Pali Text Society

JOURNAL
OF THE
PALI TEXT SOCIETY

VOLUME XVI

EDITED BY
K.R. NORMAN

Published by
THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY
OXFORD
1992
CONTENTS

Rūparūpavibhāga Translation
By R.H.B. Exell

1

Documents useful for the identification of Pāli manuscripts of Cambodia, Laos and Thailand
By Jacqueline Filliozat

13

The arising of an offence: samutthāna
By Oskar v. Hinüber

55

The case of the murdered monks
By Laurence C.R. Mills

71

Pāli Lexicographical Studies IX
By K.R. Norman

77

The ritual obligations and donor roles of monks in the Pāli Vinaya
By Gregory Schopen

87

The Raksā Literature of the Śrāvakayāna
By Peter Skilling

109

Contributors to this Volume

183

Notices

185
RUPARUPAVIBHAGA

By Buddhodatta

THE CLASSIFICATION OF FORMS AND FORMLESS THINGS

Homage to the Blessed One, the Arahant, the Fully Enlightened One.

Having paid respect to the Buddha, the seer of forms and formless things, the sage who has gone beyond them, I shall expound the classification of forms and formless things.

FORMS

There are twenty-eight kinds of form, in which the first four are the basic elements of form, and the rest are derived forms: (1) earth-element, (2) water-element, (3) fire-element, (4) wind-element, (5) eye-element, (6) ear-element, (7) nose-element, (8) tongue-element, (9) body-element, (10) visible form-element, (11) sound-element, (12) smell-element, (13) taste-element, touch-element, (14) female-faculty, (15) male-faculty, (16) faculty of life, (17) heart-base, (18) space-element, (19) bodily communication, (20) verbal communication, (21)

The five kinds of form beginning with the eye-element are internal; the rest are external. Colour, smell, taste, nutriment, and the four great elements are the eight kinds of form inseparable from each other; the rest are separable. The five kinds of form beginning with the eye-element, and the heart-base are bases; the others are not bases. The three faculties and the five beginning with the eye are the eight controlling faculties; the others are not controlling faculties. Setting aside the water-element, the twelve at the beginning are gross; the rest are subtle. Gross form is near, and subtle form is distant. Form produced by kamma is grasped; the rest is not grasped. The sphere of visible form is the only visible form; the others are invisible. Gross form is impinging; the others are not impinging.

The eight faculties and the heart-base are produced by kamma. Bodily communication and verbal communication are produced by mind. Sound is produced by season and mind. Lightness, softness, and fitness are produced by season, mind, and food. Birth, decay, and death do not originate from anything. Growth and continuity are said to arise from all four causes. The remaining nine forms are produced by season, mind, food, and kamma.

The first seventeen and food are the eighteen kinds of material form. The five kinds beginning with bodily communication are variations of form. The space-element is that which separates forms. Birth, ageing, and death are the three characteristics of form.

In the world of sense pleasures all these forms are obtained complete for moisture-born beings, and for spontaneously-born beings. But for male and female egg-born and womb-born beings at the time of rebirth three tenfold groups appear; the body, sex, and heart-base groups; while for the neuter beings and beings in the first age of the world there is no tenfold sex-group. But for these beings the tenfold groups of the eye, ear, nose, and tongue appear in the course of time.

Rūpārūpavibhāga

Here the tenfold body-group should be understood as the inseparable forms, the body-faculty, and the faculty of life. The remaining tenfold groups are combined in a similar way.

In the world of pure form the nose, tongue, body, smells, tastes, and touch-objects, and the male and female faculties are not obtained; and for beings without perception the eyes, ears, heart-base, and sounds are not obtained. In the formless world there is no form.

FORMLESS THINGS

There are three kinds of formless things: states of mind, mental properties, and Nibbāna.

States of Mind

In brief the states of mind are of ten kinds: (1) rebirth, (2) passive state, (3) excluding, (4) seeing, etc., (5) receiving, (6) investigating, (7) determining, (8) impulsion, (9) retention, and (10) death. But in detail there are eighty-nine kinds.

The twenty-one good states of mind. There are eight good states of mind in the sphere of sense pleasures: (1) one spontaneous state accompanied by happiness and associated with knowledge, (2) one prompted state accompanied by happiness and associated with knowledge, (3) one spontaneous state accompanied by happiness and dissociated from knowledge, (4) one prompted state accompanied by happiness and dissociated from knowledge, (5) one spontaneous state accompanied by neutral feeling and associated with knowledge, (6) one prompted state accompanied by neutral feeling and associated with knowledge, (7) one spontaneous state accompanied by neutral feeling and dissociated from knowledge, and (8) one prompted state accompanied by neutral feeling and dissociated from knowledge.

They arise dependent on the heart, or independent of it, immediately after the averting mind-consciousness-element. They take
as object visible form, sound, smell, taste, touch, or thought, and are
produced by giving, morality, or meditation, etc.

There are five good states of mind in the sphere of pure form:
(1) the first stage of contemplation with initial thought, sustained
thought, joy, ease, and one-pointedness, (2) the second stage of
contemplation with sustained thought, joy, ease, and one-pointedness,
(3) the third stage of contemplation with joy, ease, and one-pointedness,
(4) the fourth stage of contemplation with ease and one-pointedness, and
(5) the fifth stage of contemplation with neutral feeling and one-
pointedness.

They arise always dependent on the heart, immediately after a
suitable good state of mind associated with knowledge. They are
produced by meditation, taking earth, etc., as meditation objects. The
fifth stage of contemplation also occurs with the six special knowledges.

There are four good states of mind in the formless sphere: (1)
the attainment of the sphere of unlimited space, (2) the attainment of
the sphere of unlimited consciousness, (3) the attainment of the sphere
of nothingness, and (4) the attainment of the sphere of neither perception
nor non-perception.

They arise dependent on the heart, or independent of it, immediately after a
good state of mind accompanied by neutral feeling and associated with knowledge. They are produced by meditation, and take as object respectively: (1) the space obtained by removing a meditation object, (2) consciousness of the first formless sphere, (3) the non-existence of anything, and (4) the sphere of nothingness.

There are four good transcendental states of mind: (1) the path
of stream-attainment with views and doubt uprooted, (2) the path of
once-return with sensual desire and ill will reduced, (3) the path of non-
return with sensual desire and ill will uprooted, and (4) the path of
Arahantship with the five higher fetters — desire for the sphere of pure
form, desire for the formless sphere, conceit, restlessness, and ignorance
— uprooted.

In these four good transcendental states of mind the first arises
dependent on the heart, and the other three arise dependent on the heart
or independent of it. They follow immediately after a suitable good state
of mind associated with knowledge. They are produced by meditation, all
four taking Nibbāna as object; and they are named ‘the emptiness
deliverance’, ‘the signless deliverance’, or ‘the desireless deliverance’.

The twelve bad states of mind. There are eight states of mind
accompanied by greed: (1) the spontaneous state accompanied by
happiness and associated with view, (2) the similar prompted state, (3)
the spontaneous state accompanied by happiness and dissociated from
view, (4) the similar prompted state, (5) the spontaneous state
accompanied by neutral feeling and associated with view, (6) the similar
prompted state, (7) the spontaneous state accompanied by neutral
feeling and dissociated from view, and (8) the similar prompted state.

There are two states of mind associated with aversion: (9) the
spontaneous state accompanied by unhappiness and associated with
aversion, and (10) the similar prompted state.

There are two deluded states of mind: (11) the state
accompanied by neutral feeling and associated with doubt, and (12) the
state accompanied by neutral feeling and associated with restlessness.

In these twelve bad states of mind the two states associated
with aversion arise always dependent on the heart, and the others arise
dependent on the heart or independent of it. They take one or other of
the six objects (beginning with visible form), and they follow immediately after the advertning mind-consciousness-element.

The thirty-six resultant states of mind. There are sixteen good
resultant states of mind in the sphere of sense pleasures.

Eight of these do not contain root-causes: (1) Good resultant
eye-consciousness accompanied by neutral feeling is dependent on the
eye and takes a pleasing visible form as object. It arises by means of
light immediately after theadvertning mind-element. (2) Good resultant
ear-consciousness accompanied by neutral feeling is dependent on the ear
and takes a pleasing sound as object. It arises by means of space
immediately after the adverting mind-element. (3) Good resultant nose-
consciousness accompanied by neutral feeling is dependent on the nose
and takes a pleasing smell as object. It arises by means of the wind-
element immediately after the adverting mind-element. (4) Good
resultant tongue-consciousness accompanied by neutral feeling is
dependent on the tongue and takes a pleasing taste as object. It arises by
means of the water-element immediately after the adverting mind-
element. (5) Good resultant body-consciousness accompanied by ease is
dependent on the body and takes a pleasing touch as object. It arises by
means of the earth-element immediately after the adverting mind-
element. (6) The receiving state of mind, which is the good resultant
mind-element not containing root-causes, and which is accompanied by
neutral feeling, arises dependent on the heart. It follows immediately
after one of the above five good resultant types of consciousness and
takes the same object. (7) The investigating state of mind, which is the
good resultant mind-consciousness-element not containing root-causes,
and which is accompanied by happiness, arises dependent on the heart
and takes one or other of the six pleasant objects. It is named
‘investigating’ when it follows immediately after the good resultant
receiving mind-element; or it is named ‘retention’ when it follows
immediately after impulsion. (8) The investigating state of mind, which
is the good resultant mind-consciousness-element not containing root-
causes, and which is accompanied by neutral feeling, arises dependent on
the heart and takes one or other of the six pleasant objects. It is named
‘investigating’ when it follows immediately after the good resultant
receiving mind-element not containing root-causes; it is named
‘retention’ when it follows immediately after impulsion; it is named
‘passive state’ when it follows immediately after retention; it is named
‘death’ at the decay of the passive state; it is named ‘rebirth’ when it
follows immediately after the moment of death; or it is named ‘passive
state’ when it follows immediately after rebirth.

There are eight resultant states of mind containing root-causes
in the sphere of sense pleasures: (1) the spontaneous state accompanied
by happiness and associated with knowledge, (2) the similar prompted
state, (3) ... (8). They arise always dependent on the heart and take one
or other of the six pleasant objects. They are named ‘retention’ when
they follow immediately after impulsion; they are named ‘passive state’
when they follow immediately after retention; they are named ‘death’ at
the decay of the passive state; they are named ‘rebirth’ when they follow
immediately after the moment of death; or they are named ‘passive state’
when they follow immediately after rebirth.

There are five resultant states of mind in the sphere of pure
form: (1) the first stage of contemplation with initial thought, sustained
thought, joy, ease, and one-pointedness, (2) ... (5). They arise always
dependent on the heart and take earth, etc., as meditation objects. They
are named ‘passive state’ when they follow immediately after impulsion;
they are named ‘death’ at the decay of the passive state; they are named
‘rebirth’ when they follow immediately after the moment of death; or
they are named ‘passive state’ when they follow immediately after rebirth.

There are four resultant states of mind in the formless sphere:
(1) the sphere of unlimited space, (2) ... (4). They arise independent of
the heart, and take as object respectively: (1) the space obtained by
removing a meditation object, (2) ... (4). They are named ‘passive state’
when they follow immediately after impulsion; they are named ‘death’ at
the decay of the passive state; they are named ‘rebirth’ when they follow
immediately after the moment of death; or they are named ‘passive state’
when they follow immediately after rebirth.

There are four states of mind which are transcendental fruits:
(1) the fruit of stream-attainment, (2) ... (4). Of these the fruit of
stream-attainment arising immediately after the path is always dependent
on the heart. The other three are dependent on the heart or independent
of it. All four take Nibbāna as object; and when they first appear
immediately after the path they are named ‘the emptiness deliverance’,
‘the signless deliverance’, or ‘the desireless deliverance’.
There are seven bad resultant states of mind: (1) Bad resultant eye-consciousness accompanied by neutral feeling is dependent on the eye and takes an unpleasant visible form as object. It arises by means of light immediately after the adverting mind-element. (2) ... (4). (5) Bad resultant body-consciousness accompanied by pain is dependent on the body and takes an unpleasant touch as object. It arises by means of the earth-element immediately after the adverting mind-element. (6) The receiving state of mind, which is the bad resultant mind-element not containing root-causes, and which is accompanied by neutral feeling, arises dependent on the heart. It follows immediately after one of the above five bad resultant types of consciousness and takes the same object. (7) The investigating state of mind, which is the bad resultant mind-consciousness-element not containing root-causes, and which is accompanied by neutral feeling, arises dependent on the heart and takes one or other of the six unpleasant objects. It is named ‘investigating’ when it follows immediately after the bad resultant receiving mind-element not containing root-causes; it is named ‘retention’ when it follows immediately after impulse; it is named ‘passive state’ when it follows immediately after retention; it is named ‘death’ at the decay of the passive state; it is named ‘rebirth’ when it follows immediately after the moment of death; or it is named ‘passive state’ when it follows immediately after rebirth.

The twenty inoperative states of mind. There are eleven inoperative states of mind in the sphere of sense pleasures. Three of these do not contain root-causes: (1) The mind-element accompanied by neutral feeling which adverts to the doors of the five senses is dependent on the heart, and arises immediately after the passive state. It takes one or other of the five objects, and precedes the five types of sense-consciousness. (2) The mind-consciousness-element accompanied by happiness which produces the smile of the Arahant is always dependent on the heart. It takes one or other of the six objects at the mind-door, and follows immediately after the adverting mind-consciousness-element. (3) The adverting mind-consciousness-element accompanied by neutral feeling arises dependent on the heart or independent of it. It is named ‘adverting’ when it follows immediately after the passive state; or it is named ‘determining’ when it follows immediately after investigation. It takes one or other of the six objects, and it precedes the good, bad, and inoperative impulsive states of mind in the sphere of sense pleasures.

There are eight inoperative states of mind accompanied by root-causes in the sphere of sense pleasures: (1) the spontaneous state accompanied by happiness and associated with knowledge, (2) ... (8). They are dependent on the heart or independent of it, they take one or other of the six objects, and they arise immediately after the adverting mind-consciousness-element.

There are five inoperative states of mind in the sphere of pure form: (1) the first stage of contemplation with initial thought, sustained thought, joy, ease, and one-pointedness, (2) ... (5). They arise always dependent on the heart, immediately after a suitable inoperative state of mind associated with knowledge, and they take earth, etc., as meditation objects. The fifth stage of contemplation also occurs with the six special knowledges.

There are four inoperative states of mind in the formless sphere: (1) the attainment of the sphere of unlimited space, (2) ... (4). They arise dependent on the heart or independent of it, immediately after an inoperative state of mind accompanied by neutral feeling and associated with knowledge. They take as object respectively: (1) the space obtained by removing a meditation object, (2) ... (4).

Mental Properties

There are fifty-two mental properties.

The mental properties common to all states of mind. There are seven of these as follows: (1) contact, (2) feeling, (3) perception, (4) volition, (5) one-pointedness, (6) faculty of life, and (7) attention.

The good mental properties. The following twenty mental properties do not arise in thirty of the states of mind — the bad states,
and the states not containing root-causes: (1) faculty of faith, (2) faculty of mindfulness, (3) faculty of wisdom, (4) power of moral shame, (5) power of fearing to do evil, (6) non-greed, (7) non-hate, (8) calmness of the body, (9) calmness of the state of mind, (10) lightness of the body, (11) lightness of the state of mind, (12) softness of the body, (13) softness of the state of mind, (14) fitness of the body, (15) fitness of the state of mind, (16) capability of the body, (17) capability of the state of mind, (18) uprightness of the body, (19) uprightness of the state of mind, and (20) neutrality. But wisdom is not obtained in the twelve states dissociated from knowledge, so it does not arise in forty-two of the states of mind.

(21) Compassion and (22) gladness arise at times and separately in twenty states of mind: in the states of mind in the sphere of pure form, with the exception of the fifth stage of contemplation; in the good states of mind accompanied by happiness in the sphere of sense pleasures; and in the inoperative states of mind containing root causes and accompanied by happiness. (23) Right speech, (24) right conduct, and (25) right livelihood arise in the transcendental states of mind. Among the worldly states of mind they also arise at times and variously in the good states in the sphere of sense pleasures.

There are six miscellaneous mental properties: (1) initial thought, (2) sustained thought, (3) joy, (4) the faculty of energy, (5) will, and (6) determination. Among these, initial thought and sustained thought do not arise in thirty-one states of mind: the types of sense-consciousness in two fivefold groups, the three highest states of mind in the sphere of pure form, and all the states of mind in the formless sphere. Joy does not arise in fifty-four states of mind: the states accompanied by unhappiness and those accompanied by neutral feeling, body-consciousness, the fourth stage of contemplation, and the state of mind adverting to the mind-door. Energy does not arise in sixteen states of mind: the resultant states not containing root-causes, and the adverting mind-element. Will does not arise in twenty states of mind: the eighteen states of mind not containing root-causes (comprising the types of sense-consciousness in two fivefold groups, the three mind-elements, the investigating states, the smiling state, and the determining state), and also the two deluded states of mind. Determination does not arise in eleven states of mind: the types of sense-consciousness in two fivefold groups, and the state of mind with doubt.

The bad mental properties. The following four mental properties are common to all bad states of mind: (1) delusion, (2) shamelessness, (3) not fearing to do evil, and (4) restlessness. (5) Greed arises in the eight states of mind accompanied by greed. (6) View arises in the four states of mind associated with view. (7) Conceit sometimes arises in the four states of mind dissociated from view. (8) Sloth and (9) torpor arise in the five prompted states of mind. (10) Hatred arises in the two states of mind with aversion. (11) Envy, (12) stinginess, and (13) worry arise at times and separately in the two states of mind accompanied by unhappiness. (14) Doubt arises in the state of mind accompanied by doubt. These fourteen mental properties are invariably bad.

The combinations of mental properties. There are seven mental properties in the two fivefold groups of sense-consciousness: ten in the three mind-elements, and in the two types of rebirth not containing root-causes: eleven in the investigating state accompanied by happiness, and in the determining state; and twelve in the smiling state of mind.

Among the bad states of mind there are fifteen mental properties in the two deluded states; eighteen in the fifth, seventh, and ninth states; nineteen in the first and third; twenty in the sixth, eighth, and tenth; and twenty-one in the second and fourth.

There are thirty mental properties in the fifth stage of contemplation in the sphere of pure form, and in the states of the formless sphere; thirty-one in the resultant and inoperative states of mind accompanied by neutral feeling and dissociated from knowledge, and in the fourth stage of contemplation; thirty-two in the resultant and inoperative states accompanied by neutral feeling and associated with knowledge, in the good state accompanied by neutral feeling and
dissociated from knowledge, in the resultant state accompanied by happiness and dissociated from knowledge, and in the third stage of contemplation; thirty-three in the good and inoperative states accompanied by happiness and dissociated from knowledge, in the good state accompanied by neutral feeling and associated with knowledge, in the resultant state accompanied by happiness and associated with knowledge, and in the second stage of contemplation; and thirty-four in the good and inoperative states accompanied by happiness and associated with knowledge, and in the first stage of contemplation.

The abstinences and the boundless states also arise together. In the transcendental states of mind there are thirty-four mental properties.

Nibbāna

Everlasting, deathless, secure, constant, peaceful, and uninformed — having surpassed words the Tathāgata proclaimed Nibbāna.

By this merit may Buddhaddhata, released from the fear of dwelling in saṃsāra, quickly acquire the exalted, blissful dispelling of passion that is free from all intoxication.

Bangkok

R.H.B. Exell

DOCUMENTS USEFUL FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF PĀLI MANUSCRIPTS OF CAMBODIA, LAOS AND THAILAND

Having been confronted for about ten years by the problems of identification and cataloguing of more than a thousand manuscripts in Pāli in the major European collections, roughly a hundred of which have no apparent title or colophon, I was led to establish, for the lack of anything better, alphabetic cards, listing the beginnings and ends of the texts, the stanzas, when I recognised them, and the visually most obvious passages, for example, the litanies, repetitions, formulae, etc., in the hope of identifying them, or at least putting them in accordance with one another or finding possible concordances with the edited texts.

I thus, during the course of my transcriptions, put together a large collection of documents which could serve to identify the thousands of other Pāli manuscripts still awaiting classification in our libraries and archives of Europe.

In the absence of such elementary tools as alphabetical lists of the Pāli texts written or used in Cambodia, Laos or Thailand, or histories of this Pāli literature, I was led to collect together all the documentation scattered in the various works and articles of our teachers (Finot, Cœdès, Saddhatissa) which have never been indexed but are nevertheless rich in notes and information on those texts, which have until now remained unedited or unknown, in order to be able to make use of a single work of reference, when I had several hundred pages to search through.

"Documents I" below constitutes a first attempt at an alphabetical classification of the principal titles or colophons of the texts in the Pāli of Indochina indicated by our philologists from 1917 to 1989.

The editions of the "Institut bouddhique de Phnom Penh", so precious since they establish texts lost in their original manuscript form, occasionally contain, in the best instances, very long lists of contents that have to be studied from beginning to end to find the desired text.

Journal of the Pali Text Society, XVI, 1992, 13-54
In “Documents II”, I give their classification in alphabetical order to facilitate access to them.

These collected materials now constitute a base of information easy to consult on computer, which will permit a new approach to the Pâli literature of Cambodia, Laos and Thailand.¹

Documents useful for ... Pâli manuscripts

I

Alphabetical table of titles² of Pâli works mentioned in:


**PLL** H. Saddhatissa, Pali Literature from Laos, in *Studies in Pali and Buddhism (A Memorial Volume in Honor of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap)*, Delhi 1979, pp. 327–40


**RLL** L. Finot, Recherches sur la littérature laotienne, *BEFEO XVII* n° 5, Hanoi 1917, pp. 42–83


**RPA** G. Coedès, Une recension pâlie des annales d’Ayuthya, *BEFEO XIV* n° 3, Hanoi 1914, pp. 1–31


Akkharagīthī PLL 337
Akkharasap RLL 63
Aṭṭhakathā-Caturāga DPLT 318

¹ English translation by Beatrice Chrystall.

² Pâli texts and titles are reproduced here as they are transcribed by the authors.
Aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā-Abhidhammavatāra DPLT 318
Aṭṭhakathā-ṭīkā- Vinaya DPLT 318
Aṭṭhamasaṅgiti-akharasamsodhana SPLT 44
Aṭṭhasālinī Atthayojanā SPLT 41
Aḍḍhabhāgabuddharūpanidāna NPT 46, SPLT 44
Atthayojanā-Samatapāsādikā NPT 41, PLT 213–15
Atthayojanā-Abhidhamma NPT 41, PLT 213–15
Anāgatabuddhavaṃsa PLC 192
Anāgatavaṃsa DPLT 318, RLL 65
Anuṭṭikā Hiṅgadhamma DPLT 318
Anuruddhasutta PLL 334
Abhidhamma cet kambi PLL 329
Abhidhammattha-vibhāvini pañcika-Atthayojanā SPLT 41
Abhidhamma-thasaṅgaha RLL 52
Abhidhamma-saṅgaha DPLT 318
Amarasadāhāra PLC 181
Amarakatabuddharūpanidāna NPT 46, PLT 213, SPLT 44
Arindamajātaka PLL 330
Aruṇavatī PLL 335
Aruṇavatissutta RLL 42
Aruṇavatti DPLT 318
Alambusājātaka RLL 50
Asokadhammarājanibbāna PLL 337
Ākara-vattasutta PLL 334, RLL 58
Ādikamma PLC 182
Ānandanibbāna RLL 66
Ānisaṃsāa PLC 185, RLL 73
Iti pi so ... RLL 58
Indasāva PLC 185
Uṇhassavijaya RLL 74–76
Uṇhassavijayajātaka PLL 335
Uppātasanti NPT 39
Uppātasantipakaraṇa RLL 60

Uppālasanti SPLT 45
Ovādūnusāsana PLC 183
Kaccāyanarūpadīpani RME 177, NPT 41, PLT 214
Kaccāyanasāra RLL 61
Kaccāyanasāra-sāmanvāṇṇa RLL 61
Kathāvattthu Atthayojanā SPLT 41
Kaṭhinānisaṃsakathā PLL 187
Kavikaṭhinābharana RLL 63
Kāyanagara PLC 186
Kārakanyāsa RLL 62
Kāvyasāravilāsini RLL 63
Kusaladhammasamcehayakathā PLL 336
Kesadhātu RLL 69
Khuddasikkhā yojanā RME 178
Gaṇḍhidīpani (Pātimokkha) NPT 41, PLT 214
Gaṇthasāra PLT 215, SLPT 43
Gaṇthabharana NPT 41, PLT 218, SPLT 43
Gaṇthabhāraṇaṭīkā SPLT 43
Gandhaghātakajātaka PLL 333
Gavampattisutta RLL 66
Gāthālokaneyaa PLC 189
Govinda-sutta RLL 42
Cakkavālādīpani PLT 217, SPLT 45
Cakkānavutta-jātaka PLL 333
Cakkhānavuttipāpasutta PLL 333
Catupārisuddhasīla PLC 182
Catupārahāvāra PLC 184
Caturārakkhāa PLC 184, PLL 335
Caturāsītidhammakhandhasāhaṃsasāmanvāṇṇāa PLL 337
Catuvāsisutta RLL 59
Candagāḍhajātaka PLL 329
Candapajjotajātaka RLL 49
Candabrāhmaṇajātaka RLL 49
Candasamuddājātaka RLL 49
Candasuriyakumārajātaka RLL 50
Carīyāpiṭaka DPLT 318
Cāmadeviṃṣa NPT 43, PLT 213, SPLT 43
Citragāṇṭhīdīpanī RLL 71
Cundasūkarikasutta PLL 334, RLL 72
Cullatīkāvisuddhimagga PLC 187
Cullādhammapālajātaka RLL 44
Cullāpārami RLL 72
Cūlayuddhakāravāṃsa PLT 220
Cūlarājaparītta PBST 39
Cūlasaddhammasaṅgaha SPLT 44
Cetanabheda PLL 334, RLL 72
Cetanabhedaṇṇanā PLL 339
Chandavuttivilāsini RLL 63
Jakkhaṇabhīdhamma DPLT 318
Jambuḍipaṇḍītiniddesa RPA 4
Jambupatisutta PLC 189, PLT 222, RLL 66
Jātattaginidāna PLL 340
Jīnakālāmālinī NPT 45, PLL 336
Jīnakālāmāliṇipakaraṇa DPLT 317, RME 178, RPA 4, PLT 215, SPLT 44
Jinaguyadhātu RLL 70
Jinālaṇākāra DPLT 318
Tiṃsāpārami PLL 336
Tiṃnakavatthu PLC 187
Tilakkhaṇasuttaṃgaṇha PLL 329
Tilokadīpanī PLL 336
Tilokavinicchaya PLC 187
Traiphum RLL 71
Trailokavinicchaya PLC 187
Trailokyavinicchayakathā RLL 71
Dantadhātu RLL 69

Dabbanibbāna RLL 66
Dasa-anāgata-buddhavāṃsa PLL 337
Dasapuṇṇakiriyavatthu PLC 185
Dasabodhisatta-uddesa PLC 192
Davavatthu PLC 185
Dasavaraṇaṅga-buddhābhiseka PLL 334
Dībbamanta RLL 59 (= Khandhaparītta)\(^3\)
Dībbamantasutta PLL 339
Dukammajātaka PLL 329
Devadūtasutta RLL 42
Devadhipaṇī PLL 335
Dvesīsaṭṭhakata PLL 330
Dhammakkhandha (84,000 Tipiṭaka units) RLL 76
Dhammajātaka DPLT 318
Dhammadāyāda RLL 42
Dhammadāsajātaka RLL 50
Dhammadesanāpāda RLL 72
Dhammapada DPLT 318
Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā NPT 40, RLL 71
Dhammapadasuttaṃgaṇahatilakkhaṇavinnicchaya PLL 329
Dhammanāhaṅkathā DPLT 318
Dhammasaṅgīvega RLL 72
Dhammasaṅgāni-Mātiṅkattha-sanāṭha SPLT 42
Dhammasaṅgānīmāṭīkā RLL 57
Dhammasavane RLL 50
Dhamnakopāṇītajātaka PLL 334
Dhamnakarājājātaka RLL 50
Dhātukathā Aththayojanī SPLT 41
Dhātvāhāra RLL 62
Nandakumāra PLL 329
Nandasutta PLL 333

\(^3\) The 4th sutta of Sattaparītta does not correspond to P.S. Jaini’s ed.
Niddesanyāsasāṅgaha PLL 327
Nibbāña, fortress of crystal RLL 77
Nibbānasutta PLL 332
Nirutti RLL 77
Paṃsukūladānānīsanāṃsakathā PLC 192
Pañcagatidipāni PLC 186–87
Pañcappakaraṇatthakathā PLT 214
Pañcabuddhabyākaraṇa PLC 192
Paññāpipāmi RLL 72
Paññāsajātaka PLC 188, RLL 44
Paṭipattisāṅgaha RME 178
Paṭhamamullamūlītikā RLL 77
Paṭṭhāna Atthāyojānā SPLIT 41
Pathamasambodhi PLC 180, NPT 41, RME 177, PLT 218, SPLIT 44, PLL 335–36
Pathakkamayojanāsaddatthabhedacintā SPLIT 42
Papañcasūdani DPLT 318
Pabbajjānīsaṃsa PLL 335
Paritta RLL 52–55
Parinibbānasutta PLL 329
Pavaranaḥsaṃjātaka PLL 332
Pādalakkhanagāthā = yassa pādesu jātāni dve cakkāni mahesino RLL 57
Pāramiddipāni RLL 72
Pārileyyaka DPLT 323
Pāliyeyaka DPLT 323
Pālayyaka DPLT 318
Puggalapaṭṭatti Atthāyojanā SPLIT 41
Punṇakasetṭhisāḷaṭṭha RLL 50
Pet mun RLL 76
Praya Tham jātaka RLL 50
Praya Sanksayajātaka RLL 50
Poraṇaṅsaṅgaha PLL 327

Phra Malai RLL 65
Balasaṃkyā RLL 72
Balasaṃkyājātaka RLL 49
Bāraṇasirājātaka PLL 338
Bālasaṅkhyaṭṭha RLL 331
Bāhuṃṭikā PLC 190
Bāhuṃṭa / Bāhuṃṭa-cintāmaṇiratana PLC 190
Bāhuṃṭahassa PLC 191
Bimbāṭherijātaka RLL 49
Bimbādevi PLC 181
Bimbānibbāna RLL 66
Bimbābhilābhavanāsa PLC 181
Bimbābhilāyasaṭṭhaa PLC 181
Buddhaguna RLL 72
Buddhaghosanidāna PLT 214
Buddhajāyamaṅgala PLC 191
Buddhalakkhanā PLT 221
Buddhavanāsa DPLT 318, RLL 42
Buddhanussatti RLL 72
Buddhāpadāna PLL 328
Buddhābhiseka PLL 334
Buddhābhisekagāthā RLL 57, 58
Bojjaṅgaṭṭhasaṅkhavanā PLC 184
Bodhipakkhiyādhammā RLL 72
Brahmadattajātaka RLL 50
Bhayaratjātaka RLL 49
Bhikkhupātimokkhagāṭṭhāṭṭha DPLT 41
Maṅgala-atṭhatthasāra-atṭhakathā PLC 186
Maṅgalagāthā RLL 58–59
Maṅgalatthadipāni PLT 217, DPLT 317, SPLIT 42
Maṅgaladipāni NPT 39, RME 177, RLL 71

