Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies

JOURNAL OF THE OXFORD CENTRE FOR
BUDDHIST STUDIES

volume 20

May 2021

Contents

BOOK REVIEWS

List of Contributors

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Peter Masefield (1943-2020) was a former lecturer at the University of Sydney and Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University in Bangkok, and a translator of a number of Pali commentaries for the Pali Text Society. His monograph *Divine Revelation in Pali Buddhism* (1986) was a pioneering book within the study of early Buddhism.

Ole Holten Pind (1945-2018) was co-editor of *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* (Vol. III.1-6), and an author of a number of its articles. He produced the critical edition of the *Kaccāyana and Kaccāyanavutti* for the Pali Text Society (2013), and wrote numerous papers on diverse aspects of Indian Buddhist thought and Pali grammar. He was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Vienna in 2015 for his work on the fifth chapter of Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti*.

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Editorial

Alexander Wynne

The world of Pali studies has recently lost a number of elder statesmen: L. S. Cousins, Steven Collins, Ole Pind, K. R. Norman and Peter Masefield. The current issue of JOCBS could be regarded as a memorial to this generation of Buddhist scholars. Most contributions deal with the Pali tradition, and there are posthumous articles by Ole Pind and Peter Masefield, as well as a review of Steven Collins' final book, *Wisdom as a Way of Life*. All of these pieces exemplify K. R. Norman's claim that 'Everything that has not been done needs to be done. Everything that has been done needs to be done again.'

The first of two articles by Peter Masefield is an edition and translation of the *Asokaparinibbānakathā*, in collaboration with Jacqueline Filliozat. Because the post-canonical Pali literature of mainland Southeast Asia has been so little studied, this article serves as an example of an area which for the most part has yet to be tackled. Many more of Peter Masefield's works on this genre of Pali literature will appear in future issues of JOCBS. Peter Masefield's other contribution in this issue, in collaboration with Nicolas Revire, revisits the Buddha's last meal. This article shows that what has already been done needs doing again, and also demonstrates the utility of studying the Pali commentarial literature in conjunction with previously unknown South East Asian sources, textual and art-historical.

Dan Zigmond's article on computational approaches to the language of the Pali canon opens up a new avenue in the study of the Pali canon, one of the many things yet to be done. So too does Juo-Hsüeh Shih's study of the term *nissāraṇīya/nissaraṇīya* in the Pali Bhikkhunī Vinaya. Although it is now almost 150 years since the founding of the Pali Text Society, it might appear surprising that new discoveries about the Pali Vinaya can still be made. But the study of the Pali canon is really still in its infancy; most studies need to be done again.

The article by Ole Pind, on so-called 'Māgadhisms' in the Pali canon, is a striking example of this. This paper continues a recent debate in JOCBS on the language of early Buddhism, following the articles of Karpik (JOCBS 16), Levman (JOCBS 17) and the editorial of JOCBS 17. In agreement with Karpik, Pind argues that so-called 'Māgadhisms' in the Pali canon, such as *bhikkhave*, are in fact a regular feature of Pali, and need not be regarded as a remnant of an earlier linguistic stratum. As Pind puts it, 'it is necessary to study the language of the Tipiṭaka as a language *sui generis* and not as a random patchwork of borrowings from other linguistic environments'. While not necessarily agreeing with Karpik (and Gombrich)[1] that Pali *was* the language of the Buddha, Pind's argument offers support for that view. In this case, redoing what has already been done means rethinking all our previous assumptions about Pali.

Not all scholars agree with Norman's point that everything which has been done ought to be done again. Some, such as Steven Collins, seem to have believed that certain areas of study should be shut down. In *Wisdom as a Way of Life*, Justin McDaniel comments (p.lii) that 'While Gombrich, like many other scholars of Steve's generation, believed that scholars could and should use limited textual evidence to help speculate on and reconstruct the ideas, practices, and even daily lives of early Buddhists (loosely 500 BCE to 1200 CE), Steve found this project increasingly useless and even intellectually dangerous.'

This comment is most peculiar and quite misleading. If the early Buddhist period includes evidence as late as 1200 CE, it is hard to see how scholars of early Buddhism could speculate on the 'daily lives' of early Buddhists, starting with the Buddha and his disciples in the 5th century BC. The Pali canonical sources, of course, are not nearly as recent as the 12th century AD; but although they are considerably older than this, they are not precise enough to reveal details about 'daily lives'. Nevertheless, our ancient sources are a vital window into the past and as the articles in this issue of JOCBS show, they can be used to expand our knowledge of early Buddhism. Norman's adage that 'everything that has been done needs to be done again' keeps the door to new discoveries open; the view that the study of early Buddhism is 'useless' and 'dangerous' slams it firmly shut. There is no question which is the better option for Buddhist studies.

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[1] Richard Gombrich, *Buddhism and Pali* (Oxford: Mud Pie, 2018), p.72ff.
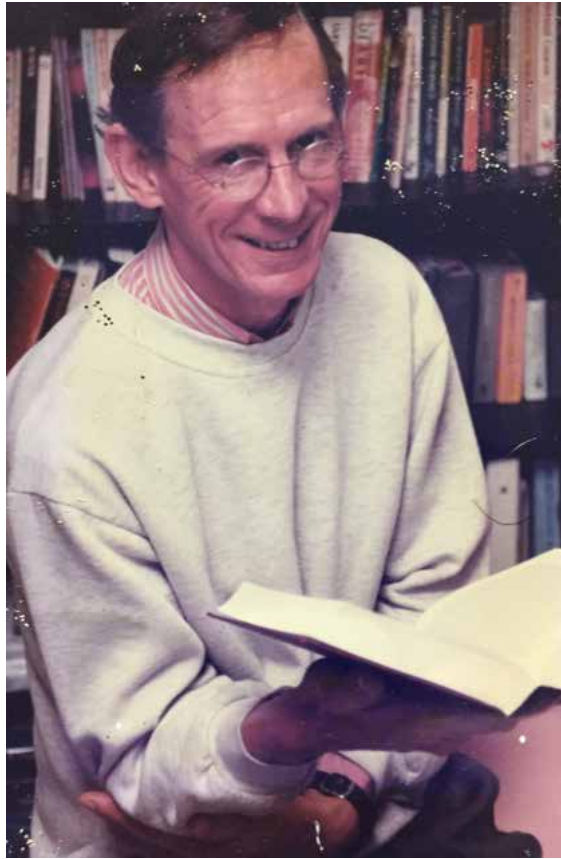
Peter Dennis Masefield
1943-2020

Alexander Wynne

Dr Peter Dennis Masefield, who passed away in Bangkok on September 7th 2020 at the age of 77, was one of the world's leading scholars of Pali and Theravāda Buddhism and a translator for the Pali Text Society for a number of decades. Born in 1943 in Birmingham, England, Peter's path to Buddhist Studies began in his mid-twenties when he left England to travel the East. Travelling the Indian subcontinent by rail, and hitchhiking when necessary, Peter visited the

caves of Bamiyan, saw the Buddhist monuments of Gandhara and experienced Himalayan Buddhism in Kathmandu and Sikkim. Spending periods also in Sri Lanka and Burma, Peter returned to England in 1969 and was admitted into the fledgling Religious Studies programme at Lancaster University. Despite not having the correct academic qualifications, Peter could read French and German well, and impressed Ninian Smart with a short piece on India.

Peter graduated with honours from Lancaster with a BA in Philosophy & Religious Studies in 1972, and spent the period 1973-75 conducting fieldwork in India and Sri Lanka, supported by a Spalding Trust Fellowship. Despite a bout of elephantiasis, contracted, he claimed, during a long trek up Adam's Peak to see the Buddha's footprint, during this period Peter taught himself Pali. On his return to England Peter took up a temporary appointment, the first of many, at the University of Manchester, where he lectured on Buddhism and mysticism in the Department of Comparative Religion. After a spell as Temporary Lecturer in Durham University in 1976, teaching courses on Indian Philosophy and Religion, Peter returned to Lancaster as a PhD student. Initially wishing to work on karma and rebirth, he gained his PhD in 1980 for a thesis entitled 'Thus They Once Heard – Oral Initiation in the Pali Nikayas.' Peter said that Dr Karel Werner (the external examiner) spent much of the oral examination arguing with Prof. Ninian Smart (the internal examiner and Peter's PhD supervisor) about Indian philosophy.

During the course of his PhD Peter was again on the move, teaching at the University of Edinburgh (1977-78) and then taking up a fellowship at the University of Otago, Dunedin (1978-79). Since the latter was a post-doctoral fellowship, upon arriving in New Zealand Peter spent three weeks non-stop at a typewriter, at the end of which he had produced the manuscript of his dissertation. After his PhD Peter settled in Sydney, where he remained until 2005, in the meantime becoming an Australian citizen. At the beginning and end of this period Peter was employed by the University of Sydney: as a visiting fellow and lecturer (1980-85), and as a visiting scholar and casual lecturer (1998-2005). In between, and besides various teaching stints in Sydney, Peter was a guest lecturer at the University of Hawai'i (1985), a research assistant at Monash University, Melbourne (1993-94), a Numata visiting professor at the University of Toronto (1995), a guest lecturer at the University of California, LA (1999), a guest lecturer at Assumption University and at Mahachulalongkorn University in Bangkok (2000), and a visiting lecturer at Mahachulalongkorn University, Bangkok (2002-05).

When Peter finally obtained a permanent lectureship it came about unexpectedly. While he was moving to Thailand in 2006 to work as a translator for the World Buddhist University (in Benchasiri Park, Bangkok), the position mysteriously disappeared, leaving Peter high and dry. Fortunately, Peter became a permanent lecturer at Mahachulalongkorn University, first at its Tha Phra Chan campus in Bangkok, and then at its Wang Noi campus in Ayutthaya.

Peter was a popular teacher who made many friends among his students, but after 2011 he worked mostly as editor of the *Mahachulalongkorn Journal of Buddhist Studies*. When the University withheld his salary in 2015 for no apparent reason – he was eventually paid in full, but only after petitioning the Ministry of Education – he left permanent employment in September 2016 to live the life of a retired scholar in Bangkok. Increasingly poor in health, with damaged nerves in his back causing considerable pain and problems of mobility, Peter withdrew into his apartment in a quiet residential area near Thong Lo, venturing out only occasionally.

In his last years Peter had been working on a translation of Dhammapāla's commentary on the *Cariyāpiṭaka* for the Pali Text Society. This project was the culmination of decades of work on Dhammapāla, which had begun while Peter was a research fellow at Dunedin in 1978-79. After the PTS published his translation of the *Petavatthu* and its commentary in 1980 (a reworking of a translation by U Ba Gyaw), translations of the *Vimānavatthu*, *Udāna* and *Itivuttaka* and their commentaries appeared over the years.

Peter's translation style could be said to be overly formal and slightly idiosyncratic. But he argued, quite reasonably and perhaps correctly, that at this pioneering stage of research, style is not all that important: it is better to be consistent and literal. The great merit of Peter's translations is that the reader does not get lost in interpretation, and for this reason they are an excellent place to begin studying this difficult genre of Pali literature. Another outcome of Peter's research on the Pali commentaries was his argument (2002) that Dhammapāla is to be dated much later than Buddhaghosa, since his commentaries often include material identical or parallel to that found in the Ṭīkās on Buddhaghosa's commentaries.

Peter's second significant contribution to Buddhist Studies was his monograph *Divine Revelation in Pali Buddhism* (1986, Second Edition 2008, Routledge), based on his PhD thesis of 1980. *Divine Revelation* is the work of an autodidact, an individualist willing to look afresh at the

world of early Buddhism, and unafraid to form and express his ideas about it. At the time the book was something of a bolt out of the blue, a direct challenge to the rationalist presentation of the Pali tradition which had been popularised by such books as Walpola Rahula's *What the Buddha taught* (1959). As Paul Harrison's favourable review put it, '*Divine Revelation in Buddhism?* – the very title of the book comes as a shock.'[1] In fact the title was invented by the publisher, and caused Peter a certain amount of trouble later on. He was once accosted at a conference by a Sri Lankan angry at the 'Christian' title, but on further discussion it turned out that this person had not read the book at all.

Divine Revelation is notable for the impressive number of primary texts consulted, including the Nikāyas, the Pali commentaries and exegetical texts such as the *Milindapañha*. In the days before computers were widely available, and well before the advent of electronic resources, such a wide range of reading was uncommon in Pali Studies. Few books on early Buddhism had hitherto tackled the Pali canon in such detail, and even fewer with Peter's originality and insight. Some of his arguments have since become standard thinking on early Buddhism, for example that numerous teachings were formed as a response to Brahminism, and that the Buddha's 'skill in means' is a standard feature of the Nikāyas, one most clearly exemplified by the 'gradual discourse'. It is unfortunate that *Divine Revelation* has not been read widely enough for Peter to be credited as a major source of these ideas.

The central theme of *Divine Revelation* is the importance of hearing the Dhamma and being transformed by it. It shows that the Nikāyas consistently present direct contact with the Buddha as an exceptional experience which engenders 'right view', and so converts a person from being a *puthujjana* into an *ariya-sāvaka*. Peter was right to note that the main distinction in early Buddhism was not between monk and layman, but between the *ariya-sāvaka* and the *puthujjana*, with the laity and monastics being found in both groupings. The book's attention to detail remains unusual in Buddhist Studies: given the highly repetitive nature of canonical Buddhist texts, it is easy to gloss over terms such as *sutavant*, *sāvaka* etc. without thinking about their meaning. With his sharp critical eye, Peter was able to see that such terms indicate an elevated religious status through hearing.

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[1] Paul Harrison, 'Buddhism: A Religion of Revelation after All? À propos Peter Masefield's *Divine Revelation in Pali Buddhism*,' in *Numen*, Vol. 34, Fasc. 2 (Dec., 1987), pp. 256-264.

The interpretation of the term *sotāpanna* as 'one who has come into contact with (or undergone) the hearing' remains controversial. But *Divine Revelation* points out that in the Nikāyas, stream imagery – like flood and ocean imagery – is usually a negative metaphor for all that is wrong with the world. The Buddhist path is that which sets a person 'against or across the stream' (*paṭisota*), and texts such as MN 34 claim that all *sāvaka*s have crossed it. Moreover, the Pali commentaries do not interpret *sota* in the sense of 'river' (*nadī*), the similar term *dhamamsota* refers to the Dhamma-ear (by which a *sāvaka* hears the sound of the deathless), and the equivalent term in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit is *śrotāpanna* (Skt. *śrotas*, 'ear').

Although *Divine Revelation* backs its arguments up with detailed textual scholarship, sometimes it strays into slightly more esoteric territory, for example the claim that the sound of the Buddha's teaching is a transcendental manifestation of the Dhamma. And yet this point, despite its apparent peculiarity, draws attention to numerous canonical statements on the importance of sound: the Buddha roaring a lion's roar, or beating the drum of the immortal and so on. It is easy to pass over such imagery without a thought, but in doing so important features of the early Buddhist world-view are missed.

Divine Revelation brings into clear focus a number of crucial features of early Buddhism which are easily overlooked: the importance of oral communication and spiritual encounters, the vision of a cosmos full of 'hearers' extending up to the divine realms (and including even tree-spirits), and especially the exceptional role occupied by the Buddha in this religious landscape. All of these points and many more were a major concern of early Buddhism. Peter's stimulating study makes it easier to understand what actually happened: conversions, missions, the emergence of Mahāyāna etc.

Peter's third and final major contribution to the study of Pali was his research into the indigenous Pali tradition(s) of mainland South East Asia. This work is barely known, since Peter published very little of it during his lifetime, although his article 'Indo-Chinese Pali' (2008) indicates the depth of his reading and knowledge. After settling in Thailand, Peter began studying the Khom manuscript tradition of Thailand and Cambodia, in collaboration with Mrs Jacqueline Filliozat, then of the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Bangkok. Peter and Mrs Filliozat produced a number of editions of Indo-Chinese Pali texts, now on record in the internal database at the EFEO in

Paris. Translations of some of these will appear in forthcoming issues of the *Journal of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies*, beginning in JOCBS 20 with the *Asokaparinibbānakathā*.

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I first met Peter in 2008, not long after moving to Thailand to work at Mahidol University. At first Peter was just somebody with whom I could talk about Pali, but since we invariably met in the evening he quickly became a good friend. Already in his 60s, Peter would often reflect on the past, sharing his memories of the likes of Ninian Smart, Edward Conze, and I. B. Horner, whose use of a long-stemmed cigarette holder amused him greatly and inspired a number of limericks ('Little Miss Horner, sat in the corner…'). Ninian Smart was a great early supporter of Peter, but still refused to believe Peter's claim that used tea cups are habitually thrown out of moving trains in India. Peter was also tricked into buying Ninian Smart's old Morris Minor car for £100: as soon as he bought it, Ninian asked to drive him down to Manchester on the very next day so that he could watch the Test Match, and drink as much bitter as he liked.

In the 1980s, Peter somehow got involved with the Moonies. This resulted in a number of all-expenses trips to Moonie conferences where Peter witnessed mass marriage ceremonies. Thanks to his tongue-in-cheek paper 'The Muni and the Moonies' (1985) Peter was an honoured guest, although it wasn't clear if Peter was poking fun at the Moonies or Buddhism. A humorous episode from later on concerned a trip to England with his then Indonesian wife, in around 2000. When visiting Lance Cousins in Oxford, Peter let slip how his wife was famed as a spirit medium in her home town. On hearing this, Lance had Peter's wife remain in the car outside, lest her psychic powers clash with his.

Peter was not a conventional person. Largely nocturnal, he had no time for the comforts of bourgeois existence; my impression was that for the most part he had passed through life as a happy wanderer. When his travels brought him to Thailand, a favourite meeting place was the Queen Victoria in Bangkok. Peter had an exemplary taste in pubs, and the Queen Vic offered a cool, wooden escape from the heat of the city, where Peter could often be found with local friends, such as Nicolas Revire, Stephen Evans, Mark Hoolahan, Larry the American, occasionally Stewart McFarlane, Volkmar Enßlin, Arthur from Yorkshire, Giri the Indian etc.

Peter was social and genial, with sparkling eyes and an endearing laugh; he was kind and tipped the staff well, becoming affectionately known as 'Achan Chang' after his Thai beverage of choice. Although he enjoyed his beer, he drank very slowly; I cannot remember ever seeing him the worse for wear. Appearances can be misleading. While not in any sense a Buddhist, in Sydney Peter served a period as President of the Bulkwang Meditation Institute, and was a co-founder of the Buddhist Council of New South Wales. He also contributed to the 'Dharma the Cat' comic series, about a pious novice monk whose wise cat take things at a more leisurely pace. Peter took his scholarly work and his role as a teacher seriously; he took pride in his classes, for which he prepared diligently. Peter was also surprisingly sensitive and fairly conservative in his tastes. He liked to recite the poems of Betjeman which he had learnt as a schoolboy, and enjoyed watching old clips of Monty Python, the four Yorkshiremen being a particular favourite; its eccentric joke about an English family living in 'an 'ole in the ground' would always have him chuckling with laughter.

Peter was a good listener, unenamoured by the sound of his own voice, and willing to change his mind (sometimes). He could also be very stubborn, and was unwilling to play politics. Perhaps he was too honest for his own good, and simply too rebellious to put up with the daily grind of university life. It is not surprising that his only permanent lectureship was for a few years at Mahachulalongkorn. Bangkok is the last place to speak one's mind without fear of causing offence, but in a way it was perfect for Peter, a welcoming and friendly place for those who have drifted far from home, and know they cannot go back (and do not wish to anyway).

Peter remained quietly cantankerous and witty until the end. In his last years, when he was suffering from his bad back and finding it increasingly difficult to look after himself, friends would bring him beer and ice, and quite often some food too. When I returned from England, I would usually bring Peter some new slippers and a few English delicacies, such as sausage rolls, pork pies and HP fruity sauce; we both enjoyed the subversive irony of smuggling pork products into Thailand. When the end finally came, Peter slipped away more quickly than anyone expected, but then again, he always tended to confound expectations. For his many friends, Bangkok will not be the same place without our Pali scholar in residence.

Peter was fond of mentioning a dedication in a Pali manuscript he had once read, in which the scribe said he hoped to have made enough mistakes to avoid millions of years stuck doing nothing in the Brahmaloka. Although he sympathised with the scribe's plight, we hope that the same is not true of Peter, whose mass of good merit has surely transported him to a comfortable ''ole in the ground' in Brahma's heaven, and with a steady supply of cold beer. Cheers, Peter, and thanks for all the treasured memories.

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The *Asokaparinibbānakathā*

Peter Masefield[†] *and Jacqueline Filliozat*[1]

Abstract

‘An Account of Asoka's Parinibbāna’ (*Asokaparinibbānakathā*) is a little known Pali text from mainland South East Asia. The edition and translation reproduced here are based on one Khom manuscript from Wat Phra Chetuphon in Bangkok, and one Mūl manuscript, originally from Cambodia, but now kept at the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Paris.

Little is known about the provenance of the *Asokaparinibbānakathā*. The catalogues[2] list only three manuscripts: one of Cambodian origin kept in Paris, one of Lao origin in Copenhagen, and one of Siamese origin in Bangkok. It does not receive mention amongst the various recensions of the legend of Asoka recorded by Strong,[3] and as far as is known, no edited or printed edition has been published to date. The beginning of the text roughly follows the Sinhalese

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[1] The present work is the final outcome of collaboration, over the years, between the late Peter Masefield and myself on this text. I was responsible for the original transliteration of both manuscripts, prior to their translation by Prof. Masefield. During the course of this work, I was more than ably assisted by Phra Maha Vanly Khemaraputto, one of Prof. Masefield's former Cambodian graduate students at Mahachulalongkorn Buddhist University in Bangkok, who swiftly brought a fresh pair of keen, native eyes to both manuscripts, thereby helping us to clarify a number of previously uncertain readings. We are both greatly indebted to him for his assistance.

[2] G. Cœdès (1966); Skilling and Pakdeekham (2002).

[3] Strong (1989).

chronicle on Asoka as depicted in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, but continues and concludes with quite different episodes involving proper nouns found only in the *Dasavatthuppakaraṇa*, *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa* and *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa*, none of which are documented in the DPPN.

This edition is based on the transliteration of two of the above manuscripts, namely, that in the Rāma III Collection, housed in the Santivan library of Wat Phra Chetuphon (Wat Pho) in Bangkok,[4] and that in the library of the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Paris. We have, to date, had no access to the third manuscript, that in the Lao language, housed in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, concerning which we give only a short notice below as to its typology, together with a few remarks drawn from the Cœdès catalogue (1966: 95).

Description of the manuscripts

1. That of Siamese origin: Wat Phra Chetuphon (WPC) 6/ta.3. 1

Asokaparinibbānakathā (incomplete). Top and last *ola*s decorated with *devatā* gilded on black lac. Cartouche in ink on first *ola* recto: *braḥ Asokaparinibbānakathā*. Begins, *ola* da b;[5] ends, *ola* dū b line 4 (missing the last *ola* only). A single *phūk*, 11 *ola*s, da-dū, 580 x 52 mm, gilded edges, 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 60 characters per line—Khom script—Numb. Khom letters—covers decorated in Chinese style with inlaid mother-of-pearl floral and foliage motifs. No date [middle of 19th century]. This manuscript belongs to the collection known as *Deb Jumnum*, donated to Wat Phra Chetuphon by king Rāma III, Phra Nangklao (1824-1851).

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[4] This library was established according to the wish of Somdet Phra Ariyavamsakatayarn (Poon Poonasiri Mahathera Barien Dhamma 6), the 17th Patriarch and the 11th Lord Abbot of Wat Phra Chetuphon. It contains, amongst many other manuscripts, the collection known as *Deb Jumnum*, donated by king Rāma III (Phra Nangklao 1824-1851) to Wat Phra Chetuphon.

[5] This shows that this *phūk* formely belonged to a larger series of manuscripts. At present, the previous *phūk*, containing olas *ka-thaḥ*, is missing, our text having been placed amongst another set of *vaṃsa* texts having different features and dimensions. Note also that this *Asokaparinibbānakathā* is found along with five other texts in the same manuscript under this shelfmark containing a total of 12 *phūk*. It comprises: 2. *Jinadantadhātuvaṃsa* [*Dāṭhāvaṃsa*]; 3. *Pāḷisāvakanibbāna*; 4. *Aṭṭhakesadhātuvaṃsa*; 5. *Nalāṭadhātuvaṃsa*; 6. *Dantadhātunidāna*.

2. That of Cambodian origin: École française d'Extrême-Orient, EFEO PALI 29

Asokaparinibbānakathā. *Ola* 1a, middle: *Asokaparinibbānakathā* | Margin, in ink in Roman characters: *Asokaparinibbānakathā* (pāli); *ola*s 1b-4a, bl. Begins, *ola* 4b (da); ends, *ola* 10b de line 3; *ola*s 11-12, bl. a single *phūk*, 12 *ola*s, da-de, 580 x 60 mm, 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 55 characters per line—Mūl script—Numb. Mūl letters. No date (probably copied circa 1914-1915 for EFEO in Cambodia)—Former shelfmark: CO 225.

3. That of Lao origin. Royal Library, Copenhagen LAOS 79 (V)

Cœdès (1966: 95) describes the *Asokadhammarājanibbāna*, giving the beginning and end of the text in Pāli with a summary of the Lao nissaya, as follows (translated freely from the French):

> *Asokadhammarājanibbāna*. Manuscript on 18 palm leaves, 51.5 x 5 cm, 4 lines on 45 cm. Writing quite accurate, good preservation. Formerly belonging to Vă Pā Ḍēṅ. Provenance: Tuxen collection Laos 2. Story of the passing of king Asoka. The text starts with a passage in incorrect Pāli: *pañcālāvattasampattiti kuṇḍalattābyaghāth[e]rānaṃ nidinakathā ime panāyasmante pubbabuddhānaṃ santike umpacittakusalamulā devesu ca mānussesu va saṃsaranto amhākaṃ bhagavato parinibbānato aṭṭhārasāthikānāddhinaṃ vassasatānaṃ tamatthake jambudīpe ca imasmim laṅkādīpe ca ma[hā]dhammasoka devatānaṃpiyatissā ti laddhanāmā senā adiṭṭhamahāyābhātvā buddhasāsane mahantaṃ puñarassī sañcinantādhasisu.*
>
> (Translation of the summary of this nissaya): Kuṇḍalatissa and Byāghatthera, having accomplished meritorious acts in the presence of the Buddhas of the past, and after having transmigrated in the world of devas and humans, were reborn in Jambudīpa and Laṅkādīpa 218 years after the nibbāna of the Lord, where they received, respectively, the names of Mahādhammāsoka and Devanāmpiyatissa, accumulating good deeds in the Buddhist religion. Colophon (chī r°4): *asokadhammarājanibbān gả lēv kōr lē* (the Asoka Dhammarājanibbāna is complete).

The present transliteration and translation are those of the Wat Phra Chetuphon (WPC) manuscript, with variant readings contained in the École française d'Extrême-Orient manuscript (EFEO) given in the footnotes. The foliation of both manuscripts is virtually identical, showing that both derive from a common exemplar; the foliation of WPC is indicated by pointed brackets and normal font size (e.g. **<da a>** = folio da, *recto*); the foliation of EFEO is shown by square brackets and a reduced font size (e.g. **[da b]** = folio da, *verso*). An Appendix is also given, quoting a partial, parallel account of the episode by Buddhaghosa in his *Samantapāsādikā* (CSCD edition).

braḥ[6] asoka parinibbāna kathā

|<da b>|[da b] tena kho pana samayena pātaliputtanagare bindusāro[7] nāma rājā rajjaṃ kāresi | tassa ekasataputtā ahesuṃ | asoko attanā saddhiṃ ekamātikaṃ tissakumāraṃ thapetvā sabbe te ghāṭetvā cattāri vassāni anabhisito rajjaṃ kāretvā sakalajambūdipe ekarājābhisekaṃ pāpuṇi |

[dā a] abhisekānubhāvena[8] cassa imā rājiddhi <dā a> yo āgatā | pathaviyā heṭṭhā yojanappamāne aṇāpavattati tathā[9] upari ākāse | anotattadahato aṭṭhahi kājehi soḷasapāṇiyaghaṭe divase divase devatā āharanti |

aṭṭhaghaṭe bhikkhusaṃghassa[10] adāsi | dve ghaṭe saṭṭhimattānaṃ pitakataya[11] [dā b] bhikkhusahassānaṃ dve <dā b> ghaṭe aggamahesiyyā[12] asandhamittāya | dve ghaṭe soḷasannaṃ nāṭakitthī sahassānaṃ dve ghaṭe attanā paribhuñji |

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[6] EFEO omits.

[7] EFEO *bindhasāro*.

[8] EFEO *abhisekānubhavena*.

[9] EFEO *āṇāpāpavatti tathā*; possibly *āṇāpāpavattito*.

[10] EFEO *bhikkhasaṃghassa*.

[11] EFEO *piṭakataya*.

[12] EFEO *aggamahesiyā*.

An Account of Asoka's Parinibbāna

Now, on that occasion, the king named Bindusāra was ruling in the city of Pātaliputta. And one hundred and one sons were his. Asoka after slaying all of these, save for Tissakumāra, who had the same mother as he did, ruled unconsecrated for four years, and then became consecrated as sole king over the whole of Jambudīpa.

And[13] through the majesty of his consecration, the royal potencies[14] befell him; below the earth, his authority extended a *yojana*, likewise in the sky above;[15] *devatā*s would each day fetch sixteen pitchers of drinking-water from Lake Anotatta on eight pingoes.

(Of these) he would give eight pitchers to the order of monks, two pitchers to as many as sixty thousand monks knowing the three *Piṭaka*s, two pitchers to his chief-queen, Asandhamittā, two pitchers to his sixteen thousand dancing-girls, whilst he himself would consume two pitchers.

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[13] There are a few places in the text where certain readings are either difficult or impossible to understand or reconstruct. The fact that these are more or less common to both mss suggests an early scribal confusion that must have occurred prior to either of our mss. This difficulty is compounded by (a) the close similarities between certain graphemes, such as *t/g* and *p/m* in the Khom script (especially when inscribed on a palm-leaf); and (b) the frequent manner in which scribes tend to spell a Pali term phonetically in accordance with the local pronunciation, suggesting in turn that some 'copying' might actually have been performed by way of dictation. For a discussion of these idiosyncrasies in Khom mss see, for instance, Masefield (2008). I have done my best trying squeeze out some sort of sense the original passages may have had, often with little or no success. Under the circumstances, I have simply recorded the troublesome passages in a footnote without comment, other than 'unclear.'

[14] At M III 176, it is said that the *cakkavatti*: (i) is handsome, comely, and graceful, possessing the supreme beauty of complexion, and surpasses other human beings in this respect; (ii) lives long and endures long, and surpasses other human beings in ths respect; (iii) is free from illness and affliction, possessing a good digestion that is neither too cool nor too warm, and surpasses other human beings in this respect; (iv) is dear and agreeable to brahmins and householders.

[15] So the punctuation of WPC; Sp (CSCD) punctuates somewhat differently.

himavante kira nāgalatā nāma dantakaṭṭhaṃ athi saniddhaṃ[16] sādhukaṃ ojavantaṃ divase divase devatā āharanti | aggadāmalakaṃ aggadāharitakaṃ ambapakkaṃ ca suvaṇṇavaṇṇaṃ gandharasasampannaṃ devatā āharanti |

chaddantadahato[17] pañcavaṇṇanivāsanaṃ devatā āharanti[18] | taṃ nivāsanaṃ adhovitabbavatthaṃ nāma | yadā raño nivāsanakāle taṃ vivaṇṇaṃ hoti | tadā aṅgārarāsimhi[19] tāpitaṃ suparisuddhaṃ cupasahadavaṇṇaṃ[20] hoti |

chaddhantadahato[21] sañjātasāliyo navavāhasahassāni sucagaṇā[22] āharanti | divase divase mūsikā nitthusakaṇena[23] karonti | eko pi khaṇḍataṇḍulo nāma nāhosi | ayam eva taṇḍulo raño paribhogaṃ gacchati |

haritacandanaṃ himavantato[24] devatā āharanti |**[di a]** rājā dhammaso **<di a>** ko evarūpo mahānubhāvo ahosi |

gate cavanakālantare āyumhi khayamāne dānaṃ dātukāmo bhaṇḍagārikaṃ pakkosāpetvā āha gaccha tāta koṭṭhāgārato suvaṇṇādiratanāni khomakoseyyakādīni[25] idha rāsiṃ karohi dānaṃ dassāmi[26] |

[16] EFEO *aṭisiniddhaṃ*.
[17] EFEO *chandhantadahato*.
[18] EFEO omits.
[19] EFEO *aṅgāravāsimhi*.
[20] EFEO *dhumasamāvaṇṇaṃ*.
[21] EFEO *chandhantadahato*.
[22] EFEO *suvagaṇā*.
[23] EFEO *nitthusakaraṇena*.
[24] EFEO *hivantato*.
[25] EFEO *khomakoseyyakādīni vatthāni.*
[26] EFEO *dassāmī ti.*

It is said that there is, on the Himalaya, the tooth-stick named Nāgalatā,[27] which is smooth,[28] agreeable[29] and possesses nutritive essence; this the *devatā*s would bring each day. The *devatā*s would fetch an antidotal myrobalan,[30] an antidotal gallnut[31] and a ripe mango that was golden-coloured and endowed with fragrance and flavour.

From Lake Chaddanta the *devatā*s would fetch a five-coloured, lower-garment; this lower-garment was not in need of being washed. Whenever it became faded at such time as the king was wearing it, it would, when heated over a heap of embers, become utterly purified, of a colour equal to that of the *paduma*(-lotus).[32]

Each day, flocks of parrots would fetch nine thousand cartloads of *sāli* rice that was in season[33] from Lake Chaddanta; mice would divest it each day of its husks and powder.[34] Not even a single grain became broken. This same grain had been for the king's use.

The *devatā*s would fetch yellow sandal from the Himalaya. Such was the great majesty of king Asoka. And when he became desirous of giving alms, at the time his lifespan was waning during the phase in which he would die, he had the storekeeper summoned, and said: 'You should go make a heap here, my dear, of gold and jewels and so on, and linen and silk and so forth, from the warehouse—I will give alms.'

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[27] *nāgalatā*; the ironwood tree.

[28] *saniddhaṃ*.

[29] *sādhukaṃ*; Sp (and elsewhere) *mudukaṃ*, pliant.

[30] phyllanthus emblica.

[31] *aggadāharitakaṃ* (where *aggadā* is to be read as *agada*, 'medicine, antidote'). This is not the yellow myrobalan (terminalia citrina or chebula), as stated by PED sv *harītakam*, but the gall nut with a hard shell and about the size of a nutmeg (Sinh. *araḷu*); the myrobalan (*āmalaka*) is smaller, green and smooth, about the size of a medium-sized grape (Sinh. *nelli*). Both have a hard stone inside. I am grateful to N. A. Jayawickrama for this information.

[32] *cupasahadavaṇṇaṃ*; EFEO dhumasamāvaṇṇaṃ. Given the similarity of the graphemes *c*, *d*, *dh*, and *ph* in the Khom script, I conjecture, especially on the basis of EFEO, that the original reading was, in all probablity, *padumansamavaṇṇaṃ*—cp. *padumasamaṃ* at Mil 354 and *padumasamānavaṇṇatāya* at Vv-a 35. If so, the error must pre-date both of the mss presently at our disposal. Sp reads differently at this point.

[33] *sañjāta*; Sp *uṭṭhita*.

[34] *nitthusakaṇena*; Sp *nitthusakaṇe*.

taṃ sutvā bhaṇḍāgāriko assupuṇṇehi nettehi rājānaṃ sañāpento
imaṃ gātham āha |

koṭṭhāgārañ ca kosañ ca
yañ c' añaṃ atthi[35] te dhanaṃ
sabbaṃ sulañcitaṃ deva
evaṃ jānāhi khattiyā ti |

taṃ sutvā rājā bhaṇḍāgārikaṃ pucchanto āha |

koṭṭhāgārañ ca kosañ ca
yañ c'añaṃ atthi dhanaṃ me
kena sulañcitaṃ sabbaṃ
taṃ me akkhāhi pucchito ti |

bhaṇḍāgāriko kathento āha |

koṭṭhāgārañ ca kosañ ca
yañ c' añaṃ atthi te dhanaṃ
devaṃ dubbalaṃ maggaṃ disvā
sabbaṃ amhehi lañcitan ti |

taṃ sutvā rājā[36] amacce pakkosāpetvā[37] pucchi |**[di b]** tumhehi **<di b>**
tipa ma dānaṃ dātukāmassa[38] koṭṭhāgārāni lañcitānī ti | evaṃ devā ti |

kim atthāyā ti | pacchīmassa raño atthāya devā ti | idaṃ kassa rajjan ti |
tumhākaṃ devā ti | yadi me rajjaṃ kathaṃ dānaṃ[39] dātuṃ na dethā ti |

amaccā tuṇhi ahesuṃ

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[35] EFEO *atti.*
[36] EFEO *taṃ svā sutvā rāja.*
[37] EFEO *pakosāpetvā.*
[38] EFEO *tumhehi kira me dānaṃ dātukāmassa.*
[39] EFEO *dāṃnaṃ.*

Upon hearing this, the storekeeper uttered this verse, informing the king with tear-filled eyes:

'The warehouse and the storeroom, and any other treasures of yours there be, are all well-sealed, your majesty; please be aware that this is so, O khattiya.'

Upon hearing this, the king, questioning the storekeeper in turn, said: 'The warehouse and the storeroom, and any other treasures of mine there be, by whom have they all been well-sealed? Inform me of this when questioned.'

The store-keeper, replying, said: 'The warehouse and the storeroom, and any other treasures of yours there be, all have been sealed by us, your majesty, upon seeing your own weakness.'[40]

The king, upon hearing this, had his privy councillors summoned, and then asked: 'It is said that the warehouses of mine, who am desirous of giving alms,[41] has been sealed by you.'

'That is so, your majesty.'

'For what purpose?'

'For the sake of the next king, your majesty.'

'Whose kingdom is this?'

'Yours, your majesty.'

'If this is my kingdom, why do you not allow me to give alms?'

The privy councillors became silent.

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[40] Reading *deva* for *devaṃ*, and *dubbalam attaṃ* for *dubbalaṃ maggaṃ*; as noted above (n. 13), the Khom characters *ta* and *ga* are easily confused.

[41] Reading EFEO *kira me* for WPC *tipa ma: ki → gi* (aural confusion) followed by *gi → ti* (orthographic confusion); and *ra me → pa ma* (orthographic confusion).

tasmiṃ kāle raño jālahatthe osatthatthāya aḍhḍhāmalakaṃ atthi |

rājā oloketvā gātham āha |

paccaṇavatasampatti[42]
vijjumālisamupamā[43]
mahaddhanaṃ pi sampatto
dalidhaṃ[44] punamāgato

yadā me dātukāmo pi
dātabbaṃ natthi me dhanaṃ
khīṇapuñaṃ[45] ahaṃ patto
sampatto maccuno mukhan ti |

tadā raño samīpe tikicchānatthāya eko vejo thito ahosi | so rājānaṃ[46]
byādhī pi dukkhataraṃ sampatti bhassamānaṃ disvā gātham āha |

dhīratthu[47] rajjam aniccarūpaṃ
bhuñjantā jivhāliṅgatāmini
[dī a] ciratthutaṃ[48] jivataṃ[49] pata **<dī a>** m āhu
ussāvabinda va tiṇatamhi

mahādhano narindo pi
asoko[50] rājakuñjaro
jambudīpissaro[51] hutvā
aḍhḍhāmalakissaro ti |

taṃ sutvā bālhagilāno hutvā kodhavasena khaggaṃ gahetvā kosato
nikaḍhḍhitvā ukkhipitvā taṃ paharitukāmo[52] |

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[42] EFEO *paccalāvatasampatti*. PED: *paccana*: boiling; *āvāṭa*: pit.

[43] EFEO *vijjumālīsamupamā*.

[44] EFEO *daliddhaṃ*.

[45] EFEO *khiṇapuñaṃ*.

[46] EFEO *rājā*.

[47] EFEO *dhiratthu*.

[48] EFEO *dhiratthutaṃ*.

[49] EFEO *jivitaṃ*.

[50] EFEO *asokako*.

[51] EFEO *jambudipissaro*.

[52] EFEO *haritukāmo*.

At that moment, there was half a myrobalan for laxative purposes on the palm of the king's hand. Surveying this, the king uttered this verse:

'Reaching the burning pit, which is likened to a garland of lightning, even though endowed with great treasure, I am come once more to poverty.

'Even though I am desirous of giving, there is no treasure of mine that can be given; having reached my merit's destruction, I have arrived at Death's jaws.'

At that time, there was a physician stationed in the king's vicinity for the purpose of curing him. Upon seeing the king drooping, having met with a sickness of even greater *dukkha*, he uttered these verses:

'Woe be those enjoying this reign, of an impermanent nature, and now exhibiting no sign of life;[53] this life,[54] worshipped as long-lasting, has (now) fallen like a dew-drop on the tip of a blade of grass.[55]

'Asoka, the royal elephant, one of great wealth, as well as lord of men, having been ruler of Jambudīpa, is now ruler of half a myrobalan.'

When he heard this, the king became severly sick, angrily seized his scabbard, hauled it out of its sheath, and then raised it aloft, desiring to strike him.

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[53] *jivhāliṅgatāmini* (unclear). Possibly *jīva-aliṅga-gatāvin?*
[54] Reading EFEO *jivitaṃ*.
[55] Reading *tiṇag(g)amhi* for *tiṇatamhi*; on the change $k \rightarrow g \rightarrow t$, see n.13 and n.40.

tasmiṃ khaṇe nirassāso asoko ahosi | kodhavasena upapātiko ajjaggaro hutvā ekadonikanāvappamāṇo[56] hutvā balavasena gantvā bhogehi parikkhipitvā satte vātetvā[57] māreti |

yadā satte[58] na labhi aciravatiyā attānaṃ olambi phaṇena[59] udakaṃ paharitvā macchakacchape khādi |

tena kho pana samayena āyasmā mahāmahindatthero buddhasāsane sakapatiladdhajjhānasukhaṃ patiladdhajjhānasukhaṃ bhuñjanto tamhā vuṭṭhāya kena dinnaṃ jjhānanasukhan[60] ti cintetvā

asokamahājapatinā dinnan[61] ti disvā kuhiṃ me **<dī b>** thanato[62] etarahi **[dī b]** supadhārento[63] kodhavasena[64] kālaṃ katvā ajagarayoniyaṃ[65] nibbattibhāvaṃ disvā

aho dujātiko yatra hi nāma evarūpaṃ caturāsīti vihārasahassaṃ caturāsīti cetiyassa patimaṇḍitaṃ kāretvā mahantaṃ dānaṃ pariccāgaṃ katvā appamattakena maraṇāsannakodhena maraṇaṃ patvā tiracchānayoniyaṃ[66] nibbato | ki[67] me kattabbaṃ| saccena upekkhayyaṃ nassati | dāni yannunāhaṃ[68] mahārājassa patisaraṇaṃ karissāmī ti |

turitagamano yena rājā tenupasaṅkami | theraṃ upasaṅkamitvā attano samipe thitaṃ disvā rājā susū ti kurumāno[69] yena thero tena dhāvati |

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[56] EFEO *ekadoṇikanāvappamāṇo*.

[57] EFEO *sagge pātetvā*.

[58] EFEO *sagge*.

[59] EFEO *phaṇe*.

[60] EFEO *jjhānasukhan*.

[61] EFEO *asokamahārājapatinādinnan*.

[62] EFEO *janato*.

[63] EFEO *etarahī ti upadhārento*.

[64] EFEO *etarahī ti upadārento kodhavasena*.

[65] EFEO *jagarayoniyaṃ*.

[66] EFEO *tiricchānayoniyaṃ*.

[67] EFEO *kiṃ*.

[68] EFEO *yantūnāhaṃ*.

[69] EFEO *karumāno*.

But at that instant Asoka became breathless and, owing to his anger, arose spontaneously as a python[70] the size of a boat of one-*doṇika*.[71] He went about   forcefully, causing creatures to fall[72] by encircling them with his coils before killing them.

When he could not get any creatures, he hung his body down into the Aciravati, struck the water with his hood[73] and then devoured fish and turtles.

Now, on that occasion, the venerable elder Mahāmahinda, whilst enjoying the bliss of *jhāna* he had attained—the bliss of *jhāna* he had himself attained during this Sāsana of the Buddha—emerged therefrom, wondering who had granted him that bliss of *jhāna*.

Upon seeing that it had been given by his lord, the great king Asoka, and reflecting as to where his father[74] might be now, he saw that, owing to his anger, he had finished his time and had come into being in the python-womb, whereupon he thought:

'Oh dear, he is of such bad birth; for although he performed such a great gift consisting of generosity, in that he had built eighty-four thousand *vihāra*s adorned with eighty-four (thousand) cetiyas, he has now, owing to such trifling anger when close to dying, come into being in the animal-womb—what can I do? His peace of mind has truly been destroyed. What if I were to act as a haven for the great king?'

The elder hastily approached the king. Once he had approached, the king, seeing him standing in his vicinity, slid towards the elder,

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[70] *ajjaggaro*; cp *ajagarayoniyaṃ* below. According to PED, *ajagara* (literally 'goat-swallower') denotes a boa constrictor, whereas CPD claims it denotes a python. But female pythons are oviparous (lay eggs), which sets them apart from the boa family, most of which are ovoviviparous (bear live young). In neither case do they have hoods (*phaṇa*), despite the claim below.

[71] A *doṇa* is of uncertain measure.

[72] *vātetvā*; EFEO *pātetvā*.

[73] *phaṇena*.

