*

Even some who have gone-forth¹ and also the householders² who live in a house³ are hard to please.⁴ Having⁵ little concern⁶ for children of others,⁷ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁸

²² Pj II 88, 9-12: *tattha cātuddiso ti catusu disāsu yathāsukka-vihārī, ... brahma-vihāra-bhāvanā-pharitā catasso disā assa santī ti.*

10 [Sn verse 44]²³

*oropayitvā¹ gīhi-vyañjanāni²
 samsīnapatto⁴ yathā kovīlāro,³
 chetvāna⁵ vīro⁷ gīhi-bandhanāni⁶ [Ee Page 8]
 eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁸*

Removing¹ the householder's marks,² like a *kovīlāra* tree³ whose leaves have fallen,⁴ cutting⁵ the householder's ties,⁶ a hero⁷ should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁸

11 [Sn verse 45]

*sace¹ labbetha³ nīpakam sabāyam⁴
 saddhiṃ caram⁵ sādhu-vihāri dhīram,⁶
 abhibbuyya⁷ sabbāni parissayāni⁸
 careyya ten⁹ attamano¹⁰ satīmā.²*

If¹ one who is mindful² can gain³ a mature companion,⁴ a fellow traveler,⁵ right-living and wise,⁶ overcoming⁷ all dangers,⁸ one should wander with him,⁹ being pleased.¹⁰

12 [Sn verse 46]²⁴

*no ce labbetha¹ nīpakam sabāyam²
 saddhiṃ caram³ sādhu-vihāri dhīram,⁴
 rājā va⁵ raṭṭham vijitam⁷ pabhāya⁶
 eko care⁸ mātaṅgaraññe¹⁰ va nāgo.⁹*

If one cannot gain¹ a mature companion,² a fellow traveler,³ right-living and wise,⁴ like a king⁵ quitting⁶ the kingdom (which he has) conquered,⁷ one should roam single⁸ like the elephant⁹ in the Mātaṅga wilds.¹⁰

13 [Sn verse 47]²⁵

addhā pasamsāma¹ sabāya-sampadam²

²³ Pj II 91, 18-20: *gīhi-vyañjanāni ti kesamassu-odātavattbhālamkāra-mālāgandhavilepan⁷-itthiputtadāsādīni, etāni (hi) gīhibbāvaṃ vyañjayanti*. Pj II 91, 21: *samsīnapatto ti patita-patto*. Pj II 91, 23-24: *gīhi-bandhanāni ti kāma-bandhanāni, kāma hi gīhinam bandhanāni*.

²⁴ 46d: *eko care ... (Ee)*; this abbreviation seems to indicate the refrain: *eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo*. Due to this, Norman wrongly translates the last line. Ap 20d reads *eko care mātaṅgaraññe va nāgo*.

²⁵ Pj II 95, 15-17: *kuhanādi-micchājīvaṃ vajjetvā dhammena samena uppannaṃ bbojanaṃ bhuñjanto tattva ca paṭighānūnayaṃ anuppādentō anavajjabbojī hutvā*.

*setṭhā samā³ sevittabbā⁵ sahāyā,⁴
ete aladdhā⁶ anavajja-bhoṭṭī⁷
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁸*

Assuredly we praise¹ the treasure of having a companion.² The superior or equal³ companions⁴ should be associated.⁵ If they are not to be found,⁶ living faultlessly,⁷ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁸

14 [Sn verse 48]

*disvā¹ suvaṇṇassa pabbassarāni⁴
kammāraputtana⁶ suniṭṭhitāni,⁵
saṃghaṭṭamānāni⁷ duve³ bhujasmiṃ²
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁸*

Seeing¹ on an arm,² the two³ radiant bracelets of gold,⁴ well-made⁵ by a smith,⁶ clashing together,⁷ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁸

15 [Sn verse 49]

*evaṃ dutiyena sabā¹ mam' assa²
vācābbilāpo³ abhisajjanā vā,⁴
etaṃ bhayaṃ āyatim⁶ pekkhamāno⁵
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

Similarly, with another¹ there would be for me,² either objectionable talk³ or abuse.⁴

Seeing⁵ this future fear,⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

16 [Sn verse 50]

*kāmā hi citrā¹ madhurā manoramā²
virūpa-rūpena⁴ mathenti cittaṃ,³
ādinavaṃ⁶ kāma-guṇesu⁷ disvā⁵
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁸*

Sensual pleasures are indeed elegant,¹ honeyed, and charming.² They bewitch the mind³ with their manifold forms.⁴ Seeing⁵ peril⁶ in the strands of sensual pleasure,⁷ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁸

17 [Sn verse 51]

*īṭī ca gaṇḍo ca¹ upaddavo ca²
 rogo ca sallaṇ ca³ bhayaṇ ca m' etaṃ,⁴
 etaṃ bhayaṃ⁶ kāma-guṇesu⁷ disvā⁵
 eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁸*

This is a calamity, and a tumor,¹ and a misfortune,² and a disease, and a barb,³ and a fear for me.⁴ Seeing⁵ this fear⁶ in the strands of sensual pleasure,⁷ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁸

18 [Sn verse 52]

*sītaṇ ca uṇhaṇ ca¹ khudaṃ pipāsaṃ² [Ee Page 9]
 vātātape³ dāmsasirimsape ca,⁴
 sabbāni p' etāni⁶ abhisambhavitvā⁵
 eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

Cold and heat,¹ hunger and thirst,² wind and the heat of the sun,³ gadflies and snakes,⁴ having endured⁵ all these,⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

19 [Sn verse 53]²⁶

*nāgo³ va¹ yūtbāni vivajjayitvā⁵
 saṇjāta-khandbo⁴ padumī ulāro,²
 yathābhirantaṃ⁷ vihare araṇṇe⁵
 eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁸*

Like¹ a lotus-spotted great² elephant,³ with massive shoulders,⁴ leaving the herd⁵ may live in the forest⁶ as he pleases,⁷ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁸

20 [Sn verse 54]²⁷

*aṭṭhāna taṃ¹ saṃgaṇikā-ratassa²
 yaṃ phassaye³ sāmayaikaṃ vimuttiṃ,⁴
 ādicca-bandbussa⁶ vaco nisamma⁵
 eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

²⁶ Pj II 103, 17-18: *yathā c'esa paduma-sadisa-gattatāya vā paduma-kule uppannatāya vā padumī.*

²⁷ Pj II 105, 18-19: *aṭṭhāna tan ti aṭṭhānaṃ taṃ, akāraṇaṃ tan ti vuttaṃ hoti, anunāsi-kassa lopo kato.* Pj II 105, 23: *phassaye ti adbigacche.* Pj II 105, 27: *ādicca-bandbussa pacceka-buddhassa.* In all Canonical contexts, *ādicca-bandhu* is an epithet of the Buddha, but here the Commentator takes it as it refers to *Pacceka-buddha*.

It is an impossibility¹ for one who delights in company² that he would experience³ a temporary freedom.⁴ Having heard the word⁵ of the Solar Kinsman,⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

21 [Sn verse 55]²⁸

*diṭṭhī-visūkāni² upātivatto¹
pato niyāmaṃ³ paṭiladdha-maggo,⁴
uppanna-ñāṇo ‘mhi⁵ anañña-neyyo⁶
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

Gone beyond¹ the contortions of views,² arrived at the fixed course,³ having gained the way,⁴ thinking ‘I am with knowledge arisen;⁵ I am not to be led by others’,⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

22 [Sn verse 56]

*nillolupo² nikkubo³ nippipāso⁴
nimmakkbo⁵ niddhanta-kasāva-mobo,⁶
nirāsayo sabba-loke⁷ bhavitvā¹
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁸*

Having become¹ without covetousness,² without deceit,³ without thirst,⁴ without hypocrisy,⁵ with delusion and blemishes blown away,⁶ without aspirations in the whole world,⁷ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁸

23 [Sn verse 57]²⁹

*pāpaṃ sabhāyaṃ² parivajjayetha¹
anattba-dassim³ visame nivittḥam,⁴
sayam na seve⁵ pasutaṃ pamattaṃ⁶
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

One should avoid¹ the evil companion,² one seeing evil purpose,³ one who has entered upon bad conduct.⁴ One should not oneself associate with⁵ one hankering and negligent.⁶ One should roam single like the

²⁸ Pj II 106, 13-16: *diṭṭhī-visūkāni ti dvā-saṭṭhi diṭṭhi-gatāni, tāni hi magga-sammādiṭṭhiyā viruddhaṭṭhena vijjhanattḥbena vilomaṭṭhena ca visūkāni, evaṃ diṭṭhiyā visūkāni ti diṭṭhī-visūkāni, diṭṭhiyo eva vā visūkāni diṭṭhī-visūkāni.* Pj II 106, 17-20: *pato niyāman ti avinipāta-dhammatāya sambodhi-parāyanatāya ca niyata-bbhavaṃ adbhigato sammatta-niyāma-saṃkhātāṃ vā paṭhama-maggan ti.* Pj II 106, 23-25: *anaññaneyyo ti aññehi idaṃ saccaṃ idaṃ saccaṃ ti anetabbo, etena sayambbutaṃ diṭeti.*

²⁹ Pj II 109, 20-21: *pasutan ti pasataṃ, diṭṭhi-vasena tattḥa tattḥa laggan ti attḥo.*

horn of rhinoceros.⁷

24 [Sn verse 58]

*babussutaṃ² dhamma-dbaraṃ³ bhajettha¹ [Ee Page 10]
mittaṃ ulāraṃ⁴ paṭibhānavantaṃ,⁵
aññāya atthāni⁶ vineyya kaṃkhaṃ⁷
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁸*

One should befriend with¹ one of great learning,² the bearer of the doctrine,³ a great friend⁴ possessed of intelligence.⁵ Knowing one's goals,⁶ having dispelled doubt,⁷ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁸

25 [Sn verse 59]³⁰

*khiḍḍaṃ ratiṃ² kāma-sukhañ ca³ loke⁴
analaṃkaritvā¹ anaṃpekkhamāno,⁵
vibhūsanatṭhānā virato⁶ sacca-vādī⁷
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁶*

Not finding satisfaction¹ in sport, love,² and sensual pleasure³ in the world,⁴ being free from longings,⁵ abstaining from adornment,⁶ speaking truth,⁷ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁸

26 [Sn verse 60]³¹

*puttañ ca dāraṃ² pītaṃ ca mātaraṃ³
dhanāni dhaññāni ca⁴ bandhavāni ca,⁵
hitvāna¹ kāmāni yathodhikāni⁶
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

Leaving behind¹ son and wife,² father and mother,³ wealth and grain,⁴ and relatives,⁵ and various sensual pleasures,⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

27 [Sn verse 61]³²

*saṅgo eso¹ parittam ettha sokhyaṃ²
appa³ assādo³ dukkham ettha bhīyyo,⁴
gaḷo eso⁵ iti ñatvā⁶ mutimā⁷
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁸*

³⁰ Pj II 112, 5-7: *analaṃkaritvā alan ti akatvā etaṃ tappakan ti vā sāra-bhūtan ti vā agahetvā.*

³¹ Pj II 113, 1-2: *yathodhikāni ti sakasaka-odhi-vasena ṭhitāni yeva.*

³² 61c: *mutimā* (Ee, Pj II 114); Ap 35c reads *matimā.*

“This is a bondage;¹ here there is little happiness,² little satisfaction;³ here there is very much suffering;⁴ this is a baited hook”⁵. Knowing this,⁶ the intelligent person⁷ should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁸

28 [Sn verse 62]³³

sandālayitvāna saṃyojanāni¹
jālaṃ va bhettvā³ salil² ambucārī,²
aggī va daḍḍhaṃ⁵ anivattamāno⁴
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁶

Shattering fetters¹ like a fish in the water² having torn a net,³ not returning⁴ like a fire (not returning) to what is already burnt,⁵ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁶

29 [Sn verse 63]

okkhitta-cakkhū¹ na ca pādalo²
guttindriyo³ rakkhita-mānasāno,⁴
anavassuto⁵ aparīḍayhamāno⁶
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷

Eyes downcast¹ and not foot-loose,² senses guarded,³ with mind protected,⁴ not oozing,⁵ not burning (with lust),⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

30 [Sn verse 64]³⁴

obārayitvā¹ gīhi-vyañjanāni²
saṃchinna-patto⁴ yathā pārīchatto,³
kāsāya-vattho⁶ abhinikkhamitvā⁵ [Ee Page 11]
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷

Having discarded¹ the householder's marks,² like a coral tree³ that has shed its leaves,⁴ having gone out,⁵ wearing the saffron robe,⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

31 [Sn verse 65]

rasesu² gedhaṃ akaraṃ¹ alolo³
anañña-posī⁴ sapadāna-cārī,⁵
kule kule⁷ appaṭibaddha-citto⁶
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁸

³³ 62a: *sandālayitvā* (Ee). Ap 36a reads *sandālayitvāna*. For 38b, Ap 36b reads *jālaṃ pabhitvā*.