4 Colophon: yasondarāya bhikkhuṇīya parinibbāṇavāṇīna niṭṭhitā
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document Title</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maṅgalavīhāra PLC 180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhurathapakāsini PLC 190</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhurathapurāṇapālīsini DPLT 318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manorathapūranī DPLT 318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malai Pothisat RLL 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malai Mun RLL 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malai Sen RLL 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākappalokasaṅgānapaṇñatti PLC 186</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākalpa DPLT 318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākassapattheraparinnibbānakathā PLL 336</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākassapanibbāna RLL 66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākuṁsānhalaparitta PLC 190</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahācakkavālaparitta PLC 190</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahājambupatisarājā PLC 189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahādibbaramanta PLC 191</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahānidāna DPLT 318, PLL 336</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahābuddhagūṇa PLC 186</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāmoggallānaparinnibbānavatthu PLL 337</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāyuddhakāravānsa PLT 220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāratanabimbavāṃsa PLC 181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahārājapabbaṃ PLC 189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahārājaparitta PBST 39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāvipāka PLC 182, PLL 334</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāvessantara-āṭṭhakathā PLC 188–89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāsampiṇḍitaniḍāna PLC 181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāsaddanīta RLL 62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāsāriputtanibbānasutta PLL 336</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māṭikatthasarūpa-Dhammasaṅgani SPLIT 42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālikā PLL 329</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālikājātaka RLL 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālēyyatherasutta PLT 215</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milindaṭṭikā PLC 190</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milindapaṇha DPLT 318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milindapaṇhaṭṭikā RME 178</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukhamatthakathā PLT 220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūlakaccāyanayojanā SPLIT 43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūlakassapaṅḥāna PLL 328</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūlakāttijātaka PLL 333</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūlasāsana PLT 216</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metteyyasutta PLL 328, RLL 65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamaṅa Atthoyojanā SPLIT 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yasasassathāa PLC 187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yokappakko Ācārīya PLL 335</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yogāvacara RLL 77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yojanāsamāsa PLC 188</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratanabimbavāṃsa NPT 46, PLT 213</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratanabimbavāṃsapakaraṅavāṅanākathā SPLIT 43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratanamālā = Liṅgatthavivaraṇa RLL 62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratanamālābhidhāna RLL 62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratanasutta RLL 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rassisīṅga = Alambusājātaka RLL 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāmāṅgasamaṅvāṃsa PLT 221</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāhulaparittā RLL 59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liṅkādipacatutthavārasaṅgahanidde RPA 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liṅgatthavivaraṇa = Ratanamālābhidhāra RLL 62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linatthapakāsana RLL 62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linatthappakāsini DPLT 323, RLL 62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linatthavisodhani RLL 62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lem luon RLL 76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokadipanī PLT 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokadvipa PLL 336</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokapaṇḍati DPLT 318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokavidū PLL 334</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokavinaya PLL 331</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokasaṅghānąjotaratanaṅgthi RLL 71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokipaññāsajātaka PLT 221</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lokūpapatti DPLT 318
Lohagonājataka PLL 333
Vajirabodhiṭṭhā RLL 51
Vajjirasāratthasaṅgaha PLT 216
Vajjirasāratthasaṅgahaṭṭhā SPLIT 43
Varavamsajataka PLL 338
Vākyasāravilāsini RLL 62
Vāmadantadhātutsutta PLL 328, RLL 69
Vijayajataka = Sī Vixai RLL 49
Vijādhara = Vijjñādhammaṇājataka PLC 188
Vijñādhammaṇājataka = Vijādhara PLC 188
Vidagdhamaṅkhamāṇḍanaṭṭhā RME 178
Vidadhimaṅkhamāṇḍanaṭṭhā = Vidagdhamaṅkhamāṇḍanaṭṭhā RME 178
Vinai rom RLL 52
Vinayakiccavacaraṇa RLL 52
Vinayapadagoṇa RLL 52
Vinayavinicchaya RLL 52
Vinayaṃsagaha RLL 51
Vuttivākhyā RLL 62
Vuttodaya atthakathā RLL 63
Vuttodayaṇa RLL 63
Vematinodani RLL 61
Vellamaṇataka PLC 192
Vessantarajataka RLL 445
Vessantaradipani NPT 41, PLT 217, SPLIT 42
Saṃpiṇḍitamahānādana PLC 180, PLL 336
Saṃvegavatthu RLL 72
Sakkapabbaṅg PLC 189
Saṅkhittovāda RLL 72

Saṅkhepa-athhajatani PLT 218
Saṅkhepatthaṭṭhajatani Visuddhimaggacūlaṭṭhā PLT 188
Saṅkhyāṭṭhā SPLIT 43
Saṅkhyāpakāsaka PLT 217, NPT 39
Saṅkhyāpakāsakatthā SPLIT 45
Saṅkhyāpakāsakatthā RLL 42
Saṅgitiṭṭhā PLT 183
Saṅgitiṭṭhasaṅgaha RPA 4, PLT 219, RME 178, SPLIT 44
Saṅsāravattajataka RLL 49
Sattamaṅgalagathā RLL 59
Saddatthabhedacintā RLL 61
Saddatthabhedacintāpadakkamayojana SPLIT 42
Saddatthabhedavātara RLL 62
Saddabindu PLT 215, RLL 61, 62
Saddabindu-abhinavatthā SPLIT 43
Saddabindutthā RLL 61
Saddabinduvatiṭṭharaṭṭhā RLL 62
Saddabheda RLL 61
Saddasaṅgaha RLL 52
Saddasaṅgaha = Sut Satta = Kaccāyana RLL 57
Saddavācakalakhaṇa RLL 62
Saddavidhānalakhaṇa RLL 62
Saddavidhānalakhaṇaṭṭhā RLL 62
Saddavimala RLL 62
Saddavisesana RLL 62
Saddavuttipakasatthā RLL 62
Saddhammasaṅgaha PLT 212, RPA 4, NPT 43, SPLIT 44
Sandhikappa RLL 57
Sappurisasutta PLL 328
Sabbapārami RLL 72
Sabbasutta RLL 50
Samantapāsādīka DPLT 318
Samantapāsādīka-aththayojanā SPLIT 41

5 6 chapters are found independently: Dasavara, Himavanta, Vanappavesana, Jūjakā, Mahīvāna, Kumāra; the gāthā also can be independent: gāthā Jūjakā, Vanaë and the abridged story Mahājāti rom
Samāsārabidīpani PLC 188
Samohavinodani Atthayojanā SPLT 41
Sambhamittajātaka PLL 330
Sārākarivijāsutta PLL 339
Sārāthasaṅgaha NPT 40, SPLT 42
Salākarivijasutta PLL 335
Sāratthadipani DPLT 318
Sāratthapakāsini DPLT 318
Sāratthasaṅgaha RLL 62, 72
Sārasaṅgaha DPLT 318
Sāriputtanibbāna RLL 66
Sāririkavinicchaya DPLT 318
Sāsanasoṁba PBST 39
Sāsanavaṁsa NPT 39
Sāsanayuppakaraṇa PLC 183
Sīṅgālasutta RLL 42
Sīṅguttara RLL 69
Sīfjayajātaka RLL 50
Sinnorathapakāśni DPLT 318
Sivijayajātaka PLC 189
Sīhinganidāna PLT 213, NPT 43, SPLT 43
Simāsaṅkaravinicchaya SPLT 41
Silajātaka = Silavimaṁsaṅka or Silavanāga PLC 188
Sīhagati RLL 62
Suet mon (Paritta) RLL 54
Sut RLL 53
Sut iti pi so RLL 58
Sut catuvik RLL 59
Sut Tippamon = Dibbamanta RLL 59
Sut Pothisat RLL 57

Sut Banton RLL 58–59
Sut Sadda RLL 61
Sut Son = Sandхиkappa RLL 57
Suttaniddeśa RLL 61
Suttantimātikā = Dhammasaṅgaṁimātikā RLL 57
Suttasaṅgaha PLL 328, RLL 50
Sudhanajātaka PLL 329
Suddhakammajātaka PLC 188
Suddhantaparivāsa PLC 183
Sunandarājajātaka RLL 50
Sunandarājasutta PLL 333
Subodhālaṅkara RLL 63
Subhamittajātaka PLL 330
Sumangalavilāsini DPLT 318
Surindakumārajātaka RLL 50
Surindajambujājātaka RLL 50
Suriyavaṁsaṁsaṁjājātaka PLL 332
Suvanṇacakkajātaka RLL 50
Suvanṇajātaka PLL 331
Suvanṇabrahmajātaka PLL 332
Suvanṇameghajātaka PLL 332, RLL 50
Suvanṇamukhajātaka RLL 49
Suvanṇasirásājātaka PLL 338
Suvanṇaherṣa PLL 330
Suvanṇaherṣajātaka PLL 332
Sotabbaṁālini PLT 219
Sodattakimahānidāna PLL 335
Sopasamaṅgalaparitta PLC 190

\[b\] bhagavato rūpakāyathomanā buddhābhisekagāthā
Contents in alphabetical order: titles, beginnings and endings of texts, stanzas and significant passages (except the Bihikkupātimokkha). References are to pages.

beg. = beginning; end. = ending; mid. = middle of texts.

aggato and pasannanam aggam dhamma vijanata agge budhhe pasannanam dakkhiyeyye anuttare 105, beg. Aggappasadatta
tagathā
aggato and pasannanam l la l aggappatto pamodati ti 117, only stanza
\[ \text{Aggappasadatta} \]
Aggappasadatta 394
Aggappasadattagathā 105, 117
Aggappasadutanidhiyanda 117
Aggappasadattapakkasana 394
aggihuttamukha yaññā sāvitti chandaso mukham rājā mukham
manussanam nadinam sāgara mukham 111, beg.
\[ \text{Keniyānumodanāgathā} \]
aggeyeva pasadatthama tam santtaṃ bhanāmase 394, end.
\[ \text{Aggappasadattapakkasana} \]
Aṅgulimālaparissattapakka 20, 56
Aṅgulimālaparissattapakka 20
aṅñamaṇḍasssa ujuvapičcamakavāddā bhagavantama piṭṭhito piṭṭhito
anubandhā honti bhikkhusaṅghaḥ ca 269, end. Sūtra
aṅñena pariyāyena veneyye sampabohyamā 375, beg. Guhaṭṭhaka-
suttapakkasana
\[ \text{Aṭṭhaṅgiṃmaggagāthā} \]
attām nāḍādameyya nappatiṃkaṅke anāgamaṃ yadatitampahinantaṃ
102, beg. Bhaḍdekarattagathā
attām nirattam na hi tassa atthi addhosi so diṭṭhīm idh’ eva sabban ti
378, end. Duṭṭhaṭṭhakasutta
attanā te bhikkhu bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun ti 130, end.
\[ \text{Dasadhassutapātha} \]
139, end. Mettānismsarasutta-
pātha; 195, end. Aṭṭhānatiyassutapātha (pacchinamhāga);
249, end. Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasuttapātha; 286, end. Pahānabhāvanasutta; 290, end. Dhammaniyāmasutta;
294, end. Apanṇasutta; 316, end. Balassut; 331, end.
\[ \text{Chanissāraṇiyadhātussutta} \]
332, end. Sāraniyadhammasutta; 341, end. Sāvatthiniṇā ṅāñātipariyaya-
sutta; 345, end. Bhikkhu-apariṇāmahammasutta; 357, end.
\[ \text{Maggavāhāgasutta} \]
372, end. Dasanāthakaranam-
dhammasutta; 383, end. Paṭṭhamaraṇṇasassatisutta; 387, end.
\[ \text{Dutiyamaraṇṇasassatisutta} \]
attanā te lichchavi bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun ti 343, end.
\[ \text{Licchavi-apariṇāmahammasutta} \]
attanā mahāpaṭāpati gotama bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun ti 366,
end. Gotamisutta
attanam aśaṃ anando bhagavato tāsitaṃ abhinandun ti 284, end.
\[ \text{Karaṇiyākaraṇyasuttapātha} \]
atha kho bhagavā tassa ratiyā accayena bhikkhu āmantesi 182, beg.
\[ \text{Aṭṭhānatiyassutapātha (pacchimabāga)} \]
athappahariṇaṃ jātam parittantambhaṇāmahe 58, end. Abhayapa-
ritappakkasana
atthi imaṃ tissat konā lomā nakhā dantā taco l marṣaṃ naḥār 127,
beg. Dvattiṃsākārapātha
atthi kho tena bhagavato jātā passata arahata sammāsambuddha
286, beg. Byākātabhāvatthuddaya; 296, beg.
\[ \text{Satipaṭṭhānapātha} \]
308, beg. Caturappamaṇṇāpātha; 311, beg. Abhinappacavekkhānapātha; 317, beg. Chal-
abhīṇnapātha; 367, beg. Navāghātathavatthupadiyapā-
pātha; 368, beg. Navāghātapatiṣṭhivatthupadiyapātha;
388, beg. Khandhāvihānapātha; 391, beg.
\[ \text{Rūparūpakammatthānapātha} \]
atthi paṭṭ clazz muppanā arūpino dhāmma ime dhāmā kusalā 269,
end. Dhammasaṅgāni (7 lines)
atthippaccayo natthipaccayo vigatappaccayo avigatappaccayo 101, 272
end. Paṭṭhānāmākāpātha, Mahāpaṭṭhāna (7 lines)
atthi loke ṣilaguno saccaṃ soceyyanuddaya 45, beg. Chaṭṭhām
\[ \text{Vangakārītta} \]
adissamanā manuṣhe niṇāta tasmā hi ne rakkhata appamattā 114, end.
\[ \text{Devatabhissamantanaṇgāthā} \]
Adhikaranasamathuddesa 499
Anattalakkhasutta 85
anāgariphalasacchākiriya paṭṭipanno araḥa araḥattalaphalasacchākiriya
paṭṭipanno ti i (ayaṃ khandhappāññattati chaviddha vibhaggam
puggalappāññattipakaraṇaṃ nāma samattaṃ) 437, end.
\[ \text{Puggalappāññatti} \] (3 pages)
aniccā vata saṅkhārā uppādavayadhāmmino uppajjītā nirujjhantī tesam rūpasamo sukho i 396, beg. Samvejaniyagāthā

Aniyatuddesa 461

aniyo paṭipannako phale ṭhito arahā arahāttaya paṭipanno 270, end. Puggalapaññatti (7 lines)
anuttaram abhisambodhiṁ sambujjhivā tathāgato paṭhamāṁ yaṁ adesesi dhammacakkampi anuttaram 67, beg. Dhammacakkappavattanasuttappakāsana

Anuttarasuttappakāsana 320

Anuttariyasa 321

anuppanṇāsavānaṁ ve anuppaḋāya ēdito 303, beg. Catuppaccayaappaccekkhanapāṭhappakāsana

Anumodanāvīdhikappakavyānūmodanā 109

anulomapācaka 438

anekā antarāyāpi vinassantu asesto 2, end. Sattaparita

apanṇakappakāsi yo lokatamonudo muni 291, beg. Apanṇakappakkasuttappakāsana

Apanṇakasutta 291

Apanṇakasuttappakāsana 291

appativāṇita ca padhānasāmin vijjā ca vimutti ca khaye ṃānaṁ anuppāde ṃānaṁ ti 428, end. Suttantamātikā

appamatto mahāvīro patto sambodhimuttamaṁ 378, beg. Paṭhamamaranassatisuttappakāsana

appamādarato nātho appamādo niyojako 383, beg. Dutiya-maranaṇasatisuttappakāsana

appassannehī nathassa sāsane sādhu sammate amanusshehi caṇḍehe sadā kibbisakāribhi 17, 50, beg. Āṭānātiyaparitappakāsana

appakace nāmagottamā sāvetvā tatthevantaradhāyīmsu 182, end. Āṭānātiyassutappātha (pubbabhāga)

abbuhasalo caram appamatto nāsiṁsati lokam imaṁ paraṁ cā ti 376, end. Guhaṭṭhakasutta

Abhayaparita 58

Abhiññāya kho so bhagavā dhammaṁ deseti no anabhiññāya 278, beg. Gotamacetiyaṭhāmmaparīyāya

Abhirupaccekkhanapāṭhā 311

Abhirupaccekkhanapāṭhappakāsana 311

Abhidhamma 269 (abridgement in 3 and a half pages)

Abhidhammasaṅgahaṭhā 400–16

Abhidhammapitaka Dhammasaṅganimātikā 419 (25 lines)

Abhidhammapitaka Dhammasaṅganimātikā 419, 427

abhisaṁñī hitvā abhisānkhipitvā āyam vuccati rūpakhandhao 270, end. Vibhaṅga (5 lines)

aro haṁ sammaṁsambuddho uttamam dhammam ajjhāṁ mahāsaṁgham pabodhesi icchetam ratanattayaṁ 25, 61, beg. Ratanaṭtyappakāvabhīyācanagāthā

Ariyadhagāthā 96

Ariyavamsikasutta 300

Ariyavamsikasuttappakāsana 300

aḷāṁ attamanataya aḷāṁ somanassāya sammaṁsambuddha bhagavā svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo supaṭipanno saṅgho ti 278, end. Gotamacetiyaṭhāmmaparīyāya

assu vāsa khelo singhāṅīkā lasikā muttaṁ matthake matthaluṅgan ti 127, end. Dvattiṁsākāraṁpaṭhā

Ahirājasuttapātha 136

amhe rakkhatu saddhammo sabbe pi dhammacārinno vuddhīṁ sampāṇeyyāma dhammāriyappavedite 282, end. Pattidānaṁgaṭhā

āgāṭharaṁhi buddho āgāṭhavīnae rato 367, beg. Navagāṭhavatthu-paridipakāpāṭhappakāsana

Āṭānātiyaparitta 18, 50

Āṭānātiyaparitappakāsana 17

Āṭānātiyassutappātha (pubbabhāga) 169

Āṭānātiyassutappātha (pubcimmabhāga) 182

āṇakkhettamhi sabbatthā sabbadā sabbapāṇīnaṁ sabbaso pi nivāreti parittantam bhanāmehe 12, end. Khandhaparitappakāsana

Ādittaparīyāsutta 90

Ādittaparīyāysutappakāsana 335

Ādiyasuttāgamahā 120

āyudo balado dhīro vannado paṭibhāṇado sukkhā dātā medhāvī sukkhā so adhiyacchati 120, beg. Bhojanadamodanāṭhā

āsavā āsaravoppayutta kho pana dhammā sāsavā pi anāsavā pi 422, end. Āsavagocchaka

Āsavagocchaka 422

āsavā dhammā no āsavā dhammā sāsavā dhammā anāsavā dhammā 421, beg. Āsavagocchaka

ichchhūruddharache abhidhammatthasaṅghe navane paricchedasmiṁ catasso samudāhatā 417, end. Abhidhammasaṅgahaṭhā

ichchitam patthitaṁ tuyhaṁ khippam eva samijjhatu sabbe pūrentu saṅkappā caṇḍo paṇṇara so yathā manjōtirato yathā 109, end. Anumodanāvīdhī

iti pi so bhagavā araham sammaṁsambuddho vijjācaṇaṁsappamo sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisaḍadamasarathi satthā devamanussānaṁ
buddho bhagavā ti 106, mid. Buddhajayamaṅgala; 267, mid. Vinaya
iti h' idam ayasmato koṇḍaññassa aṁña koṇḍaññho tveva nāman ahosi ti 73, Dhammacakkappavattanasutta
idam pi sanghe rataṇām paṇītam etena saccena suvatthi hotu 117, end. Parittakaraṇapāṭha
idha vassaṃ vassissami idha hemantagimhisu 278, beg. Ututtayādi-


vāsamuggāthā
idh' eva naṃ pasamsanti pecca sagge pamoḍati ti 120, end. Ādiyas-
suttagāthā
indo somā varuṇa ca bhāradvājo paṇāpati candano kāmaseṭṭho ca 180,
193 stanzas middle Āṭānaṭṭiyasuttapāṭha (pubbabhāga, paccimabhāga)
indriyayamaken ti dasavidhena vibhattaṃ yamakapparaṇaṃ nāma
samattaṃ 431, end. Yamaka (3 lines)
imāṃ aṭṭhāgasamānaṃataṃ buddhappāññattam uposathām imaṁ ca
rattraṁ imaṁ ca divasāṃ sammadeva abhirakkhitum samādiyāmi
274, end. Upoṣathaṅgasamādāna
imāṃ so parittam katvā moro vāsamakappayī ti 13, 45, end. Mora-
paritta; 141, end. Moraparittapāṭha
imāsmi ca pana veyākaraṇasmiṃ bhaṅṇānāmāna ṭassa bhikkhu-
sahassassa anupādāya āsāvehi cittāni vinuccimsi ti 94, end. Āḍittapariyāyasutta
imā kho tena bhājata jñātā passata ṭarahata sammāsambuddhena
catasso appamaṇḍīyo saṁmadakkhāta ti 309, end. Catur-
appamaṇḍīnāpāṭha; 320, end. Chaṭṭhānāpāṭha
ime kho tena bhāgavātā jñātā passata ṭarahata sammāsambuddhena
vahā dhamma sammadakkhāta navāghātavatthunī ti 368, end. Navāghā-
ṭhavatthuparidīpakapāṭha; 369, end. Navāghāṭa-
paṭṭiyavatthuparidīpakapāṭha


Iṣīgilisuttapāṭha 163
ukāsa yo pana bhikkhu dhammānudhammpatipanno viharati
sāmici kapippaṇṇo beg. Bhāsītotvāda
ukāsa sirīsakyaṃmanisabbāññubuddhassa balavappaccūsasamaye kusin-
rāya 263, beg. Pakasakarāja
Ututtayādiśamveggāthā 278
udetaṇā cakkhumā ekarāja harissayaṇaṃ papavippakāsotam tam tam
namassāmi 13, 44, beg. Moraparitta; 141, beg. Moraparittapāṭha
upādānavippayutt kho pana dhammā upādāniyā pi anupādāniyā pi 425,
end. Upādānagocchaka
upādānā dhammā no upādānā dhammā upādāniyā dhammā anupādāniyā
dhammā 425, beg. Upādānagocchaka
Upoṣathaṅgapaccavekkhaṇa 274
Upoṣathaṅgasamādāna 273
usathā ho ca me upavuttho bhavissati 277, end. Upoṣathaṅ-
gaccavekkhaṇa
uppannānaṃ veyābādhikānaṃ vedanānaṃ paṭighātaya abhyājjha-
paramattā yāti 128, Tam bhaṇṇakapaccavekkhaṇapāṭha
ekan nāma kiṃ l sabbe sattā āhāraṇāḥthikī l dve nāma kiṃ 126, beg.
Sāmanerappāṭhāpāṭha
etam saraṇampāgamma sabaddakkha pamuccaṇi ti 103, end Khemā-
kheṃsaraṇaṇaparipāṭhikagāthā
etādisanī katvāna sabaddhamapparājīta sabaddha sothiṃ gacchanti
tantesaṃ mahāgalaṃ uttaman ti 6, 37, 132 end. Māṅgalsutta
etapi buddhajayamaṅgala atthagāthā yo vācana dinadine sarate matandhi
hitvāna nekavividdhāni cuppavāṇaṃ mokkham suṇham adighameyya
naro sapaṇno 107, mid. stanzas Buddhajayamaṅgala
etena margena tariṃsu pubbe tarissare ceva taranti co ghanati 299, end.
Satipaṭṭhāpāṭha
etena saccavaṇjena sothi te hotu sabbādha 95, end. Saccakiriyāgāthā
etena saccavaṇjena sothi te hotu sabbādha ekasmiṃ samaye natho
moggallānaṃ ca kassapam gilāne dukkhite disvā 21, mid. Āṅgulimālaparitta
evaṃ kho arūpammatthaṃ sammadakkhaṭanta bhagavāta ti 392,
end. Rūparūpammatthaṇāpāṭha
evaṃ mahatthikā essa yadidam puṇhasampadā taṃ dhārā panaṃsanti
paṇīṭhā katupuṇhiṇiṣati 119, end. Nidhiṅgāṇa
evaṃ saṅkārabhūtesa uddhabhūte pũhujuṇe atirotati paññāya saṃma-
sambuddhasāvaka ti 105, end. Dhammakāravāḍigāṭhā
evaṃadigunipetām 4, 41, end. Kāraṇiyamettasuttapakāṇa
evaṃadigunipetām anekagaṇasangaham usathā ca imaṃ mantam
bojjhaṅgantam bhanāmahe 57, end. Bojjhaṅgaparitta-
pakāṇa
evaṃ buddhā sarantanaṃ dhammāṃ samghaḥ ca bhikkhavo bhayam
va chaṃbhi tattam vā lomahamso na hesattā ti 17, 49, end.
Dhajaggaparitta; 147, end. Dhajaggasuttapāṭha
evaṃ me sataṃ ... antara ca rājagahaṃ antara ca nālandaṃ 268, beg.
Sūtra
evaṃ me sataṃ ... kapilavatthusmiṃ mahāvane ... dasahi ca lokadhātuhi
devatā yebhuyena 74, beg. Mahāsacayassutta
evaṃ me sataṃ ... kurūśu ... kammāsadhammaṃ 198, beg. Maḥāsati-
apattiḥnasuttapāṭha
evam me sutaḥ ... gayāyam ... gayāśise ... cakkhuvinīṇāmaḥ ādittam
cakkhusamphasso ādito ... 91, beg. Ādittapariyāyasutta

evam me sutaḥ ... nādiike viharati giññakavasathe 378, beg. 
Pañhamarāṇassatisutta; 383, beg. Dutiyamarāṇassati-
sutta

evam me sutaḥ ... bārāṇasiyam ... isipatane ... dve me bhikkhave
āntāpabbajitenā 67, beg. Dhammadakkappavattanasutta

evam me sutaḥ ... bārāṇasiyam ... isipatane ... migadaye ... rūpam
bhikkhave anattā rūpaṁ ca hidam bhikkhave attā abhavissa 85,
beg. Anattalakkhaṇasutta

evam me sutaḥ ... rājagahe ... isigilismin puthe 163, beg. 
Isigilisuttapāṭha

evam me sutaḥ ... rājagahe ... gijjhakūte puthe 169, beg. 
Ājñātiyasuttapāṭha; 344, Bhikkhu-āparihāṇakhandhmas-
sutta

evam me sutaḥ ... rājagahe ... veluvane kalandaṇikāvpe ... āyamsa
mahākassapo 149, beg. Mahākassapabojjhaṁgaṁsuttapāṭha

evam me sutaḥ ... rājagahe ... veluvane kalandaṇikāvpe ... āyamsa
mahācundo 153, beg. Mahācundabojjhaṁsguttapāṭha

evam me sutaḥ ... rājagahe ... veluvane kalandaṇikāvpe ... āyamsa
mahāmoggallāno 151, beg. Mahāmoggallāno-bojjhaṁsguttapā-
thā

evam me sutaḥ ... vesāliyaṁ ... mahāvane kūtagārasāyāṁ 365, beg. 
Gotamiśutta

evam me sutaḥ ... vesāliyaṁ ... sārandade cetiye 341, beg. Licchavi-
āparihāṇakhandhmasutta

evam me sutaḥ ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapindikassassa ... atta
kho aññatarā devatā abhiṅkantāyā rattiya abhiṅkantavanānā
kevalakappāṁ ... bhūṁ devā manussā ca maṅgaliṁ acintayum
akaṅkhāṁāṁ soṭṭhānāṁ brūhi maṅgalaṁ uttamaṁ 4, 35, 130
beg. Maṅgalasutta

evam me sutaḥ ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapindikassassa ... atta
kho anāṁ añando 282, beg. Karāṇya-karaṇiya-suttapāṭha

evam me sutaḥ ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapindikassassa ... atta
kho jāṇussono brahmaṁ 346, beg. Sattabbidhamethuna-
samyogasutta

evam me sutaḥ ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapindikassassa ... atta
kho sambhulā bhikkhu ahina daṭṭha kālakato hoti 136,
Ahirājasuttapāṭha

evam me sutaḥ ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapindikassassa ... atta
kho bhagavā ... akusalam bhikkhave 285, beg. Pañhāna-
bhāvanāsutta

Documents useful for ... Pāli manuscripts 35

evam me sutaḥ ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapindikassasssa ... tatra
kho bhagavā ... aggappasāda 394, beg. Aggappasādāsutta

evam me sutaḥ ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapindikassassa ... tatra
kho bhagavā ... attāṅgākīmaṁ maggam 354, beg. Magga-
vibhāṅgasutta

evam me sutaḥ ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapindikassassa ... tatra
kho bhagavā ... apannyakapattipadam 291, beg. Apannya-
asutta

evam me sutaḥ ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapindikassasssa ... tatra
kho bhagavā ... ariyavamsa 300, beg. Ariyavamsikasutta

evam me sutaḥ ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapindikassassa ... tatra
kho bhagavā ... ādittapariyāyaṁ vo bhikkhave 335, beg. 
Sāvatthīnidānaṁ ādittaparīyāyasutta

evam me sutaḥ ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapindikassasssa ... tatra
kho bhagavā ... uppāda v bhikkhave 290, beg. Dhamma-
nyāmasutta

evam me sutaḥ ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapindikassassa ... tatra
kho bhagavā ... chayimāni bhikkhave 321, beg. Anuttariyas-
sutta

evam me sutaḥ ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapindikassassa ... tatra
kho bhagavā ... chayime bhikkhave 332, beg. Sārāṇya-
dhammasutta

evam me sutaḥ ... sāvatthiyam ... jetavane anāthapindikassassa ... tatra
kho bhagavā ... dasa ime bhikkhave dhamma pabbajitenā abhiṁhāṁ
paccavekkhitabbā 128, beg. Dasadhamsuttapāṭha

Kathaṅvatthu 271, 430, 437

kappattihāyā mahātējamaṁ parittantam bhaṅjamahe 20, 56, end. 
Aṅgulimalaparittapakkāsana; 44, end. Vaṅgakā-
parittapakkāsana

kammaṭṭhānānuyogassa rūpārūpassa lakkhaṇāṁ 391, beg. 
Rūparūpakkammaṭṭhānapāṭhāpakkāsana

karaṇīyamatthakusalena yantam sāntam padaṁ abhisamecca 10, 41,
beg. Karaṇīyamettasutta; 135, beg. Karāṇiya-
suttapāṭha