[74] *thanato*; EFEO *janato*. I assume the latter is in error for *janako*, father. Moreover, given the confusion surrounding the graphemes *t* and *g* in the Khom script, it is quite possible that the original EFEO reading was *janago* which, given the Thai alternation in the pronunciation between *g/k*, might well have represented an original *janako*.

thero rājānaṃ āgacchantaṃ disvā karuṇāvasena mahārāja nanu
pubbe dhammasoko ti nāmaṃ[75] dhāresi | pubbe sucaritaṃ suṇāhī
ti vatvā gātham āha |

racchantaṃ patipannassa
kīḷanto paṃsu dārako
paṃsudānānubhāvena
[du a] dhammaso <du a> ko ti visuto[76]

balacakkavattiladdho
jambūdipe mahāyaso
heṭṭhābhāgaṃ yojanaṭṭhānaṃ[77]
khuddhaṃ āṇāpavattikā

na sakkoti gaṇetuṃ va yasa[78] koci mahiddhiko | soḷasāni yadāni
āhanti[79] ca devatā nacce kiṇṇarā pakkhite māñe madhupakkhikā
khundharāsuvakā[80] sabbe sattā yakkhā ca devatā tava
puñānubhāvena vasaṃ gacchanti |

attano caturāsīti sahasse ca vihāre thūpamaṇḍite puñaṃ anappakaṃ
katvā taṃ idāni kataṃ saraṃ | saṃghamittaṃ mahindañ[81] ca pabbājesi
tav' atrajaṃ sāsane tvañ ca pubbe vataṃ idāni kataṃ saraṃ |

yo mahindo tava putto
so ahaṃ āgato idha |
pitā mayhaṃ mahārāja |
putto sohaṃ tavatrajo |

[75] EFEO *nāma*.
[76] EFEO *vissuto*.
[77] EFEO *yojaṭṭhānaṃ*.
[78] EFEO *vayasaṃ*.
[79] EFEO *soḷasānighadhāni āharanti*.
[80] EFEO *kiṇṇapakkhite hañe madhumakkhitā khandavāsuvakā*.
[81] EFEO *mahinañ*.

making a hissing sound. Upon seeing the king coming, the elder, out of compassion, said: 'Surely, great king, you formerly bore the name of Asoka,' and then, after saying: 'Please hear of your former good conduct,' uttered the following verse:

'Whilst entering upon the edge of the carriage road, as a child playing at making mud pies, you became renowned as Dhammasoka through the majesty of that gift of mud.

'Having become a powerful Cakravartin, you possessed great fame in Jambudīpa; over an area of one *yojana*, in the section below, angry, you exercised authority.

'No one, not even one of great potency, is at all able to calculate your fame;[82] whilst *devatā*s brought sixteen pitchers,[83] dancing-girls, kiṇṇarās and mountain parrots, their wings, methinks, smeared with honey.[84] All beings, *yakkha*s and *devatā*s went under your sway through the majesty of your merit.

'You created eighty-four thousand vihāras, each adorned with a *thūpa*—not trifling is that merit of yours; you should now remember[85] that which was done.

'You had Saṅghamittā and Mahinda, your own born, go forth in the Sāsana, and you should now remember that former observance.

'This same I, who have now come here, am your son, Mahinda; you, great king, are my father—I am your own-born son.

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[82] Reading EFEO *va yasaṃ*.

[83] EFEO *soḷasāni ghadhāni āharanti*. Following EFEO and reading *ghaṭāni* for *ghadhāni*, through confusion of the Khom characters *ṭa* and *dha*; and reading *āharanti*, assuming loss of *ra* after the sequence of similarity between the Khom characters *ā - ha - ra*.

[84] WPC *nacce kiṇṇarā pakkhite māñe madhupakkhikā khundharāsuvakā*; EFEO *kiṇṇapakkhite hañe madhumakkhitā khandavāsuvakā*. Unclear, but proposing *kandarā*, 'mountain' for *khandavā/khundharā* (*k → kh*, auditory confusion): *kandarā suvakā* = 'mountain parrot'; and reading *pakkhike māñe madhu-makkhikā* for WPC *pakkhite māñe madhupakkhikā*, 'smeared with honey on their wings': *pakkhike → pakkhite*: (also see n.13, 40 for the change *k → g → t*) and *makkhitā → pakkhikā* (*m → p* and *t → g*, orthographic confusion)

[85] *saraṃ*.

pāpakammaṃ mahārāja
sāvajjaṃ satthārā desitaṃ |
kodhaṃ pakataṃ deva
kodhadosaṃ kāsitaṃ[86]

andhakāro[87] ayaṃ loko
kodho dhumedhagocaro[88]
kodha **[du b]** nā pari **<du b>** muñcitvā
abbhāmutto89 va candimā |

andhakāro ayaṃ loko
kodho dumedhagocaro[90]
kodhanā parimuñcitvā
dukkhass' antaṃ karissati |

rājā therassa dhammakathaṃ sutvā ayaṃ me putto mahindathero[91]
idh' āgato ti assuparipuṇṇayano onasi so therassa pādamūle sīsaṃ
thapetvā bhusaṃ[92] rodi |

thero taṃ assāmetvā[93] mā bhāyi mahārāja tav' atthāya mahārāja
idh' āgato 'mhi | gaṇhāhi saraṇāni pañcasīlāni cā ti | rājā tathā akāsi
| thero raño tisaraṇāni pañcasīlāni ca datvā

jīvahetu[94] pi deva anattikkamitabbaṃ mano padoso na[95] kātabbo ti
ovādaṃ datvā cintesi ayaṃ rājā buddhasaraṇaṃ[96] gato dhammaṃ
saraṇaṃ[97] gato[98] alam eva sugatiṃ gantun ti sakadānam[99] eva gato |

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[86] EFEO *kāsitaṃ*.
[87] EFEO *andakāro*.
[88] EFEO *dumedhakocaro*.
[89] EFEO *abbhāputto*.
[90] EFEO *dumedhakocaro*.
[91] EFEO *mahindatthero*.
[92] EFEO *bhūsaṃ*.
[93] EFEO *assāsetvā*.
[94] EFEO *jivihetu*.
[95] EFEO omits.
[96] EFEO *buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ*.
[97] EFEO *dhammasaraṇaṃ*.
[98] EFEO adds *saṃghaṃ saraṇa gato*.
[99] EFEO *sakaṭṭhānam*.

'The Teacher, great king, taught that evil deeds are blameworthy; anger has been produced, your majesty—anger and hatred are terrifying.[100]

'This world is blind; anger is foolish pasture. You should rid yourself of anger, as does the moon become free of the thunder-cloud.

'This world is blind; anger is foolish pasture. The one who is released from anger will make an end of suffering.'

Then, upon hearing the elder's Dhamma-talk, the king bent down, his eyes full of tears, realising: 'This is my son, the elder Mahinda, who has come here.' He placed his head at the soles of the elder's feet, and wept bitterly.

The elder consoled[101] him, saying: 'Do not fear, great king; I have come here for your sake, great king. You should take the refuges and the five precepts.' The king did as he said. The elder gave the king the refuges and the five precepts, and exhorted him, saying:

'These are not to be transgressed, even for the sake of your life, my Lord: you should not make your heart one of anger,' and then thought: 'This king has gone to the Buddha as refuge, has gone to the Dhamma as refuge—this alone should be sufficient for him to go to a happy destiny,' and then went back to his own place.

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[100] Text *kāsitaṃ*. However, I suspect that the original reading may have been *tāsitaṃ* (which I adopt), which was initially misread as *gāsitam* (orthographic confusion between *t-* and *g-*), and then misprononunced as *kāsitaṃ*, by a reader dictating to a scribe (aural confusion).

[101] Reading *assāsetvā* with EFEO for text's *assāmetvā*.

rājā gocaraṃ agahetvā parisuddhasīlaṃ[102] rakkhitvā sattadivasabbhantare yeva **[dū a]** kālaṃ katvā tāvatiṃsabhavane <dū a> mahindiko[103] devaputto[104] hutvā dibbasampattiṃ anubhavati |

aciraṃ vasitvā sagge katapuñonathodito[105] pabbajjitvā[106] nibbāyissaṃ iti cintesi | yoniso saggato cavitvā rājā laṅkādīpamhi āgato anukkamena vayappatto kuṇḍalatisso pākaṭo |

vasitvā sagge katapuñena codito pabbajjitvā[107] nibbāyissaṃ[108] iti pi cintesi devānaṃpiyatisso pi katvā puñaṃ anappakaṃ jahitvā manussadehaṃ devaloke ajāyatha aciraṃ |

yoniso saggato cavitvā rājā laṅkādīpamhi āgato byaggho iti ca nāmena laṅkādīpamhi pākato | kuṇḍalatisso byaggho ca piyasahāyakā c' ubho samānachandhā sapañā kusalesu samārattā[109] jahitvāna sakagehaṃ pabbajjiṃsu buddhasāsane |

tesu ca kuṇḍalatisso
arañavāsiko ahu |
vasitvā lohapāsāde[110]
byaggho vācesi bhikkhūnaṃ[111] |

ca <dū b> **[dū b]** te therā mahāpañā āsuṃ jinasāsane | tato tu cirakālena mahātherassa tassa turogo uppajji | so rogaṃ oloketvā na jivitaṃ sakaṃ āyukkhayaṃ[112] ñatvā evaṃ adhiṭṭhahi | tadā mayhaṃ nibbānakāl' amhi

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[102] EFEO *parisuddhasilaṃ*.
[103] EFEO omits.
[104] EFEO *devaputo*.
[105] EFEO *katapuñena thodito*.
[106] EFEO *pabbajitvā*.
[107] EFEO *pabbajitvā*.
[108] EFEO *nibbānayissaṃ*.
[109] EFEO *kusalesu samārattā*.
[110] EFEO *lohapāsāda*.
[111] EFEO *bhikkūnaṃ*.
[112] EFEO *āyukkhaya*.

The king, without adopting that pasture, guarded the precepts, keeping them perfectly pure, and within an interval of a mere seven days, finished his time and became the *devaputta* Mahindika in the realm of the Thirty-three, experiencing heavenly excellence.

After dwelling but a short time in heaven, he was urged on by the merit he had performed, thinking: 'I should go forth and attain *nibbāna*.' Upon falling from the heavenly womb, the king came to the island of Laṅkā, and in due course came of age, being well-known as Kuṇḍalatissa.

Devānaṃpiyatissa also performed not trifling merit, abandoned the human frame, and was born in the *devaloka*. After dwelling but a short time in heaven, he was urged on by the merit he had performed, also thinking: 'I should go forth and attain *nibbāna*.'

Upon falling from the heavenly womb, the king came to the island of Laṅkā, being well-known in the island of Laṅkā as Byaggha, 'Tiger'. Both Kuṇḍalatissa and Byaggha became dear companions, being of the same resolve, possessing insight and, having undertaken[113] things sound, abandoned their own home and went forth in the Buddha's Sāsana.

And, of these, Kuṇḍalatissa was a forest-dweller, whereas Byaggha dwelled in the Lohapāsāda where he taught the monks.

And these elders were of great insight where the Sāsana of the Conqueror was concerned; after a long time, however, a severe illness arose for the great elder. He surveyed his illness, realised that he had no life (left), that his own lifespan had terminated, and then resolved as follows:

'I have reached the time of my *nibbāna*.

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[113] Reading EFEO *samāraddhā* for text's *samārattā*.

jhāpanatthāya maṃ janā[114]
kūṭāgāre[115] va thapetvā
pūjākammaṃ karissare

tadā mayhaṃ sarīro pi
tesaṃ hatthā vimuñcissa
kūṭāgārena[116] sahito
abbhugantvāna gagalaṃ[117]

nabhasā[118] rājagehaṃ[119] va
gantvā rañābhivandito[120]
nivattitvā tappadesā
gantvāna nabhasā lahu

mahābyagghamha[121] therassa
mahāyassava santikaṃ
mahārājanaparivāro[122]
tiṭṭhatu ambare tadā |

gato sahāyassa therassa kūṭāgārena[123] me saha ākāsena nivattitvā
cittakamhi patiṭṭhatu[124] | evaṃ katvā adhiṭṭhānaṃ nibbuto[125]
mahiddhiko | tato janā sabbe samāgamma samantato tassa sarīraṃ
pūjento sakaronto va sādhukaṃ[126] mañjūse pakkhipitvā kūṭāgāre
va[127] thāpayuṃ mahā **[de a]** tā parivārena nayiṃsu[128]

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[114] EFEO *jarā*.

[115] EFEO *kuṭāgāre*.

[116] EFEO *kuṭāgārena*.

[117] EFEO *bhagalaṃ*.

[118] EFEO *nabhasa*.

[119] EFEO *rājagahaṃ*.

[120] EFEO *raño abhivandito.*

[121] EFEO *mahābyagghavha therassa mahāyass' eva.*

[122] EFEO *mahājanaṃ parivāro.*

[123] EFEO *kuṭāgārena.*

[124] EFEO *tiṭṭhatu.*

[125] EFEO *nibbato.*

[126] EFEO *sāvadhukaṃ.*

[127] EFEO *kuṭāgāre 'va.*

[128] EFEO *parivārenayiṃsu*; the last *ola*, <dū de>, in WPC is missing; hereafter the reading is that of EFEO.

'Folk will place me in a pinnacled-house in order to cremate me, and then perform an act of worship.

'Then my body will be released from their hand; it will rise up into the sky, together with the pinnacled-house.

'It will go through the clouds to the king's household and be honoured by the king; then it will quickly return through the clouds from that region;

'And go into the presence of the great elder, the famous Mahābyaggha; surrounded by the people,[129] may it remain at that point in the sky.

'At that time, it should go, together with my pinnacled-house, to my friend, the elder, return through the sky and become established on the funeral pyre.'

After making that resolution in that way, the one of great potency attained nibbāna. After that, folk from all around assembled, worshipping and honouring his body and then placed it respectfully in the casket, put this in the pinnacled-house, and then conducted it with a great retinue.

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[129] Reading EFEO *mahājana-* for *mahārājana-*.

cittakaṃ sampatto cittāsanne kuṭāgāro patiṭṭhahi asakontā va
cāletuṃ | sabbe janā samāgatā santaṭṭhā hatthato mutto kuṭāgāro

tadā pana abbhugantvā
gantvāna nabhasā kato
rājagahassa purato
patiṭṭhāsi nabhatalaṃ |

tato ca so rājā saddhātisso ti nāmako

nikkhamitvā sakā gehā
orodhaparivāritto
vanditvā pūjayitvāna
sabbadosaṃ khamāpayi |

tasmiṃ divase tato | so ca nivattitvā ākāsen' eva laṅghi | so
mahābyagghatherassa vasanaṭṭhānam āgamā | rājā taṃ anubandhi
pacchato pacchato ca so |

tadā so byagghathero lohapāsāde bhikkhusaṃghassa dhammaṃ
vācesi | taṃ khaṇe kuṭāgāro nādure ākāse vaggiko ahu |

taṃ so byagghathero pi sutvā saddhaṃ mahantaṃ kim eso mahato
ghoso | āgato ko nu kho idha

iti vutte tuṃ taṃ theraṃ bhikkhū ārocayiṃsu te bhante tuyhaṃ
sahāyo ca kuṇḍalatisso ti vi **[de b]** suto thero | so disanto tuyhaṃ
santikam āgato | tasmiṃ kho mahato ghoso | mahārājā pi āgato |

tesaṃ vacanaṃ sutvā mahāthero mahiddhiko labhitvā
dhammasaṃvegaṃ evaṃ cintesi

When it reached the funeral pyre, the pinnacled-house stood firm on the funeral pyre platform, unable to move. All the folk who had assembled were overjoyed. The pinnacled-house was released from their hands.

Moreover, it then rose up, went through the sky, and then went and stood firm at cloud-level in front of Rājagaha. Then the king named Saddhātissa,

He emerged from his own household, surrounded by his harem, he saluted it and worshipped it, and apologised for all his faults.

On that day, it returned from there, lurching through the sky. It went to the dwelling-place of Mahābyaggha, the elder. The king followed on behind.

At that time, Byaggha the elder, was teaching monks to recite the Dhamma in the Lohapāsāda. At that moment, the pinnacled-house was hovering[130] nearby[131] in the sky.

Byaggha the elder heard that great sound[132] and then said: 'What is that great noise? Who can have come here?'

After he had spoken, the monks informed the elder, saying: 'This,[133] *bhante*, is your friend, the well-known elder Kuṇḍalatissa; he is seen to have come into your presence. That great noise has to do with this. The great king himself has come!'

Upon hearing what they had to say, the great elder, being of great potency, gained Dhamma-shock and then thought as follows:

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[130] *vaggiko*, Skt *vyagra*.

[131] *nādure*.

[132] *saddhaṃ mahantaṃ*.

[133] *te*.

so tadā eso thero atite pi idāni vāci me sahadaḷhamitto ahu so so pi
idhāni parinibbuto mayhaṃ āyusaṃkhāro kidiso ti

passiya imasmiṃ divase yeva āyu khiṇan ti adassa | tato mahiddhiko
thero kuṭāgārādayo pamataṃ samānaṃ kaṃ yeva bhavantū ti

sabbe so aṭṭhānaṃ katvāna
abbhūgantvā nabhatalaṃ
kuṭāgāraṃ pavīsitvā
nibbato so mahiddhiko |

tato dvinnaṃ pi therānaṃ
nivatitvāna dve pi ca
kuṭāgārā cittasu
paṭiṭṭhahiṃsu tādeva

gato samuṭṭhahitvāna
aggikhandhā samantato
jhāpenti anavasesā
dhātumattakā |

sabbe devā manussā ca
ye tattha susamāgatā
sabbe te pūjayitvā
sakaṭṭhānaṃ nivattayiṃsū ti |

asokaparinibbāna |

'That one, this elder (come here), was then, in the past, and even now, firm friends with me.[134] Now that he has attained *parinibbāna*, how many of the concomitants of my lifespan (remain)?'

And, upon looking, he saw that his lifespan would perish that same day, whereupon the elder, as one of great potency, thought 'When I am dead, let (my) pinnacled-house become just the same (as it).'[135]

He, having created no opportunity for anyone, rose into the sky, entered the pinnacled-house, whereupon the one of great potency attained *nibbāna*.

And then the two pinnacled-houses of both elders returned and those same[136] became established on the funeral pyre.

Thereupon,[137] masses of fire rose up on all sides and burned (everything) without remainder, except for the relics.

All those, both *deva*s and men, who had come together there, all worshipped them, and then went back to their own place.

Asokaparinibbāna.

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[134] *so tadā eso thero atīte pi idāni vāci me sahadaḷhamitto ahu* (unclear).

[135] *kuṭagārādayo pamataṃ **samānaṃ kaṃ yeva** bhavantu* is unclear, but makes some sense if reading s*amānakaṃ yeva or samānaṃ **taṃ yeva***; see n. 13, 40, 100 above on the change *t → g → k(h)*.

[136] Assuming *tādeva = tā-d-eva* (where *tā = te*); or is *tādeva* a mistake for *tāva-d-eva*, 'immediately'?

[137] I assume *gato* is an error for *tato*.

Appendix

Partial parallel account of the episode by Buddhaghosa in his Samantapāsādikā (CSCD edition with relevant PTS page numbers in brackets)

[Be I 32] [Ee I 41] tena ho pana samayena bindusārassa rañño ekasataputtā ahesuṃ. te sabbe asoko attanā saddhiṃ ekamātikaṃ tissakumāraṃ ṭhapetvā ghātesi. ghātento ca cattāri vassāni anabhisittova rajjaṃ kāretvā catunnaṃ vassānaṃ accayena tathāgatassa parinibbānato dvinnaṃ vassasatānaṃ upari aṭṭhārasame vasse. sakalajambudīpe ekarajjābhisekaṃ pāpuṇi [Ee I 42]. abhisekānubhāvena c' assa imā rājiddhiyo āgatā—mahāpathaviyā heṭṭhā yojanappamāṇe āṇā pavattati; tathā upari ākāse anotattadahato aṭṭhahi kājehi soḷasa pānīyaghaṭe divase divase devatā āharanti, yato sāsane uppannasaddho hutvā aṭṭha ghaṭe bhikkhusaṅghassa adāsi, dve ghaṭe saṭṭhimattānaṃ tipiṭakadharabhikkhūnaṃ, dve ghaṭe aggamahesiyā asandhimittāya, cattāro ghaṭe attanā paribhuñji; devatā eva himavante nāgalatādantakaṭṭhaṃ nāma atthi siniddhaṃ mudukaṃ rasavantaṃ taṃ divase divase āharanti, yena rañño ca mahesiyā ca soḷasannañ ca nāṭakitthisahassānaṃ saṭṭhimattānañ ca bhikkhusahassānaṃ devasikaṃ dantaponakiccaṃ nippajjati. devasikam eva c' assa devatā agadāmalakaṃ agadaharītakaṃ suvaṇṇavaṇṇañca gandharasasampannaṃ ambapakkaṃ āharanti. tathā chaddantadahato pañcavaṇṇa-nivāsana-pāvuraṇaṃ pītakavaṇṇa hatthapucchanapaṭakaṃ dibbañ ca pānakaṃ āharanti. devasikam eva panassa nhānagandhaṃ [Be I 33] anuvilepanagandhaṃ pārupanatthāya asuttamayikaṃ sumanapupphapaṭaṃ mahārahañ ca añjanaṃ nāgabhavanato nāgarājāno āharanti. chaddantadahe va [Ee I 43] uṭṭhitassa sālino nava vāhasahassāni divase divase sukā āharanti. mūsikā nitthusakaṇe karonti, eko pi khaṇḍataṇḍulo na hoti, rañño sabbaṭṭhānesu ayam eva taṇḍulo paribhogaṃ gacchati. madhumakkhikā madhuṃ karonti. kammārasālāsu acchā kūṭaṃ paharanti. karavīkasakuṇā āgantvā madhurassaraṃ vikūjantā rañño balikammaṃ karonti.

imāhi iddhīhi samannāgato rājā ekadivasaṃ suvaṇṇasaṅkhalikabandhanaṃ pesetvā catunnaṃ buddhānaṃ adhigatarūpadassanaṃ kappāyukaṃ kāḷaṃ nāma nāgarājānaṃ ānayitvā setacchattassa heṭṭhā mahārahe pallaṅke nisīdāpetvā anekasatavaṇṇehi jalajathalajapupphehi suvaṇṇapupphehi ca pūjaṃ katvā sabbālaṅkārapaṭimaṇḍitehi soḷasahi nāṭakitthisahassehi samantato parikkhipitvā anantañāṇassa tāva me saddhamma-varacakkavattino sammāsambuddhassa rūpaṃ imesaṃ akkhīnaṃ āpāthaṃ karohī ti vatvā tena nimmitaṃ sakalasarīravippakiṇṇapuññappa bhāva-nibbattāsītānubyañjanapaṭimaṇḍita-dvattiṃsamahāpurisalakkhaṇa

48

sassirīkatāya vikasitakamaluppalapuṇḍarīkapaṭimaṇḍitam iva salilatalaṃ tārāgaṇarasmijālavisada-vipphuritasobhāsamujjalitam iva gaganatalaṃ nī lapītalohitādibhedavicitravaṇṇaraṃsi-vinaddhabyāmappabhāparikkhepa vilāsitāya **[Ee I 44]** sañcāppabhānurāga-indadhanu-vijjulatāparikkhittam iva kanakagirisikharaṃ nānāvirāgavimalaketumālā-samujjalitacāru-matthakasobhaṃ nayanarasāyatanam iva brahmadevamanujanāgayakkhagaṇ ānaṃ buddharūpaṃ passanto satta divasāni akkhipūjaṃ nāma akāsi.

Abbreviations

References to Pali texts follow the system adopted by the Critical Pali Dictionary. Page references are to PTS editions, where available, otherwise to the Burmese editions on the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana CD-ROM (Be), contained also in the Digital Pali Reader (https://pali.sirimangalo.org).

CSCD	Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana CD-ROM
CPD	*Critical Pali Dictionary* (Copenhagen)
DPPN	Dictionary of Pali Proper Names
EFEO	École française d'Extrême-Orient manuscript of the *Asokaparinibbānakathā* (EFEO PALI 29)
PED	*Pali English Dictionary* (Pali Text Society)
WPC	Wat Phra Chetuphon (Wat Pho) manuscript Bangkok of the *Asokaparinibbānakathā* (incomplete)

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On the Buddha's 'Kammic Fluff': The Last Meal Revisited

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Abstract

This paper reconsiders the last meal of the Buddha from the little studied perspective of 'kammic fluff' (*kammapilotika*). Although marginal in the Nikāyas, this idea is more prominent in the commentarial accounts of the Buddha's death, and suggests that the Buddha's final meal aided the Buddha, rather than directly caused his death. Additionally, we examine other evidence from some Theravāda traditions of mainland South East Asia: modern mural paintings from Cambodia and Thailand which indicate that the Buddha's death possibly resulted from a complication of a chronic peptic ulcer involving the vomiting of blood, and a little known Pali text of 'Indo-Chinese' origin, which supports this interpretation, and assumes that the Buddha's final illness was caused by the remnants of his former *kamma*.

The Buddha Siddhattha Gotama is recorded in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (and the *Udāna*) as having, shortly prior to his final demise or *parinibbāna*, taken his last meal in the house of Cunda Kammāraputta, i.e., 'the smith's son', in Pāvā (D II 126ff; Ud 81ff). It is said that the Buddha told Cunda that he, and he alone, should be served with such *sūkaramaddava* as had been prepared, whilst the monks accompanying him should be served any other foods, both hard and soft, that had been prepared.[2] Moreover, he told Cunda that any leftover *sūkaramaddava* should be buried in a pit, since he beheld none in the cosmos—humans and *deva*s alike—other than the Tathāgata able to thoroughly digest it.[3] Then, some time after the Buddha finished his meal, he was afflicted by a grating affliction, whilst severe stomach pains, accompanied by blood and diarrhoea,[4] that were potentially fatal,[5] ensued. Nonetheless, he managed to suppress these and make his way, shortly afterwards, on foot to Kusinārā,[6] where he attained final *parinibbāna*. This account has led many to conclude that it was Cunda's alms that had led to the Buddha's death. According to Mettanando & von Hinüber (2000: 106–107),

> the onset of the Buddha's illness was rapid. The disease started while eating, so the Buddha assumed that there was something wrong with this unfamiliar delicacy and he suggested to his host that the food be buried … Soon the Buddha suffered severe stomach pain and passed blood from his rectum.

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[2] D II 127: *yaṃ te Cunda sūkaramaddavaṃ paṭiyattaṃ tena maṃ parivisa | yaṃ pan' aññaṃ khādanīyaṃ bhojanīyaṃ paṭiyattaṃ tena bhikkhusaṅghaṃ parivisa ||*

[3] D II 127: *yaṃ te Cunda sūkaramaddavaṃ avasiṭṭhaṃ taṃ sobbhe nikhaṇāhi || nāhaṃ taṃ Cunda passāmi sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadevamanussāya yassa taṃ paribhuttaṃ sammā pariṇāmaṃ gaccheyya aññatra Tathāgatassa ||*

[4] D II 127: *kharo ābādho uppajji lohitapakkhandikā bālhā vedanā vattanti ||* It is worth noting that this passage is syntactically ambiguous, and that the expressions *kharo ābādho* and *lohitapakkhandikā* are quite rare in the Nikāyas. For the former, see Vin III 72, IV 70; for the latter, see M I 316; the occurrence at Ja V 422 (no. 536) is paracanonical. The expression *bālhā vedanā* only occurs in the accounts of the Buddha's death.

[5] *māraṇantikā*; potentially fatal, yes, but not necessarily so, as should be clear from what follows. Defined, at Sv 546, as *maraṇantaṃ maraṇasantikaṃ pāpanasamatthā* and, at Ud-a 401, as *maraṇantā maraṇasamīpapāpanasamatthā*, i.e., capable of causing one to reach death's door.

[6] Ud 82: *atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi | āyām' Ānanda yena Kusinārā ten' upasaṅkamissāma ||*

This short summary is quite misleading. The text of D II 127 tells us that even before starting to eat, the Buddha told Cunda not to serve the *sūkaramaddava* to anyone else, and then bury the remnants afterwards. After Cunda followed the Buddha's instructions, serving the food in the manner prescribed, the Buddha told him to bury the remnants of the *sūkaramaddava*, which he did, after which the Buddha delivered a Dhamma sermon. The text then states explicitly that the Buddha got up from his seat and left (*uṭṭhāyāsanā pakkāmi*), and only then became ill, an unspecified period of time after eating (*bhagavato … bhattaṃ bhuttāvissa kharo ābādho uppajji …*). In other words, the disease did not start precisely 'while eating' (although see below for commentarial evidence to this effect).

As regards the illness, the text says that the Buddha suffered severe stomach pain but does not explicitly state that he 'passed blood from his rectum'. The term used in this passage is *lohitapakkhandikā*, which could be taken as a *dvanda* compound, viz., 'blood and diarrhoea', rather than 'bloody diarrhoea'. This point is important, for a *dvanda* interpretation of the compound would suggest that the Buddha vomited blood, and if so his death could be ascribed to a peptic or stomach ulcer. This was ruled out by Mettanando & von Hinüber, but their claim that the Buddha 'passed blood from his rectum' rests on the unwarranted assumption that the compound *lohitapakkhandikā* is to be analysed as a *kammadhāraya* rather than *dvanda*. However, they point out that 'for ulcers higher that the ligament of Treitz … when there is severe bleeding, it would manifest as bloody vomiting, not a passing of blood through the rectum' (2000: 107). The *dvanda* interpretation of the compound *lohitapakkhandikā* thus raises the possibility that the Buddha died from a peptic ulcer; as we will see, the notion that a spell of bloody vomiting (*haematemesis*) preceded the Buddha's death has been maintained in some Theravāda traditions of mainland South East Asia.

What about the Buddha's statement that only he can digest the *sūkaramaddava*, and that its remnants should be buried? This part of the narrative could indeed imply that the meal was regarded as dangerously harmful. But if the *sūkaramaddava* was harmful, this would also wrongly suggest that the immediate cause of the Buddha's death was food poisoning. This has been correctly ruled out by Mettanando & von Hinüber (2000: 107), based on the account of the Buddha's symptoms. Indeed, other aspects of the canonical and commentarial accounts suggest that there was probably nothing wrong with the meal itself. We should first note that the identity of the meal does not necessarily

suggest that it was harmful. In the *Udāna* Commentary (Ud-a 399ff), which is rather more thorough than the account given in the *Dīghanikāya* Commentary (Sv 516ff), Dhammapāla gives several possibilities as to the denotation of the term *sūkaramaddava*:

> It is said in the Great Commentary that *sūkaramaddava* is the already available meat[7] of the pig that is tender and succulent. Some, however, say that *sūkaramaddava* is not pig's meat (but rather) bamboo shoots that pigs (*sūkarehi*) have trampled upon (*maddita*), others that it is a mushroom that has come into being at a spot that pigs (*sūkarehi*) have trampled upon (*maddita*), whilst still others proclaim that *sūkaramaddava* is the name for a certain elixir.[8]

It is quite clear that, by the time of the commentarial period, knowledge as to what *sūkaramaddava* may once have denoted had been lost.[9] Nonetheless,

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[7] The word *pavattamaṃsa* recurs at Vin I 217 in the incident in which the female layfollower Suppiyā instructs a servant to find same so that she might prepare meat-broth for a sick monk, such servant, however, returning empty-handed, on account of the fact that it was an Uposatha day on which animal slaughter was not permitted, as a result of which Suppiyā had to cut flesh from her own thigh for the purpose. Sp 1094 explains *pavattamaṃsa* as 'meat that is already dead' (*matass' eva maṃsaṃ*), in accordance with which I.B. Horner renders same as 'meat that is to hand', adding the note 'i.e., already killed, and not to be killed on purpose for the monk' (B Disc IV 296 n. 1). This also seems supported by Sv-pṭ II 218, which states that *sūkaramaddava* is the meat of the wild boar (*vanavarāhamaṃsa*), and that 'meat that is already dead' is implied at Sv 568 since Cunda, an *ariyasāvaka* and *sotāpanna*, and the rest, in preparing the food for the Lord and the order of monks, did so blamelessly. Ñāṇamoli (2001: 357), who takes *sūkaramaddava* as 'hog's mincemeat', similarly renders *pavattamaṃsa* as 'meat already on sale in a market'. Moreover, *pavattamaṃsa* is, presumably, to be distinguished from *āmakamaṃsa*, raw or uncooked, meat, and which is not allowed (D I 5; M I 180); or else this is why the commentaries explain *paṭiyādāpetvā* (had prepared) as *pacāpetvā* (had cooked).

[8] Ud-a 399f: *sūkaramaddavan ti sūkarassa mudusiniddhaṃ pavattamaṃsan ti mahā-aṭṭhakathāyaṃ vuttaṃ ‖ keci pana sūkaramaddavan ti na sūkaramaṃsaṃ | sūkarehi madditavaṃsakalīro ti vadanti ‖ aññe sūkarehi madditappadese jātaṃ ahichattakan ti ‖ apare pana sūkaramaddavaṃ nāma ekaṃ rasāyanan ti bhaṇiṃsu ‖* Sv 568 gives the first and last of these only, some editions adding in parentheses that it is a recipe for cooking soft-boiled rice in the five products of the cow (*eke bhaṇanti sūkaramaddavan ti pana mudu-odanassa pañcagorasayūsapācanavidhānassa nām' etaṃ | yathā gavapānaṃ nāma pākanāman*).

[9] See *inter alia* Wasson 1982, and Mettanando & von Hinüber 2000 who discuss the possible nature of the *sūkaramaddava*-dish; *contra*, see Bareau 1968 who critically examines other parallel passages in Sanskrit and Chinese where something called *sūkaramaddava* seems totally absent. On this ground, Bareau concludes that the Pali sources discussing the last meal of the Buddha may have been corrupt and of later elaboration.

sheer common sense suggests that the Great Commentary (*Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*), no longer extant, is much more reliable in this regard, if only for the fact that *sūkaramaddava*, possibly consisting of pig's meat,[10] was simply one of the huge number of dishes that Cunda must have had prepared in his household and, we may presume, from ingredients freely available in the local markets, in advance, in anticipation of a visit by a 'great' and hungry Saṅgha.[11]

Although the precise identity of *sūkaramaddava* had seemingly been forgotten well before the commentarial period, this need not mislead us into thinking that there was anything inherently pernicious in 'this mysterious food' (as An has it, 2005: 121 n. 5). And this remains true whether it were pig's meat, bamboo shoots, mushrooms or whatever.[12] Indeed, the Buddha declares that not only no blame should attach to Cunda, but also that, of all meals received by the Lord, the two most meritoriously efficacious were that given by Sujātā, prior to the night of his awakening, and that given by Cunda, prior to his final extinction:

> Of exactly the same fruition, of exactly the same ripening, are these two almsfoods, being of greater fruition and of greater advantage than other almsfoods in the extreme. What two? That almsfood after consuming which the Tathāgata awakens to the unsurpassed perfect awakening, and that almsfood after consuming which he attains *parinibbāna* into that element of *nibbāna* that is without remnant of substrate.[13]

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[10] It is a common interpretation in Thailand that *sūkaramaddava* consists of pig's meat. Modern Thai mural paintings depicting the life of the Buddha often represent a pig being cooked and barbecued, or a wild boar being prepared and ready to be offered by Cunda to the Lord and his fellow monks (Figures 1–3).

[11] One that was 'great' by way of its greatness of good qualities and its greatness in number (Ud-a 399: *mahatā bhikkhusaṅghenā ti guṇamahattasaṅkhyāmahattehi mahatā*).

[12] It should be borne in mind, however, that pig's meat and mushrooms—if this is indeed the nature of that meal—are taboo in India, especially in the brahmin cast, on which, see Bareau 1968 and Wasson 1982.

[13] D II 136f: *dve' me piṇḍapātā samasamaphalā samasamavipākā ativiya aññehi piṇḍapātehi mahapphalatarā ca mahānisaṃsatarā ca || katame dve | yañ ca piṇḍapātaṃ paribhuñjitvā Tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambujjhati | yañ ca piṇḍapātaṃ paribhuñjitvā anupādisesāya nibbānadhātuyā parinibbāyati ||* On the rather blurred distinction between the terms *nibbāna* and *parinibbāna*, also involved in this passage, see Masefield 1979.

The Buddha also points out Cunda's kammic benefits from offering the meal as follows:

> By Cunda has been heaped up a deed conducive to (long) life-span
> … to (good) complexion … to happiness … to heaven … to fame
> … to sovereignty.[14]

Perhaps the early Buddhist tradition had certain reasons to wish to absolve Cunda of any blame; perhaps he and/or his family were important supporters of the Saṅgha. But the account explicitly states that the Buddha was able to digest the meal, and that he subsequently continued his journey on foot; the Buddha was not, apparently, impaired or incapacitated as a result of the meal.[15] The commentarial account continues in this vein. Whatever the precise nature of the dish, Dhammapāla makes it clear that, although the affliction arose after the Buddha had eaten the meal, it did not do so *as a consequence* of his having partaken of that food. Instead, he claims that meal eased the pain brought on through the recurrence of an illness that had originated, ten months previously, in the hamlet of Beluva near Vesāli (but suppressed throughout the interval by way of meditative attainment),[16] thereby allowing him to complete the final leg of his journey to Kusinārā where he would attain final *parinibbāna*. The verses beginning 'after eating Cunda's meal' were codified by the compilers of the scriptures afterwards:

> 'And along with the *sūkaramaddava,* to the one who had partaken thereof': there arose to the one who had partaken thereof, though not with his having partaken thereof as its condition. For if (that affliction) had arisen to him without his having partaken thereof, it would have been far too grating; whereas, on account of his having

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[14] Ud 85: *āyusaṃvattanikaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāraputtena kammaṃ upacitaṃ | vaṇṇa-saṃvattanikaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāraputtena kammaṃ upacitaṃ | sukhasaṃvattanikaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāraputtena kammaṃ upacitaṃ | saggasaṃvattanikaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāraputtena kammaṃ upacitaṃ | yasasaṃvattanikaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāraputtena kammaṃ upacitaṃ | ādhipateyyasaṃvattanikaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāraputtena kammaṃ upacitan ti ||*

[15] It is therefore hard to credit Walshe's dismissal of the claim that the *sūkaramaddava* the Buddha ate could only be digested by the Tathāgata, as follows: '(or so we are told). The trouble was, of course, that in fact even the Tathāgata failed to digest it!' (1987: n. 418).

[16] E.g., D II 99: *atha kho bhagavato vassūpagatassa kharo ābādho uppajji | bālhā vedanā vattanti māraṇantikā || tā sudaṃ bhagavā sato sampajāno adhivāsesi avihaññamāno ||*

partaken of that succulent food, the pain became diminished, as a result of which same he was able to continue on foot.[17]

Moreover, it is abundantly clear from Dhammapāla's commentary that the meal of *sūkaramaddava* was given by Cunda in good faith:

> For it was this, they say, that Cunda, the smith's son, gave out of a desire to have the Teacher live for a long time, hoping, after hearing that the Lord was to attain *parinibbāna* that same day: 'Surely he will remain a while longer once he has consumed this'.[18]

From the canonical account, supported by Dhammapāla's interpretation, it becomes evident that Cunda's meal of *sūkaramaddava* in fact aided the Buddha and should not be blamed for his death. If so, then what, we may ask, was it about the dish that rendered it incapable of being thoroughly digested by anyone other than the Tathāgata, such that any leftovers needed to be buried, and what was responsible for the blood and diarrhoea that ensued? Let us again return to the commentaries.

According to the *Udāna* Commentary,[19] the reason lies in the fact that the *devatā*s of the four great continents and lesser islands had infused the *sūkaramaddava* with nutritive essence (*oja*s), thereby rendering it incapable of being digested by anyone other than the Tathāgata.[20] However, according to the *Milindapañha*, this they did on every occasion the Tathāgata ate,[21] thereby again implying there was nothing special about Cunda's meal *per se*, or at least prior to its being offered.

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[17] Ud-a 401 (= D-a II 568): *Cundassa bhattaṃ bhuñjitvā ti ādikā aparabhāge dhammasaṅgāhakehi ṭhapitā gāthā || tattha bhuttassa ca sūkaramaddavenā ti bhuttassa udapādi | na pana bhuttapaccayā || yadi hi abhuttassa uppajjissā atikharo abhavissā | siniddhabhojanaṃ pana bhuttattā tanukā vedanā ahosi | ten' eva padasā gantuṃ asakkhi ||*

[18] Ud-a 400: *tañ hi Cundo kammāraputto ajja bhagavā parinibbāyissatī ti sutvā app' eva nāma naṃ paribhuñjitvā cirataraṃ tiṭṭheyyā ti satthu cirajīvitukamyatāya adāsī ti vadanti ||*

[19] Ud-a 400: *tasmiṃ kira sūkaramaddave dvisahassadīpaparivāresu catūsu mahādīpesu devatā ojaṃ pakkhipiṃsu | tasmā taṃ añño koci sammā jīrāpetuṃ na sakkoti ||*

[20] Or even by themselves, if Spk I 235f in a similar context is to be believed—see CD 447 n. 450 for a translation. See also Figures 1–2 where Sakka appears flying in the air, with his typical green complexion, and infusing the pig's meat with divine nutriments.

[21] Mil 231: *sabbakālaṃ mahārāja Tathāgate bhuñjamāne devatā dibbaṃ ojaṃ gahetvā upatiṭṭhitvā uddhaṭuddhaṭe ālope ākiranti ||*

The phenomenon of the dangers surrounding leftover food is outside the scope of this paper. Nonetheless, we may note that, apart from the practice of leaving uneaten alms for other *bhikkhu*s (who, if they do not eat it, must throw it away into water or a place without grass),[22] there are a few other instances in the Nikāyas where the Buddha tells others to bury leftovers. At S I 167ff ≠ Sn p. 15, for instance, we find the brahmin Sundarika Bhāradvāja, following his performance of the Agni-oblation, going in search of some other brahmin to whom he might offer the remnant (*havyasesa*) of that offering leftover in his ladle.[23] The commentary on this explains that he did so in the belief that, since the oblation placed in the fire had been eaten by Mahābrahmā, he needed to offer the remnant to another brahmin, if he were to please his forebears and successfully find his way to the Brahmaloka.[24] He therefore offers the remains to the Buddha (S I 168f), whom he mistakes for a brahmin, but the latter refuses to accept same, since he does not accept any food that has been chanted over by verses (*abhigītaṃ*), adding the following, in much the same tone of the *Cundasutta*:

> I do not behold anyone in this world with its *deva*s, with its Māra, with its Brahmā, with its generation of recluses and brahmins, with its (generation of) *deva*s and men, for whom that consumed could become thoroughly digested, except for a Tathāgata or a *sāvaka* of the Tathāgata.[25]

He then continues, saying that that brahmin should, instead, throw it away 'in a place where there is little grass, or immerse it in water devoid of living beings', such that, when he did so, it 'hissed and seethed, and steamed and smoked, just like a ploughshare, that had been heated all day, when plunged into water'.[26]

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[22] Vin I 157ff, I 352, II 216; M I 207, III 157.

[23] S I 167: *atha kho sundarikabhāradvājo brāhmaṇo aggiṃ juhitvā aggihuttaṃ paricaritvā uṭṭhāyāsanā samantā catuddisā anuvilokesi | ko nu kho imaṃ habyasesaṃ bhuñjeyyā ti ||*

[24] Spk I 233: *aggimhi tāva pakkhittapāyāso Mahābrahmunā bhutto | ayaṃ pana avaseso atthi | taṃ yadi brahmuno mukhato jātassa brāhmaṇassa dadeyyaṃ | evaṃ me pitarā saha putto pi santappito bhaveyya | suvisodhito c' assa brahmalokagāmimaggo*—Cp translation at CD 447 n. 447; also KS I 209 n. 5.

[25] S I 168f: *na khvāhan taṃ brāhmaṇa passāmi sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇa-brāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadevamanussāya yasseso havyaseso bhutto sammā pariṇāmaṃ gaccheyya aññatra brāhmaṇa Tathāgatassa vā Tathāgatasāvakassa vā ||*

[26] S I 169: *atha kho Sundarikabhāradvājo brāhmaṇo taṃ havyasesaṃ appāṇake udake opilāpesi || atha kho so havyaseso udake pakkhitto cicciṭāyati | ciṭiciṭāyati | sandhūpāyati | sampadhūpāyati || Seyyathāpi nāma phālo divasasantatto udake pakkhitto cicciṭāyati | ciṭiciṭāyati*

Passing aside the question as to why Buddhaghosa should have thought that an oblation offered to Agni had been consumed by Mahābrahmā,[27] it is nonetheless a fact that the late Vedic or Brahmanic milieu into which the Buddha arose was one admitting of very strict rules on the use of leftover food, including that gained by a brahmin student on his almsround. Hence, it is of interest to find, in Āpastamba's *Dharmasūtra*,[28] that such a student should, *inter alia*, 'after he has eaten [food gained on his almsround] … not leave any food uneaten. If he is unable to do so, he should bury the leftovers in the ground, [or] throw them in the water', the same text going on to list a hierarchy of individuals to whom such food might then be offered, prior to its disposal. It surely cannot be a coincidence that this is almost word for word the same as that put into the mouth of the Buddha in the above quoted *Saṃyutta* passage (S I 167f).

The Buddha's instruction to bury the remnants of his final meal thus reflects Brahmanic ideas and practices about what to do with leftovers. If so, the canonical texts and their commentaries are consistent in indicating that there was nothing in the least unusual, let alone harmful, about the Buddha's last meal. So what, we may finally ask, really caused the Buddha's death?