³⁴ 64b: *sañchinnapatto* (Ee, Ap).

Developing no greed¹ for tastes,² not greedy,³ not nourishing others,⁴ going on an uninterrupted begging round,⁵ not shackled in mind⁶ to this family or that,⁷ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁸

32 [Sn verse 66]³⁵

*pabāya¹ pañcāvaraṇāni² cetaso³
upakkīlese⁶ vyapanujja⁴ sabbe,⁵
anissito⁷ chetvā⁸ sneha-dosaṃ⁹
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.¹⁰*

Having abandoned¹ the five obstructions² of mind,³ having thrust away⁴ all⁵ defilements,⁶ not dependent,⁷ having cut off⁸ affection and hate,⁹ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.¹⁰

33 [Sn verse 67]

*vipitṭhi-katvāna¹ sukhaṃ dukhañ ca²
pubbe va⁴ ca somana-domanassaṃ,³
laddhān' upekaṃ⁵ samatthaṃ visuddhaṃ⁶
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

Having put¹ pleasure and unpleasure² behind oneself,¹ and joy and dejection³ already,⁴ having gained equanimity,⁵ calmness purified,⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

34 [Sn verse 68]

*āraddha-viriyo¹ paramattha-pattiyā²
alina-citto³ akusīta-vutti,⁴
dalha-nikkamo⁵ thāma-balūpapanno⁶
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

With energy aroused¹ for the attainment of the supreme goal,² with unattached mind,³ not lazy in conduct,⁴ of firm exertion,⁵ furnished with strength and power,⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

35 [Sn verse 69]

*paṭisallāṇaṃ jhānaṃ² ariñcamāno¹
dhammesu⁵ niccaṃ³ anudhamma-cārī,⁴*

³⁵ Pj II 119, 9-10: *sneha-dosaṃ, taṅhā-rāgaṃ ti vuttaṃ hoti, sneho eva hi guṇa-paṭipak-khato sneha-doso ti vutto.*

*ādīnavam⁷ sammasitā⁶ bhavesu⁸
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁹*

Not neglecting¹ seclusion and meditation,² constantly³ living in accordance with⁴ the teachings,⁵ understanding⁶ the peril⁷ in varying existences,⁸ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁹

36 [Sn verse 70]³⁶

*taṅha-kkbayaṃ patthayaṃ¹ appamatto²
anelamūgo³ sutavā satimā,²
saṃkbāta-dhammo⁵ niyato padhānavā⁶
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

Desiring the destruction of craving,¹ not negligent,² not foolish,³ learned, possessing mindfulness,⁴ having understood the doctrine,⁵ restrained, energetic,⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

37 [Sn verse 71]

*sīho va² saddesu asantasanto¹
vāto va jālambī⁴ asajjamāno,³
padumaṃ va toyena⁶ alippamāno⁵
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

Not trembling at sounds¹ like a lion,² not caught up³ like the wind in a net,⁴ not defiled⁵ like a lotus by water,⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

38 [Sn verse 72]³⁷

*sīho yathā dāṭṭhabalī³ pasayha² [Ee Page 12]
rājā migānaṃ⁴ abhibbuyya-cārī,¹
sevetha⁵ pantāni senāsanāni⁶
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

Wandering victorious,¹ having overcome² like a strong-toothed lion,³ the king of beasts,⁴ one should resort to⁵ secluded lodgings;⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

39 [Sn verse 73]

mettaṃ upekkhaṃ karuṇaṃ³ vimuttiṃ²

³⁶ Pj II 124, 13-14: *saṃkbāta-dhammo ti dhammūpaparikkhāya pariññāta-dhammo.*

³⁷ Pj II 127, 25-26: *pantāni ti dūrāni.*

*āsevamāno¹ muditañ ca kāle,⁴
sabbena lokena⁶ avirujhamāno⁵
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁷*

Pursuing¹ freedom² through loving-kindness, equanimity, compassion,³ and sympathetic joy at the right time,⁴ unopposed⁵ with the whole world,⁶ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

40 [Sn verse 74]³⁸

*rāgañ ca dosañ ca² pahāya¹ moham³
sandālayitvāna⁴ samyojanāni,⁵
asantasaṃ⁶ jīvita-saṅkhayambi⁷
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo.⁸*

Leaving behind¹ passion, hatred, and² delusion,³ having shattered⁴ the fetters,⁵ not trembling⁶ at the destruction of life,⁷ one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁸

41 [Sn verse 75]³⁹

*bhajanti sevanti ca² kāraṇattā³
nikkāraṇā dullabhā⁴ ajja mittā,¹
attatthapaññā⁶ asucī manussā⁵
eko care khaggavisāṇa-kappo ti.⁷*

Nowadays friends¹ associate with and resort to others² for a motive;³ those without a motive are hard to find.⁴ Impure people⁵ are wise as to their own advantage.⁶ (Knowing this) one should roam single like the horn of rhinoceros.⁷

The End of the Text of The Horn of Rhinoceros

Khagaggavisāṇasuttaṃ niṭṭhitam.

³⁸ 74b: sandālayitvā (Ee); Ap 48b reads sandālayitvāna.

³⁹ Pj II 130, 25-26: attani ʔhitā etesaṃ paññam, attānaṃ yeva olokeni na aññan ti attatthapaññā.

ABBREVIATIONS

- a first line (*pāda*) of the given verse
- A *Aṅguttaranikāya*. Morris, Richard and Hardy Edmund., eds. 1885-1910. *Aṅguttaranikāya* 6 vols. London/Oxford: Pali Text Society
- Ap *Apadāna*. Lilley, M. E., ed. 1925-1927/2000. *Apadāna*. Oxford: Pali Text Society
- b second line of the given verse
- c third line of the given verse
- d fourth line of the given verse
- Divy *Divyāvadāna*. K. R. Norman's reference to Cowell, E. B. & Neil, R. A. 1886. *Divyāvadāna*. Cambridge
- Ee English edition of the *Suttanipāta* (PTS)
- M *Majjhimanikāya*. Trenckner, Wilhelm and Chalmers, Robert., eds. 1888-1925. *Majjhimanikāya*. 4 vols. London: Pali Text Society
- Mvu *Mahāvastu*. K. R. Norman's reference to Senart, E., ed. 1882-1897. *Mahāvastu*. Paris
- Pj II *Paramatthajotikā II* (*Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā*). Smith, Helmer., ed. 1916/1989. *Sutta-Nipāta Commentary being Paramatthajotikā II*, Vol. I *Uragavagga Cūlavagga*. Oxford, Pāli Text Society
- Sn *Suttanipāta*. Andersen, D. and Smith, Helmer., eds. 1913/1997. *Suttanipāta*. Oxford: Pali Text Society

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Text-critical Remarks on the *Mahāsudassanasutta*

Yukio Yamanaka

Abstract

The Mahāsudassanasutta (MSD), included in the Mahāvagga of the Dīghanikāya, is regarded as an expansion of a portion of the Mahāparinibbānasutta, because MSD tells us of the story of the king Mahāsudassana and his kingdom, Kusāvātī which is later called Kusināra and the place where the Buddha enters into the parinibbāna. According to Norman this sutta is seemingly aimed towards laity, when it tells of the king's greatness being due to generosity (dāna), self-conquest (dama), and self-control (saṃyama). Recent studies deal with MSD in a wider range: Gethin (2006) tries to mark the mythic elements in MSD as a form of the early Buddhist meditation. Furthermore scholars who are engaged with the study of the Mahāyāna Buddhism, see the connection between MSD and Sukhāvativyūha, concerning the description of the splendid landscape of both Kusāvātī and Sukhāvātī. In comparison to the discussion on the content of MSD, the philological discussion on the Pāli text of MSD is less active. This article aims to provide a primary approach to the textual criticism on the Pāli text of MSD in order to lay the foundation for further studies of MSD.

Remarks on versions of the Mahāsudassana-story

As is generally known, there are versions of MSD as independent *sūtra/sutta*: Three Pāli (MSD and Mahāsudassanajātaka, Ja I 391,17ff. and S III 143-146), Sanskrit (Mahāsudarśanāvadāna), and Chinese translation (Mahāsudarśanasūtra 大善見王經, in the Madhyamāgama 中阿含 Taisho 1,515bff.) Furthermore there are versions which included in the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra. In the Pāli Mahāparinibbānasutta, however, the MSD is not fully narrated. The other versions included in the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra are one Sanskrit and four Chinese translations. And the Chinese translation of the Kṣudrakavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya includes a story of the king Mahāsudarśana.¹

¹ This is included in Taisho 24,392cff.

Nagao compares versions focusing on the Pāli version and Chinese versions, and Gethin focused on the Pāli and Sanskrit version as a part of his approach to the MSD, placing this sutta to the context of the Buddhist meditation. They both do not agree with the presupposition that the Pāli MSD preserves a more “authentic” version closer to the “original”, make a connection between the Pāli MSD and the Sukhāvativyūha, and set the King’s meditation as the core of the MSD.

Concerning the king’s meditation the followings are of importance: In the Pāli version the king practices four *jhānas* and then four immeasurables (*appamaññā* = *mettā*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekkhā*). On the other hand the king practices just first *jhāna* among four and then four immeasurables in the Sanskrit version. The sequence of the meditations seems to me puzzling: According to the Visuddhimagga, four immeasurables are categorised into forty *kammaṭṭhāna* or objects of the meditation² and thus the four immeasurables should precede the practice of four *jhānas*.³ The sequence of the meditations in the MSD is opposite to that of Vism. The king’s practice of four *jhānas* in MSD is apparently parallel to the episode in MPS that the Buddha practiced the four *jhānas* before he enters into the *parinibbāna*. However, if so, it remains puzzling that the king practices only the first *jhāna* among four in the Sanskrit version. At least it seems to me very likely that the redaction of MSD in the Pāli tradition should have happened before the establishment of the system of the Buddhist meditation training. If the redaction of the MSD had happened at the time close to the compilation of Vism, then the sequence of the meditation must be different than the present one, and the king’s practice of four immeasurables would precede the four *jhānas*.

Furthermore there is a redactional mistake in the Pāli version: the king practices four *jhānas* in the “Room of the Great Array” (*Mahāvīyūha-Kūṭāgara-*) and then he enters a golden chamber and practices four immeasurables. However, the king comes out from the Room of the Great Array, when the Queen Subhaddā stands at the door of the Room of the Great Array. Because he was in the golden chamber in the context, he should come out from the golden chamber, not from the Room of the Great Array. Such redactional

² Vism 295,4-10.

³ Vism 323,21ff.

mistakes like this could be clue to study the textual history of the MSD: Either the description of the king's entrance in the golden chamber was interpolated or the sequence of the king's rooms are erroneously arranged. In any case we might conclude that the Pāli version underwent the redaction.

It is worthy of notice that the story of the king Mahāsudassana in Ja and S does not tell us of the king's meditation. These two versions set the impermanence of things as their core-teaching. Consequently the question remains still open whether the meditation was the essential part in the "older" form of the Mahāsudassana-story, or not.

Philological and Linguistic Remarks on Text of Mahāsudassanasutta

In the followings we discuss philological and linguistic problems in the text of the Pāli MSD. Examples quoted in this article are from Ee, collating with readings of Be, Ce, and Se. In case the author emends the text or adopts another reading than that of Ee, then this is indicated.

D II 169,9-10 (= D II 146,12-13)

*Mā bhante Bhagavā imasmim kuḍḍanagarake ujjāṅgalanagarake sākha-nagarake parinibbāyi.*⁴

kuḍḍanagarake, Ce Ee; Be Se *khuddaka*. The commentary (Sv II 586, 21) interprets as follows:

kuḍḍanagarake ti nagarapaṭirūpake sambādhe khuddakanagarake ("kuḍḍanagarake": in a quasi town, in a narrow small town); and the ṭikā (Sv-ṭ II 232,9), *kuḍḍa-saddo patirūpavācī, ka-saddo app' attbo*. (The word *kuḍḍa* is expressing the resemblance, the word *ka* [of *nagaraka*] means insignificant). On the other hand the Sanskrit Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (MPS II 33.2ff.) reads, *kunagaraka-*, for the parallel passage. *kunagaraka-*, means "small town".

The meaning of the word remains more or less the same. However, we do not have a clear conclusion about the original form of the word. *Khuddaka* would be *lectio facilior*, for it is most probably taken from the commentary. On the other hand, *kuḍḍa-* < Skt. *kudya-*

⁴ "Lord, may the Blessed Lord not pass away in this miserable little town of wattle-and-daub, right in the back of beyond!" D-trsl. 279.