Karaṇīyamettasutta 10, 40, 41
Karanjayamettasuttaṃpaṭhāṇa 135
Karanjayamettasuttaṃpaṭakāsana 10
Karanjyasuttaṃpaṭhāṇa 134
Karanjyākaranjyasuttaṃpaṭhāṇa 282
Karanjyākaranjyasuttaṃpaṭakāsana 282
kalyāṇaṃ vā pāpakaṃ vā tassa dāyāda bhavissanti taṃ kut’ ettha labbha ti 314, end. Ṭhānabhappaccavekkhaṇapāṭhāṇa
kāmarā kāmayamānassa tassa cetāṃ samitiḥatā 374, beg. Kāmasutta
Kāmasutta 374
Kāmasuttaṃpaṭkāsana 374
Kālādānasuttaṃgaṭhā 112
Kālādānasuttaṃgaṭhāṇaṃpaṭkāsana 112
ekāle daddantia sappanaṅa vadaṇṇāṃ vitamaccharā kālaṇa dinnaṃ ariyesu ujubhūtesu tādīṣu 112, beg. Kālādānasuttaṃgaṭhā
kim eva disvā uruvelavāsū paḥāsī aggingsa kisakovadāno puckhamā taṃ kassapa etam atthaṃ 95, beg. Bimbisārasamāgamapucchāpāṭhāṇa
Kilesagocchakara 426
Kilesagocchakara kho pana dhammā saṅkilesikā pī 426, end. Kilesagocchaka
kilesa dhammā no kilesā dhammā saṅkilesikā dhammā asaṅkilesīthi dhammā 425, beg. Kilesagocchaka
kusalā dhammā akusala dhammā abhikāta dhammā l katame dhammā kusala l yasmiṃ samaye kāmavacaraṃ 269, beg. Dhammasaṅgaṇi
kusalā dhammā akusala dhammā abhikāta dhammā sukkhāya vedanāya sampayutta dhammā dukkhāya vedanāya sampayutta dhammā 97, beg. Dhammasaṅgaṇiṃatiṃkāṭā; 419, beg. Dhammasaṅgaṇiṃatiṃkāṭā
Kenjeyamumadagathā 111
Khandhappakhāṇṇāti ayatanappakhāṇṇāti dhātupakhāṇṇāti 430, beg. Puggalappakhāṇṇāti (3 lines); 434, beg. Puggalappakhāṇṇāti (3 pages)
Khandhaparittagathā 12
Khandhaparitta-Chaḍdantaparittapara 43
Khandhaparittapakāsana 11
Khandhaviṅgaṇa 431
Khandhaviṅgaṅgā ayatanavibhāṅga dhātuvibhāṅga saccavibhāṅga indriyavibhāṅga 428, beg. Vibhāṅga
Khandhaviṅgaṅgā ti aṭṭhasāvadheeṇa vibhattaṃ vibhāṅgaparikaranaṃ nāma samattam 433, end. Khandhaviṅgaṅga
Khandhaviṅgaṇaṇaṭhāṇa 388

Documents useful for ... Pali manuscripts
Khandhavibhajanapāṭhappakāsana 387
Khandhavibhāṅgaṇaṭhāṃ pariyāṃ bhaṇāmase 387, end. Khandhavibhajanapāṭhappakāsana
khiṇāsava ṇa jutimanto te loke parinibbutā ti 280, end. Tilakkhaṇapāṭhāṇa
Khemākhemasaranagaṇamaparidipikāgathā 102
ganānaṃ ca muttanāṃ parittantam bhaṇāmahe 14, 46, end. Dhamjagaparittapakāsana
Ganthalagocchaka 422
ganthavippayutta kho pana dhammā ganthaniyā pi aganthaniyā pi 422, end. Ganthalagocchaka
ganthā dhammā no ganthā dhammā ganthaniyā dhammā aganthaniyā dhammā 422, beg. Ganthalagocchaka
girimāndassā so abādho ahiṣi ti 163, end. Girimāndassuttapāṭhāṇa
Girimāndassuttapāṭhāṇa 157
Guhaṭṭhasutta 375
Guhaṭṭhasuttaṃpaṭkāsana 375
Gotamacentiyadhamparipiyāya 278
Gotamisutta 364
Gotamisuttaṃpaṭkāsana 365
gotamo dhāretu ajaṭṭaggo pāṇupetam saranaṃ gata ti 353, end. Sattabbhidhamethunasamyojagasuttapakāsana
Catuṣṭhānaṇaṭhāṇa 310
Catuṣṭhānaṇapāṭhappakāsana 310
Catutthabhāṇavā 169
catunnaṃ rūpaṭhānanaṃ bhavittā ti samahito 316, beg. Chadhipāṭhappakāsana
Catuppaccayappaccekkhāṇapāṭhāṇa 304
Catuppaccayappaccekkhāṇapāṭhappakāsana 303
Catuppamaṇḍāṭhāṇa 308
Catuppamaṇḍāṭhappakāsana 308
cattevi ṭhippayoṣo sabbaṃ sabbāṃ pī dhammasaṅgaṇi dhātukathāya mātikā (nayamātikā ti paṇcavīdhāṇa vibhattām dhātukathāpakaranāṃ nāma samattam) 434, end. Dhātukathā (14 lines)
cattāro dhammā vaddhanti ayuvāṇo sukhaṃ balaṃ 20, 55, end. Āṭānāṭiyaparittā; 110, end Ānumodanavidhi
cattāro ’me paccaya bhagavata anunñāta cīvaraṇa ca piṇḍaṃ pito ca senāsanaṃ ca 304, beg. Catuppaccayappaccekkhāṇapāṭhāṇa
Cattidānaṭhāṇa 281
Candaparittapāṭhāṇa 141
cārittasobhitavisālakulodayena saddhābhivuddhappariṣuddhagunḍodayena
cittaklesavisuṣṭhathan tāṃ mārggantāṃ bhāṇāmase 296, end.
Satiṣṭhānāpāṭhappakāsana
cittappāśaṭpadattatham tāṃ suttantāṃ bhāṇāmase 320, end.
Anuttarasuttappakāsana
Cūḷantarahuka 421
Chaddantarīpa 44
Chanissarāniyadhātusutta 327
Chanissarāniyadhātusuttappakāsana 327
cha paññāttoyo khandhapaññātto ayatanapaññātto dhāṭupaññātto
saccappaññātto 270, beg. Puggalapaññātto
chālaṅgupakkhasaññatato sabbaso samvutindriyo 335, beg.
Ādittapariyāyasuttappakāsana
Chaḷabhīṇāpāṭha 317
Chaḷabhīṇāpāṭhapakkāsana 316
cha ve dippatiṣṭhipiṣṭiyā nissarāṇiya dhāṭuyo 327, beg.
Chanissarāniyadhātusuttappakāsana
jayaṃ devamanussaṃnām jayo hotu paraṃjito mārasenā abhikkantā samanta
dvādaseyojana 59, beg. Jayaparītappakāsana
Jayaparitita 60
tāṃ abyākatato dhāretha yaṃ mayaṃ byākatato tāṃ byākatato dhāretha ti
289, end. Byākatābyākatavatthuddaya
tāṃ khanicīpaccavekkhānappāṭha 127
tāṃ tadatthappasiddhathām tāṃ suttantāṃ bhāṇāmase 341, end.
Licchavi-apariṇāyadhammasuttappakāsana
tāṃ sampakkāsakaṃ dhamma pariṇāyam bhāṇāmase 304
Catuppaccayappaccavekkhānāpāṭhapakkāsana
Tatiyabhānavāra 157
tataṃ anukampanti mātā puttaṃvo urasam devaṅkuṃpito poso sadā
bhadrāni passati ti 114, end. Devatādisa-
dakkhiṇānumodanāgāthā
tathāgataṃ devamanussa puṣṭam saṅgham namassāma suvatthi hotu
40, end. Ratanasutta
tathāgato balappato loke appatiṣṭhuggalo 314, beg. Balasutta-
pakkāsana
tathā naṃnānusāreṇa sāsasāṃ kātumicchātaṃ sadhūnaṃ atthaṣdiddhatthām
tāṃ suttantāṃ bhāṇāmase 85, end. Anattalakkhaṇa-
suttappakāsana
tathā pahino ca bhagavato so ābādho ahoṣī ti 155, end. Mahā-
cundabojhāṅgasuttapāṭha
tatheva paṭipattayathām pariṇāyantam bhāṇāmase 335, end. Ādittapariyāyasuttappakāsana
tasmā mahattam paṃproti pāśaṃsā ca bhavantī ti ti 119, end.
Saṅgahavatthugāthā
tasmā saddhānca sīlaṃcā pasādāṃ dhāmmanaṃ anuyujjetha medhāvi
saraṃ buddhāna sāsanaṇi ti 97 end. 1st § Ariyadhānagāthā
tā sampakkāsakaṃ dhamma pariṇāyam bhāṇāmase 308, end.
Caturappamaṇḍapāṭhapakkāsana; 316, end. Chaḷabhīṇāpā-
thappakāsana
tikattikānca eva dukaddukāca chapacanāṣayamahii nāyā sugambirātī
catuṣṭipaccayavasena ayaṃ samantāpaṭṭhānappakaraṇanā
nīṭhīta) 441, end. Paṭṭhāna (1 page)
Tirokuḍḍakaṇḍa 121, 441
Tirokuḍḍaśesu tiṭṭhante svadhisinhātakasa ā dvārabahāsu tiṭṭhante
āgantvā sakaṃ gharāṃ 121, 441, beg. Tirokuḍḍakaṇḍa
Tilakkaṇāḍigāthā 279
Tisaranagamanaṇapāṭha 125
te atthaladdhā sukhita virulhabuddhasāne arogā sukhīta hota saha
sabbehi ātiṭhibhi 61, end. Jayaparitita, 296, end.
Supubbānhasutta
tena saccena sothi te hotu sothi gabbhassa 56, end. Aṅgul-
mālapitta
tena samayena buddho bhagavā veraṇaṃyaṃ viharati ... veraṇo brāhmaṇo
267, mid. Vinaya
taṃ paṇhāya tare ughāṃ navaṃ sitvāva paragū ti 375, end. Kāmasutta
tevā kāḷena paccanti yathā dukkham nirujjhati ti 327, end.
Anuttariyasutta
te sabbasaṅghādhiṭikatē pahēī pariṇībbte vandathā appameyye ti 167,
Isigiliṣuttapāṭha
tesam tathā(!) thyāsaddhathām tāṃ suttantāṃ bhāṇāmase 327, end.
Chanissarāniyadhātusuttappakāsana
tesam pakāsakaṃ dhamma pariṇāyam bhāṇāmase 311, end. Abhiṇha-
paccavekkhaṇāpāṭhapakkāsana; 367, end. Navāghāta-
vattuparidhippakāṭhapakkāsana
Dasadhammasuttapāṭha 128
Dasanāṭhakaraṇadhammasutta 370
Dasanāṭhakaraṇadhammasuttappakāsana 369
Dasassikkhāpāṭha 126
dasahāngehi samamāgato arahāti ruccaṭi ti 127, end. Sāmaṇera-
paṅñhāṭha
dassanena pahātābbā dhammā na dassanena pahātābbā dhammā bhāvanāyayā pahātābbā dhammā na bhāvanāyayā pahātābbā 426, beg. Piṭṭhiduka
dānaṁ ca peyyavajjāṇa ca athacarīyaṇa ca yā idha samānattata ca dhammesu tattha tattha yathārthaṁ 119, beg. Saṅghavatthagātha
dīṭhiṁ ca anupagama sillavā dassanena sampanno kāmese vineyya gedhamṁ na hi jātu gabbhaseyyaṁ punar ettī ti 11, 42, end. Karaniyamettasutta; 136, end. Karaniyamettasuttaṭṭṭātha
dīṭhipahānasiddhattham tam suttantatṁ bhaṇāmase 377, end. Duṭṭhatṭhatthakutappakāsana
dīṭhiyā dippahānaya pahānopāyadassinā 376, beg. Duṭṭhatṭhatthakutappakāsana
diyā padaṁ santamanipadhiṇaṁ akiñcanāṁ kāmabhave asattatṁ annaṁnaṁ bhāvimanaṁnaññeyyam tasmā na yīṭhena hute araṇhīn ti 95, end. Bimbisārasaṁāgame pucchāpaṭṭipānāgātha
dighāyū yaśavo hoti yattha yathīṭhpapajjati ti 120, end. Bhojana-dānamodanāgātha
devabhūto manusso vā aggappatto pamoḍatī ti 396, end. Aggappāsādassutta
desitam tena buddhena tam suttanatṁ bhaṇāmase 378, end. Paṭhama-\nmaranaṁsatiputtaṭṭṭāsana dukkhatālakkhaṇopāyam tam suttatantṁ bhaṇāmase 91, end. Ādittaparīyāysuttappakāsana dukkharaṅgabhāyay verā sokā sattu cuppadāva anekā antarayāṁ vinassantu ca tejasā 111, beg. stanzas VisesanumodanāMaṅgala-\ncakkavāla
duṭṭhatthakaṭṭṭasutta 377
duṭṭhatthakutappakāsana 376
duṭṭhiyaḥānava 149
Dutiyaṁraṇassatisutta 383
Dutiyaṁmaranaṁsatiputtaṭṭṭāsana 383
duḷḷabaṁ dassanam yassa sambuddhassa abhiṅhoso 73, beg. Mahāsa\nmayasuttaṭṭṭāsana
devākayappahāsaththam tam suttantatṁ bhaṇāmase 74, end. Mahāsa\nmayasuttaṭṭṭāsana
Devatādissadakkhiṇanumodanāgātha 113
Devatābhisannantanāgātha 114
deva pī naṁ pasamāsanti brahmunāpī pasamītī ti 303, end. Ariyavamsikassutta
devabhūto manusso vā aggappatto pamoḍatī ti 105, end. Agga\npassādasuttaṭṭṭātha
Dvattimsākārappāṭṭha 127

Dvācattālisaduka 428
Dvādasaparittā 31-74
Dhajaggaṭṭatāpakkāsana 14
Dhajaggaṭṭa 14, 46
Dhajaggasutta 14, 46
Dhajaggasuttaṭṭṭātha 144
Dhammakaravaṇāgātha 103
Dhammacakkappavattanasutta 67
Dhammatāravaṇāgātha 103
Dhammaniyāmasutta 289
Dhammaniyāmasuttaṭṭṭāsana 289
Dhammadāṅjanipakaraṇatmā nama samattatmā 420
Dhammadāṅjanī 269
Dhammadāṅjanīmattikā 419 (25 lines)
Dhammadāṅjanīmattikāpāṭṭha; 420, end. Dhammadāṅjanīmattikā
dhammadāṅjanipakaraṇatmā nama samattatmā 429, end. Vibhaṅga (6 lines)
dhammadā ajjhattabahiddhammam āpannam dhammadā snidassanasappatīghaṁ dhammadā anidassanasappatīghaṁ dhammadā anidassananālppatīghaṁ dhammadā 99, end. Dhammadāṅjanīmattikāpāṭṭha; 420, end. Dhammadāṅjanīmattikā
dhammadā lokuttarā dhammadā kenaṁ viṁśeyā dhammadā kenaṁ na viṁśeyā dhammadā 421, end. Cūḷantaraduka
dhammadā sa-uttarā dhammadā anuttarā dhammadā saraṇā dhammadā araṇaṁ dhammadā 427, end. Piṭṭhiduka
Dhātukāthā 270, 429, 433
dhātukāthāpakaṇaraṇatmā nama samattatmā 429, end. Dhātukāthā (8 lines)
Nakkhāttaṭṭṭhakhaṭṭūnāṇaṁ 65
nattothi me saraṇatmā aññanāmedho me saraṇam varaṁ etena saccavajjena hotu te jayamaṅgalaṁ 24, mid. Sattaparittā, 54, mid. Āṭānaṭṭiyaparittā
nattothi me saraṇatmā aññanāmedho me saraṇam varaṁ etena saccavajjena sothi te hotu sabbadā 95, beg. Saccakiriyaṁgātha
namo arahato sambuddhassa mahesino namo uttamadhammadssa svākkhātasseva tenidha namo mahāsaṅghassāpi 3, 33, beg. Namokāra aṭṭhaka
Namokāra aṭṭhaka 3, 33
namokārassa tejena vidhimhi homi te jarā 3, end. Sattaparittā
paṭippanno pamokkhaṃ ti jhāyino mārabandhanaṃ ti 358, end.  
Aṭṭaṅgikamaggāthā  
pañāsikā ṭhāvīro viñāsā ṭhāvaṃ vāyadeva sītassa paṭighāṭaya 127, Taṃ khoṇikaṭapaccavekkhāpāṭha  
Paṭhamarmo Maṅgalasuttam 35  
Paṭhamamaranassatisuttappakāsana 378  
Paṭhamamaranassatisuttappakāsana 378  
Paṭṭhāna 431, 440  
Paṭṭhānamāṭikāpāṭha 101  
Paṇāmagāthā 400  
pañidhānato paṭṭhāya tathāgatassa dasapāramiyato dasa upapāramiyato dasaparamatthapāramiyato 6, 37, beg. Ratanasuttappakāsana  
Pattidānāgāthā 281  
paddha ca itivā virajaṃ alokaṃ sammapajāṇātibhavassa pāragū ti 364, end. Lokadhammasutta  
Paramattha 267  
Paṛamāsagocchaka 424  
parāmasavippayuttat kho pana dharmā pāramāṭṭhā pī aparāmaṭṭhā pī 424, end. Paṛamāsagocchaka  
pəramāsā dharmā no pāramāsā dharmā pāramāṭṭhā dharmā aparameṭṭhā dharmā 424, beg. Paṛamāsagocchaka  
parittam yamhaṇantassa nissattaṇhaṃ dhovanam udakam pi viṇāseti sabbeva parissayaṃ 20, 56, beg. Āṅgulimālaparittapakkasana  
Parittakaraṇāpāṭha 115  
parittasānubhāvena hāntvā tesam upadhave l nakkhattayakkhabhiṇānāṃ pápaggaharivāranā parittasānubhāvena hāntvā tesam upadhave 30, 65 end. Maṅgalacakkavaṇa  
Pahānaḥvānasutta 284  
Pahānaḥvānasuttappakāsana 284  
Pācittiyouddesa 471  
Pāddesaniyuddesa 489  
pāṇātipāta veramanisikkhāpadam 1 adinnadāna veramanisikkhāpadam 126, beg. Dasasikkhāpadapāṭha  
pāṇātipāta veramanisikkhāpadam samādiyami 273, beg. Paṇca-sikkhāpadamādāna, Upoṭṭhāṇasamadāna  
Pārādhikuddesa 452  
Piṭṭhiduka 427  
Puggalapannatti 270, 430, 434  
puggalapannatti tima chavidhena vibhattam puggalapannattiappakaraṇāṃ nāma samattam 430, end. Puggalapannatti (3 lines)
puggalo upalabbhāti sacchikatthaparamatthenā ti 271, beg. Kathāvathu (6 lines); 437, beg. Kathāvathu (1 page)
puññāma ākaṅkhāmaṇānaṁ saṅgho ve yajataṁ mukhaṁ 112, end. Keniyānumodāgāthā
puññālābhāṁ mahātejam vannakīttimahāyaśasāṁ sabbasattaṁhitaṁ jātaṁ taṁ suṇantuḥ asesato 58, beg. Abhayaparitattappakāsana
puññānaṁ paralokamānāṁ patiṁthaṁ honti pāṇināṁ ti 112, end. Kālaṁśa-
sutttagāthā; 397, end. Saṁvejaniyagāthā
Pubbakaranaṁpubbakicca 447
Pubbatoṇaṁgāthā ariyadhanagāthā 96
pūretvā pārami sabbā ṭatto sambodhiṁuttamānaṁ etena saccavajjenaṁ mā hontu sabbupaddavā 97, end. 2nd § Ariyadhanagāthā
pūrentambodhiṁṣambhāre nibbattāṁ vajgatijiyāṁ yassa tejena dāvaggi mahāsattāṁ vivajjāyī 45, beg. Vāṅgākārappitattappakāsana
pūrentambodhiṁṣambhāre nibbattāṁ morayoniyaṁ yena siriḥitāraṅkham mahāsattāṁ vane ca 12, 44 beg. Moraparitappakāsana
balaṁ ca bhikkhunāmaṇuṁ paddinnāṁ tumhehi puññānaṁ pasūtanāṁ anappakan ti 122, 443, end. Tirokuddakaṇḍa
Balaṣutatā 314
Balasutappakāsana 314
bahuṁ ve saraṇaṁ yanti pabbatāni vanaṁ ca ārāmarukkhačeyāni manussā bhayatājītā 102, beg. Khamākhamasaraṇagamaṇa-
pariṇipāṭgāthā
bahuṭṭa bhavati vippavuttho sakaṁ gharā bahuṇaṁ upaṭiṁranti yo mittānaṁ na dubhatic 139, beg. Mettiṇisamsaṁsagāthā-
paṭha
bāviṭṭatikamātiṅkā 420
bahuṁ sahasaṁnahinimmaṁ sāvudhantaṁ grimekhalanām uditaghora-
saṇemāraṁ dānādhipavindhīnā jītva munindo tante jāsa bhavato te jayamaṅgalāṇi 106, beg. stanzas Buddhajaya-
maṅgala
Bimbisaṁsāmasagame pucchāpaṭṭinaṅgāthā saccaṅkiriya 95
buddhaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāṁ dhammaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāṁ saṅghaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāṁ (ter) 125, beg. Tisaṇaṁgamaṇapāṭha; 272, Saranagamaṇapāṭha
buddhaṅkaṁ ca visodhetvā parittantam bhaṅmaṁaṁ 59, end. Jayapatappakāsana
buddhaṅgābhiṅgito 'mhi no ce muṇceyya candimati ti 142, end. Candimaparitattappāṣa
buddhaṅgābhiṅgito 'mhi no ce muṇceyya suriyati ti 144, end. Surīyaporītappāṭha
Buddhaṅjaṅgamaṅgala 106
Buddhanamakāraṇā 272
Buddhaparitattappakāsana 265
buddhā paccakabuddhā athopi buddhasāvakā klesārihi 300, beg. Ariyavamsāsāsappatappakāsana
buddhappāde sāṅguto ye caṅne aggasāvakaṁ pattapūrāṇubhāvena mātāpītaṁ pamaṇicare 444, end. stanzas without title
Bojjhāṅgapiṇītta 20, 57
bojjhāṅgā satisaṅkhāto dhammaṁ vicayo tathā viriyam piti passaddhi bojjhāṅgā ca tathāpade 57, beg. Bojjhāṅgapiṇītta
Byākatābyākatavatthuddaya 286
Byākatābyākatavatthuddayaappakāsana 286
brahmacārīnaṁ maggo so asamo vekapagallo 346, beg. Sattabbidhamethunasamyogasappatappakāsana
brahmamantan ti akkhetāṁ parittantam bhaṁmaṁaṁ 13, 44, end. Moraparitappakāsana
Bhaddekarattaggāthā 102
bhānissāma mayaṁ gāthā kaladaṇappadiṅkā etā suṇantuṁ sakkaccaṁ dāyakā puñṇakāminī 112, only stanza Kālaṁśasutta-
ghāpākāsana
bhavato sabbamaṅgalāṁ nakkhattyakkhubhūtanā 29
bhavato sabbamaṅgalāṁ rakkaṁ sutte sabbadavatā sabbabuddhaṁ bhavatena sadā sotthi bhavantu te 29, 64, mid. Maṅgalacakkavāḷa
bhavato sabbamaṅgalāṁ rakkaṁ sutte sabbasanghaṁ bhavatena sadā sotthi bhavantu te 109, end. Buddhajaṅgamaṅgala; 111, end. Visesānumodana-Maṅgalacakkavāḷa
Bhāṇavāra 4 pathamaṁbhaṇavāra 124
Bhārasutappāṭha 280
bhāra have paṅcakhandhā bhārahāro ca puggalo 280, beg. Bhāra-
suttaṅgāthā
bhāsitaṁ tena buddhena apanākaṁ bhaṁmaṁaṁ 291, end. Apanāka-
suttappakāsana
Bhāsitovāda 259
Bhikkhu-appariṇiyanhamuttsatā 344
Bhikkhu-appariṇiyanhamuttsutappakāsana 343
Bhikkhupātimokka 451
bhuttā bhogā bhatta bhaccā vitinnā apadāsu me uddhaggā dakkhini dinnā atho paṅcabadabu catā 120, beg. Ādiyassuttaṅgāthā
Bhojanadānuṁodanaṅgāthā 120
Maggaviṁbaṁasutta 354
Maggaviṁbaṁsappatappakāsana 354
maggānaṁhaṅgiko sēṭṭho saccānaṁ caturo padā 358, beg. Āṭṭhaṅgikamaggagāthā
moraparittapāṭhā 140
moraparittappakāsana 12
yam kīci ratanaṁ loke vijjati vividham puthuratanam saṅghasamam
naṭthi tasmā sotthi bhavantu te 25, end. Sattaparittā
yam yam devamanussaṁ maṅgalatthāya bhāṣitaṁ tassa
tassāṇubhāvena hotu rājakule sukham ye ye āraṁkhakā devā
tatthādhīvāsin 27, 62, beg. Sukhābhīṣaṇaṁgāthā
yam ye nibbānaṁnaṇaṁ naṇaṁ pubbe pavattate 289, beg.
Dhammānyāmasuttappakāsana
yam so dhammamī dhaṁñaṁ parinibbāyaṁnaṇaṁ savino 113, end. Vihāra-
dānagāthā
yatoṁham bhagīri arīyaṁ āyati jato nābhī jān̄mī saṁcica 20, 56, beg.
Aṅgulimālaparittā
yathā pi selā vipulā naṁhaṁ ābacca pabbātā samantsa anupariyeṇamm 96,
beg. Pabbatopamagāthā
yathā vīra vahā pūrā pariṇuṁśyathi sāgarāṁ evam eva ito dimmaṁ petānaṁ
upakappati 109, beg. Anumodanāvadhi
yaddaṁ cattāri purisayugāṁ ajja purisapuggala sa bhavagavo
sāvakasenagāhā āhuṇeyyo pahuṇeyyo dakkhiṇeyyo ānālakaritānaṁ
anuttaram puññakkhettaṁ lokassā ti 106, mid. Buddhajaya-
amāṅgalā
yadi sacca damā cāgā khantīya bhiyodha vijjati ti 123, end. Saccapāṇaṁvīyaṁnurupagāthā
yadi hine gato thāne kāyaṇaṁcaraṇa iminā puññate jena tamā thāna
pumucatū 443, beg. stanzas without title
yantā sattevi dukkhena ṛṇeyya anattalakkanam 85, beg. Anatta-
lakkanasuttappakāsana
yantena bhavagavā jñātā passata arahatā samassambuddhe paṭhāmaṁ
pāraṁkām 267, beg. Vinaya
yandunimittaṁ avamaṅgalāṅkaṁ yo cāmānāpako sakunassā saddo
pāpaṁgaha dussupināna 22, 58, beg. Abhayaparittā
Yandunimittāṁ dukkhappātāṁ ca niddukkhaśa 22
yandesesī mahāvīro parittantam bhaṁmahe 17, 50, end. Āṭāṇṭiya-
parittappakāsana
Yamaka 271, 430, 438
yamim yam padese kappetavim vāsaṁ paṇḍitaṁ jata vissantat ettha bhotevā
sāṅhitāte brahmaṁcaṁno 113, beg. Devatādhiss-
dakkhiṇāṁnusodanāgāthā
yassa saddhā tathāgata acalā supātriṁṇaṁ sāññica yassa kalyāṇaṁ 96,
beg. 1st § Ariyadhaṇagāthā
yassānubhāvato yakkaṁ neva äkṣenti bhimsamam 10, 40, beg.
Karaṇīyaṁlettasuttappakāsana
yoniso paṭisevitabbā anuppannānaṁ āsavānaṁ anuppādāya uppannānaṁ āsavānaṁ pahānāya ti 308, end. Catuppaccaya-paccavekkhaṇapāṭha
Ratanattayappabbhāvabhiyācanaṇṭhapāṭha 25, 61
Ratanasutta 7, 38
Ratanasuttapāṭha 132
Ratanasuttapāṭhasana 6, 37
Rūpakammapaṭṭhapāṭha 391
rūparūpakammapaṭṭhapāṭham taddippaṅkaṁ bhaṇāmase 391, end. Rūparūpakammapaṭṭhapāṭhasana
Rūparūpakammapaṭṭhapāṭhasana 391
rogaṃānussadubbhiḥkhasambhūtanti vidhambhayam khippam antaradhāpesi parittantam bhaṇāmahā 7, end. Ratanasutta-pāṭhasana
Liccchavi-aparihāṇiyadhammasutta 341
Liccchavi-aparihāṇiyadhammasuttapāṭhasana 341
Lokadhammasutta 359
Lokadhammasuttapāṭhasana 358
lokijalokuttarasampattasiddham kātabbaṁ ukāsa ārādhanaṁ karomi 263, end. Bhāsītovāda
lokekkuttamabhūtassa anuttarattadāyino 320, beg. Anuttara-suttapāṭhasana
lokekkuttamasatthussa yassa vākyam anaññathāmaṁ 286, beg. Byākatapāṭhavatthudappayasaṇasena
Vaṅgākāparītta 45
vadanti ve duṭṭhamanā pi eke aññe pi ve saccamanā vadanti 377, beg. Duṭṭhāṭṭhakasutta
vadhissamenanti parāmasanto bhāsāvamaddakkhi dhajaṁ isīnaṁ 44, beg. Chaddantapārītta
vandāmi buddham bhavaparāthinnaṁ tilokaketaṁ tiṁhovekanāthāmaṁ 265, beg. Buddhāpādanamakāragāṭhe
vijjābhāgino dhammaṁ avijjābhāgino dhammaṁ vijjūpamā dhammaṁ vajirūpamā dhammaṁ bālā dhammaṁ paṇḍīta dhammaṁ kāṇhā dhammaṁ 427, beg. Suttantamātikā
vinniḥūnaṁ atthasiḥdhattham taṁ suttantam bhaṇāmase 374, end. Kāmasuttapāṭhasana; 383, end. Dutiyamarāṇassatisutta-pāṭhasana
Vinaya Śūtra Paramattha 267
vinetā sukhammagasmīṁ veneyye vinayaṁ muni 282, beg. Karāṇiyākaraṇiyasuttapāṭhasana
Vipassanābhūmipāṭha 99
saccakiriyam karissäma ädissa ratanattayaä 400, Pañämägäthä
Saccapänavidhyänurüpagäthä 122
saccena me samo n’ atthi es ä me saccapärami ti 46, end.
Vaṅgäkäparitta
Saññojanagocchaka 422
saññojanavippayuttä kho pana dhammä saññojaniyä pi asaññojaniyä pi
422, end. Saññojanagocchaka
saññojanä dhammä no saññojanä dhammä saññojaniyä asaññojaniyä
dhammä 422, beg. Saññojanagocchaka
Satipaṭṭhänapäthä 296
Satipaṭṭhänapäṭhappakäsana 296
Sattaparitta 1–29
Sattabbidhämethunasamyogasutta 346
Sattabbidhämethunasamyogasuttappakäsana 346
satto guhäsäm bahunâbbichanno tiṭhän naro mohanasäm pagälo
375, beg. Guhaṭṭhakasutta
sadd sothi bhavantu te nakkhattayakkhabhütänäm hantä tesäm
upaddave 102, end. Bhaddekarattägäthä
sadevakassa lokassa náthabhüto naräsabhä 369, beg.
Dasanäthakāraṇadhammasuttappakäsana
sadevako ayäm lokö samärako sahramäko 353, beg. Magga-
vibhäsasuttappakäsana
saddhapāsādiddhattham duvidhe te bhānämase 286, end.
Byäkätätäbyäkatavattadhuddayappakäsana
sanäthattä(!)thasiddhattham taṁ suttantäm bhānämase 369, end.
Dasanäthakāraṇadhammasuttappakäsana
sabbaṭṭha saṃvuto bhikkhu sabbadukkhä pamucatä ti 281, end.
Saṃvaragäthä
sabbabuddhānubhāvena sabbadhammānubhāvena sabbasanghānubhāvena
buddharatanaṁ dharmaratanaṁ saṅgharatanaṁ tiṇṇaṁ ratanaṁ
anubhāvena caturasitä sahassä 110, beg. Visesānumodanä,
Maṅgalacakkaväla
sabbapäppa akaraṇaṁ kusalassūpasampadä 259, beg. stanzas
Bhāsitoṭvadä
sabbaso suddhasatäño sabbadhammäna pärägu 365, Gotamisutta-
pakkäsana
sabbä sivisajätäm dibbamanattägädam viya yasäm seti viisaם goräm
sesañca pi parissayaä 11, 42, beg. Khandhaparitta-
pakkäsana
sabbityo vivajjantu sabbaro viinassantu mä te bhavatantaräyo sukhi
dighayuko bhava 109, mid. Anumodanävidhi
sabbbe buddhā balappattā paccékaṇāṇca yambalaṁ araighthānaṁca tejena rakkham bandhāmi sabbso 59, end. Abhayaparitta
sabbbe vijitasāṃgamā bhāyātītā yassissino modanti saha bhūtehi sāvakā tejaneṣutā ti 85, end. Mahāsamayutta
sabbbe saṅkhārā aniccātī yadā paññāya passati atha nibbindati dukkhe esa maggo visuddhiyā 279, beg. Tilakkhatadigāthā
samaggakaraṇo buddho sāmaggīyaṁ niyojako samaggakaraṇe dhammā 332, beg. Sārāṇyadhammasuttakkapāsana
samutthānāhāra samanāṇa paccayo samudayena cāti (mūlayamakadi dasayakappatiṃjanitaṃ yamakappakaranān nama samalattaṃ ) 440, end. Yamaṇa (2 pages)
samūlaṁ tanhaṁ abbigaṁ nicchato parinibbuto ti 280, end. Bhāratuttagāthā
samppacayā dhammad appacayā dhammad saṅkhata dhammad saṅkhata dhammad 421, beg. Cūḷantaraduka
sampayuttena vippayuttam vippayuttena sampayuttaṁ asaṅghaṁ 270, end. Dhutakathā (4 lines)
sambuddhe athavāsāna dvaḍasaṅca sahasakye pañcasatasahasassāni namāmi sirasā ahaṁ 2, 32, beg. Sattaparitta, 2nd § Dvādasaparittā
sambuddho dipadām setṭho mahākāruniko muni 284, beg. Paññabhāvanāsuttakkapāsana; 296, beg. Saṭipaṭṭhāna-pāṭhappakkasana
sammasambuddhamatulam asasaddhammaṇaṭṭamān abhivādiya bhāsissam abhidhammatthaṁ saṅghaṁ 400, beg. Abhidhammatthasaṅghagāthā
Samrāṇsūtrapatukulika 396
saraṇaṁ sasanām sabandhaṁ nariṇāṃ parittanubhāvo sadā rakkhati ti 1, beg. Sattaparitta; 32, beg. Dvādasaparitta
Saraṇaṅgamanapāṭha 272
sāduḥ kho pana tathārūpānaṁ arahat̄an dassanam hoti ti 268, end. Vinaya
sādhunām attasiddhattham tam suttatam bhānaṁ 294, end. Supubbanhaṁsuttakkapāsana; 300, end. Ariyavaṃsika-suttakkapāsana; 332, end. Sārāṇyadhammasuttappakkasana; 346, Sattabhidhamthumasaṁyogasuttappakkasana; 359, end. Lokadhammasuttakkapāsana; 375, end. Guhaṭṭhasuttakkapāsana
sādhunāṁ nettibhāvaṭṭhaṁ tam suttatam bhānaṁ 365, end. Gotamīsuttappakkasana
Sāmaṇerapappāṇipāṭha 126
THE ARISING OF AN OFFENCE:  
*āppattisamutṭhāna*