According to the *Apadāna* and its Commentary, as well as the *Udāna* Commentary, various afflictions suffered by the Buddha were a consequence of his 'kammic-fluff' (*kammapilotika*): the minor, leftover consequences of former deeds already long since atoned for in hell and elsewhere.[29] This concept is used to explain various sufferings experienced by the Buddha during his final human existence, including headaches,[30] backache,[31] cracked skin on his feet,[32] the

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| *sandhūpāyati* | *sampadhūpāyati* | *evam eva so havyaseso udake pakkhitto cicciṭāyati* | *ciṭiciṭāyati* | *sandhūpāyati* | *sampadhūpāyati* ||

[27] As C.A.F. Rhys Davids observes: 'So obsolete apparently was Agni-worship become in Buddhaghosa's day, or even in that of his authorities, that he sees only the "Great Brahmā" as the object of these rites' (KS I 209 n. 4).

[28] Olivelle 1999: 11. See also Deussen 1980: I, 148: 'The residue (*ucchiṣṭaṃ*) of the offering… is to be eaten only by a *brāhmaṇa*', quoted in CD 447 n. 447.

[29] On this concept, see Masefield 2010 and Anandajoti 2012: 10ff. A summary of the relevant section of the *Apadāna* Commentary can also be found in the translation of Ud-a 263ff. *Pilotika*, literally means 'a small piece of cloth, a rag, a bandage' (PED, *sv.*), that is, 'the hanging thread(s) at the end of a woven cloth' (Sanjukta Gombrich, personal communication).

[30] Ap 300, vv. 3363–64. See also Ud-a 265.

[31] Ap 126: *tasmā kadāci piṭṭhidukkhe uppanne sāriputtamoggallāne ito paṭṭhāya dhammaṃ desethā ti vatvā sayaṃ sugatacīvaraṃ paññāpetvā sayati | kammapilotikaṃ nāma buddhamapi na muñcati ||*

[32] Ap 300, v. 3362.

false accusations of Ciñcamāṇavikā and Sundarī,[33] not to mention the various machinations on the part of his major adversary, Devadatta.[34] The Ap-a thus gives the reason for the Buddha's resurgence of the illness that first originated in Beluva as being due to the time when he, as a doctor in a past life, had purged the son of a wealthy banker.

> *atisāra*:[35] a purging of blood and diarrhoea (*lohitapakkhandhikā*). In the past, the Bodhisatta made his living as a physician, after apparently being reborn in the home of a householder. When he was treating a particular banker's son, who was afflicted[36] with illness, he prepared and administered a medicine, but owing to his negligence on the day he was to be paid, he gave another medicine which caused a purging with vomit (*vamanavirecanaṃ*). The banker gave him a lot of money. As a result of the ripening of that *kamma*, in rebirth after rebirth [the Bodhisatta] was afflicted by an illness accompanied by blood and diarrhoea (*lohitapakkhandikābādhena*). Moreover, in this, his last individual existence, at the time of his *parinibbāna*, due to the meal of *sūkaramaddava* cooked by Cunda the smith's son, which had been infused with divine nutriments by deities from the entire world-system, at the moment of eating (*bhuttakkhaṇe*), there was a purging of blood and diarrhoea (*lohitapakkhandikā-virecanaṃ*); the strength of a hundred thousand crores of horses was expended. The Blessed One, going to Kusinārā for his final *nibbāna* on the full moon of Visākhā, sitting down in various places to drink water when he was thirsty,[37]

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[33] Ud-a 263, Ap 299 (vv. 3346, 3349, 3354).

[34] Ap 300, vv. 3356–58.

[35] This term in Pali is often translated as 'dysentery' (CPED; PED, *svv.*) which generally manifests with the symptoms of 'bloody diarrhoea' but with no apparent vomiting. The CPD's definition as 'dysentery', however, is based on a single passage (Dhp-a I 182), which refers only to 'enteric (typhoid) fever' (*kucchiḍāhaṃ*). In Sanskrit, *atisāra* literally denotes an excessive 'discharge' or 'purging' (SED, *sv.*), caused for instance by stomach or intestinal inflammation. It could then, depending on context, refer to either 'diarrhoea'—whereas the presence of blood is not necessarily involved—or '(bloody) vomiting'. The latter interpretation thus opens again the possibility that the Buddha died from a peptic ulcer provoking the vomiting of blood (on which see also figures *infra*), and not from a dysentery, or a mesenteric infarction, mainly causing bloody diarrhoea, as generally presented (e.g., Mettanando & von Hinüber 2000: 108–109).

[36] *vicchita*: perhaps from the causative of Skt. *vicch*, 'to press, bring into straits'.

[37] For depictions of this motif in modern Khmer murals, see Figures 7 and 9.

reached Kusinārā with great difficulty and then passed into final extinction just before dawn. Even the master of the triple world[38] could not forsake this type of 'kammic fluff' (*kammapilotika*).[39]

This passage makes several noticeable points. First, it supports Mettanando & von Hinüber's claim (2000: 106) that the 'disease started while eating'—but still, nevertheless, goes against the account of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* in this regard. Apart from this, the account supports the notion that there was nothing intrinsically wrong with the food: the statement that 'the strength of a hundred thousand crores of horses was expended' emphasises the restorative effects of the meal, rather than its adverse results. Finally, and most importantly, the principle of kammic equivalence suggests that, since the Bodhisatta's negligence in a former life caused his patient to experience 'a purging with vomit', the transmitters of the story may have understood *lohitapakkhandhikā* to involve vomiting blood.

Whether or not this is the case, this understanding of the story of the Buddha's death has been seemingly transmitted in some Pali and vernacular Buddhist traditions of mainland South East Asia. This can be clearly seen today in specific modern Khmer and Lao-Isan mural paintings from Cambodia and North East Thailand illustrating the final sickness of the Buddha (Roveda & Sothon 2009: 164, 259; Brereton & Somroay 2010: 28–29). In these regions, the murals invariably depict the Buddha vomiting, or about to vomit, blood (Figures 5–8, 10–11), and suggest an old and localised tradition in which *lohitapakkhandikā* was regarded essentially as the purging of blood through the mouth, rather than bloody diarrhoea expelled through the rectum.[40]

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[38] Reading *lokattayasāmī pi* for *lokattayasāmim pi*, assuming the character *ī* was misread as *anusvāra*, and converted into -*m* for the purpose of *sandhi* before *pi*.

[39] Ap-a 127: *atisāro ti lohitapakkhandikā-virecanaṃ || atīte kira bodhisatto gahapatikule nibbatto vejjakammena jīvikaṃ kappesi || so ekaṃ seṭṭhiputtaṃ rogena vicchitaṃ tikicchanto bhesajjaṃ katvā tikicchitvā | tassa deyyadhammadāne pamādamāgamma aparaṃ osadhaṃ datvā vamanavirecanaṃ akāsi | seṭṭhi bahudhanaṃ adāsi || so tena kammavipākena nibbattanibbattabhave lohitapakkhandikābādhena vicchito ahosi || imasmim pi pacchimattabhāve parinibbānasamaye cundena kammāraputtena pacitasūkaramaddavassa sakalacakkavāla-devatāhi pakkhitta-dibbojena āhārena saha bhuttakkhaṇe lohitapakkhandikā-virecanaṃ ahosi || koṭisatasahassānaṃ hatthīnaṃ balaṃ khayam agamāsi || bhagavā visākhapuṇṇamāyaṃ kusinārāyaṃ parinibbānatthāya gacchanto anekesu ṭhānesu nisīdanto pipāsito pānīyaṃ pivitvā mahādukkhena kusinaraṃ patvā paccūsasamaye parinibbāyi || kammapilotikaṃ evarūpaṃ lokattayasāmim pi na vijahati ||*

[40] This tradition may have been pan-regional but, as far as we can ascertain, the visual and narrative sources for Myanmar are lacking, and its current status for Laos is unknown. However,

While the modern interpretation of the episode of the last meal in Central Thailand seems to remain ambiguous—the Thai *Paṭhamasambodhi* simply mentions that the Buddha suffered from 'diarrhoea and bleeding' after having partaken of the food offered by Cunda (trans. Paramanujitjinoros 2016: 547)—a Khmer vernacular narrative text is illuminating in this regard since it gives a textual basis to the visual evidence. The *braḥ nibbān sūtr*, only available in manuscript form mentions 'vomiting' directly in the Cunda episode. The crucial passage reads and translates as:

ព្រះអង្គកក្កក្កួតព្រះលោហិតស្រសៗ ចេញមក

braḥ aṅg ka k'ak k'uat braḥ lohit sras 2 ceñ mak,

i.e., 'The Lord then coughed and vomited out fresh blood'.[41]

In addition, the modern illustrations from Cambodia, often depicting Sakka, Lord of the *deva*s (*devānaṃ inda*), catching the blood vomited by the Buddha after consuming Cunda's alms (Figures 7–8, 10, 11a), might be compared with a similar episode, recorded in the *Dhammapada* Commentary. In this episode, Sakka is described as catching, and removing, on his head, the Buddha's 'blood and diarrhoea' (*lohitapakkhandikā*), following the onset of his sickness at Beluva:[42]

Sakka permitted no other so much as to touch with his hand the vessel which contained the excrement of the Teacher's body,[43]

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a mural painting from Phitsanulok province (Upper Central Thailand) which depicts the scene is conveniently supplemented by the following caption: ลาก เลือด/*lak lueat* (to be understood as *ราก เลือด/*rak lueat* in the standard dialect of Central Thailand), i.e., 'vomiting blood' (Figure 6). Interestingly, the spelling of the first term substitutes the grapheme or letter < ร = *r* > for < ล = *l* > and thus betrays a likely 'provincial' origin, probably of Laos descent, of the scribe and/or artist of the murals. This may be explained historically by the fact that some Lao communities were deported from their homeland in the 19th century to re-populate Phitsanulok and surrounding cities. On the history of *r*'s disappearance from the modern Lao phonological system, see Davis 2015.

[41] The passage is transliterated from MS FEMC 208-B.01.06.01.III.2, fascicle 1, folio *ma* 28 verso, line 2; it is held at Wat Phum Thmei, Kampong Cham province in Cambodia, and was copied in 1948. We are very grateful to Trent Walker for bringing this Khmer vernacular and unpublished reference to our attention, and for his translation of the cited passage.

[42] Dhp-a III 269f: *so Satthu sarīravalañjanabhājanaṃ aññassa hatthenā pi phusituṃ adatvā sīse yeva ṭhapetvā nīharanto mukhasaṅkocanamattam pi na akāsi | gandhabhājanaṃ pariharanto viya ahosi ||*

[43] The term *sarīravalañjana* is of obscure derivation. PED has 'that which is spent or secreted, i.e., outflow, fæces, excrement', and 'discharge from the body' (*valañja, sarīravalañja, svv.*). In

but himself carried the vessel out on his own head. Moreover he carried it out without the slightest contraction of the muscles of his mouth,[44] acting as though he were bearing about a vessel filled with perfumes.[45]

Finally, another source which contests somewhat the common understanding of the Buddha's death comes from a Pali text of 'Indo-Chinese' origin.[46] This text has been published with a French translation some time ago by Ginette Martini (1972).[47] It is an extra canonical Jātaka composed in the so-called *mul* script, possibly in the region now identified as contemporary Central Thailand,[48] and which reads as follows:

> *evam me sutaṃ || ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā bhoganagare viharanto pāvacundassa piṇḍipātaṃ paribhuñjanto yathā hi amhākam bhagavā cundassa gehe bhuñjitvā || taṃ divasaṃ yeva bhagavā cundaṃ āmantesi | mam' eva sukaramaduvamamsaṃ āhāram sajjāhi tam āhāraṃ na aññesam bhikkhūnaṃ dehi sesāhāraṃ nikkhāhī ti || taṃ sutvā Cando tathā akāsi || paribhuñjitamatte tassa lohitaṃ paggharantaṃ || tasmiṃ khaṇe bhikkhūnaṃ taṃ*

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other words, the meaning is ambiguous, and the interpretation of Burlingame is likely to be based here on the biased assumption that the Buddha had diarrhoea. However, just like with *atisāra* (see note 35), a purging with vomit is equally possible in this context, and indeed supported by the Khmer mural paintings.

[44] The term *mukhasaṅkocanamattam pi na akāsi* might, perhaps, be better rendered as 'without so much as grimacing'.

[45] BL III 79.

[46] The nature of 'Indo-Chinese' Pali, with all its idiosyncrasies, has yet to receive the attention it deserves from international Pali scholars. See, however, the preliminary grammatical surveys in Martini 1936 and Terral 1956; also Masefield 2008 and 2009.

[47] It may be worth pointing out that Ginette Terral, Ginette Terral-Martini, and Ginette Martini are all one and same person, and wife of François Martini.

[48] The *mul* script traditionally used for the notation of Pali is generally taken to indicate a text of Cambodian (Khmer) origin, the *khom* script one of Central Thai origin, but shifting borders over the centuries make it impossible to determine the provenance of any given text, especially when it contains no information as to the year of its composition. At any rate, this Jātaka is found in a manuscript once kept at the National Library of Bangkok, and is part of a longer text of the *ānisaṃsa* genre titled *Paṃsukuladānānisaṃsakathā*. A cursory check in various Thai and Khmer manuscript collections did not prove to be successful to find others variants of this text, although much more research and editions (not to mention translations) is needed on this huge quantity of still unpublished local Pali manuscripts from Thailand and its neighbouring countries.

disvā maṃsasaṃsaññaṃ ahosi || bhikkhu na saṃsayaṃ mama vipākaṃ taṃ maṃsaṃ sukarassa yaṃ veraṃ mayā kataṃ vipākaṃ patisevāmī ti || yadā 'haṃ bodhisattakāle daliddhakule nibbattitvā || pitā tassa kālaṃ akāsi || mātā pan' assa vidhavā ahosi || tadā bodhisatto araññaṃ pavīsitvā kaṭṭhaṃ tiṇṇañ ca āharitvā jivitaṃ kappesi || tadā ayam sukaro yakkhajāto vessavaṇṇamahārājena ānato || yakkho atikanto bārānasiyaṃ manusse piḷito ahosi || koci manusso yakkhapiḷituṃ samattho nama n' atthi || rājā nagare bheriñ cāropetvā || tadā pan' assa mātā puttassa balabhāvaṃ ñatvā | Nārāyanassa balavā hoti rājānaṃ mama puttassa balabhāvaṃ jānāpetvā rājā mama puttassa balam dhāressatī ti | sahassakahāpaṇaṃ rājena dinnaṃ sabbam gahetvā bodhisattassa āgatakāle vadati || bodhisatto mātuvacanaṃ anatikkanto yakkhassa santikaṃ gantvā yakkhassa dubbalaṃ katvā māreti || yena kammavipākena pañcajātisate verā nāma avūpasamenti ||
(ed. Martini 1972: 254)

A new tentative[49] translation is as follows:

So did I hear on one occasion that, whilst the Lord was dwelling in the city of Bhoga, he would partake (of food gleaned) during his almsround from Cunda of Pāva, such that our Lord would eat in the household of Cunda.[50] That same day, the Lord addressed Cunda, saying: 'You should prepare food consisting of *sukaramaduva*[sic]-

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[49] As Norman (2012: 38) once observed, 'I discover each year that I know less and less [about Pali philology], and increasingly find that I accept less and less of whatever I thought I understood years ago … It is hard to be certain that anything is impossible in the field of Middle Indo-Aryan studies'. If this be so, then how much more so in the case of 'Indo-Chinese' Pali, whose studies are, at best, still in their infancy?

[50] This would seem to be a basic misunderstanding. Although monks were generally expected to gain their sustenance by walking on an uninterrupted almsround, when they would stand, motionless and speechless, at the gate to some household, merely indicating their need of alms, and without gesturing by altering the position of their bodies, nor breaking their silence in order to attract attention (Ja III 162–168, no. 354), subsequently consuming any alms received upon returning to their place of residence, the Buddha also allowed monks to accept an invitation for a meal on the following day, as he himself frequently did, in the home of some lay supporter. There is however, as far as can be determined, no record of a monk entering the home of a donor in order to consume food just gained at the gate of that same household. See also Mil 229ff for a long disquisition on the etiquette to be shown when on the almsround.

flesh for me alone;[51] you should not give that food to the other monks, but instead bury any leftovers'. Upon hearing this, Cunda acted accordingly. No sooner had he consumed same than his blood began flowing. That same moment, it occurred to the monks, upon seeing this, that this must be due[52] to the meat. (But the Buddha said this:) 'Monks, without doubt I am experiencing a kammic ripening, my own kammic ripening, (due to) the meat of a pig to whom I once showed enmity.[53] At such time as I had, during the time I was a Bodhisatta, come into being in a poor family, my father finished his time,[54] with my mother becoming his widow; I, as a Bodhisatta, made my living by entering the forest and fetching twigs and grass'. This pig had, at that time, been born a *yakkha*, under orders[55] of the Great King Vessavaṇṇa. That *yakkha*, in transgressing (such orders), became an oppressor of the people in Bārāṇasi. There was no man capable of restraining that *yakkha*. The king had the drum paraded in the city. At that time, moreover, his mother, aware of her son's power, thought that after she had apprised the king of her son's power, telling him that he possessed the power of Nārāyaṇa, he would reward her son's power; she then took the thousand *kahāpaṇa*s the king had given her, informing the Bodhisatta when he returned. The Bodhisatta, unable to go against his mother's wishes, went into the presence of the *yakkha*, rendered him weak and then killed him. Through the ripening of that deed, enmities have not been appeased over five hundred births.

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[51] It is, of course, a Vinaya offence for a monk to specify to a potential donor what food he should be given (e.g., *Suddhapācittiya* 39 = Vin IV 88; *Sekhiyā* 37 = Vin IV 193).

[52] *maṃsasaṃsaññaṃ*, possibly in error for *maṃsasaññaṃ*?

[53] This is probably the best that can be done with what seems to be a rather clumsy sentence, viz., *bhikkhu na saṃsayaṃ mama vipākaṃ taṃ maṃsaṃ sukarassa yaṃ veraṃ mayā kataṃ vipākaṃ patisevāmī ti*. No doubt, other interpretations are possible. G. Martini (1972: 255), for instance, refers here to the alleged noxiousness of the pig's meat caused by the hatred of the *yakkha* for the Bodhisatta arising in a former life as explained subsequently in the Jātaka.

[54] *pitā tassa kālaṃ akāsi*; meaning, of course, that he died. But the time he 'finished' was the kammic time that had given rise to that particular birth. Moreover, in the extended simile given at Cp-a 97f, Dhammapāla likens *saṃsāra* to a prison, such that it seems quite legitimate to take *kālaṃ karoti* as 'to do time'.

[55] Reading *āṇatto* for *ānato*.

Even if this local Jātaka does not use the term 'kammic fluff' (*kammapilotika*), it assumes the concept by attributing the Buddha's final illness to the ripening of his former *kamma*. Admittedly, the passage does not clearly specify through which channel the blood oozed after Cunda's meal—whether the rectum (bloody diarrhoea?) or the mouth (bloody vomiting?)—and is open to interpretation. However, its use of the verb *paggharati* to describe the flowing or dripping of blood, although not offering a decisive interpretation of the compound *lohitapakkhandikā*, at least allows for the possibility that blood flowed from the Buddha's mouth. Indeed, the verb *paggharati* is often employed in connection to the oozing or dripping of blood in canonical sources. The same verb is also used at times to describe the dripping of tears,[56] which again suggests the possibility that later Pali composers took it to describe the dripping or vomiting of blood from the mouth, as already confirmed by Khmer and Lao-Isan artists in mural paintings (see figures *infra*).

From the foregoing, and by way of concluding this paper, we are totally rejecting the notion that the Buddha ate poisoned food. Indeed, how could the Lord have deliberately accepted this meal consisting of *sūkaramaddava* should he truly have been Omniscient, and should it really have been harmful for his health as some authors claim? This would have been tantamount to committing suicide proper,[57] a negative act which should be avoided at all cost according to the Pali Buddhist tradition (Wiltshire 1983).

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[56] E.g., S II 179: … *yaṃ vā vo iminā dīghena addhunā sandhāvataṃ saṃsarataṃ amanāpasampayogā manāpavippayogā kandantānaṃ rodantānaṃ assu passannaṃ paggharitaṃ* …

[57] It is a well-known fact that the Buddha deliberately decided at Vesāli, three months prior to this episode at Pāvā, to enter into final *parinibbāna*, thus accepting the request of Māra (D II 104ff). The impression given, therefore, is that the Buddha, at that particular point of time, was indeed determined to die and hence, more or less, committed suicide. It is doubtful, however, that he really, and voluntarily, decided to put an end to his own life. The fictional idea of the Buddha being able to stay on until the end of the aeon (*kappa*), not realised however—or so we are told—because of Ānanda's foolishness (D II 102–104), may possibly reflect a later anti-Ānanda faction among the early Buddhist lineage.

We, therefore, also contest the rendition of G. Martini's French translation of the pig's meat as being 'une chair nocive et vénéneuse' in the first occurrence of the above cited passage (1972: 253, 255; see also note 53 *supra*).[58] Upon reconsideration of all the above evidence related to the last meal, it thus appears clear that it was not so much the nature of *sūkaramaddava* (pig's meat?) that directly caused the final illness of the Buddha. At best, the meal helped the Buddha in his final hours to reach Kusinārā. At worst, the potentially fat and heavy meal offered by Cunda may have triggered a resurgence of a past chronic disorder (stomach or peptic ulcer?) leading to severe blood loss—apparently manifested by black or bloody vomiting—and ultimately provoking his death. This presumed chronic disease of the Buddha, which may have come and gone over a period of many years, was simply due to his 'kammic fluff' or *kammapilotika*, that is, the leftover consequences of his former deeds as illustrated in the above Pali commentaries and extra canonical Jātaka.

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[58] G. Martini, however, later correctly understands *verā* as hatred ('haines') and no longer as noxiousness ('nocivité') as in the previous instance.

Plates

Figure 1. Sakka, Lord of the devas, sprinkling the divine nutriments on the Buddha's last meal consisting of pig's meat. Wat Arun Ratchawararam, Bangkok, Thailand, repainted in the late 19th century (Photo courtesy of Nithi Nuangjamnong, September 2017)

Figure 2. *The Buddha's last meal, consisting of pig's meat, being prepared by Cunda, and infused with divine nutriments by Sakka.*
Wat Kasattrathirat Worawihan, Ayutthaya province, Thailand, c. 1879
(Photo courtesy of Nicolas Revire, June 2020)

Figure 3. *Cunda and his attendants preparing the last meal, consisting of wild boar's meat (already dead?), for the Buddha and his retinue of monks. Wat Photharam, Mahasarakham province, Thailand, early 20th century (Photo courtesy of Nithi Nuangjamnong, March 2019)*

Figure 4. *The last illness showing the Buddha vomiting blood,*
and the grief expressed in the faces of his followers. Wat Photharam,
Mahasarakham province, Thailand, early 20th century
(Photo courtesy of Nithi Nuangjamnong, March 2019)

Figure 5a. The last meal offered by Cunda and the subsequent illness of the Buddha leading to his demise. Wat Ban Yang, Mahasarakham province, Thailand, early 20th century (Photo courtesy of Nicolas Revire, January 2011)

Figure 5b. *Detail of the Buddha, showing his stomach distress and vomiting blood (Photo courtesy of Nicolas Revire, January 2011)*

Figure 6. *The Buddha 'vomiting blood' after the last meal*
(the Thai caption to the viewer's left clearly reads ลาก เลือด/lak lueat,
'vomiting blood', see n. 40), with Ānanda (Th. อานนท์/Anon) below him,
catching the purging. Wat Huai Kaeo, Phitsanulok province, Thailand,
mid-20th century (Photo courtesy of Nithi Nuangjamnong, April 2021)

Figure 7. The Buddha sitting down to drink water being fetched by Ānanda, and Sakka getting ready to catch his vomit. Stung Treng province, Cambodia, early 20th century (Photo courtesy of Nicolas Revire, July 2014)

Figure 8. *The Buddha sitting down with Sakka getting ready to catch his vomit. Wat Phnom Baset, Kandal province, Cambodia, mid-20th century (Photo courtesy of Nicolas Revire, July 2014)*

Figure 9. *The Buddha sitting down to drink water being brought by Ānanda, on his way to Kusinārā to reach final extinction. Wat Prasat Andet, Kompong Thom province, Cambodia, late 20th century (Photo courtesy of Nicolas Revire, July 2014)*

Figure 10. *Two panels depicting the meritorious offering of the last meal by Cunda to the Buddha (left), and the Lord sitting down and about to vomit blood in Sakka's vessel (right). Wat Bakong, Siem Reap province, Cambodia, early 21st century (Photo courtesy of Nicolas Revire, August 2018)*

Figure 11a. *The Buddha vomiting blood and attended by his retinue of monks, with Sakka trying to catch the purging in his vessel. Angkor Wat (modern pagoda), Siem Reap province, Cambodia, early 21st century (Photo courtesy of Nicolas Revire, July 2018)*
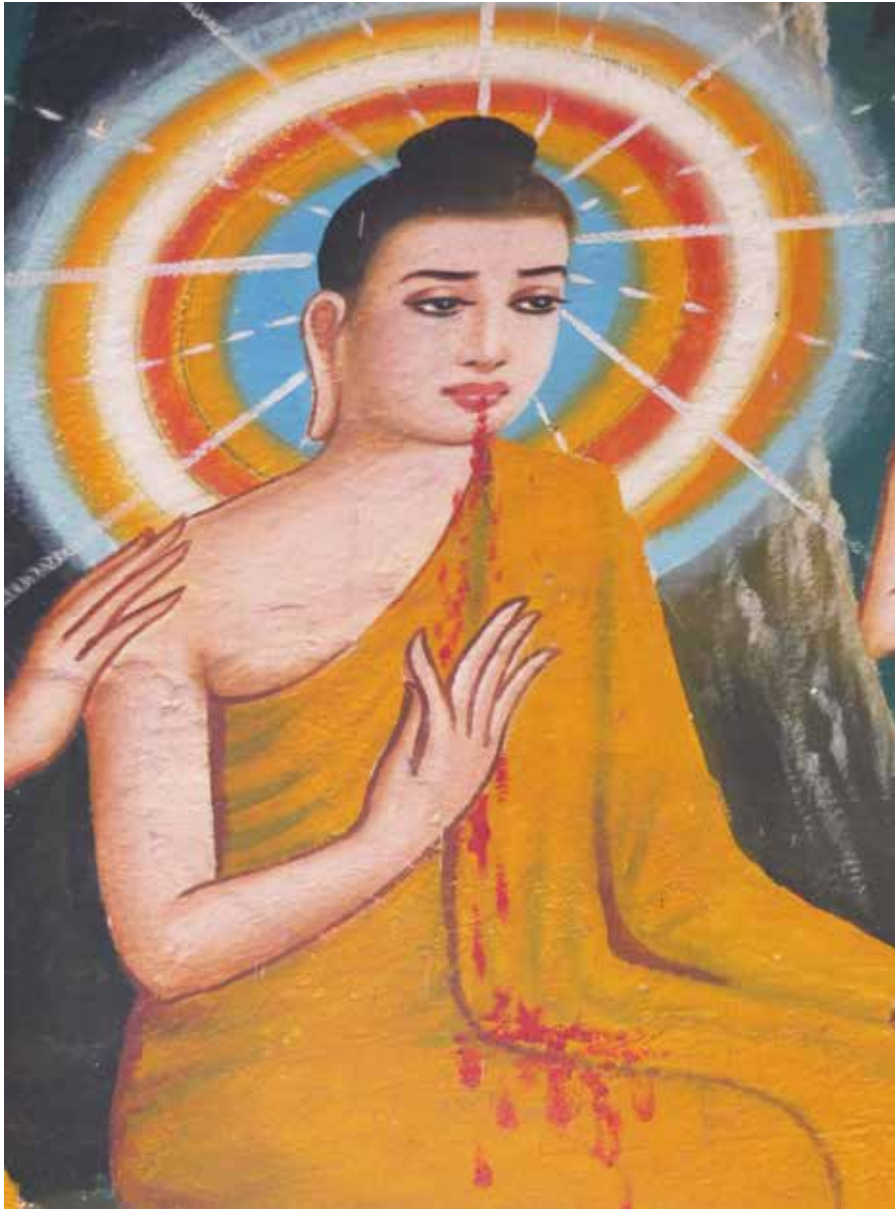
Figure 11b. *Detail of the blood dripping from the mouth of the Buddha*
(Photo courtesy of Nicolas Revire, July 2018)

Abbreviations

References to Pali texts follow the system adopted by the Critical Pali Dictionary. Page references are to PTS editions, where available, otherwise to the Burmese (Myanmar) editions on the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana CD-ROM (http://www.tipitaka.org), contained also in the Digital Pali Reader (https://pali.sirimangalo.org).[59]

B Disc	*The Book of the Discipline*, PTS 1949 onwards.
BL III	*Buddhist Legends*, vol. III. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1921.
CD	*The Connected Discourses of the Buddha*, PTS 2000.
CPD	*A Critical Pali Dictionary*.
CPED	*Concise Pali-English Dictionnary*.
KS	*The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, PTS 1917 onwards.
PED	*Pali-English Dictionary*.
PTS	Pali Text Society.
SED	*Sanskrit English Dictionary*.

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[59] There would appear to be a few discrepancies between the edition of the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana texts used in the Digital Pali Reader and their subsequent printed editions.

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Did the Buddha address the monks in Māgadhī?

Ole Holten Pind[†]

> 'Contrariwise, continued Tweedledee, if it was so, it might be, and if it
> were so, it would be; but as it isn't, it ain't. That's logic.' Lewis Carroll,
> *Alice in Wonderland* § 1.

§ 1. The purpose of this paper is to study the distribution of the two vocatives
bhikkhave and *bhikkhavo* in the Pāli canon, and to analyse the astute comments
on the issue by Aggavaṃsa, the eminent 12th century AD Burmese Pāli
scholar, who addressed it in a paragraph of his Pāli grammar, the *Saddanīti*.
Aggavaṃsa's analysis of the evidence sheds light on their distribution in the Pāli
canon. Moreover, it raises some intriguing questions regarding the distribution
of *bhikkhave* and *bhikkhavo* in Burmese Pāli manuscripts, which deviates from
that of Sinhalese manuscripts. I have therefore found it necessary to re-examine
the question in the light of the evidence. I shall trace the textual background of
the readings that Aggavaṃsa's analysis presupposes and draw the conclusion
that the distribution of the two vocatives reflects canonical prosody and has no
historical or regional implications for the occurrence of *bhikkhave* and *bhikkhavo*
in the Pāli canon. In fact, their occurrence is parallel to the distribution of the
two vocatives *bhante* and *bhaddante*.

§ 2. Pāli scholars have generally interpreted the vocative *bhikkhave* as an
"eastern" speech form or Māgadhism.[1] This assumption, however, fails to

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[1] Cf. e.g. Geiger (1916, § 82.5). For an overview of the arguments for "Māgadhisms"
in the Pāli canon, cf. Bechert (1980: 24-34).

address the obvious question why the compilers of the Pāli canon transmitted it in a predominantly "western" Middle Indic (MI) dialect, but did not convert this particular vocative into its alleged "western" cognate *bhikkhavo*. The use of *bhikkhave* in the Pāli canon is assumed to represent a linguistic reflex of popular usage that mirrors the monks' recollection of how the Buddha used to address them. This socio-linguistic explanation, however, does not apply to the pervasive canonical usage of another alleged "Māgadhism," the particle *seyyathā* "(just) as, like" of which there are thousands of examples in canonical prose. It would be irrational to maintain that the compilers of the Pāli canon used *seyyathā* because it reflected, in their memory, the language of the Buddha or popular usage as they evidently preferred to reproduce the speeches attributed to the Buddha in a "western" MI linguistic idiom. This in itself raises the obvious question why they would consistently utilise a particle that allegedly would stem from an "eastern" MI dialect in a "western" MI linguistic context. The only conclusion to draw from the evidence is that the early compilers of the Pāli canon preferred to use *seyyathā* because they did not consider this particle as dialectically incompatible with the canonical language.

§ 3. In spite of this, H. Lüders considered *seyyathā* as cogent linguistic evidence of an original "eastern" Buddhist canon because he mentions it as an instance of an "eastern" form in the first paragraph of his influential monograph *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, followed by *bhikkhave* in the second one.[2] It is necessary, however, to show beyond doubt that *seyyathā* and *bhikkhave* are dialectically "eastern" speech forms. There are well over 26,000 instances of *bhikkhave* in the Pāli canon. This contrasts with the highly restricted number of instances of *bhikkhavo*, of which there are only about 165 examples, including a few instances of the nominative and accusative plural that are identical to the vocative plural, thus constituting a mere fraction of the total number of recorded examples of the two vocatives. This is significant and underlines the linguistic markedness of *bhikkhavo* compared to *bhikkhave*. Moreover, it raises an obvious question that no one has answered: why is the use of *bhikkhavo* restricted to a mere fraction of the total number of instances of *bhikkhave*?

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[2] Lüders (1954). Cf. Geiger (1916:§105.2) on *seyyathā* ("māgadhisierende" *se*).

§ 4. If we assume *ex hypothesi* that the Pāli recensionists in a limited number of instances introduced the vocative *bhikkhavo* instead of *bhikkhave*, it is necessary to address the corollary: did they substitute *bhikkhavo* for *bhikkhave* randomly or systematically? The grammatical problem of the distribution of *bhikkhavo* and *bhikkhave* in the Pāli canon attracted the attention of Aggavaṃsa, who devoted a fairly long and interesting paragraph to it in the *Saddanīti* 190,6ff.[3] The distribution of the two forms in the Pāli canon evidently puzzled Aggavaṃsa. Since his attempt at explaining their distribution constitutes the first and so far only analysis of the problem, it may well serve as a point of departure for the following discussion. Addressing the use of *bhikkhave* and *bhikkhavo*, Aggavaṃsa makes the following observations at *Saddanīti* 190,6-15:

> *tatra bhikkhave ti āmantaṇapadaṃ cuṇṇiyapadesv eva dissati na gāthāsu, bhikkhavo ti pacattapadaṃ gāthāsu yeva dissati na cuṇṇiyapadesv. api ca bhikkhave ti āmantaṇapadaṃ sāvakassa bhikkhūnaṃ āmantaṇapāḷiyaṃ sandhivisaye yeva dissati na asandhivisaye; Buddhassa pana bhikkhūnaṃ āmantaṇapāḷiyaṃ sandhivisaye pi asandhivisaye pi dissati. bhikkhavo ti āmantaṇapadaṃ Buddhassa bhikkhūnaṃ āmantaṇapāḷiyaṃ gāthāsu ca dissati, cuṇṇiyapadesu ca sandhivisaye yeva dissati. sāvakassa pana bhikkhūnaṃ āmantaṇapāḷiyaṃ na dissati, ayaṃ dvinnaṃ viseso daṭṭhabbo.*

> "In the present context the vocative *bhikkhave* is observed exclusively in canonical prose (*cuṇṇiyapadesu eva*), but not in the verses (*gāthāsu*). The nominative *bhikkhavo* occurs in verses, not in canonical prose. Moreover, the vocative *bhikkhave* only occurs within the domain of *sandhi*, in the canon where a *sāvaka* addresses the monks, but it never occurs outside the domain of *sandhi*. However, in the canon where the Buddha addresses the monks, it occurs both within and outside the domain of *sandhi*. Moreover, the vocative *bhikkhavo* occurs both in the verses where the Buddha addresses the monks, and exclusively in the domain of *sandhi* in canonical prose. It never occurs, however, in canonical prose where a *sāvaka* addresses the monks. This is how one should regard the difference between the two forms."

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[3] Allegedly completed in 1154 A.D.; cf. Mabel Haynes Bode (1909: 16).

In this important paragraph, Aggavaṃsa analyses the distribution of *bhikkhave* and *bhikkhavo* in terms of:

a. Literary genre, i.e. if the two forms occur in prose (*cuṇṇiyapada*) or in verse (*gāthā*);

b. Sandhi, i.e. if the particle *ti* follows *bhikkhavo* or *bhikkhave*; and

c. The socio-religious status of the speaker, i.e. if it is *bhagavat* or a *sāvaka* who addresses the monks.

§ 5. The crucial question is whether the distribution of the two forms in the Pāli canon corroborates Aggavaṃsa's observations. In order to decide whether they are linguistically valid, it is necessary to address each of his statements individually. His first claim that the vocative *bhikkhave* only occurs as vocative in canonical prose and never in verse is true in that it describes a pervasive feature of the Pāli canon: that *bhikkhave* never occurs in verse in contrast to *bhikkhavo* that only occurs in verse[4] and in sentence initial position in prose. Aggavaṃsa thus indicates that they are contrastively distributed. The only recorded example of the use of *bhikkhave* in verse is clearly a corruption. It occurs in *pāda*s ab) of a *śloka* at Ap 470,20: *svākkhāto bhikkhave dhammo* ($- - - - | \breve{\ } - - - |$). The continuation of the verse: *dukkhantakaraṇāya vo caratha brahmacariyaṃ icc āha munisattamo*, shows that it is based on the well-known ordination formula that is recorded e.g. at Vin I 12, 37ff: *etha bhikkhavo ti … svākkhāto dhammo*. It is therefore evident that *bhikkhave* is a corruption of *bhikkhavo*, which could easily have come about considering the nature of the Sinhalese script in which the canon has been transmitted.

§ 6. The following claim that occurrences of the nominative plural *bhikkhavo* are restricted to *vippajahitvā* canonical verses is also correct, except that Aggavaṃsa understandably overlooked that this form also occurs in a single prose passage at D III 34,13 foll: *viparīto samaṇo Gotamo bhikkhavo ca*. The recorded occurrences of nominative plural *bhikkhavo* in verses comprise the following 14 instances:

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[4] It is interesting in the present context that the only recorded example of Ardha-Māgadhī vocative plural *bhikkhavo* also occurs in verse at Sūyag verse 157 (text ˚*kkhuvo* read ˚*kkhavo* ?); Pischel (1900: §381, in fine).

1. *sabbe c' ime bhikkhavo sannisinnā*, Sn 384;

2. *bhikkhavo tisatā ... tiṭṭhanti*, Sn 573[5] = 3. Th 841 = 4. M II 146
    (not printed in Ee);

5. *bhikkhavo samādahaṃsu*, D II 254,1* = 6. S I 26,28*;

7. *vajanti bhikkhavo*, Th 21;

8. *sotaṃ odhenti bhikkhavo*, Th 1233;

9. *vimuttā satta bhikkhavo*, S I 35,6* = 10. S I 60,4*;

11. *etaṃ rajaṃ bhikkhavo viharanti*, Ja I 117,32*[6]

12. *vippamuttā ca bhikkhavo*, Ja IV 373,24*;

13. *saṃviggā bhikkhavo*, Ap 472,24;

14. *ujjhāyanti ... bhikkhavo*, Ap 498,8.

In contrast to the limited number of instances of nominative plural *bhikkhavo*, all other instances of nominative plural of *bhikkhu* in the Pāli canon invariably read *bhikkhū.* In this regard, the language of the canon does not differ from other MI instances of nominative plural of masculine *u*-stems.

§ 7. Aggavaṃsa does not quote examples of the accusative plural *bhikkhavo*, although he evidently assumed their existence as it appears from the *bhikkhu* paradigm recorded at Sadd 189,15ff. There are, in fact, eleven recorded instances of the accusative plural in the Pāli canon.[7] They occur mostly in verses (a) and rarely in prose (b):

a.
1. *ath' addasaṃ bhikkhavo*, D II 272,24*;

2. *so 'ham ete pajānāmi vimutte satta bhikkhavo* (so read with
    Sinhalese v.l. and Be; Ee °*ve*), S I 36,3* = 3. 60,27* (Ee °*vo*);

4. *sakkaccaṃ ne upaṭṭhāsi bhikkhavo tatthavāsike*, Ja VI
    118,19*;

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[5] Qu. Sadd 190, 17 with *yācanti* for *tiṭṭhanti*, cf. Sn 566.

[6] = Nidd I 505, 20* reading *paṇḍitā* for *bhikkh°*.

[7] The earliest of the extant indigenous Pāli grammars, *Kaccāyanabyākaraṇam*, does not record the nominative and accusative plural *bhikkhavo*, which indicates that the infrequent occurrence of these forms in the canon went unnoticed by the early grammarians.

5. *sā anadhivaraṃ upāgamiṃ pāsādike kusalarate ca bhikkhavo namassituṃ*, Vv 148;

6. *sādhū ti sā paṭissutvā bhojayitāṭṭha bhikkhavo*, Pv 159;

7. *bhikkhavo paribhāsisaṃ*, Pv 770 = 8. Pv 778;

9. *addasaṃ sāsanakāre bhikkhavo*, Ap 263,6;

10. *oruddhe bhikkhavo disvā*, Ap 599,18;

b.
11. *viparītā ye bhagavantaṃ viparītato dahanti bhikkhavo ca*, D III 34,23.

It is thus evident that the distribution of the accusative plural *bhikkhavo* follows the same pattern as that of nominative plural *bhikkhavo*, the majority of the examples being found in verses, whereas only a single example is recorded in prose. Apart from the limited number of accusative plural *bhikkhavo*, all other instances of accusative plural are identical with nominative plural *bhikkhū.* Thus, the use of nominative and accusative plural *bhikkhavo* for *bhikkhū* is linguistically marked like the use of vocative plural *bhikkhavo* for *bhikkhave.*

§ 8. Aggavaṃsa's subsequent statement that *bhikkhave* is found, where a *sāvaka* addresses the monks and only within the domain of *sandhi*, is interesting because it illustrates a feature that is primarily recorded in Burmese mss of the Pāli canon. Aggavaṃsa quotes a formula that the compilers used, on the one hand, as an introduction to *suttanta*s in which an eminent *sāvaka* like Moggallāna or Sāriputta addressed the monks and, on the other hand, as their way of addressing the monks, when either one developed the Buddha's talk for the sake of the monks. In the latter instance it is introduced by the corresponding *bhagavat* formula. As an example of the *sāvaka* formula, Aggavaṃsa quotes S II 274,7: *tatra kho āyasmā Sāriputto bhikkhū āmantesi: āvuso bhikkhave ti.*

§ 9. Aggavaṃsa's statement evidently presupposes a distinct Burmese reading of the *sāvaka* formula because the recorded instances of the formula in the Sinhalese version read with a few exceptions *bhikkhavo*[8] *ti*. This difference

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[8] Cf. M I 95,20 (Mahāmoggallāno), A V 94,13 (Sāriputta), A V 155,29 (Mahāmoggallāna), A V 164,21 read *bhikkhavo ti*; similarly A V 41,29 (Mahācundo), 123,8 (Sāriputta), 157,23 (Mahācunda),

of reading raises the question of why only the Burmese tradition introduced *bhikkhave* in the twenty-nine instances of the *sāvaka* formula,[9] but not in any of the 106 instances of the *bhagavat* formula,[10] of which Aggavaṃsa quotes an example at Sadd 190,25: *tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi: bhikkhavo ti.*

§ 10. The question is whether the Burmese reading is original or interpolated from non-canonical sources. This necessitates an investigation of the background of Aggavaṃsa's analysis. The question is whether he records Burmese usage as known to him or whether the Burmese readings reflect later sources. The latter appears to be the case: Aggavaṃsa's explanation of the *sāvaka* formula appears to presuppose analyses found in Buddhaghosa's *aṭṭhakathā*s. Since they would support the Burmese readings rather than the Sinhalese, they require careful analysis. I shall quote them in the traditional order of the *aṭṭhakathā*s:

1. *āvuso bhikkhave ti sāvakānaṃ ālapanaṃ etaṃ. buddhā hi parisaṃāmantayamānā: bhikkhave ti vadanti. sāvakā: satthāraṃ uccaṭṭhāne ṭhapessāmā ti Satthu ālapanena anālapitvā: āvuso ti ālapanti.* Sv 1053,5 foll.[11] on D III 272,5: °*ve*, v.l. °*vo*.

   "*āvuso bhikkhave ti* is the vocative[12] of the *sāvaka*s. For the Buddhas say '*bhikkhave*' when addressing the congregation.

162,1 (Mahākassapa), and 315,2 (Sāriputta), for which the editor recorded the Burmese v.ll. *bhikkhave*.

[9] Except the examples mentioned above, the following list records all remaining instances. As will appear most of these occur in A. The Burmese readings are throughout *bhikkhave*, the corresponding Sinhalese ones, however, are *bhikkhavo*; instances of *bhikkhave* apparently stem from Burmese mss. The names of the respective *sāvaka*s are quoted in brackets: M I 24,14: Ee *bhikkhavo* (Sāriputta); 46,18: Ee *bhikkhavo*, om. *āvuso* (Sāriputta); 184,24: Ee *bhikkhavo* (Sāriputta); III 249,2: Ee *bhikkhavo* (Sāriputta);—S II 274,8: Ee *bhikkhave* (Sāriputta); S III 105,6: Ee *bhikkhavo* (Mahānanda); IV 184,16: Ee °*ve* (Mahāmoggallāna); 263,2: Ee °*vo*, v.l. °*ve* (Mahāmoggallāna);—A II 144,1: Ee °*ve* (Sāriputta); 156,36: Ee °*vo* (Mahānanda); 160,20: Ee °*vo* (Sāriputta); III 186,14: Ee °*vo* (Sāriputta); 190,25: Ee °*vo* (Sāriputta); 314,18: Ee °*vo* (Mahākaccāno); 355,4: Ee °*vo* (Mahācundo); IV 426,18: Ee °*vo* (Mahānanda); V 41,29: Ee °*vo* (Mahācundo); 94,13: °*vo* (Sāriputta); 102,23: Ee °*vo* (Sāriputta); 123,8: Ee °*vo* v.l. °*ve* (Sāriputta); 126,8: Ee °*vo* (Sāriputta); 155,24: Ee °*vo* (Mahāmoggallāna); 157,33: Ee °*vo* (Mahācunda); 162,1: Ee °*vo* v.l. °*ve* (Mahākassapa); 315,3: Ee °*vo* v.l. °*ve* (Sāriputta).