“wall” does not fit well into the context.⁵ We could suspect that *kuḍḍa* might be an alternative or derivative form *kuṭṭa*/ BSk. *koṭṭa*, occurring as *kuṭṭarāja*⁶, which means practically minor or subordinate king, although no clear meaning of *koṭṭa* is given in PED or BHSD.

D II 172,23-25

*atha kbo taṃ Ānanda cakkaratanam puratthimam disa pavatti.*⁷

pavatti, Be, Ce, Ee; *pavattati*, Se. This Siamese reading is seemingly caused by the fact that the commentary (Sv II 620,25 ≠ 623,14-15) reads also *pavattati*. But this example occurs in the part where the Buddha tells Ānanda of the story of the King Sudassana in form of the previous life story. It seems to be natural that the Buddha narrates the story in the past tense. On the contrary the present *pavattati* in the commentary might be an example of the employment of the historical present in Pāli⁸ and could be relevant for the syntactic study of Pāli.

D II 180,8-9

*idaṃ deva pahūtaṃ sāpateyyaṃ devaṃ yeva uddissa ābataṃ.*⁹

devasseva, Se; *devaññeva* Be Ce. According to the syntax, *uddissa*, is used with an accusative; CPD s.v. *uddissa*. And a parallel passage D I 142,6-7 (Kūṭadantasutta), reads also *devaṃ yeva uddissa ābataṃ*. Cf. MSuAv [6] *devaṃ uddiśya prabbūtaṃ*. In this case *uddissa* loses its original meaning as absolutive of “having pointed out”, and works as a postposition in the sense of “toward, for the sake of”.¹⁰ However, this is a special function of the absolutive and we know that just not every absolutive has this function. Furthermore the possible reason for Siamese reading might be noteworthy: When *uddisati* is used with a genitive, then this means “ascribing the credit of a donation to another = transferring the merit of a donation to another”. This usage of the

⁵ CDIAL s.v. *kuḍya-*.

⁶ See PED s.v. *kuṭṭa*.

⁷ “Ānanda, the Wheel-Treasure turned to the east”. Translated by the author. Cf. D-trsl. 280.

⁸ See Speyer (1886 § 326-327) concerning employment of the historical present in Sanskrit.

⁹ “Sire, here is wealth that we have gathered together especially for Your Majesty”. D-trsl. 284.

¹⁰ See Hendriksen (1944 § 48b), further examples are listed there.

word occurs especially in Pv-a.¹¹ This Siamese variant reading might be caused by the influence of the special usage of *uddisati* in Pv-a.

D II 180,14-16

*na kbo etaṃ ambhākaṃ paṭirūpaṃ, yaṃ mayam imāni
sāpateyyāni,*

*punad eva sakāni gharāni paṭihārāma.*¹²

Se omits *mayam*.¹³ This omission is seemingly understandable, for *paṭihārāma* clearly indicates who is the agent. We would easily assume that *mayam* might be redundant in this sentence. However, we should not hastily remove the personal pronoun, when we read another example from A V 329, 1-2, *etaṃ kbo Mahānāma tumbhākaṃ paṭirūpaṃ kulaputtānaṃ, yaṃ tumbe tathāgataṃ upasaṅkamtivā puccheyyātha*.¹⁴ The personal pronoun is used, although *tumbhākaṃ* and *puccheyyātha* clearly indicate who is the agent. For the construction *etaṃ kbo ... paṭirūpaṃ, yaṃ ...* “this is appropriate that ...” the usage of the personal pronoun seems obligatory.

D II 182,10-11

*phalikamaye kūṭāgāre sāramayo pallaṅko paññatto abosi.*¹⁵

sāramayo, Be Ee; *masāragallamayo*; Ce Se; Sv II 630,13 (lemma), *sāramayo*. *sāra-* could mean most excellent kind of wood.¹⁶ On the other hand *masāragalla-*, means certainly a kind of gem, although we do not know what kind of gem it is. But the word *masāragalla-* collocates always with *lobitaṅka-*; see PED s.v. *masāragalla-*. As the above quoted sentence indicates, *lobitaṅka-* is not used, and thus we might adopt *sāra-* for this passage.

D II 192,11-14

*Dīgharattaṃ kbo maṃ tvaṃ devi itṭhehi kantehi manāpehi
samudācarittha.*

¹¹ See CPD s.v. *uddissa* 3b.

¹² “It would not be right for us to take this wealth back home again”. D-trsl. 284.

¹³ A Siamese manuscript, K, which is used for Ee omits also *mayam*, see D II 180.

¹⁴ “Mahānāma, this is appropriate to you, members of noble families that you would ask Tathāgata, having approaching to him”. Translated by the author.

¹⁵ “In the crystal chamber a sandalwood couch”. D-trsl. 285.

¹⁶ See PED s.v. *sāra*.

*atha ca pana maṃ tvaṃ pacchime kāle anitṭhehi akantehi
amanāpehi samudācarasīti.*¹⁷

samudācaritvā Ee, Se; *samudācarittha*, Be Ce, which is adopted here. It is still to be examined whether the absolutive could be used as a finite verb, or not. We know that the absolutive could be used in the subordinate clause; *seyyathā pi devehi tāvatimsehi saddhiṃ mantetvā, evam eva kbo Sunīdhavassakārā Māgadhamahāmattā Pāṭaligāme nagaraṃ māpentī*, Ud 88,19.¹⁸

It seems to me unlikely that the aforementioned example might be a complex clause, for the phrase *atha ca pana*, occurs at the beginning of the second part, and this should be a sign that a new sentence begins. Compare with MPS 34.136, *pūrve ca tvaṃ bhogini maṃ mitravat samudācarasi*.

D II 198,7-9

*tesaṃ kbo paṇĀnanda caturāsīti itthisahassānaṃ ekā yeva sā
itthī hoti,*

*yā maṃ tena samayena paccupaṭṭhāti khattiyī vā velāmikā vā.*¹⁹

khattiyānī vā velāmikānī vā, Ee; *khattiyāyini vā vessāyini vā*, Se; *khattiyānī vā vessinī vā*, Be Ce. Here we emend the concerned phrase to *khattiyī vā velāmikā vā*. The part including this example occurs only in the Pāli MSD. There is no comment on the concerned word in Sv. But Spk II (ad. S III 146,21), *velāmikā ti khattiyassa vā brāhmaṇiyā, brāhmaṇassa vā khattiyāniyā kucchismiṃ jātā*. And thus *velāmikā* might be a woman of mixed caste, having Kṣatriya-father and Brahmin-mother, or vice versa. We expect that the other feminine word should be noun belonging to the Indian caste-system. So we adopt *khattiyi* in the sense of a Kṣatriya-woman.

Velāmikā is only used in the Pāli and has no corresponding in

¹⁷ “For a long time, Queen, you spoke pleasing, delightful, attractive words to me, but now at this last time your words have been unpleasing, undelightful, unattractive for me”. D-trsl. 197.

¹⁸ “If they had taken counsel with the thirty-three gods, thus the Māgadhamahāmattā ministers Sunīdhavassakārā and Vassakāra build the city on the soil of Pāṭaligāma”. Translated by Hendriksen (1944, § 128).

¹⁹ “Ānanda, and of those eighty-four thousand women I had, just one looked after me, and she was a Kṣatriya -woman or Velāmikā-woman”. Translated by the author. Cf. D-trsl. 290.

Sanskrit. But it is also noteworthy that *velāmikā* occurs in an inscription of Ikṣuvāku dynasty (about 3 AD) in Nāgarjunakoṇḍa, although the meaning of the word still remains unclear²⁰. And we also know with help of the inscriptions in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa that Sinhalese Theravāda settled there. Therefore it is not to be excluded that the word *velāmikā* had come from the dialect of this area and was adopted into Pāli.

Conclusion

In this preliminary study we approached to MSD, based on the text criticism. As the first part of this article indicates, the difference and incoherence in the sequence of the anecdotes could be clue to deal with the textual history of MSD. In the second part it became obvious that some Pāli words and some passage are still puzzling and need philological treatment and linguistic analysis. And thus we conclude that the text of MSD still needs further text analysis. Hopefully this attempt could provide a basis of further studies of MSD.

²⁰ See EI vol. XX, 16,9.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Aṅguttaranikāya. Morris, Richard and Hardy Edmund (eds.) 1885-1910. Aṅguttaranikāya. 6 vols. London/Oxford: Pali Text Society
Be	Burmese edition. Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana edition
BHSD	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary. Edgerton, Franklin (ed.) 1953. New Haven: Yale University Press
Bsk.	Buddhist Sanskrit
CDIAL	A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages. Turner, Ralph Lilley (ed.) 1962-1985. London: Oxford University Press / SOAS, University of London
Ce	Sinhalese edition. Buddhajayantī Tripiṭaka Granthamālā
CPD	A Critical Pāli Dictionary. Trenckner, Vilhelm/ Andersen, Dines/ Smith, Helmer (eds.) 1924-2011. Copenhagen: Munksgaard
D	Dīghanikāya. Rhys Davids, Thomas William/ Carpenter, Joseph Estlin (eds.) 1889-1910. Dīghanikāya. 3 vols. London: Pali Text Society
D-trsl.	Walshe, Maurice (trsl.) 1987. The Long Discourses of the Buddha. Boston: Wisdom Publications, Boston
Ee	European edition. Pali Text Society edition
EI	Epigraphia Indica. 1892-. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India
Ja	Jātaka. Fausbøll, Viggo (ed.) 1877-1897. Jātaka. London: Pali Text Society
M	Majjhimanikāya. Trenckner, Vilhelm and Chalmers, Robert (eds.) 1888-1925. Majjhimanikāya. 4 vols. London: Pali Text Society
MPS	Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra. Waldschmidt, Ernst. 1950. Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra. Berlin: Akademie Verlag
MSD	Mahāsudassanasutta

- MsuAv Mahāsudarśanāvadāna. Matsumura, Hisashi. 1988. The Mahāsudarśanāvadāna and the Mahāsudarśanasūtra. Delhi: Sri Satguru
- PED The Pali Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary. Rhys Davids, Thomas William/ Stede, William. 1921-1925. London: Pali Text Society
- Pv-a Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā. Hardy, Edmund (ed.) 1894. Dhammapāla's Paramatthadīpanī being the commentary on the Petavatthu. London: Pali Text Society
- S Saṃyuttanikāya. Feer, Léon (ed.) 1884-1904. Saṃyuttanikāya. 6 vols. London: Pali Text Society
- Se Siamese edition. Syāmaratṭhassa Tepītakam
- Spk Sāratthapakāsinī. Woodward, Frank Lee (ed.) 1929-1937. Sāratthappakāsinī. 3 vols. London: Pali Text Society
- Sv Sumaṅgalavilāsinī. Rhys Davids, Thomas William/ Carpenter, Joseph Estlin/ Stede, William (eds.) 1886-1932. Sumaṅgalavilāsinī. 3 pts. London: Pali Text Society
- s.v. sub voce "under the word"
- Sv-ṭ Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāṭīkā Līnatthavaṇṇanā. de Silva, Lily (ed.) 1970. Dīghanikāyaṭṭhakathāṭīkā Līnatthavaṇṇanā. 3 vols. London: Pali Text Society
- Taisho Taisho Tripiṭaka. Taisho shinshu daizokyo
- Ud Udāna. Steinthal, Paul (ed.) 1948. Udāna. London: Pali Text Society
- Vism Visuddhimagga. Rhys Davids, Caroline Augusta Foley (ed.) 1920. Visuddhimagga. London: Pali Text Society

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Obituary Tribute to
His Holiness Somdet Phra Nāṇasaṃvara

Pathompong Bodhiprasiddhinand



His Holiness Somdet Phra Nāṇasaṃvara was born on 3 October 1913 in Kancanaburi Province, approximately 130 kilometres northwest of Bangkok. His given name was Charoen Khotjawat. He was ordained as a novice in 1926, at the age of thirteen, at Wat Thewasangkharam (Devasanggaram), a monastery belonging to the Mahanikai Order and, on 12 June 1933, at the age of twenty, received the higher ordination as a monk while still at the same monastery. He remained there for the ensuing three-month rains retreat, after which he moved, later in the same year, to Wat Boworniwet Wiharn, where he strengthened his ordination by taking re-ordination within the Thammayut Order, under the monastic name of Suvaṭṭhano—a name which he was to retain for the rest of his life—with the then Supreme Patriarch as his preceptor.