A note on the structure and history of the Theravāda-Vinaya

The article on the Vinaya word *āpatti-samutṭhāna* in the CPD\(^1\) provides little more than the most basic information. Besides the translation and the statement that there are six groups of *āpatti-samutṭhāna*, a very few references limited to the Vinaya-Pitaka and the Samantapāsādikā are given. It is not said what these six groups are, nor is the second set of 13 names of origins mentioned, although two of them actually occur in CPD I, if only as subtitles of a chapter in the Parivāra: *addhāna-samutṭhāna* and *ananuññāta-samutṭhāna*. A third word belonging to this set almost inevitably escaped the attention of the authors of CPD I in 1931 and 1944 (addenda), as the PTS edition of the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī containing *adinnādāna-samutṭhāna* (Kkh 23, 17) appeared only in 1956, and the Sinhalese print of 1905 mentioned in the Epilegomena may not have been available.

Progressing in the alphabet, the CPD reached another word relevant in this connection: *elakaloma-samutṭhāna* "sheep’s wool origin", which is translated in this way following I.B. Horner (BD VI, London 1966, p. 129 = Vin V 88, 37). Again, extreme brevity and the lack of further explanation leaves the reader wondering what this word really means, especially as the preceding entry *elakalomasadisa* is said to signify "like sheep’s wool", referring to *samutṭhānādīni elakalomasadisāni* (Kkh 102, 3 [read 102, 9] ≠ 103, 4). This results in a somewhat enigmatic translation of the relevant sentence: "origins like sheep’s wool, etc."

---

The arising of an offence: āpattisamutthāna

It may, therefore, not be altogether useless to explain the different references to samutthāna in some detail, although some, at least, of the most basic facts can be gathered, e.g. from C.S. Upasak's Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms, (Benares 1975, p. 225, s.v. samutthāna), or from I.B. Horner's translation of the Parivāra (BD, VI). Furthermore, a full understanding of the samutthāna sheds some light on the development of Buddhist ecclesiastical law, on the methods of the Vinaya commentaries, and finally on the somewhat peculiar position of the Milindapañha regarding the interpretation of the Vinaya.

In the fourth chapter of the Cullavagga, the samatha-khandhaka, the earliest extant classification of six samutthāna can be found, when the question: āpattādhikaraṇassākiṃ mūlaṃ (Vin II 90,29), “what is the root of a legal question concerning an offence (laid down in the Vinaya) ?” is answered by: cha āpattisamutthānā āpattādhikaraṇassā mūlaṃ (Vin II 90,29 foll.), “six origins of offences are the root of a legal question”. These six origins depend on whether an offence arises from:
1. kāyato na vācato na cittato
2. vācato na kāyato na cittato
3. kāyato ca vācato ca, na cittato
4. kāyato ca cittato ca, na vācato
5. vācato ca cittato ca, na kāyato
6. kāyato ca vācato ca cittato ca (Vin II 90,30–35).

This paragraph is not commented on in the Samantapāsādikā.

Consequently, no offence can arise in mind (citta) only: If a monk only thinks of an offence without actually committing it, this intention is not considered as an āpatti according to this classification.

Evidently, this text presupposes a common knowledge about this classification among Theravāda monks. For the attribution of these origins to single rules of the pātimokkhasutta is not explained in the Mahāvagga or in the Cullavagga, which for the most part contain the “historical” information about the Vinaya rules, as they record the incidents which induced the Buddha to prescribe a certain rule or to allow a certain procedure, rather than give any systematic treatment of the rules, which is foreshadowed only in the opening chapters of the Cullavagga and fully developed in the Parivāra. Thus any monk who knew by heart the pātimokkhasutta as a matter of course, and in addition the Parivāra, which seems to have been composed with strong mnemotechnical purposes in mind, was well equipped to handle all Vinaya questions that might arise in daily monastic life.

At the very beginning of the Parivāra a number of questions is asked and answered about every single rule in the pātimokkhasutta. This demonstrates what was considered to be important and necessary knowledge about the Vinaya. Although the whole network of these questions and answers deserves a detailed study, only that section will be discussed here which is connected with the Cullavagga passage quoted above: channaṁ āpattisamutthānānam kathī samutthānehi samutthāti (Vin V 1,14), “from how many origins of the six origins of offences does [the pārājika-offence (Vin V 1,6)] arise ?” is answered by: ekena samutthānena samutthāti kāyato ca cittato ca samutthāti na vācato (Vin V 2,13 foll.), “[the first pārājika-offence] arises from one origin, from [the one involving] body and mind, [but] not speech (i.e. no. 4 in the list given above)”.

This is different for the second pārājika-offence: sīyā kāyato ca cittato ca samutthāti na vācato, sīyā vācato ca cittato ca samutthāti na kāyato, sīyā kāyato ca vācato ca cittato ca samutthāti (Vin V 3,37 foll.). Thus three different varieties of origin are mentioned for this particular

---

2 In Theravāda law there are four such “legal questions” (adhirokaraṇa, in contrast to aṭṭa “worldly legal question” [cf. IT 7, 1979, p. 278 note 12]) concerning 1. vivāda “dispute”, 2. anuvāda “admonition”, 3. āpatti “offence (against ecclesiastical law)”, 4. kicca “legal procedure (of the Saṃgha such as kammavācā [cf. STII 13/14, 1987, p. 102])”, Vin II 88,18–20.

3 The structure of the first two chapters of the Parivāra has not been understood properly in BD in this particular respect as the translation shows: “... by how many origins does (a monk) originate the offence”. Leaving aside the difficulty of taking sam-ut-sthā as a transitive verb, the context in the Parivāra itself and later commentaries rule out any other subject in this sentence than āpatti.
offence and for the remaining two pārājika-offences. The same or sometimes different combinations apply for every single offence, and not rarely even all six combinations apply: chahi samuṭṭhānehi samuṭṭhāti (Vin V 6,6), concerning samghadisesa 6, or only three: tihi samuṭṭhānehi samuṭṭhāti (Vin V 6,18), concerning samghādisesa 8. In this instance the Parivāra does not indicate which origins it is actually referring to.

A third way to indicate the origin of an offence is finally introduced on the occasion of nissaggiya 23: dvīhi samuṭṭhānehi samuṭṭhāti kaṭhinake (Vin V 12,3), “arises by two origins as in the kaṭhina-group”. This refers back to nissaggiya 1 (Vin V 8,23), where the respective origin is explained. Further references of this kind follow, e.g. elakalomake (Vin V 14,15), referring to pacittiya 6 or padasodhamme (Vin V 14,20), referring to pācittiya 7.

How this system of reference operates can be deduced from the third chapter in the Parivāra, which is called samuṭṭhānass’ uddāna (Vin V 86,1–90,5). Altogether 13 different origins are enumerated there, and every rule of the pāṭimokkhasutta is assigned to its respective origin. Consequently this arrangement according to origins complements the first two chapters of the Parivāra, where this sequence of rules is kept as it is in the pāṭimokkhasutta.

At the end of each of these 13 groups the total of rules assembled is mentioned, e.g. chasattati ime sikkā kāyamānasikā katā (Vin V 87,4*), “these trainings are seventy-six done by body and by thought” (I.B. Horner), or samapaṭṭhas’ ime dhammā chahi ṭhānehi jāyare (Vin V 87,36*), “exactly fifty are these items that are born from six occasions”, where by a slip of the pen samapaṭṭhas(a) is mistranslated by I.B. Horner as “thou understandest” (BD VI, p. 127).4

Comparing this set of 13 samuṭṭhāna with the corresponding passage quoted from the Cullavagga, there seems to be an obvious difference. For the Cullavagga enumerates only six combinations of the three concepts kāya, vācā, and citta: atth’ āpatti kāyato samuṭṭhāti ... (Vin II 90,30), “there is an offence that arises from the body ... ”, etc. This formulation seems to allow for only one origin for a particular offence, while the possibility of combining two or more is not even hinted at.

A further detail seems to differ in the system laid down in the Parivāra. For there is not a single offence arising from kāya alone. This may be due to the fact that this particular samuṭṭhāna has been inserted in the Cullavagga because of theoretical thinking only. In the same way the combination of kāya and vācā has been mentioned in the Cullavagga without it actually occurring, as observed in The entrance to the Vinaya.5 Evidently it was considered more important to think of all possibilities irrespective of their actual occurrence, rather than to leave a gap in the system.

Alternatively it could be suspected that the opinion in samuṭṭhāna had changed in this respect during the perhaps considerable time separating Cullavagga and Parivāra. Although we do not possess any sources from which information can be gathered about the development of Buddhist ecclesiastical law during this period, it is certain that there was a continuous development.6 In this connection it is therefore not surprising that little, if any, attention has been paid to the origin of offences in the oldest commentary on Vinaya material, namely the explanation of the pāṭimokkhasutta embedded in the Suttavibhaṅga, even

---

4 The actual number is 50, not 49 as suggested in BD VI, p. xix.

5 Vajiraṅgā: Vinayamukha: The entrance to the Vinaya, Vol. I 1916, Bangkok 1965, p. 13. Further I.B. Horner draws attention to: tatthā katamām āpatti no adhikaraṇam: sotāpatti, samāpatti (Vin II 93,3), “what here is an offence (but) no legal question? Stream-attainment (and) attainment” (I.B. Horner). This, of course, is a play on words, for there is no āpatti in a legal context that is not an offence. In contrast to the Theravādins, the Mulasarvāstivādins have found an offence which is purely kāyikī (see R. Gnoli (ed.): The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaranaṇavastu, Rome 1978, Serie Orientale Roma 50, p. 74, in the paragraph corresponding to Vin II 90,29–36).

if there was an opportunity of doing so, e.g. in pārājika 2. Here, different
commentaries are discussed in the commentary, which might result in
committing an āpatti, and among them: theyyacittān ca paccupatthitaṃ
(Vin III 54,17 etc.), “and the intention to steal arises”. No reference is
made to the samuṭṭhāna-system expounded in the Cullavagga, and even
the wording is markedly different, as paccupatthita is used instead of
samuṭṭhita.

Although the outline of the samuṭṭhāna-system can be deduced
from the Parivāra, it is much easier to turn to the pertinent explanation in
the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī. This commentary quotes three kārikās, which
contain the different points that should be mentioned in the explanation of
pāṭimokkha-rules, e.g. nidāna: the place such as Vesāli, puggala: the
person concerned such as Sudinna in pārājika 1, vatthu: the offence, etc.
In the list samuṭṭhāna is also found, to which some prominence is given
by a further separate kārikā on this particular vidhi. The relevant passage
begins: sabbapattinānām kāyo vācā kāyavācā kāyacittānām vācācittānām
kāyavācittānām ti imāni ekaṅgikadvāngikā vatthānāni, yāni sikkhāpadasamuṭṭhānānāti pi vuccanti (Kkh 22,30–33), “all offences
have the [following] six origins:
1. body
2. speech
3. body-speech
4. body-mind
5. speech-mind
6. body-speech-mind,
which may have one (nos. 1,2), two (nos. 3,4,5), or three (no. 6)
members, and which are called ‘origins of the (pāṭimokkha)-rules’”.

So this agrees with the corresponding passage in the
Cullavagga. Then the Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī continues in a more specific way:
“The first three without and the remaining three with mind: acittaka-
sacittaka” (Kkh 22,33 foll.), and, more important still, the following
combinations of these six groups of origins are enumerated:

A. one origin: nos. 4,5,6
B. two origins: nos. 1 + 4, 2 + 5, 3 + 6, 4 + 6, 5 + 6
C. three origins: nos. 1 + 2 + 3, 4 + 5 + 6
D. four origins: nos. 1 + 3 + 4 + 6, 2 + 3 + 5 + 6
E. five origins: this is explicitly ruled out (Kkh 22,35)
F. six origins: nos. 1–6

These 13 possible combinations are named after the respective
first offence found in the pāṭimokkhasutta and considered to arise in that
particular way:
I. pathmapārājika: no. 4; 1 origin: Sp 271,21: Kkh 25,37
II. adinnādāna, pārājika 2: nos. 4–6 (sacittaka); 3 origins: Sp 373,21–24:
Kkh 30,26
III. saṅcarita, samghādisesa 5: nos. 1–6; 6 origins: Sp 560,7: Kkh 39,27
IV. samanubhāṣana, samghādisesa 10: no. 6; 1 origin: Sp 611,5: Kkh
46,24
V. kaṭhina, nissaggiya 1: nos. 3,6; 2 origins: Sp 650,25: Kkh 58,6
VI. elalaloma, nissaggiya 16: nos. 1,4; 2 origins: Sp 689,10: Kkh 71,15
VII. padasodhamma, pācittiya 4: nos. 2,5; 2 origins: Sp 744,9: Kkh 84,19
VIII. addhāna, pācittiya 27: nos. 1,3,4,6; 4 origins: Sp 807,30: Kkh
100,16
IX. theyyasattha, pācittiya 66: nos. 4,6; 2 origins: Sp 868,28: Kkh 126,17
X. dharmadesana, sekkhiya 57: no. 5; 1 origin: Sp 898,29: Kkh 153,21
XI. bhūtāroca, pācittiya 8: nos. 1,2,3; 3 origins: Sp 752,34: Kkh 86,23
XII corīvuṭṭhappana, bhikkhunī-samghādisesa 2: nos. 5,6; 2 origins: Sp
910,22: Kkh 162,18
XIII ananuṇṇāta, bhikkhunī-pācittiya 80: nos. 2,3,5,6; 4 origins: Sp
943,18: Kkh 101,6

This classification, explained very clearly and in great detail at
Kkh 22,3*–23,30, is also dealt with, but very briefly, in the Samanta-
pāsādikā (Sp 270,17–271,19). Here only half the origins are mentioned
and the reader is simply referred to the Parivāra, where the origins “will
be evident” (āvibhavissanti, Sp 270,20). Even the few names given in the
Samantapāśādikā point to a system slightly different from the one in the Kaśyapa-vītāraṇī:

a. six origins
b. four origins
c. three origins
d. kāṭhina
e. etakaloma
f. dhuranikkhepa (Sp 270,21–24 [ending with _SOUND="śādi "etc."]).

This paragraph in the Samantapāśādikā refers to pāraśīka, about which it is said: “according to the origin it has one origin, according to members (aṅga) there is a double origin, for it arises from body-mind” (Sp 271,22 foll.). At the same time this gives at least a hint at the technical meaning of aṅga as used in references to samuṭṭhāna, which, again, has been neatly explained in the Kaśyapa-vītāraṇī (Kkh 22,32) as quoted above.

Following this system, the Samantapāśādikā regularly uses chasamutthāna, Sp 560,7 (= Kkh 39,29); Sp 574,19 (= Kkh 41,36); Sp 662,19 (against: saṅcaritta, Kkh 63,35); Sp 664,28 (against: saṅcaritta, Kkh 64,24, etc.); catusamutthāna, Sp 807,30 (against: addhāna, Kkh 100,16); Sp 842,7 (against addhāna, Kkh 112,9, etc.).

The last head-word refers to pācittiya 27 only in the context of samuṭṭhāna; otherwise it is called samvidhāna (Sp 869,6 = Kkh 126,23, cf. also Vin V 86,23*). Normally the name of the rule and the name of the samuṭṭhāna are identical.

These two groups, chasamutthāna-saṅcaritta (or: saṅcari [Vin V 87,26*] in the meta-language of the uddānas) and catusamutthāna-

---

7 Further instances can easily be found by means of the very helpful notes in BD VI, pp. 124–31, where all references to the pātimokka-rules have been traced. The commentaries do not always give the name of the pertinent samuṭṭhāna, but refer back to preceding rules of identical origin, etc.: kuti-kārasikkhāpade vuttanayen’ eva veditabham saddhiṃ samuṭṭhānādihi (Sp 575,17), and similarly: samuṭṭhānādihi catutthasadissan’ eva (Kkh 66,2), both commenting on nissaggīya 7.

addhāna, are well defined by giving only the number of origins, as these are not shared by any other group.

At first glance, things seem to be rather confusing in respect to tisamutthāna (Sp 549,30) against: addinnādāna (Kkh 37,34 etc.), although the Samantapāśādikā usually enumerates the three relevant origins to remove any possible doubt. Beginning with pācittiya 60, however, only tisamutthāna (Sp 864,16) against: adinnādāna (Kkh 123,34) is mentioned. There is, however, no want of clearness, as the second group, to which tisamutthāna would apply, comprises only a single rule: bhūtārocan (Sp 752,34 = Kkh 86,23). The same is valid for the last two items of the set of 13 groups, coruṭhāpama and anunuñāta. Therefore the Samantapāśādikā, being well aware of this, combines these three items as niyata “restricted (i.e. to one rule: sikkhāpada)”; etan’ eva tiṇi sikkhāpadanī niyatasamutthānāni, aññehi saddhiṃ asambhinna-samutthānā (Sp 1305,12–14), “for these three rules have a ‘restricted’ origin that is not an origin ‘shared’ with other (rules)”8.

This special position of the groups nos. XI–XIII within the set accounts for the obvious break in the sequence of the head-words selected, which suddenly jumps backwards from no. X dhammadesana, sekkhiya 57 to no. XI bhūtārocan, pācittiya 8, which has been noted without further comment in BD VI, p. 130 note 19.

The next two groups mentioned in the Samantapāśādikā concur with nos. V and VI in the Kaśyapa-vītāraṇī. Consequently, they do not create any problem, in strong contrast to the very last name. For dhuranikkhepa is not used at all in the Kaśyapa-vītāraṇī, which has samanubhāsana instead. This, however, is not alien to the Samantapāśādikā either: samanubhāsana occurs at Sp 611,5 = Kkh 46,24, where it is introduced as the name of a particular group following the usage of the Parivāra. In pācittiya 64, however, the Samantapāśādikā suddenly

8 This shows that niyata (Vin V 86,16*) does not mean “regularized” as translated at BD VI, p. 123, but “restricted (to only one rule)”, though the verse as a whole remains difficult.
changes to dhuranikkhepa (Sp 866,32), perhaps because the expression dhuram nikkhattamatte (Sp 866,15) is quoted from Vin IV 128,5 and commented on in this paragraph. In contrast to normal usage it is not the name of this pāṭimokkha-rule, which is called duṭṭhula (Sp 867,1). In this respect it is similar to samvidhāna: addhāna, discussed above.

From then on dhuranikkhepa is employed, though somewhat irregularly it seems, for no rule can be found in the erratic changes between the names of this samuṭṭhāna. The subcommentaries do not offer any help concerning the designation dhuranikkhepa. When commenting on pakinnaka (Sp 270,16), they simply refer to the possible alternative use of dhuranikkhepa and samanubhāsana at Sp-ṭ (B^6) II 96,11 in a long and detailed explanation of the samuṭṭhāna, which is substantially the same as in the Kaṁkhāvitarāṇi, and at Vmv (B^6) II 149,9 very briefly and in passing, while the Vajirabuddhiṅkā is altogether silent on this point. No subcommentary deemed it necessary to waste any words on the change from samanubhāsana to dhuranikkhepa in commenting on pācittiya 64.

A second difference from the Kaṁkhāvitarāṇi can, on the other hand, easily be explained. Wherever the Samantapāsādikā chooses numbers such as chasamuṭṭhāna as opposed to saṅcaritta, it simply follows a system also found in the Parivāra, e.g.: chahi samuṭṭhānehi (Vin V 9,4). If this is abandoned, and names such as kathinaka or elakalomaka (nos. V, VI) are preferred to *dvisamuṭṭhāna, a name apparently never used in the commentaries in contrast to dvihi samuṭṭhānehi (Vin V 8,23 etc.), in the Parivāra, the reason is obvious. Here only the names prevent confusion, as there are four groups with a double origin: kathina, elakaloma, padasodhamma, and theyyasattha (nos. V, VI, VII, IX). Correspondingly, pathamapārājika is preferred to ekasamuṭṭhāna (cf. Vin V 5,16 etc.), because of samanubhāsana / dhuranikkhepa and bhūtārocan (nos. I, IV, X) all being subject to arising from only one origin. Where there are three groups sharing an equal number of origins, even the distinction between sambhinna “shared” and niyata “restricted” would fail to provide the necessary clarity.

Comparing the three Vinaya texts, the Parivāra being by far the oldest, and the Kaṁkhāvitarāṇi and the Samantapāsādikā being thought to be more or less contemporaneous, the following differences can be noted:

In the third chapter of the Parivāra all 13 names of samuṭṭhāna groups are given, but only kathinaka (Vin V 12,3 etc.), elakalomaka (Vin V 14,15 etc.), and padasodhamma (only Vin V 16,35) are actually used in the first chapter on the Mahā- (i.e. Bhikkhu-) Viṁbhāṅga, while dhuranikkhepa (Vin V 55,15, and frequently in the following paragraphs), pathamapārājika, (Vin V 56,14 etc.), kathinaka, (Vin V 57,33 etc.), elakalomaka, (Vin V 59,12 etc.), theyyasattha, (Vin V 60,27 etc.), and padasodhamma (only Vin V 70,16) all occur in the second chapter on the Bhikkhunivibhāṅga. In both these chapters, however, the pertinent samuṭṭhāna is mostly referred to only by its number. Although the complete set of 13 names is available in the third chapter of the Parivāra, only two names have been used frequently in the first chapter, and six in the second chapter. Only in the latter does dhuranikkhepa occur, whereas samanubhāsana is avoided. Therefore one might suspect that dhuranikkhepa as a name of a samuṭṭhāna may originally have been a Vinaya word preferred by the nuns.

On the whole, the first two chapters of the Parivāra are much more circumstantial than later texts in the paragraphs concerning samuṭṭhāna. For phrases such as “arises from one origin such as body ... ”, etc., or “arises from two origins as in the kathina-group” could have been, and actually are, simplified by merely referring to the respective names of origins as enumerated in the third chapter of the Parivāra.

A much better systematization has been achieved in this respect in the Samantapāsādikā, in spite of some shortcomings if two names for one group interchange. It should be noted that the Samantapāsādikā, while extending the use of dhuranikkhepa to the Bhikkhupāṭimokka, has not been influenced by the Parivāra in selecting either name: the Parivāra, which counts the pārājika-rules of the bhikkhuṇis as nos. 5–8, has dhuranikkhepa (Vin V 55,15) in pārājika 5, in contrast to samanubhāsana (Sp 904,13).
Finally, in the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇi, the designation dhurānīkkhepa has been removed from the text. At the same time only the set of 13 names found in the Parivāra has been used consistently. Thus some kind of progress in handling and systematizing this difficult material can be observed. This is perhaps most evident at the end of the commentary on the rules of the pātimokkha, e.g. of nissaggiya 1, where the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇi needs three lines (Kkh 58.6–8) in comparison to six needed by the Samantapāsādikā (Sp 650, 24–29) for the same matter.

Earlier Vinaya texts, however, are not distinguished in this respect alone from later ones, which occasionally also introduce new elements in the form of new concepts or terminology.

Thus it is said in the ekuttaraka–chapter of the Parivāra in the ekaka–paragraph: sāvajjapaññatti āpatti jānitabbā anavajjapaññatti āpatti jānitabbā (Vin V 115.8), “an offence that has been prescribed as ‘blamable’ should be known, an offence that has been prescribed as ‘non-blamable’ should be known”. As this classification is mentioned here for the first time and without any comment or example, it is impossible to control the explanation given in the Samantapāsādikā: sāvajjapaññatti ti lokavajjā, anavajjapaññatti ti pannattivajjā (Sp 1319,26), “blamable means blamable because of common opinion, non-blamable means blamable because of an instruction (by the Buddha)”.

The terms lokavajjā and pannattivajjā are used very frequently by both the Samantapāsādikā and the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇi, and they replace the apparently older pair sāvajjā-, anavajjapaññatti, which are preserved only in the passage quoted above from the Parivāra and echoed once in: anantarāyikā pannattivajjā anavajjapaññatti ti ca vuttaṃ ... āpatti antarāyikā lokavajjasāvajjapannattito (Vjb (B*) 553,7).

The more recent terms lokavajjā and pannattivajjā emerge for the first time in the Milindapañha: lokavajjām pannattivajjām ... udake hassa-

---

9 In spite of a correct explanation of this sentence in the footnote accompanying the translation, the text itself is mistranslated as “an offence the description (of which) is ‘blamable’ ... ”, BD VI, p. 172 and note 9.


latter were correct, this would point to the Milindapañha as being some sort of an intruder into the Theravāda tradition, importing a new idea which in this particular case has not been accepted by the Mahāvihāra orthodoxy.

For modern interpreters of the Vinaya, the divisions sacittaka: acittaka and lokavajja: panṇattivajja remain meaningful, and the latter is even developed in a rather bold way quite in contrast to the samuṭṭhāna, which are thought to be “superfluous and unclear” by Vajiraṇāṇa, the 10th Samgharāja of Thailand, in his Vinayamukha: The entrance to the Vinaya, I, pp. 12–16, especially p. 13.

Freiburg

Oskar v. Hinüber

13 Attention is drawn to this important alternative in explaining differences among different Vinayas by G. Schopen, “On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure”, Journal of Indian Philosophy 10, 1992, pp. 1–39, especially p. 4. In spite of Schopen’s brilliant argument, I am convinced that the Pāli Vinaya is by far the oldest extant text of its type. This, of course, does not mean that other Vinayas do not very occasionally contain very old material, while the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya seems especially to be penetrated by the spirit of innovation. This, however, needs much more research, and these remarks are not meant to diminish the highly interesting and important results of Schopen’s contribution as a whole. It would be interesting to know if there are traces of a similar samuṭṭhāna-classification in Vinaya schools other than the Theravāda. If the Samantapāsādikā was translated into Chinese under Dharmaguptaka influence as stated by P.V. Bapat: Shan-Chien-P‘i-P'o-Sha, Poona 1970, p. 1, this school at least did not seem to have been very familiar with this concept as the gross mistranslation of Sp 62,17–21 (p. 422), the somewhat surprising translation of Sp 228,1 foll. (p. 169) and other instances show. The pair sāvadyam: anavadyam turns up in pāṭayamika 75 (Sarvāstivāda) in: G. v. Simson: Prātimokṣasātra der Sarvāstivādins. Teil I. Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden XI. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Dritte Folge Nr. 155. Göttingen 1986, p. 229 (SHT 538, Bl. 26R4). However, the sentence containing the relevant words occurs in only one manuscript, and is missing in others.
THE CASE OF THE MURDERED MONKS

This is possibly the first time that the Journal of the Pali Text Society has been offered material with a title so sensational as to suggest one of the more luridly covered paperbacks! Still, the subject-matter to be examined here, a really mysterious case, does occur in the pages of the Vinayapitaka, being found there as the principal story of the third pārājika (defeat). In this paper it is intended to summarize the story, to look into the Vinaya Commentary’s elaborations, to compare these matters with the account in the Dharmagupta Vinaya and finally to comment on the issues raised.