[10] For occurrences that identify the place where the Buddha gave his talk to the monks, cf. § 28 below.

[11] Cf. Sv-pṭ III 354,3: = *sāvakānaṃ āmantanavasena ālapanasamudācāro, na kevalaṃ bhikkhave ti, so pana buddhānaṃ ālapanaṃ.*

[12] *ālapanaṃ* is the term that denotes the voc. in the canon. It is used in the same sense by the early Pāli grammarians, e.g., at Kacc §57.

The *sāvakas*, however, address them as '*āvuso*,' avoiding doing so by the teacher's vocative, thinking: 'we shall place [our] teacher in a high position'."

2.   *āvuso bhikkhave ti ettha pana buddhā bhagavanto sāvake ālapantā bhikkhave ti ālapanti. sāvakā pana "buddhehi sadisā mā homā" ti āvuso ti paṭhamaṃ vatvā pacchā bhikkhave ti bhaṇanti. buddhehi ālapito bhikkhusaṅgho bhad(d)ante ti paṭivacanaṃ deti, sāvakehi āvuso ti.* (Ps I 100,7-12; ad M I 13,36: *āvuso bhikkhavo* sic!)

"*āvuso bhikkhave ti*. In this context, however, the blessed Buddhas, when addressing the *sāvaka*s, address them as '*bhikkhave*.' The *sāvaka*s, however, first address them as '*āvuso*,' for fear they would be similar to the Buddhas, and thereafter they say '*bhikkhave*.' The congregation of monks answers by saying '*bhad(d)ante*'[13] when addressed by the Buddhas, but '*āvuso*' when addressed by the *sāvaka*s."

3.   *āvuso ti sāvakānaṃ ālapo. buddhā hi bhagavanto sāvake ālapantā bhikkhave ti ālapanti. sāvakā pana buddhehi sadisā mā homā ti āvuso ti paṭhamaṃ vatvā pacchā bhikkhavo* (Ee; *-ve*, Be) *ti bhaṇanti. buddhehi ālapito bhikkhusaṅgho bhad(d)ante* (Ee; *bhante*, Be) *ti paṭivacanaṃ deti, sāvakehi āvuso ti.* (*Sāratthapakāsinī* – Spk – II 233,4-9; ad S II 273,5: Ee ˚*ve*).

"*āvuso* is the vocative of the *sāvaka*s. For the Blessed Buddhas, when addressing the *sāvaka*s, address them as '*bhikkhave*' etc. The *sāvaka*s, however, first address them as '*āvuso*,' for fear they should be similar to the Buddhas, and thereafter they say '*bhikkhavo*.' The congregation of monks answers by saying '*bhad(d)ante*' when addressed by the Buddhas, but '*āvuso*' when addressed by the *sāvaka*s."

4.   *āvuso ti hi avatvā bhikkhave* (v.l. ˚*vo*) *ti vacanaṃ buddhālāpo nāma hoti. ayam pan' āyasmā Dasabalena samānaṃ ālāpaṃ na karissāmī ti Satthu gāravena sāvakālāpaṃ karonto āvuso bhikkhave* (v.l.˚*vo*) *ti āha.* (Manorathapūraṇī – Mp – II 127,18-22; ad A I 63,19: ˚*vo* sic!).

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[13] For the spelling of this term and its linguistic implications, cf. §20ff below.

> "For by avoiding saying '*āvuso*' the expression *bhikkhave* is the vocative of the Buddhas. Moreover, when addressing the *sāvaka*s this honorable person (namely Sāriputta) says *āvuso bhikkhave* out of respect for the teacher thinking 'I shall not use the same vocative as the honourable Dasabala.'"

§ 11. The four explanations are slightly divergent although those quoted under 2. and 3. do not diverge from one another as do the mutually divergent explanations quoted under 1. and 4. The underlying idea, however, is the same. The *aṭṭhakathā*s identify the following criteria for the use of *bhikkhave* as opposed to that of *āvuso bhikkhave*:

1. The Buddhas exclusively address the monks as *bhikkhave.*

2. The *sāvakas* address them first as *āvuso,* subsequently adding *bhikkhave,* because the use of the vocative *bhikkhave* without further qualification is restricted to the Buddhas whose rank is higher than that of a *sāvaka* like, for instance, Sāriputta.

Thus, the *aṭṭhakathā*s explain the usage in terms of the socio-religious rank of the person who addresses the monks. This is not surprising in itself. Indeed, the modes of address recorded in the Pāli canon indicate the rank and social status of the persons whose exchange of greetings and conversations the Pāli canon reproduces in agreement with contemporary norms of cultured behavior.[14]

§ 12. It is not possible to identify with certainty the *aṭṭhakathā* on which Aggavaṃsa based his explanation. It is likely that he relied on either *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (henceforth Sv) or *Papañcasūdanī* (henceforth Ps) because they are the only Buddhaghosa commentaries that do not record variants. The readings °*ve* and °*vo* are recorded for the Dīgha passage that Sv addresses, whereas the identical Majjhima passage as explained at Ps reads °*vo*. Spk juxtaposes °*ve* and °*vo,* thus contradicting itself and Sv and Ps; and both °*ve* and °*vo* are recorded in the exegesis at *Manorathapūraṇī* (henceforth Mp). There is therefore no cogent reason to assume that the explanations of Sv and Ps are trustworthy and reflect old usage. Aggavaṃsa's conclusion that the mode

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[14] For a lucid analysis of the use of respect language in the context of social intercourse as recorded in the Pāli canon, cf. Wangle (1962).

of address of any *sāvaka* when speaking to the monks is *āvuso bhikkhave* is clearly not justified. It is evident that Burmese scribes substituted *bhikkhave* for *bhikkhavo* as a linguistic device for distinguishing between the socio-religious status of Buddha and *sāvaka*s. The evidence would suggest their editorial practice is based on extrapolation from a false reading occurring in the *sāvaka* formula as recorded in the exegesis of the *aṭṭhakathā*s.

§ **13.** V. Trenckner thought that the reading *bhikkhave* at Ps I 100,7-12 was incorrect and emended it to *bhikkhavo* in his annotated transcript of the Sinhalese ms he used when editing the Majjhimanikāya. Whatever Trenckner's motivation for rejecting *bhikkhave* may have been, it is justified by the evidence: the Pāli canon and the *aṭṭhakathā*s use the vocative *bhikkhavo* in the *bhagavat* formula. Elsewhere the *aṭṭhakathā*s explain that the *bhagavat* addresses the monks as *bhikkhavo*.[15] Therefore, it is difficult to understand why their explanations of the corresponding *sāvaka* formula portray the Buddhas as addressing them as *bhikkhave* because this reduces the contrast between the two formulas to the opposition between *bhikkhave* and *āvuso bhikkhave*, thus contradicting both the Sinhalese and Burmese versions of the Pāli canon as well as the *aṭṭhakathā*s. Formally, it depends on the *bhagavat* formula that undoubtedly copies it. Characteristically, it rarely introduces a *suttanta*, as it is the case with the *bhagavat* formula:[16] it usually occurs in the middle of a *suttanta* introduced by the similar *bhagavat* formula. It is difficult to understand why this obvious dependence on the *bhagavat* formula would not include the use of *bhikkhavo* since the *sāvaka*'s use of *āvuso* and the monks' answering the *sāvaka* by *āvuso* in itself marks it as a *sāvaka* formula.

§ **14.** It is therefore obvious that we should correct the reading *bhikkhave* to *bhikkhavo*. The uniform distribution of *bhikkhavo* and *bhikkhave* in the *bhagavat* and *sāvaka* formulas found in the Burmese tradition shows that at some point the received readings that did not make the socio-linguistic distinction between the modes of address of the *bhagavat* and the *sāvaka*s were deliberately changed. The Sinhalese tradition, however, remained faithful to the original ms. readings. Since the *aṭṭhakathā*s appear to share the same error, it may well be old.

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[15] Cf. e.g. Ps I 13,29: *bhikkhavo ti āmantanākāradīpanaṁ* (ad M I 1,6: *bhikkhavo*).

[16] One example is found at D III 272,5; another at M I 46,18 (reading *bhikkhavo ti* om. *āvuso* [sic]).

§ 15. The reason why Aggavaṃsa classifies the *bhagavat* or *sāvaka* formula as belonging to the domain of *sandhi* is no doubt that whenever *bhikkhave* occurs in the *sāvaka* formula it is invariably followed by *ti*. The same pattern also characterises the examples of the use of *bhikkhavo* in canonical prose, when the speaker, according to Aggavaṃsa's analysis, is *bhagavat*. The classification is based on the mere fact that *bhikkhavo ti* is analysed as °*vo + iti* > °*vo + ti*, the elision of /*i*/ being considered a *sandhi* feature, cf. *bhikkhavo ti ca sandhivasena ikāralopo daṭṭhabbo bhikkhavo itī ti* (Ps-pṭ I 51,22-23 = Spk-pṭ II 4,24-25 ≠ Mpṭ I 45,8-9). The claim that *bhikkhave* when it is used by the Buddha occurs with or without junctional features is puzzling. It is a well-known fact that the Buddha in the canonical speeches constantly addresses the monks as *bhikkhave*, but never initially, and *iti* never follows the vocative. Aggavaṃsa quotes as evidence the following example, which he attributes to the Pāli, thus indicating that he considers it as canonical: *bhikkhū āmantesi: sotukām' attha bhikkhave ti*. The attribution of this quotation to the Pāli canon turns out to be incorrect: the clause occurs only in two of Buddhaghosa's *aṭṭhakathā*s (viz. Sv 676,5 = Spk I 71,23). The introductory phrase *bhikkhū āmantesi* imitates well-known canonical usage of the *bhagavat* formula in which the phrase *bhikkhavo ti* invariably follows it. It is impossible to decide, however, if the reading *bhikkhave* in this particular case is original or the result of a scribal mistake. Buddhaghosa and pre-Buddhaghosa scholars were ignorant about what determines the distribution of *bhikkhave* and *bhikkhavo* in the Pāli canon.

§ 16. The occurrence of the vocative *bhikkhavo* in canonical verses is restricted to merely twenty-five instances, of which seven alone–about one third–occur in the comparatively late *Apadāna*, evidently imitating the usage that the *Suttanipāta* and the *nikāya*s had already established:

1. *yaṃ evarūpaṃ janātha bhikkhavo gehanissitaṃ*, Sn 280b;

2. *suṇātha me bhikkhavo*, Sn 385a;

3. *nimmalā hotha bhikkhavo*, Dhp 243d;

4. *nibbanā hotha bhikkhavo*, Dhp 283d;

5. *vippamuñcetha bhikkhavo*, Dhp 377d;

6. *susīlā hotha bhikkhavo*, D II 120,21*;

7–9.   *te vijānātha bhikkhavo*, D II 256,3d*,11d* = D II 262,10*;

10.   *khemaṃ pattattha bhikkhavo*, M I 227,13*;

11.   *araññe rukkhamūle vā, suññāgare vā bhikkhavo*, S I 220,21b*;[17]

12.   *cha eva phassāyatanāni bhikkhavo*, S IV 70,25*;

13.   *te rāgadose abhibhuyya bhikkhavo*, S IV 71,23*;

14.   *mettaṃ cittaṃ vibhāvetvā satta vassāni bhikkhavo* (Ee °*ve* v.l. °*vo*), A IV 59,23*;

15.   *māraṃ sasenaṃ abhibhuyya bhikkhavo*, It 41,2c*;

16.   *ahaṃ vo tena kālena ahosiṃ tattha bhikkhavo*, Ja V 56,7*;

17.   *suṇotha bhikkhavo mayham yaṃ kammaṃ pakataṃ mayā*, Ap 299,6;

18-20.   *evaṃ dhāretha bhikkhavo*, Ap 464,10 = 498,18 = 569,13;

21.   *lābhīnaṃ Sīvalī aggo mama sissesu bhikkhavo*, Ap 495,13;

22.   *samāgacchantu bhikkhavo*, Ap 541,4;

23.   *suṇantu bhāsitam mayhaṃ bhikkhavo sugatorasā*, Ap 541,6;

24.   *na buddho buddhanibbāne no padissati bhikkhavo*, Ap 542,15;

25.   *evaṃ jānātha bhikkhavo*, Ap 543,8.

In all of these examples, *bhikkhavo* occurs at the end of a *pāda* where the metre requires – ˘ –. The question is why there are no examples of the use of *bhikkhave* in canonical verses because from a purely metrical point of view *bhikkhave* should be equivalent to *bhikkhavo* and thus suitable for verse. However, in spite of the rythmical equivalence of the two vocatives, *bhikkhave* is never found in verse—with the only exception of Ap 470,20 mentioned above § 5—a fact that requires a more sophisticated explanation than the rather simplistic assumption that they have been introduced randomly. The distribution of the vocative *bhikkhavo* would thus indicate that its use was restricted to verses and to two types of *suttanta* introductions as well as to the

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[17] Qu. Sadd 190,24.

well-known formula for the initiation of monks. When the *Milindapañha* was compiled, its author or authors were evidently aware that outside the domain of the prose formulas the use of the vocative *bhikkhavo* was restricted to verses because it occurs four times:

> Mil 335,5: *etaṃ pivatha bhikkhavo* = Mil 335,24;

> Mil 336,9: *amataṃ ādetha bhikkhavo*;

> Mil 341,25: *samiddhā hotha bhikkhavo*.

Interestingly, these verses purport to reproduce the words of the Buddha.

§ 17. The *pāda*s of S IV 70,25* and 71,23* are particularly illuminating examples of the exclusion of the use of *bhikkhave* from verses. The text portrays the Buddha addressing the monks in prose explaining: *cha yime bhikkhave phassāyātanā adantā aguttā arakkhitā saṃvuttā dukkhādhivāhā honti*. The content of this prose section corresponds exactly to *pāda*s ab) of 70,25* in which he is described addressing the monks as *bhikkhavo*: *cha eva phassāyatanāni bhikkhavo* || *asaṃvuto yattha dukkhaṃ nigacchati* ||. The distribution of the two forms is striking, and it contradicts the assumption that the occurrence of *bhikkhave* in this *suttanta* represents a trace of its original language or of the monk's recollection of the Buddha's diction because the introductory prose section evidently imitates the verses whose content it paraphrases. In contrast to the vocative *bhikkhave* of the prose introduction, the corresponding vocative of the verse is *bhikkhavo.* Thus this particular example alone would indicate that the opposition between the two forms is *structural* rather than *historical*; the use of *bhikkhavo* is not a random substitute for *bhikkhave* but, rather, the language of canonical verse excluded the use of *bhikkhave* and favoured that of *bhikkhavo*.

§ 18. As noticed by Aggavaṃsa *bhikkhavo* occurs in prose passages where the implicit or explicit speaker is *bhagavat*, in which case the particle *ti* follows *bhikkhavo.* Thus, it constitutes an example of what he regards as the domain of *sandhi*. These prose passages comprise:

1. Nine instances of the well-known ordination formula *etha bhikkhavo ti,* etc.,[18] that Aggavaṃsa apparently overlooked; and

2. 130 instances of the *bhagavat* formula: *tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi.*[19] *bhikkhavo ti, bhad(d)ante*[20] *ti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosuṃ,*[21] which the compilers used as an introduction to *suttanta*s whenever the *bhagavat* addressed the monks before talking to them.

Thus, Aggavaṃsa's survey of the distribution of *bhikkhavo* and *bhikkhave* would seem to presuppose an exhaustive collection of examples from the Pāli canon, although he apparently missed the solemn initiation formulas *ehi bhikkhū ti* and *etha bhikkhavo ti* whose occurrence is restricted to the Vinaya. However, he correctly concluded that the occurrence of the vocative *bhikkhavo* is restricted to verses and the *bhagavat* and *sāvaka* formulas, although his attempt at explaining either form in terms of junctional features of the Pāli has no value.

§ 19. If the claim that the nominative, accusative and vocative plural *bhikkhavo* in some cases has been substituted for *bhikkhave* were correct, it is incomprehensible why the compilers of the Pāli canon would have introduced *bhikkhavo* in a few verse passages and two introductory formulas and left thousands of instances of *bhikkhave* untouched. It is also difficult to explain the few instances of the nominative and accusative plural *bhikkhavo,* which one would assume are introduced randomly too. However, sometimes *bhikkhave* is introduced immediately after *bhikkhavo* as in the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasuttanta* (Dīghanikāya II 290,2ff):

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[18] Cf. Vin I 12,37; 13,15; 19,30; 20,28; 33,10,26; 34,3; 43,4; the formula is often quoted by the ct.s, e.g. at Mp I 152, *satthā "etha bhikkhavo" ti hatthaṃ pasāresi;* cf. e.g. Mp I 160,21; 202,20-21; 206,18; 222,14-15; 302,5.

[19] Its distribution in terms of the recorded occurrences in the various collections of the canon is 1. D: 3; 2. M: 45; 3. S: 34; 4. A: 33; 5. Sn: 1 (Be *bhaddante*, cf. Sn 78 note 2.) = S I 188,25* foll.; 6. Ud: 1; 7. Paṭis: 4.

[20] The correct reading is *bhaddante*, v. infra.

[21] Cf. D *suttantas* 22, 26, 30;—M *suttantas* 1-3, 5-7, 9-11, 16-20, 25, 28, 33, 34, 39, 45-47 49, 64, 65, 101-3, 106, 111-17, 120, 129-31, 137-39, 141, 148-49;—S I 155; 188; 216-18; 220; 222; 224ff; 231; 234-35; 237, 240; II 1; 3; 43; 80; 107; 118; 153; 178; 186-87; 190; 225; 267; III 66; IV 1;—A III 1; 169; IV 1; 208; 216; 248; 302; 316; 320; 328; 351.

ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā kurūsu viharati. Kammāsadhammaṃ nāma kurūnaṃ nigamo. tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi: bhikkhavo ti. bhad(d)ante ti te bhikkū bhagavato paccassosuṃ ... ekayāno ayaṃ bhikkhave maggo.

It is thus evident that the distribution of the two vocatives is complementary: *bhikkhavo* only occurs in verses and in initial position in prose, whereas *bhikkhave* never occurs in such environments, and any valid analysis must address the linguistic implications of their complementary distribution.

§ 20. The *bhagavat* formula is especially interesting because it makes it possible to determine what distinguishes the syntactical constraints on the use of *bhikkhavo* from those of *bhikkhave* with greater precision. Buddhaghosa comments on the use of *bhikkhavo* in an interesting passage (Ps I 14,28 foll. = Spk II 3,1 foll. = Mp I 18,18 foll.):

bhad(d)ante ti gāravavacanam etaṃ satthu (Spk °*uno*) *paṭivacanadānaṃ vā. api c'ettha bhikkhavo ti vadamāno bhagavā te bhikkhū ālapati bhad(d)ante ti vadamānā te bhagavantaṃ paccālapanti. tathā bhikkhavo ti bhagavā ādimhi bhāsati bhad(d)ante ti te paccābhāsanti, bhikkhavo ti paṭivacanaṃ dāpeti bhad(d)ante ti paṭivadanaṃ denti:*

"The word *bhad(d)ante* is an expression of respect for the Teacher or (rather) it is an answer (to *bhagavat*'s greeting). Moreover, when *bhagavat* addresses the monks by saying *bhikkhavo*, the monks answer *bhagavat* by saying *bhad(d)ante*. Thus *bhagavat* at first greets (the monks) as *bhikkhavo* and they answer the greeting by the vocative *bhad(d)ante*. The vocative *bhikkhavo* invites (the monks) to answer to the greeting, the vocative *bhad(d)ante* answers the greeting."[22]

The analysis is part of a comprehensive grammatical explanation of the meaning and derivation of *bhikkhavo*. In contrast to the analysis of the *sāvaka* formula with which it shares certain features, *bhikkhavo* is described as *āmantaṇākāradīpanaṃ*,

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[22] Cf. the less explicit interpretation at Spk I 29,12ff: *bhikkhavo ti tesaṃ āmantanākāradīpanaṃ. bhadante ti paṭivacanadānaṃ.*

and the monks' reply *bhad(d)ante.* In contrast to his analysis of the *sāvaka* formula, Buddhaghosa interprets *bhad(d)ante* and *bhikkhavo* in terms of a respectful exchange of greetings between *bhagavat* and the monks. *bhagavat* greets the monks as *bhikkhavo*, and the monks answer respectfully *bhad(d)ante.*

§ 21. There is considerable uncertainty about the spelling of *bhad(d)ante* in this formula: the readings of the manuscripts vacillate. They read *bhadante* or the geminated form *bhaddante* (< Sanskrit *bhadram* + enclitic *te*),[23] the latter often being recorded as v.l. The anonymous compiler of the Pāli grammar attributed to Kaccāyana was aware of the geminated and non-geminated spellings, and stated in *sutta 245: bhadantassa bhaddanta bhante*, "*bhaddanta* and *bhante* are substituted for *bhadanta.*" The reference to *bhadanta* is peculiar because this vocative has become the norm in Buddhist Sanskrit literature.[24] However, the geminated vocatives *bhaddanta* (sg.) and *bhaddantā* (plural) commonly address the monks in the Vinaya, and they evidently represent a thematised version of *bhaddante.* Editors generally ignore the significance of the geminated form. Trenckner, for instance, considered it an error,[25] perhaps under the influence of the spellings of the *aṭṭhakathā*s, although the Sinhalese ms he used for his edition of Majjhimanikāya invariably spells *bhaddante.*[26] Even if one cannot exclude the possibility that *bhaddante* was de-geminated, thus changing the syllabic quantity from - - - *to* ˇ - -, there is no general tendency in the language of the Pāli canon to reduce /-cc-/ to /-c-/. It is perhaps due to de-gemination of /-*dd*-/ between vowels[27] and writers may have introduced it at a time when they no longer perceived the gemination as distinctive. In the oldest post-canonical literature the non-geminated form *bhadanta* is recorded in Mil (cf. e.g. Mil 23,4: ~*assa;* 29,8,10: ~*o*), and, as already mentioned, the de-geminated vocative *bhadanta* became the normative spelling in BHS and Buddhist Sanskrit literature.

§ 22. Burmese manuscripts maintain almost invariably the geminated form in prose as well as in the derivatives *ehibhaddantika* and *tiṭṭhabhaddantika* in contrast to the readings *ehibhadantika* and *tiṭṭhabhadantika* of the Sinhalese

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[23] Cf. Ai.Gr. III § 235 e).

[24] Cf. BHSD s.v.

[25] Cf. his preface to M Vol. I p. 2 line 3.

[26] Trenckner drew attention to every example in his handwritten transcript of Majjhimanikāya.

[27] Cf. L. Renou (1916: § 8).

tradition. The same contrast between the Sinhalese and Burmese readings recurs in the analyses of the derivation of the two terms in the *aṭṭhakathā*s attributed to Buddhaghosa. Thus his explanation at Ps II 43,32-34 (*ehi bhadante ti vutto na etī ti na ehibhadantiko. tena hi tiṭṭha bhadante ti vutto na tiṭṭhatī ti na tiṭṭhabhadantiko*) is everywhere reproduced with the corresponding geminated forms in the Burmese tradition. There is, therefore, no cogent reason for assuming that the reading *bhaddante* does not reflect the original form.

§ 23. The interesting thing about this apparently insignificant question of spelling is that the use of *bhaddante* is confined to verse, to the *bhagavat* formula, and two prose passages in which the *isi* Kaṇha is respectfully addressed as follows: *sotthi bhad(d)ante hotu rañño*, D I 93,13 fol., *sotthi bhad(d)ante bhavissa rañño*, 93,15 foll. In both cases, however, Be and the *ṭīkā*s read *bhaddante* which, as indicated above, must be the correct spelling. This is corroborated not only by the derivative *bhaddanta* but also by the expression *evaṃ bhaddantavā ti* at D II 180,27 (cf. § 24), for which there are no recorded variants. Evidently, this term is derived from the geminated form *bhaddante*. In verses the reading *bhaddante* is invariably supported by metrical constraints ($\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \mid --- \parallel$), e.g., *paṭipadaṃ vadehi bhaddante* (Sn 921); *samayo dāni bhaddante* (D II 259,13*); *abhidhāvatha bhaddante* (S I 209,14*); *ahaṃ naṭo 'smi bhaddante* (Ja II 169,5*); *velaṃ karotha bhaddante* (Th 762); *taṃ taṃ vadāmi bhaddante* (Vv 697a); *taṃ vo vadāmi bhaddante* (Ap 30,23); *sabbaṃ harassu bhaddante* (Ap 562,16); ($--- - \mid \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$) *kiṃ bhaddante karitvāna* (Th 721).[28] In some cases the reading *bhadante* is m.c., cf. *aṅgārino dāni dumā bhadante* (Th 527a, *triṣṭubh*).[29] Thus, it is possible to conclude that the original reading is *bhaddante* and that the degeminated form *bhadante* is secondary and functionally equivalent to *bhaddante*.

§ 24. As noticed by Trenckner in 1879,[30] *bhaddante* is the emphatic speech form contrasting with the syncopated equivalent *bhante*. Whereas *bhaddante* only occurs in verse and initially in a sentence in canonical prose, *bhante*, on the other hand, never occurs in these environments, but invariably cliticizes on the preceding syntactical word.[31] It is interesting in the context of the use of

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[28] The reading *bhadante* is also possible in the *pathyā* cadence, cf. EV I: 205 n. ad Th 527.

[29] Cf. EV I: 205 ad. loc. (v. EV I § 41).

[30] Cf. Trenckner (1879: 69).

[31] It is only in the linguistically hybrid *Milindapañha* and the *aṭṭhakathā*s that we find *bhante*

emphatic and non-emphatic speech forms that the Pāli canon records a hyper-emphatic form of *bhaddante* viz. *bhaddantava* derived from *bhaddaṃ* + *tava*, genitive of the non-enclitic pronoun *tvaṃ*: *evam bhaddantavā ti* (D II 180,27 = 264,6 = 265,7 = 269,11 = M II 80,1,26 = S I 216,12,17,22ff).[32] This form contrasts with the correspondng non-emphatic usage *evam bhante* (e.g. at D II 81,16). The hyper-emphatic form is clearly a reflex of respectful language: the *gandhabba* Pañcasikkha uses it as a respectful reply to the God Indra's request. It is highly likely that *bhaddantavā ti* imitates the use of *pluti*—protraction of the last vowel of a vocative in sentence-final position. This usage indicates the speaker's respect for the addressee. Occasionally, it occurs in early Sanskrit literature,[33] and although it is not a pervasive feature of Pāli canonical discourse, there are nonetheless a few examples in the canon.[34]

§ 25. The evidence thus shows that the occurrence of *bha(d)dante* and *bhikkhavo* is restricted to verse and prose initially in a sentence, in contrast to *bhante* and *bhikkhave*, which, as a rule, never occur in such environments. Because of the syntactical parallelism between the use of *bhaddante/bhante* and *bhikkhavo/bhikkhave*, it is possible to conclude that the use of *bhikkhavo* and *bhikkhave* must be subject to the same syntactical constraints as *bhaddante* and *bhante*: *bhikkhavo* representing the emphatic form corresponding to *bhaddante* and *bhikkhave*, the non-emphatic one, corresponding to *bhante*. It is possible to delimit the syntactical features that define the usage of emphatic *bhikkhavo* and non-emphatic *bhikkhave* by focusing on the prose passages in which the two terms occur since verse passages are subject to metrical constraints. Most of the relatively few examples of *bhikkhavo* that occur in verse are characteristically restricted to its occurrence in cadences and therefore do not convey information about syntactical patterns such as word order. Pāli prose, however, displays a marked difference in the syntactical properties of *bhikkhavo* and *bhikkhave*. A systematic investigation of all instances of *bhikkhave* in the Dīghanikāya, for instance, shows that it never occurs in initial position in a sentence and that it cliticizes on a verb, nominal, pronoun, or particle. It is thus clear that the distribution of *bhikkhavo* and *bhikkhave* parallels that of *bhaddante* and *bhante*.

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in sentence initial position, cf. the recurrent phrase *"bhante Nāgasena"* at Mil 28,29 ff; Mp I 37,9; 126,19.

[32] Ee w.r. *bhaddanta vā* at S loc. cit.

[33] For *pluti* in Sanskrit literature, cf. AiGr. I §255-257.

[34] For *pluti* in MI, cf. the examples mentioned in von Hinüber (2001: §311).

§ 26. The phrase that introduces the ordination formula *etha bhikkhavo* in the Vinaya indicates that syntactically *bhikkhavo* does not cliticize on *etha* but has the full force of the emphatic form, which in view of its syntactical properties as constituting a syntactically independent utterance and its solemn enunciation is hardly surprising. Pāṇini devotes a few *sūtra*s in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* to the description of the use of *pluti* in connection with cultured exchange of greetings. If we take into consideration that the Pāli canon imitates Sanskrit usage as recorded by Pāṇini,[35] one cannot exclude the possibility that the Pāli canon in the case of exchange of greetings also reflects Sanskrit usage. At least in the case of the ordination formula one might compare Pāṇini VIII 2:84: *dūrād dhūte ca*: "and [the final vowel of a sentence becomes protracted (*pluta*) and acute (*udātta*)] when used in calling [somebody] from a distance." The distinction between emphatic and non-emphatic vocatives in Pāli is analogous to the use of enclitic and non-enclitic vocatives in Sanskrit, the non-enclitic form carrying the accent.[36] There is no reason to believe that Pāli imitates the use of the Sanskrit accent.[37] On the other hand, if the syntactical features of *bhikkhavo* and *bhikkhave* do not imply the presence and absence of accent, respectively, as in Sanskrit, it is difficult to explain the opposition between the two forms, unless we assume that the opposition between *bhikkhavo* and *bhikkhave* imitates the opposition between not enclitic and enclitic vocatives of Sanskrit.

§ 27. Since the Pāli canon represents the codification of an oral tradition, it is natural to assume that the opposition between *bhikkhavo* and *bhikkhave* is a reflex of the mode of recitation of the *suttanta*s. The complementary distribution of the two terms no doubt reflects the difference of enunciation of emphatic and enclitic non-emphatic forms. It is thus understandable that *bhikkhave* never occurs in initial position since the compilers of the Pāli canon used it as a non-emphatic vocative. On this interpretation, it is understandable that the verse *pāda*s read *bhikkhavo* to the exclusion of *bhikkhave*. In the first place, it is hardly likely that the authors of Pāli poetry would use a non-emphatic form of a noun in a canonical verse text if a corresponding emphatic form were available,

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[35] Cf., e.g., the use of *atthi nāma, kathaṃ hi nāma and yatra hi nāma* in Pāli stereotypes; cf. O.H. Pind, "Pāli Grammar and Grammarians from Buddhaghosa to Vajirabuddhi. A Survey", § 12, in *Buddhist Studies* (Bukkyo Kenkyu) XXVI, 1997.

[36] Ai.Gr. I § 248 b).

[37] For the much debated question of accent in MI (in the Pāṇinian sense or any other sense), cf. von Hinüber (2001: § 159).

because non-emphatic terms syntactically belong to prose. Thus, for instance, the emphatic form *bhaddante* is, like *bhikkhavo*, primarily found in verses, whereas *bhante* is not recorded except in comparatively late texts like Vv and Pv, where its usage is clearly due to metrical constraints.[38] Thus, the use of *bhikkhavo* in Pāli poetry indirectly supports the interpretation of *bhikkhave* as a non-emphatic version of *bhikkhavo*. The distribution of the two forms reflects their syntactical properties.

§ 28. Let us assume for the sake of argument that the compilers added the prose formulas containing *bhikkhavo* later in contrast to the common use of *bhikkhave* in the sermons. This assumption is dubious because *bhikkhavo* occurs in early strata of the canon like the *Suttanipāta*. Moreover, there are examples of nominative accusative plural *bhikkhavo* in prose passages that are not formulas. Assuming *ex hypothesi* that the *bhagavat* formula with *bhikkhavo* was a default introduction to some *suttanta*s, one has to explain why the compilers introduced it immediately after the identification of the place where the *bhagavat* gave a talk to the monks. In each instance, *tatra* introduces the formula, referring anaphorically to the previously mentioned place where the *bhagavat* or the *sāvaka* gave his talk. For instance, the *bhagavat* and *sāvaka* formulas at D III 58,4-6 and 272,5-8, respectively, start by identifying the places where *bhagavat* and Sāriputta addressed the monks at Mātulā and Campā, respectively. Since the variety of places that these *suttanta*s identify in the introduction—Mātulā, for instance, only occurs once as a place name in the canon—one must conclude that the formula was not a kind of default introduction added at random to the preceding identification of the place where the *bhagavat* or the *sāvaka* gave his talk. Any other suggestion would be irrational. Although approximately two thirds of the formulas identify the place as Sāvatthī, the topographical information contained in other introductions shows that the use of the formula was not restricted to talks given in Sāvatthī. For instance, the *bhagavat* propounded the *Mūlapariyāyasuttanta*, M I 1, to the monks in Subhagavana at Ukkaṭṭhā that is hardly ever mentioned in the canon.[39] In every case where the *bhagavat*

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[38] Cf. *idāni bhante*, Vv 295 = 806; *tuvaṃ ca bhante* + 302 = 813; *suṇohi bhante*, Vv 650; *ca adadaṃ bhante*, Vv 695, 793, 893, 1146, 1163, *sace hi bhante*, Vv 1188; Pv 98, 111, 133; *naggo kiso pabbajito 'si bhante*, 246, 278, 335, 371, *mātā pitā ca te bhante duggatā yamalokikā*, Pv 412, 419ff, 564 ff.

[39] I list below 55 examples of places mentioned in the context of the use of the *bhagavat* and

or *sāvaka* formula occurs, the addressees are the monks. Thus, the conclusion is inevitable: the use of the formula is restricted to talks given to the monks. It would seem odd that the tradition would keep the vocative *bhikkhave* in the text itself but alter the introduction, as if the compilers of the canon were ignorant of the prosodical distinction between *bhikkhavo* and *bhikkhave*.

§ 29. The evidence thus shows that the *bhagavat* fomula syntactically is an integral part of the *suttanta* in which it occurs. The *sāvaka* version not only introduces talks that emminent *sāvaka*s gave to the monks, but occasionally the compilers also introduced it in the middle of a *suttanta*, when describing how the Buddha lets an emminent *sāvaka* take on the responsibility to develop his own discourse. Thus, there is no cogent reason for assuming that the *bhagavat* and *sāvaka* formulas are in any way later than other *suttanta* introductions. The formulas as such are an indication of the text category to which the *suttanta* they introduce belong: they record talks that the Buddha or eminent *sāvaka*s gave specifically to the monks at a well-known place, without any additional information about the circumstances that caused the Buddha or the *sāvaka* to address them. It is therefore understandable that the Majjhimanikāya, which appears to be a text collection primarily meant for the use of monks, contains a substantial number of examples of the *bhagavat* formula. Thus, the formal features of the *bhagavat* formula are structural from a literary point of view, contrasting with other types of canonical discourse directed to people other than the monks.

§ 30. In the Vinaya, there is only one example of the solemn initiation formula *ehi bhikkhū ti*. It occurs in the *Mahāvagga* narrative about the conversion of Aññātakoṇḍañña who was the first convert. His story is related at Vin I 12,23-

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sāvaka formulas, excluding those referring to Sāvatthī: 1. D III 58,3. 2. D III 272,3. 3. M I 1,4f. 4. M I 95,7. 5. M I 225,2. 6. M I 281,2. 7. M II 214,2f. 8. M II 238,8. 9. M II 262,21. 10. M III 68,2. 11. M III 248,2. 12. S I 105,2. 13. S I 105,19. 14. S I 108,10. 15. S I 108,25. 16 S I 231,23. 17. S II 107,7. 18. S II 153,20. 19 S II 185,7. 20. S II 263,13. 21. S V 144,12. 22. S V 227,12. 23. A I 111,33. 24. A I 274,2. 25. A I 276,11. 26. A I 291,22. 27. A II 1,5. 28. A II 24,29. 29. A II 79,9. 30. A II 156,34. 31. A II 160,19. 32. A II 167,29f. 33 A III 169,10f. 34. A III 303,24f. 35. A III 355,2f. 36. A IV 100,2f. 37. A IV 162,2. 38. A IV 208,18. 39 A IV 212,19f. 40. A IV 216,27. 41. A IV 317,23. 42. A IV 320,2. 43. A IV 402,23 (Ee om. formula of greeting, cf. loc. cit. no. 6). 44. A IV 414,25. 45. A IV 426,16. 46. A V 41,27. 47. A V 79,5. 48. A V 157,21. 49. A V 161,29. 50. A V 164,20. 51. A V 315,2. 52. A V 316,11. 53. A V 326,21. 54. A V 354,24. 55. A V 357,16.

24. However, the use of the formula *ehi bhikkhū ti* is not confined to the Vinaya, it is also attested in the narrative about the conversion of the robber Aṅgulimāla recorded at M II 100,11*: *tam "ehi bhikkhū" ti tadā avoca*. Th 625 records a similar phrase: *"ehi bhikkhū" ti maṃ āha*.[40] There is, therefore, no reason to assume that it represents a recent addition to the canonical language because it is also reflected in the way the Buddha is described as addressing Māluṅkyāputta at M I 428,16-18: *ehi tvaṃ Māluṅkyāputta mayi brahmacariyaṃ cara* ff., which may well have served as a literary model for the initiation formula. The use of *ehi* underlines the solemnity of the utterance, which has an analogous brahmanical counterpart in the solemn *haviṣkṛt* expression *"ehi"* that is described as *vācaṃ śantatamam* "the most solemn (form) of speech"[41] at Śatapathabrāhmaṇa I.1.4.2.[42] The version in the plural *"etha bhikkhavo ti"* that is used in situations describing the joint initiation of monks only occurs in the Vinaya. The compilers most likely composed it on the analogy of the version in the singular. The fact that it is limited to the Vinaya, however, is not a valid reason for concluding that the formula *"etha bhikkhavo" ti* is a later addition to the canon because the use of *bhikkhavo ti* is syntactically analogous to the other canonical examples of its use initially in a sentence. In the case of both formulas, one cannot exclude the possibility that *bhikkhū ti* and *bhikkhavo ti* are instances of the use of *pluti*, as suggested in the case of *bhaddantavā ti* quoted above. Consequently, the use of *bhikkhavo ti* in the ordination formula has no chronological implications, its usage being intrinsic to the prosodical structure of the language of the Pāli canon.

§ 31. The evidence thus justifies the conclusion that the use of *bhikkhavo* and *bhikkhave* in the Pāli canon reflects contemporary verse and prose structures. Thus, it is linguistically irrelevant to speculate whether *bhikkhave* historically originated in another linguistic context than *bhikkhavo*: their usage presupposes syntactical features and prosodies that are intrinsic to the language of the Pāli canon. Therefore, the assumption that the occurrence of *bhikkhave* in *Pācittiya*

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[40] The fact that Th-a is claiming that the formula at Th 625 is due to the *saṅgītikāras* does not indicate later usage because as already mentioned the use of *ehi* with the same intention also occurs in Buddha's talk to Māluṅkyāputta.

[41] It represents the *haviṣkṛt* proper to a brāhmaṇa; cf. Śatapathabrāhmaṇa loc. cit. and Āpastamba Śrautasūtra I.19.9: *haviṣkṛd ehīti brāhmaṇasya*.

[42] Cf. loc. cit.: *etad u ha vai vācaḥ śāntatamaṃ yad ehīti*; Abhidh-k-trsl. III p. 61 no. 3: "on a comparé Śatapatha, i.1,4,2."

71 and *Nissaggiya Pācittiya* 10 of the *Pātimokkha* is a reflex of its early "eastern" redaction is baseless, as the syntax of the two passages in which the vocative occurs is similar to the general syntactical constraints on the use of *bhikkhave* as shown above.[43]

§ 32. The failure to understand the prosodical function of *bhikkhave* and *bhikkhavo* in the context of the language of the Pāli canon stems from addressing linguistic problems *ad hoc*, without considering whether the distributional pattern of the two forms would corroborate the suggested interpretations. In the final analysis, the failure to suggest a plausible linguistic analysis of the distributional pattern of *bhikkhave* and *bhikkhavo* is a matter of a flawed methodology; and a flawed methodology leads invariably to wrong conclusions. The present study shows, I believe, that it is necessary to study the language of the Tipiṭaka as a language *sui generis* and not as a random patchwork of borrowings from other linguistic environments, inter alia "eastern" ones. It puts the immanent structure of the language of the Pāli canon at the centre of analysis and illustrates the futility of addressing linguistic problems atomistically, without consideration as to whether or not the suggested analyses are compatible with the evidence recorded in the canon itself. To conclude in Tweedledee's sense of logic: if the vocative *bhikkhave* linguistically were a Māgadhism it would be justified to infer that it is a vestige of another linguistic environment, "but as it isn't, so it ain't."

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[43] Cf. e.g. Dutt (1962: 68, note 6 with references).

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Toward a Computational Analysis of the Pali Canon

Dan Zigmond

Abstract

This paper describes the results of applying computational text mining to the *Tipiṭaka,* or Pali Canon, the canonical scripture of Therevāda Buddhism. Individual volumes of the *Tipiṭaka* are divided into "clusters" using purely computation tools, and in many cases these clusters appear to match the rough scholarly consensus around the relative age of the volumes. Texts are also summarized into "word clouds" based on relative word frequency, and these also seem to reflect the underlying themes of the texts. While these initial results are essentially confirmational rather than novel, they suggest these approaches will be valuable additions to the Pali scholar's toolbox.

Computational text mining

Text mining can be defined as the process of extracting new information from textual sources using computational means. Its practice goes back to the invention of digital computers in the mid-twentieth century, and the explosion of availability of both texts in electronic form and the computing capacity necessary to analyze them have greatly accelerated progress in recent years. Although much initial work was focused on commercial and government applications, the past decade has seen increasing adoption of computational techniques in the humanities (Jockers 2013).

Thus far advances in text mining have typically been applied to English and other modern (and primarily Western) languages, but this is starting to change. Since 2007 researchers have convened regular international meetings on Sanskrit Computational Linguistics (see, for example, Kulkarni and Dangarikar 2013). Along similar lines, the Classical Language Toolkit aims to make text mining applicable to many ancient languages (Johnson et al. 2014). To the best of our knowledge, however, there have been very few attempts to apply these techniques systematically to the Pali Canon (e.g., Elwert et al. 2015).

In recent years a robust set of generalized tools have emerged to support computational analysis, making application of these techniques to novel corpora and languages more feasible. The work in this paper was carried out using the *R* statistical programming language (R Core Team 2013), and the *tidy* (Wickham 2019), *tidytext* (Silge and Robinson 2016), *factoextra* (Kassambara and Mundt 2020), and *wordcloud* (Fellows 2018) packages.[1]

Particular challenges of the Pali Canon

The *Tipiṭaka,* or Pali Canon, is the canonical scripture of Therevāda Buddhism. Purported to be the oral teachings of the historical Buddha (Sujato & Brahmali 2014), it is believed to have been first recorded in written form in what is now Sri Lanka around the first century BCE. Although versions of these texts are preserved in other languages, the oldest and most complete edition of the *Tipiṭaka* is recorded in Pali, a Middle Indo-Aryan dialect whose name derives from the compound *pāli-bhāsa*, "the language of the texts" (Geiger 2005, xxiii). In other words, the Pali language and the *Tipiṭaka* are intimately linked: Pali is literally the language of the *Tipiṭaka*. As Pali scholar Richard Gombrich put it succinctly: "For many Buddhists, Pali occupies the kind of place that Arabic occupies for Muslims, Hebrew for Jews, [and] Greek and/or Latin for various kinds of Christians" (Gombrich 2018).

Pali appears to have been originally a spoken language and has no fixed written form. It has been traditionally written using the script of the various Asian countries where Therevāda Buddhism has proliferated: in Khom and Tham scripts in Thailand, Burmese in Burma, Sinhalese in Sri Lanka, etc. The growth of the Vipassana meditation movement founded by S.N. Goenka in India has led to a resurgence of Pali texts printed in Devanagari script. Beginning in

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[1] The novel tools and electronic texts used in this paper are freely available through the *tipitaka* package (Zigmond 2020), and the source code for this package can be found at https://github.com/dangerzig/tipitaka.

the late 19th century, the Pali Text Society (PTS) pioneered the publication of Pali texts in Roman script for Western scholars (and Western Buddhists) using a system of diacritics similar to that typical for transliterated Sanskrit. This Roman rendering is the written form of Pali used in this analysis.

For example, here is the first verse of the *Dhammapada*, perhaps the most famous of the Pali scriptures and the first to be translated into a European language, first in Roman-scripted Pali, then in two modern translations:

> *manopubbaṅgamā dhammā, manoseṭṭhā manomayā,*
> *manasā ce paduṭṭhena bhāsati vā karoti vā,*
> *tato naṃ dukkham anveti, cakkaṃ va vahato padaṃ.* (Dhp 1)

> Preceded by perception is mental states,
> For them is perception supreme,
> From perception that have sprung,
> If, with perception polluted, one speaks or acts,
> Then suffering follows,
> As a wheel the draught ox's foot. (Carter and Palihawadana 1987)

> All experience is preceded by mind,
>   Led by mind,
>   Made by mind,
> Speak or act with a corrupted mind,
>   And suffering follows
> As the wagon wheel follows the hoof of the ox. (Fronsdal 2005)

The title itself of the Pali Canon, *Tipiṭaka,* can be translated as "consisting of three baskets" and the Canon is composed of three distinct sets of scriptures:

- *Vinaya Piṭaka,* Basket of Discipline, describing the rules for the monastic order.