Once there, he began to study Pali in earnest, subsequently earning the highest grade of Pali 9. Following his ordination, he

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rose quickly through the monastic ranks and, in 1956, at the age of forty-three, was appointed guardian and advisor to King Bhumibol Adulyadej during his traditional period of temporary ordination. A few years later, in 1960, he succeeded the venerable Chao Khun Phra Brahmamuni as abbot of Wat Boworniwet Wiharn.

Throughout his long life, he held a variety of positions in the administration of the Saṅgha. In 1972, he was awarded the ecclesiastical title of Somdet, which title he retained until his death, and in 1989, was made 19th Supreme Patriarch of Thailand.

A prolific writer, he produced over seventy publications, including a major work on the little-studied subject of Pali syntax. He worked tirelessly in the field of education, both religious and secular, including the foundation and construction of numerous schools, as well as promoting Buddhism both in Thailand and overseas. He oversaw the renovation of Wat Boworniwet Wiharn, subsequently creating a centre for meditation and study at which all were welcome, both Thais and non-Thais, just as he was also active in training Dhammadata monks to help spread Buddhism around the world and in providing financial assistance for the establishment of several monasteries overseas, serving the needs, not only of Thai expatriates, but also of the community as a whole.

By the late 1990s, his health began to decline, such that, in 2004, he was admitted to Chulalongkorn Hospital in Bangkok, where he was to remain until his death on 24 October 2013, shortly after his 100th birthday.

Obituary Tribute to Lance Cousins (1942-2015)

Rupert Gethin*



Lance Cousins died in Oxford following a heart attack in the early hours of Saturday 14 March 2015 at the age of seventy-two. He is survived by his ex-wife and two children, as well as a brother and sister.

Lance was born in Hitchin, Hertfordshire on 7 April 1942 and after attending Letchworth Grammar School took up a place to read history at St John's College, Cambridge. During his degree course he changed to oriental studies, studying Sanskrit with Sir Harold Bailey and Middle Indian with K.R. Norman. On completion of his MA he stayed on in Cambridge as a postgraduate student, working on an edition of the *ṭīkā* to the Saṃyuttanikāya with a view to completing a doctoral dissertation under the supervision of K.R. Norman. His interest in the Pali *ṭīkā* literature subsequently led to Lance's first publication, 'Dhammapāla and the *ṭīkā* literature' (*Religion*, 2 (1972), 159–165), a review article of Lily de Silva's edition of Dhammapāla's *ṭīkā* to the Dīghanikāya (3 volumes, Pali Text Society, 1970). This

* <http://iabsinfo.net/2015/05/obituary-tribute-to-lance-cousins/>.

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discussion remains an important discussion of the issues surrounding the question of two Dhammapālas, one the author of *aṭṭhakathā*-s, the other of *ṭīkā*-s. In 1970 Lance was elected to the Council of the Pali Text Society and continued to serve as a member of Council until the mid 1980s.

During his time in Cambridge Lance also became active in the Cambridge University Buddhist Society (founded in 1955 and the second oldest in the UK) and started attending classes in *samatha* meditation taught by Boonman Poonyathiro, and ex-monk from Thailand. His close involvement with this tradition of meditation was to continue for the rest of his life.

In 1970 he was appointed Lecturer in Comparative Religion at the University of Manchester in the same department that the founder of the Pali Text Society, T. W. Rhys Davids, had been appointed the first Professor of Comparative Religion in 1904. In Manchester Lance taught courses in Indian religions (Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism) and Indian languages (Pali and Sanskrit) but also a course in comparative mysticism, which took in Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism and Christianity as well as the methodological issues raised by the study of religious experience cross-culturally. During the 1980s Lance published several influential articles: his 1981 article on the *Paṭṭhāna* carefully demonstrates how the Abhidhamma theory of the process of perception (*citta-vīthi*) set out in the *aṭṭhakathā* literature is already assumed in the canonical *Paṭṭhāna* ('The *Paṭṭhāna* and the Development of the Theravādin Abhidhamma', *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 9 (1981), 22–46); his 1983 article on 'Pali oral literature' with its suggestion that early Buddhist texts exhibit the marks of techniques of improvisation continues to challenge scholars to provide a convincing model of their oral composition ('Pāli Oral Literature', in *Buddhist Studies: Ancient and Modern*, ed. by P. Denwood and A. Piatigorsky (London: Curzon Press, 1983), pp. 1–11). And in 1984 he published a masterly overview of Buddhism in *A Handbook of Living Religions*, edited by his colleague at Manchester, John Hinnells ('Buddhism', in *A Handbook of Living Religions*, ed. by John R. Hinnells (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984), pp. 278–343). His only publication to reflect directly his broader interest in mysticism is his 1989 article comparing aspects of St Teresa of Ávila's *The Interior Castle* and Buddhaghosa's *Path of Purification* ('The Stages of Christian Mysti-

cism and Buddhist Purification: The Interior Castle of St. Teresa of Avila and the Path of Purification of Buddhaghosa', in *The Yogi and the Mystic: Studies in Indian and Comparative Mysticism*, ed. by Karel Werner (London: Curzon, 1989), pp. 103-120).

In Manchester Lance continued to be active in Buddhist circles and was instrumental in founding the Manchester University Buddhist Society, and in 1973 became the founding chairman of the Samatha Trust, a charity established to foster the practice and teaching of the form of *samatha* meditation first taught in the UK by Boonman Poonnyathiro.

Disillusioned with some of the changes affecting British academic institutions, Lance took early retirement in the early 1990s when he was only a little over fifty. In the late 1990s he moved from Manchester to Oxford where until his death he taught Pali and Middle Indian in the Faculty of Oriental Studies and Buddhism in the Faculty of Theology, becoming an established member of the community in Buddhist and Indological studies in Oxford and a Fellow of Wolfson College.

Throughout the 1990s Lance continued to publish significant articles focusing especially on the history of the early Indian Buddhist schools, Abhidhamma literature and thought. In 1996 Lance became the first president of the UK Association for Buddhist Studies, serving in that role until 2000. Shortly afterwards he again became a member of the Council of the Pali Text Society and served as its president in 2002–2003. At this time Lance began working with Somdeva Vasudeva on photographs of a portion of the recently discovered manuscript of the *Dirgha Āgama*; together they produced a preliminary transliteration of a number of its *sūtras*. In 2005 he was Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai Visiting Professor at SOAS, delivering a series of lectures some of which provided the basis for articles that have subsequently appeared in print or will shortly do so.

During the last twenty years of his life Lance worked especially on the early history of Indian Buddhist schools, publishing articles on the Pudgalavādins ('Person and Self', in *Buddhism Into the Year 2000: International Conference Proceedings*, (Bangkok and Los Angeles: The Dhammakāya Foundation, 1994), pp. 15–31) and various divisions of what he latterly preferred to call the Theriya school, including an

important contribution on the Abhayagirivāsins ('The Teachings of the Abhayagiri School' in Peter Skilling, et al. (eds.), *How Theravāda is Theravāda ? Exploring Buddhist Identities* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2012), pp. 67–127). He also continued his investigations on the neglected field of the medieval Pali *ṭīkā* literature ('Abhidhamma Studies I: Jotipāla and the *Abhidhamma Anuṭṭikā*', *Thai International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, 2 (2011), 1–36').

Lance was a frequent visitor to Asia, especially Thailand and Sri Lanka where he twice spent several weeks at the Kalugala Aranya Senaasanaya in Kalutara District and more recently (2012) himself lead a meditation retreat in Hantana near Kandy.

Those who had the opportunity to meet, study or correspond with Lance found him always ready and willing to share his very considerable learning across broad areas of Indian history and thought, not to mention Christian mysticism and Jewish *kabbalah*. Many benefited from his suggestions and comments on drafts of articles and monographs. His death is a great loss to scholarship. Several significant scholarly projects he was working on when he died were nearing completion. It is to be hoped that at least some of these may be published posthumously.

Committed to rigorous scholarship, Lance's quest for knowledge was not bound by its conventions and fashions. Devoted to the practice of meditation, he never allowed this to cloud his scholarly judgement. Asked if he was a Buddhist, he would quip, 'The Buddha was not a Buddhist, I try to follow his example'.

Book Review: Thitzana, Ashin U. Kaccāyana Pāli
Grammar, Translated into English
with Additional Notes,
Simple Explanations and Tables, 2 vols.
Pariyatti Press, Onalaska, 2016.

Reviewer: Aleix Ruiz-Falqués

A Long Felt Need*

The publication of a new integral and fully annotated translation of the Pāli grammar of Kaccāyana (Kacc) is something to be celebrated, for this has been a long felt need in the field of Pāli studies. This new edition and translation is the work of Venerable Ashin U Thitzana, a well versed scholar in the Pāli grammatical tradition. U Thitzana was trained at the Masoeyein (Asokārāma) Monastery in Mandalay, reputedly one of the most prestigious *pariyatti* academies in the Theravāda world. Apart from his solid scholastic training, the author has many year's experience as a Pāli teacher with a Western audience.

The work is presented in two volumes of considerable size. The first volume (408 pp.) bears the title *The Complete Text*, it includes a *Foreword* that gives a general introduction to the Kaccāyana grammatical tradition within Pāli literature; a table of *The Pāli Alphabets*, including Roman, Devanagari and Burmese scripts in one single chart; a *Pronunciation Guide*; the *Text of the Kaccāyana Vyākaraṇa*, that is, the suttas only, in the main scripts: Roman, Sinhalese, Thai, Burmese and Devanagari; and subsequently the entire *Kaccāyanasutta* accompanied by its gloss, the *Kaccāyana-vutti* (Kacc-v), in Roman script only; the volume ends with *Appendices* containing summary lists of nominal and verbal affixes and a guide to nominal derivation according to the traditional methodology.

The second volume (889 pp.) contains a *Preface* and an *Introduction* with preliminary remarks on the goal of the present edition

* I would like to thank William Pruitt, Alastair Gornall and the two blind reviewers for their helpful comments and corrections in the process of writing this review.

and the history of the Pāli language and grammar. The volume also includes a *Pronunciation Guide* identical to the one in the first volume; a *Guide to Conjunctions*, i.e. sandhi; a *Key to Entries* explaining in detail the different fields of information in the analysis of every sutta and commentary; a *List of Abbreviations* of grammatical terms such as “ns. = nominative singular,” etc.; a short but useful glossary of *Frequently Found Words* and expressions that are typical of the grammatical style; then again the sutta text alone in two scripts: Roman and Devanagari; and finally the text of Kacc and Kacc-v with the translation and notes; this volume also includes *Appendices* with guides to nominal and verbal word formation, some remarks on the concepts of *kāraka* and *sādhana*, a list of parallel suttas (“similar suttas”) in Kacc and Pāṇini grammars, a *Kaccāyanadhātuvāvalī*, that is, *The Index of Roots in [the] Kaccāyana Text* with their main meaning(s), arranged in the Pāli alphabetical order, more reader-friendly than the traditional arrangement of the *Dhātumañjūsā*¹ text; the volume ends with an *Index* of topics and grammatical concepts.

The main motivation of this book is to present Kaccāyana as a grammar that can be used for the study of Pāli language. As the author himself states in his introduction:

The study of Pāli, the spoken language of the Buddha, is a worth-while and wholesome pursuit for anyone with a sincere heart and an inquiring intellectual mind whose apparent aim and purpose is to explore and understand Buddha’s spoken words. (Vol.2, p.1)

The author adds that in his years of teaching Pāli grammar to Western students, their struggle with Pāli motivated him to provide some learning tool. U Thitzana’s work appears in the milieu of a meditation community, not an academic community. This is a growing trend as more and more practitioners demand tools for *pariyatti* training.

Furthermore the author states that his intention is “not only to translate all of the whole text but also to contemporize an ancient grammar and its contents for the contemporary world.” This goal is partly achieved, although scholars should not expect the usual academic standards.

¹ See Andersen and Smith, *The Pāli Dhātupāṭha and the Dhātumañjūsā, Edited with Indexes*, Copenhagen, 1921. This edition is based on manuscripts obtained by Rasmus Rask, the father of comparative linguistics, in his trip to Ceylon in 1821.

Due to the sheer amount of materials included in a single publication, U Thitzana's *Kaccāyana* offers certain advantages over previous works in the field of Pāli grammar. Indeed, the work could be seen as a "milestone" (vol.2, p.4) in the modern history of Kaccāyana studies in European languages. Even though this history is not explained in U Thitzana's introduction, he is well aware of it and makes explicit his attempt to supersede previous works such as Senart (1871) and Vidyabhusana (1901) (vol.2, p.3). The following survey of Kaccāyana studies in the West may be helpful to situate U Thitzana's work in this modern tradition.