The Mahāvibhaṅga (Vin III 68 foll.) tells a very strange story. At that time, it relates, the Buddha was instructing the monks in the practice of the unattractiveness of the body (asubhabhāvanā). When he had completed this he undertook a fortnight’s retreat, seeing no-one except the monk who brought him almsfood. As the monks practised asubha it seems that self-hatred arose very strongly in them, for they came to loathe their bodies, rather than seeing them dispassionately as impure. Some committed suicide, while others took the lives of their fellow monks, apparently making pacts: “I’ll kill you, you kill me”. Some went to a hanger-on of the monastery, a man called Migalanḍika who had a yellow robe and pretended to be a monk, and asked him to take their lives. He did this ‘service’ in exchange for the dead monks’ robes and bowls. Afterwards he took his blood-stained knife down to the river Vaggumudā to wash it there. Then he repented of his violence, thinking that he had deprived many virtuous monks of life. At this point he experienced some sort of vision and it is hard to decide whether this ‘being’ was something external to him, or an aspect of his own mind. In any case, the ‘devatā’ told him that he had done good in bringing across, or as we should say ‘saving’, those who were not yet across, had not yet attained Nibbāna. After this he was convinced that what he had done was good, and consequently he returned to the monastery, where he
wented from one building to another crying out, "Who has not crossed? Whom do I bring across?" (Vin III 69,10-11). We are told that in this way he 'brought across' as many as sixty monks in a day; that is, he murdered them.

At the end of his retreat the Buddha noticed that the number of monks had decreased and asked Ānanda the reason for this. When he was informed of what had happened he called a saṅgha-meeting, at first saying nothing of the recent spate of killings but instructing the remaining monks in mindfulness of breathing (ānāpānasati). His disapproval is only expressed with a stock passage recurring frequently in the Vinaya, "It is not proper, it is not seemly ... this is not for the benefit of unbelievers"; after which he is shown as laying down the basic rule. We find this an incredible account of what actually took place, as the Buddha does not allude to the doings of Migalaṇḍika or even forbid suicide. Only at a later time is he depicted as doing so.

Turning now to the Commentary (Sp 393-479) for some light upon these strange events, we are treated to elaborations of the asubha-practice followed by some comments on the story. We are informed that, for reasons obvious below, no-one, apart from the monk appointed, could interrupt the Buddha's retreat.

At this point the Commentary tells a story of the past to try to account for the terrible Vinaya tale of wholesale suicide and murder. This woefully inadequate story concerns a group of 500 hunters who had killed deer in their past lives and later, in the one then current, had been ordained, still without having exhausted the fruits of their evil kamma. Due to this they killed themselves and other monks, but apparently only those of their own group. The Commentary points out that among them many were noble (ariya) while some were ordinary (puthujjana). It is implied that the latter would reach a path/fruit through meditation on asubha, while of course the future of the former was in no doubt. What

an extraordinary story! Does this mean that those ennobled by the Dhamma went around killing other monks? It is rare in the Suttas to find even examples of monks who took their own lives in the last stages of terminal illness, when as Arahants they were not to be blamed; what is to be said of monks killing others? The Commentator then attributes some improbable thoughts to the Buddha: he says to himself, "I am not able to save them with my divine power. I am of no use to them". The Commentator grapples with the dilemma of proclaiming the Buddha omniscient on the one hand (as all Commentaries claim in opposition to the Buddha's own words [M I 482,14-18]), while showing him doing nothing to stop his monks committing suicide and murder on the other. The explanation offered is that the Buddha was in jhāna and that no-one could talk to him. This conflicts with the Vinaya text which mentions that one monk took him almsfood every day.

After commenting on Migalaṇḍika, of whom it is said that he went to the river not only to wash his knife but also to purify himself of evil kamma, the Commentator arrives at another difficult point: explaining why the Buddha asked Ānanda where the monks had gone. If he was omniscient he knew already; if not, then he would be like ordinary people who need to ask. This issue is resolved by implying that the Buddha had been playing around: though he knew, still he asked as though he did not know. Such complications always follow from claims to omniscience when this is defined as knowing everything all at once. There is some gentle mockery of the Jain teacher's claims to omniscience at M II 214.

The Dharmagupta Vinaya story agrees essentially with the Pāli account. It makes much of the kammic retribution that had to fall on the 500 former hunters, by then monks, who would be forced to slaughter one another. Other Vinayas may throw more light upon this incident. As it stands, the Pāli account presents us with insoluble problems which are not in any way solved by the Commentary:
1. The Buddha knew others’ minds, so why did he teach asubha meditation if this was likely to lead to suicide and murder?

2. Presumably he knew of the murderous potential of Migalaṇḍika, but is shown as going into retreat.

3. No monks, not even Ananda, did anything to prevent the massacre. Even his attendant monk apparently did not say to the Buddha that monks were being slain or killing themselves in large numbers.

4. Nothing was done to restrain Migalaṇḍika, though these events are said to have taken place not far from the city of Vesālī, from which help could easily have been obtained.

5. The Buddha, apparently not knowing of the carnage during his retreat, asks, “Where have the monks gone?” when he emerges from it.

When reviewed like this the whole story appears a piece of improbable fiction, possibly a very distorted account of something which actually did take place. It is strange that a story like this, which does no credit to the Buddha, but quite the opposite, was permitted to remain in the Vinaya. Maybe some exceedingly dark events really did take place and had to be explained away, though the existing account is not successful in doing so. If the story is partly true, it would hardly reflect well on the Buddha, while if the whole is true he appears in a worse light still. As a Buddhist I am naturally reluctant to accept this.

The Bhikshu Precepts Manual of the Dharmagupta Vinaya recounts almost the same story. Here is its account of the monastery at that time: “Due to these circumstances, the grove became littered with corpses. It stank horribly and was in a state of utter chaos and resembled a graveyard. The laity were shocked. They said, ‘If these bhikṣus would go so far as to kill one another, how much more would they take the lives of other people! We should not make offerings to them any more.’”

It is unlikely that the mystery underlying this Vinaya rule will ever be solved, though other accounts surviving in the various untranslated Vinayas may be of some help. Obviously, the curious account in Pāli does not present the whole picture. Besides this, one must allow for exaggeration, especially of the number of monks killed by Migalaṇḍika: if the Vinaya text is taken literally he killed 265 over several days. The Commentary, more expansive, tells us 500 monks died, but then this is a standard figure for a large number in Pāli.

In this initial exploration of the case we have not been able to offer a satisfactory solution. Perhaps later investigators with more information at their disposal may be able to ‘solve’ this mystery, or if they cannot do this, they may at least make more probable guesses at what happened to those monks outside Vesālī.

Wisemans Ferry

Laurence C.R. Mills (formerly Khantipalo)

Bibliography

The Bhikshuni Precepts Manual, (no translator’s name), Vol. I, Dharma Realm Buddhist University, California, 1983
Shan-Chien-P’i-P’o-Sha, trans. P.V. Bapat & A. Hirakawa, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1970
FOUR PÂLI ETYMOTOLOGIES

Here is another random group of words which are either omitted from PED, given an incorrect meaning or etymology there.

1. kinti “in order that”
2. kevala-kappa “(almost) entire”
3. sakāya niruttinyā “in/with own niruttī”
4. hevan “thus”

1. kinti “in order that”

PED gives the meaning “how then ?” for kinti with only one reference for it (s.v. kin): kinti te sutam, D II 74,8. In Skt kim is used as a particle of interrogation, and very often it has no more meaning than a question mark. With the particle iti it means “why”. In the sentence quoted above (= D II 75,10 = A IV 18,21 foll.) it is simply asking a question: “Have you heard ?”

---


Journal of the Pāli Text Society, XVI, 1992, 77-85
There is, however, another usage found in Pāli, which is not mentioned in PED, where it is constructed with an optative, to indicate a purpose:

Vajjinaṃ arahantesu dhammikārakhāvarana-guttī susamvihitā, kinti anāgatā ca arahanto vijitām āgaccheyyam, D II 75,11 = A IV 17,5 = 20,6,10,13: "... so that arahats may enter the territory".

yāvakīvaṃ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū paccattām yeva satīm upaṭṭhāpenti, kinti anāgatā ca pesalā sabrahmacāri phāṣum vihareyyun ti, D II 77,19 = A IV 22,3: "... so that good fellow-disciples may dwell at ease".

kinti mahārāja idam dukkhaṃ nirujjheyya aṁśaṅ ca dikkhaṃ na uppaṭṭeyya, Mīl 31,29 = 65,30: "So that this dukkha may cease and another dukkha may not arise".

The construction with an optative (or occasionally an injunctive) is also found in the Aśokan inscriptions1:

ya ca kinti parākramāmi aham kinti bhūtānāṁ ānāmān gamheyaṁ, RE VI(L) at G: "... so that I may discharge my debt ... ".

ta etāya athāya ayam dhammalipi lekhāpīta kinti ciram tiṣṭeya, RE VI(M) at G: "... so that it may last a long time".

ya tu kici parikamete devānampiya priyadasi rājā ta savam pāratrikāya kinti sakale apaparīsraje asa, RE X(C) at G: "... so that there may be little danger".

na tu tathā dānām va pūjā va devānampiya mamānte yathā kiti sāravadhi asa, RE XII(B) at G: "... so that there may be an increase in sāra".

tasa tu idam mūlaṁ va vacigutī kinti āṭapāsāṃdpropūjā va parāpāsāṃdarahā va no bhave aparākaroṇamhi, RE XII(D) at G: "... so

that there should not be praise of one's own sect or blame of another's sect ... ".

yo hi koci āṭapāsāṃdham pūjatī parapāsāṃdam va garahati savam āṭapāsāṃdhabhiyā kinti āṭapāsāṃdham dipayema iti, RE XII(H) at G: "... so that we may glorify our own sect".

ta samavāyo eva sādhu kinti anāmamānasa dhammaṃ sruṇāru ca susumsera ca, RE XII(I) at G: "... so that they may hear each other's dhamma".

evaṁ hi devānampiyasa icchā kinti savapāsāṃdha bahusrutā ca asa kalānāgamā ca, RE XII(J) at G: "... so that all sects may be learned ... ".

devānampiya no tathā dānām va pūjā va mamānte yathā kinti sāravadhī asa sarvapāsāṃdānam, RE XII(L) at G: "... so that there may be an increase in sāra".

anuṭape pi ca prabhava devanampiyasa vucati tesa kiti avatrāpya na ca hamīeyasu, RE XIII(N) at Sh: "... so that they may be ashamed and not be killed".

etaye cā atayeva ayi dhramadhipi nipista kiti putra paputra me asu (?) read anāmī1 navam vijayaṁ ma vijetavia maṇiṇa, RE XIII(X) at Sh: "... so that they may not think of another new victory".

atha paṭaye icchām hakaṁ kinti savena hitasukhena hidalokika-pālalokikāye yujeva ti, SepE II(E) at Dh: "... so that they be provided with complete welfare ... ".

ichā hi me kinti sanke samage cilathitike sīyā ti, Schism Edict (E) at Sānīci: "... so that the samgha may be united and last a long time".

etāni bhante dhammapalīyāṇi icchām kinti bhante bhikhu bhikkhaye ca bhikkhuni ca abhikkhination suney ca upadhaḷayaeyā ca, Bhabra (E):

"... so that many groups of monks and nuns may listen repeatedly ... ".

etiya athāye ca savane kaṭe ... iya paka(me) kiti ciraṭhitike sīyā, MRE I(H) at Rūp: " ... so that it may last a long time".

1 Abbreviations of Aśokan site names: G = Gīmāl; Sh = Shāḥbāzgarhi; Dh = Dhauli; Rūp = Rūpān. I follow the sentence divisions of E. Hultsch, The Inscriptions of Asoka, Oxford 1925.

tesam ye abhihāle va damde va atapatiye me kaṭe kimises lajūkā asvathā abhītī kamāmi pavatayeve ti, PE IV(D): “... so that the lajūkas may perform their duties confidently ...”.

dhammayutena ca viyovadisamti janam jānapadam kimis hidatam ca pālatam ca ālādhayeve ti, PE IV(E): “... so that they may attain this world and the next”.

ichitaviye hi esa kimis viyothasamatā ca siyā damḍasamatā ca, PE IV(K): “... so that there may be impartiality in proceedings and in punishments”.

This is a development of the usual meaning “Why?” Someone has done, or will do, something. Why? That something else may or may not happen (expressed in the optative or injunctive). We may then interpret kimis as introducing the purpose clause. “(The king) has acted, so that something may happen”.

1. kevala-kappa “(almost) entire”

PED quotes (s.v. kevala) this compound from Sn pp. 18, 45 (mistake for 46), 125, Pj I 115 and Vv-a 124 255 with the meaning “a whole kappa”, and repeats this (“a whole, complete kappa”) with the references Sn pp. 18, 46, 125 (s.v. kappa).

These references are all to a stock phrase referring to a divinity illuminating a grove: aṇṇatarā devatā ... kevalakappas Jētavānāṃ obhāesīvā, Sn p. 18,10 = p. 46,14 = Khp p. 2,29 (glossed at Pj I 115,19 foll.) ≠ Sn p. 125,10 (Brahmā Sahampati).

kevalakappas Gijjhakiṭam cando viya sriyō viya ca obhāsenī, Vv-a 124,11.
devalokato āgantvā kevalakappam Veḷūvanam obhāesento, Vv-a 255,6.

It is clear that the meaning given by PED for these references is incorrect, although Childers2 had long ago seen correctly that the meaning of kevalakappam Jētavanāṃ was “the whole of Jētavana”, and had defined kevalakappap3 as “all, whole, entire”. Masefield points out that this sense is not listed by PED under either kevala or kappa, and very charitably he does not say that the meaning which is given under both headings is wrong.

This failure is all the more striking because PED does list the correct meaning for kappa at the end of compounds (s.v. kappa), i.e. “made as, like, resembling”, e.g. khagga-visāṇa-kappa “like the rhinoceros horn”. The difficulty in the Pāli usage lies, as often in Pāli, in a Skt usage, and the solution to the problem is found by consulting

1. See PTC, s.vv. obhāesīti and kevalakappa.
3. Childers, ibid., s.v. kevalakappap.
MW, where the meaning is given (inter alia): “having the manner, form of, similar to, like (but with a degree of inferiority), almost”, e.g. abhedya-kalpa “almost impenetrable”, prabhāta-kalpa “nearly become light, approaching dawn”, mṛta-kalpa “almost dead, apparently dead”.

The meaning of kevala-kappa is therefore, “(almost) entire”, or “just about the whole of ...”. This meaning is given in the cities quoted above for kevalakappā ca Anāg-Magadhā pahūtaṃ khādaniyam bhojaniyam ādāya upasamkamissanti (Vin I 27,28) “The whole of Ānāga and Magadhā will come bringing quantities of food”, for the sense is said to be yebhuyatat “for the most part”, i.e. “almost all”. They also list kevalakappam used adverbially: ayam āyasmato Anuruddhassa Bāhiko nāma saddhivihārīko kevalakappam saṃghabhādāya thito (A II 239,21), where the sense is said to be dañhatthata “firmness”.2 Ānāmoli translates “This co-resident of the venerable Anuruddha’s named Bāhika has taken his stand entirely for the schism in the Community”, and Woodward translates3 “stands in every way for dissenion in the Order”. Mp III 215,16 glosses: kevalakappan ti sakalam samantato.

The same meaning of kappa is found in the compound ahatakappa which is used, in conjunction with ahata, of clothes: “unwashed or nearly unwashed, i.e. new or nearly new”. Miss Horner misunderstands this, and translates ahatakappena (Vin I 255,8) and ahatakappānam (Vin I 290,11) “when what is allowable is unsoiled”4: Sp

1 s.v. kalpa.
4 I.B. Horner, Book of the Discipline, Vol. IV, PTS 1951, pp. 357 and 413. Miss Horner seems not to have understood the meaning of ahata and its reference to the Indian way of washing clothes by banging them against a rock: “not struck (against a rock), i.e. never washed, i.e. new”, and ahata-kappa “nearly new”. She was perhaps misled by PED’s definition of ahata (s.v. hata): “unsoiled, clean, new”.

1111,31 (ad Vin I 255,8) glosses: ahatakappanā ti ahatasadisena ekavāram vā dvikkhatum vā dhotena “like unwashed (i.e. new), washed (only) once or twice”, and Sp 1128,18 (ad Vin I 290,11) glosses: ahatakappanān ti ekavāradhotānam “washed once”. PED rightly lists the usage with ahata under the same meaning as for khagga-visāna-kappa, quoted above. CPD correctly translates ahata5 as “nearly (practically) new”.

3. sakāya niruttīyā “in/with own niruttī”

I am still not persuaded that in the well-known passage (Vin II 139,2–16) chandaso means “into the Vedic language”, and consequently I do not agree with the statement, “It is hardly surprising that there was a certain pressure for using Vedic Sanskrit for the recitation of Buddhist texts from the very beginning. The Buddha objected to this, and the issue of language was felt to be important enough to require a rule in the Vinaya explicitly forbidding the use of this language for Buddhist texts in favour of the vernaculars”.2 The belief that the Buddha ordered the use of vernacular languages depends upon the translation of the words sakāya niruttīyā. I wish to return to this problem.

I now think that I was wrong when I said in my earlier discussion of the phrase buddhavacananam chandaso āropema that the second time sakāya occurs in the story it must refer to the Buddha “since there is nothing else in the sentence to refer to”3. Sakāya can, and indeed must, I think, refer to Buddhavacanan. It is well-known that in the

1 CPD, Vol. I, s.v. ahata.
the common Vinaya phrase anujānāti means "to ordain or prescribe". I therefore take the Buddha's command to mean "I ordain that the Buddhavacana be mastered in [or "with" — see below] its own nirutti", i.e. the infinitive pariṣṭipūnaṃ is used in a passive sense, and I think that those who say we must understand the word vo in the sentence are wrong. Since, as I said in the same article, it is inconceivable that sakāya should have two different referents, it must have the same meaning when it is used earlier.

It is clear that it cannot be the followers' own nirutti. If it were, then we should have to assume that the Buddha, when informed that they were ruining (dusenti) his teaching in/with/by their own nirutti, insisted on their using their own nirutti, i.e. insisted that they continue to ruin his teaching. Since he insists upon the Buddhavacana being mastered sakāya niruttīyā, the nirutti must also be part of what they are ruining, i.e. it is either the Buddha's nirutti or the nirutti of the Buddhavacana. We can take sakāya niruttīyā either as locative: "The Buddhavacana in its own nirutti" or as instrumental: "The Buddhavacana with its own nirutti". I have said elsewhere that I prefer the idea of "gloss" for nirutti. By this I mean some sort of simple commentary, perhaps nothing more than a translation into the local dialect of a single word, or an etymology to make the meaning plain. On the other hand, it would appear that Buddhaghosa was taking nirutti as "language", and this also makes sense: "They are spoiling the Buddhavacana in its own language". Buddhaghosa identified that language with Māgadhi because, as I said earlier, that was the tradition handed down in the Mahāvihāra.

4. hevaṃ "thus"

PED s.v. hevaṃ gives no text references, but refers to hi, where it is stated that hevaṃ = hi evaṃ. Without doubt this is so in certain contexts. Where hevaṃ occurs as a second word in a clause, particularly after na, it may stand for h(i) evaṃ. Where it occurs as first word in a clause, it must be hevaṃ, since hi, being an enclitic, cannot stand as first word.

I have elsewhere pointed out that hevaṃ occurs in the Kathāvatthu, e.g. hevaṃ eva tattha dakkha (Kv 3,11); hevaṃ patijānantā, hevaṃ niggahetabbā (Kv 3,15–16). It is interesting to note that another such occurrence is at D I 54,17, in the description of the views of Makkhali Gosāla: hevaṃ [Ee prints h’ evam] n' athi doṇa-mite sukha-dukkhe pariṣṭanta-kahe samsāre. Since forms with initial h are frequent in the Eastern versions of the Ashokan inscriptions, we can assume that this is a genuine Eastern dialect form, appropriate to the speaker, and therefore retained in the account of his views.

Cambridge

K.R. Norman

---

1 See CPD, Vol. I, s.v. anujānāti.

---

1 Norman, op. cit. (in note 3 on p. 83), p. 331.
3 See Hultzsch, op. cit. (in note 1 on p. 78), Index, s.vv. hida, hedisa/hedisa, heta, hemeva, hevaṃ, hesā.
THE RITUAL OBLIGATIONS AND DONOR ROLES OF MONKS IN THE PĀLI VINAYA

More than once recently it has again been suggested that Buddhist monks had little or no role in life-cycle ceremonies in early India.¹ I do not know on what these suggestions are based, but it does not seem that it could be the Pāli texts. In fact, Buddhist Vinaya texts in Pāli, Sanskrit, and what G. Roth calls “Prākrit-cum-Sanskrit” seem to suggest quite otherwise. They seem to suggest and assume that monks regularly had a role in such ceremonies and that their ritual presence and performance at such ceremonies was of some importance. Most passages, indeed, employ a language which suggests “obligation” (karaniya). The same texts suggest and assume that Buddhist monks were active donors to their own monastic community.

Ironically, the one “life-cycle” ceremony in which a significant place for monks has been explicitly conceded — the funeral — is also the one which is not explicitly included in the list of such moments that occurs in the passage of the Pāli Vinaya which seems most concerned with such things. But though the funeral is not there explicitly mentioned, the text may allude at least to death rituals as Edgerton

sometime ago seemed to surmise: it speaks of “illness” (gilāna), and the illness in question seems to be — to judge by context — terminal.1

The passage in the Pāli Vinaya occurs in the Vassupañāyika-khandhaka, the section dealing with the “beginning of the rains.” In the Pali Text Society edition, the only one available to me, this passage is rather badly chopped up in an apparent attempt — on whose part I do not know, whether editor or scribe — to abbreviate repetitions. It deals in general with the occasions or situations in regard to which a monk can legitimately break the rain-retreat during which he was otherwise strictly forbidden to travel. One of these reasons — but only one — has been widely cited: a monk may be away for up to seven days if he goes to learn from a lay-brother (upāsaka) a “recognized sūtra” (abhiññātām ... suttantam) which would otherwise be in danger of being lost. There are, however, a number of other equally legitimate reasons.2

The enumeration of these reasons begins — in I. B. Horner’s translation — as follows:

This is a case, monks, where a dwelling-place for an Order comes to have been built by a layfollower (idha pana bhikkhave upāsakena samgham uddissa vihāro kārāpito hoti). If he should send a messenger to monks, saying: “Let the revered sirs come, I want to give a gift and to hear dhamma and to see the monks” (āgacchantu bhaddantā, icchāmi dānaṁ ca dātum dhammaṁ ca

---


Ritual obligations and donor roles

sotum bhikkhū ca passitun ti), you should go, monks, if you are sent for (pahita) and if the business (karanīya) can be done in seven days, but not if you are not sent for (I 139,27; IV 186,16).

This is followed by a long list of other kinds of buildings — including “bathrooms” — and other kinds of constructions (“a lotus pond”) which a lay-brother has built for “an order,” or “for several monks” or “for one monk,” etc., in regard to which the same instructions are given. Since in these cases the order or the monks are the recipients of that which had been constructed it is perhaps not remarkable that their presence on these occasions was considered important enough to justify breaking the rain-retreat. The same, however, will not account for their presence on other occasions.

The passage continues:

This is a case, monks, where a dwelling comes to have been built by a lay follower for himself (idha pana bhikkhave upāsakena attano athāva nivesanam kārāpitaṁ hoti) ... a sleeping room (sayanighara) ... a stable (uddosita) ... a hall in the bathroom ... a lotus pond ... a shed ... a park ... (I 140,27; IV 187,22).

This list — an abbreviation of an already abbreviated text — is much longer and contains almost every conceivable kind of construction of a domestic sort. Here there is no question of these things being presented to the monks. They are explicitly said to have been made for the lay-brother himself. The monks in these cases cannot be there as recipients, and their presence must have been sought, and allowed, for other purposes. Since the text expresses the lay-brothers request using the formula “I want to give a gift and to hear dhamma and to see the
monks,” it would seem reasonable to assume that not just here — but even in the prior cases where the monks were the intended recipients — the reason for the monks presence was essentially ritualistic. It would appear that the text is allowing as legitimate and requiring the presence of the monks at a ceremony of some sort that marked the completion — the verbal form is kārāpita — of the construction of all sorts of domestic structures owned by laymen at which they would receive gifts and recite religious texts. It is, in fact, hard to interpret the text otherwise. But two further points should be noted: it appears to have been assumed by the redactors of the text that monks would regularly receive such requests, and that their compliance with such requests was important enough to justify their temporary absence from the rain retreat.

If what we see here looks very much like sanctioned and assumed monastic participation in domestic “house-dedication” rituals of the kind frequently found in traditional cultures, then what follows in the passage can only further the impression. To the list of “housededications” the text then adds at least three other occasions of traditional domestic ritual:

This is the case, monks, where a dwelling comes to have been built by a layfollower for himself ... a sleeping room ... a park ... , or there comes to be his son’s marriage (puttassa vā vāreyyāṁ hoti), or there comes to be his daughter’s marriage (dhītuyā vā vāreyyāṁ hoti), or he becomes ill (gilāno vā hoti) ... (I 140,35; IV 188,3).

In each of these cases — as in those that precede — monks, if requested through the formulaic request, are to go. Since the reason or occasion that immediately follows concerns the preservation of “recognized sūtras” which are in danger of being lost, and since no distinction is made between it and the marriages of sons or daughters, for example, it would seem that the redactors of the Theravāda-vinaya considered the latter to have the same importance as the former, or that the presence of monks at weddings was as important as the preservation of sūtras. It is, moreover, difficult to avoid the impression that this passage presupposes something like a “client” relationship between monks and lay-brothers. That there was some sense of obligation in this relationship seems virtually certain: the text does not say the monk may go, but that — if sent for and if it can be accomplished in seven days — he must go (gantabba).

The clarity of the text here renders elaborate discussion, I think, unnecessary. That the redactors of this Vinaya assumed and insisted on monastic presence at, and participation in, a whole series of purely domestic or life-cycle rituals seems all but self-evident. Our passage is not simply of interest for its clear articulation of a set of ritual obligations bearing on Buddhist monks, however, because it also assumes that requests for the ritual presence of monks will not be made only by laymen. It goes on to enumerate in very nearly the same language another series of individuals who have dwelling places and monasteries built for the order and themselves, and who also request the ritual presence of the monks on such occasions:

This is a case, monks, where a dwelling place ... a site for a monastery for an order ... for several monks ... for him- (her-) self is built by a monk ... a nun ... a probationer ... a novice ... (idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhunā samgham uddissa, bhikkhuniyā samgham uddissa ... attano attāya vihāro kārāpito hoti). If he (she) should send a messenger to monks, saying: “Let the revered sirs (masters) come. I want to give a gift and to hear dhamma and to see the monks,” you should go, monks, if you are sent for and if the business can be done in seven days ... (I 141,31; IV 189,11).
Here, too, I think, the text has an elegant clarity. The redactors of our passage could only have assumed and taken very much for granted that — exactly as laymen — monks, nuns, “probationers” (sīkkhamāṇa), and novices (sāmanera), all had monasteries and monastic buildings regularly constructed both for the order and for themselves, and — again like laymen — had on such occasions need for the ritual presence of fellow monks. The text does not rule on, but assumes, that monks and nuns can and do act as major donors. We need not again belabour the fact that this kind of assumption on the part of the redactors of the Theravāda-vinaya fits awkwardly, if at all, in the picture of monastic Buddhism found in our handbooks, but very nicely with the actions of monks and nuns recorded in Indian inscriptions.¹ The role of monks in domestic rituals also is not a common-place in modern presentations of monastic Buddhism. The apparent discordancy — since we prefer so often the pictures in our own books — might suggest some suspicion in regard to the present passage, or that it is just another aberration peculiar to the Pāli Vinaya.² That such suspicions are unfounded seems to follow from two further quite different texts.

The Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya found at Gilgit has a section — the Varsāvastu — that corresponds in the main to the Pāli Vassupanāyi-ka-khandhaka. There is as well in the Gilgit Varsāvastu a long passage which corresponds to the Pāli passage cited above which enumerates the occasions on which the monks may legitimately be away during the rain-retreat. Both the enumeration and language here are similar to what occurs in the Pāli Vinaya, but by no means the same. The Varsāvastu passage starts with a list of obligations (karaṇiya) owed to upāsakas or lay-brothers. Unfortunately the description of the very first of the occasions on which a monk must go when sent for by a layman involves a textual — and perhaps lexical — problem which I cannot solve. It is, however, virtually certain that it had something to do with the marriage of the lay-brother.¹ I therefore cite what is in fact the last occasion enumerated to give an example of the formulaic character of the language used in this text:

There is moreover a further obligation to a lay-brother (upāsakasya karaṇiya). It may occur that a lay-brother has a sickness, suffering, a serious illness. He will send a messenger

¹ N. Dutt, Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. III, pt. IV, (Calcutta: 1950), 138.9 prints the text as follows: kim upāsakasya karaṇiya / yathāpi tad upāsakasya grha-\[kālar\]matram pratyapasthitam bhavati ātmano veṣṭanam ... sa bhiksūnām dūtam anupaṣeśayati ... . On at least two occasions immediately prior to this passage a householder is described in similar terms: tatra ... grha-patith prātivasati / tasya grha-kālaratram pratyapasthitam / ātmano veṣṭanam ... (136.15; 137.13; see also 140.22). Unfortunately in all these cases the manuscript seems to read not grha-kālaratram, but grha-kanutram (R. Vira & L. Chandra, Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts, Part 6, (New Delhi: 1974), 733.8; 734.3; 734.7; 736.1), and I do not know what –kanutram means. I suspect that Dutt also did not and — as he so often did — silently “corrected” the text on the basis of the Tibetan: dge bsnyen gyi bya ba gang zhe na / ‘di ltar yang dge bsnyen gyis khyim du rang gi ‘ching ba bag ma blang te / (The Tog Palace Manuscript of the Tibetan Kanjur, Vol. I, (Leh: 1979), 692.2; cf. 689.2; 690.6; 696.1). Although, again, I do not fully understand the phrase khyim du rang gi ‘ching ba, the Tibetan text has certainly understood its text to be referring to the lay-brothers’ marriage.


² The presence in the Pāli canonical Vinaya of rules governing the obligatory presence of monks at weddings, for example, is particularly intriguing in light of what has recently been said about the modern “change” and “transformation” of Buddhism in Sri Lanka; see R. Gombrich & G. Obeyesekere, Buddhism Transformed. Religious Change in Sri Lanka, (Princeton: 1988), pp. 265–73; H.L. Seneviratne, Rituals of the Kandyian State, (Cambridge: 1978), p. 129; etc.
to the monks (saying) “Will the Venerable Ones give a recitation” (āryā vācāṃ dāsyanti). A monk should go, having been authorized for seven days, through this obligation to a lay-brother (gantavyaṃ bhikṣunā saptāham adhiṣṭhāya upāsakasya kārāṇīyena).

The Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya, like the Vinaya of the Theravāda, assumes, then, and requires the presence of monks at certain lay, domestic “life-cycle” ceremonies. It does not list all the same occasions, however, referring explicitly only to marriage and serious, if not terminal, illness. The Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya does not seem to refer to “house dedication” rituals; it certainly does not contain the long list of different kinds of structures found in the Pāli. But it does contain some of the same occasions found in the Pāli that are more specifically “Buddhist.” It refers, for example, to a lay-brother having a vihāra constructed, although here too it uses a different language: “It may occur that a lay-brother wishes to have erected a monastery for the community of monks from the four directions” (yathāpi tad upāsakaś cāturdiśe bhikṣu-samghe vihāraṃ pratiṣṭhāpayitu-kāmo bhavati). It also lists a number of more specifically “Buddhist” occasions not found in the Pāli Vinaya: a lay-brother “desiring to donate bedding and seats to that monastery “ (... asminna eva vihāre śayanāsanam anupradātukāmo bhavati), “wanting to designate a permanent alms giving” in it (... asminna eva vihāre dhruva-bhikṣāṃ praṭīṇapayitukāmo bhavati), and, interestingly, “wanting to have erected a stūpa for the body of the Tathāgata in that monastery” (... tasminna eva vihāre tathāgata-saṅga-stūpaṃ pratiṣṭhāpayitukāmo bhavati). In all of these cases — as in the case of marriage and illness — if the monks are sent for, and if they can return within seven days, they are of course required to go. One of such occasions, however, may be particularly important because we may be able to connect it with a record that can be much more securely placed in time and place.