- *Sutta Piṭaka*, Basket of Discourses, primarily recounting the direct teachings of the Buddha (such as the verse quoted above).

- *Abhidhamma Piṭaka,* Basket of Special Teachings,[2] summarizing and systematizing the Buddha's doctrines.

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[2] An alternative understanding of *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* would be the basket "about the teachings."

Each of these is composed of several books, which in turn are often divided into chapters and verses. The *Sutta Piṭaka* is the most widely studied and so its divisions have particular significance. It contains four major collections of *suttas* or discourses, plus a fifth collection of a wide variety of generally shorter material.

Table 1 shows these major divisions and the approximate length (in words) of each. The total size of the *Tipiṭaka* is just under 2.7 million words, with the *Suttas* alone totaling near 1.5 million. By way of comparison, the King James Version (KJV) of the Christian Bible contains approximately 855,317 words (Project Gutenberg 2020). Thus, in (very) rough terms, the *Tipiṭaka* (in Pali) is a bit more than three times the length of the KJV (in English), while the Buddha's discourses alone (i.e., the *Sutta Piṭaka*) are a bit less than twice the length of the KJV.

Components of the *Tipiṭaka*	Approximate length (in words)
Vinaya Piṭaka	**414,887**
Sutta Piṭaka	**1,475,446**
Dīgha Nikāya	142,313
Majjhima Nikāya	244,973
Saṃyutta Nikāya	264,973
Aṅguttara Nikāya	300,010
Khuddaka Nikāya	523,177
Abhidhamma Piṭaka	**801,650**
Tipiṭaka **TOTAL**	**2,691,983**

*Table 1: Divisions of the **Tipiṭaka** and length in words*

There are a number of challenges to working with this material using computational tools. First there are several extant versions of the Canon. This analysis was based on the digital edition of the Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana Tipiṭaka version 4.0 published by Goenka's Vipassana Research Institute (hereafter CST4; Vipassana Research Institute 2020). This edition originated at the so-called 'Sixth Buddhist Council', held in Burma from 1954 to 1956. Originally published after the Council meetings in Burmese script, the Vipassana Research Institute in India began printing this edition in Devanagari and eventually Roman (and several other) scripts in 1990 and later published the results electronically as well.

This CST4 edition differs somewhat from the more widely used Roman edition published by the PTS in the UK, although no exhaustive catalog of the inconsistencies appears to exist. While the PTS edition is available electronically at the Göttingen Register of Electronic Texts in Indian Languages (GRETIL: http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil.html), the format used is more cumbersome for computational analysis.

Beyond the occasional textual inconsistencies between these editions (which tend to be minor), there is no comprehensive standard for organizing the Pali Canon. To begin with, there are slight variations in which books are considered canonical. For example, the *Milindapañha* and *Peṭakopadesa* are sometimes included in the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, and sometimes not. (They are not included in this analysis.)

Furthermore, even where the contents are agreed, the structure is sometimes not. Some elements of the overall structure are canonical and universally observed. For example, the previously discussed division of the *Tipiṭaka* into three *Piṭakas* is well established, as is the division of the *Sutta Piṭaka* into five *Nikāyas* (Webb 2011; von Hinüber 2015, 8). But beyond this, the different editions do not always agree. The division of each individual *Nikāya* into separate printed volumes is a publishing convenience and is fundamentally arbitrary. Thus, for example, the PTS edition divides the *Aṅguttara Nikāya,* or Numerical Discourses of the Buddha, into five volumes; the CST4 into only four. Both the PTS and CST4 divide the *Majjhima Nikāya*, or Middle-Length Discourses, into three volumes, but make the divisions at somewhat different (though nearby) points in the text. This means the usual standard of reference, by volume and page number, can be difficult to translate between editions.[3]

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, three characteristics of the Pali language itself create computational challenges. First, most Pali words exist in numerous declensions, generally based on number, gender, and case. Second, consecutive words in Pali sentences can be combined through letter and syllable elision in complex ways, forming what can appear to be novel words. Third, Pali also makes substantial use of compounds. Taken together, this means that individual words often appear in the Canon in a vast array of different forms.

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[3] This paper largely adopts the Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana volume numbering as a natural consequence of using an electronic version of the Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana edition of the Canon. See the section "Abbreviations" for a longer discussion of this.

For example, there are 270 variations on the word *bhikkhu* (monk)[4] if one counts all words beginning with the base/stem *bhikkh-*. The 20 most frequent such forms are shown in Table 2. These include declensions of *bhikkhu* such as *bhikkhave*[5] (vocative plural) and *bhikkhū* (plural), related words such as *bhikkhunī* (nun), and compounds such as *bhikkhusaṅghaṃ* (congregation of monks). Of these, fully 115 (about 42%) appear in the entire Canon only once.

1. *bhikkhave*	11. *bhikkhūhi*
2. *bhikkhu*	12. *bhikkhunīnaṃ*
3. *bhikkhū*	13. *bhikkhussa*
4. *bhikkhuno*	14. *bhikkhuniṃ*
5. *bhikkhūnaṃ*	15. *bhikkhusaṅghaṃ*
6. *bhikkhunā*	16. *bhikkhavo*
7. *bhikkhuniyo*	17. *bhikkhusaṅghena*
8. *bhikkhuṃ*	18. *bhikkhusaṅgho*
9. *bhikkhunī*	19. *bhikkhūti*[6]
10. *bhikkhuniyā*	20. *bhikkhunīti*[6]

*Table 2: Most frequent words based on **bhikkhu** in the Pali Canon*

[4] All English definitions in this paper are from Buddhadatta (2014) unless otherwise noted. Where Buddhadatta gives multiple definitions, I have generally taken the first few.

[5] In fact, *bhikkhave*, the plural vocative case used in direct address, is the most common form of *bhikkhu* and appears 2.6 times as often as the nominative case that one might expect to be most common. This relatively obscure declension occurs so frequently in the Canon in conjunction with this word because many of the Buddha's discourses are directed toward a group of listening monks, whom he addresses this way. (Geiger 2005)

[6] Note that *bhikkhūti* and *bhikkhunīti* are not even single words; they are *bhikkhu* and *bhikkhunī* with the quotation marker *ti* appended. This sort of issue is discussed in more detail in the section "Limitations and future work" below.

Altogether the various discourses of the *Sutta Piṭaka* contain 115,433 distinct Pali words by our count. In comparison, the KJV contains only 13,306 words in English. Thus while the *Suttas* are less than twice as long as the Bible, they contain nearly nine times as many distinct words.

Because computational text mining typically depends on comparing word frequencies across texts, having so many words, and so many with very low frequencies, can pose a challenge. The most common word, *ca* (and; then; now), appears 56,487 times; the 100th most common word, *samannāgato* (endowed with; possessed of) appears only 2,508 times. The frequencies of all 100 most common words are shown in Figure 1, demonstrating this precipitous decline. The full lexicon of the *Tipiṭaka* follows the same frequency pattern we saw in variations of the word *bhikkhu*: about 42% of all unique words in the Pali Canon also occur only once. By way of comparison, only 31% of distinct words in the KJV appear to occur just once. (The section "Future directions" below describes some possible remediations to overcome this.)
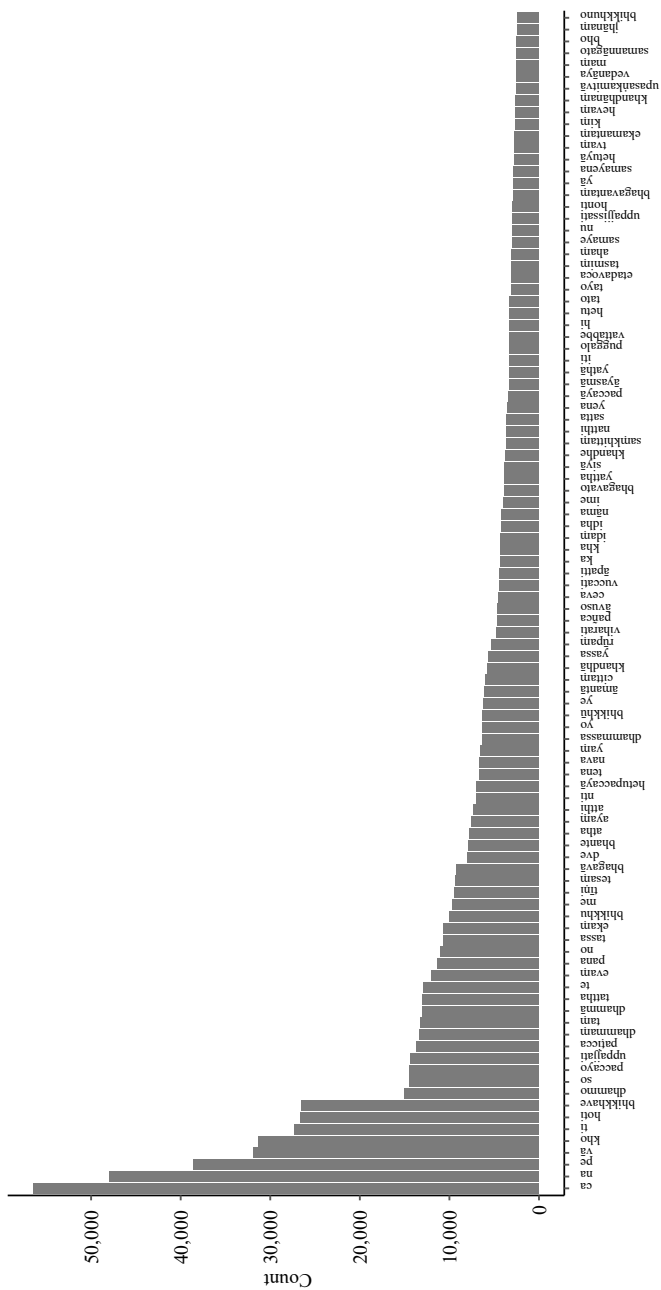
Figure 1: The 100 most common words in the Pali Canon

As shown in Figure 2, word frequency in the Pali Canon is inversely proportional to word rank. This relationship roughly follows a classic power law, as has been observed for many other language corpora (Zipf 1935). The main divergence from a Zipf power function is that the Pali Canon does not have as many high-frequency words; visually, the left side of the graph is flatter. Again, a comparison to the KJV is instructive and is shown in light gray in Figure 2. Three English words in the KJV exceed 2% frequency (*the*, *and*, and *of*), ranging from 7.5% to 4%, while no individual words in the Pali Canon are similarly common. Overall, the KJV is more "head heavy," meaning the most common words are more common than they are in the *Tipiṭaka*, while the *Tipiṭaka* itself is more "tail heavy," meaning the least common words are more common there.
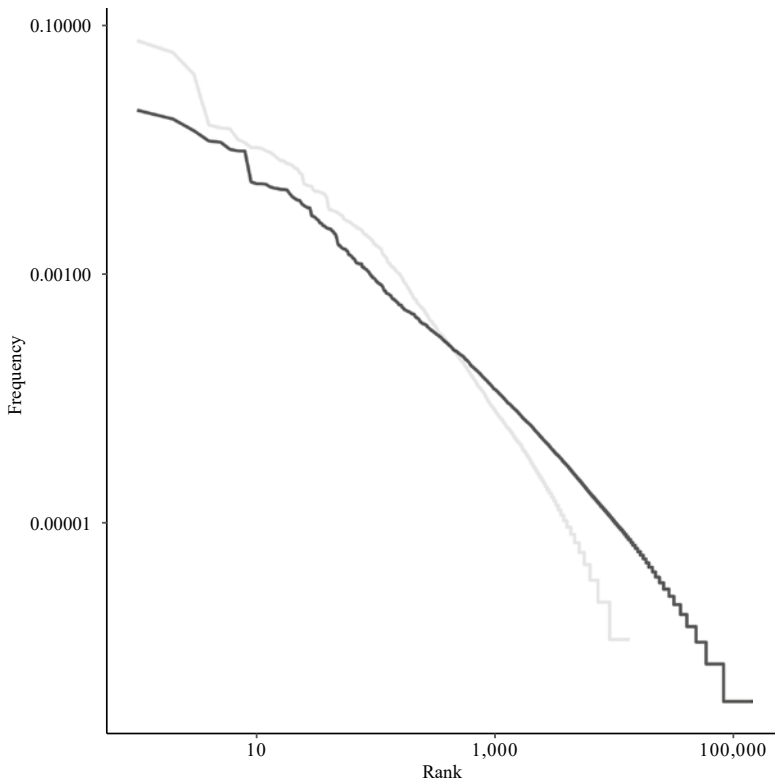

Figure 2: Word rank versus frequency across the Pali Canon (black, log-log scale), and for the King James Version of the bible (light gray)

Categorizing the *Tipiṭaka* through k-means clustering

We can further analyze the Canon using classical k-means clustering, one of the oldest algorithms for computational categorization (see MacQueen 1967 and Lloyd 1957). In the simplest terms, we compare the texts by using the relative frequency of each unique word in each text.

More precisely, this approach reduces each of our texts to some number n of quantitative features. The precise mechanism for transforming a text into such features is discussed below, but one can then think of these features as coordinates in an n-dimensional space. If our features are well chosen, then texts with coordinates closer to each other in this space should be more similar than texts further apart. In k-means clustering, we choose some number k of clusters in which we wish to categorize our texts, then draw boundaries in this n-dimensional space to create k distinct regions. Again, if our features are well-chosen, the points within these boundaries will form clusters of similar texts.

Of course, reducing a complex text to some manageable set of meaningful quantitative features is a difficult task. Some trivial approaches would obviously not be particularly useful. For example, the length of a text might be a poor choice because texts of the same or similar length do not necessarily have any deeper linguistic connection. Paperback editions of *The Da Vinci Code* and *A Tale of Two Cities* may both have 489 pages, but these two texts have little else in common.

A more common and often successful approach is to use the frequency of some number distinct words. In English, we might measure the relative frequency of words like *the*, *and*, *of*, *to*, and *that* (the five most common words in the KJV) as our features, such that the KJV would be represented as the five quantities {0.075, 0.060, 0.040, 0.016, 0.015}. Another text similar to the KJV would be presumed to have similar frequencies; in other words, it would occupy a nearby position if plotted in five-dimensional space. It might seem surprising that such mundane quantities could yield a useful analysis, but such analyses have led to genuinely novel discoveries in other domains of literature and the humanities (Jockers and Thalken 2020).

In this analysis of the *Tipiṭaka,* we will use the relative frequency of the 1,000 most common words in the Canon as our features. This number is admittedly arbitrary, but the results appear similar across a wide range of thresholds. By choosing the top 1,000, we are using words that appear more than 250 times across the Canon. If we were to use the top 10,000 words, we would be including

words that appear just 15 times, or less than once per volume.[7] This might lead to clusters determined by the presence or absence of a single word, or even a single typographical error in our files.

Given the discussion above on the number of distinct words in the Pali Canon, the top 1,000 may seem like a very small subset to use for our analysis; it represents well under 1% of all distinct words. However, it is well established that frequency variation among a very small number of words can often be enough to identify authorship of past literary works (Jockers & Thalken 2020). In fact, as we will discuss in our analysis of the *Sutta Piṭaka,* we can make meaningful categorizations of canonical text based on the relative frequency of far fewer than 1,000 words.

Our full methodology is roughly as follows:

1.   The texts are read and separated into distinct words.

2.   All numerals marking verses, pages, etc. are removed.

3.   Each distinct word is counted, as well as the total words for each volume.

4.   The relative frequency is computed for each distinct word (i.e., the count of that word divided by the total words in a given volume).

5.   The 1,000 words with the highest average frequency across all volumes of the Canon are selected as features.

6.   The distance between each volume and every other volume is calculated within this 1,000-dimensional space.

7.   Boundaries are drawn to create two clusters within the space.

In effect, we are categorizing each volume of the *Tipiṭaka* based on the relative statistical distribution of the 1,000 most common words. The underlying hypothesis is that volumes with a more similar pattern of word usage are intrinsically closer (i.e., more related) to each other than those with a more dissimilar pattern of word usage.

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[7] As it happens, the 1,000th most frequent word is *viññāṇassa* (a declension of *viññāṇa*: animation; consciousness). The 10,000th word is *thīnaṃ* (a declension of *thīna*: unwieldliness; impalpability).

For visual simplicity, this 1,000-dimensional space can be represented as a simple two-dimensional chart, as shown in Figure 3. These two dimensions are created by combining many of the underlying dimensions, with some loss of information, in a long-established statistical process known as principal component analysis. As shown on the axis labels of Figure 3, these two "principal components" capture approximately 84.5% of the variation between our texts in the full 1,000-dimensional space. (Volumes of the *Tipiṭaka* are shown in all figures using the standard abbreviations from the PTS Pali-English Dictionary, which are fully explained in Table 3 in the "Abbreviations" section below.)
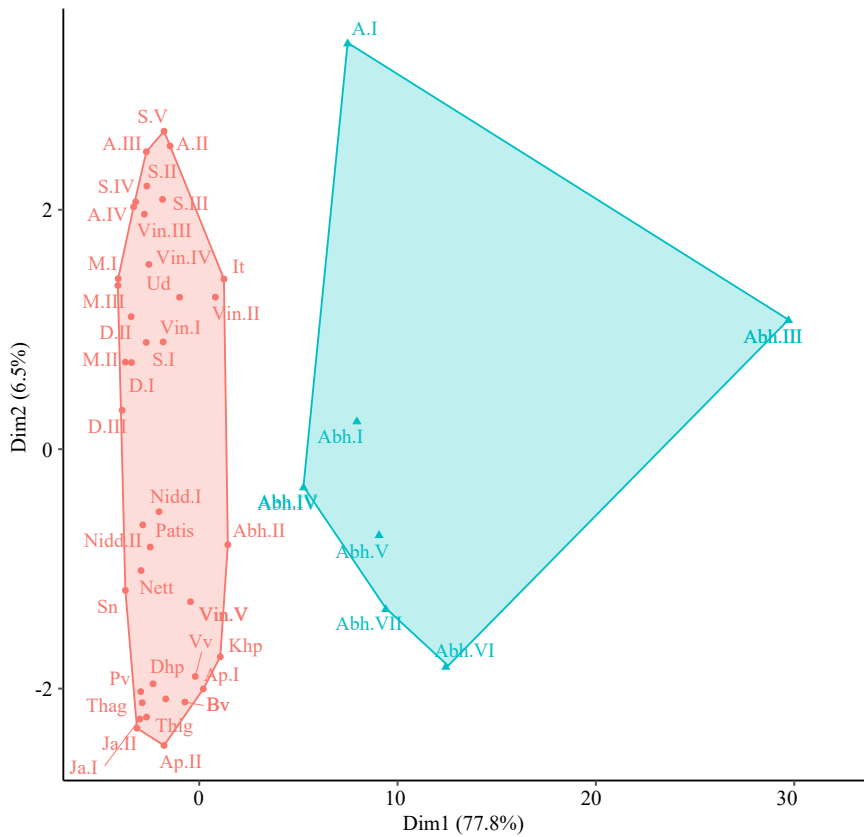

*Figure 3: Cluster analysis of the **Tipiṭaka***

We can see that the volumes of the *Tipiṭaka* shown here form two distinct clusters. The first of these contains the *Vinaya* and *Suttas* (with one exception; more on this below) while the second contains the *Abhidhamma* (again with one exception). This division roughly follows scholarly opinion on the age of the material; the Abhidhamma is considered the most recent of the three baskets of the *Tipiṭaka* (von Hinüber 2015, 64). Thus we might consider the left (blue) cluster to be our older texts and the right (red) cluster to be our younger texts.

How then to explain the two exceptions to this otherwise clean separation of our texts into older and younger clusters? The second volume of the *Abhidhamma*, titled the *Vibhaṅga* and shown as Abh.II in our figure, is clustered on the left, with our older texts, although the *Abhidhamma* is generally believed to be younger. However, the *Vibhaṅga* is believed likely to be the oldest of the *Abhidhamma* material, with some dating it to a similar period as the *Vinaya* and *Suttas* (von Hinüber 2015, 69). It is thus not entirely surprising that our algorithms might place it with the older material, which it likely matches in linguistic style. Also note that Abh.II is about equidistant from its nearest volume of the *Abhidhamma* (Abh.IV) as from the nearest volumes of the *Suttas* (Patis and Nidd.I) and *Vinaya* (Vin.V). It may represent an intermediary between these two periods of scripture.

This leaves the first volume of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, A.I in our figure, which is shown in right/younger (red) cluster, despite being a volume of the original *Suttas*.

The *Aṅguttara Nikāya,* or "Numerical Discourses" (Bodhi 2012), is an unusual collection. The volumes are organized according to number so that we have the "book of ones," "the book of twos," etc. (von Hinüber 2015, 76). The first volume, the *Ekakanipāta*, is the book of ones, containing discourses referring to a single thing. For example:

> Bhikkhus, I do not see even one other thing that when developed leads to such great good as the mind. A developed mind leads to great good. (A I 6; Bodhi 2012)

As this example demonstrates, many of these passages are extremely short. Although there are some counter examples, most verses contain two sentences with a total of a few dozen words. In this way, the book stands somewhat apart from the other collections, and is not particularly similar to any of them – a characteristic our computational analysis correctly highlights.

In fact, the nearest neighbor of A.I in Figure 3 is A.II, which in the CST4 electronic edition contains the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* books of two, three, and four, despite the fact that A.I is clustered with the *Abhidhamma* volumes. In some sense, the grouping of A.I with the *Abhidhamma* may represent a limitation of the standard clustering algorithms, which attempt to construct compact polygons around the individual points. While A.I is closer to points in the left (blue) cluster and one can imagine extending that cluster to include A.I, the resulting polygon would be less compact, because A.I is somewhat further from the center of the left polygon than from the center of the right.

Note that Abh.III represents a significant outlier from even the other volumes of the *Abhidhamma*. (In fact, if we divide our volumes into three clusters, our algorithm places Abh.III in a cluster of its own.) One explanation is that the Abh.III, or the *Dhātukathā*, may be younger than the preceding volumes, and appears not to have been recited at the first three Buddhist Councils at all (von Hinüber 2015, 69).

Figure 4 provides another view of these "distance" measures in a hierarchical manner, using a cluster dendrogram to visualize the similarities and dissimilarities among *Tipiṭaka* texts (Kassambara 2017). The y-axis represents distance between the texts, so texts that are joined higher are less similar than those joined lower. Color coding is used to cluster these texts into distance groups. The seven "rainbow" texts on the left are all quite distant from the rest; as in Figure 3, these include most of the *Abhidhamma* (with the exception of Abh.II) as well as the first volume of the *Aṅguttara* (A.I). The remaining texts of the *Sutta* and *Vinaya Piṭaka* form two broad clusters. On the far right, we have most texts of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* (plus Abh.II); in the middle we have the first four *Nikāyas* of the *Sutta Piṭaka* as well as the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. Once again, this largely seems to reflect the scholarly consensus concerning the age of the underlying texts, as will be discussed further in the next section.
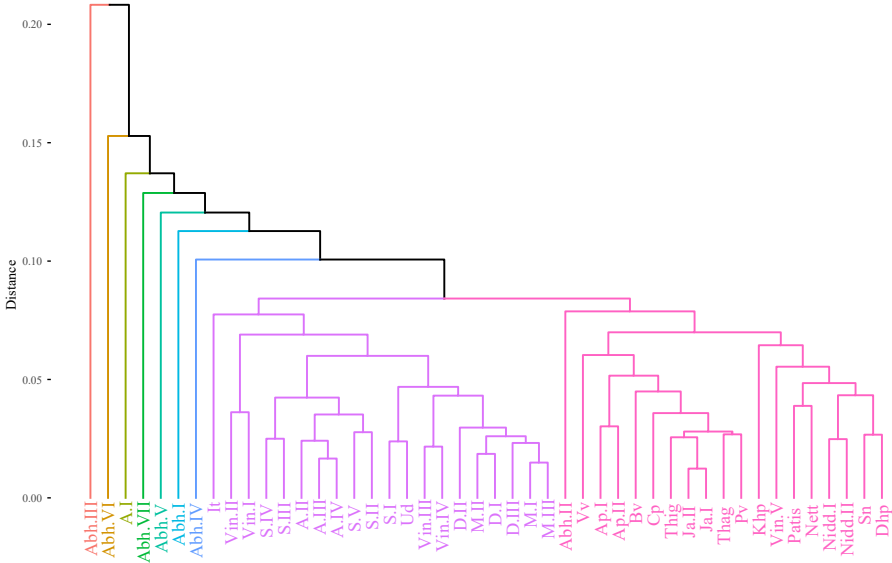
*Figure 4: Distance (i.e., dissimilarity) between **Tipiṭaka** texts*

Categorizing volumes of the *Sutta Piṭaka*

If we confine our attention to the *Sutta Piṭaka*, we can apply the same techniques and further divide these volumes into two more clusters, shown in Figure 5 below.

The upper (blue) cluster contains the *Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṃyutta*, and *Aṅguttara Nikāyas*, while the lower (red) cluster contains the many volumes of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* (labeled according to their individual volume names, as is customary) – with two exceptions. The *Udāna* (Ud) and *Itivuttaka* (It) are clustered with the volumes of the other *Nikāyas* instead of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, where they are canonically placed. (More on this below.)

Here the clustering does not quite so closely mirror the scholarly consensus on the age of the underlying material. The *Khuddaka Nikāya* or "minor texts" represents something of a hodgepodge of "very heterogenous works" (von Hinüber 2015, 41) that appear to have been collected later than the other *Nikāyas*.

While some of these, such as the *Dhammapada* (Dhp) quoted earlier, are well-known and well-loved among Buddhists, they are generally quite distinct from the other *Sutta* collections. Von Hinüber (2015, 45) goes so far as to say that many Dhp verses "have hardly any relation to Buddhism." It therefore seems sensible that these texts can be linguistically distinguished from the first four *Nikāyas.*

While the *Udāna* (Ud) and *Itivuttaka* (It) are among the oldest elements of the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, others of likely similar age include the previously mentioned Dhp and the *Suttanipāta* (Sn). This suggests our algorithm is not clustering these texts by age per se, or at least not by age alone. On the other hand, Ud and It generally take the form of *suttas* or discourses, whereas many of the other *Khuddaka Nikāya* texts do not. In some cases, material from Ud and It is also found elsewhere in the Canon, creating inherent similarities. The placing of these texts in the upper (older) cluster may result from these textual and stylistic elements rather than, or in addition to, age.

Sn may create particular challenges for algorithms of this sort, because it is itself a collection of diverse texts of varying ages (Norman 2010, xxxi–xxxiii). The proximity of Sn to the *Niddesas* (Nidd.I and Nidd.II) in Figure 5 is likely due to the latter texts being commentaries on sections of the former. Nidd.I and Nidd.II are clearly much later than Sn, so the relationship uncovered here is not chronological but perhaps simple concordance.

Note that once again, A.I is very much an outlier with respect to the other *Suttas*. Although it falls within the upper (older) cluster, it is not particularly close to any other volume there. It is closest to It, which is also organized numerically. In fact, if we group into three clusters using the same algorithm, A.I ends up in a separate cluster of its own.
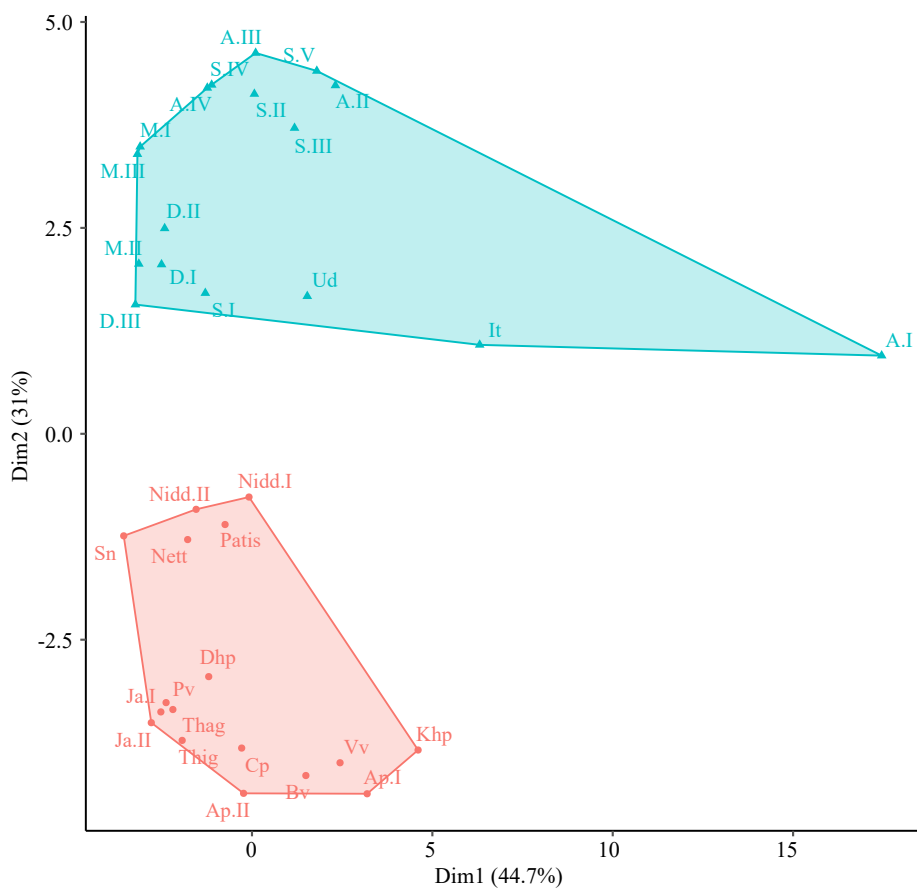
*Figure 5: Cluster analysis of the **Sutta Piṭaka***

As in the analysis of the full Tipiṭaka above, this clustering was based on the relative frequency of the 1,000 most common words in the canon. As it turns out, the suttas can be similarly categorized using a much smaller set.

Figure 6 shows a clustering of the *Sutta Piṭaka* based only on the 13 most common Pali words, which represent all the words with an average frequency of at least 0.5% across the Canon.[8] Although the shape of the clusters is inevitably different, the results are exactly the same as the 1,000-word clustering. We are able to distinguish the predominantly older and younger *suttas* based only on their use of the following words: *ca, na, kho, vā, ti, bhikkhave, hoti, pe, te, so, dhammā, taṃ,* and *me*, most of which are simple grammatical particles and the like.[9]
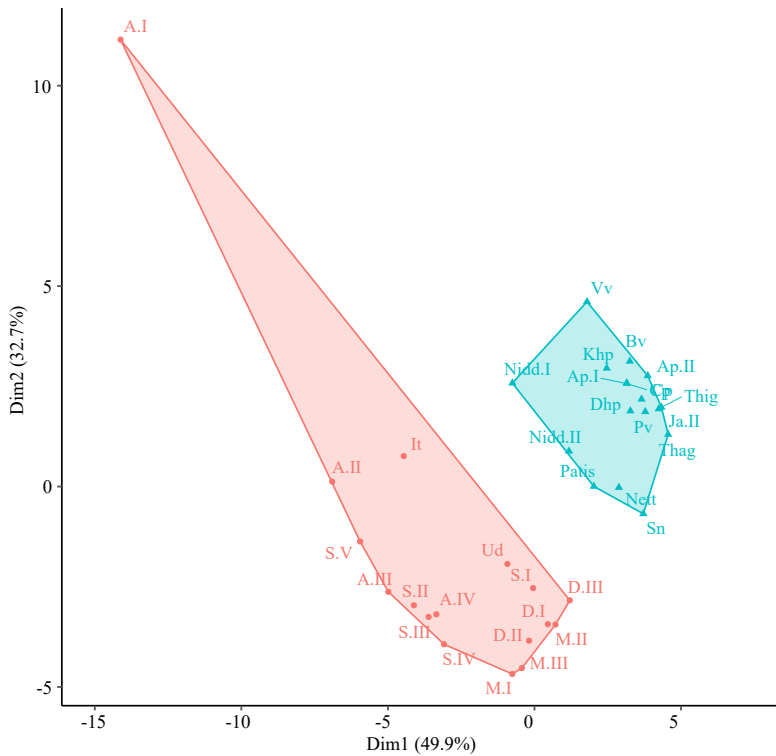

*Figure 6: Cluster analysis of the **Sutta Piṭaka** based on the top 13 words*

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[8] Note that only 5 words have an average frequency of 1%, a further testament to the great linguistic variety of the canon. In contract, the KJV has 11 words with a frequency of at least 1%, and 29 with a frequency of at least 0.5%.

[9] As in the previous two analyses, A.I is a substantial outlier; in fact, even more distant from all other texts. This remains somewhat of a mystery.

We can again view this clustering hierarchically, as shown in Figure 7. We see the same broad grouping of texts into older (right) and younger (left) clusters, with A.I standing out as most distant within its cluster.
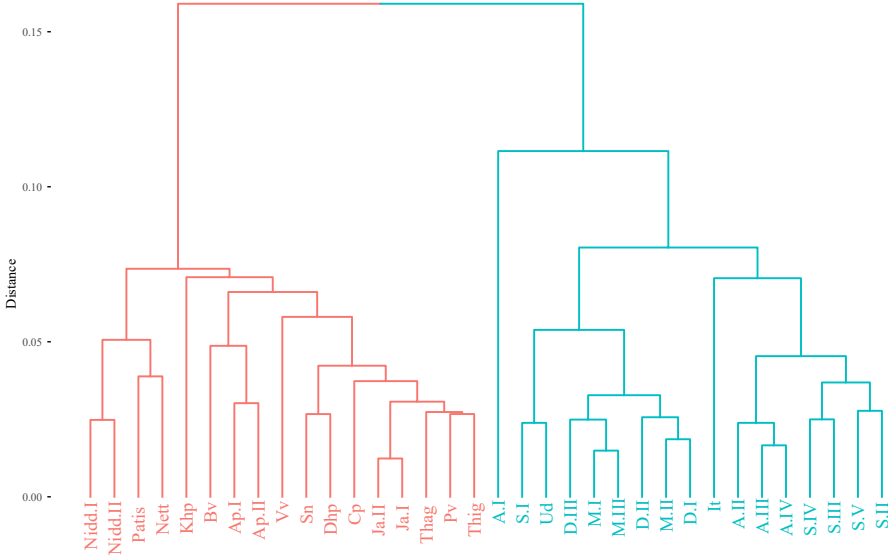

*Figure 7: Distance between **Sutta Piṭaka** texts*

Summarizing the *Sutta Piṭaka*

Word frequency can also provide clues to the core meaning of different volumes of the Canon. A common way to illustrate this is with "word clouds," graphical arrangements of individual words where the size of each word is in proportion to its frequency. In order to focus on the words with the most semantic content, a set of very common "stop words" are first removed from the corpus (Lewis et al. 2004). For example, in English, words such as *a*, *and*, and *the* are prototypical stop words: common in virtually every text and so not a very useful guide to meaning.[10]

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[10] Stop words are not removed prior to the earlier clustering analysis because the relative

As far as we know, no definitive set of stop words has been defined for Pali, so a tentative set was created for this analysis. This was derived by combining the words labeled as "indeclinable" or "participle" in the PTS Pali-English Dictionary (PTS 1925)[11] plus the most common Pali pronouns (Geiger 2005, 98–109). The full list of 245 words included is shown in Table 4 in the Appendix.

Figure 8 shows such a word cloud for the *Therīgāthā,* or Poems of the Early Buddhist Nuns (left), and the *Theragāthā*, or Poems of the Elder Monks (right). As might be expected, the most prominent word in the *Therīgāthā* is *therī* (senior nun), while the most prominent word in the *Theragāthā* is *thero* (senior monk).

Figure 8: Word cloud for the **Therīgāthā** *(left) and* **Theragāthā** *(right)*

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frequency of such words can be very useful in dating and identifying authorship. However, these differences are too subtle to show up in word cloud images and tell us little about meaning. By way of example, my own use of words like *a*, *and*, and *the* might help establish that I am the author of this paper or perhaps even assist in dating this paper based on the prevailing usage of such terms, but would reveal very little else about the paper's content.

[11] These were collected using the online interface to the *PED* available through the University of Chicago's Digital Dictionaries of South Asia project, at https://dsalsrv04.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/pali/.

These word clouds are potentially more interesting when applied to smaller sections of the Canon, which are likely to be more focused in meaning. Figure 9 shows such a cloud for the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (M I 56) on the left, the '(Great) Discourse on Mindfulness Meditation' (again with stop words removed). Here we see words like *pajānātiī* (knows clearly), *viharati* (lives; abides), and *loke* (declension of *loka*, the world) emphasized, which are central to the meaning of the *sutta*. On the right we see a word cloud for the full first volume *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (A I), which covers a wide-ranging set of themes. The only substantive word that stands out is *bhikkhave*, indicating that these disparate discourses were addressed to monks but had no other obvious common thread.

*Figure 9: Word cloud for the **Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta** (left) and **Aṅguttara Nikāya I** (right)*

127

Limitations and future directions

There are advantages and disadvantages to using the exact Pali syntax found in the Canon as the basis for our analysis. By way of analogy, the English words *monk* and *monks* are obviously distinct, and different authors may vary in the relative frequency of each. On the other hand, something is clearly lost if we treat the two as entirely unrelated, with no more connection than that between *monk* and *mouse.* Yet that is exactly what we are doing when we treat *bhikkhu* and *bhikkhū* as entirely distinct words.

One approach to overcoming this limitation would be to convert words to their Pali bases or stems (in this case, *bhikkh*). One could then use the base/stem frequencies as features, either replacing or augmenting the exact word frequencies. This would also avoid the issue noted above, where, for example, *bhikkhūti* is treated as a single word when it is, in fact, a concatenation of the two words *bhikkhu* and *ti.* However, developing an accurate stemming algorithm will be a substantial undertaking. Some progress has been made by others (see, for example, Basapur 2019, Elwert 2015, and Alfter 2014), but no complete algorithm appears yet publicly available. This is important work to undertake.

Our tentative list of stop words is also unsatisfactory. It was created in a somewhat manual process that may have included errors. It is also possible that, for example, all adverbs should be added to this list. Another approach would be to add all very common words, regardless of grammatical function, although this would result in meaningful words like *bhikkhave* and *dhammo* (doctrine; nature; truth) being excluded. It will likely take a good deal of trial and error, as well as a healthy dose of human judgment, to arrive at a definitive set. Our initial list is at best a good starting place for a much longer effort.[12]

The analysis described thus far has been at the "macro" scale of entire volumes. While this is interesting, it is also limiting, and in some cases arbitrary. In the future we would like to descend to the more "micro" levels of individual *suttas* and verses. The tools we have now discard demarcation of particular verses as well as word ordering within the volumes. In order to facilitate microanalysis at the verse and word level, all such material would need to be preserved.

More advanced techniques of text mining and natural-language processing could also be applied. Topic modeling—a machine learning technique for clustering and summarizing texts—is one broad example; extraction of n-grams,

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[12] Elwert (2015) alludes to a set of stop words used in that work, but it does not appear to have been published.

or key phrases, is another. However, this would depend on the sort of further advances in stemming discussed above to be truly useful.

Finally, several purely technical challenges remain. The inconsistent volume numbering between the CST4 and PTS editions is an annoyance, and the solution arrived at here, sitting in between the two, is a poor one. In the future we will edit the underlying files to match the PTS numbering for consistency with other scholarly material. This is a laborious process of careful editing and was deemed too much to attempt right now.

Tentative conclusions

The analyses described here have been largely confirmational; they do not yet bring new knowledge to the study of the Pali Canon. While the apparent separation of volumes into groups of newer and older texts generally matches scholarly consensus, the discrepancies appear to be artifacts of the algorithms rather than novel discoveries. Other analyses help us visualize the relationships between the texts and some of their central themes but are not yet revealing previously undiscovered truths.

Nevertheless this style of macroanalysis shows promising potential. As these methods are refined, they may be helpful in dating noncanonical and paracanonical texts and tracing the overall evolution of the Canon. As we expand these techniques to the level of individual *suttas* and verses, we may gain still further insight into the authorship of these various component texts.

This first analysis only scratches at the surface of these ancient scriptures, showing that modern computational tools can be applied. The tools developed have been released publicly so that other scholars may continue analysis in a similar vein. We hope this is the beginning of the application of these tools to the *Tipiṭaka* and not the end.

Abbreviations

The text and figures above generally follow the standard of the *Pali-English Dictionary* (Pali Text Society 1925) but are shown in Table 3 for clarity. Note that discrepancies between the PTS and CST4 editions make volume numbering difficult. It has been handled here (admittedly somewhat inconsistently) as follows:

- Volume numbering within the *Vinaya Piṭaka* has been adjusted to match the PTS order.[13]

- Volume numbering within the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* is consistent between the two editions and is unchanged.

- Volume numbering within the *Dīgha Nikāya* is also consistent between the two.

- Volume division and numbering within the *Majjhima Nikāya, Saṃyutta Nikāya,* and *Aṅguttara Nikāya* is inconsistent and has been left according to the CST4.

- Volumes of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* are listed under their separate titles rather than by number, as is the norm for these works.

The inconsistent volume numbering for the *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Saṃyutta Nikāya,* and *Aṅguttara Nikāya* is unfortunate. Reconstructing the CST4 electronic files to follow the PTS numbering would have been possible but quite laborious and so was not attempted at this time.

Vin.I – Vin.V	*Vinaya Piṭaka* volumes I – V
D.I – D.III	*Dīgha Nikāya* volumes I – III
M.I – III	*Majjhima Nikāya* volumes I – III
S.I – V	*Saṃyutta Nikāya* volumes I – V
A.I – A.IV	*Aṅguttara Nikāya* volumes I – IV
Khp	*Khuddakapāṭha*
Dhp	*Dhammapada*
Ud	*Udāna*

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[13] The CST4 numbering for what PTS labels volumes I through V would be III, IV, I, II, V.

It	*Itivuttaka*
Sn	*Suttanipāta*
Vv	*Vimānavatthu*
Pv	*Petavatthu*
Thag	*Theragāthā*
Thig	*Therīgāthā*
Ap.I	*Therāpadāna*
Ap.II	*Therīapadāna*
Bv	*Buddhavaṃsa*
Cp	*Cariyāpiṭaka*
Ja.I – J.II	*Jātaka* volumes I – II
Nidd.I	*Mahāniddesa*
Nidd.II	*Cūḷaniddesa*
Patis	*Paṭisambhidāmagga*
Nett	*Nettippakaraṇa*
Abh.I – Abh.VII	*Abhidhamma Piṭaka* volumes I – VII

*Table 3: Abbreviations for **Tipiṭaka** volumes used in figures*

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Appendix

ati	kati	tassaṃ	paricca	re
atīva	kadā	tassā	pariññā	labbhā
atha	kamhi	taṃ	pariyādāya	lesa
atho	kayaṃ	tā	pātur	va
adu	kasmā	tāni	pi	vaka
anu	kasmiṃ	tāya	puna	vata
anti	kassa	tāyaṃ	purā	vā
anto	kassaṃ	tāyo	pure	vāhasā
api	kassā	tāsaṃ	ba	vi
abhito	kaṃ	tāsānaṃ	byā/vyā	vinā
ambho	kā	tāsu	bha	vinidhāya
amma	kāni	tāhi	bhaṇe	viparakkamma
amhākaṃ	kāya	ti	bho	viya
amhe	kāyo	tu	maññe	vivicca
amhesu	kāsaṃ	tuṇhī	mama	visuṃ
are	kāsānaṃ	tumhaṃ	mamaṃ	vīsati
alaṃ	kāsu	tumhākam	mayā	ve
alālā	kāhi	tumhākaṃ	mayi	vo
assu	kiṇi	tumhe	mayhaṃ	sakkā
aha	kim	tumhesu	maṃ	samma
ahaṃ	kimhi	tumhehi	mā	sammā saha
ahe	kismā	tuyhaṃ	murumurā	sā
aho	kismiṃ	tuvaṃ	me	sāgataṃ
ā	kiṃ	te	yagghe	su
ādu	ke	tena	yadi	suṭṭhu
āma	kena	tesaṃ	yamhā	sudaṃ
ārabbha	kesaṃ	tesānaṃ	yamhi	suru
ārā	kesānaṃ	tesu	yasaṃ	sū
āsajja	kesu	tehi	yasānaṃ	so
āsu	kehi	tvayā	yasmā	soḷasa
iti	ko	tvayi	yassa	ha
ito	kvaṇ	tvaṃ	yassaṃ	hañci
ittha	khalu	dabhakkaṃ	yassā	han
itthaṃ	kho	diṭṭhā	yaṃ	handa
ida	ca	dhi	yā	hambho

idāni	*cana*	*na*	*yāni*	*have*
idha	*ci*	*nanu*	*yāya*	*haṃ*
iṅgha	*ce*	*nānā*	*yāyaṃ*	*haṃsi*
iva	*codanā*	*nāma*	*yāyo*	*hā*
iha	*jātu*	*nu*	*yāvatā*	*hi*
uda	*taggha*	*nūna*	*yāsaṃ*	*hiṅkāra*
udāhu	*tamhā*	*neva*	*yāsu*	*huṃ*
uddissa	*tamhi*	*no*	*yāhi*	*he*
uddhaṃ	*tayā*	*paññāya*	*ye*	*heṭṭhā*
upanidhāya	*tayi*	*paṭi*	*yena*	
upari	*tava*	*paṭikacca*	*yeva*	
upasagga	*tavaṃ*	*paṭṭhāya*	*yesu*	
ubbhaṃ	*tasmā*	*pati*	*yehi*	
ūhacca	*tasmiṃ*	*pada*	*yo*	
kacci	*tassa*	*pana*	*ruṇ*	

Table 4: Tentative "stop words" for Pali

Nissāraṇīya:
A Codified Term Updating the Development of the Pāli Vinaya, Part I

Juo-Hsüeh Shih

Abstract

Nissāraṇīya is a term added to conclude the *saṅghādisesa* rules for nuns only in the Pāli Vinaya. It refers to a temporary expulsion of the guilty nun, yet this is beyond the penalty prescribed. A comparative study of the relevant passages in the other Vinayas attests to the controversy hinted at in the Sp. The Pāli Vinaya is alone in asserting the expulsion of the nun, whereas the other traditions are concerned with the nun's release from her offence. The key to such controversy lies in orthographical variation: *nissāraṇīya* vs *niḥsaraṇīya*. Our study points to the assumption that the Vinaya may have borrowed a term from the Suttas to supplement the offence name *saṅghādisesa*. It was *nissaraṇīyaṃ saṅghādisesaṃ* in the Pātimokkha, which is confirmed by internal evidence from the Sp. *Nissaraṇīya* was later replaced by *nissāraṇīya* and its meaning and reference underwent a dramatic change. Moreover, *nissāraṇīya* then found its way back into the Suttas in which there is some confusion between *nissaraṇīya* and *nissāraṇīya*.