A Survey of Kaccāyana Literature in European Languages

Pāli studies and Kaccāyana scholarship in European languages have roughly the same point of departure. In 1826, while residing at Ratnapura, George Turnour (1799–1843), at the time a British civil servant in Ceylon, obtained a manuscript of the *Mahāvamsa* from his instructor. Turnour edited and translated this text into English, and this became the first English translation of a Pāli text. In the introductory essay to his edition, Turnour laments that the Kaccāyana grammar was already lost.²

Not having the oldest Pāli grammar at hand, the first Western scholar to engage in the study of Pāli traditional grammar not for historical purposes but simply to learn the language was William Tolfrey (1778?–1817).³ He used the *Bālāvatāra*, an abbreviated recast of Kaccāyana composed in Sri Lanka in the 14th century by scholar-monk, sometimes referred to as Dhammakitti.⁴ Tolfrey had served in the British army in India until 1805, when he decided to visit his uncle Samuel Tolfrey in Ceylon. He obtained a post in the public service one year later. In 1813, by virtue of his fluency in Sinhalese, he was appointed as translator in Kandy. The recently created Bible Society of Ceylon entrusted Tolfrey with the revision of the Dutch translation of the Bible. Cecil Bendall has described Tolfrey's meeting with the Dutch translation:

² Turnour (1837: xxv).

³ See Cecil Bendall, *William Tolfrey*, in *Dictionary of National Biography 1885–1900*, vol. 56, published in 1898, available online: [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Tolfrey,_William_\(DNB00\)](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Tolfrey,_William_(DNB00)) (last accessed July, 2018). The obituary was originally published in *The Gentlemen's Magazine* (1818: 185).

⁴ Gornall and Gunasena (2018: 38).

Struck by the unduly colloquial character of this version, he adopted the strange course of previously translating each verse into the classical Pali. It was probably this that led him to attempt the translation of the whole New Testament into Pali, a work which he had nearly completed at the time of his death. It was subsequently printed, but as a literary production it was of no great value. Tolfrey was, however, probably the first Englishman to study Pali, the most important of the languages of Buddhism, and he merits recognition as a pioneer.⁵

Tolfrey died on January 4, 1817, at the age of thirty-nine, “suddenly attacked by a violent disorder, which in less than a fortnight carried him off.”⁶ He left a number of grammatical notes from his study of *Bālāvatāra*. Perhaps due to the fact that he could not complete his work, his name has fallen into oblivion. But his notes were used by Benjamin Clough (1791–1853) when he wrote the first European Pali grammar.⁷

The official “discoverer”⁸ of Kacc in the West was Francis Mason, an American Baptist missionary in the Karen division of Burma. His main purpose in learning Pali was to improve his knowledge of Burmese (!), and also “to know what the founder of Buddhism *actually* taught.”⁹ This was not an exceptional approach at that time. As Urs App has shown, some of the early “orientalists” were very much driven by religious motivations and the quest for the original common language of humankind (the language that was supposedly lost as a punishment for the construction of the Tower of Babel).¹⁰

⁵ Bendall, *ibid.*

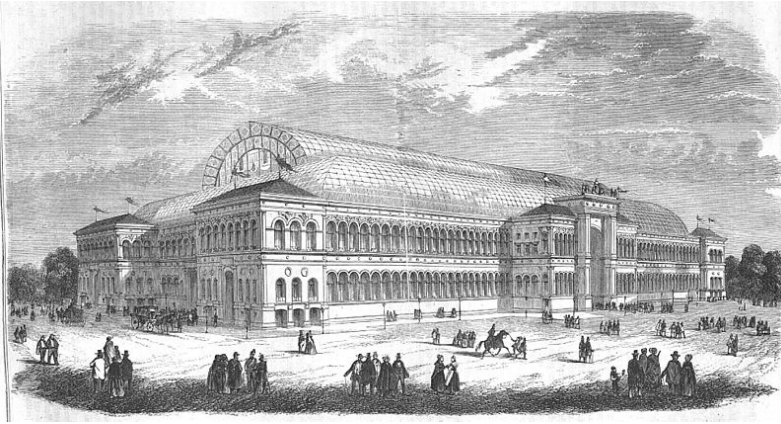
⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Clough (1824: iv).

⁸ Mason (1868: iii). Mason further is quoted in D’Alwis (1863, ii): “The grammar reputed to have been written by Kachchāyana still exists. I had a copy made from the palm-leaf, on small quarto paper, and the Pali text occupies between two and three hundred pages, while the Burmese interpretation covers more than two thousand. I made a compendium of the whole Pali and English, a few years ago, on the model of European Grammars, which might be printed in one or two hundred pages, and convey all the information contained in the two or three thousand in manuscript” (Am. Or. Journal, iv. p. 107). For one who knew Burmese, as F. Mason did, the Kaccāyana tradition in Burma had to seem everything but dead.

⁹ Mason (1868: viii). Italics are mine.

¹⁰ See Urs App, *William Jones’s Ancient Theology*, Sino-Platonic Papers, Number 191, University of Pennsylvania, July 2009: http://sino-platonic.org/complete/spp191_william_jones_orientalism.pdf (Last accessed July, 2018)



The Palais de l'Industrie of the *Exposition Universelle* in 1855, Champs Elysées, Paris. Mason compares the Kaccāyana System to this palace.

The next important name in the modern Kaccāyana renaissance is James D'Alwis (1823–1878¹²), who had independently discovered the Kaccāyana text in Sri Lanka:

[I have used] Kachchāyana's Grammar, which he [G. Turnour] then regarded as extinct. This, in the very outset of my Pali studies, after many years' devotion to Sinhalese literature, I ascertained to be a mistake; having added it to my library, in a purchase of Pali books which I had then (1855) recently made from the collection of the late lamented F. D' Levera, Esq., District Judge of Colombo.¹³

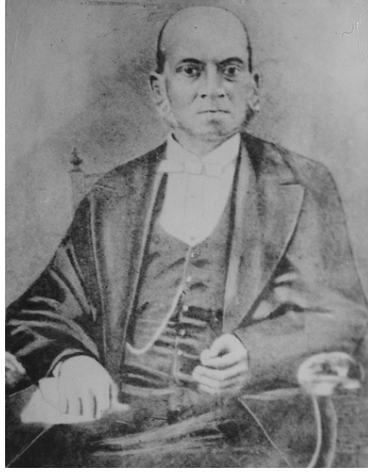
In 1863 D'Alwis published *An Introduction to Kachchāyana's Grammar of the Pali Language*. This work is very rich in erudition and its completion is even more meritorious if we consider the conditions under which D'Alwis' had to work:

Though living at “the very fountain of Pali literature”, I have, nevertheless, been unable to consult a single friend, either as to the choice of my language or the correctness of my renderings into English. I have indeed had much assistance from native Pandits, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, but none of them possess a sufficient knowledge of the English lan-

¹²<http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~lkawgw/gen3137.html> (First accessed, 28/05/13). Link already broken in July 2018.

¹³D'Alwis (1863: ii-iii).

guage...¹⁴



Sir James D'Alwis¹⁵

A few years later the Kaccāyana tradition began to grow in European soil. In 1869 the German scholar Ernst Kuhn published his doctoral dissertation with the title *Kaccāyanappakaraṇae specimen* (“An Excerpt of the Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa”) which contains a Latin translation and a Pāli edition of Kacc *kāraka* chapter. This edition is based on manuscripts brought to Germany by the pioneer ethnographer Adolf Bastian, to whom Kuhn dedicates the edition: “*Adolfum Bastian Indicopleusten*” (“To Adolf Bastian, who sailed to India”). Bastian brought these manuscripts from Siam (“*e Siamensium regno*”) and they were written in Cambodian characters.¹⁶ A further edited portion of Kacc was published in 1871 under the title *Kaccāyanappakaraṇae specimen alterum* (“A Second Excerpt of the Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa”). This piece contains a Latin translation of the *nāmakappa*.

Also in 1871 Emile Senart published his French translation of the full text of Kacc, along with the Pāli edition in Devanagari

¹⁴D'Alwis (1863, cxxxiii).

¹⁵Source: SWRD Bandaranaike Museum: <http://flickrriver.com/search/d/alwis> (Last accessed July 2018)

¹⁶Aside from being one of the founders of Ethnology as an academic discipline, Bastian wrote extensively about his travels. The diaries and notes of his journey in south-east Asia were published in six volumes under the title *Die Völker des östlichen Asien* (Jena, 1866-1871).

script, as well as the edition of the Kacc-v, with erudite comments and abundant references to the *Rūpasiddhi*, which Senart consulted in manuscripts. Senart's translation, though imperfect and based on very limited manuscripts, has been up to today the reference translation in a European language. This may be ironical as he himself was rather dismissive of the traditional method of Kacc:

It seems that we are dealing with a collection of grammatical remarks rather than a methodical grammar in which every word would be considered for what is worth and the natural limits of each rule would be clearly defined.¹⁷ (My translation)

U Thitzana has compared Senart's edition of the Pāli text with the standard edition in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia without finding major differences. Pind's 2013 edition shows, however, that the textual tradition is more complex. For the purposes of an introduction, U Thitzana is right and the modern text of Kacc is relatively consistent, but that is partly due to the influence of the printing press.

One of the most interesting references to the Kaccāyana literature in European scholarship is G.E. Fryer's *Note* published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta* in 1882. In his philological investigations, Fryer tries to ascertain whether Pāli is an old form of Māgadhī or not, in other words: if Pāli was the language spoken by the Buddha. In this *Note* Fryer outlines a historical sketch of the Pāli language using grammatical texts as sources. He is aware of the existence of several treatises. He divides them into two "schools": Kaccāyana and Moggallāna. He calls Kaccāyana "Śāriputta Mahā Kaccāyana". Fryer is also aware of the existence of the *Nyāsa*¹⁸ otherwise known as *Mukhamattadīpanī*, Vimalabuddhi's great commentary on Kacc. He also seems to be acquainted with the tradition that ascribes the first *sutta* of Kacc to the Buddha. From Fryer's following remark, it is clear that he has not studied the *Nyāsa*:

According to native tradition, Kachchāyana, also called Śāriputta, pursuant to the declaration of Buddha that 'sense is represented by letters,' proceeded with Buddha's permission to Himavanta and there composed this grammar, which, from this

¹⁷Senart (1871: 94): 'Nous avons visiblement affaire à une collection d'observations grammaticales bien plus qu'à une grammaire méthodique, où chaque mot serait pesé et les limites naturelles de chaque règle seraient nettement définies.'

¹⁸Fryer (1882: 118).

reputed origin, is considered sacred. It is to be found in every monastery in Burma. The arrangement of the work is irregular. The aphorisms follow each other without any regard to system.¹⁹

Fryer has learnt in Senart's edition that the author of Kacc must have had the commentary of Kātantra (*Kātantravṛtti*) in front of him. My impression, however, is that Fryer does not distinguish between Kaccāyana and the author of the *vutti*:

We may infer, therefore, from his having the Kātantra before him, that the author of Kachchāyana's grammar did not live prior to the tenth century A.D.²⁰

It is difficult to agree with Fryer in the exact date, but he is probably right in dating Kacc after the *Kātantravṛtti* of Durgasiṃha, which seems to belong to the 8th rather than to the 6th century C.E.

Fryer gives an interesting, yet awkward insight on why Kacc was believed to be a composition of the disciple of the Buddha:

[T]he founders of the two schools of Pāli Grammar assumed respectively the names of the right and left hand disciples of Gotama, viz., Sāriputta, and Moggallāna. This may have given rise to the tradition that Kachchāyana's grammar was written about 500 years before the Christian era.²¹

Fryer however does not take this tradition seriously. He believes that Kacc was composed in the 12th century by a Ceylonese "priest" called Sāriputta (he was probably thinking of the *ṭīkā* author). But the Ceylonese, says Fryer, ascribed an Indian origin to Kacc.²²

Fryer was criticized by Hoernle²³ mainly for not being familiar with Burnell (1875) and for giving an unjustified late date to Kacc. In his reply, Fryer refers to a work mostly unknown outside Burma, the "*Kaccāyanabbedatīkā*":

According to Ariyavaṃsa – who in 1439 A.D. wrote *Kachchāyanabbedatīkā* – the commentator Sanghanandi and Kachchāyana are the same person, and the illustrations are as-

¹⁹ Fryer (1882: 119). Underlined is mine.

²⁰ Fryer (1882: 121).

²¹ Fryer (1882: 122).

²² Fryer (1882: 125).