The Gilgit text gives one of the more specifically Buddhist occasions in the following form:

There is moreover a further obligation to a lay-brother. It may occur that a lay-brother wants to donate the raising of a staff on that stūpa, the raising of an umbrella, the raising of a flag, the raising of a banner ... he sends a messenger to the monks ... a monk should go ... (aparam apya upāsakasya kārāṇīyam. yathāpi tad upāsakas tasminna eva stūpe yasty-āropanam chatrāropanam dhvajāropanam patkāropanam ... anupradātukāmo bhavati ... sa bhikṣunāṃ dūtam anupreṣayati ... gantavyaṃ bhikṣunā ... ).

Admitting that the exact sense of yasti — though much discussed — is uncertain, still it is difficult not to see in this passage a regulation which corresponds almost exactly to the record of an actual event which appears to have occurred at a stūpa near Bahāwalpur in the first century of the Common Era. This event was recorded in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription, the language of which is “a Sanskritized Prākrit.”

1 Dutt, Gilgit Manuscripts, III, 4, 139.11–17.
Although there have been some differences of opinion in regard to its interpretation, Konow’s — as usual — appears to be basically correct:

The eleventh year — year 11 — of the Great King, the King Surpassing Kings, the Son of Devas, Kaniška, in the month of Daisios, on the eighteenth day — day 18 — when the monk (bhikṣu) Nāgadatta, a narrator of dharma (dha[rm]a)kathā, the student (śīya) of the teacher (acārya) Damatāṭa, the student’s student of the teacher Bhava, raised the staff (yatīṁ aropayata) here in Damana, the mistress of the monastery (viharasvamīṃi), the lay-sister (upasika) Balānandī and the matron, her mother Balajāyā, also gave, in addition to the setting up of the yaṣṭi (imam yatīṁpratithānam), the enclosure (parivara). May this be for the benefit and ease of all living beings.¹

Here we seem to have the record of almost precisely the kind of occasion envisioned in the text. A lay-sister donates “the setting up of a yaṣṭi” at a stūpa, but the presence of a monk — if not his actual direction of the event — is carefully recorded, using in at least one case exactly the same wording as the Vinaya passage. The importance of the epigraphical record lies, of course, in the fact that it allows us to say that what was promulgated in at least this Vinaya appears to actually have been occurring by the first century.¹

Apart from these points, and apart from noting too that the Mūlasarvāstivāda passage also lists as one occasion the recitation of texts by a lay-brother, we need only note that this Vinaya not only confirms the kind of participation of monks in domestic rituals that was taken for granted in the Pāli Vinaya, it also assumes — again as in the Pāli — that monks will regularly act as donors. The first of a monk’s “obligations” to fellow monks occurs in the following form:

What is the obligation to a monk (bhikṣhō karaniyam). It may occur that a monk wants to present a park to the community of monks from the four directions (yatāpi tad bhikṣu cāturdiśe bhikṣusamghe ārāmam nirūtayitukāmo bhavati). By him there an abundance of material things and worldly things are brought together (tena tatra prabhūto vastulābha āmiṣalābha ca

---

dealing with lay-brothers, so here the section ends with reference to a monk's obligation to attend to a sick or dying fellow monk by giving a recitation (yathāpi tad bhikṣur ābādhiko duhkhiṁ vādhagāno bhavati. sa bhikṣūnām dātam anupreṣayati. āgacchantaḥ āyuṣmanto vācām bhā[ṣa]ṣyanti, etc.).

We have, then, two apparently distinct Vinaya traditions — the Theravāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda — which both assume and enjoin monastic participation in at least some domestic, lay, life-cycle rituals and take as a given the fact that monks — exactly like laymen — make both major and minor religious donations, and that when they do, other monks are obliged to be present. There is, moreover, at least a third Vinaya tradition in which we find something very similar.

The Abhisamācārikā, the "Prākrit-cum-Sanskrit" text of which was discovered in Tibet by R. Sankritiyayana, belongs to the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda monastic tradition. In its formal structure it does not contain divisions corresponding to the Pāli Vassupanāyika-khandha nor to the Gilgit Varṣāvastu and, as a consequence, we do not find in it a passage that formally corresponds to those we have discussed. We do find, however, the expression of the same sorts of

---

1 Dutt, Gilgit Manuscripts, III, 4, 141.1 foll.
2 Dutt, Gilgit Manuscripts, III, 4, 141.6 foll. It will have been noticed that where the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya makes full reference to stūpas the Theravāda-vinaya has none. On this pattern see G. Schopen, "The Stūpa Cult and the Extant Pāli Vinaya", JPTS XIII, (1989), pp. 83–100 and the responses to it in O. von Hinüber, "Khandhakavatta. Loss of Text in the Pāli Vinaya", JPTS XV, (1990), pp. 127–38; C. Hallissey, "Apropos the Pāli Vinaya as a Historical Document. A Reply to Gregory Schopen", ibid., pp. 197–208; R. Gombrich, "Making Mountains Without Molehills: The Case of the Missing Stūpa", ibid., pp. 141–43. What has come out of this discussion — apart from some light entertainment provided by Professor Gombrich — seems to be: an increased awareness of the complexity and extent of Pāli Vinaya literature, and a promising suggestion that there is something like an "ideal" Vinaya (the canonical Vinaya) and an "actually used" Vinaya (the various summaries and "different monastic handbooks"), with the consequent confirmation of the suggestion "that the canonical Vinaya text is not as useful as once thought as a ready source for extracting usable historical data" (Hallissey, p. 207). It seems too that the suggestion of "the loss of text" is weaker even than I thought, but some problems remain. Though the Kati kāvata passage might be neutralized by invoking the du or ca, this will not affect the Visuddhimagga passages. They, as Hallissey says, "are more difficult to explain." There is, moreover, what appears to be a much more likely case of "loss of text" — here again concerning "relics" — in the Sri Lankan mss. of the Samyutta (see G. Schopen, "An Old

---

Inscription from Amarāvati and the Cult of the Local Monastic Dead in Indian Buddhist Monasteries", Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies 14.2, (1991), pp. 281–329 [p. 328 note 111]). Finally, it seems absolutely certain — given Professor Gombrich's agreement — that it can no longer be said that the Pāli Vinaya does not contain any references to stūpas. He seems to have been so convinced by my suggestion that the references to cetiyas in the Sutta-Vibhanga are to be understood as referring to stūpas that he wants to use them against me (p. 140). But the presence of such rules in one part of the Pāli Vinaya, but not in another, does not seem to puzzle.
assumptions and ideas. In its first chapter, for example, which deals in large part with the duties of a senior monk (samgha-sthavira), it says that one of the duties of such a monk is to determine, when an invitation to a meal has been received by the monks, what the occasion for the meal is (jānitavyam. kim ālambanam bhaktam). He is to determine whether, significantly, the invitation is “connected with a birth, connected with a death, connected with a marriage, connected with a house warming” (jātakam mrtakam vā vevāhikam vā grha-praveśakam vā). These are the occasions, apparently, on which it was assumed monks would receive and accept invitations from the laity, and they — as in the Pāli and Gilgit Vinayas — are all connected with domestic life-cycle rituals. The text goes on to say that in addition to the occasion, the senior monk must also determine the source of the invitation, he must determine whether it comes from “a visitor, a villager, a householder, or a renunciant” (āgantukasya gamikasya grhaḥastasya pravrjītasya). It is clear from the instructions given by the senior monk to the person sent to determine these things that when the inviter is a householder he is generally assumed to be a lay-brother or upāsaka (tena gacchiya prechitavyam, koci imam hi ithannāmo nāma upāsako). It is equally clear from similar instructions that the inviter could be a monk or nun (ko nīmantreti, bhikṣu bhikṣuni upāsakopāsikā āgantuko gamiko vānijako sārthavāhā).


2 Singh & Minowa, 91.26; Jinananda, 17.8.

3 Singh & Minowa, 91.27; 89.32; 95.27; Jinananda, 17.9; 14.9; 25.1.

After indicating how all of this should be determined the text goes on to specify how on each occasion the “transfer of merit” apparently expected from the monks should be performed, citing — curiously — both an inappropriate and an appropriate verse to be recited that in every case is tailored to the specific occasion. Typical are the instructions concerning an invitation “connected with a death”:

Now, then, when it is an occasion connected with a death, it is not permissible to direct the reward thus (nāyam ksamati evam daksṇīnā ādiśītum):

“Today for you is a very good day, very efficacious. At present has arrived an auspicious moment.

Today for you in the well-ordained, through the well-ordained,

the reward in the most excellent vessel shines.”

Not in this way is the reward to be directed, but rather the reward should be directed (atha khalu daksṇīnā ādiśītavā):

“All living beings will die. Indeed life ends in death. As was their action so they will go, going towards the result of good or bad.

There is hell for those of bad action; good being done, they go to heaven. Having developed the noble path they without further consequences enter nirvāṇa.”

In this way the reward is to be directed.1

The monks on each occasion are required to recite an appropriate verse and “to direct the reward” that results from this. Though not frequent the expression used here to refer to the “transfer of

1 Singh & Minowa, 92.15 foll.; Jinananda, 18.13 foll.
merit" — daksīnā ādiś- — does occur in the Pāli canon, and there, as here, is also associated with the recitation of verses. It is far more frequent and firmly anchored in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya and related sources, where again it is frequently connected with the recitation of verses or Dharma. And it is referred to as well in other Mahāsāṃghika sources. The appropriate verse here — as in most other cases — occurs elsewhere in canonical literature. But for our present purposes the most important point to be noted is, of course, that the Abhisamācārikā, though representing yet another distinct Vinaya tradition, assumes, and makes rules to govern, the participation of monks in domestic life-cycle rituals, and assumes as well that monks and nuns act as donors. Though minor details may vary, it has in common a set of basic assumptions and ideas with both the Theravāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda monastic traditions and codes. All share the assumption and acceptance of a monk’s obligation to be present at, and to have an active role in, a variety of domestic, life-cycle rituals connected with birth, marriage, house construction, sickness, and death. All promulgate rules governing such obligations. All recognize as perfectly regular that monks and nuns will act as donors. The texts, I think, are unambiguous on these points, although there is as well an important qualification in all of them.

The qualification or restriction which appears to apply to the obligations monks owe to others is highlighted in, for example, another discussion in the Pāli Vinaya. The case involves a monk whose mother falls ill and sends for him during the rain retreat. The monk is made to recall the Buddha’s ruling on the matter, but it apparently does not cover this particular case because the monk says: ayaṁ ca me mātā gilānā sā ca anupāsikā. kathām nu kho mayā paṭipajjitatabbān ti, (“This is my mother who is fallen ill, but she is not a lay-sister. How now should I proceed?”). The Buddha responds by adding one’s mother and father to the previously established list of individuals — all otherwise formally connected with the Buddhist community — to whom a monk had a clear obligation in such circumstances: A monk, a nun, a probationer, a novice, a woman novice, and lay-brothers and sisters.

This case confirms and makes explicit what all our texts, whether Theravāda, Mūlasarvāstivāda, or Mahāsāṃghika, seem to imply: the obligation of monks to attend and participate in lay life-cycle ceremonies is not owed to the total lay population, but only to individuals who are formally designated as lay-brothers (upāsakas) or lay-sisters (upāsikās). To which the Pāli tradition at least adds one’s mother and father, even if the latter are not formerly connected with the Buddhist community. This restriction is significant for understanding the social dynamics of the Buddhist community as it was understood by Vinaya masters. It is also significant because epigraphical material seems strongly to suggest that only a small part of those people who made

---

1 For references in both primary and secondary sources, and some discussion, concerning the expression daksīnā ādiś- see Schopen, Journal of Indian Philosophy 20, (1992), pp. 1–39 (p. 30 note 43). It has yet, however, to be fully studied.

2 This verse or variants of it occur at Mahāvastu II 66; Samyutta I 97; etc.

3 The various Vinayas obviously do not list all the same ritual occasions. The Abhisamācārikā list is the most inclusive and the Pāli Vinaya puts considerable emphasis on “house dedication” rituals. The Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya is noticeably the most restrictive in terms of the kind of domestic rituals at which monks are obliged to be present. The explanation for these differences is, of course, not yet determined, but it may well be related not to chronology, but to the cultural and geographical milieu in which the various codes were redacted. We may see in the restrictive character of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya, for example, another indication that it was redacted by, and for, a Buddhist monastic community in close contact with brahmanical or significantly brahmanized

---

1 Pāli Vinaya I 147,20 foll.
strongly to suggest that only a small part of those people who made gifts at Buddhist sites identified themselves as upāsakas or upāsikās.¹ The ritual clientele of Buddhist monks may necessarily have been limited in early India. The problem that remains, however, is determining what “early” can mean here.

The situation encountered here is nothing new. It recurs repeatedly in the study of “early” Buddhist canonical sources, especially when textual sources transmitted by more than one Buddhist monastic order are consulted. We have in our case texts redacted and transmitted by the Theravāda, Mūlasarvāstivāda, and Mahāsāṅghika which — although they differ in regard to detail — share or have in common a set of rules and a common assumption in regard to monastic participation in domestic ritual. To account for such shared or common elements two basic theories have been used. One says that common elements in discrete textual and monastic sources must go back to a period which predates the development of “schisms.” The other says that such common elements are the result of “contamination,” mutual borrowing and a process of levelling, and therefore are late.² The first theory depends on the assumption that Buddhist monastic groups can be meaningfully treated as “sects” — this has been repeatedly questioned.³

It depends on the assumption that once developed these “sects” existed in isolation, hermetically sealed, with no significant contact or interchange — this is contrary to all our evidence.¹ It depends on the assumption that we actually know when the splits or “schisms” occurred — but we do not. The textual sources — all very late — give a variety of discordant dates and epigraphical sources suggest that discrete monastic orders appeared centuries later than our textual sources say.² Finally, this theory assumes that “orthodoxy” or uniformity among related religious groups is established first and then only over time do significant differences develop — this is contrary to almost everything “church historians” and sociologists have discovered: if uniformity is ever achieved it is achieved over more or less long periods of time through a complex process of mutual influence, borrowing, and sometimes violent levelling that works on originally discrete and competing groups and voices.³ The second theory seems to avoid these problems.

A similar — in fact related — set of questions concerns the date of the various Vinayas. But it too seems that the old observations and arguments of Wassiliou and Lévi remain unrefuted and best account for

1 A thorough study of upāsakas and upāsikās in Indian Buddhist inscriptions has yet to be done. But at Sañcī stūpa no. 1, for example, only 18 of the more than 325 lay donors call themselves upāsakas or upāsikās; at Bharhut none do; at Nasik only 4 of 23; at Karle only 2 of 22; and I very much suspect a similar pattern will hold through out until at least the fifth/sixth century.


³ See, for example, the now “classic” W. Bauer, Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity, (Philadelphia: 1971). Something similar has occasionally been argued in the development of Indian Buddhism — but only occasionally. J. Przyluski, for example, in discussing the prātiyasaṃputpāda formula said many years ago: “En somme, nous ne pouvons admettre qu’il y eût à l’origine du Bouddhisme une série de douze ‘conditions’ dont les autres listes ne seraient que des déformations récentes. Plus haut nous remontons dans le passé, plus grande est la diversité que nous constatons. C’est probablement à une époque assez tardive qu’on s’est efforcé de concilier les thèses divergentes et que finit par prévaloir la série: avidyā ... jārāmarāṇa” (J. Przyluski, “La roue de la vie à Ājanṭā”, Journal Asiatique, (1920), pp. 327–28).
what seem to be the facts. The former said some years ago that it
appears that “les Vinayas parvenus à nous ont été rédigés à une époque
tardive,” and the evidence seems to be mounting in his favour.¹

Fortunately, however, the dates of the Vinayas need not here be
decided. It is probably true that in terms of absolute chronology all
the Vinayas are late. But from the point-of-view of relative chronology
they also represent the earliest codification of monastic rules that we
have. For our specific purposes this means that monastic presence and
participation in a range of domestic life-cycle rituals is assumed, judged
important, and prescribed in the earliest Vinaya literature that we have,
and that our earliest Vinaya sources assume that monks and nuns will
regularly act as donors and rule on the obligations of fellow monks when
they do.

We still, of course, do not know if monks actually participated
in domestic rituals. We only know that the monk reductors of several
Vinayas assumed they did and said they should. That monks and nuns
acted as donors, however, is certain. Not only do those same monk
reductors assume they did, and formulate rules for governing the
behaviour of other monks when they would, but Indian inscriptions put
 acted as donors, however, is certain. Not only do those same monk
reductors assume they did, and formulate rules for governing the
behaviour of other monks when they would, but Indian inscriptions put

¹ W. Wassilieff [V. Vasilyev], “Le bouddhisme dans son plein développement
d’après les vinayas”, Revue de l’histoire des religions 34, (1896), pp. 318–25,
Pao 8, (1907), pp. 116–17 and note 1; Lévi, “Les saintes écritures du boeddhisme”,
in Mémorial Sylvain Lévi, (Paris: 1937), pp. 82–84: “De plus, la vie du couvent, qui allait en se développant sans cesse, proposait ainsi sans cesse
des problèmes pratiques qu’il fallait résoudre au nom du fondateur de l’ordre. Les
couvents les plus riches, les mieux fréquentés, se créaient ainsi des collections
qui se perpétuaient en s’accroissant. Les religieux errants, qui circulaient
toujours nombreux de couvent en couvent, maintenaient dans ce vaste ensemble
une communication constante qui tendait à nivelier les divergences trop accusées.
Réduits par élagage à leurs élément communs, les Vinaya de toutes les écoles se
ramènent sans effort à une sorte d’archétype unique, qui n’est pas le Vinaya
primitif, mais la moyenne des Vinaya.”

¹ The influence of the characterizations of “early” monks found in Mahāyāna sūtras
literature on modern scholarly characterizations is a subject not yet
studied, but one which may well be of particular significance. There are cases,
for example, where what appears to be Mahāyāna polemical caricature has been
used to account for historical development. Dayal has said that “... it seems that
the Buddhist monks ... in the second century B.C. ... emphasised a few duties to
the exclusion of others. They became too self-centered and contemplative, and
did not evince the old zeal for missionary activity among the people. They seem
to have cared only for their own liberation from sin and sorrow. They were
indifferent to the duty of teaching and helping all human beings ... The
bodhisattva ideal can be understood only against this background of a saintly and
serene, but inactive and indolent monastic order” (H. Dayal, The Bodhisattva
Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, (London: 1932), pp. 2–3). This
explanation of an historical occurrence has, in a variety of forms, often been
repeated (see Lamotte, Histoire du bouddhisme indien, 73, 78, 699), but no
evidence for it is ever cited, and it appears to be little more than a paraphrase of
the polemical position taken in Mahāyāna sūtras. There is, moreover, little, if
any, indication in Indian inscriptions that monks — either before or after the
beginning of the Common Era — were “self-centered”, “cared only for their own
liberation” and were “indifferent to ... helping all human beings.” In fact, the
indications are quite otherwise. They suggest a monk very active in giving,
concerned with benefiting parents, teachers, friends, and “all beings”, and very
much engaged in the social world (see the references in note 1 on p. 92 above).
We see this monk in Indian inscriptions which date to almost exactly the period
during which we think Mahāyāna sūtras were first composed. Obviously, much
remains to be learned here.
THE RAKŚĀ LITERATURE OF THE ŚRĀVAKAYĀNA*

Contents

Introduction 110
1. The paritta of the Theravādins 116
2. The Mahāsūtras of the Mūlasarvāstivādins 125
3. The svastigāthā of various schools 129
4. The Pañcarakṣā collections 138
5. Rakṣā phraseology 144
6. Rakṣā and mantra 150
7. The rakṣā literature and cults 159
8. Rakṣā and the Mahāyāna 160
9. Śrāvakayāna rakṣā literature and the Tantra 161
10. Archaeological evidence for the rakṣā literature 162
11. Rite and ritual 165
Conclusions 168
Bibliography 170
Table 1: Early paritta lists 174
Table 2: Paritta, Sirimāṅgalaparitta, Dvādasaparitta, and Sattaparitta 178
Table 3: The seven Pañcarakṣā in relation to other rakṣā and paritta texts 180

* This is a revised and expanded version of a paper delivered at the Tenth Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, Paris, 20 July 1991.
The Rakṣa Literature of the Śrāvakayāna

Introduction

In the present paper, I will discuss what I term the “rakṣa literature of the Śrāvakayāna”. I have chosen the term rakṣa — “protection” or more specifically “protective text” — because it occurs in both Sanskrit and Pali, the latter in the equivalent form rakkha, as in the Sanskrit and Pali versions of the Āṭānātiṭṭa-sūtra.1 In meaning it is no different from the well-known Pali term paritta, the use of which, however, seems restricted to Pali.2 (In Sanskrit paritrāṇa occurs frequently as a synonym of rakṣa, but in the sense of the protection sought or offered rather than protective text. Other synonyms of rakṣa in the former sense include gupti, parigraha, paripālaṇa, and āvarana in Sanskrit,3 and gutti and paritta in Pali.4)

The rakṣa phenomenon was pan-Buddhist (and indeed pan-Indian), in that the invocation of protection against disease, calamity, and malignant spirits through the office of spiritual attainment, profession of truth, mantras, or deities was a practice widely resorted to by both the Śrāvaka- and Mahāyāna.

The concept of rakṣa appears in various forms in Buddhist literature. The presence of the Buddha — who is described by such epithets as akutobhaya, “without fear from any quarter”,5 or khemaṃkara, “grander of security”1 — itself bestowed protection. In the Soṇandaṇḍa-sutta of the Dīghanikāya, Soṇandaṇḍa says that “in whatever town or village the samaṇa Gotama stays, non-humans do not harm the people of that town or village” (DN I 116.14, sameṇa khalu bho gotamo yasmin gāme vā nigame vā paṭivasati na taśmin gāme vā nigame vā amanussā manussa viheṭhenti).2 A similar statement is made in the Mahāsāhasprapramardani,3 and a similar idea occurs in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinayavibhanga in Tibetan and Chinese translation, where the presence of the Buddha is one of the protections against “zombies” or vetādas.4

It is therefore no accident that in the earliest images of Mathurā, Gandhāra, Amarāvati, and Nāgarjunakonda, the Buddha, whether seated or standing, is nearly always depicted in the abhaya-mudrā, the “gesture

---

1 Sanskrit Āṭānātiṭṭa-sūtra, 37.3 Āṭānātiṭṭam sūtraṃ vidyām rakṣāṃ; Pali Āṭānātiṭṭa-sutta, DN (32) III 203.1 āṭānātiṭṭvā rakkha.  
3 MhMVR(T) 13.1, 15.2; Mahāśītavatī 2.9; GM I 56.10, in the common phrase rakṣāvaranagupti.  
4 Vin II 110.6; AN II 72.27.  
5 Theragāthā 510, Therigāthā 333, etc.
of dispelling fear".\footnote{See D.L. Snellgrove (ed.), The Image of the Buddha, Paris, 1978, p. 56 and pls. 29–32 (Mathurā); p. 61 and pls. 33(c), 34, and 35 (Gandhāra), p. 81 and pl. 46 (Nāgārjunakonda, Amarāvati).} Indeed, the symbol of the open hand, which appears even earlier at Bhāhrut along with the “aniconic” representation of the Buddha through his footprints, might also represent this mudrā.\footnote{See The Image of the Buddha, pl. 8, to be compared perhaps with pl. 51 from Amarāvati.} In Mūlasarvastivādin literature the hand of the bodhisattva or of the Buddha is called “bringing relief to the fearful” (bhītānām āsvāsanakara);\footnote{Sanghabhedavastu I 114 ult. Cf. also Mahābala-sūtra 22.9, 67.16.} the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra, commenting on the walk (cankrama) of the Buddha, says “toujours il lève la main droite pour rassurer les êtres”.\footnote{M MPS V 2316; cf. also M MPS III 1345 and Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Vol. I, fasc. 1, pp. 20–21, abhaya-dāna.} While more complex mudrās were evolved over the centuries, the abhaya-mudrā never lost its popularity. With the course of time, certain revered images of the Buddha (or of bodhisattvas) were themselves held to confer protection.

The very act that defines a Buddhist is the “taking of refuge” (śarana-gamana) in the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha, and the formula of “triple refuge” opens virtually all Buddhist rites, including the recitation of paritta. A verse in the Mahāsāṃghika-sutta states that “they who go for refuge in the Buddha will not go to the lower realms: leaving behind their human form [at death], they swell the ranks of the gods” (DN II 255.3–5, ye keci buddham saraṇam gatāse, na te gamissanti apāyaṃ; pahāya mānusam deham devakāyaṃ paripūressant).\footnote{An equivalent verse occurs in the (Mula-)Sarvastivādin Mahāsāṃghika-sūtra in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and, with similar verses on the Dharma and the Saṅgha, in the Śūkrikāvadāna (Divy 195.26, 196.5).}

Another type of protection is the result of spiritual practice: the Mettānissāma-sutta, a canonical paritta, for example, lists eleven benefits from the cultivation of friendliness.\footnote{AN V 342.1–14. See also the eight benefits of mettā at AN IV 150–51.13, and cp. the similar passage incorporated into the Megha-sūtra, p. 294.} In this paper I will deal with a further type, the protection that results from the recitation of certain texts, that is, protection through speech, the spoken word.

A distinguishing mark of the rakṣa literature is that it was actually used — that is, memorised and recited for specific purposes — by both monks and lay-followers, from a very early date. This is in contrast with the bulk of the canonical literature which would only have been studied by the assiduous few, mainly monk-scholars. Rakṣa texts would no doubt have been known by heart by the monks, and by some devout lay followers, as are the paritta of the Theravādins up to the present day. Thus the rakṣa literature contains texts which, from great antiquity, were regularly employed rather than simply preserved or transmitted. The only comparable classes of texts are the Prātimokṣa-sūtras and Karmavākyas — essential to the routine of the bhikṣu- and bhikṣuni-samghas — and, in a somewhat different sense, the tales of the Jātakas and Avadānas, told and retold in sermons up to the present day.\footnote{I am grateful to Sally Mellick (Oxford) for pointing out the popular didactic use of the Apadāna literature.}

When I speak of the “rakṣa literature of the Śrāvakayāna”, I refer here to four specific classes of texts:

1) the paritta of the Theravādins;
2) the Mahāsūtras of the Mūlasarvāstivādins;
3) the svasti-, svastyayana-, or mangala-gāthā of various schools; and
4) certain texts of the Pañcarakṣa collections.\footnote{The use of the plural “collections” will be made clear in the appropriate section.}
But these classes are by no means watertight: the parītta, the Mahāsūtras, and the Pañcarāksa contain svastigāthā, the Pañcarāksa contain parītta, and so on. All four are traditional classifications of various schools, and I have adopted them as a convenient basis upon which to open my presentation of the rāksa literature: an upāya which I hope will prove kausalya. There may well have been other classes or categories; some of the manuscripts retrieved from the sands of Central Asia, for example, seem to be rāksa collections.1 We know next to nothing of the rāksa literature of the Buddhist schools whose scriptures have not come down to us. The Mādhymika scholar Bhavāya (circa 500–70 A.C.)2 cites a passage from the Vidyādhara-piṭaka of the Siddharthas, whom he classifies in this case under the Mahāsāṃghikas.3 According to Candrakīrti (circa 600–50 A.C.),4 one of the seven piṭakas of the Pūrvaśailas and Aparāśailas — offshoots of the Mahāsāṃghikas — was a Vidyādhara (rig ‘dzin) Piṭaka;5 according to Chi-tsang (549–623 A.C.) and Paramārtha (mid 6th century), one of the five piṭakas of the Dharmaguptakas was a “piṭaka of magic formulas”.6 According to Hsüan-tsang (first half of the 7th century), one of the five piṭakas of the

1 See Ernst Waldschmidt, Kleine Brāhma-Schriftrolle, Göttingen, 1959, for some possible examples.
2 For Bhavāya and his date, see Ruegg 1981 pp. 61–66.
3 Tarkajñāvalī, Q 5256, Vol. 96, dbu ma, dza, 190a6, D 3856, dbu ma, dza, 175b1, dge ‘don (Q sloň) phal chen sde ’i nan tshan don grub pa ’rnam rig pa ’dzin pa ’i sde snod.
4 Ruegg p. 71.
5 Per K. Sorensen, Candrakīrti, Triśarinassaptati, the Septuagint on the Three Refuges, Vienna, 1986, pp. 51–53 (vv. 57–58).

Mahāsāṃghikas was a Mantra-piṭaka.1 I-ching (635–713 A.C.) mentions a Vidyādhara-piṭaka in 100,000 ślokas;2 the Ādikarmapradīpa cites a verse from a work of the same title.3 Such collections may well have included rāksas, such as that cited from a Vidyādhara-piṭaka in the Śikṣāsamuccaya of Śāntideva (first part of 8th century).4 From all this we may conclude that by the 6th century (at the very latest) Śrāvakas schools of the Mahāsāṃghika fold — the Pūrvaśailas, Aparāśailas, and Siddhārthas — as well as the Dharmaguptakas transmitted a separate piṭaka, most probably devoted to mantras and spells, known as the Vidyādhara-piṭaka.5

In a broader sense, the rāksa phenomenon permeates Buddhist literature in general, and cannot be restricted to certain classes of texts. In sections 5 to 7, I will discuss the characteristics of rāksa as a literary phenomenon: its phraseology, and its connection with mantra and cults. Although my main topic is the rāksa literature of the Śrāvakayāna, to

2 Latika Lahiri, Chinese Monks in India, Delhi, 1986, p. 65. I-ching also mentions a Dhārani-piṭaka, pp. 64, 68. Cf. Hōbōginrō 77, “Biniya”.
4 Śikṣāsamuccaya 142.12 (date from Ruegg 1981 p. 82). A part of the mantra (in both the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions) is in a Prakrit close to Pali: namo sabbam-sammasambuddhānam sitjhantu me mani-padādhi śvāhā. The Vidyādhara-piṭaka is also referred to in a work of Buddhaghosa preserved in the Tanjūr: see Jeffrey Hopkins, The Yoga of Tibet, London, 1981, pp. 50–51 (the Tibetan is given at p. 254 as rig ’dzin gyi sde snod). See also Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Vol. 4, fascicle 4, p. 519.
5 It may be seen from the references given above that this term is attested in Sanskrit (Śikṣāsamuccaya, Ādikarmapradīpa) and Tibetan, wherein rig ’dzin = vidyādhara (Bhavya, Candrakīrti, Buddhaghosa) cannot possibly be confused with mantra (gsan snags) or dhārani (gzungs). There is some disagreement among scholars about the Sanskrit equivalents of the Chinese terms.
study what I have called a pan-Buddhist phenomenon in isolation would be misleading. In sections 8 and 9, I will therefore touch briefly on rākṣā and the Mahāyāna and Tantra. As an influential and popular movement, the rākṣā phenomenon should have found expression in the plastic arts. Section 10 will examine the archaeological evidence. Finally, section 11 will deal with the rites associated with rākṣā.