Preliminaries

In the Pāli Vinaya *nissāraṇīya* appears solely in the *Saṅghādisesa* chapter of the Bhikkhunī Vinaya with one exception in the *Parivāra*: *nissāraṇīyaṃ paññattaṃ*, 'enactment of expulsion'. Its variant forms *nissāraṇā* and *nissare* make a couple of appearances in the *Mahāvagga* and *Parivāra*, respectively. When a monk violates a *saṅghādisesa* rule, he is said to have committed an offence of *saṅghādisesa*, 'an offence entailing legal acts of the Saṅgha (for its removal)', whereas in the case of nuns, the offence now has an additional term qualifying it: *nissāraṇīyaṃ saṅghādisesaṃ.*

What does *nissāraṇīya* mean in this context? As we will see, in the canonical commentary (*padabhājana*, 'Analysis of Words' = AW), *nissāraṇīyaṃ* is glossed as *saṅghamhā nissāriyati*, 'she is made to leave the Saṅgha'. The post-canonical commentaries, particularly the *Samantapāsādikā* (Sp), reinforces this position by making the canonical gloss even clearer. With regard to whether there is indeed something extra, there are opinions pro and con. Those who believe that *nissāraṇīya* denotes something extra agree upon the temporality of such expulsion, besides this, however, nothing about how, when and where to put this into practice is found in any Vinaya literature.

The term *nissāraṇīya* gives rise to different interpretations, probably because the term is new (i.e. absent from the *Bhikkhu Pātimokkha* = BhuPām) and the penalty of expulsion is beyond the scope of the mending procedures for an offence of *saṅghādisesa*. Without reliable clues, the meaning and reference of *nissāraṇīya* remain arguable and the problem whether *nissāraṇīya* denotes an extra punishment remains pending.

Despite all these ambiguities and uncertainties, we must not overlook what the Pāli Vinaya has ever said. According to the canonical texts and commentaries, there can be no doubt that for the Pāli tradition *nissāraṇīya* denotes the expulsion of the nun guilty of a *saṅghādisesa* offence. This is the starting point for our investigation.

Section I discusses whether *nissāraṇīya* denotes an extra punishment or involves nothing extra. A brief summary of the penalty for an offence of *saṅghādisesa* will first be presented to show the procedures required of the offenders to escape from their offences. All the procedures take place within the monastery. Nowhere in the texts is there ever an indication that an offender is to be expelled from the Saṅgha. In this respect the Pāli Vinaya is very limited. It is therefore necessary to collate the other Vinayas to advance our understanding of the *saṅghādisesa* offence for nuns.

The Sp's commentary deserves special attention in that it hints at an existing controversy over how the additional term qualifying *saṅghādisesa* was understood. To verify such controversy, a comparison of the closing phrases of the *saṅghādisesa* rules in the other Vinayas will be provided. This comparison demonstrates that none of them suggest anything extra. More importantly, the other texts read *niḥsaraṇīya*, derived from a normal stem, whose Pāli correspondence should be *nissaraṇīya*, not *nissāraṇīya* as is seen in the present Pāli Bhikkhunī Vinaya (= BhīVin*)*.

Section II draws the attention back to the Pāli Vinaya to explore further the issue in question. As mentioned above, other traditions read *niḥsaraṇīya* whereas the Pāli Vinaya has *nissāraṇīya*. Is the additional term from a normal stem: *niḥsaraṇīya/nissaraṇīya,* or is it from a causative stem: *nissāraṇīya*? Which is the right word, or are they just interchangeable? While a difference of terms may not really matter, their interpretation does, especially when the two differing forms of the same word may lead to completely opposite results.

The evidence of the Sp is important in broadening the scope of our investigation and deepening our perspective. It **was** *nissaraṇīya* in the Pātimokkha, in agreement with the reading *niḥsaraṇīya* in the other Vinayas available to us. If this is the case, we may infer that once there was full agreement among the various traditions on what the additional term *niḥsaraṇīya/nissaraṇīya* refers to.

It is interesting to ask why and when an additional term was added to qualify the offence title *saṅghādisesa*. Section III turns to the Suttas in search of the possible origin of the term added. While *nissaraṇīya* was a later addition in the Vinaya, this term and the variant form *nissaraṇā* are relatively well attested in the Suttas, with a meaning and reference that fits the context of the *saṅghādisesa* offence perfectly. A comparative study also shows that in the Skt texts of both the Sūtras and Vinaya, *niḥsaraṇīya* literally means 'going out', hence escape or leading to freedom in a soteriological sense. There is no disagreement on the usage of *niḥsaraṇīya/nissaraṇīya* among the Pāli Suttas, Skt Sūtras and Vinaya*.*

The investigation of Section III leads to the assumption that the Pāli Vinaya may have borrowed the term *nissaraṇīya* from the Suttas, yet as can be seen, the term now is *nissāraṇīya*. Section IV looks further into the phenomenon of the *nissaraṇīya/nissāraṇīya* confusion in the Pāli Suttas. If the Pāli Vinaya had retained the original form of *nissaraṇīya*, the causative derivative *nissāraṇīya* could not have come into being. The Pāli Vinaya is the only source for *nissāraṇīya*, thus it must have contributed to the above-mentioned confusion.

I. *Nissāraṇīya*: Nothing Extra or Something Extra?

To judge whether or not *nissāraṇīya* indicates an extra punishment, it is necessary to see what the penalty for an offence of *saṅghādisesa* is. *Saṅghādisesa* is an offence next to Defeat (*Pārājika*) in gravity, and can be amended. A monk violating a *saṅghādisesa* rule is subject to the penalty of *parivāsa*, literally 'living apart' (or 'probation'), if he conceals his offence, which is followed by a six nights' penance (*mānatta*). Since a *pārivāsika* monk (a monk undergoing *parivāsa*) is not allowed to share a dwelling under the same roof with regular monks, he has to live alone in separate quarters. A guilty monk undertakes six nights' *mānatta* straightforwardly without *parivāsa* if he does not conceal his offence.

For nuns there is no *parivāsa*: because staying alone is not befitting for a nun, she is exempted from this.[1] But the duration of *mānatta* is, for nuns, extended to fourteen days. On the completion of *mānatta*, an offender is entitled to request the Saṅgha for rehabilitation (*abbhāna*), through which one becomes purified of guilt and is re-admitted into the Saṅgha as a regular member.

There is no substantial difference between the penalties for *parivāsa* and *mānatta* except that the duration of the latter is fixed, whereas that of the former varies according to the length of concealment. The Cv enumerates ninety-four observances for *parivāsa*, but they also apply to *mānatta* with some variations (Vin II 31*ff*).

In the first place, a *pārivāsika* monk has to report his case to any incoming monks or to the monks he visits. He is to inform the Saṅgha of his status on the occasions of Pātimokkha-recitation (*Uposatha*) and Invitation (*Pavāraṇā*). There is no way of escaping; in the case of illness, he must have someone report on behalf of him.[2] A *mānattacārika* monk (a monk undergoing *mānatta*) needs to report his status to the Saṅgha on a daily basis.[3] In the case of a nun, she has to make daily report to both Saṅghas.

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[1] KKh 166,25-26 has it that if a nun conceals her offence against a *saṅghadisesa* rule, she is guilty of a wrong-doing even though there is no *parivāsa* for her. (*bhikkhuṇiyā hi āpattiṃ chādentiyāpi parivāso nāma n'atthi chādanappaccayāpi pana dukkaṭaṃ āpajjati.*) This verdict is not found in the canonical commentary, nor in the Sp.

[2] Vin II 32,19-22.

[3] Vin II 35,26-30: *mānattacārikena bhikkhave bhikkhunā āgantukena ārocetabbaṃ, āgantukassa ārocetabbaṃ uposathe ārocetabbaṃ, pavāraṇāya ārocetabbaṃ devasikam ārocetabbaṃ. Sace gilāno hote dūtena pi ārocetabbaṃ.*

Secondly, a *parivāsika* monk may visit monks belonging to his own community if he can reach there on the same day.[4] He must not go about or visit monks belonging to another community (*nānāsaṃvāsakā*) without being accompanied by a regular monk unless in an emergency.[5] The same applies to a *mānattacārika* monk except he is allowed to go out with the Saṅgha.[6]

In addition to the above regulations, one reads among the ninety-four observances that a *mānattacārika* monk should not live away from regular monks, or stay alone in the forest (in order to avoid the embarrassment of being deprived of many privileges granted to a regular monk), or avoid reporting his present status to the monks he meets,[7] or stay under the same roof as a regular monk, whether it be a residence or not.[8] A failure to observe these restrictions will incur a "break" (*ratticchedā*).[9] The above restrictions are to be observed also by a guilty nun. She is not allowed to dwell under the same roof with regular nuns, and is not allowed to live alone or away from nuns belonging to the same community. She is therefore supposed to live with a companion assigned by the Saṅgha in a separate quarter within the nunnery.[10] The foregoing discussion shows that the penalties for an offence against *saṅghādisesa* do not involve the culprit's expulsion from the Saṅgha.[11]

As regards the placement of the term *nissāraṇīya* before *saṅghādisesa*, the AW offers the following terse gloss on Saṅgh 1 (N):

> *Nissāraṇīyan ti saṅghamhā nissāriyati.* '*Expulsion* means she is made to leave the Saṅgha.' (Vin IV 225,7)

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[4] Vin II 33,5-12.

[5] Vin II 32,22-33,5.

[6] Vin II 35,32-36,7. Mostly the same as the above quotation, but read *mānattacārikena* for *pārivāsikena* and *aññatra saṅghena* for *aññatra pakatattena*. Here *Saṅgha* means, according to the Sp (1170,21-23), a chapter of four or more monks.

[7] Vin II 32,17: *na āraññakaṅgaṃ samāditabbaṃ*. Sp 1164,21-23 glosses: *na āraññakaṅgan ti āgatāgatānaṃ ārocetuṃ harāyamānena araññikadhitaṅgaṃ na samādātabbaṃ*.

[8] Vin II 33,12-15: *na bhikkhave pārivāsikena bhikkhunā pakatattena bhikkhunā saddhiṃ ekacchanne āvāse vatthabbaṃ, na ekacchanne anāvāse vatthabbaṃ, na ekacchanne āvāse vā anāvāse vā vatthabbaṃ*.

[9] Vin II 36, 21-24:*Cattāro kho Upāli mānattacārikassa bhikkhuno ratticchedā: sahavāso vippavāso anārocanā une gaṇe caraṇan ti*. (There are, Upāli, four kinds of break: living under the same roof as a regular monk, living away from [the regular monks], failing to report [daily his case to the Saṅgha], and going about in less than a group.)

[10] This is confirmed by the tenth chapter of the Cv (Vin II 279,22-24) in which another nun was assigned as a companion (*dutiyā*) to a nun who had to undergo *mānatta*.

[11] For a detailed discussion on the technical aspects of the *saṅghādisesa* penalties, cf. Nolot 1996, SVTT III, pp. 116-136.

The translation here is based on the traditional position of the Pāli Vinaya, yet this gloss could be interpreted differently. *Nissāraṇīya* is a gerundive of *nissāreti*, derived from the causative stem of *niḥ-√sṛ*, which means to go out, depart, or withdraw. The passive *niḥsāriyati/nissāriyati* means "being caused to go out, turn out", and hence to be removed or expelled.

One may take either the offence or the guilty nun as the subject of *nissāriyati*. In the case of the former, it means "the offence is removed (Literally: made to go out) from the Saṅgha. The gloss at Saṅgh 9 for nuns (Vin IV 240,21: *nissāraṇīyan ti saṅghamhā nissāriyati*) could be read in this way. The introductory story to this rule recounts that some nuns lived in close association (*bhikkhuniyo saṃsaṭṭhā viharanti*). While the guilty nuns are in the plural, *nissāriyati* remains singular. If this is the correct reading, the offence must be the subject of *nissāriyati* and hence *nissāraṇīyaṃ saṅghādisesaṃ* means: an offence entailing legal acts of the Saṅgha, through which the offence is removed (Literally: 'the offence is made to go out from the Saṅgha'). It is worthy of note that in the commentarial texts the offence is always the referent (grammatical subject), although the exposition ends up with the nun (grammatical object → logical subject) being expelled.

One may, however, argue that the singular *nissāriyati* could be merely a formalistic error, a certain expression being repeated automatically. Should this be the case, one could read *nissāriyanti* instead of *nissāriyati*. Oldenberg held this opinion,[12] yet no manuscript evidence is adduced. If, however, we take the offence as the subject of *nissāriyati*, the additional expression then adds no new idea; on the contrary, it makes clear the final result of the amending proceedings. It may thus serve as a supplement to the term *saṅghādisesa*, whose meaning is not self-explanatory. If we take the guilty nun to be the subject, as the Pāli commentaries have done, an immediate difficulty comes up. Following the gloss on *nissāraṇīya* is that on *saṅghādisesa*:

> *An offence entailing legal acts of the Saṅgha* means: on account of her offence the Saṅgha inflicts the *mānatta* penalty[13] [upon her], draws [her] back to the beginning,[14] and rehabilitates [her]. These

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[12] Horner agrees with Oldenberg, Cf. BD III xxxvi.

[13] A summary of this penalty dealt with in the Cv is given in Nolot 1996, "SVTT II" pp. 116*ff*.

[14] *Mūlāya paṭikassati.* If the offending nun commits another offence of the same category while undergoing the penalty of *mānatta* (six nights' duration for monks but a fortnight's duration for nuns), she then has to retake the penalty from the beginning. For more information, cf. the third chapter of the Cv (Vin II 44*ff*)

things are carried out neither by several nuns nor by one single nun,
it is therefore called an offence entailing legal acts of the Saṅgha.
Legal act is indeed the name of this class of offence, thus it is called
an offence entailing legal acts of the Saṅgha.[15]

This exposition is formulated on the model of that for monks, and our
foregoing discussion on the penalty for an offence of *saṅghādisesa* has shown
that all the mending procedures are carried out within the compound of the
Saṅgha, which does not involve expelling the culprit out of the monastery.
As the gloss on *nissāraṇīya* comes first indicating expulsion of the guilty
nun from the Saṅgha, it is strange that what immediately follows suggests no
expulsion at all.

I.B. Horner takes the guilty nun as the subject and remarks: "*Nissāraṇīya*,
involving being sent away, adds nothing to the *saṅghādisesa* penalty incurred
by a nun, and hence makes no difference in the penalty imposed on monks and
nuns for having committed such an offence. Only the words, as found in each
'rule' of the Nuns' Saṅghādisesas, is extra."[16] (BD III xxxvii)

By "being sent away" Horner means a temporary exclusion (BD III
xxxvi), but it is not clear what that exactly refers to and how it will be put
into practice; this disagrees with the gloss on *saṅghādisesa* that immediately
follows. Nevertheless, later on she shifted her position. In rendering the phrase
saṅghamhā dasa nissare, she takes the offence to be the subject: 'ten are to be
escaped from by means of the Order' (BD III xxxvi). We shall come back soon
to this subject (see below p. 147). In commenting on the term *nissāraṇīya*, the
Sp writes:

> *Expulsion* means it (her offence) causes the nun to be expelled from
> the Saṅgha. But in the AW, to expound this meaning, 'expulsion' is
> explained as 'she is expelled from the Saṅgha'. Here the meaning
> should be understood in this way: the offence, having committed
> which the nun is expelled from the Saṅgha, that is to be removed. It

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[15] Vin IV 225,8-12: *Saṅghādisesan ti saṅgho 'va tassā āpattiyā mānattaṃ deti mūlāya paṭikassati abbheti na sambahūla na ekā bhikkhunī vuccati saṅghādiseso ti. tass' eva āpattinikāyassa nāma kammaṃ adhivacanaṃ tena pi vuccati saṅghādiseso ti.*

[16] Édith Nolot concludes her detailed discussion on *nissāraṇā/nissāraṇīya* with two hypotheses posited by others reflecting opinions pro and con: nothing extra *vs* something extra. Nolot 1999, "SVTT V", pp. 54-55.

is indeed not that very offence which is removed from the Saṅgha [by anyone], but it is the nun who is expelled from the Saṅgha because of that offence. Therefore "expulsion" means that [offence] causes (her) to be removed.[17]

The first commentary on the Sp, the *Vajrabuddhi-ṭīkā*, is silent on this subject, perhaps because the Sp has made what *nissāraṇīya* refers to clear enough. In commenting on the phrase *bhikkhuniṃ saṅghato nissāretī*, the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī-purāṇaṭīkā* reinforces the standpoint that the offence, as the agent, is indeed the cause for *nissāraṇā*, and so it reads *nissāraṇīyo* to explain the reason why the nun is expelled: her offence causes her to be expelled.[18]

The following information can be extracted from the Sp's commentary: 1. There exists a controversy over what is to be removed from the Saṅgha: the guilty nun or the offence committed; 2. The opponents consider the offence as the referent; 3. The Sp also takes the offence as the referent but explains that the offence causes the nun to be expelled.[19] Note that a grammatical concern is involved here, and that there is a consensus among the Pāli and other Vinayas that the added word refers to the offence.

In view of the controversy, one would expect the Sp to have an opinion on the referent different from its rivals'. Surprisingly it was not the case. The logic of the Sp's interpretation precludes the possibility of the nun as the agent. The added word in the Pāli reads *nissāraṇīya*, a causative derivative. If the nun is taken as the referent, *nissāraṇīya* would mean: [A] The nun (grammatical subject) causes the offence (grammatical object → logical subject) to be removed. This will happen after the nun has undergone required amends. But if the offence is taken as the referent, the interpretation in the passive voice will lead to a result which the Sp desires: [B] The offence (grammatical subject) causes the nun (grammatical object → logical subject) to be expelled.

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[17] Sp 908,5-11: *bhikkhuniṃ saṅghato nissāretī ti nissāraṇīyo, taṃ nissāraṇīyaṃ padabhājane pana adhipāyyamattaṃ dasettuṃ saṅghamhā nissārīyatī ti vuttaṃ. tattha yaṃ āpannā bhikkhunī saṅghato nissārīyati so nissāraṇīyo ti evaṃ attho daṭṭhabbo, na hi so eva dhammo saṅghamhā nissārīyati, tena pana dhammena bhikkhunī nissārīyati. tasmā so nissāretī ti nissāraṇīyo.*

[18] *Bhikkhuniṃ saṅghato nissāretī ti āpannaṃ bhikkhuniṃ bhikkhunisaṅghamhā nissāretī. Hetumhi cāyaṃ kattuvohāro "nissāraṇahetubhūtadhammo 'nissāraṇīyo' ti vutto" katvā.* (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana online edition)

[19] Édith Nolot argues that in the Pāli texts, *nissāraṇa/nissāraṇīya* refer "exclusively to persons, not to objects." (Nolot, "SVTT IV-X", p. 52). Noting "that [offence] causes to expel [her]", the Sp' exposition shows that the guilty nun is an indirect referent of *nissāraṇīya*.

Grammatically speaking, both are all right, but in terms of connotation, they make a great difference. [B] suggests that the expulsion must take place in the beginning, in that the prescribed mending procedures conclude with the nun's being reinstated. This may explain why most of the discussants on the *nissāraṇīya* problems focus their attention on the *mānatta* penalty, taking *nissāraṇīya* as referring to some sort of "dismissal" or "isolation" during the period of undergoing *mānatta*.[20] Nevertheless, our subsequent discussion will demonstrate that *nissāraṇīya* can be something really extra to the traditional set of the *saṅghādisesa* proceedings. As [A] is not favored by the Pāli tradition, the Sp, in support of [B], must comply with the traditional view on the referent. Despite the dictional variation, the core of the controversy seems to be a matter of interpretation, yet to reach a desired interpretation, a corresponding wording has a role to play.

A comparison of the *Saṅghadisesa* chapters of other extant Vinayas finds the Sp to have stood firm but alone, arguing against almost all traditions. Three Vinayas, the *Mahāsaṅghīka* (Mā), Chinese and Tibetan *Mūlasarvāstivādin* (= CMū and TMū, respectively), contain no additional expression qualifying the term *saṅghādisesa*. It is evident that there exists no expulsion of the guilty nun in these traditions.

In the *Mahīśasaka* (= Mī) and *Sarvāstivāda* (= Sa) Vinayas, one does read an additional expression.

> Mī, T22[1421]79a16-17: 是比丘尼初犯僧伽婆尸沙，可悔過。This nun commits a first-offence *saṅghāvaśeṣa*, [which is] a repentable fault.[21]

> Sa, T23[1435]b4: 是法初犯僧伽婆尸沙，可悔過。This is a first-offence *saṅghāvaśeṣa*, [which is] a repentable fault.

Waldschmidt in his work *Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins* reconstructs *niḥsaraṇīya* for the Chinese rendering "a repentable fault". His reconstruction is in fact corroborated by a tiny bit of evidence from a Sanskrit text of the *Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣa*. It is a four-line fragment of *Saṅghavāśesa* 8-9, and the third line reads: "*[D]harmaḥ Pratthamāpattiḥ saṅghavāśesa niḥsa…*"[22]

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[20] Nolot, "SVTT IV-X", pp. 54-55.

[21] Ann Heirmann renders 可悔過 as "it has to be confessed". Heirmann 2002, Part II, p. 388, fn. 10.

[22] Finot, PrMoSū(Sa), p. 549.

The ending phrase of the corresponding rules of the Dharmaguptaka (= Dha) is the closest version to that of the Pāli.

> Dha, T22[1428]1032a10*f*: [是]比丘尼犯初法，應捨，僧伽婆尸沙。[T]his nun commits a first-offence, [which/who] should be abandoned/removed, and this entails legal acts of the Saṅgha.

There is some ambiguity in the Chinese rendering, that is to say, the referent of the additional term could be the guilty nun herself or the offence. I shall deal with this problem in the following discussion. (See below pp. 148-149)

It is obvious that in the Mā, CMū, TMū, Mī and Sa, no expulsion is indicated by the additional expression, and the word order in the Mī and Sa is different: *niḥsaraṇīya* comes after *saṅghavāśesa*. As is shown above, the Sp's commentary holds a strong position against an opposite opinion: it is the offence that is to be removed from the Saṅgha. This is exactly what is spelt out in the *Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya* of the *Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin* (= BhīVin(Mā-L)).

> Bhī(Mā-L) 103,5-7: *ayaṃ dharmo prathamāpattiko saṃghātiśeso upādiśeṣo saṃgho saṃghaṃ evādhipati kṛtyā niḥsaraṇīyo.*

> 'This is a first-offence *saṃghātiśeso*.[23] Having remainder in the Saṅgha; with the Saṅgha having acted as an authority, this offence should be removed.'

With *dharmo* (the offence) as the subject and qualified by *niḥsaraṇīyo*, the statement, formulated in this way, leaves no room for any other interpretation. But this does not necessarily mean the Mā-L also accepted the additional term *niḥsaraṇīya*. This term together with its explanation as quoted above appears only in the first and the last rule; this presumably means the explanatory phrase is to be carried throughout the entire chapter. The text as we have it now is a complete version of the BhīPām, and it would seem that when the text was compiled, the redactor(s) must have been aware of the controversy over *nissāraṇīya/ niḥsaraṇīya*. Being a sub-sect of the Mā, which added no term to *saṅghātiśeso*, the Mā-L may have interpolated the term *niḥsaraṇīya* with a precise explanation. This can be seen as an opponent's response to the Pāli tradition.

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[23] In fn. 4 (BhīVin(Mā-L) , 103), Roth suggests a translation of *upādiśeso saṃgho*: "groups of offences (*saṃgha*) which is the supplement (*śesa*) to the first group (*upa+ādi*) [the group of the *Pārājika*-offences]".

The Pāli Vinaya insists that *nissāraṇīyaṃ saṅghādisesaṃ* means the guilty nun should be expelled from the Saṅgha, whereas in the Mā-L Vinaya, *niḥsaraṇīyo* means the offence should be removed from the Saṅgha. The Vinayas having an additional expression are all the Sthāvira-affiliated schools, this fact betrays the possibility that the additional expression most likely originated from the Sthāvira side with the wording *niḥsaraṇīya/nissaraṇīya*. *Nissaraṇīya* had later been replaced by *nissāraṇīya* in the Pāli and its reference had undergone dramatic change from removing the offence to expelling the guilty nun. It cannot be more evident that the Mā-L took a position opposite to the Pāli.

Now we notice that instead of *nissāraṇīya*, what the other Vinayas read is a different word *niḥsaraṇīya*. As is mentioned previously, the variant form of this word must have contributed to the controversy. The Pāli Vinaya alone reads *nissāraṇīya*, insisting that the guilty nun should be expelled from the Saṅgha. Given the expulsion is temporary, it is something extra to the traditional prescription. For the other Vinayas which reads *niḥsaraṇīya*, there is nothing extra in that this term is supplementary. Why is there such controversy? Which is the right word in the Pāli Vinaya, *nissaraṇīya* or *nissāraṇīya*? Now we turn to this very issue.

II. *Nissaraṇīya* or *Nissāraṇīya*

To remove the offence or to expel the nun? It indeed was the addition of a new term that had given rise to such controversy. Why and when was the term added? As is understood, those rules for nuns were originally embedded in the BhuVin, and from which the rules for nuns were latter extracted to form an independent BhiVin. It was presumably around this time that a new term may have been attached to qualify the word *saṅghādisesa*, presumably for the purpose of refining the text. The BhuPāms of the various traditions agree to a great extent in terms of the numbers and contents of the rules and their sequential order. On the contrary, the BhīPāms vary to a great extent in every aspect, which may suggest a poor textual transmission or free composition (?) during the sectarian period. Moreover, from the fact that not all the Vinayas (i.e. Mā, CMū and TMū) have a term added to *saṅghādisesa*, one may infer that sometime in early history of the BhīPāms a certain school innovated to add a new term; some schools followed but some did not.

All traditions that have an additional expression reads *niḥsaraṇīya*, but it is *nissāraṇīya* in the Pāli text alone. It is interesting to further explore whether *nissaraṇīya* is the original form of the additional term in the Pāli Vinaya.

Nissāraṇīya/nissāraṇā appears only in some contexts concerning penalties. Throughout the Pāli Vinaya one reads the form derived from a causative stem consistently with one exception. In the eighth chapter (*Gāthāsaṃgaṇika*: Collection of Stanzas) of the *Parivāra* (Vin V 144*ff*), stanzas 10-30 form a passage relating how many Pātimokkha rules are shared or not shared by nuns and so on. When it comes to the training rules peculiar to nuns, the text says: *pārājikāni cattāri saṅghamhā dasa nissare*: 'There are four Defeats and ten should go out from the Saṅgha' (Vin V 147,23).

Nissare is an optative form of *niḥ-√sṛ* derived from the normal stem, hence "ten should go out" here must refer to the ten offences committed, which should be removed by means of the legal acts of the Saṅgha. In glossing this stanza, the Sp writes:

> *Ten should go out from the Saṅgha*: in the *Vibhaṅga* it is said that [she] is made to leave the Saṅgha, but in the *Pātimokkha* ten have come down to us with the wording: *nissaraṇīyaṃ saṅghādisesaṃ*.[24]

The Sp here spells out that although in the *Vibhaṅga* it is interpreted in the sense of expulsion (*nissāraṇīya*), in the Pātimokkha it is *nissaraṇīyaṃ saṅghādisesaṃ*, which means 'an offence entailing legal acts of the Saṅgha, through which the offence should be escaped'.

It should be noted that *nissaraṇīyaṃ saṅghādisesaṃ* in this context records no variant reading, and this means the Sinhalese and Burmese manuscripts and printed texts consulted by the PTS editors fully agree upon the form of *nissaraṇīyaṃ*. Moreover, from a syntactic point of view, *nissaraṇīyaṃ* should be the correct wording. Should this be the case, *nissāraṇīyaṃ* as we have it now in the BhīPām must be a later change, and there must be reason(s) for such change.

As is pointed out above (see above pp. 140-142), the Pāli canonical commentary (Vin IV 225,7; 240,21; 225,8-12) glosses *nissāraṇīya* first and then *saṅghādisesa*. Amending a *saṅghādisesa* offence involves no expulsion, nor are the proceedings carried out outside the compound of the monastery. It would be odd to say of expelling the nun first but in what follows no expulsion is indicated, unless the gloss (*nissāraṇīyan ti saṅghamhā nissāriyati*) was inserted here later at a certain time when the added word *nissaraṇīya* has been changed

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[24] Sp 1350,4-6: *Saṅghamhā dasa nissare ti saṅghamhā nissāriyatī ti evaṃ Vibhaṅge vuttā mātikāyaṃ pana nissaraṇīyaṃ saṅghādisesan ti evaṃ āgatāni dasa.*

into *nissāraṇīya*, which points to the culprit's expulsion outside of the normal procedures.

None of the Vinaya texts that contain a new expression offers a gloss on it. It would be no wonder if this new term brings no new idea beyond what is connoted in the title *saṅghādisesa*. The text of the Dha is important in this context. The Pāli and Dha Vinayas resemble each other in many ways, and we find a remarkable similarity of wording and phrasing in the closing part of the *saṅghādisesa* rules.[25]

> Pāli, Vin IV 224,27-8: *ayaṃ bhikkhunī paṭhamāpattikaṃ dhammaṃ āpannā nissāraṇīyaṃ saṅghādisesan ti*.

> [T]his nun commits a first-offence, which entails legal acts of the Saṅgha involving expulsion.

> Dha, T22[1428]1032a10*f*: [是]比丘尼犯初法，應捨，僧伽婆尸沙。

> [T]his nun commits a first-offence, [which/who] should be abandoned/removed, and this entails legal acts of the Saṅgha.

In the case of the Dha, with the referent unindicated, there is some ambiguity in the expression 應捨 ('should be abandoned/removed'). What should be abandoned/removed? The guilty nun or the offence committed?

An examination of the Dha's renderings for technical terms indicates that banishment is rendered as 擯 (T22[1428]891a6), and expulsion as 驅出 (T22[1428]889a10). If expulsion of the guilty nun is meant here, we would not expect to read the character 捨 ('abandoned/removed'). In view of the Dha's terminology, it seems plausible to take the offence as the referent.[26]

As can be seen, the passages of the Pāli and Dha are word-for-word verbatim. Because of such resemblance, one would expect to read in the Dha the same gloss on *nissāraṇīya* as is seen in the Pāli text. But the Dha, like the Mī and

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[25] For a detailed discussion on the concluding phrases of the *saṅghādisesa* rules in the various Vinayas, cf. Shih 2003, pp. 213-218.

[26] Ann Heirmann's translation reads: the *bhikṣuṇī* violates an immediate rule, a *saṃghāvaśeṣa*, that has to be given up. She has a subsequent discussion on this expression, quoting the corresponding phrases from the other Vinaya recensions. Heirmann, 2002, Part II, 388-389, fn. 10. In an article (Heirmann 2003, p. 17) she further points out that "In the *Dharmaguptakavinaya*, the character 捨 is never used when one excludes (滅、擯) or suspends (舉) a *bhikṣuṇī*, but is used when one gives up bad behavior."

Sa, offers no explanation of the new term. A newly added term requires no exposition only when its meaning is already known or is readily understandable. The reason why the Pāli inserted an explanation is probably that the new term had been changed from *nissaraṇīya* to *nissāraṇīya,* and the latter indicated a new institution.

It is not surprising to read an additional term in the Pātimokkha, as many instances have demonstrated where the Pāli BhiVin seems to be more advanced in wording and phrasing, compared to its Bhikkhu counterpart.[27] The additional *nissaraṇīya* supplements *saṅghādisesa* in its meaning, and the new phrase *nissaraṇīyaṃ saṅghādisesaṃ* would therefore mean: an offence entailing legal acts of the Saṅgha, through which the offence should be removed or the guilty nun should be released from her offence. The latter is exactly what the Chinese commentarial text, the 毗尼母經 *Pi-ni-mu Jing* (*Vinayamātṛka-sūtra*), says in explaining how the Saṅgha helps the offenders remove their offences by means of *parivāsa* (lit. living apart), *mānatta*, and then reinstatement: Having been reinstated, an offender becomes pure and is "released from the offence" (於所犯處得解脫 T24[1463]842c27).

III. Where may have *Nissaraṇīya* Come from?

The internal evidence studied above has shown that originally it was *nissaraṇīya* in the Pātimokkha, and through comparison, the external evidence demonstrates that it is *niḥsaraṇīya* in some of the other Vinayas. It becomes clear why *nissaraṇīya* is employed here when we look it up in the Suttas, where the term *nissaraṇīya/nissaraṇa* occurs in a specific soteriological context. The *Itivuttaka* records a discourse on *tisso nissaraṇīyā dhātuyo*:

> There are, monks, these three elements that should be escaped. Which three? This is the escape from sensuous desires, that is, renunciation. This is the escape from forms, that is, formlessness, while cessation is the escape from whatever has come into being, conditioned, and dependently arisen. These, monks, are the three elements that should be escaped.[28]

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[27] Cf. Shih 2000, p. 24.

[28] Iti 61,2-7: *tisso imā bhikkave nissaraṇīyā dhātuyo. katamā tisso? kāmānam etaṃ nissaraṇaṃ yad idam nekkhamaṃ. rūpāṇam etaṃ nissaraṇaṃ yad idam ārupaṃ. yaṃ kho pana kiñci bhūtaṃ saṅkhataṃ paṭiccasamuppannaṃ nirodho tassa nissaraṇaṃ. imā kho bhikkave tisso nissaraṇīyā dhātuyo ti.*

In the commentary, *nissaraṇa* is glossed as "departing" (Iti-a 42,5: *nissaraṇan ti apagamo*.), and *nissaraṇīya* as "connecting with *nissaraṇa*" (Iti-a 40,24: *nissaraṇīyā ti nissaraṇapaṭisaṃyuttā*). The canonical text read *nissaraṇīya* with a variant reading of *nissāraṇīya* recorded. The commentary, however, reads *nissāraṇīya*. It is evident that there is some confusion between *nissaraṇīya* and *nissāraṇīya* in the Pāli texts.

The idea of *nissaraṇa* is well attested in the Suttas, particularly the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*. In the context when the Blessed One recounts his pre-enlightenment practice, one reads a triple expression of "gratification, danger, escape" (*assāda, ādīnava, nissaraṇa*). The triad is a series of subjects to work on, which leads to final liberation. This formula of praxis is applied to the four elements, five aggregates, six internal sense bases, and so on. Whatever the subject may be, *nissaraṇa* of that subject means the "removal and abandonment" of it. For instance:

> The pleasure and joy that arise in dependence on form, this is the gratification in form. That form is impermanent, unsatisfactory, and subject to change; this is the danger in form. The removal and abandonment of desire and lust for form; this is the escape from form.[29]

A similar account with a slightly differing wording recurs in the beginning of the *Sambhodhi-vagga* in the AN. Here the triad of "gratification, danger, escape" is expressed with *loke* added: "What is the satisfaction in the world? What is the danger, and what is the escape?" (AN I 258,25-26: *ko nu kho loke assādo ko ādīnavo kiṃ nissaraṇan ti*).

Still, another instance shows a differing usage of *nissaraṇa* with the ablative: "If there were no escaping from the world, beings in this world could not escape. But as there is in the world escaping, that is why beings do escape therefrom."[30]

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[29] SN III 28,2-6: *yaṃ kho rūpam paṭicca uppajjati sukhaṃ somanasaṃ ayaṃ rūpassa assādo. yaṃ rūpam aniccaṃ dukkham vipariṇāmadhammaṃ ayaṃ rūpassa ādīnavo. yo rūpasmiṃ chandarāgavinayo chandarāgapahānaṃ idaṃ rūpassa nissaraṇaṃ.*

[30] AN III 260,6-8: *no ce taṃ bhikkhave lokamhā nissaraṇaṃ abhavissa na-y-idaṃ sattā loke nissareyyuṃ, yasmā ca kho bhikkhave atthi loke nissaraṇaṃ tasmā sattā lokamhā nissaranti.*

The terms *pañca niḥsaraṇīya dhātavaḥ* and *ṣaḍ niḥsaraṇīya dhātavaḥ* appear in both the Skt *Saṅgīti-sūtra* and *Daśottara-sūtra*.[31] Their corresponding *sūtra*s in the Chinese *Dīrgha-Āgama* read 五出要界 (five factors leading to freedom from bondage; T1[1] 51b27) and 六出要界 (six factors leading to freedom from bondage; T1[1]52a9) respectively. The character 要 (*yao*) means bondage or debarring, and 出要 (*chu-yao*; freedom from the bondage) is the rendering for *nissaraṇa*.

In the *Udumbarika-Sīhanāda-Suttanta* (DN III 43,29; 46,28), we read a pair of contrasting expression *nissaraṇa-pañño* (knowing the means of escaping) and *anissraṇa-pañño* (not knowing the means of escaping). The latter occurs in one of the contexts in which the Blessed One presents his insight into the possible subsequential defilements (*upakkilesa*) resulting from ascetic praxis (*tapa*). This is one of the subsequential defilements:

> Moreover, Nigrodha, an ascetic who undertakes a course of austerity makes distinctions about foods: "This pleases me; this does not please me.[32]" Because he rejects with desire whatever is not pleasing to him, and whatever pleases him, being bound to it, infatuated, going too far, blind to the disadvantage (in doing so), not knowing the means of escaping, he enjoys it… etc. This, Nigrodha, also becomes a [kind of] subsequential defilement.[33]

In a soteriological context, "knowing the means of escaping" (*nissaraṇa-pañño*) usually means to get rid of one's desires, which keep one going round the *samsāra* world. The way out of *samsāra* is doubtless to "escape" from those desires. In the *Saṅghīti-suttanta*, one reads a passage on *pañca nissāraṇīyā dhātuyo*. For example, the first *nissaraṇa* reads:

> Herein, friends, when a monk is contemplating sensuous desires, his heart does not spring forward to them, nor does he feel satisfied with them, dwell on or become attached to them. However, when he is contemplating renunciation of them, his heart springs forward to,

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[31] Karashima 2014, p. 208.

[32] Sv III 837,8: *khamatī ti ruccati. na khamatī ti na vuccati* (misprint for *ruccati*).

[33] DN III 43,25-31: *puna ca paraṃ Nigrodha tapassī tapaṃ samādiyati, bhojanesu vodāsaṃ āpajjati – "Idaṃ me khamati, idam me na-kkhamatīti." so yaṃ hi kho 'ssa na kkhamati taṃ sāpekho pajahati, yaṃ pan' assa khamati taṃ gathito mucchito ajjhāpanno anādīnavadassāvī anissaraṇa-pañño paribhuñjati ... pe ... ayam pi kho Nigrodha upakkileso hoti.*

151

is satisfied with, dwells on and is inclined to renunciation. His heart is blissful, well developed, well lifted up, well freed and detached from sensuous desires. He is released from those intoxicants, distress, and fever [of passion], which arise in consequence of sensuous desires. He does not experience that kind of feeling. This is called the escape from sensuous desires.[34]

Some variant readings are recorded and the spelling in both the Burmese manuscript and printed edition read *nissaraṇīyā and nissaraṇiyā*, respectively.[35] Later in the same Sutta, another set of *cha nissāraṇīyā dhātuyo* is given with more variants recorded. The texts seem to be struggling between the two forms, whereas the Burmese versions are more consistent in the form derived from the normal stem.[36] One reads within the paragraph of exposition a stereotyped sentence with variation of key words. To give just one example: 'Because, my friend, it is the escape from malevolence that is [called] emancipation of heart through benevolence' (DN III 248,10-11: *nissaraṇaṃ h'etaṃ āvuso vyāpādassa, yadidaṃ mettā ceto-vimutti*.)

Now I shall draw attention to the term *nissāraṇīyā* in the *Saṅgīti-suttanta*. As *nissaraṇa* is consistently used in the context meaning "escaping", it would seem etymologically correct to emend *pañca nissāraṇīyā dhātuyo* (DN III 239,18) to *pañca nissaraṇīyā dhātuyo*. In fact, the PTS text has been changed intentionally. In this very passage, the first edition (1911) of the DN reads *nissāraṇīyā*, but the 1960 reprint reads *nissaraṇīyā* instead.[37] It is discernable that the word *nissaraṇīyā* in the reprint is "in a slightly different typeface from the other words", and hence this suggests a conscious decision to change the text.[38] It is interesting to note that in the Skt *Saṅgīti-sūtra* and *Daśottara-*

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[34] DN III 239,18-240,4: *idh'āvuso bhikkhuno kāme manasikaroto kāmesu cittaṃ na pakkandati nappasīdati na santiṭṭhati na vimuccati, nekkhammaṃ kho pan' assa manasikaroto nekkhamme cittaṃ pakkhandati pasādati santiṭṭhati vimuccati, tassa taṃ cittaṃ sugataṃ subhāvitaṃ suvuṭṭhitaṃ suvimuttaṃ visaṃyuttaṃ kāmehi, ye ca kāmapaccayā uppajjanti āsavā vighātā pariḷāhā, mutto so tehi, na so taṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, idam akkhātaṃ kāmānaṃ nissaraṇaṃ.*

[35] DN III 239, fn. 8.

[36] DN III 247, fn. 9.

[37] DN III 239,18 and 247,21 (the editions of 1960 and 1992, perhaps since 1960 onwards) show the same alteration, but elsewhere (p. 275,13) *nissāraṇīyā* remains the same and p. 278,21 reads *nissaraṇīya* (misprint for *nissāraṇīyā*). Perhaps the person who was responsible for this change was unaware of the other occurrences in these places and therefore did not repeat changing.

[38] I am indebted to Professor K.R. Norman for pointing out, through the observation of the

sūtra, one reads consistently *pañca niḥsaranīyā dhātavaḥ* and *ṣaḍ niḥsaranīyā dhātavaḥ*, respectively.

In the Pāli Suttas, the usage of *nissaraṇa/nissaraṇīya* focuses specifically on the issue of freedom or release from negative or undesired elements, which is one of the factors leading to final liberation. In the Skt and Chinese Vinaya texts, *nissaraṇa* is used in the same sense as that in the Pāli Suttas, although articulating a more specific disciplinary concept of release from a monastic offence. The following are some citations of the stock phrase from the Skt and Chinese texts in contrast with the Pāli Cv:

> Cv Vin II 15,12-13: *sammā vattāmi, lomaṃ pātemi,* **netthāraṃ** *vattāmi, pabbājanīyassa kammassa paṭippassaddhiṃ yācāmī ti.*

> 'I am comporting myself properly; I am subdued, and I am proceeding towards release [from the offence]. So now I request a revocation of the legal act of banishment.'

> BhīVin (Mā-L) 164,3-4: *sā vartaṃ vartayati, lomaṃ pātayati,* **niḥsaraṇaṃ** *pravartayati.*

> 'She comports herself properly; she is subdued; she proceeds towards release [from her offence].'

> MSV (Pāṇḍ-v & #167; 1.12): *utkacaprakacāḥ saṃghe roma pātayanti* **niḥsaraṇaṃ** *pravartayanti sāmīcīm upadarśayanty antaḥsīmāyāṃ sthitvā osāraṇāṃ yācante.*

> 'They are in full-blown awe, they are subdued towards the Saṅgha; they proceed towards release [from the offence]; they pay homage; staying within the bounded area, they request for reinstatement.'

> BhīKavā (28b1): *saṃghe roma pātayantan* **niḥsaraṇaṃ** *pravartayantaṃ sāmīcīm upadarśayantaṃ antaḥsīmāyāṃ sthitam osāraṇāṃ yācantam.*

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different typeface of words in the text, the deliberate changing of the text.

They are subdued towards the Saṅgha; they proceed towards release [from the offence]; they pay homage; staying within the bounded area, they request for rehabilitation.'[39]

CMū-Kavā (T24[1453]487a12-14): 極現恭勤，於僧伽處不生輕慢，希求拔濟，恆申敬禮，界內而住，請乞收攝法。

'[He] displays extreme respect and sincerity; [he] yields no irreverence towards the Saṅgha; [he] wishes for **rescue**; [he] constantly pays homage; [he] stays within the bounded area and requests for reinstatement.'

The Chinese text reads "wishing for rescue" (希求拔濟), identical in meaning with *niḥsaraṇaṃ pravartayati* (proceeding towards release [from the offence]). *Netthāraṃ* in the Cv in fact conveys the same meaning but the wording is different. As can be seen, there is full agreement on the meaning of *niḥsaraṇa/nissaraṇa* between the Suttas and Vinaya in different languages except for the Pāli Vinaya.