²³ Fryer (1882: 125).

cribed by him to Brahmadata: for he says *imāni suttāni mahākaccāyanena katāni vutti ca saṅghanandisaṃkhatena mahākaccāyānen' eva katā, payogo brahmadattena kato ti. vuttaṃ c'etaṃ*

kaccāyanakato yogo

vutti ca saṅghanandino,

payogo brahmadattena

nyāso vimalabuddhinā [App. D'Alw. Introd. p. 104].²⁴

Fryer is explicitly quoting from D'Alwis. It is doubtful that he himself knew the commentary. An important correction here: the authorship of Ariyavaṃsa, the 15th-century scholar, is very uncertain and not supported by references. From what is known, the *Kaccāyanabhedanavaṭṭikā* is a much later work and it is anonymous.²⁵ Furthermore, the famous verses are clearly a quotation from some work that the author of the *navatṭikā* knows, but which work is not clear. Fryer seems to follow the prose interpretation of the *navatṭikā*:

sutta + vutti by Kaccāyana Saṅghanandin

payoga by Brahmadata

nyāsa by Vimalabuddhi²⁶

What Fryer does not see yet is that the *nyāsa* is not a part of what we call the Kacc-v.

Another important name in early Kaccāyana studies is Albert Grünwedel (1856–1935). Grünwedel, better known today for his role in the Turfan expeditions, began his career as a Kaccāyana scholar. Being a disciple of Kuhn, it is possible that he took an interest in Pāli *vyākaraṇa* from his mentor. In 1883 Grünwedel publishes his doctoral dissertation, *Das sechste Kapitel der Rūpasiddhi*, being an edition of the sixth chapter of the *Rūpasiddhi* (the chapter on *ākhyāta* “verbal morphology”) from three Sinhalese mss. This work is to be considered among the first steps towards an understanding of the indigenous tradition. Grünwedel's choice of the 6th chapter was perhaps meant to be a complement to D'Alwis 1863. Grünwedel does not even mention the *Nyāsa* in his introduction or in his profuse end-notes, despite the

²⁴ Fryer (1882: 126).

²⁵ Nyunt (2012: 79).

²⁶ For a more detailed discussion on this problem of authorship see Ruiz-Falqués, 2017. There is an error in this article that needs to be corrected: Ariyalaṅkāra was the author of the *pūrāṇatṭikā* “old commentary”, not of the *navatṭikā* “new commentary”, which is anonymous and probably later than Ariyalaṅkāra.

fact that *Rūpasiddhi* may have benefited from Vimalabuddhi's work in great measure.

One of the earliest attempts at adapting the entire Kacc system into English was done by the unjustly forgotten Tha Do Oung,²⁷ who was professionally a surgeon working in Arakan (northwest Burma), but he was also trained as a Buddhist scholar. Oung was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon). He studied Pāli with Emil Forchhammer at the Rangoon University. Oung produced a comprehensive and pioneering treatise of Pāli grammar based on Pāli sources. The manual is divided in four volumes:

- *A Grammar of the Pali Language (after Kaccāyana), Vol. I, Containing Sandhi, Nāma and Kāraka, and Samāsa*, Akyab Orphan Press, Akyab, 1899
- *A Grammar of the Pali Language (after Kaccāyana), Vol. II, Containing Taddhita, Kita, Uṇādi, Ākhyāta, Upasagga and Nipāta particles*, Pyigy Mandine Press, Akyab, 1899
- *A Grammar of the Pali Language, Vol. III, being a Dictionary of Pali word-roots*, Pyigy Mandine Press, Akyab, 1900
- *A Grammar of the Pali Language, Vol. IV, Chandam, etc.* Pyigy Mandine Press, Akyab, 1902

Volume One, dedicated to Forchhammer, and Volume Two, dedicated the author's parents, are based on Kacc and deal with Pāli grammar proper. They are not very different in scope from U Thitzana's work. It seems that U Thitzana is not aware of the existence of Oung's volumes.

The third volume (1900) is dedicated to the members of the Arakan Jubilee Club, of which Oung was Honorary Secretary by that time. It is a dictionary of *dhātu*-s "verbal roots" after the Pāli *Dhātu-mañjūsā*. Again, it bears similarities with U Thitzana's work. The fourth volume (1902), is dedicated to none other than Fryer. This volume deals with *alaṅkāra* "figures of speech" and *chandam* "prosody." It is based on the Pāli work *Vuttodaya* and its *ṭīkā*.

As a Burmese, Oung seems to have a deep insight on the re-

²⁷I must thank Eisel Mazard for discovering this work to me, back in 2011, and most importantly for informing me of the existence of a complete set in the archives of the Library of the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, Cambridge University.

lation between Pāli *vyākaraṇa* and Buddhist philosophy and hermeneutics:

The grammatical portion of Buddhistic literature is vast; so much so that more than a thousand *aṅgās* are taken up in elucidation of the original texts. In fact, the higher branches of the study of Pāli Grammar gradually merge into the subtle questions of the sublime Ethico-psychological philosophy of Buddhism.²⁸

Oung's grammar has never been reprinted, perhaps because it stands half way between a proper translation of Pāli treatises and a grammar of Pāli according to the principles of modern linguistics. Or it may be simply because of bad luck and the fact that the author was not a famous Indologist (he was not even a scholar by profession).

In 1901 the Mahabodhi Society, an institution whose fundamental principles were "archaeological and philological" and whose object was "to revive the philosophical study of the Pali religion in its native soil"²⁹ publishes, through the labours of the Bengali pandit S.C. Vidyabhusana (1870–1920), a Devanagari edition of Kacc and Kacc-v accompanied with an English translation of the *sutta* and the *vutti* (translated *ad sensum*). Vidyabhusana follows Burnell's theory that "the Aindra grammar was the primitive grammatical science as handed down by various teachers"³⁰ and by this he places Kacc among the most ancient grammatical traditions of India. When it comes to the authorship of Kacc, Vidyabhusana quotes the stanza of *Kaccāyanabhedanavaṭṭikā* from D'Alwis, but offers a different interpretation, based simply on the verses:

The *yoga (sūtra)* was written by *Kaccāyana*, the commentary by *Saṅghanandī*, the examples were added by *Brahmadatta* and the gloss by *Vimalabuddhi*.

This interpretation was later on popularized by Malalasekera in his *Pali Literature of Ceylon* (1928).³¹ Nevertheless Vidyabhusana believed, as did Fryer and the author of the *navatṭikā*, that Kacc and Kacc-v are the work of the same author. In the *Foreword* of vol. 1 (p.3), U Thitzana refers to Vidyabhusana's publication when dealing with the authorship of the four parts of Kacc. He does not refer to the original source.

²⁸ Oung (1902: Preface).

²⁹ Vidyabhusana (1901: xii).

³⁰ Vidyabhusana (1901: xviii).

³¹ Malalasekera (1928: 180).

Vidyabhusana, like Kuhn, did not know the *Nyāsa*. He thought it was a part of what we know under the name of Kacc-v:

From the manner in which the *sutta*, *vutti*, *payoga* and *nyāsa* are intimately connected with one another, I am inclined to believe that the entire work was written by Kātyāyana himself. At any rate the *sutta*, etc. were written simultaneously.³²

Thus, Vidyabhusana has to be included in the list of those scholars who worked on Kacc without having consulted its major commentary.

The rest of Vidyabhusana's introduction is a reworking of previous materials, such as Burnell (1875) and D'Alwis (1863). Vidyabhusana is of the opinion that Kaccāyana, the author of Kacc, lived after 250 B.C. and before the 3rd c. A.D., a position that seems untenable, considering the indebtedness of Kacc and Kacc-v to Sanskrit grammars later than the 6th c. A.D. This has been sufficiently discussed by Ole Pind (2012, 2013).

Vidyabhusana's translation is accurate, although explanatory notes are missing (and missed). This work, though in English, did not manage to replace Senart as the standard Kacc translation in Western academia, most probably because the edition of the Pali text is based on Senart's.³³

Rudolph Otto Franke's *Geschichte und Kritik der einheimischen Pali-Grammatik und –Lexicographie* (1902) represents the first European historical account of the Pāli grammatical tradition as a whole. This comparative study focuses much more on Kaccāyana's Sanskrit sources and the internal development of the Pāli grammatical tradition. Franke is aware that Kacc is accompanied by satellite works such as the *Dhātumañjūsā*, but he does not recognise these works as belonging to the same author. Franke is also very critical with the lack of a systematic approach in Kacc. He calls it "unscientific" with "absurd derivations" due to the ignorance of the "genetic relation with Sanskrit." As an example, he gives the explanation that the sound *g* in *puṭhag* (from Skt. *pr̥thak*) and *pageva* (from Skt. *prāk* or *praga*) is unnecessarily considered an *āgama* "insertion" or "augment" in Kacc. On the other hand, Franke argues, Kacc draws from a pool of *sūtra*-s

³²Vidyabhusana (1901: xxvi).

³³Vidyabhusana (1901: xlii): "My best thanks are also due to Prof. E. Senart of Paris whose excellent edition of *Kaccāyana* I have frequently used."

that are based on Sanskrit, not Pāli, usage.³⁴ This criticism is based on facts and is undisputable. When reading U Thitzana's introductory remarks on Kacc one should be aware of the limitations of this system, limitations that were also noticed by the other great Pāli grammarians, Moggallāna and Aggavaṃsa.

However, some of Franke's bold statements need to be read with caution, because he is one of those scholars whose severe verdict on Kacc is not based on the study of the *Nyāsa*. In this respect, he follows Kuhn, even if it is to disagree with him in other respects.³⁵ Franke further states that some Sri Lankan scholars, such as Wickremasinghe, maintain the authorship of Kaccāyana for *sutta*, *vutti* and *payoga*.³⁶ But he dismisses this possibility on internal grounds: Franke presupposes that Kacc-v misunderstands Kacc (Pind 2012 explains this in greater detail).

Franke is familiar with the most important names in the Kacc school, but some mistakes in his account show that his knowledge is based only on catalogues of manuscripts, and not on direct examination of the texts. Franke's ignorance of Kacc commentarial literature has already been highlighted by Kahrs (1992) and Pind (1997), and the recent publication of the first part of Subhuti's *History of the Pali Grammatical Tradition of South and Southeast Asia* (1876),³⁷ translated from the original Sinhalese and annotated by Alastair Gornall and Amal Gunasena (*JPTS XXXIII*) confirms that Franke's assessment was often second hand.

Franke's main interest was not the grammar of Pāli *per se*, but tracing back the Sanskrit sources "genetically." His evolutive mindset would have lead him to this choice, and hence his perception of Kacc is completely dependent his refusal to study the Kacc tradition internally – and by "internally" I do not imply any *emic* nuance, but the Kacc school as it has been preserved in manuscripts and South Asian and Southeast Asian editions. U Thitzana's approach, for instance, is entirely different and he sees the Kacc system as a very detailed and rich system where everything has its right place. This is because U Thitzana takes the long tradition of commentaries and sub-commentaries as

³⁴ Franke (1902: 14).

³⁵ Franke (1902: 21).

³⁶ Franke (1902: 22).

³⁷ I have not included this work in the survey because it was originally in Sinhalese, not in a European language..

a point of departure, not explicitly, but *de facto*.

Regarding the indigenous tradition in Burma, a noteworthy contribution was made by Mabel Haynes Bode (1864–1922), a scholar who is known for her classic reference book *Pāli Literature of Burma*. The seed of this book was published one year earlier (1908) in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*: “Early Pali Grammarians of Burma”. Bode’s article is relevant insofar as, for the first time, it acknowledged the importance of the *Nyāsa* in the Burmese tradition. As is well known, her considerations are based on the *Sāsanavaṃsa*’s account, together with some notes based on manuscript catalogues and early surveys of Burmese literature (for instance: Forchhammer, 1885). Bode says that the *Nyāsa*, sometimes known as *Mukhamattadīpanī*, is a commentary “of some importance” on the “Kaccāyanayoga”³⁸ (sic). The author, Vimalabuddhi, is said to be from Pagan (!) – although he was most probably from Sri Lanka.³⁹ While dismissing the *Nyāsa* as a minor work, Bode gives a more or less accurate account of the Kacc commentaries in Burma.



13. Miss Heppel and the Remoue Form, July 1877

Back row (left to right): Minnie May, Isabel Wakeford, Edith Joseph, Flossie Boughton, Mabel Haynes, Beatrice Clay, and row from back: —, Emily Garrett, Elsie Bushall, Alice Lawrence, —, Thornton, Katie Joseph, Hester Hall, Lily Haynes, 3rd row from back: —, Mary Wright, Rose —, Flora Hazel, Jessie Hulse, Miss Heppel, Rosamund Horsley, Elizabeth Cullum, Helena Wilson, Maude Hughes. Front row: Katie Bruff, Lizzie Brons, Alice Collins, Daisy Bruff, Mary Kemp, Ida Stone, Amy Collins

The only surviving picture of Mabel Haynes Bode, author of *Pāli Literature of Burma* and the *Pāli* edition of the *Sāsanavaṃsa*.⁴⁰

³⁸ Bode (1908: 93).