1. The paritta of the Theravādins

The paritta collections of the Theravādins are distinguished by the fact that they are used in the day-to-day life of both monks and lay-followers. As noted by Malalasekera, "the Pīrīt Pota ... forms part of the meagre library of every Sinhalese household". Much the same is said for Burma by Mabel Bode: "to this day, [the paritta is] more widely known by the Burmese laity of all classes than any other Pali book". Wherever the

---


2 Malalasekera, op. cit., p. 75.


---

Rakṣā literature

Theravāda holds sway, the average monk may not know a great deal about the Tipiṭaka, but will be able to recite numerous chants from memory.

Although there is evidence of the use of paritta from an early date in the Chronicles and Commentaries of Sri Lanka, references are rather scanty, perhaps because as a popular phenomenon the paritta was taken for granted. Table 1 shows the earliest known lists of paritta titles: those of the Milinda-pañha and the Āṭṭhakathā of Buddhaghosa (5th century). Some of these lists vary somewhat in the modern Burmese, Siamese, and Singhalese printed editions. The Visuddhimagga and Āṭṭhakathā lists are given in connection with the definition of the "range of the Buddha’s authority" (añākkhetta): one hundred thousand million universes in which the parittas are efficacious. There are three basic lists, with some variants in the different editions:

1) Table 1.2.1–4: the four parittas “etc.” of the Dīgha-, Majjhima-, Aṅguttara- (Ekanipāta), and Vibhanga Āṭṭhakathā;
2) Table 1.3.1–2: the five parittas of the Visuddhimagga and Samantapāsādikā;
3) Table 1.4: the eight parittas of the Mahānīddesa- and Aṅguttara- (Tikaniipāta) Āṭṭhakathās.

---

1 The Milinda-pañha is a composite text, dating between the middle of the 2nd century B.C. and the 5th century A.C.: see K.R. Norman, op. cit., pp. 110–13. The section in question comes from one of the later parts.

2 I am grateful to Ven. Dhammānanda Mahāthera of Burma, now residing at Wat Tamao, Lampang, for many of these references and for information on the Burmese paritta tradition. Cf. his important article (in Thai) "On whether or not the chanting of paritta is tiraccāhanāvijjā", in Dhammānanda 1992 pp. 191–98.

3 The titles given in the commentary on the Āṭṭhānatya-sutta (Table 1.5) occur in a different context, and are not discussed here.
Taken together, the Aṭṭhakathā lists give eight titles; when the Aṅgulimāla-parītta of the Milinda-pāṇha list is added, there are nine titles.

The parītta of the Theravādins exists today in a number of recensions. In Sri Lanka there is the Catubbhāṇavāra or Four Recitations, current in a shorter recension of 22 texts and a longer recension of 29 texts.¹ The shorter recension must be the older of the two: Sri Lankan commentaries of the 12th and the 18th centuries know only the 22 texts,² and the extra seven of the longer version differ somewhat in order and contents in different editions. The Samantapāsādikā (5th century A.C.) mentions “four bhāṇavāra from the suptaṃta”, but from the context probably does not refer to the parītta collection.³ The earliest definite reference to the four Bhāṇavāra that I am aware of is an inscription of Kassapa V, dated circa 929–39 A.C., from the Jetavana area in Anurādhapura.⁴ Another Sri Lankan collection contains nine texts, and is known in Sinhalese as Pirittana-sūryaya;⁵ the nine titles agree with those of the Siamese Parittasankhepa (see below).

---

¹ See L. de Silva, pp. 5–8; Helmer Smith, A Critical Pāli Dictionary, Epilegomena to Vol. I, Copenhagen, 1948, pp. 93*–95*; Maria Bidoli and Heinz Bechert, Singhalesische Handschriften, Teil 1, Wiesbaden, 1969, § 128, pp. 82–83 (the last named gives an extensive bibliography of printed and manuscript parītta collections).
³ Sp IV 788 ult. I am grateful to L.S. Cousins (Manchester) for this reference.
⁵ C.E. Godakumbura, Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, 1980, pp. 25–26. The collection is not otherwise mentioned in the literature I have consulted, and was not known to two senior Sinhalese monks whom I consulted in Penang. Its origins and current status remain to be determined.

---

In three of the 22 texts of the shorter Catubbhāṇavāra — the Khandhaparītta, the Dhajaggaparītta, and the Āṭṭāṇīṭyasutta — the Buddha himself recommends that they be used as rakkha. Thus their use as such is very old. In another seven texts — the Moraparītta, the Candaparītta, the Suriyaparītta, the three Bojjhangaparītta, and the Girimāṇandaparītta — protection is granted through the recitation of verses or the teachings of the Buddha, while the Mangala- and Ratana-suttas deal with maṅgala and suvatthi, the “positive side” of rakṣa. The (Mūla-) Sarvāśīvadhikās and other schools also used as rakṣā their own counterparts of the Khandha-, Dhajagga-, Āṭṭāṇīṭiya-, Mora-, and Candaparītta, along with the Mangala- and Ratana-suttas.¹ This further establishes the antiquity of the rakṣā status of these texts.

A Burmese manuscript dated 1842 A.C. contains the shorter Catubbhāṇavāra with one extra sutta to total 23 texts; otherwise the contents, order, and division into bhāṇavāras are the same as in the Sri Lankan recension.² The Catubbhāṇavāra is not, however, recited or even generally known in Burma today, and its exact status in the past remains to be determined. The recitation of parītta is referred to in Pagan inscriptions.³ The standard collection used in Burma today consists of 11 texts called simply Parītta (or sometimes Mahāparītta), for which see Table 2A. All but three of the texts of this collection (nos. 1, 6, 11) are named in the Milinda-pāṇha and Aṭṭhakathā lists. The contents and order of the Burmese Parītta are closely related to the parītta list of the

---

¹ These will be discussed below under Mahāṣūtra, svastīgāthā, and Pañcarakṣā.
² Heinz Braun and Daw Tin Tin Myint, Burmese Manuscripts, part 2, Stuttgart, 1985, no. 352, pp. 173–75; the extra text, no. 20 of the manuscript, is entitled Sammāsambuddhahabojjhangam; according to the editors it is equivalent to SN V 81 foll. Since this is the only description of a Burmese Catubbhāṇavāra that I have come across, I cannot say whether or not it is typical.
Burmes e printed edition of the Milinda-panha; to what degree the one is derived from the other, or the two have mutually influenced each other, requires further research.\footnote{The Jinapa\'jara-g\'ath\'a lists the seven titles of the Chattha\'san\'giti Milinda\'panha, but in a different order.} The Sirima\'nga\-paritta, a modern collection settled during the U Nu period, contains the 11 texts of the Paritta, to which it adds another 20 texts to make a total of 31, as shown in Table 2B. The last four are non-canonical, although three of them are styled -sutta in their titles and open with eva\=m me suta\=m.\footnote{Sirima\'ngalaparitta nos. 28–31.}

The paritta tradition of Siam has parallels to both the Sri Lankan and Burmese traditions. As in Sri Lanka, in Siam there are two recensions of the Catubha\'nawara. The longer Siamese Catubha\'nawara, however, is equivalent to the older and shorter Sri Lankan recension of 22 texts; the shorter Siamese Catubha\'nawara is an abridged version containing 17 texts. The division of the two Siamese recensions into recitations differs somewhat from that of the Sri Lankan version. Siam has two further recensions, the Dw\'adasa-paritta and the Satta-paritta. The former, also known as the Mahar\'aja-paritta or, in Thai, the Sipsong Tamnan, contains the first 11 texts of the Burmese Paritta plus the Jaya-paritta; the latter, also known as the Cular\'aja-paritta or Jet Tamnan, is an abridgement of the former and contains, according to the title, 7 texts.\footnote{Cf. Finot 1917 pp. 53–60; Kenneth E. Wells, Thai Buddhism: Its Rites and Activities, Bangkok, 1975, pp. 276–82. A list of the contents of the Siamese Catubha\'nawara is given in the Royal Chanting Book p. 112. Most editions of the Sattaparitta give more than 7 texts (although Finot lists 7), and I am not certain which are the 7 of the title.} The contents of these collections are given in Tables 2C and 2D.

The Parittasa\'nkh\'epa, most probably composed at Ayuthaya in the 17th–18th centuries, lists and comments on nine parittas:\footnote{Supaphan Na Bangchang, Vivadhan\'ak\'ara Varrnagati sai Brah Suttantapi\'taka ti Daeng nai Prade\'sa Thai, Bangkok, 2533 [1990], pp. 491–500.}

1. Mah\'gala-sutta
2. Ratana-sutta
3. Metta-sutta
4. Khandha-paritta
5. Mora-paritta
6. Dhajagga-paritta
7. \=A\'t\'an\'\=iya-paritta
8. \=Angulim\'\=a-paritta
9. Bojjan\'\=a-paritta

The titles are the same as those of the Sri Lankan Pirinava-s\'utraya.

For the study of the Siamese paritta tradition, the most important printed source is the Royal Chanting Book. This was compiled at the behest of King R\'ama V (Chulalongkorn) by Phussadeva, later to be Supreme Patriarch, when he held the rank of Somdet Brah Buddhagho\'s\'ac\'\=arya. It was first published in Ratankosin Era 99 / B.E. 2423 [1880], in an edition of 10,000 copies, and thus preceded the first printed edition of the Tipitaka, published in 2436 [1893], by thirteen years. Otherwise, there are numerous chanting books, large and small, such as the popular Suat Manta\bhi\, published in various editions. It is worth noting that the common element in the Thai titles of chanting books is manta, usually in the form suat manta. Suat manta is also the common verb for “to chant”; suat brah paritta refers to formal ceremonies with string and water, and is hence less common. In titles paritta is frequently “Sanskritised” as paritra, as in the Cula- and Mah\'\=r\'aja\-paritra of the Royal Chanting Book.
I have been unable to find any evidence for the date or place of origin of the Burmese Paritta or the Siamese Dvādasa- and Satta-paritta collections.¹

In all of these collections the canonical paritta texts are set within ancillary opening and closing verses (paritta-parikamma, etc.). A synoptic edition of these verses is a desideratum.

In addition to the paritta properly speaking, there exist in Pali numerous non-canonical texts, both prose and verse, of a protective nature. To my knowledge, only one of these has been edited or studied: the Mahādībbamanta.² The others have not yet been properly catalogued or even listed. In classifying this sort of extra-canonical literature, we might distinguish (A) apocryphal sutta texts, opening with the evam me sutam formula, and (B) gāthā or other texts recognised as having had an historical author, that make no claim to be Buddhavacana as such. Here I give a very preliminary list:

(A) Apocryphal suttas
1. Ākāravatta-sutta (or, more frequently, -sūtra);³

(B) Gāthā and other texts
1. Āṭṭhavisati-paritta⁴
2. Jinapañjara-gāthā,⁶
3. Jayamangala-gāthā⁷
4. Āṭṭhamangala-gāthā;⁸
5. Upātasanti;⁹
6. Jaya-paritta;¹⁰

¹ Mahābrahmbuddhamanta 20.8. Although the printed editions that I have seen do not open with evam me sutam, the latter half of the text is addressed to Ananda. The text has apparently been recently introduced to Siam from Burma. Dhammānanda 1992 p. 441, Āvenikaguna, gives the opening on the 18 āvenikaguna, with a note on their Pali sources.
² Sirimangalaparitita no. 28. This and the next two texts are not known in Siam.
³ Sirimangalaparitita no. 29.
⁴ Sirimangalaparitita no. 30.
⁶ A number of recensions have been discussed and edited by the present Supreme Patriarch of Siam, Prahvati Gāthājina-pañjara, Bangkok, 2529 [1986]. See also Dhammānanda 1992 pp. 199–201.
⁷ Royal Chanting Book pp. 92–94 (bāhum).
⁹ Sirimangalaparitita no. 31; Dhammānanda 1992 pp. 385–435. The text, believed to have been composed in Chiangmai, was reintroduced to Siam from Burma by Ven. Dhammānanda.
¹⁰ Royal Chanting Book pp. 25–27 (mahākāruniko nātho).
2. The Mahāsūtras of the Mulasarvāstivādins

As far as I know, Mahāsūtra as a technical term was applied to two collections of sūtras:

(1) a group of eighteen Mahāsūtras listed in the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins;
(2) a group of six or eight Mahāsūtras listed in the Vinaya of the Mulasarvāstivādins.

These lists, lost in the original Sanskrit, have been preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translation. Both groups consist of sūtras extracted from the Āgamas of the (Mula- )Sarvāstivādin tradition; most, but not all, are common to the Āgamas of the other early Buddhist schools.

The Sarvāstivādin list of eighteen Mahāsūtras (Ta ching) occurs in the fourth section, “On Keeping the Rains Retreat” (An chū fa = *Varṣāvāsadharmā), of the ninth chapter, “Seven Dharmas” (Ch’i fa = *Saptadharma) of the Vinaya of that school as translated into Chinese by Puṇyatara and Kumārajiva between 399 and 413 A.C.1 This is the only known occurrence of the Sarvāstivādin list of Mahāsūtras. I will not discuss them here since there is no evidence that they were used as rakṣā.2 I will only note that the term Mahāsūtra must have been in vogue by the 4th century, and that two of the Sarvāstivādin Mahāsūtras (nos. 6 and 7, the Āṭānāṭika and Mahāsamāja) are classed as paritta by the Theravādins, and that five (no. 3, the Pāṇcātraya; no. 4, the

---

1 I refer here to the text included in the Burmese Paritta (no. 8) and the Siamese Satta- and Dvādasā- Parittas, which consists of the opening verses of homage to the seven Buddhas of the sutta proper, plus a series of non-canonical verses: see Royal Chanting Book pp. 20–22 and 38–43 (the latter incorporating the Āṭānāṭikā-paritta).
2 The reference is to the text found in the Burmese Paritta (no. 10) and the Siamese Satta- and Dvādasa- Parittas, which is a verse summary of the canonical Bojjhanga-suttas: see Royal Chanting Book p. 23.
3 Jaini 1965.
4 Mahābrahahuddhamanta 21.1.
6 See also the short texts (some mixed with Thai) at Mahābrahahuddhamanta 21.3; 22.2, 3, 5; 26.1–3), and Finot 1917 p. 58, Sut iti pi so.
Māyājāla; nos. 6 and 7; and no. 12, the Bimbisāra) are also classed as Mahāsūtras by the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

The Mūlasarvāstivādin list of Mahāsūtras is found in the Bhikṣu-Vinayavibhanga in both Chinese and Tibetan translation and in the Bhikṣuṇi-Vinayavibhanga in Chinese translation only, in connection with the third pārājika. The two Chinese lists (translated at the beginning of the 8th century), which are identical, give the titles of six Mahāsūtras (Ta ching);¹ the Tibetan list (translated c. 800 A.C.) gives the same six titles in the same order, plus two more to make a total of eight Mahāsūtras (mDo chen po che ba). I will give here the Tibetan list with equivalent Sanskrit titles:²

1. Chuṅ nu ston pa ńid
   Cūḍāsānyatā
2. Chen po ston pa ńid
   Mahāsānyatā
3. lNa gsum pa
   Pañcatraya
4. sGyu ma'i dra ba
   Māyājāla
5. gZugs can sṅin pos bsu ba
   Bimbisārapratyudgamana
6. rGyal mtshan dam pa
   Dhvajāgra
7. Kun tu rgyu ba daṅ kun tu
   mi rgyu ba daṅ mthun pa'i mdo
   Āṭānātiya-sūtra³
8. Dus pa chen po'i mdo
   Mahāsamāja-sūtra

Nine Mahāsūtras — the eight listed above, but with two Dhvajāgra-sūtras — were translated into Tibetan by Jinamitra, Prajñāvarman, and Ye śes sde in about 800 A.C. Although Sanskrit fragments of six of these sūtras (nos. 3–8) have been recovered from Central Asia, and although parallel versions of seven of them (nos. 1, 2, 5, two Dhvajāgras, 7, 8) were translated into Chinese, only the Tibetan versions are specifically described as Mahāsūtras (mDo chen po) in their titles and colophons.

The Mūlasarvāstivādin affiliation of the nine Tibetan Mahāsūtras is established by the Vinayavibhanga lists, by the fact that the leading translator, Jinamitra, is described in Vinaya colophons as a vinayadhara of that school, and by the fact that a contemporary royal edict forbade the translation of any Śrāvakayāna texts apart from those of the Mūlasarvāstivādins.¹

These nine Mahāsūtras were originally transmitted to Tibet as a group. In the “IDan (or iHan) dkar ma Palace Catalogue”, the oldest extant list of works translated into Tibetan, which dates to the early 9th century, they make up the eighth division, mDo chen por gtags pa, “Category of Great Sūtras”.² In his History of Buddhism (Chos 'byun), completed in 1322 or 1323,³ Bu ston also lists the nine Tibetan titles together, but in a different order.⁴

⁴ Bu ston, Lhasa xylograph, ya, 144a4; S. Nishioka, “Index to the Catalogue Section of Bu ston’s “History of Buddhism” (I)”, Annual Report of the
The evidence for the rakṣa status of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Mahāsūtras is found in the Vinayavibhaṅga itself, where their recitation is recommended as a protection (ṣrūṇ ba = rakṣa) against vetādas (ro laṁ). The commentary by Vinitadeva, the Vinayavibhaṅgapadavyākhyāna, also translated about 800 A.C., states: 1

“Mahāsūtra” means of great fruit (mahāphala), because it overcomes opponents (parapravādin) and because it overcomes dangerous yaksas, etc.

Four of the Mahāsūtras have counterparts among the paritta of the Theravādins: the Āṭānātiya, the Mahāsamāja, and (various elements of) the two Dhvajāgras. The principle of selection of the other five is not clear to me.

One other text preserved in Tibetan translation bears the title Mahāsūtra: the (Ārya) Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra. 2 The translation, under the title (*Phags pa)' Yans pa'i groṅ khyer du jug pa'i mdo chen po, was done by Surendrabodhi and Ye šes sde; since the latter collaborated with the translators of the nine Mahāsūtras, the translations were roughly contemporary. Its Mūlasarvāstivādin affiliation is shown by the fact that the entire sūtra is incorporated into the Bhaisajyavastu of the Vinaya of that school in both its Tibetan and Chinese versions. 3

The Vaiśāḷīpraveśa consists of two parts. In the first, the Buddha and Ānanda travel to Vaiśāḷi; when they arrive, the Buddha tells Ānanda go to the city and recite certain mantras and verses. In the second part, Ānanda does the Buddha’s bidding, repeating the mantras and verses in full. In the Bhaisajyavastu, the events occur during the Buddha’s last journey, in a version of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra expanded by the inclusion of long jātakas and avadānas; the description of the visit to Vaiśāḷi, ending with the pacification of the epidemic, resembles the setting of the *Ratnasūtra in the texts of other schools. 1 The status of the Vaiśāḷīpraveśa-mahāsūtra as a rakṣa is clear from the fact that contains a long mantra and svastigāthā (see § 3), which cure the epidemic in that city, and from the fact that it is included under the title Mahāmantrānusārinī in the Sanskrit Pañcarakṣa collection (see below, § 4).

From the foregoing we may conclude that ten Mahāsūtras were popular with the Mūlasarvāstivādins by at least the 8th century, and that these Mahāsūtras had rakṣa status.

3. The svasti-gāthā of various schools

The next category of rakṣa texts consists of sets of verses variously known as svasti-, svastayana-, or mangala-gāthā, 2 or occasionally as

1 As far as I know, there is no extant version of a (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin *Ratnasūtra. Whether or not the Vaiśāḷīpraveśa is in fact the *Ratna-sūtra of that tradition remains to be seen. While the Vaiśāḷīpraveśa has only one verse in common with the three extant *Ratna-sūtras, and that a verse also found in other texts, it is difficult to believe that the Mūlasarvāstivādins would have two different accounts of the “miracle of Vaiśāḷi”.

2 For a Jaina text related to this type of rakṣa see Gustav Roth, “Notes on the Pvaṁca-namokkāra-parama-mangala in Jaina Literature”, in Heinz Bechert and Petra Kieffer-Pülz (ed.), Indian Studies (Selected Papers) by Gustav Roth, Delhi, 1986, pp. 129–46. I expect the tradition of some sort of svasti-gāthā

Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange, The University of Tokyo, No. 4, 1980, nos. 11–19.
1 Q 5616, ’dul ba’i ’grel pa, vu, 74b2.
2 Q 142, 714, 978, translated by Léon Feer in AMG V, pp. 423–29. There is possibly one more, the Mahāśīvavāna (Q 180) of the Tibetan Pañcarakṣā collection; there are, however, difficulties with the title which can only be resolved by further research.

Peter Skilling
pranidhāna or satyavāk. For ease of reference, I will henceforth refer to them as svastigāthā. They may be described as “verses of welfare, benediction, or blessing”; in a sense they are the positive side of the rakṣa coin — the promotion of worship in contrast with protection against calamity.

The term svastiyayana(-gāthā) is vouchsafed by the Mahāvastu, where it describes one of the most popular parittas, the Ratana-sutta.1 The same text uses the term sovatthika for the verses of benediction spoken by the Buddha to the merchants Trapusa and Bhallika.2 Svastiyayana, “well-being”, is one of the synonyms of rakṣa (in the sense of “protection” rather than “protective text”) in the Mahāmāyūri, and in the Meghasūtra, and the Ekādaśamukha;3 in the Śārdulakarṇavadhāna it occurs in conjunction with paritrāṇa.4 In the Jātakamālā, svastiyayana is used in the sense of “protective charm” or “talisman”.5

The only extant collections of svasti-gāthā are found in Tibetan translation. The earliest list, of seven titles, occurs in the lDan dkar ma Catalogue of the early 9th century, wherein they make up a separate class, section XVIII, under the title bKra ṣis kyi rnam grāṇ = *Svastiparyāya.6 In the existing recensions of the Tibetan canon, verse texts of this type are grouped together at the end of the main divisions of the Kanjur and at the end of the Tanjur. In the Peking edition, for example, they occur at the end of the Tantra division (rGyud, Q Vol. 9) properly speaking,1 at the end of the Dhāraṇi Collection (gZüns ’dus, Q Vol. 11), at the end of the Vinaya (’Dul ba, Q Vol. 45) — which in the Peking edition equals the end of the Kanjur — and at the end of the Tanjur (Q Vol. 150), preceding the Catalogue (dKar chag, Vol. 151). In all cases they perform their function as svastigāthā, benedictions or blessings at the conclusion of the meritorious work of compiling the Tripitaka. This is explained in the Catalogue (dKar chag) to the Golden Tanjur:2

“Now, in order to make fruitful the work that has [just been] completed [the copying of the Tanjur], the dedications (bsno ba = parinamanā), aspirations (smon lam = pranidhāna), and blessings (bkra ṣis = maṅgala) [follow]...

Well-placed [here] are the forty-odd dedications, aspirations, and verses of blessing which when recited accomplish all aims and promote welfare at all times.”

Out of the “forty-odd” texts, the parinamanā and pranidhāna (mostly extracted from Mahāyāna works) come first, followed by the svasti- and maṅgala-gāthā, which come at the end. I can give here only a few examples of the latter:3

---

1 Mahāvastu I 236.2, svastiyayana gāthāṃ bhāṣati; 236.10, śrvantu svastiyayanaṃ jīnena bhāṣitam.
2 Mahāvastu III 404.1 (= Senart 305.10). Cf. BhISD 606b, where this is the sole reference.
3 MhMVR(T) 13.2, 15.3, etc; Meghasūtra 298.14; Ekādaśamukha, GM I 36.2: in all three texts svastiyayana is preceded by śanti, “peace”.
4 Divy 614.6, paritrāṇam svastiyayam kuryāt.
5 Jātakamālā VIII, Maitribala, vv. 7, 9, etc.; XIX, Bisa, v. 15.

---

1 That is, not counting the three volumes of the “Old Tantras” (rūnyi rgyud dza, va, za) or volume za.
2 Golden Tanjur, Vol. 100, dkar chag, tso, 182b6–184a1. Similar passages are found in other editions of the Kanjur and Tanjur.
3 The following is based on the Peking edition of the Kanjur and Tanjur. For the Berlin manuscript Kanjur, see Hermann Beckh, Verzeichnis der Tibetischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Erste Abteilung: Kanjur
1. A complete extract of the verses of one of the Mahāsūtras, the Vaisālīpraveśa (see above, § 2), which are described as bde legs kyi tshigs su bead pa = svastigāthā.¹

2. Verses extracted from the Mahāsāhaspramardani, a Pañcarakṣā text (see below, § 4), equivalent to the Ratana-sutta of the Theravādin Suttonipāta and the parallel svastayana-gāthā in the Lokottaravādin Mahāśāṅghika Mahāvastu, but differing in number of verses, order, and details.² The title describes them as smon lam = prāṇidhāna.

3. A set of two groups of verses extracted from another Pañcarakṣā text, the Mahāmāyūrī.³ The first group deals with the Seven Buddhas and their bodhi-trees; the second consists of two verses common to the first Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra and to the Vaisālīpraveśa, plus a third

(Bkah-hgyur), Berlin, 1914, p. 5 ('dul ba), pp. 132–33 (rgyud), p. 147 (gzun 'dus); for the Derge Kanjur see Hakju Ui et al., A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Canons, Sendai, 1934, pp. 135–37 (rgyud), 178–80 (gzun 'dus); for the Lithang Kanjur, see Jampa Samten Shastri and Jeremy Russell, “Notes on the Lithang Edition of the Tibetan bKa'-gyur”, in The Tibet Journal, Vol. XII, no. 3, autumn, 1987, Appendix III (‘dul ba). Because different texts bear similar or identical titles, because the same text sometimes bears different titles in the different divisions of one edition, and because the titles are sometimes given in the colophon rather than at the head of the text, I am unable to give a complete concordance in this paper. Note that the “Them spangs ma” Kanjurs have only a few such texts at the end of the Sūtra (mdo sde) and Tantra (rgyud) divisions: see for example the Stog Palace Kanjur, Skorupska nos. 321–32 and 759–63.

¹ Q 439, Vol. 9, end of rgyud; Q 1045, Vol. 45, end of ’dul ba; Q 5950, Vol. 150, end of Tanjur.
² Ston chen mo rab tu 'jom pa las gzun pa'i smon lam, Q 436, Vol. 9, end of rgyud; Q 719, Vol. 11, end of gzun 'dus; Q 1043, Vol. 45, end of ’dul ba; Q 5951, Vol. 150, end of Tanjur.
³ Rig snags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo las gzun pa'i smon lam dan bden tshig; Q 437, Vol. 9, end of rgyud; Q 720, Vol. 11, end of gzun 'dus; Q 1044, Vol. 45, end of ’dul ba; Q 5953, Vol. 150, end of Tanjur.

4. The Devapariṇḍacakṣa-mangalagāthā,² parallel to the Pali Maṇgalasutta, another of the most popular parittas; since it differs in number and order of verses, it is the recension of another, as yet undetermined, school.

5. The Āśirvāda-gāthā,³ according to the colophon an extract from the Trapuṣabhālikaparivarta of the Lalitavistara.⁴ Similar verses, described as sovatthika, are found in the Mahāvastu.⁵ In both cases they are spoken by the Buddha to the merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika. The verses occur in the Vinaya of the Mahāśāṅghikas in Chinese translation, but in a different context.⁶ A fragmentary Sanskrit manuscript from Central Asia in the Pelliot collection also contains the verses, again addressed to the two merchants,⁷ and a parallel is found in Uighur.⁸ The stanzas invoke the blessings and protection of 28 nakṣatras, 32 devakumāris,

¹ MhMVR(T) 13.17–14.3 and 14.15–15.1, respectively.
² Lhas žus pa'i bka' sī kyi tshigs su bcad pa, Q 442, Vol. 9, end of rgyud; Q 721, Vol. 11, end of gzun 'dus; Q 1053, Vol. 45, end of ’dul ba; Q 5943, Vol. 150, end of Tanjur. Studied in French translation by Feer, compared with the Tibetan translation of a Theravādin version, in AMG V pp. 224–27.
³ Śis par brjod pa'i tshigs su bcad pa, Q 728, Vol. 11, end of gzun 'dus; Q 1048, Vol. 45, end of ’dul ba; Q 5949, no mtshar bstan bcos, mo, 336b2–39a4, end of Tanjur.
⁴ Colophon, mo, 339a3; the translated verses indeed agree with those of the Tibetan Lalitavistara, Q 763, mdo, ku, 209a7–11a4, translated circa 800 A.C. by Jinamitra, Dānaśila, Munivarman, and Ye šes sde (for Sanskrit cf. Lalitavistara 282.3–85.8 = vv. 99–102).
⁵ Mahāvastu III 404.7–10.14 (vv. 7–51).
the Four Great Kings and their assemblies, and four caityas, in the sequence of the four quarters, and hence set up a protective circle.¹

Other texts bear similar titles:

6. Svasti-gāthā²
7. Svaṣṭayana-gāthā³
8. Pañcataṭāgamanaṅgala-gāthā⁴
9. Ratnaratayamangaṅgala-gāthā⁵
10. Maṅgala-gāthā⁶
11. Ratnaratayasvastigāthā⁷
12. Rig gsum gyi bkra šis kyi tshigs su bcd pa⁸
13. Sans rgyas rabs bdun gyi bkra šis kyi tshigs su bcd pa.⁹

Only two svastigāthās may be assigned a school with any certainty: the Vaiśāli-praveśa-svastigāthā, which occurs in the Bhaiṣajyavastu of the

¹ For a summary of the verses in the Lalitavistara, Mahāvastu, and Vinaya see Bareu 1959 pp. 304–9.
² Bde legs kyi tshigs su bcd pa, Q 440, Vol. 9, end of rgyud; Q 772, Vol. 11, end of gzuns 'dus.
³ Bde legs su 'gyur ba'i tshigs su bcd pa, Q 441, Vol. 9, end of rgyud; Q 773, Vol. 11, end of gzuns 'dus.
⁴ De bzin gsng pa lha'i bkra šis kyi tshigs su bcd pa, Q 445, Vol. 9, end of rgyud; Q 726, Vol. 11, end of gzuns 'dus; translated by Feer, AMG V p. 470.
⁵ Dkon mchog gsum gyi bkra šis kyi tshigs su bcd pa, Q 447, Vol. 9, end of rgyud; Q 729, Vol. 11, end of gzuns 'dus; Q 5958, Vol. 150, end of Tanjur.
⁶ Q 449, etc.: see references in note 3 on p. 137.
⁷ Dkon mchog gsum gyi bkra šis kyi tshigs su bcd pa, Q 450, Vol. 9, end of rgyud; Q 5955, Vol. 150, end of Tanjur.
⁸ Q 446, Vol. 9, end of rgyud; Q 727, Vol. 11, end of gzuns 'dus; Q 5961, Vol. 150, end of Tanjur; translated by Feer, AMG V pp. 474–75. The title means "Verses of Blessing of the Three Families" (*Trikula / Kulatraya-maṅgalagāthā*).
⁹ Q 444, etc.: see references in note 4 on p. 137. The title means "Verses of Blessing (maṅgalagāthā) on the Lineage of the Seven Buddhas".