The above discussion has shown that in the Pāli Suttas the application of *nissaraṇa* prevails, with the non-person as the referent, e.g. *kāmānaṃ nissaraṇaṃ* (escape from sensuous desires), *nissaraṇaṃ ... vyāpādassa* (escape from malevolence), *loke nissaraṇaṃ* (escape from the world), *lokamhā nissaraṇaṃ* ([such thing as] escape from the world). In the case where the subject is the person, the verb is derived from the normal stem and the sentence is construed with the active voice: *na-y-idaṃ sattā loke nissareyyuṃ* ('Beings in this world could not escape'); *atthi loke nissaraṇaṃ tasmā sattā lokamhā nissaranti* ('There is in the world escaping, that is why beings do escape therefrom'). In this specific context, no passive structure with causative derivations is seen. Confusion between the normal/causative derivations occurs only in the particular expression *nissaraṇīya/nissāraṇīya*. Such confusion is highly likely to have resulted from the introduction of *nissāraṇīya* in the Vinaya into the Sutta. (See discussion below in Section IV)

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[39] This text was first edited by C.M. Ridding and L. de la Vallée Poussin in "*A Fragment of the Sanskrit Vinaya: Bhikṣunikarmavacana*", who regarded it as a work of the *Sarvāstivāda*, yet M. Schmidt has re-identified it as belonging to the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* (M. Schmidt, "*Zur Schulzugehörigkeit einer nepalesischen Handschrift von Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā*", SWTF Beiheft 5. This quotation is taken from GRETIL.

When, in the Pāli tradition, a separate BhīPām was being compiled, the redactor(s) had the concern with refining the text by coining new or special terms, for instance, four technical designations are assigned to the offenders against the four Defeats peculiar to nuns. They are "above the knee-caps" (*ubbhajānumaṇḍalikā*), "a fault-concealer" (*vajjapaṭicchādikā*), "a follower of the suspended one" (*ukkhittānuvattikā*), and "an offender by the eight conditions" (*aṭṭhavatthukā*). Such technical designations are not found in any of the other Vinaya tradition except for the Dha.

Special treatment has given to the first grave offence (i.e. Defeat) and would it not be natural to try to make the second class (i.e. *Saṅghadisesa*) more comprehensible? In view of the meaning and reference of *nissaraṇa/nissaraṇīya* in the Suttas, the *Saṅghadisesa* chapter would seem to be just the right place for this word and its variant *nissaraṇīya*. It is therefore plausible to assume that the Vinaya redactor(s) may have borrowed from the Suttas *nissaraṇīya* to supplement *saṅghadisesa* in its meaning and reference.

IV. The Confusion between *Nissaraṇīya* and *Nissāraṇīya* in the Pāli Suttas

We assume that the Suttas were highly likely to be the source of *nissaraṇīya*, yet the present BhīPām reads *nissāraṇīya*. This suggests a later change of the wording to suit an intended new institution. In the Vinaya, there is no problem at all in that the original form *nissaraṇīya*, once being changed, has ceased to appear throughout the canonical Vinaya. Nevertheless, the variation between either *nissaraṇīya* or *nissāraṇīya* occurs unexpectedly in the Suttas. Where *nissaraṇīya* is read, *nissāraṇīya* is usually recorded as a variant, and vice versa.

It is not possible to date the confusion, nor are we able to tell how it actually happened. There is, however, a clue found in the *Atthavasa-vagga* of the AN (I 99,13-14), where one finds the phrase *osāraṇīyaṃ paññattaṃ* ('Enactment of reinstatement') paired with *nissāraṇīyaṃ paññattaṃ* ('Enactment of expulsion'). This is the only occurrence, and in the Chinese *Ekottarika-Āgama* one finds no Sūtra parallel to the Pāli Suttanta where the above dyad appears. It would seem that once *nissaraṇīya* had been borrowed by the Vinaya, and having been changed, it had found its way back into the Suttas. This two-way borrowing may have interfered with the consistency in wording and the transmitters' perceptions of what the correct reading should be.

Apart from the Pāli tradition, we have not yet found any case of *nissāraṇīya* in any other texts, be them in the Sūtras or Vinaya. We therefore infer that *nissaraṇīya* must be the original form in the Pāli Suttas, and later it became confused with the causative form *nissāraṇīya* in the Vinaya. The discussion in Section III has exemplified some cases of such confusion. This may have resulted in a conscious change of the word according to what one deems to be correct (see above pp. 152). These changes were then replicated in the commentarial tradition.

When commenting on the expression *pañca nissāraṇīyā dhātuyo,* the post-canonical commentary, the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī,* writes:

> Sv III 1031,31: *Nissāraṇīyā ti nissaṭā visaññuttā.*
>
> '*Nissāraṇīyā* means gone out, detached from.'
>
> Later in the same text we read another gloss on *cha nissāraṇīyā dhātuyo*:
>
> Sv III 1036,13: *nissāraṇīyā dhātuyo ti nissaṭā dhātuyo va.*
>
> '*Elements of escape* means just elements which have gone out.'

As the above quotations show, although the text adopts the reading of *nissāraṇīya*, it explains in the sense of *nissaraṇīyā*. Nevertheless, the sub-commentary has corrected *nissāraṇīya* back to *nissaraṇīyā*:

> After shortening [ā], the exposition should read: *Escape* means they go out. Because this word *-aṇīya* is used of the agent, just like *niyyāniyā* (leading to salvation). Therefore "gone out" is said. But from what have they gone out? From their respective opposites.[40]

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[40] Sv-ṭ III 324,21-24: *nissarantī ti nissaraṇīyā ti vattabbe rasaṃ katvā niddeso. kattari h' esa anīya-saddo yathā niyyāniyā ti. ten' āha nissaṭā ti. kuto pana nissaṭā ti? yathā sakaṃ paṭipakkhato.* (For *rasaṃ*, the text has *dīghaṃ*, read with the *v.l.*)

Another passage, which comments on the expression *kāmānaṃ nissaraṇaṃ* (escape of the sensuous desires), further explains:

> *Escape* means they go out from there. What go out? Sensuous desires. And having so construed it, the genitive case fits well in the sense of agent: "of sensuous desires".[41]

The explanation offered here suggests the change by the commentator is based on the traditional sentence structure with non-person as the agent in the active voice. It is only in the Vinaya that a causative derivative *nissāraṇīya* is applied. Although the Sp also takes the offence as the agent but its object (the guilty nun) is construed in the passive.

Semantic divergency is what distinguishes *nissaraṇīya* from *nissāraṇīya*. They are not interchangeable. It may cause considerable loss to change the text without a firm grasp of the divergent denotations between these two forms. Now we have a case of this. As has been pointed out in Section II (above, p. 147), the Sp states that "[I]n the *Vibhaṅga* it is said that [she] is made to leave the Saṅgha, but in the *Pātimokkha* ten have come down to us with the wording: *nissaraṇīyaṃ saṅghādisesaṃ* (*mātikāyaṃ pana nissaraṇīyaṃ saṅghādisesan ti evam āgatāni dasa*). Nevertheless, the Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana electronic edition (https://tipitaka.sutta.org) has changed *nissaraṇīyaṃ* to *nissāraṇīyaṃ* (*mātikāyaṃ pana "nissāraṇīyaṃ saṅghādisesa"nti evaṃ āgatā dasa*). It is thanks to the PTS edition, which has preserved the text as it was, this valuable evidence of *nissaraṇīyaṃ saṅghādisesaṃ* would otherwise never see the light of day!

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[41] Sv-ṭ III 325,16-18: *nissaranti tato ti nissaraṇaṃ. ke nissaranti? kāmā. evañ ca katvā kāmānan ti kattari sāmivaccanaṃ suṭṭhu yujjati.*

Concluding Remarks

The customary mending procedures for an offence of *saṅghādisesa* are explained in detail in the Vinaya literature, which involve no expulsion of the culprit out of the monastery. It is therefore bewildering when a new term *nissāraṇīya* appears in the *saṅghādisesa* rules for nuns, possibly denoting expulsion, but without explanation except for a gloss terse enough for differing interpretations.

The commentarial literature has unambiguously confirmed the nuns' expulsion rather than their release from the offence. However, a hint at an existing controversy over such polemic views can be discerned in the Sp. This hint proves to be true. A comparative examination of the related passages in the other Vinayas demonstrates that the other traditions either contain no additional expression to the offence name *saṅghādisesa*, or that the additional expression was a supplement. Thus it is evident that the Pāli Vinaya is unique in applying the causative form of *nissāraṇīya* and asserting its denotation of the nun's expulsion.

The four Vinayas (Pāli, Dha, Mī, and Sa) containing an extra expression attached to the term *saṅghādisesa* belong to the schools affiliated with the Sthavira. This suggests that such an addition may have taken place early in the sectarian period, originating in the Sthavira tradition.

The new term added was originally *nissaraṇīya*, a term which makes sense in the Suttas within a specific soteriological context, and which fits the nature of the *saṅghādisesa* rules. It seems plausible to assume that the Vinaya may have borrowed this term to make explicit this class of offence as remediable. The evidence from the *Parivāra* and the Sp's commentary proves that in the Pātimokkha the wording was originally *nissaraṇīyaṃ saṅghādisesaṃ* "an offence entailing legal acts of the Saṅgha leading to the removal of the offence".

This use of *nissaraṇīya* is not isolated. The relevant passages in the Sūtras and Vinayas of the other schools available to us read *niḥsaraṇīya* consistently; only the Pāli Vinaya reads *nissāraṇīya*. What is interesting is that in the Pāli tradition *nissāraṇīya* also appears in the Suttas. The discussion in Section IV has shown that the confusion between the two forms interfered not only with the consistency in wording but also the readers' judgement of what is correct, based on which changes (either by the ancient transmitters or the PTS editors, see above pp. 150, 152, fn. 38, 155-157) had in fact been made. In some cases changes may have recovered the correct form, but in other cases it may have caused the loss of valuable textual evidence.

As to whether there exists an extra punishment for nuns offending against a *saṅghādisesa* rule, Part I of this study has demonstrated that the key lies in the difference between *nissaraṇīya* and *nissāraṇīya*, and that the former was later on replaced by the latter. The most curious is why and how such replacement may have taken place. This is the issue to be addressed in Part II.

Abbreviations and References

All Pāli texts refer to the editions of the Pali Text Society.

Abbreviations

AN	*Aṅguttara-Nikāya*
AW	Analysis of Words (= *Vinaya padabhājana*)
BD	*The Book of the Discipline* (Horner, 1938-1966)
BhīKavā	*Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācanā*
BhīPr	*Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins.* (Waldschmidt, 1979)
BhīPām	*Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha*
BhīVibh	*Bhikkhunī Vibhaṅga/Bhikṣuṇī Vibhaṅga*
BhīVin	*Bhikkhunī Vinaya/Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya*
BhīVin(Mā-L)	*Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* (Roth, 1970).
BhuPām	*Bhikkhu Pātimokkha*
CMū-Kavā	*The One Hundred and One Karmavācanā of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya* (根本說一切有部百一羯磨), T24, No. 1453.
DN	*Dīgha-Nikāya*
Dha	*Dharmaguptaka-Vinaya*, T22, No. 1428.
Dutt	*Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III (1943).
Kkh	*Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*
Mā	*Mahāsāṅghika-Vinaya*, T22, No. 1425.
Mā-L	*Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin-Vinaya*
Mi	*Mahīśāsaka-Vinaya*, T22, No. 1421.
Mp	*Monoratha-pūraṇī*

MSV	*Mūlasarvāstivādin-Vinayavastu*
Mū	*Mūlasarvāstivādin-Vinaya*, T23-24, Nos. 1442-1451.
Mv	*Mahāvagga* (*Vinaya-Piṭaka*)
Pāṇḍ-v	*Pāṇḍulohitakavastu*
PrMoSū (Sa)	Le Prātimokṣasūtra des Sarvāstivādins (Finot and Huber)
Sa	*Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya*, T23, No. 1435.
Saṅgh	*Saṅghādisesa*
Saṅgh (N)	*Saṅghādisesa* rules for nuns.
Skt	Sanskrit
Sp	*Samantapāsādikā*
Sv	*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*
Sv-ṭ	*Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā*
SVTT I-III	Édith Nolot (1996)
SVTT IV-X	Édith Nolot (1999)
T	*Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經
Vin	*Vinaya-Piṭaka*
Vmv-ṭ	*Vimativinodanī-ṭīkā*

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Wisdom as a Way of Life. Theravāda Buddhism Reimagined.
By Steven Collins. Edited by Justin McDaniel; Preface by Dan Arnold; Afterword by Charles Hallisey. 2020. Columbia University Press. ISBN: 9780231197205 (cloth), 9780231197212 (paperback), 9780231552042 (ebook)

Reviewed by Alexander Wynne

Steven Collins' final book, published posthumously, consists of two parts by the author and three sections supplied by his former friends and colleagues (Dan Arnold, Justin McDaniel and Charles Hallisey). McDaniel saw the book through to publication, after receiving a draft before Collins' death in February 2018. To make the book workable, McDaniel tells us (p.xxiii) he had to cut three sections from the original manuscript: a preface, an introduction and a chapter, although lengthy sections from these are cited in McDaniel's own introduction.

As the title suggests, the book reimagines the meaning of wisdom in Theravāda Buddhism. Part One, 'Wisdom', focuses on the Jātakas, which Collins opposes to the 'texts of systematic thought ("doctrine")', and claims are 'the heart and humanity of the Pali tradition' (p.2). He argues that the Jātakas exemplify the importance of living correctly and well, providing a person with the 'capacity of judging rightly in matters relating to life and conduct' (p.9). Part Two, 'Practices of Self', focuses on spiritual practice and although conceptually simpler, is more difficult to describe. According to McDaniel, Collins

> … firmly believed that Theravāda Buddhists had something important to offer intellectually to the project that modern historians and philosophers like Pierre Hadot, Michel Foucault, and Derek Parfit spent their lives investigating. He saw these Western philosophers as attempting to articulate what Theravāda Buddhists had been arguing for over two millennia – that the study

of philosophy and ethics is largely "practices of the self," and therefore has to involve both textual study and an ascetic lifestyle. (pp.xxx-xxxi)

Part Two of the book is also an 'attempt [at comparison]' (p.xxxi) between Theravāda practice and Pierre Hadot's writings on 'spiritual exercises' or 'philosophy as a way of life', and Michel Foucault's 'practices/technologies of self' (p.87). According to Collins (p.xxxiii), 'practices of self' include the 'entire process of acculturation', which 'in all societies, all civilizations, all cultures, is the cultivation of a certain kind of self, a certain kind of subject of experience':

> This learning of specific forms of physical and mental self-control, this askēsis, from childhood on, and the introjection of culturally specific ideals, is part of what constitutes sanity in any given social context . . . the introjection and performance of certain basic components of human sociality (so-called Morality) can be seen as a kind of wisdom, promulgated at length in Buddhist texts. (p.xxxiv)

The argument seems to be that Theravāda Buddhism is not really or mostly about the meditative quest for Nirvana. It is rather a civilisational project, in which Jātaka type narratives are a guide to practical wisdom in everyday life, and in which 'practices of self' are part of a process of acculturation, a sort of wisdom leading to the creation of certain types of human subject. This would all amount to a bold reimagination of the Theravāda tradition, one which McDaniel would be correct to call 'revolutionary' (p.xxiv). Unfortunately, however, *Wisdom as a Way of Life* does not fulfil Collins' lofty ambitions.

1. In Part Two, 'Practices of Self', Collins struggles to say what he is trying to achieve. He begins by mentioning two intentions (p.85), and yet the pages that follow do not state what the first intention actually is. Collins does, however, state that practices of self are

> demographically tiny but civilizationally of great importance … the texts in which they are described and prescribed remain of great importance to the intellectual history of the Pali tradition. (p.86)

This suggests that the first aim of Part Two is to show that practices of self form part of elite Buddhist practice, or are derived from it, and so are a minority concern in any Theravāda society. The same is suggested when Collins wonders whether practices of self constitute 'an elite regimen of truth' (p.154). And yet a development from the 'worldly wisdom' focus of Part One, to an 'elite regimen of truth' in Part Two, is never made clear. The second aim of Part Two is more clearly stated:

> The second reason for writing this chapter, indeed for writing the entire book, is to provide some comparative material to the work of Pierre Hadot on – to use the standard slogans – "spiritual exercises" and "philosophy as a way of life," and to that of Michel Foucault on "practices/technologies of self" and "subjectivity of truth". (p.87)

This is different from the professed 'attempt [at comparison]' with Hadot/ Foucault stated in the introduction (p.xxxi). It would seem that Collins never finally conceptualised what the purpose of Part Two should be. Indeed, although he goes on state that he wishes to correct Hadot's/Foucault's 'lack of attention to the social and institutional contexts of the ideas they were writing about' (p.87), he admits that he has 'provided no serious empirical study' (p.87). There is no serious institutional study either. Collins describes his personal experience of Pali chanting at Wat Suthat, Bangkok (section 2.4.1), but this is neither an empirical study nor an analysis of institutions. It is purely descriptive and unremarkable; chanting occurs in Buddhist temples, as everybody knows. The point that devotional ritual requires some degree of 'training' and 'concentration' (p.110-11) is a simple observation, and not part of any apparent argument. What are the implications of this practice for acculturation, and in what ways do social and institutional contexts affect it? Collins does not try to explain.

The same is true of other aspects of Theravāda practice covered in Part Two. These sections read as a descriptive overview of spiritual practice rather than a sociological or civilisational analysis. Collins neither shows how the study of philosophy and ethics is part of 'practices of the self' (pp.xxx-xxxi), nor explains how certain kinds of 'selves' are cultivated in the Theravāda context, 'from childhood on' (p.xxxiv). There is no meaningful comparison with the 'Spiritual Exercises' of Hadot or 'spirituality' of Foucault, and no exploration of how sociological or institutional contexts aid acculturation in Theravāda societies. Rather strangely, Collins does not explain why the expression 'practices of self' is any better than 'Buddhist meditation' or 'Buddhist spiritual practices'.

2. Just as Part Two fails to explain how Theravāda acculturation is a form of wisdom, informed by elite spiritual ideals, so too Part One fails to show how Buddhist narratives are a source of worldly wisdom. The discussion here is constructed around a simple dichotomy between the 'quotidian' and 'supererogatory' (p.2). Whereas the former consists of 'forms of wisdom and wisdom seeking that are matters of practice' (p.2), the latter are expressions of absolute Buddhist values which need not be practised by everyone: celibacy, asceticism, meditation and so on.

The distinction between the 'quotidian' and 'supererogatory' corresponds to the categories 'dhamma 1' and 'dhamma 2' (p.7), first made by Collins in *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities* (1998). Dhamma 1 is defined as 'an ethics of reciprocity in which the assessment of violence is context dependent and negotiable' (p.7); Collins also states that it consists of 'the kinds of good moral character other than a basic civilizational necessity' (p.10), which differ from the standard lists of Buddhist virtue (i.e. *sīla*). In this sense dhamma 1 of the Jātakas is similar to Aśoka's Dhamma, which Collins claims is not 'specifically Buddhist' (p.11).

Collins also mentions that the distinction between the quotidian and supererogatory is 'implicitly between forms of wisdom and wisdom seeking that are matters of practice, or might be, or are textual tropes' (p.2), the latter being 'ideals and aspirations that will be matters of practice in actual life only for a minuscule proportion of any population in Theravāda civilization' (p.2). Since on the same page he contrasts the Jātakas, 'stories about wisdom', with 'the 'simple four truths, five aggregates and the rest' (p.2), it seems that supererogatory wisdom consists of orthodox Buddhist doctrine, and the spiritual practices which lead to it. Of course dhamma 2, 'exemplified and promoted in the *Discourses* (*Suttas*) and *Monastic Rules* (*Vinaya*) texts' (p.8), and which mostly consists in 'simply the living of a celibate monastic life, itself supererogatory' (p.10), cannot be mentioned in the Jātakas, which are tales about a mythic time before the Buddha. Nevertheless, Collins points out that asceticism is mentioned in relation to Paccekabuddhas (pp.17-18, 79-80).

The analytical structure of Part One is therefore rather rich and dense. The overall purpose is to portray the Jātakas as a sort of 'wisdom literature' (p.12), and an important part of court culture in South Asia and Theravāda kingdoms (pp.19-20). However, the various arguments advanced in support of these claims are not convincing. The Jātakas do not distinguish quotidian wisdom/

dhamma 1 from supererogatory wisdom/dhamma 2, and then advise the former. Indeed, the dichotomy between dhammas 1 and 2 is misleading; it overlooks the universalist agenda of the Jātakas, and so fails to notice what was the original Buddhist project in civilisation.

2a. Value Conflicts

In support of the idea that the Jātakas teach a quotidian dhamma 1, Collins claims that one of their most important themes is value conflicts:

> Human life, apart from systems of specialist askēsis, contains irresolvable value conflicts. The Birth Stories can be enjoyed and admired by everyone, for many different reasons, without being subjected to the classificatory categories of, for example, "the eightfold path," "conditioned co-origination," and still less – since in The Birth Stories it does not occur – nibbāna (nirvana). They express many of the aspirations of Theravāda civilization, and thence of its intellectual history. (p.3)

> So there are stories that offer examples of quotidian wisdom, some of which confound and challenge the reader/audience by offering perhaps irresolvable ethical and value dilemmas. (p.35)

> [S]ome of the stories challenge the most revered of Buddhist values, just as does the great Vessantara, which has even greater in-your-faceness, if I may put it that way, with no convincing solution, or indeed no solution at all, to its central moral dilemma. (p.75).

The conflict between kingship and renunciation is of course explored with great skill in the *Vessantara Jātaka* (Ja 547). The same is true of the *Temiya Jātaka* (Ja 538), in which the Bodhisatta feigns being deaf, mute and crippled to avoid accruing the bad karma of kingship (p.37ff). And yet it is important to note that other Jātakas resolve the conflict between kingship and renunciation. Both the *Mahā-Janaka* and *Nimi Jātaka*s (Ja 539, 541), for example, navigate this conflict through a temporal sequence: the king rules justly first and renounces second, 'after fulfilling his duties as ruler' (Appleton and Shaw, 2015: 54). This ideological solution proved useful later on in Indian civilisation, when it was utilised within Brahmanism in the sequential form of the four *āśramas* (Olivelle, 1993: 117ff).

Even if the dilemma between kingship and renunciation is an important theme of the Jātakas, the other stories Collins cites in this context have nothing to do with values: when the monkey deceives and so evades the crocodile (Ja 208, pp.28-29), when the mouse kills the jackal (Ja 128, p.34), or when the crane eats some fish, but is then killed by an avenging crab (Ja 38, p.35), the Jātakas deal with conflicts of interest rather than conflicts of value. Their general point is that individual conflict is endemic in human life, a fairly obvious Buddhist extension of the principle of *dukkha* that is not accompanied by words of advice. Collins further claims (p.35) that value conflicts emerge from the redaction of Jātakas in collections:

> I want to stress that [*The Birth Stories*], like proverbs, fables, and other genres, what I will call in 1.4 "wisdom literature" as a cross-civilizational phenomenon, almost always were and are redacted in collections. This means that as well as their internal nature, which may and often does itself contain problematizations and conflicts of values, a collection as a whole clearly does this. Yes, perhaps individual stories, especially the long ones, were read or heard separately, but they would necessarily have been read or heard as coming from a collection, many or most of which the readership/audience would have been familiar with and remembered.' (pp.12-13)

Collins does not elaborate on this claim, despite saying (p.21), with reference to collections, that he will 'return to the issue of diversity and unity in the conclusion (1.4.1).' Elsewhere, he puts the task off into the future: 'The kind of comparative project I am envisaging would compare and contrast the kinds of collection and context in which such wisdom literature circulated – both literary form and narrative content' (p.56). Perhaps a redactional analysis of the Jātakas, supplemented by anthropological and historical work, will one day show that Jātakas were transmitted, recited or performed in groups to highlight value conflicts. But Collins does not provide any reason to believe that this might be the case. And since he provides no evidence for value conflicts, apart from that between kingship and renunciation, his comparative project would appear dubious.

2b. Kingship

With regard to kingship, Collins claims that the Jātakas sometimes adopt a more pragmatic approach which exemplifies dhamma 1:

> Buddhist advice to kings in dhamma 1 tells them to not to pass judgment in haste or anger, but appropriately, such that the punishment fits the crime. (p.7)

In connection with this Collins notes that in 'a number of places in Pali an executioner's block, gaṇḍikā, is, astonishingly, prefixed with dhamma-, so that the compound is perhaps best translated here as "block of justice".' (p.8). Although Collins does not return to this topic – despite claiming 'I shall tell one of these stories below' (p.8) – his previous book, *Nirvana and other Buddhist Felicities* (1998: 459), refers to the use of the *dhamma-gaṇḍikā* in the *Janasandha Jātaka* (Ja 468). Collins there claims that this story 'is a striking example of how different are the meanings of the word Dhamma in Mode 1 and in Mode 2.'

This is not an accurate interpretation of the *Janasandha Jātaka*, however, in which Prince Janasandha destroys the executioner's block (Ja IV.176: *dhamma-gaṇḍikaṃ bhedāpetvā*). Since the Bodhisatta is here an agent of non-violence opposed to capital punishment, it would seem that this Jātaka promotes the triumph of absolute Buddhist values (dhamma 2) over the norms of Indian kingship (dhamma 1). The same is true of the *Maṇicora Jātaka* (Ja 194), in which a wicked king wishes to behead the Bodhisatta, but is himself beheaded through the intervention of the god Sakka. The story does not advise the use of the *dhamma-gaṇḍikā*, but shows that it is used against the evil-doer; the principle of direct karmic retribution is implied.

These two stories undermine Collins' claims about dhamma 1. But Collins also points out that the principle of reciprocity, a subtler form of dhamma 1 not confined to kingship, is also mentioned in the Jātakas:

> Justified violence is, of course, explicit in all the stories where a king hands out justice. The ethical and narrative principle of reciprocity, central to dhamma 1, requires it, since crime is inevitable in the quotidian world. (p.34)

Although *Wisdom as a Way of Life* does not elaborate the principle of reciprocity, the same argument can be found in *Nirvana and other Buddhist Felicities*. Once again, however, the Jātakas which Collins believes advise the principle of reciprocity do nothing of the sort. Collins claims (1998: 451) that in the *Puṭabhatta* and *Godha Jātaka*s (Ja 223, 333) the Bodhisatta teaches reciprocity: to 'respect someone who respects (you), share with someone who shares with you; do a favour for someone who returns it' etc. These stanzas on reciprocity certainly exist in Ja 223/333 (Ja II.205, III.108) but they are not given as advice. They are instead words of warning, which the Bodhisatta uses to shock a selfish king into seeing the error of his ways. The principle of reciprocity is merely a stratagem, a sort of 'skill in means', in other words, used to elicit core Buddhist values of pity and compassion, as befits the occasion.

2c. Aśokan Dhamma

The principle of reciprocity is also mentioned in Collins' discussion of the *Sāma Jātaka* (Ja 540), 'a fairy story that expresses and celebrates an important virtue of dhamma 1, caring for parents' (p.34). Parental care is frequently mentioned in Jātakas which urge individuals (often kings) to 'practise Dhamma' (*dhammaṃ cara*) in the sense of acting righteously towards such groups as one's parents, children and wives, ascetics and Brahmins, towns and countries, friends and associates, elephants and army, villages and towns, kingdoms and countries, birds and beasts and so on.[1] These teachings obviously resemble Aśoka's Dhamma, but this does not mean that they are not 'specifically Buddhist'.

The injunctions to 'practise Dhamma' are nothing more than elaborations of the *Sigālovāda Sutta* (DN 31). This foundational 'skill in means' discourse generalises Buddhist values into a non-denominational form, using a set of categories similar to those used in the Jātakas (parents, children, wives etc.). Although the layman Sigāla continues to carry out his ritual acts as before, by following the Buddha's teachings on how to do it properly he acts in accord with Buddhist values.[2] The same is true of the Jātaka advice to 'practise *dhamma*': it is a way of behaving like a Buddhist without knowing it; when applied to rulers it becomes almost a charter for Buddhist kingship.

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[1] E.g. Ja I.152, Ja IV.421.

[2] Gombrich (2006: 81): 'the Buddha constantly slips new ethical wine into the old brahminical bottles: pretending to interpret traditional ritual, he in fact abolishes it.'

The tendency to read Aśoka's Dhamma as non-Buddhist just because it does not mention Buddhist doctrine (the Four Truths and so on) is fundamentally mistaken. Aśoka's edicts are saturated with Buddhist references,[3] which is hardly surprising given his claim to have received instruction from the Buddhist Sangha, and even his listing of a few favourite texts.[4] When Aśoka advises his officials to 'practise the middle' (*majhaṃ paṭipādayema*),[5] what else could it be but a political extension of the Middle Way?

It is unrealistic to suppose that Aśoka formulated 'his' Dhamma all by himself. A more plausible interpretation is that Aśoka's Dhamma was an elaboration of the approach to Buddhist values found in the Jātakas, itself a reworking of the *Sigālovāda Sutta*.[6] Thus the Jātaka advice to 'practise *dhamma*' with regard to parents etc. is not an example of dhamma 1, but was an extension of Buddhist 'skill in means' which came to be applied by Aśoka across India. Both the Dhamma of the Jātakas and Aśokan Dhamma are quintessentially Buddhist, the former providing an ideology for kingship realised by the latter.

2d. Paccekabuddhas

Collins claims that Paccekabuddhas teach 'what is right in everyday human life … In *The Birth Stories* pacceka buddhas do teach dhamma. However, this is dhamma 1' (p.17). While it is true that Paccekabuddhas do not teach the Eightfold Path or the Four Truths – a concern of Buddhas alone – in all other respects Paccekabuddhas are connected to 'supererogatory' rather than 'quotidian' values. As Appleton (2018: 4-5) has pointed out, these include the benefits of renunciation, the importance of dispassion, the necessity of controlling the sense faculties, the avoidance of attachment to sensual pleasure and so on. Collins provides no evidence to support his claim that Paccekabuddhas were a means of introducing non-Buddhist values into the Jātakas.

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[3] See Sujato & Brahmali (2015: 103ff) and Wynne (2015: 103-04) on the psychological aspect of Aśoka's edicts.

[4] See MRE 3 (Bairāṭ); Sujato & Brahmali (2015: 105).

[5] RE 13, Kalinga; Sujato and Brahmali (2015: 104).

[6] See Gombrich (2006: 131): 'Some scholars have questioned Asoka's Buddhism on the grounds that he never mentions nibbāna or other key concepts of Buddhist soteriology. Our description of Buddhist lay religiosity, both in the Canon and after, proves that this objection is foolish.'

2e. A False Dichotomy and Buddhist Universalism

In his preface, Dan Arnold notes that 'in *Wisdom as a Way of Life*, the basic distinction between systematic and narrative thought remains central' (p.xiii). This distinction is indeed a major underlying feature of Part One. It forms the basis of the binary opposition between the Suttas and Vinaya, on the one hand, and the Jātakas on the other; whereas the former are the source of transcendent aspirations expressed in systematic form (dhamma 2), the latter are narratives without a Buddha, and exemplify a different set of values (dhamma 1):

> Paññā in quotidian dhamma 1 is skill is some particular domain. In The Birth Stories there is no Buddha, so naturally no dhamma 2 of the kind exemplified and promoted in the Discourses (Suttas) and Monastic Rules (Vinaya) texts, although the motif of renunciatory askēsis certainly is. (p.8)

Collins draws a sharp distinction between the Jātakas and the Buddha/ canonical teaching. But this is a false dichotomy. The Pali Suttas are concerned with much more than transcendent or ascetic values, and are also mostly expressed in a narrative form; they frequently narrate tales of piety, faith, devotion, stream-entry and so on. The Jātakas extend this Suttanta style of spiritual teaching, and are not typologically or didactically distinct from it.

A good example of this is the 'ten *dhamma*s of a king' (*dasa rājadhamma*): giving, virtue, liberality, honesty, gentleness, austerity, non-anger, non-violence, forbearance and concord.[7] Collins states (p.33) that this list is a 'very common motif throughout the Birth Stories'. But he fails to see that it is a broadly ascending set of virtues which bridges lay and ascetic ideals, and so brings absolute Buddhist values into the domain of kingship. It could perhaps be regarded as an example of what Max Weber called 'inner-worldly asceticism', and is typical of the universal nature of early Buddhist teaching.

The dichotomy between dhamma 1 and dhamma 2 is false, therefore, and obscures the fact that the Jātakas merely extend the style and content of Suttanta teaching. A good example of this is the *Kukkura Jātaka* (Ja 22), a tale in which the Bodhisatta is reborn as leader of a pack of stray dogs. When the stray dogs get set up by the palace dogs for a crime they did not commit, the king issues an order to have them killed. The Bodhisatta-dog then sneaks into

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[7] E.g. Ja III.274, III.320, III.412, V.378 etc.

the palace to fix the conflict of interest (not values), but initially hides under the throne, just like a scared animal, before emerging to teach the king.

This Jātaka is a parable showing that conflicts of interest are inevitable, but can be difficult to understand and so often result in poor judgments and bad policy. But there is no worldly wisdom for aspiring rulers. Instead, the Bodhisatta-dog advises the king to 'practise *dhamma*' with regard to one's parents etc., before establishing him in virtue (*sīla*), a ubiquitous feature of the Jātakas. The king thereupon grants safety to all creatures (Ja I.178: *sabbasattānaṃ abhayaṃ datvā*), makes merit for the rest of his life and on death ascends to heaven. This Jātaka thus teaches a sort of moral spirituality that harmonises with Buddhist cosmology; like the Jātakas in general, it is standard Buddhism in all but name.

The *Kukkura Jātaka* is a good guide to the nature of Dhamma in the Jātakas. Collins' claim (p.55) that these tales belong to 'wisdom literature as a cross-civilizational category' is simply a mistake, and a very strange one at that. Historical studies have shown that rulers used the Jātakas for ideological rather than practical purposes. Thai monarchs, going back as far as King Lithai in the Sukothai period (c.1361 AD), valued the Jātakas in so far as they allowed kings to portray themselves in the image of the Bodhisatta, and so promote an ideal of royal authority and charisma based the Bodhisatta's accumulation of 'spiritual perfections' (*pāramī*).[8] No doubt Buddhist monks provided some of the statecraft and worldly wisdom which kings needed, in the forms of Nīti and Dhamma-sattha texts. The Jātakas served a different end, one that was more ideological and specifically Buddhist.

3. Collins' claims about dhamma 1, which amount to a misunderstanding of the Jātakas, are difficult to understand. But a couple of digressions in *Wisdom as a Way of Life* suggest that the problem stems from a faulty text-critical method.

3a. The Middle Way

In section 2.4.2, Collins discusses the First Sermon with reference to an article by Oliver Freiberger (2006). Freiberger argues that the 'middle way' of this sermon really deals with two early Buddhist tendencies: extreme asceticism versus monastic laxity (2006: 250-51). Collins uses this analysis to 'set right what is an extraordinary mistake made in so many secondary sources' (p.115).

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[8] Jory 2016, particularly the section entitled 'The Doctrine of Perfections (*barami*)' in chapter 2.

This mistake is apparently to understand the Middle Way as a path 'between the life of a householder, given over to sense pleasures, and that of extreme self-mortificatory asceticism' (pp.115-16). As Collins points out, the Middle Way is advice for renouncers (*pabbajita*); the recipients of the teaching are ascetics.

Collins does not state which secondary sources have misunderstood this rather obvious point. But it leads to a very strange mistake of his own. In the First Sermon, the adjective *gammo*, 'belonging to the village (life), common, vulgar' (DOP s.v.), is used to describe 'sensual indulgence' (*kāmasukhallikānuyogo*). The commentary then interprets *gammo* as *gāmavāsīnaṃ santako* (Spk III.297), 'the property of village dwellers'. But Collins somehow believes that *gammo* qualifies 'renouncers' rather than 'sensual indulgence': 'Santako ("the property of") is satirical: these renouncers haven't renounced, they are owned by the villagers they depend on so closely for a living' (p.117). This is a bizarre error, which leads to the following claim:

> As Freiberger suggests persuasively, given that this is something specifically not to be followed by renouncers, it must refer to some kind of asceticism that the Buddha is saying should be avoided. Most likely this is a familiar South Asian stereotype: scruffy layabouts who live close to villages for the sake of an easy life and a free lunch… (p.117)

This is an unfortunate misreading of Freiberger's argument, which understands the First Sermon as a warning against non-institutional modes of asceticism, and monasticism which strays too close to household comforts. Collins' interpretation of the First Sermon in terms of modern Indian layabouts is a peculiar piece of Orientalism.

3b. The 'Rhinoceros Horn' Sutta

Another peculiarity occurs in Collins' treatment of the *Khagga-visāṇa Sutta* (pp.123-24). This verse text, third poem of the *Suttanipāta*, famously likens the wandering *bhikkhu* to the Indian rhino, in the refrain 'one should wander alone, like a horned rhinoceros (or 'like the horn of a rhinoceros')'.[9] Collins interprets as follows:

> The "One Horn of the Rhinoceros" poem certainly seems to recommend in many verses that "he [the monk] should live his life

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[9] Sn pp.6-12: *eko care khagga-visāṇa-kappo*.

alone, like the one horn of a rhinoceros." The verb is carati, which almost all translators take, literally and naïvely, as "wander," which is only one of its meanings. I discussed this verb in the previous section: cariyā is one's way of being, one's way of life. "Wander" suggests that the idea is that the monk moves around, but in fact it refers to a monk's psychological way of life, his inner mode of being, not his behavior in the outer world. (p.123)

Collins reads the verb *carati* according to the use of the noun *cariyā* in the *Visuddhimagga* (Collins, p.121), where it means something like 'mode of being'. And yet the poem betrays no trace of settled monasticism, let alone an urban context, and is not obviously addressed 'to monks who live in busy, bustling city monasteries' (Collins, p.124). It instead offers quite literal injunctions to 'resort to remote lodgings, and live/wander alone like a rhinoceros horn'.[10] What would it mean to 'live' or 'behave' like a rhino in a monastery anyway? The verb *carati* must have the sense of 'wander', the only thing about a rhino's lifestyle that a Buddhist *bhikkhu* could conceivably do.

Collins also overlooks ancient Buddhist interpretations of the poem. As Norman has pointed out (1992: 144), the poem was a source of the oldest Pali commentary, the *Niddesa*, which is so old that it is included in the Pali canon.[11] This antiquity is confirmed by the existence of another recension of the poem in the *Mahāvastu* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins.[12] Both of these ancient interpretations attribute the poem's celebration of anti-monastic wandering to pre-Buddhist Paccekabuddhas. Should we understand that both wings of the ancient Buddhist tradition, Theravāda and Mahāsāṃghika alike, took the verb *carati* 'literally and naïvely'? Or is it more likely that both inherited a way of interpreting an awkward text from pre-monastic times? No doubt Theravāda monks in bustling monastic centres have long drawn inspiration from the poem. But this has nothing to do with its original meaning, which Collins was unable or unwilling to see.

4. Synchronism and the 'Pali Imaginaire'

In his consideration of the *Khagga-visāṇa Sutta*, Collins ignores facts about the text's antiquity and ancient interpretation, choosing instead to synthesise its use

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[10] Sn v.72 (p.12): *sevetha pantāni senāsanāni, eko care khaggavisāṇakappo.*
[11] For the interpretation of the Niddesa, see Bodhi (2017: 420ff).
[12] For the interpretation of the *Mahāvastu*, see Senart (1882: 359) and Jones (1949: 305).

of the verb *carati* with the noun *cariyā* from the *Visuddhimagga*, a text nearly 1000 years younger. The synchronic approach to Pali texts has its uses. In *Selfless Persons* (1983) it resulted in a more sophisticated understanding of Buddhist doctrine; in *Nirvana and other Buddhist Felicities*, Collins conceptualised textual synchronism in terms of the 'Pali imaginaire', which resulted in original and useful ways of considering Buddhist values. But this method is not always appropriate; sometimes it is unhelpful and misleading to think of Buddhist texts in terms of the Pali imaginaire, which consists of

> … any and every text written (or translated into) Pali. I think it is a matter of empirical fact that, as far as the grand issues of life, death, suffering, and nirvana are concerned, all texts in Pali show a remarkable consistency, and can be treated as a single whole. (2010: 4–5)

We have seen that a synchronic approach fails when applied to canonical texts such as the *Khagga-visāṇa Sutta*. The same is true of the Jātakas. Instead of regarding this collection as a northern Indian composition stemming from pre-Aśokan times, Collins follows the interpretation found in *Nirvana and other Buddhist Felicities*, which discusses the Jātakas alongside medieval Nīti texts (manuals for Buddhist kingship) to form an overall impression of Theravāda advice to kings. In *Nirvana and other Buddhist Felicities* this makes some sort of sense, since Buddhists have used the Pali canon in all sorts of ways, including political instruction, and Nīti texts draw upon the Jātakas.[13] But in *Wisdom as a Way of Life*, when the Jātakas are the focus and Nīti texts have faded away into the background, the use of the Pali imaginaire involves abstracting the Jātakas from their historical context and understanding them almost as medieval manuals for kingship.

This misapplication of the Pali imaginaire can only be regarded as a form of hermeneutical extremism. In *Nirvana and other Buddhist Felicities* (1998: xx), Collins recognised the historical difference between canonical Pali texts ('c. fourth-third C. BC') and their commentaries ('fifth-sixth C. AD, some perhaps later'). But *Wisdom as a Way of Life* rejects these necessary historical foundations. In an introductory section entitled 'On early Buddhism and Buddhaghosa's Fantasy' (p.l), Collins writes as follows:

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[13] v. Hinüber (1996: 195).

What did Buddhaghosa do, apart from writing commentaries and
The Path of Purification? He created, or better put together, no
doubt at least from some earlier materials, a make-believe world
of the time of the Buddha, when the Great Man walked the earth
and Enlightenment was readily available, sometimes after a single
sermon, sometimes even after he uttered a single telling phrase. Bliss
was it in that dawn to be alive. Although some pre-Buddhaghosan
textual sources in languages other than Pali do exist – all of them
from the first five centuries AD – almost all modern scholarly
accounts of Early Buddhism, with only a very few exceptions,
rely on the Pali Canon (usually translations of it, of course). I call
this "Buddhaghosa's fantasy" not because I wish to criticize it or
be supercilious about it, but simply as a phrase depicting the Pali
Canon as a roseate textual world of the imagination collected and
constructed by Buddhaghosa, as "The Early Days" … (p.lv)

The notion that Buddhaghosa 'collected and constructed' the Pali canon, and
so created 'a make-believe world of the time of the Buddha', is simply wrong.[14]
But it can be discounted as a strange bias, for as Justin McDaniels notes, Collins'
attacks on the study of early Buddhism were virtually 'a vendetta' (p.lii) which led
him to 'lash out at times at his former self and his early training. It seemed almost
to me like a type of reckoning, a settling of scores with youthful indulgences
and hesitations' (p.li). Unfortunately for Collins, this vendetta, and the resulting
ahistorical approach to Pali texts, undermines *Wisdom as a Way of Life*. Prose
stories must have accompanied the Jātaka verses from the beginning; they were
not invented by Buddhaghosa or any other redactor of the commentaries.

<p style="text-align:center">*****</p>

Despite these problems, *Wisdom as a Way of Life* is not without its merits. Collins
is right to stress the literary merit of the Jātakas, and the subtle problems these
stories address, such as the conflict of values between worldly life (especially
kingship) and renunciation, which suggests an ironic awareness of the tradition's
sacred ideals. Even if Theravāda kings used the Jātakas for ideological purposes,
their charm and meaning resides largely in the real-world scenarios envisioned

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[14] On the antiquity of the Pali canon see Sujato and Brahmali (2015) and Wynne (2005, 2018).

(if animal stories can be regarded as realistic). Collins was right to notice this, but misguided in conceptualising it in terms of 'dhamma 1'. It is also true that the civilising impetus of Buddhism is often overlooked; Theravāda studies would certainly benefit from further contributions from this perspective. Moreover, such things as modes of piety and bodily deportment are often overlooked in studies of Buddhist meditation. The 'Theravāda civilisations project' is a good idea, and Collins has pointed towards fruitful lines of future enquiry.

But these positives must be balanced against other regrettable aspects of the book: the many mistakes of fact and perspective, the misconceived analysis of Part One, the lack of analysis in Part Two, and the general disconnection between the two parts. Above all, Collins' rejection of textual history is a serious mistake. The synchronic study of the Pali canon, especially as essentialised into the 'Pali imaginaire', is a blunt tool of analysis that can be easily misapplied. In *Wisdom as a Way of Life* this approach has resulted in a misreading of the Jātakas. And this in turn obscures what was the original project in Buddhist civilisation: the elaboration of Buddhist universalism in the Jātakas, and its appropriation by Aśoka into a state ideology which changed the culture of classical India and beyond.

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Gender and the Path to Awakening: Hidden Histories of Nuns in Modern Thai Buddhism, by Martin Seeger. Nordic Institute of Indic Studies, Monograph Series, no.144. 342 pp. Preface. Silkworm Press, Chiang Mai, Thailand/Nias Press, Copenhagen. Denmark. ISBN 978-87-7694-258-8.

Reviewed by Sarah Shaw

At a time when many are speaking for, about, instead of, or on behalf of nuns, it is pertinent and refreshing to read a book that explores the lives of six twentieth-century nuns in detail, analysing and recounting what they had to say about their practice and life. Seeger is in a particularly strong position to do this. One of the few Western scholars with real knowledge of the Buddhist background, language, culture and history of Thailand, his work, based on years of ethnographic and bibliographic research, provides an essential service to those of us who cannot speak Thai, but would like to find out more. And it is always much easier to assimilate a large body of information about practices, procedures and doctrine if we can attach it to the specificity of detail and evocation associated with particular persons. The lives of a number of nuns are chosen, many of whom are now considered arahants or saints: Khunying Yai (Khunying Damrongthammasan Yai Wisetsiri, 1882–1944), Mae Bunruean Tongbuntoem (1895–1964), Mae Chi Kaew (1901–1991), Mae Chi Nari Karun (1876/7–1999), Mae Chi Phimpha Wongs-udom (1912-2010), and Mae Chi Soda (1920–2009). They present admirable and awe-inspiring examples; the histories given by Seeger offer a varied and nuanced picture of many features peculiar not only to their personal practice, but also to the milieu and religious background to female Thai spiritual life in general over the last 140 years.