³⁹ Nyunt (2012: 76).

⁴⁰ <http://www.users.globalnet.co.uk/~hoz/milton/mabel.html> (Last accessed July, 2018).

The most important work related to Kacc published in the first half of the 20th century is the monumental edition of the *Saddanīti* by Helmer Smith with the assistance of Nils Simonsson (6 Vols. 1929–1966). In the critical apparatus, Smith refers to Kacc, Kacc-v and *Nyāsa* (abbreviated Mmd) whenever necessary. The critical apparatus itself contains a mine of materials for a comparative study of the Pāli grammarians. Although Smith did not publish any essay on the topic, his short preface to *Sadd* stands as a programmatic essay for the study of 12th century Sinhalese and Burmese grammarians and their successors.

After Franke's study in 1902, historical research on Pāli grammar came to a halt. Heinrich Lüders' *Kātantra and Kaumārālāta*, Berlin, 1930, is an exception to the rule. In 1957 Louis Renou devoted a short article on the similarities between Kacc and Kātantra (see Bibliography), but his contribution is of little significance in the field of Pāli studies. It is only in the late nineteen eighties that indigenous Pāli Grammar recovers a visible place in Pāli studies, and that is mainly due to O.H. Pind's series of articles on Pali grammar and grammarians. Pind's studies are in parallel to his labours on the Critical Pāli Dictionary. In his first papers (1989, 1990) Pind shows that Buddhaghosa's grammatical analyses betray some knowledge of Pāṇini. Pind also states that later commentators, namely Mahānāma (6th c. A.D.⁴¹) and Buddhadatta (8th c. A.D.⁴²) used Pāṇinian grammar. Buddhadatta, however, seems to have also known Kacc or the *Nyāsa*.⁴³ In 1997 Pind published a detailed survey of the history of Pali grammar and grammarians. The 1997 article was republished in 2012 with minor corrections in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*. The time frame of Pind's survey is approximately fifth to the tenth centuries CE and therefore it does not cover the rich period of Pali grammatical works including *Aggavaṃsa* and *Moggallāna*. Yet, it is the best available introduction on Pali indigenous grammar, more detailed and up to date than the introduction in U Thitzana's book.

Pind has published the critical edition of Kacc and Kacc-v (PTS, 2013), which any user of U Thitzana's edition should be advised to consult in parallel.

To conclude this survey I will list a few important contributions

⁴¹Norman (1983: 132).

⁴²Norman (1983: 146). The date is disputed.

⁴³Pind (1990: 211).

that make reference to Kaccāyana in recent scholarship: Tin Lwin publishes an important article on Sadd in 1991 where he compares Kacc and the *Saddanīti*. Tin Lwin marginally refers to the *Nyāsa* and he does not seem to be aware of Pind's articles (1989, 1990). In 1992 Eivind Kahrs publishes a monograph on the *kāraka* section of the *Saddanīti*. In this extensive article Kahrs repeatedly makes reference to Kacc and Kacc-v. His notes on Kacc are based on Senart (1871) and Pind (1989, 1990). Kahrs mainly focuses on the relationship between *Saddanīti* and the *Kāśīkāvṛtti*. In 2008 Mahesh Deokar publishes a comparative study of technical terms in Pāli and Sanskrit grammars, with a Foreword by E. Kahrs. Deokar's study is preceded by a learned introduction where the author gives a full list of Asian publications related to Pāli Grammar. In 2004 Dwivedi, the learned editor of the Kātantra edition with five commentaries,⁴⁴ published parallel tables of Kacc and Kātantra.⁴⁵ In 2008 Eisel Mazard digitally published a revised edition of Charles Duroiselle's Pali Grammar.⁴⁶ Mazard's introductory essay offers a vivid picture of Pāli grammatical studies in the late 19th century, to which I am much indebted in this account. Alastair Gornall completes a doctoral dissertation in 2012 on grammar and religion in Sri Lanka during the 12th century C.E. He is also the author of an important article on the broader implications of Pāli phonetics in his 2014 article "How Many Sounds are in Pāli?" There are of course other scholars working in the field but I have named only a representative list, by no means an exhaustive one.⁴⁷

Observations on U Thitzana's *Kaccāyana*

This short survey sufficiently shows that in the history of Kaccāyana scholarship the motivations have varied: ranging from the quest for the original language of humankind to a more historical grammar. Where does U Thitzana's work fit in here? U Thitzana's work is not a standard academic book. The lack of scholarly precision is felt already in the *Introduction*. For instance, in p.7 the author says that Pāli, san-

⁴⁴ See *References*.

⁴⁵ Dwivedi and Kumar, 2004.

⁴⁶ Mazard's edition of Duroiselle's Pali Grammar is available on Google Books.

⁴⁷ Outside the mainstream academic circuit, but intertwined with it, we find the Yahoo Pali List, a mailing list moderated and curated by Jim Anderson, whose archives contain a great number of important discussions on grammatical points and traditional grammars. Another relevant resource is Venerable Bhikkhu Anandajoti's website: www.ancient-buddhist-texts.net, which has a section on philological topics.

skrit and Prakrit “belong to the Indo-Aryan language family of the Indus civilization” and also that “Sanskrit became the sacred language of Hinduism and Vedic texts, while Pali being the sacred media for all Buddhist texts and Prakrit being the sacred language of Jains and their religious texts.”

In the Foreword of vol. 1, in the section *Pali and its origin*, there are a few inaccurate expressions such as: “The inscriptions written in Pāli dating back to third century B.C. have been found in Orissa, Bihar, Allahabad, Delhi, Pujab, Guzerat (Gujarat) and even in Afghanistan.” If the author is referring to the Asokan Inscriptions, they cannot be qualified as Pāli. The reader who may be interested in a more up to date discussion of the origin of *Pali* as the name of a language name and also its nature can refer to Kate Crosby’s article of 2004.

There are a number of typographical errors that could have been easily avoided. For example: p.8 *astbtadhyāyī*, read *aṣṭādhyāyī*; p.9 *ādisabdikā*, read *ādīśabdikā*; *Janendara*, read *Jinendra* (or *Jainendra?*); *Pāṇinī*, read *Pāṇini*, p.10 *Kāśakṛtsna*, *Apisāli and Śākaṭāyana* read *Kāśakṛtsna*, *Apīśāli and Śākaṭāyana*; *Siddhanta Kaumudī* read *Siddhānta Kaumudī*; *Dikṣeta* read *Dikṣita*, and so on. Referencing should also be added. For example, in vol.2, p. 9, there are two verses in Devanagari script, this time with a perfect spelling of the names of the grammarians:

indraś candraḥ kāśakṛtsnāpīśalī śākaṭāyanaḥ ||
pāṇinyamarajainendrāḥ jayantyāṣṭādīśābdikāḥ || ||
indram (read aindram) cāndram kāśakṛtsnam komāram
śākaṭāyanam ||
sārasvatam (read sārāsvatam) cāpīśalam śākalyam pāṇinīyakam || ||

The first stanza is from Vopadeva’s *Kavikalpadruma*, verse 2,⁴⁸ but we do not have any mention of the source of the verses.

The presentation of the Pāli text is problematical, as it is a copy pasted version of the online CSCD version,⁴⁹ including typos (e.g. vol. 2, p. 126, Kacc 11. *adhoḥbatam* instead of *adhoḥbitam* “placed below”,

⁴⁸Palsule (1954: 1); see also Saini (2007: 45 n.1).

⁴⁹*Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana CD*. The Tipiṭaka, commentaries and ancillary works mainly based on the printed editio of the Sixth Council in Burma (1954–56), accessible online in several scripts: www.tipitaka.org. Note that U Thitzana’s teacher, the Venerable Sayādaw Bhaddanta Sūriyābhivamsa (1879–1975) was the chief presiding patriarch chairman of the Sixth Council (vol.2, p.4).

a typo inherited from the CSCD version). In Vol. 1, for instance, on p.11 the thread of suttas begins with double numeration:

1,1. *Attbo akkharasaññāto*
[...]
9,11. *Paramanaññā payoge*

The student has to go to vol.2, p.57 to learn that the first number is the rule in Kacc and the second in *Rūpasiddhi*. It is not necessary to give the *Rūpasiddhi* numeration in an introduction to Kacc as it may create confusion.

Since the *suttapāṭha* is already found in vol. 2 it is difficult to understand the use made of it in vol.1 and the unnecessary redundancy.

Another editorial decision that is difficult to understand is that the members of *dvanda samāsa* are separated by a comma instead of the conventional (but not even necessary) hyphen: e.g. vol.2 p.13 *ya,va,kārā ca* instead of *yavakārā ca*. Derived from this decision is the inconvenient use of the apostrophe to mark sandhi. For instance, in Kacc 10, the editor prints the text as follows:

pubba'madboḥita'massaraṃ sarena viyojaye

Another random example with an unnecessary and confusing apostrophe, vol.1, p.22:

316, 331. *Nāmānaṃ samāso yutta'ttbo.*

The author's justification for marking the sandhi is that Roman script differs from Indic scripts, but this reason is unconvincing: many editions look better following the usual conventions. I see no reason why Pind's edition has not been used as a reference. If sandhi is to be marked at all, it is probably better to separate words, *pubbam'adbohitam'assaraṃ*, etc. and not as if the editor would have cut the *akkhara* as printed in Devanagari or Burmese.

All the text given in vol. 1 (redundantly in different scripts) is printed again in vol. 2. The purpose, perhaps, is to keep vol.1 as a reference for other passages when using vol. 2, and that is not a bad idea considering that we often need to jump to suttas that are far away in order to understand the derivation in one particular sutta.

Regarding the main part of the book, which consists of the Pali

text plus a translation and explanatory notes, there is no doubt that, being a complete treatment of Kacc, it can be of great use to beginners and succeeds in clarifying many obscure aspects of the often cryptic *vyākaraṇa* language. This translation is especially recommended to those who study Pāli in order to better understand the Buddha's teachings, because it provides the exact nuance of technical terms as they are to be understood according to the Buddhadharmā. For instance, in vol.2, p.421, the word *appañivedhā* is translated "for not penetrating (by means of insight knowledge, path and fruition knowledge)". This translation is perfectly in accordance with the meaning of the word as found in the Tipiṭaka. A more literal rendering (*viz.* "for not penetrating") would miss the most important part of it. We shall keep in mind that the original purpose of the Kacc grammar was not to serve the interest of comparative philologists but to help practitioners. This is made clear by the *adbikārasutta* Kacc 52 *jinavacanayuttam* hi "Only what conforms to the Buddhist texts [shall be applied throughout this grammar]" (see vol.2, p.183). In this respect, U Thitzana's translation is closer to the original spirit than its predecessors Senart and Vidyabhusana.

The list of suffixes and affixes is very useful as an index. The guide to nominal derivation in vol.2, p. 396 is very useful for understanding the mechanisms of word formation step by step. It is however redundant as a similar section is found in vol. 2, p.829.

In vol.2, pp.33-34 the tables explaining the types of suttas are also a good idea. In many scholarly publications this information is taken for granted, as if it was clear enough to anyone. U Thitzana provides a detailed chart that is clear and to the point. One detail the English student should note is that U Thitzana translates *akkhara* as "syllable", when sometimes it does not refer to an entire syllable but simply one sound. For example, on p.34 *āgama*: "inserts a new syllable" when it rather inserts a new sound (the "syllable *ya*" actually means the sound *y*).

A special strong point of the book is the detailed explanations following the traditional style, such as the twenty pages on *upasaggas* and *nipātas*, not originally in Kaccāyana, that we find in the author's commentary on sutta 221 *sabbāsamāyusopasagganipātādīhi ca* "All (the singular and plural of "*paṭhamā, dutiyā, tatiyā, catutthī, pañcamī, chaṭṭhī, sattamī*") *vibhattis*, applied after Upasagga and Nipāta words,

including vocative particle *āvuso*, are to be elided.”

When Pāli texts are cited in the examples of the sutta, no reference is given, and should be given. The same applies when suttas are cited without reference to number. Here again, using Pind’s edition would have been more useful for the student because it indicates when examples that are derived from Pāli usage and when they are not.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, the great effort put into this translation has to be welcome, especially coming from a Burmese expert with a refined scholastic education. The fully translated and annotated text in one volume certainly comes in handy. It is not a work for academics but for beginners and for those who wish to have a taste of Pāli grammar in the way it has been taught for centuries in Buddhist monasteries. It is by far the most complete English rendering of the Kacc grammar ever done.