Seeger has chosen only women who have died, a decision that allows him to see their lives as a whole, including, importantly, their deaths, funerary celebrations and subsequent reputation. For this is a distinguished group: those whose attainments were so highly respected that in some cases *stūpa*s and memorials have been erected in their honour and their relics seen as objects of devotion. After a brief survey of some parameters of the research and archives accessible to him, Chapter 1 sets the scene: it is particularly helpful for anyone interested in Southeast Asian culture and female participation, both lay and monastic, over the last century or so. Seeger addresses the complexities of the Thai attitude towards gender and spiritual practice, and provides a useful historical account, noting the presence of an apparently strong *bhikkhunī* order in ancient times, that went into decline before disappearing completely. For the nuns' order technically does not exist; the direct ordination line has been lost and has traditionally been thought not to be then capable of re-instatement. So the participants in a monastic life discussed here take eight or ten basic precepts and live as nuns, not eating after noon, living a celibate life and so on. Seeger explains the background economically and effectively, along with the Pali canonical precedent for the nuns' order. This chapter includes reference to material which suggests the ordination could be re-established if permitted.

A number of issues are raised in this and later chapters. The first is the simple difficulty of accessing reliable material about these women. The significance and necessity in some Northern and Eastern Buddhist schools for autobiographies and sacred biographies as central to communicating the lineage of a particular guru, Rinpoche line or master is not a characteristic of Southeast Asian literary composition. Religious autobiography is not indigenous: the genre, so embedded in the Western literary environment since the seventeenth century, has never historically been a natural mode though, as Seeger notes, it is there in early texts. The interpretation of the fourth *pārājika*, common in South and Southeast Asia, whereby monks – and nuns – refrain from boasting wrongly of meditational achievement had, until the early twentieth century, led by common consensus to a reticence on such matters; lay practitioners share this caution. It was only with the great biographical traditions of the Northeast Thailand monastic schools that this situation changed, and then only marginally (pp.44–45). Even Ajahn Mun, whose arahantship was widely celebrated, did not make the claim himself (pp.122–124). Most monks or nuns would not speak of such matters to this day and tend to refer to meditational attainments only circuitously. Seeger explores this reluctance to use the autobiographical mode, and then too, other attendant

problems: not only is there a far greater reticence amongst female practitioners, but it is sometimes difficult in such Thai literature to tell the difference between autobiography and biography: fluidity in the use of first and third person is frequent, with 'mother' (*mae*) or 'teacher' (*ajan*) often applied to content that could have been written or dictated by the practitioner or students. Subsequent editors often insert sections, or doctor and revise anecdotes that may have been in the first place recorded by someone else, or placed after the event.

Despite these problems, Seeger has compiled a considerable archive of personal recollections, anecdotes, hagiographies, pictures, press-cuttings, contemporary comment and material objects such as amulets: basic facts about the lives of the women are made succinctly but vividly accessible. We receive a sense of the quite different backgrounds of each, as their circumstances, education, practice and background are discussed in turn in Chapter Three. Their routes to taking the holy life are varied and shed a fascinating light on the obstacles, difficulties and societal pressures they had to overcome simply to engage in the monastic life. The pulls of lay life, social pressure, opposition from husbands and families and disapproval for their chosen path feature frequently. Their practice interests are wide and varied. Most were highly adept and experienced in a number of traditional meditative skills: most memorised chants and texts not only for their teaching, but as a spiritual practice. Many are said to have acquired considerable psychic ability and depth in *samatha* meditation as well as *vipassanā*; some were accredited in their lifetimes with supernatural powers (pp.75; pp.86–9). The deployment of these for healing and inspiration to others also features (pp.248–9). Many, if not all, seem to have been seen as approaching or reaching awakening. They are a formidable host.

These short biographies have certain recurring elements: Seeger traces several crucial threads running through their lives, and explores them in separate chapters. These include the notion of arahantship, and how it is validated and assessed in modern Thailand; material objects such as relics, *stūpa*s, amulets, clothes and papers as manifestations and expressions of devotion; and the prevalence of orality, memorisation and chant as an underlying mainstay of female spiritual practice.

The themes of arahantship, relic devotion and *stūpa* construction are closely related, and inevitably linked now in Thailand to the genre of autobiography. For the twentieth-century stream of monastic biographies, from Northeast Thailand in particular, started to broach what had previously been the domain of rumour and speculation. The arahantship of several figures now started to be claimed

more widely, and in print. Female subjects for this genre are rather rare, but the notion that someone could be perceived and stated to be awakened gained more public prominence. *Stūpa*s were constructed for some of these women amidst recognition that they had achieved enlightenment, though the women involved had often requested the minimum of fuss; the relics of some were said to have undergone crystallisations (*phra that*) confirming their *arahant* status (eg. pp.100-101; pp.145–149). In the wake of this, material objects such as amulets and other precious talismans emerged, validating the women as supreme exponents of meditation and spiritual attainment: Mae Bunrean was famously asked to consecrate amulets during her own lifetime, traditionally a male monastic preserve (p.171). The power of such validations in Thailand cannot be overestimated. As Seeger writes, such material objects "have often had a much wider and deeper impact on religious practices, emotions, and beliefs, than Pali canonical texts or sermons by contemporary figures" (p.180).

Chapter 5, on orality in Thai culture, is of particular significance for our understanding of Buddhist culture in the region: as so often in studies of female worlds, it opens a door onto a vibrant and hitherto hidden world of practice, ritual and oral transmission. Women were often prime exponents of oral recitation but such exercises were popular amongst everyone. Seeger's discussion discloses a way of understanding the relationship of text, ritual and personal practice that is radically different from modern western models. Those interested in Southeast Asian monasticism are used to hearing accounts through the lens of Anglophone books, about or by men, designed or translated with a Western and international readership in mind. Westerners also assume that training in Buddhist text – and to a certain extent meditation itself – necessarily involves 'reading' and absorbing core texts through solitary engagement with a book. But the detail of the lives of these women challenge assumptions that literacy and formal education are necessary both for the transmission of teachings and for serious practice. The importance of 'non-literacy' then becomes fascinating: the meditative and cultural training of these women often depended upon an impressively knowledgeable background in Sutta, manual, commentary, and chant, all the more highly developed precisely because many women at the centre of female monastic life had come late in life, or not at all, to reading and writing themselves. In order to take ordination, some had to learn to read before compulsory female education was instated in the 1920s; but it is clear their mainstay remained the recited and chanted text (p.240–2). In traditional Thailand, as Seeger explains, a text was never really a solid artefact to read in solitude; oral teaching, learning and recitation had always underpinned

practice. Such transmissions are equally powerful but leave less obvious traces: more social, more suited to reflection, and working more actively on people's sensibilities, chants, stories, texts and recitative verses are assimilated in a way that is quite different from our modern patterns of engagement. Texts would be learned by heart, taught perhaps by mother to daughter, in largely undocumented transmission (p 182–193). Practitioners of both sexes have historically applied the mind and explored the meaning of the texts from a number of angles: Ajahn Mun recited texts as part of his core forest practice (p.209). As Seeger shows, through extensive quotation from monks and nuns, practitioners reflected on them, taking them as a basis for practice and considering their meaning; the very chanting and recollection of the text, with all its meaning and rhythms, was a primary element in their meditation. Khunying Yai, for instance, never talked about 'reading' texts, but 'listening' to them and 'reciting' them, using words like 'recall' (*raluek*) and 'memorize' (*jam son wai*) for her copious knowledge of Abhidhamma, Sutta and vernacular training manuals, employed for her recollection of the teaching (*dhammānussati*) and personal meditation (pp.185-193). It is a revelation to find in this chapter such a living tradition of textual knowledge, amongst those who have 'heard much' (*bahussuto*), present so recently in people who were deeply learned, but might not have read a word.

Chapter 6, on gender, gathers these threads together, including the self-reflexive comments, where they can be found, of the women involved in issues pertaining to awakening and their role as nuns, alongside developments and obstacles faced by nuns. Seeger notes the complexity of factors involved; many issues westerners and modern scholars see as crucially important do not assume the same prominence amongst *mae chi*s, who perceive the real chance in their lives as the opportunity to practise spiritual and meditative work; not all prioritise status, wealth, public position or even education, though Seeger carefully notes the often context-specific imbalances in these areas. Many nuns have not invested so much importance in features such as hierarchy, a lower social role, and domestic work: assuming a lower status and performing domestic tasks around and about are taken as a practice, as are other obstacles (pp.164–5; p.248). Such a position confers a power that can seem mysterious to Westerners, but means also that those wanting to intervene on their behalf need to be mindful of innate strengths and reserves that the order itself may already have which are sometimes less obvious to outside commentators. At any rate the notion that women have equal capacity for awakening, as suggested by the earliest texts, is generally accepted, and it seems many *mae chi*s have taken refuge in that.

Seeger does not use words like 'ought' or 'should' in his account of their status and the issue of whether there should be fully ordained nuns, a commendable omission. He cites the now extensive discussion on this matter; he also carefully highlights the varied deprivations and lack of opportunities some endure in some regions of Thailand. His caution leads to reflection: one can understand the reticence of the sangha in Thailand to re-institute the nuns' order, as the existing polarity of sangha and laity has for so many centuries been the bedrock of Thai life. But, as Seeger observes, "it seems only a matter of time before a Theravada *bhikkhunī* order will take root in Thailand" (p.31). In this light one can deeply admire nuns within Southeast Asia, and also internationally, who exercise patience in this regard. Women have a habit of just doing things they are not 'supposed' to, and doing them so well that in the end to deny their presence is impossible. This appears to be the case here. These determined nuns just wanted to practise the holy life and, as their biographies show, often overcame immense obstacles to do so. It struck me while reading that the process seems, at a completely different level of engagement, a little like the admission of women to Oxford University in the twentieth century: women simply worked as if undergraduates, not getting degrees until, in the end, their achievements and presence could be denied no longer. The nuns' situation is different: their presence was validated a long time ago, and lost. But at an anecdotal level, a quiet resolve that I suspect will lead that way has always impressed me in the many nuns I have enjoyed meeting on visits and stays at temples and monasteries in Thailand. At Wat Mahathat in Bangkok I visited the nuns' house, and could not have received a warmer or more self-assuredly confident welcome: they are just getting on with it. They have workable solutions to do what they want and, to a certain extent, are respected and supported in that; they do not see institutionalising their order as first priority. So you will not find nuns on high-powered committees, or with any great status as representatives of the sangha. The nuns seem patient: my impression is that they would appreciate respect and security and the same meditative and educational opportunities as men, but are not in a hurry to overturn systems; the situation is possibly changing (p.30–37). Clearly some would rise to the challenge of a high position if the chances were there.

One of the most interesting and informative features of this book is the light it sheds on the current debate about the re-instatement of the Buddha's second assembly in Southern Buddhism. Seeger's focus on nuns who have died, and hence undergone funerary rites, demonstrates how deeply these women are

now revered, with the status of some as awakened beings validated amongst the sangha and laity. The *stūpa*s erected in their memory, and the folk mythology, material culture and popular acceptance key to sustaining religious traditions in Thailand have gradually absorbed them into the emotional and spiritual life of people in general; many now take the status of some as *arahants* for granted. By examining the way that the cult of relics, enlightenment stories, and accounts of *nimit*s (images in the mind's eye; p.73) of these women appearing to modern practitioners are now pervading popular culture, he shows us what will be the key to the gradual acceptance of a *bhikkhunī* order – people at large are recognising the presence of four assemblies: of monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen. The book makes it abundantly clear that whatever the paperwork and administrative logistics needed to accommodate the restitution of the lineage of nuns in a formal sense, it has, for two or three hundred years been active in Thailand as a living entity and, despite the low status of nuns, is now informally recognised as such. However long it takes for public recognition validated by the sangha, and for the vows that would mean so much to many such women that acknowledge their connections in lineage to be publicly acknowledged, the nuns' order in Southeast Asian Buddhism already exists. As Seeger constantly reminds us, the women concerned live in a manner entirely in accordance with early teachings.

It is to this book's great credit that we feel this living continuity, assessed with a non-judgemental and nuanced appreciation of the density and complexity of the historical issues involved. And from a Buddhist Studies point of view, Seeger's sensitive and probing analysis of the lives of some women who have contributed to that presence opens a door on the often neglected or simply unknown worlds of female monastic and lay culture. He demonstrates with admirable even-handedness that an often highly sophisticated textual and meditative training animated the practice of women whose own preoccupations are concerned simply with living 'the holy life' as wholeheartedly as they can. One would not want future generations of nuns to live in this position; one hopes that future generations have more recognition and support. But the fact that these women seemed to turn disadvantages, including low status, to spiritual attainment is a testament to their extraordinary confidence, resilience and courage. I recommend Seeger's book for its rich insights into popular Buddhism in Thailand and the now deeply rooted culture of appreciation and recognition for the distinguished *mae chi* line.

Bhikkhu Bodhi, *Reading the Buddha's Discourses in Pāli.*
Somerville: Wisdom Publications. 531 pages.
ISBN 978-1-61429-700-0. US $49.95

Reviewed by Niels Schoubben*

This nicely produced volume "is *not* intended to be … a Pāli primer" (p. viii), but is comparable to Scharf's (2003) edition of the *Rāmopākhyāna* and similar works, where the, in this latter case, Sanskrit text is printed with a full glossary below each verse and a literal translation, in order to help students to acquire reading proficiency in the language. In the same vein, Bhikkhu Bodhi, who has devoted a considerable part of his life to the translation of Pāli suttas, has done us a great service in preparing the book under review.

After a comparatively brief, but informative introduction on Pāli (pp. 1–10), the author gives a concise overview of Pāli grammar (pp. 11–48),[1] and a separate chapter on "common sentence patterns" (pp. 49–79), where he sketches some syntactic peculiarities of the language which most modern readers will not be that familiar with. The core of the book (pp. 81–501) consists of his selection of (fragments of) Pāli suttas, all of which are chosen from the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*. First, the original text is printed, based on the electronic version of the Burmese edition, although occasionally readings from other editions, such as that of the *Pāli Text Society*, are preferred (cf. p. x). Below the Pāli, a word-for-word glossing is given, followed by a translation into more idiomatic English, but not as idiomatic as the published translations of the author (cf. p. 8).[2] Each

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  [1] No overview of paradigms is offered here, as Bhikkhu Bodhi's focus is rather on the main trends of Pāli grammar than on the details.
  [2] The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* is translated in its entirety in Bodhi (2000).

section is concluded with selected grammatical explanations and at the end of the book (pp. 503–528), a Pāli-English glossary is added as well.[3] Instead of presenting his selection of suttas in the order of their appearance in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, the author has made the laudable decision to group passages that treat the same basic principle of (Theravāda) Buddhism together, dividing them into six chapters, of which the last is a very short one, with such topics as "The Four Noble Truths" (chapter 1) or "Dependent Origination" (chapter 4).

As a consequence, the book may even be suitable for readers who have no interest in Pāli as a language, but want to form an idea of the main tenets of Early Buddhism from the original texts themselves rather than from an introductory book on Buddhism, where the presentation will necessarily depend to some extent on the personal interpretations of the author. Nevertheless, in this review, we will rather evaluate to what extent the book fulfils its duties in helping students to acquire the skills necessary to read Pāli texts with confidence. To meet this aim, the author of a book such as the one under review should 1) possess a profound familiarity with the language, i.e. the explanations given should be correct and 2) he should be able to transmit this knowledge in such a way that as varied a readership as possible can profit the most from engaging with the book. In other words, the level should be high, but at the same time, understandable to what one may want to call "interested laypeople". It should be kept in mind that a basic knowledge of Pāli grammar is presupposed for those readers that really want to delve into the texts (cf. p. viii).

To come straight to the point, the author succeeds well in the aims he has set himself. Obviously, there are always points where one may want to disagree and I will list some of those below, but on the whole, the author should be warmly congratulated on the work he has done. To illustrate Bhikkhu Bodhi's way of presenting the texts, I cite a randomly chosen example, from the *Siṃsapāvanasutta* (SN 56:31; p. 112 in the book).

First, the actual Pāli text is given in a different font from the translation; the literal translation is also printed differently from the idiomatic one.

> *appamattakāni, bhante, bhagavatā parittāni siṃsapāpaṇṇāni pāṇinā gahitāni; atha kho etān' eva bahutarāni yadidaṃ upari siṃsapāvane ti.*

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[3] A brief bibliography, which is unfortunately limited to Anglo-Saxon literature, can be found on pp. 529f.

Glossing:

> "Trifling, Bhante, by the Blessed One few *siṃsapā*-leaves with hand taken; but these indeed more, that is, above in the *siṃsapā*-grove."

Idiomatic translation:

> "Bhante, the *siṃsapā* leaves that the Blessed One has taken in his hand are few, but those above in the *siṃsapā* grove are indeed more numerous."

If I may make one comment on an otherwise sound translation, and one that is fully in line with the others in the book, I would not have left Bhante untranslated, as is done throughout the book. Why not simply "Sir" or something similar instead of replicating a Pāli honorific that will be puzzling to some readers? More generally, the necessity of glossing as well as translating each example may be questioned, as this procedure takes a lot of space. At the beginning of the book, I can see the usefulness of this. But once the reader has gone through a certain amount of examples and, let us be honest, the Pāli canon has a certain predilection for repetitions, would a translation with notes on vocabulary and grammar not be sufficient? Even in those cases that the same sentence is repeated just below in the text with the change of only one word (e.g. *viññāṇaṃ* 'consciousness' instead of *rūpā* 'forms'), full glossing is given on both occasions.

What about the grammatical explanations? The author, it should be stressed, is intimately familiar with the Pāli texts and he has done an excellent job here as well. The comments are generally reliable and easy to follow. Two general points should be made, however, before I list a couple of small points where I disagree with Bhikkhu Bodhi's explanations.

First, some infelicitous statements are made on the relationship between Pāli and Vedic and Classical Sanskrit. The author could have chosen to present Pāli as a language on its own, without referring to Sanskrit at all, and that would have been completely fine. However, he occasionally does refer to Sanskrit, but not all of his comments are fully correct and some may obscure rather than clarify things. In the introduction (p. 1), Pāli is said "to descend" from Vedic Sanskrit, which is not accurate because Pāli preserves linguistic archaisms (e.g. *idha* 'here') where the Vedic Sanskrit of our texts has the later form (e.g. *iha* 'here').

Most readers will not be bothered by such details, but occasionally the clarity of Bhikkhu Bodhi's grammatical explanations is affected as well. For instance, on p. 109, it is commented that in the compound *sassamaṇa-brāhmaṇiyā* 'with wandering ascetics and Brahmins' the double *-ss-* "occurs through the influence of the *-śr-* cluster in Skt *śramaṇa*". Obviously, Sanskrit is not influencing Pāli on this point: an older *-śr-* simply becomes *-ss-* by sound law and, when this does not result in an over-heavy syllable this geminate is preserved and otherwise simplified to a single consonant.

Second, Bhikkhu Bodhi makes the case system of Pāli more complicated than it actually is, by promoting the dative to a position it no longer has in Middle Indo-Aryan languages, where, the dative, apart from relic forms (on which, for Pāli, see e.g. Oberlies 2019 I: 207; Spencer 2020: 121f.), merges with the genitive. As a consequence, I would not call a form like *tassa* < Skt *tasya* a dative, as Bhikkhu Bodhi does on several occasions (e.g. p. 18; 63; 107; 153 etc.). This is simply a genitive used as an indirect object, as is possible in Sanskrit as well and it is not clear to me why the author, who otherwise follows the standard grammars quite faithfully, has opted for this idiosyncratic deviation from them. More such examples can be found in the book: on p. 166, e.g., *bhagavato* is said to be "a genitive with the function of an ablative", but genitive and ablative simply have the same form in the *vant*-declension, so that one should call such a form an "ablative".

A few minor comments, including mere typo's, are listed below:[4]

- p. xiii: Rhy > Rhys

- p. 91: *tasmāt* is not only Vedic Sanskrit and the "probably" may be deleted.

- p. 91 l. 4 of the Pāli text: *abhisambhujjhissati* > *abhisambhujjhissanti*

- p. 94; 109; 110: the two options for the translation of *ariyasacca* are discussed: "Noble Truth" or "Truth of the Noble One". The author simply notes that some passages support interpretation one and others interpretation two. See on this also Norman (1990 = 1993: 171–174), who argues that both meanings are intended at the same time. On p. 251, SN 35: 228 [187] is cited, where one

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[4] I will not list here all those cases where I disagree with the use of the term "dative" or with the way Sanskrit etymologies are presented.

reads *ariyassa vinaye* 'in the discipline of the Noble One'. This could also be cited as additional support for a translation "Truth of the Noble One".

- p. 95 fn. 73: *Māgadhi > Māgadhī*

- p. 105: *pativijjhati > paṭivijjhati*

- p. 115: Even though *paññāya* is correctly translated, it is explained wrongly as an absolutive, whereas it is here a dat.f.sg. of the noun *paññā-* 'understanding'.

- p. 158: Because, as is accurately discussed on p. 160, *sadevakā … sadevamanussāya* are ablatives, they should not be translated as if they are locatives. The punctuation of the Pāli could also be improved here.

- p. 180 (et passim): Tradition is followed and *diṭṭhe'va dhamme* is translated as "in this present life", but Gombrich' (2006²: 116 fn. 14) "when he has seen the truth" seems more likely to me.

- p. 192: The English word "monk" has intruded in the Pāli text instead of *bhikkhu*.

- p. 213: *yoniso* 'thoroughly' is confusingly called an "ablative", but -*so* is an adverbial suffix < Skt -*śaḥ* (On p. 302, the correct identification of *yoniso* as an adverb is given and on p. 342, *sabbaso* 'entirely' is rightly explained as well).

- p. 373 with fn. 186: For the occasional use of nominative phrases to introduce places in Pāli, cf. von Hinüber (2006: 198–200 with further ref.). The explanation cited from the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* seems rather far-fetched.

- p. 398ff: 'to enter the rains' is too literal a translation for *vassaṃ gacchati*. For readers who do not know the expression, the meaning only becomes clear at p. 405, where it is explained that this idiom refers to the three-month retreat of monks during the rainy season.

- p. 405: *upagacchāmi* is of course first person and not third person singular.

- p. 444: Sākata > Sāketa

One final point. Even though the author justifies his choice (p. 5; 8), it is still a pity that only passages from the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* are included in the book. At least parts of some other *Nikāya*s could have been incorporated to present the student with a more representative sample of Pāli literature. In fact, I think I would not be alone in welcoming a second volume that would not only include samples from the other *Nikāya*s, but also from the *Vinaya*, the *Abhidhamma* and other Pāli texts, such as the *Jātaka*s, the *Dhammapada*, etc. Such a book would be another significant tool for more advanced students of Pāli.

Saṃkhittena, an occasional point of criticism aside, there should be no doubt that this book will form a major help for the happy few who want to read the Buddha's teachings in Pāli.

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Genèse d'un apocryphe bouddhique: le Sūtra de la pure délivrance
by Costantino Moretti.
Paris: IHE Chinoise, December 2016.
ISBN-10: 2857570767
ISBN-13: 978-2857570769

Reviewed by Frederick Shih-Chung Chen

Chinese Buddhist apocrypha have long been depreciated by orthodox scholarly monks and Buddhist cataloguers for their inauthentic nature as forgeries of Indian Buddhist scriptures. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, leading scholars such as Robert Buswell called for a reassessment of their value, arguing that they actually provide significant material relating to less-explored facets of the development of Buddhism outside traditional philosophical and doctrine-centred study. Noting that the Chinese apocryphal scriptures are made up of diverse traditions, Buswell in particular reminded us that, "Exclusive focus on national traditions all too easily conceals the manifold points of symbiosis between those traditions, which can be of immense value in detailing both the evolution of the national varieties of Buddhism and the indigenous texts that reflect that evolution."[1]

Coincidentally, a collection of medieval manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures was uncovered in 1990 at the Nanatsu-dera 七寺, Nagoya, Japan. Among them is the previously missing second juan of the three-juan version of the *Jingdu sanmei jing* 淨度三昧經 ('*Samādhi-Sūtra* of Liberation through Purification'). This *sūtra*, composed from miscellaneous origins, has long been regarded by scholars as one of the most important Chinese indigenous apocryphal scriptures epitomizing the Sinification and popularization of Buddhism during the period

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[1] Buswell, Robert E. ed. *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990, p. 22.

of the Northern-Southern dynasties. Classified as apocryphal during the medieval period, the *sūtra* was excluded from the Chinese Tripiṭaka, and the full text was subsequently lost, although modern scholars had tried to recover it from quotations in secondary texts and the fragmentary manuscripts excavated at Dunhuang. The discovery of the Nanatsu-dera manuscripts has now made it possible to reconstruct a complete version of all three juans.

Costantino Moretti's *Genèse d'un apocryphe bouddhique: le Sūtra de la pure délivrance* ('The Genesis of a Buddhist Apocrypha') is a monograph based on his PhD thesis, which seeks to update our understanding of the making of the *Jingdu sanmei jing*. It is one of several attempts in Western languages to reassess this particular *sūtra* at the PhD level since the discovery of the Nanatsu-dera manuscripts.

The reconstructed *Jingdu sanmei jing* was first studied by the research team of *The Manuscripts of Nanatsu-dera* in Japan.[2] Harumi Hirano Ziegler's PhD thesis at UCLA in 2001 (supervised by R. Buswell and published by UMI), "The Sinification of Buddhism as Found in an Early Chinese Indigenous *Sūtra*: A Study and Translation of the Fo-shuo Ching-tu San-mei Ching," is the pioneering work in a Western language on the recovered three-juan version. It surveys the origin and composition of the *sūtra*, and aspects of Sinification, and it includes a full English translation of all three juans. Ziegler challenges a view held by some previous scholars that the *sūtra* was probably composed by Tanyao 曇曜 (fl. 453 – 499 CE), a leading figure in the resurrection of Buddhism after its persecution by Emperor Taiwu 太武帝 of the North Wei 北魏 during 446 – 452 CE. Tanyao had first been mentioned as one of several translators of different versions of the *sūtra* in the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記, a somewhat unreliable Buddhist catalogue by Fei Changfang 費長房 (fl. 562 – 598 CE). The assumption was generally based on comparison of the *Jingdu sanmei jing* with another significant apocryphal scripture, the *Tiwei jing* 提謂經 ('The *Sūtra* of Trapuṣa and Bhallika'), composed by Tanjing 曇靖 during 453 – 464 CE in the Northern Wei; both scriptures display a similar mixture of Buddhist and indigenous Chinese beliefs and they share some content, such as the "Account of the Days of the Eight Kings 八王日". From a close reading of the earliest existing bibliographical source, the *Chu sanzangji*

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[2] Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典 ed. *The manuscripts of Nanatsu-dera*. Kyoto: Italian School of East Asia Studies, 1991. Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮 ed. in chief & Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典 managing ed. *Nanatsudera koitsu kyōten kenkyū sōsho chūgoku senjutsu kyōten (sono2)* 七寺古逸經典研究叢書 中國撰述經典(其之二). Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1996.

ji 出三藏記集 ('Collection of notes on the translated Tripitika'), compiled by Sengyou 僧祐 (445 – 518 CE), Ziegler established that, while several versions of the *Jingdu sanmei jing* were available in South China prior to 515 CE, three *sūtra*s translated by Kiṅkara 吉迦夜 and Tanyao in 472 CE in the Northern Wei had not at that date been transmitted there, due to the division of territory by the northern and southern polities. The later attribution to Tanyao in the *Lidai sanbao ji* therefore seems unlikely. Given that the three-juan version of the *Jingdu sanmei jing* contains a wide range of Buddhist ideas and references, Ziegler held that it could only have been composed in South China, where scholarly sources were more easily available than in the Northern Wei after the persecution of Buddhism.

Ziegler's approach to dating the *sūtra* rests on the assumption that this reconstructed three-juan version is the original text. However, the three-juan version was not first mentioned in the *Chu sanzangji ji*, but attributed to Baoyun 寶雲 (376-449 CE) in the *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄 by Fajing 法經 in 594 CE, and versions of the *Jingdu sanmei jing* with different numbers of juan had already been recorded earlier, some supposedly having been subject to later modification. The *Chu sanzangji ji* includes a note asserting that the "Record of the Origin of the Abstinence Days of the Eight Kings" 八王日齋緣記 comes from the *Jingdu sanmei jing*. The same account is also in the *Tiwei jing*. This suggests to me that the "Record of the Days of the Eight Kings" was once in the earliest stratum of the *sūtra*. In my DPhil thesis (University of Oxford 2010),[3] I inspect the origin of the *Jingdu sanmei jing* by examining this particular feature. Textual analysis of the "Record of the Days of the Eight Kings" shows that its content was probably formulated and developed through the integration of the Buddhist text of the Four Great Kings 四天王經 with the eight seasonal days stipulated by the *Laozi zhong jing* 老子中經 ('Central Scripture of Laozi'). The *Laozi zhong jing* is an early Daoist scripture on self-cultivation (dated by Kristofer Schipper not later than the fourth-century *Baopuzi* 抱朴子),[4] which proclaims that the human lifespan can be prolonged by the visualization of deities on the associated part or organs of the body on associated festive days, particularly the eight seasonal days. Both texts were based on parallel religious ideas about periodic abstinence days and associated metaphors of the inspection and recording of human deeds by otherworld bureaucratic deities.

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[3] Chen, Frederick Shih-Chung. *The Transformation of Concepts of Bureaucratization of the Other World in Early Medieval China: From Buddhist Perspectives*. DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 2010, pp. 92 – 176.

[4] Schipper, Kristofer. "The Inner World of the Lao-Tzu Chung–Ching." in Huang, Chun-Chieh and Zürcher, Erik ed. *Time and Space in Chinese Culture*. Leiden: Brill, 1995, pp. 118 – 119.

Analysis also reveals that the Eight King Messengers 八王使者 in the *Jingdu sanmei jing* are actually a Buddhist adoption of the Eight Trigram Deities, the invocatory deities recommended by the *Laozi zhong jing* for life-prolonging visualizations on the eight seasonal days. Furthermore, this account is probably the textual source of the identities of the enigmatic Eight Trigram Deities depicted on the bottom of the Northern Liang votive *stūpa* 北涼石塔 below the line of the *Foshuo shi'er yinyuan jing* 佛說十二因緣經 ('*Sūtra* Spoken by the Buddha on Twelve Co-dependent Originations') and also of the images of the seven past Buddhas and the Buddha of the future — Maitreya. The function of stūpas, as Peter Harvey has concluded, is a visualization of "representing the Dhamma (teaching, path and realizations) and the enlightened personality embodying the culmination of Dhamma-practice."[5] As the doctrines of Twelve Co-dependent Originations and the Eight Buddhas are both meditative objects for enlightenment according to Buddhist practice,[6] the Eight Trigram Deities below them on the Northern Liang *stūpa* therefore epitomize a Buddhist adoption of visualization objects from Daoism. The inclusion of the meditative term *samādhi* 三昧 in the title of the apocryphal scripture might imply such religious practices in Northern Liang. The early core stratum of the *Jingdu sanmei jing* was very likely composed during this period by monks from the Northern Liang, such as Baoyun who later moved to the south.[7]

I was not able to access Moretti's thesis before my article on the Eight Kings in the *Jingdu sanmei jing* appeared in *Asia Major*,[8] as it was still under revision. Therefore I was extremely excited to learn about this publication. It is a well-researched book that presents in encyclopedic detail an extensive range of primary and secondary sources relating not only to the *Jingdu sanmei jing*, but also to issues concerning other early medieval and medieval indigenous Chinese Buddhist scriptures. Moretti explores the origin of the *sūtra* by considering

[5] Harvey, Peter. "The Symbolism of the Early Stūpa." in *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1984, pp. 67 – 93.

[6] *Zuochan sanmei jing* 坐禪三昧經 by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什. T. 15, no. 614, 282c – 284; *Fo shuo guanfo sanmei hai jing* 佛說觀佛三昧海經. Buddhabhadra 佛陀跋陀羅 (359 – 429 CE) T. 15 no. 643, ch.10, p. 693.

[7] Leading features in the resurrection of Buddhism in the Northern Wei, such as Tanyao, were also originally from the Northern Liang.

[8] Chen, Frederick Shih-Chung. "Who Are the Eight Kings in the Samādhi-Sūtra of Liberation through Purification? Otherworld Bureaucrats in India and China." *Asia Major*, 3rd ser., 26, no. 1 (2013): 55–78.

four aspects: its place in bibliographic catalogues, its content and philological borrowings, the narration of hells, and specific elements such as the pantheon, practice and worship. The book also includes a French translation of the first juan of the *Jingdu sanmei jing*.

The first chapter surveys bibliographic catalogues relating to the *Jingdu sanmei jing*. Of these, Moretti considers that the *Lidai sanbao ji* by Fei Changfang, the first to mention the one-juan version translated by Tanyao, gives the most information about its origin. His argument, based on the views of such scholars as Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆 and Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮, posits a strong link between the *Jingdu sanmei jing* and the *Tiwei jing*. Their similarities of style, content and doctrine, not to mention philological and linguistic features, suggest that the two texts could have been conceived in the same environment. Moretti is confident that Tanyao, if not the true "editor" of the *Jingdu sanmei jing*, was at least the person responsible for its "making".

The second chapter elucidates the content and philological borrowings in the *Jingdu sanmei jing* in three sections. It starts with a detailed illustration of how the *sūtra* of three juans was reconstructed from the surviving manuscripts in Dunhuang and the Nanatsu-dera and summarizes the content. Secondly, it traces the content and context of quotations from the *Jingdu sanmi jing* that survived in secondary sources (encyclopedic works, religious commentaries and treatises). The survey is summed up in a meticulous illustrative table of the contents of the *Jingdu samei jing* and corresponding quotations from associated manuscripts and secondary sources (pp. 110 – 115). The third section analyzes the linguistic and stylistic borrowings manifest in the *sūtra*. The overall examination shows heterogeneity in the choice of translation styles and forms, ranging from the very complex phonetic transcriptions that characterize some translators to the Sinicized forms that mark the style of others. For example, in certain cases, instead of using the translation style of Kumārajīva (344 – 413 or 350 – 409 CE), which was closer in time to the formation of the *sūtra*, more archaic forms by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 (230? – 316 CE) were chosen. These inconsistencies, from Moretti's viewpoint, confirm the apocryphal character and heterogeneous features of the *sūtra*. With regard to the usage of certain terms that are not specifically Buddhist, Moretti points out that these typically Chinese religious expressions, which some translators chose to use and others tried to avoid, were generally familiar to lay people. Their inclusion suggests to him that this apocryphal *sūtra* was aimed at an audience mainly composed of lay people.

The third chapter investigates the enumeration of hells in the *Jingdu sanmei jing*, particularly the thirty hells, drawing comparisons with previous Chinese Buddhist texts. First indicated by Saitō Takanobu 齊藤隆信, the thirty hells were formulated through a combination of parallel narrations mostly from three earlier Buddhist scriptures, namely the *Tiecheng nili jing* 鐵城泥犁經 (T.1, no. 42), the *Nili jing* 泥犁經 (T. 1, no. 86), and the chapter on the visualization of hells as meditative objects for liberation in the *Xiuxing daodi jing* 修行道地經 (the *Yogācārabhūmi*, the 'Ground of Meditation Practitioners' T. 15, no. 606).[9] Moretti explores in minute detail the parallels between each of the thirty hells enumerated in the *Jingdu sanmei jing* and those in the previous scriptures, summarizing his findings in a clear diagram. He elucidates the description of each hell and the religious moral and practice that lay behind it.

The fourth chapter surveys featured elements of the *Jingdu sanmei jing,* including the pantheon, practice and worship, via a threefold examination of the five precepts, the Days of the Eight Kings and the concept of self-salvation. First, it traces the association between the Buddhist five precepts and the five officials of Chinese indigenous deities and the twenty-five guardian deities who protect keepers of the precepts. While the five officials were probably an expansion of the three celestial officials in early Chinese religions to match the religious symbolism of the number five, the twenty-five guardian deities of the five precepts were first mentioned in earlier Buddhist scripture. Such associations with the five precepts are further extended to other symbolic instances of the number five in Chinese religion, such as the five viscera, five elements, and so on, presented in the *Tiwei jing* and other similar Buddho-Daoist scriptures. Secondly, Moretti examines content relating to the Abstinence Days of the Eight Kings in this three-juan version of the *Jingdu sanmei jing,* considering such issues as the observance of precepts, consequent reward and punishment in terms of increased or decreased lifespan, and the bureaucratic deities involved in inspecting and recording human actions. Although all these examples show clearly that the Days of the Eight Kings, derived from the eight seasonal days in Daoism, were considered particularly important by the Daoist tradition, Moretti maintains that the complexity of the interplay between Buddhism, Daoism and

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[9] Saitō Takanobu 齊藤隆信. "Jōdo sanmaikyō no kenkyū: Anrakushū to Kannen hōmon no baai 『浄度三昧経』の研究—『安楽集』と『観念法門』の場合." *Bukkyō Daigaku Sōgō Kenkyūjo kiyō* 佛教大学総合研究所紀要, no. 3, 1996, pp. 218 – 219. The *Xiuxing daodi jing* is a Śrāvakayāna 聲聞乘 treatise for meditation practitioners (*yogācāra*) on the practice of calm and insight 寂觀 (*śamatha-vipaśyanā*) for attaining *nirvāṇa*.

Chinese popular religious beliefs makes it difficult or even dangerous to trace the roots of "Daoist contamination" on the basis of insufficient information: "We should avoid claiming that elements traditionally considered typical of Chinese thought are mixed up in the *Jingdu jing* with Indian ideas, like the idea of the inspection of deeds by deities, which are associated in this text with certain days of the year, the eight seasonal days, where different ceremonies, assimilable in part into popular religion and into Daoism, but also into Buddhism, took place" (p. 328). The chapter ends with a brief discussion of the issue of self-salvation.

In his conclusion, Moretti reiterates that the *Jingdu sanmei jing* should be considered a treatise (in the form of a *sūtra*) for lay disciples or else a textbook by which the Buddhist clergy could teach and convert lay people. He assumes that the concept of *samādhi* is not approached in an explicitly doctrinal way in the *sūtra*, so that the use of the term in the title is merely emblematic, intended to add Indian colour and an authentically "exotic" stamp to the Chinese apocrypha. In his view, the highlighting of such practices as the observance of precepts during abstinence days and the making of offerings at non-Buddhist as well as Buddhist festivals associates the text with the development of organized Buddhist communities and lay associations such as *yiyi* 邑義 and *yihui* 邑會 during the same period. These heterogeneous doctrines and practices, expounded in the *Jingdu sanmei jing*, laid the foundation for the further development of popular religions in medieval China.

The three-juan version of the *Jingdu sanmei jing* is made up of diverse and complex religious texts derived from heterogeneous traditions. With painstaking effort, Moretti pieces them together and demonstrates a clear and detailed map of the structure of the *sūtra* and related references. This provides a very rich and useful guide to the study of the *Jingdu sanmei jing* and Chinese apocryphal scriptures. Such hard work deserves tremendous credit.

Given that the title refers to the genesis of this Buddhist apocryphal scripture, it is clear that Moretti's conclusions on this central issue are quite at odds with those of the other two most recent works on the *Jingdu sanmei jing*. Makita Tairyō cautiously assumed that it is not possible to identify its translator solely from bibliographic catalogues and suggested that the attribution to Tanyao is probably due to his having been the leading figure in the restoration of Buddhism when the *Tiwei jing* was translated by Tanjing, also in the Northern Wei.[10] Moretti, by

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[10] Makita Teiryō 牧田諦亮. *Gikyō kenkyū* 疑經研究. Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 1976, p. 249.

contrast, is more confident that Tanyao was at least responsible for the "making" of the *Jingdu sanmei jing*. In this, he apparently disagrees with Ziegler's point that, while scriptures co-translated by Tanyao and Kiṅkara were not available in South China due to the dynastic division, the *Jingdu sanmei jing* had already been circulating in the South. Moretti is also unusual in placing so much weight on the *Lidai sanbao ji* by Fei Changfang as the key bibliographic catalogue. Most scholars regard the *Lidai sanbao ji* as less trustworthy, particularly because of the many new ascriptions for canonical texts seemed to be added arbitrarily by Fei. Michael Radich has recently voiced serious concern at its careless use.[11] Moreover, it should be noticed that, in the *Lidai Sanbao ji*, Fei actually made a note on the *Jingdu sanmei jing* attributed to Tanyao, saying that this Northern version of one juan was the second translation. Although roughly abbreviated, it is essentially the same as the two-juan version translated by Baoyun (which was based on an Indic manuscript brought by Faxian 法顯, d. 418 – 423 CE).[12] See the catalogue by Daozu. 淨度三昧經一卷 (第二出。與寶雲譯二卷者同。廣略異耳。見道祖錄).[13] Therefore Fei Changfang's comment does not support but in fact undermines Moretti's idea that Tanyao was the most likely editor, if not translator, of the three-juan *sūtra* which comprises such a broad range of contents and doctrines. Moretti's claim is based not on any substantial newfound sources but on wishful thinking.

On the issue of the specific messenger and other secondary deities mentioned in the Account of the Days of the Eight Kings in the *Jingdu sanmei jing*, Moretti is insightful in comparing the parallel narrative sentences about "The Lord of the Grand One 太一君", who is the also Lord of human beings, residing in the human navel, along with the Grand General of the Pillar of Heaven 柱天大將軍, Specially Promoted War King or Lord King 特進兵王 (特進君王) and the eight messengers, the Eight Trigram Deities (pp. 290 – 291) mentioned in the *Tiwei jing* and the *Shichan boluomi cidifamen* 釋禪波羅蜜次第法門 (Understanding Dhyāna Pāramitā: A Method in Stages), written by the founder of the Tiantai School 天台宗, Zhiyi 智顗 (538 – 597 CE). On the other hand, he fails to note that this parallel narration is actually an abbreviated quotation from the thirteenth chapter (the thirteenth Immortal 第十三神仙) of the *Laozi zhong jing* about the

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[11] Radich, Michael. "Fei Changfang's Treatment of Sengyou's Anonymous Texts." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 139.4 (2019): 819 – 841.

[12] 淨度三昧經二卷 (法顯齎。梵本來。見竺道祖雜錄). *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀. T. 49 no.2034: 89c18

[13] 淨度三昧經一卷 (第二出。與寶雲譯二卷者同。廣略異耳。見道祖錄). *Lidai sanbao ji* T. 49 no.2034: 85a 24.

Eight Trigram Deity who reports the record of human beings to the Grand One on "the eight seasonal days." My own article had already pointed out that, not only this passage about the Lord of the Grand One and his Eight Trigram Messengers in the *Tiwei jing* (col. 107 – 109 of Dunhuang Manuscript P. 3732), but also the whole paragraph addressing the correspondence between deities and human organs (col. 105 – 115) are abbreviated quotations from the 13th, 17th, 18th, 19th, etc., chapters of the *Laozi zhong jing*.[14] The quotation in the *Shichan boluomi cidifamen* also comes from a passage which consists of similar abbreviated sentences from the *Laozi zhong jing*. As this quotation by Zhiyi includes the following sentence "Together, they are the (so-called) Nine Ministers 合為九卿" in the *Laozi zhong jing*, it appears that Zhiyi's comment derives from his knowledge of more direct sources of the *Laozi zhong jing*, rather than from the *Tiwei jing*. Also, the *Jingdu sanmei jing* and the *Tiwei jing* are probably the two earliest Buddhist scriptures to mention both the Grand General of the Pillar of Heaven and the Specially Promoted War King or Lord King along with the Grand One.

These parallels suggest a close link between the content related to the eight seasonal days in the *Laozi zhong jing* and the Account of the Days of the Eight Kings in both the *Jingdu sanmei jing* and the *Tiwei jing*. Nevertheless, apart from one brief reference to the two deities on shoulders 肩背神二人 included in Yao Changshou's 姚長壽 article (p.283), there is no further mention of the *Laozi zhong jing* in this book.[15] Moretti does not even include the *Laozi zhong jing* in his bibliography, despite listing quite a number of textual sources and information related to the eight seasonal days, but mostly from the later period. While he advises us against attempting to trace the origins of the account in the *Jingdu sanmei jing,* due to the complexity of the textual sources on the eight seasonal days in his list and lack of sufficient information, it seems to me incomprehensible that this book should totally omit such an early and closely related primary source on the eight seasonal days as the *Laozi zhong jing.* His summary directly disagrees with the argument and approach of my article in *Asia Major* which highlights the importance of the *Laozi zhong jing* and the Buddhist text of the Four Great Kings in the formation of the Account of the Days of the Eight Kings (although my article is not mentioned in this context, but is merely noted as "a hypothesis" in a brief footnote in another part of this book (p. 248)).

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[14] Chen (2013), p.66. Makita (1976), pp. 186 – 187.

[15] Yao Changshou 姚長壽. "Jingdu sanmei jing yu rentianjiao 淨度三昧經與人天教." in the *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 中華佛學學報, no. 12, Oct. 1999, p. 89.

Furthermore, Ziegler's thesis included a specific analysis of a range of Buddhist scriptures with the title of *samādhi-sūtra*.[16] Had Moretti paid attention to it, he would probably have gained a broader understanding of scriptures with *samādhi-sūtra* in the title and thought twice before jumping to the common and convenient conclusion that the term merely functions as an emblem of "exotic" origin, simply based on preoccupation with national traditions.

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[16] Ziegler (2001), pp. 205 – 237.

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