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Book Review: Wilson, Jeff. *Mindful America: the Mutual Transformation of Buddhist Meditation and American Culture*.
2014: Oxford University Press. vii + 265pp.

Reviewer: Will Tuladhar-Douglas

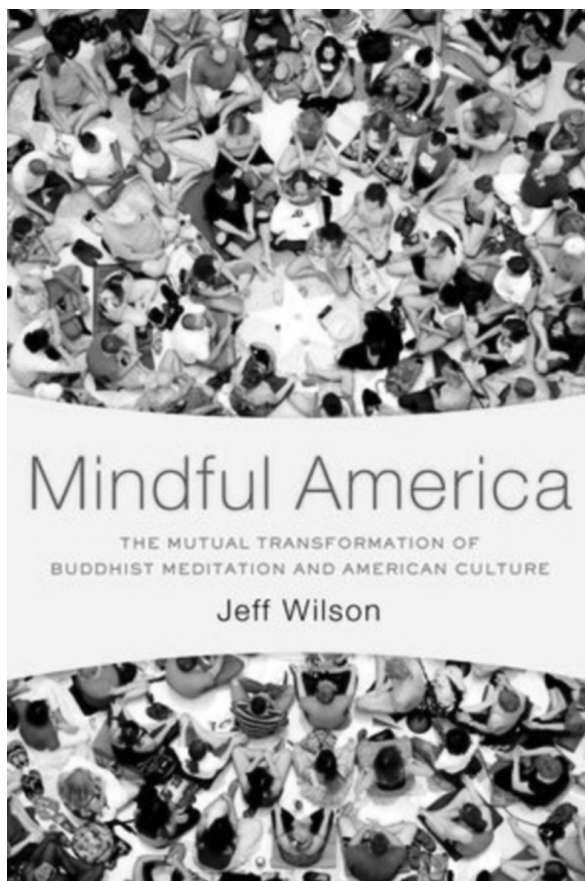
Mindful America is a study of popular culture, especially books, as evidence for the appropriation of mindfulness, as a technology lifted from Buddhism, in the USA from 1980 onwards. Jeff Wilson lays out the history of how 'mindfulness', as a single iconic practice from Buddhism, took shape in 20th century English language sources and then was carefully detached from its Buddhist roots in order to drive a whole industry of mindfulness, from sex through military efficiency to Google glory. The book is broken up into six chapters. The first looks at the history of the term as Buddhism was introduced in the USA and the second explores how mindfulness was isolated from a much larger complex of physical, verbal and mental disciplines usually undertaken by renunciants on retreat. In the third chapter, he looks at Mindfulness Based Stress Reduction and its siblings, through which mindfulness became a scientifically authorised therapy. This is then reshaped to meet the needs of affluent, usually white, consumers, as detailed in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter directly confronts the paradox of marketing mindfulness, while the last chapter looks at ethical stances that travel with mindfulness and asks whether mindfulness is actually part of civil religion in the USA.

Wilson pursues two goals at the same time. On the one hand, he is explicitly seeking to study 'mindfulness' as a magico-religious technology through which Buddhism and the USA appropriate and engage each other; on the other hand, he is cataloguing the extraordinary range of cultural products—usually books—that have been produced through this encounter. The resulting volume is in turns insightful, amusing and frustrating. In treating both the most earnest and the most outré hybridities with a gentle humour and an even hand, he achieves some real insights; and the recurring attention to gender, race and class bias in the mass-media presentation of mindfulness is good. Yet Wilson's attempts to grapple with capitalism, commodification and hyper-individualism fall short of a truly critical analysis. This is not, as he suspects, because of the avoidance of serious class analysis

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or a call to revolution in his source materials (183-4). Rather, it is that Wilson, in describing the insular character of US society and the self-commodifying monadism of later capitalist mindfulness there, overlooks many different ways in which interconnectedness has not been drained out of Buddhist communities and practices there, and in which traditional culture and philosophical systems are nonetheless being transmitted. Three examples will make my point clear.



Although Wilson refers to Thich Nhat Hanh as one of the founders of mindfulness in the USA—a movement he describes as non-monastic and centred in the USA—he omits to mention Thich Nhat Hanh's own firm insistence on monasticism, his efforts to rework lay precepts to create a form of Buddhist social asceticism

that will thrive in postindustrial societies, or the rather important fact that Thich Nhat Hanh's monastery and international organisation are based in France. So, too, Wilson discusses Google's support for Mindfulness 2.0 but omits to record the protests against Google led by the Buddhist Peace Fellowship, an important interdenominational collective of Buddhist activists closely connected to activist Buddhisms elsewhere in the world. Wilson's emphasis on what he calls 'American religion' belies the deeply international character of the voices within Buddhism that critique and object to the same aspects of mindfulness he finds difficult.

Second, Wilson in drawing his analogy to the reception of Buddhism in China (and, to a lesser extent, in Japan), misses a key point which scholars of those historical transformations—and other, comparable translations such as the entry of Buddhism to Tibet or Mongolia—hold dear. While there were quite deliberate moves on the part of Buddhist teachers in China and Japan to seek patronage through providing pragmatic tools for rulers and elites, this did not undercut the authority or importance of those teachers, who moved in an international circuit. This is also true in the USA, where there are now Buddhist monasteries, Buddhist seminaries, and academic programmes in the study of Buddhism that rival anything in Asia for rigour, serious practice analytic depth, and meditative accomplishment. These institutions are sites of circulation for very traditional scholars and renunciants that connect to other sites across Asia and the wider world. The phenomenon of mindfulness as Wilson describes it cannot be considered in the absence of this numerically smaller core of traditionally structured Buddhist communities. In those communities very different debates are playing out, deeply informed by long study of primary textual sources and the full suite of meditative disciplines that are transmitted by dozens of different lineages. Wilson almost seems to prune the list of key figures he wants to consider so as not to stray into the much more complex borderlands, where figures such as Sogyal Rimpoche, Dzongkar Khyentse Rimpoche, or Ajahn Sumedho are speaking both to traditional ascetic orders and to mass-market paperback readers about the very hard questions that also vex Wilson: patriarchy, racism, the place of traditional ascetic practices, the moral corrosiveness of consumer capitalism. The interdependence between monastic and lay orders is a fundamental feature of Buddhism; while Wilson does describe with relish a consumer capitalist appropriation of

mindfulness among influential sectors of lay society, he misses out the way in which this generates funding and support for a very different, much smaller, international community of professional scholars and renunciants.

Something similar could be said for Wilson's awkward avoidance of the question of Asian American Buddhisms as dynamic traditions. Great balance could have been brought to this volume by looking at the way in which Asian Americans appropriate mindfulness in their own struggles for equality and the way in which many Asian Americans are not sundered from the world outside the USA but remain vitally connected through kinship and economic ties to international networks. Mindfulness reforms, as Wilson observes, transformed the practice of Southeast Asian Buddhism in the 19th and early 20th century, and that very different trajectory in Southeast Asian is experienced firsthand in Thai, Burmese or Lao extended families in the USA when their children undergo temporary ordination, whether in Boston or Bangkok. No one is trying to sell mass market paperbacks about management tranquility to these families, but they are very much part—through intercultural regional Bodhi Day celebrations in May, for example—of the construction and practice of mindfulness in the USA.

A last kind of connectedness that Wilson ignores is perhaps the most important. He takes for granted that the individual consumer, fetishized in the USA's popular culture and its government, really exists. While it might make sense for a sociologist of religion with no training in Buddhist doctrine to make this mistake, Wilson does not, I think, give due weight to the shrieking dissonance between the teachings around non-self in any of the Buddhist traditions he lists and the overwhelming importance of the commodifiable soul in popular US culture. The marketing strategies he describes for selling books about mindfulness proceed by informing the hapless bookshelf browser about their self and its imperfections, and in good marketing style, offer to sell the reader the capacity to jump the gap between who they are and who they should be. This is the exact reverse of the meditations on the impermanence of the self that are at the core of mindfulness practice. Wilson is aware that there's a problem. Chapter 5, on Marketing Mindfulness, and especially the section on book marketing, stray as close as Wilson gets to outrage, but he does not

accord the Buddhist theory of self-less persons the same philosophical weight as he does the post-Enlightenment theory of a believing self that underpins most theory of religion. Indeed, Wilson appears to miss entirely the rather obvious point that 'religion' as an analytic category is incompatible with the Buddhist theory of persons. The monadism of the post-industrial consumer, which Wilson takes as a precondition for studying their behaviour, is a species of the delusion that Buddhism sets out to undo—and in that sense, Wilson overlooks a fundamental connection between his theoretical underpinnings and the theory that, eventually, sits behind mindfulness training.

That gap is telling, for the book as a whole leaves the reader with a sense of slight embarrassment but no sense of how to move on. Gee, the way in which folks in the USA have taken up mindfulness sure is funny! This is not the basis for a serious consideration of how Buddhism is integrating as a settled part of any postindustrial North Atlantic society. The reception of Buddhism in each of the regions of Asia beyond its birthplace took several centuries. The next step might be to observe that mindfulness is only one medicine among many in the Buddhist therapeutic bag and that, perhaps because that one medicine has become a fad, there are more Buddhists training in the full suite of therapeutic practices now. This points to a much longer-term historical analysis that situates these first few decades in a timescale of millennia. To observe that, after about thirty years, one patient is acting a bit strange but enjoying the buzz, might lead us to hope that they will come back for more appropriate remedies in the decades to come.

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Style Guide for Journal of Nāṇasaṃvara Centre for Buddhist Studies

Scope of Journal and Type of Articles

The *Journal of Nāṇasaṃvara Centre for Buddhist Studies* (JNCBS) is a double blind reviewed *international* journal which is published yearly. It is named so in honour of His Holiness Somdet Phra Nāṇasaṃvara, one of late Supreme Patriarchs in Thailand. It was formerly known as Thai International Journal for Buddhist Studies (TIJBS). The goal of the journal is to promote the study of Buddhist texts in all traditions, the relation of these texts to the society where they have been created, and fostering Buddhist teachings to solve the problems faced by contemporary societies. The journal will promote textual studies, but also research work into society. We welcome submissions from across the Buddhist traditions, and while we are particularly interested in textual studies.

Submissions

Submissions should be written in English and cannot be under review at another journal. They should generally follow the Oxford Manual of Style, British spelling and typographical conventions. Submissions should be forwarded electronically, preferably in Microsoft Word. Special diagrams or characters are reproduced as printed; articles may be illustrated by black and white photographs or line drawings. Manuscripts should normally be between 5000 and 10,000 words, but in certain circumstances we may consider longer submissions. Manuscripts should be accompanied by a short abstract (150 words max) explaining the principal arguments, evidence and point of the article. Manuscripts should not include the name, address or affiliation of the author(s). Please do not cite your own work in a way that could identify you.

General

Tables and figures should be placed on separate pages at the very end of the manuscript. Manuscripts of articles should be in Times New

Roman, font size 12. Each page should be numbered at the bottom. Use serial comma. Do not generally use contractions. There should be no line spaces between paragraphs. Each new paragraph should be indented except for the first paragraph under a heading. Give the first name(s) of an author the first time you cite them. Italicize non-English words. If a technical Buddhist term, identify the source of the word in the first use. Do not italicize punctuation with italicized words.

Transcription

In general, the international standard for transcription and transliteration as follows: for Pāli, the system of the Critical Pāli Dictionary; for Sanskrit and related languages, internationally accepted style; for Thai, the system suggested by the Royal Institute; for Chinese, *pinyin*; for Tibetan, the Wylie system, and so forth.

Citations and References

Annotation is to be organized as consecutively numbered footnotes. The first of these (*) should be reserved for acknowledgements or other preliminary remarks. In the case of a single text being cited consistently, the author may simply cite the page number in parentheses in text. Separate alphabetized author citations with semicolons. Use parentheses for citations at the end of extracts.

Short citations and translations should appear within the running text and, except in the case of primary texts, be placed within single quotation marks. Longer citations (five lines or more) and translations should appear as separate blocks, without quotation marks, set off from the rest of the text by left-indenting. When necessary, additions to translations should be placed in square brackets, explanations or other additions in parentheses. Omit ellipses at the beginning and end of quotes.

List abbreviations before the works cited section

Examples:

Books:

Collins, Steven. 1982. *Selfless Persons: Imagery and Thought in Theravāda Buddhism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Journal articles:

Cousins, L. S. 1981. “The Paṭṭhāna and the development of the Theravādin Abhidhamma”. *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 9: 22-46.

Abbreviation

Abbreviations of texts should follow the standard conventions such as those listed in the Critical Pali Dictionary, or the numbering of the Taisho Canon.

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