Mūlasarvāstivādins, and the Āsirvāda-gāthā, which is Mahāsāṃghika in two (most probably three) of its versions.¹

It is likely that at least some of the svastigāthā in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka belonged to the liturgy of the monks of the Mūlasarvāstivādin or other nikāyas in India. That is, they would have been recited in appropriate contexts — sickness or calamity, or anumodanā for dāna — just as their Pali counterparts are chanted by Theravādin monks up to the present day.² In the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya, the Āsirvāda-gāthā are presented as a model of the benediction to be given by monks to merchants who have made offerings.³ Examples of verse abhyanumodanā are found in the Vinaya and Sūtra literature of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins, where the stock formula is atha bhagavān (name of donor, genitive) tad dānam anayā abhyanumodanaya abhyanumodate.⁴ Another formula is bhagavatā...dakṣinā ādiśtā.⁵ Some information about chanting in India in the late 7th century is supplied by I-ching; he does not, however,

¹ The Mahāvastu, the Vinaya in Chinese, and the Lalitavistara. On the basis of style, phraseology, and doctrine, the origins of the last named seem to me to lie more probably with the Mahāsāṃghikas than with the Sarvāstivādins. The common attribution of the text to the latter seems to rest on a sole Chinese reference to the titles of a number of biographies of the Buddha: see Samuel Beal, The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha, [London, 1875] Delhi, 1985, pp. v–vi, 386–87.
² In terms of purpose — celebration of the merits of an act of giving — anumodanā is not strictly speaking a protection, raksā. But since the verses employed overlap the raksā literature (the first Dhvajāgra-mahāśūtra contains abhyanumodanā verses, some of which are elsewhere described as svastī-gāthā) and the Pali anumodanā are printed along with paritta and assorted raksās (see Royal Chanting Book, anumodanā-vidhi), it seems more convenient to study abhyanumodanā and svastigāthā together.
⁵ Saṅghabhedavastu I 199.25–27.
mention any canonical texts by name. I-ching’s translator, Takakusu (p. 48), gives two Sanskrit terms: dānagāthā and dakṣināgāthā.

As far as I know, only two of the svastigāthā mentioned above are currently recited by members of the Tibetan samgha (who are by ordination Mūlasarvāstivādin): the Maṅgalagāthā on the twelve acts of the Buddha, attributed to Nāgārjuna, and the Maṅgalagāthā on the Lineage of the Seven Buddhas. The school of these two texts is uncertain; since neither is overtly Mahāyānistic, they may be described as mainstream svastigāthā.

Though not described as such, the last verse of Vasubandhu’s Gāthāsamgraha is a typical svastigāthā:

May the world be happy, may there be a good harvest; may grain be ample, may government be righteous; may all illness and harm disappear!

In his commentary Vasubandhu notes that the verse is a wish (smon lam = pranidhāna) for the absence of fear of various kinds of harm, which he describes in some detail.

I have not come across any examples of an equivalent Pali term — sothi-gāthā or sovattthi-gāthā. The numerous Pali chants — both canonical (such as the Ratana-sutta) and extra-canonical — that contain refrains like etena saccavajjena suvatthi hotu may, however, reasonably be classed as sothi-gāthā. The title maṅgala-gāthā is common in Pali.

---


3 Bkra śis kyi sthsigs su bcad pa, Q 449, Vol. 9, rgyud, tsha, 321a8; Q 724, Vol. 11, rgyud, ya, 278b6; Q 5954, Vol. 150, no mthar bstan bcos, mo, 343a; translated by Feer, AMG V pp. 471–74. The attribution of the text to Slob dpon ’phags pa klu sgrub is in Q 5954. The text is not mentioned in Chr. Lindner, Nagarjuniana, Copenhagen, 1982, pp. 11–17.


---

1 Table 1.1 shows that the Siamese edition of the Milinda-pañha includes a Suvatthi-paritth. Taking the other lists into account, this might be the Ratana-sutta, which has the refrain etena saccena suvatthi hotu. Cf. also PTSD 725b, sothikamma, sothikāra, sothivācaka. In the Suppāraka-jātaka (Jātaka 463, Vol. IV 142) the bodhisatta performs an act of truth (for which see below, § 5) by reciting a verse over a bowl of water, after reflecting, “Apart from myself there is no one whatsoever able to save (sothiḥbāvam kātuḥ) these people: by means of an act of truth I will bring them to safety (saccakiriyāya tesam sothim karissāmi).

2 See the texts listed in § 1, pp. 122–23, and also Dhammānanda 1992 p. 440, Sabbajayamāṅgala-gāthā.
4. The Pañcarakṣa collections

The Pañcarakṣa or Five Protection were extremely popular in Northern India, Nepal, and Tibet, as may be seen from the numerous manuscripts kept in libraries around the world. Their study is complicated by the fact, belied by a general similarity of titles, that there exist (at least) two different collections, a Tibetan and a Sanskrit, which have only three texts in common: the study therefore involves seven rather than five texts. Since the Tibetan versions were translated in about 800 A.D., and since the lDan ḏkar ma Catalogue treats them as a separate category under the title gZuṇs chen po lla = Pañca-

---

1 For the present study I have used Takubo’s edition of the Mahāmāyūri in Sanskrit (MH MVR(T)). For the remaining Sanskrit versions, I originally had access only to the summaries in Rajendralala Mitra’s The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, [1882] Indian reprint, 1981, pp. 164–69 and in M. Winternitz and A. Keith, Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Vol. II, Oxford, 1905, pp. 257–59; I also made desultory attempts at the two late Nepalese manuscripts reproduced by Lokesch Chandra, Pañca-rakṣa, New Delhi, 1981 (Sāta-Piṭaka Series Vol. 267). Only when the paper was in its final draft did I receive (courtesy Dr. Paul Harrison) copies of Iwamoto’s romanised editions of the Sanskrit versions of the Mahāpratisarā, Mahāsāhasrapramardanī, and Mahāsātavati. For the Tibetan translations I have used the Derge (D) edition of the Kanjur. The present section summarises my “Note on the Pañcarakṣa”, delivered at the 10th Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, Paris, July, 1991; the revised version of that paper, which I am preparing for publication, will give fuller bibliographical details.

2 On the whole the Pañcarakṣa seem to have been rather neglected in the West since Lévi’s work on the Mahāmāyūri (Lévi 1915). The best modern discussion (with a comprehensive bibliography) is Pentti Aalto’s “Prolegomena to an Edition of the Pañcarakṣa” (Studies Orientalia XIX:12, Helsinki, 1954, pp. 5–48); see also the introduction to the same scholar’s edition of the Mongolian versions, Qutut-tu Pañcarakṣā Kemerū Tabun Sakiyan Neretū Yeye Kölgem Sudur, Wiesbaden, 1961, pp. 1–5. It seems to have been Aalto who first recognised that the Sanskrit and Tibetan collections are discrepant, at least for the Mahāmantrāṇudharaṇī: see the latter work, p. 1, note 1.

---

1 Lalou 1953 § XIII, p. 327.
3 Aalto’s statement (“Prolegomena”, p. 7) that there are no Chinese translations of the “Mahāsātavati and Mahāmantra-anudhāri” (his spellings) needs clarification. The Mahāsātavati and Mahāmantrāṇusārini of the Sanskrit collection are both found in Chinese: out of the “Seven Rakṣa”, only the Tibetan Mahāsātavatana and Mahāmantrāṇudharaṇi have no Chinese (or surviving Sanskrit) counterparts.
4 The titles themselves pose difficulties. For the Sanskrit versions I have followed Iwamoto (see also the “internal list” at Mahāsāhasrapramardanī 41.7); for the Tibetan versions I have provisionally chosen what seems to me the most probable of the variant transcriptions given at the head of the Tibetan translations.
5 A romanised edition of the Sanskrit was published by Yutaka Iwamoto in Pañcarakṣa II, Kyoto, 1938.
a vast number of bodhisattvas, and there are references to bodhicitta and to the Mahāyāna itself. In addition to offering protection against a wide variety of ills, the mantra can confer enlightenment: in this it goes further than the other Pañcarakṣā texts, which only offer protection.

2. Mahāmāyūri
The Mahāmāyūri (also similar in Sanskrit and Tibetan) is the longest of the “seven Rakṣās”: it is a composite work, rather complex in stratigraphy. The oldest layer and raison d'être is the account of the monk Svāti with its mantra and jātaka, parallel to that of the Bhaiṣajyavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, the jātaka parallel to the Pali Mora-jātaka. To this are added a verse found in the Morajātaka but not in the Bhaiṣajyavastu, verses on protection against snakes found in the (Mūla-) Sarvāstivādin Upasena-sūtra and the Pali Vinaya and Khandhaparitta, and verses common to the first Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra, the Bhadrakarātri-sūtra, and the Vaiśālīpraveśa. The list of yaksas is close to that of the Āṭānātika-sūtra, and some of its phraseology must have been influenced by or drawn from a common source as that of that text.

Other elements include the cult of the Seven Buddhas and their trees; lists of nāgas and a variety of divine, daemonic, and supernatural beings; lists of rivers, mountains, nakṣatras, grahas, and “sages of the past”. A characteristically thorough summary of the contents was made by Lévi in 1915 (pp. 19–22), so I need not go into more detail here.

3. Mahāsārasparamardani
The Mahāsārasparamardani, in both its Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, enshrines a complete *Ratna-sūtra, concealed by a tangled overgrowth of mantras and long verses. That this is its original kernel is clear from the narrative framework, which belongs to the “Ratna-sūtra-Vaiśāli miracle” tradition: the Buddha at Rājagṛha, the calamity at Vaiśāli, and the assembly of deities (pp. 1–2); the Buddha’s departure for Vaiśāli, the offering of the divine umbrellas, the decoration of the route, and the indrakīla (pp. 21–23); the appeasement of the calamity (p. 29).

4. Mahāśītavāna / Mahāśītavatī
4.a. The Tibetan Mahāśītavāna in some ways resembles the Āṭānātika-sūtra. The title derives from the location, the Śītavana at Rājagṛha. The structure and purpose of the nidadāna — though not the actual phrasing — parallel that of the Āṭānātika: both texts feature the Four Great Kings, who express concern for monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen dwelling in remote places, where they are threatened by spirits who have no faith in the Buddha. Only a few verses are common to the two texts. Like the Pali Āṭānātīya (but not the Sanskrit, Tibetan, or Chinese versions), the Mahāśītavāna gives at the opening a set of verses of homage to past Buddhas; the Mahāśītavāna list of 17 Buddhas is almost identical to those of the Mahāvastu, the Mahākarunāpundarika-sūtra, and the Chinese Abhinikramaṇa-sūtra.

4.b. The Sanskrit Mahāśītavatī is quite different. The Buddha imparts a long mantra to Rāhula, who has been harrassed by a miscellany of

---


2 Iwamoto 24.24–26.22; in Lokesh Chandra, Pañca-raķṣa, the *Ratna-sūtra occurs at Manuscript A 112.5 foll., Manuscript B 156.1 foll.

3 A romanised edition of the Sanskrit was published by Yutaka Iwamoto in Kleinere Dhāranī Texte, Kyoto, 1937.
malignant beings whilst dwelling in the Śitavana. The phraseology is typical of rakṣā literature, but otherwise the text does not have much in common with the other six rakṣās; furthermore, it is the only text of the seven that is entirely in prose. The Sanskrit title (and that of the Chinese translation) derives from the name of the dhārani or vidyā. A Tibetan translation, not classed under Pañcarakṣā, bears the title Mahādhārandhāranī, which in this version is the name of the dhārani; otherwise the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions are quite close.

5. Mahāmantrānudharāṇi / Mahāmantronāusārinī

5.a. As far as I have been able to determine, the Mahāmantrānudharāṇi of the Tibetan collection is not extant in Sanskrit or Chinese. The first two thirds of this text are taken up by a brief preamble, the nidāna, assorted mantras, and lists of rākṣasīs. The last third is extremely interesting: it contains material drawn from about ten sources, including verses common to the Udānavarga and the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādin Prātimokṣa-sūtras, 26 ines of verse corresponding to the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin Candra-sūtra (and thus parallel to the Pali Canda-parītta), and a series of satyavāks linked with a list of agrāsrāvakas and of agrāprajñaptis. The section may be described as a parītta collection or parītta extracts of an unknown school.

5.b. The Mahāmantronāusārinī of the Sanskrit collection is completely different: it is none other than a recension of the Vaiśālipraveśa-mahāsūtra discussed above (§ 2). The title derives from the name of the mantra as given in the Sanskrit Mahāmantronāusārinī but not in the Tibetan Vaiśālipraveśa. Apart from this, and the fact that the Sanskrit omits verses 16 and 17 of the Tibetan, the two versions are very close.

Out of the seven Pañcarakṣā texts, only one, the Mahā-pratisarāvidyārājñī, belongs to the Mahāyāna; the remaining six may be classed under the Śrāvakayāna rakṣā literature. (My assertion that these texts belong to the Śrāvakayāna is based on a literal reading of their contents. There is no doubt that they were [and are] used by practitioners of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. The difference is one of context [and this may apply to other rakṣā texts]: if combined with preliminary rites involving the generation of the bodhicitta, they become Mahāyānist in application; if conjoined with further rites of initiation, entry into a maṇḍala, or the visualization of the Pañcarakṣā deities, they become Vajrayānist in application. Numerous sādhanas for the realization of these deities are found in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and the deities are depicted in illuminated manuscripts — North Indian, Nepalese, and Tibetan — of the Pañcarakṣā. They are not, however,

---

1 To determine whether a text belongs to the Śrāvakayāna or Mahāyāna, I follow five guidelines: teacher, place, audience, doctrine, and goal. A Śrāvakayāna sūtra is (1) taught by Śākyamuni (or by other "historical" Buddhas of past or future) or by one of his disciples, (2) at one of the North Indian sites which he frequented, (3) to an audience of disciples; (4) its doctrine agrees with that of the Āgama/Nikāya tradition, and (5) its highest goal is arhathood. A Mahāyāna sūtra is (1) taught by Śākyamuni, by a "non-historical" Buddha such as Vairocana, or by a bodhisattva, (2) at one of the historical sites or on another plane of existence such as a distant universe or Buddhaheld, (3) to an audience that includes bodhisattvas; it (4) teaches voidness and non-origination as in the Prajñāpāramitā, and (5) recommends to all the bodhisattva path aiming at full enlightenment. The last item entails vows (prāṇidhāna), the aspiration to enlightenment (bodhicitta), the prediction (vyākarana), and the perfections (pāramitā) and levels (bhūmi) of a bodhisattva (see here R.E. Emmerick, The Book of Zambasta, London, 1968, p. 187, and Candrakirti as cited in Anthony K. Warder, "Original" Buddhism and Mahāyāna, Turin, 1983, p. 8). The Mahāśāhasramārangadāni (34.12–20) does mention Akṣobhyarājā, Avalokiteśvara, and Aṃtiṣṭha, but since they play no role whatsoever in the sūtra they may be treated as one of its many elements drawn from popular lore. Since the same sūtra also lists all five Pañcarakṣā titles, it evidently continued to grow after the Pañcarakṣā group had come into being.
invoked or described in the Pañcarakṣā texts properly speaking, except insofar as their names correspond to those of the mantras. ¹

Of the six Śrāvakayāna rakṣās, the Sanskrit Mahāśītavatī (= Tibetan Mahādanda-dhāranī) does not contain any elements (apart from phraseology) common to the others, or to the paritta, Mahāsūtras, or svastigāthā: it is simply a rakṣā mantra with minimal narrative framework. The remaining five may be described as Śrāvakayāna rakṣās par excellence. All have paritta at their heart, and are expanded by preambles, by verses of homage, by mantras and praises of mantras, by lists of deities, by descriptions of rites, and so on: they are composite compilations that must have evolved over several centuries. All contain common elements, such as the cults of past Buddhas, the Four Kings, and deities such as yakṣas, etc., common verses, and common phraseology. The manner in which the parittas are buried in such long lists of deities and supernormal beings may be compared with the paritta ceremony of Sri Lanka, which contains a long admonition listing similar deities, and can go on all night or for seven days. ² If a collection of Sri Lankan parittas were published along with all such preliminaries, admonitions, ceremonies, and rites, in both contents and length it would resemble one of the composite Pañcarakṣā texts, minus, of course, the mantras.

5. Rakṣā phraseology

A certain phraseology characterises the rakṣā literature. One frequent element is the “profession of truth” (satya-vāk, satyādiṣṭhāna). In Mūlasarvāstivādin literature we find etena satyavākyena svasty ānandāya bhikṣave in the Śārdula-karṇāvadāna, anena satyena satyavākyena in the Prāthihārya-sūtra, and tena me satyavākyena in the Upasena-sūtra. ³ In Theravādin literature we have the refrain of the Ratana-sutta, etena sacchena svatthih hotu, and similar phrases in numerous extra-canonical parittas. In Lokottarakādin literature there is the etena satyena susvasti bhotu of that school’s version of the Ratana-sutta; ⁴ the Mahāsāhasrapramardanī version of the same has etena satyena ihāstu svasti. ⁵ The Prajñāpāramitā uses anena satyena satyavacanena. ⁶

In the Milindapaṇha, King Milinda states that “by truth (sacchena) truth-speakers (saccavādino) perform an act of truth (saccakiriyam katvā), and cause rain to fall, put out fire, counteract poison, or perform various feats as required”. ⁶ At the conclusion of his discussion of saccakirya, Nāgasena says, “there is no aim at all that those established in the truth do not accomplish”. ⁷ In the Prajñāpāramitā (loc. cit.) the success of an act of truth indicates that a bodhisattva has reached the irreversable stage. In the Bhadrakalpika-sūtra it is said that through satyavāk miracles (prāthihārya) arise from relics. ⁸

1 Divy 613.9 and 154.25, and Upasena-sūtra (1) 41.2, respectively.
2 Sn vv. 224–35; further examples and references are given by Burlingame (see note 3 on p. 146) p. 434.
3 Mahāvastu I 236.16 etc.
4 Mahāsāhasrapramardanī 25.1 etc.
5 Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (BST 4) 189.12–191.25; 247.10–16; Edward Conze, The Gilgit Manuscript of the Aṣṭādaśāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, Chapters 55 to 70, Rome, 1962, pp. 5.5–6.6; cf. also Ratnagunasamcaya-gāthā XX 23–24, XXI 1, in P.L. Vaidya (ed.), Mahāyāna-sūtra-samgraha Part I (BST 17), Darbhanga, 1961. See also SHT (VI) 1259.
7 Milindapaṇha, Chaṭṭhasaṅgiti edition, 126.19, sacce ṭhitā na kiṃ ci athām na vindanti.
The “profession of truth” goes beyond the rākśa literature (though the boundary is not always clear) into the jātakas,1 Buddhist drama,2 and Indian literature in general: the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, as well as vernacular folktales and Jaina literature.3 While in such cases the satyavāk is a narrative device — a specific act performed by a specific person with specific results — as a rākśa properly speaking it is anonymous and generalised.

The satyavāk is sometimes combined with versions of the agra-prajñāpati formula: examples occur in the Prāthīhārya-sūtra,4 the Mahāmantrānudharani-sūtra,5 and the (Ārya) Sarvarogapraśamani-dhārani.6 Similarly, a non-canonical Pali text entitled Parittakarana-pāṭha combines the prose of the Aggappasāda-sutta (AN II 34–35) with the verses of the Ratana-sutta.1 Satyavāk phrases are also incorporated into mantras, which sometimes invoke the power of “truth-speakers” (satyavādinām).2

Other elements occur in connection with supernormal or daemonic beings. Lists of such beings are often given first in male and then in female form:

yakkho vā yakkhini vā yakkha-potako vā potikā vā mahāmatto vā pārisajjo vā pacāro vā;

gandharvo vā gandharvi vā gandharvamahallako vā mahallikā vā potalako vā potalikā vā pārisado vā pārisadi vā pracaro vā pracari vā;

devo vā devā vā devaputro vā duhitā vā mahallako vā mahallikā vā pārṣado vā pārṣadi vā;5

Similar lists occur in the Lankāvatāra,6 and Mahābala-sūtras.7

A stock phrase (or variants thereof) is used for the action of a malignant spirit who seeks an opportunity or chance to do harm: avatārapreyṣy

---


4 Divy 154.19 foll.
5 D 563, rgyud ’bum, pha, 155a4 foll.
6 Q 207, Vol. 7, rgyud, pha, 276a2 (tr. by Feer, AMG V, 462).

---

1 Royal Chanting Book pp. 101–03; Mahābrahīmiddhamanta 12.5.3.
2 Dhvajāgrakeyurā-dhārani; Sarvatathāgaṭādhiṣṭhāna-vyūha, GM I 67.5.6; 76.8.
3 Ājñātiya Pali, DN III 203.7: and so for gandhabba, kumbhānda, nāga.
4 Ājñātita Sanskriti, p. 59.7: and so for pīṣāca, p. 61, kumbhānda, p. 65, and so on.
5 MhMVR(T) 10.20 foll., in what is probably the longest such list, since it gives 20 different beings.
6 Saddharmalankāvatārasūtra 106.11 foll.
7 Mahābala-sūtra 27.1 foll.
avatāragaṇi, and fails or will fail to do so, avatāram na lapsyate. There is a recurrent curse “may so-and-so’s head split into seven pieces”: saptadhāsa sphaṇa mūrdhā.

Common also is the “escape clause” which, after lauding the multiple and powerful effects of a mantra or other rakṣa, notes that it might not succeed “due to the fruition of past karma” (varjayitvā paurāṇam karmavidākam, or variants thereof), found, for example, in the Śārīlakarnāvadāna, the Lalitavistara, the Mahāsāhasrāpramardana, the Mahāmaṇṭrānudhāraṇi, the Pratyutpanna-buddhasamukhāvasthitasamudhi-sūtra, the Aṣṭāsāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, and the Ārya-avakāsīṣvara-ekādaśamukha-nāma-dhāraṇi. Bhavya

Atānaṭikā 59.13 etc.; Saddharmapundarikasūtra 233.31; Aṣṭāsāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā 28.13; Praś (I) 118.3.

Atānaṭikā 57.24; Saddharmapundarikasūtra 235.10; Śīkṣāsamuccaya 141.9; Mahāsāhasrāpramardana 37.7; SHT (III) 900, 903, 906, 984; SHT (VI) 1269, 1310. In Pali the phrase occurs in the Candasa- and Suriya-parittas (SN 1 50.33, 51.22), and at DN 1 94.24, MN 1 231.29, Jātaka V 92.8, Sn 983, 1026; see also DN 1 143.13, III 13.28. Cf. A. Syrkin, “Notes on the Buddha’s Threats in the Dīgha Nikāya”, JIABS Vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 147–58. The curse also occurs in the Rāmāyāna: see William L. Smith, “Explaining the Inexplicable: Uses of the Curse in Rāma Literature”, in Kalyānāmitrārāganam. Essays in Honour of Nils Simonsson, Oslo, 1986, p. 264. The phrase (in the first person) was also used in oaths.


BST 1, p. 318.5.

Iwamoto 41.4.

6 D 563, 1544a. The fifth section (gnas skabs) of Karmavajra’s (Las kyi Dorje’s) commentary to this sūtra is devoted entirely to this phrase, and contains a long citation of a Karmavibhāṅga-sūtra: D 2692, rgyud, du, 269a5–72a2. Sanskrit in Praś (II) 298.4; Tibetan in Praś (I) 14D, p. 118.13, 24; 14J, v. 14 (p. 124.3).


9 Q 524, Vol. 11, ‘a, 212b4 = GM I 36.4; translated by Feer, AMG V 434.

Comments on the phrase in his Tarkajivāla. The same idea — though not the exact phrase — is found in the Milindapañha: Nāgasena explains that paritta may not be take effect because of the obstruction (āvaraṇa) of kamma. The extra-canonical Pali Unhissavijaya promises protection from death due to a variety of causes, “except for timely death” (kālamāritam), that is, “natural death” as determined by one’s karmic life-span.

The escape clause is characteristic of only some (earlier? Śravakayāna?) rakṣa texts; others promise unqualified results. The Aparimitāyūḥ Sūtra states that for one who copies the sūtra or causes it to be copied, the obstructions (āvaraṇa) of the five deeds of immediate retribution (ānantarya karma) and sins even as great as Mt. Meru will all be wiped clean.

Other elements are long lists of diseases or calamities against which protection is offered. Another phrase refers to the marking of a (protective) boundary (simābandha).

1 D 3856, dū ma, dza, 185b2, ci'i phyir snon gya las kyi rnam par smin pa ni ma gtsos so žes bstan ce na?...


3 Mahābrahmbuddhānanta p. 113.


5 MhMVR(T) 4.2, etc.; Praś 14D; Sīrīnagaralaparitta 29, Cakkaparitta, § 9.

6 AN V 342.1–14 (Metta-sutta); Sīrīnagaralaparitta, Parittaparikamma, v. 9; Megha-sūtra 294; Aṣṭāsāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā 38.7–15; Praś 14C, 14D; Ekādaśamukha, GM I 137.5–11; Sarvatathāgatadhiṣṭhāna-vyūha, GM I 57.8–13

7 MhMVR(T) 3.14, etc.; Suvarnaprabhāsa-sūtra 56.14; Hayagriva-vidyā, GM I 45.5.
6. Rakṣā and mantra

The sometimes confused relationship between mantra and dhāraṇi has been clarified by several scholars.¹ While the two terms might at times be synonymous, the latter has a much broader meaning: a faculty or facility in retaining or remembering the teaching of the Buddha(s), hence “retention” or “memory” (Lamotte’s souvenance). This is shown by the context in which it occurs in the Mahāyāna sūtras and the definitions given in the śāstras, which connect it with smṛti. The Mahāprajñā-pāramitāśāstra classifies dhāraṇi in abhidharmic terms under dharma-dhātu, dharma-yatana, and samkāra-skandha: it is either “associated with mind” or “dissociated from mind” (cittasamprayukta, cittaviprayukta), impure or pure (sāsra, anāsra); it is formless or immaterial (ārūpya), invisible (anidarśana), non-resistant (apratīgha), and knowable by mental-consciousness (manovijñāna).² Asaṅga gives a fourfold definition of the term; of these it is the third, mantra-dhāraṇi, with which I am concerned: “mantra-syllables for the appeasement of the calamities of beings (mantrapadāti itisamāsamanāya sattvānām).³


³ Cf. Mppś IV 1857–59 and Braarvig 1985 pp. 19–20. The latter’s suggestion that dhāraṇi in the compound mantra-dhāraṇi does not itself mean a spell, but rather a facility in retaining or remembering spells, and his translation “retaining a formula in the mind” are quite apt.

As far as I have been able to determine, mantra (or mantrapada), along with rakṣā and vidyā, is the preferred term in rakṣā literature, at least in the main texts studied here, none of which employ the word dhāraṇi (except in titles).¹ Scholars often use the two words interchangeably; it would be more accurate, however, to use the word actually employed in the text under consideration.² Since mantra is the general term of preference in the rakṣā literature dealt with here, I will use that term.

For present purposes, I would like to classify mantras into two types: protective mantras (the mantra-dhāraṇi of Asaṅga) and — for want of a better term — spiritual mantras. Protective or rakṣā mantras are recited for worldly or mundane ends: to ward off calamity, disease, or malignant beings, and to promote welfare. The mantras of the Śrāvakayāna and of the early Mahāyāna sūtras belong to this category. At an uncertain date, but, on the evidence of the Wu dynasty translation of the Anantamukha-nirhāraṇdhāraṇi,³ not later than the second century A.C., mantras were given a spiritual application: their recitation not only granted protection and welfare, but could lead to enlightenment (bodhi) itself. They became associated with symbolic hand-gestures (mudrā), complex rites (vidhi, kalpa), consecrations (abhiseka), mandalas, and visualization. These are the mantras of some Mahāyāna sūtras and of the Vajrayāna. In the

¹ The term dhāraṇimantrapada occurs in the Megha-sūtra, p. 298.11. Vidyā in the sense of spell or charm occurs in the Pali Canon, where several spells are mentioned by name: see Encyclopaedia of Buddhism Vol. IV, fasc. 1, “Charms”, pp. 130–34. For this and other terms, see David L. Snellgrove, Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, Indian Buddhists and their Tibetan Successors, London, 1987, pp. 122, 141–44.

² Waldschmidt, for example, describes the mantras of the Tibetan Mahāsāṃghika as Dhāraṇis, although the text describes them as mantrapada (gsan snags kyi tshig): E. Waldschmidt, Bruchstücke buddhistischer Sūtras aus dem Zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon (Kleinere Sanskrit-texte, Heft IV), Leipzig, 1932, p. 197.

³ See below, p. 164.
Mantras conclude with svāhā in Sanskrit or svāhāya (or svāhāyya) in Pali. In Tibetan translations text between tadyathā and svāhā is usually transliterated rather than translated.

Mantras include both unintelligible and intelligible elements. The former include phrases like hulu hulu, hili hili, mili mili, or hili mile — ili mile — ili mili — ḫi ṭi ḫi, common to a number of texts. The ubiquitous hulu hulu is one of the earliest attested mantras, since it occurs in Lokakṣema’s Chinese version of the Drumakinnārarāja-pariprcchā, translated between 168 and 172 A.C.; it is also one of the most widespread since it occurs in South-east Asian Pali texts. Though unintelligible, the phrases are not arbitrary (nor the “gibberish” nor the “mumbo jumbo” of earlier scholars), and they are explained in the commentaries. (According to Asaṅga, mantras are indeed “without meaning”, but in the sense that all dharmas are without meaning.)

---

1 Jaini 1965 p. 67.39.
2 Āṭānāṭīka 74.22 (Tib.); MhMVR(T) 4.15, 17; 30 ult.; 31.12; Mahābalasūtra 24.7; Saptavatadaka-dhāraṇī (Feer, AMG V) 456; rGyal ba’i bla ma’i gzhuns, Q 488, Vol. 11, rgyud, ba, 85a8. For Pali occurrences, see below. See Phuluphulu in BHSD 397a for the term in a non-mantric context which possibly gives a clue to its meaning.
3 Āṭānāṭīka 74.22 (Tib.); MhMVR(T) 4.18; Suvarnaprabhāsa 56.16; 58.1,2,4; SHT (III) 90 V2; rGyal ba’i bla ma’i gzhuns 85a8.
4 MhMVR(T) 4.18, 9.10; Suvarnaprabhāsa, loc. cit.
5 Vidyādharaśīla (Śikṣāsamuccaya 142.15).
6 Āṭānāṭīka 74.7 (Tib).
7 Āṭānāṭīka 54.22; MhMVR(T) 9.13; Ārya-avolkiteśvara-matā-nāma-dhāraṇī, Q 534, rgyud, ‘a, 239a2. Ekādaśamukha, GM 1 39.12, 40.16.
8 Bodhisattvabhūmi, cit. at Mppś IV 1858.1.
10 Bodhisattvabhūmi in Mppś IV 1858–59; Braarvig 1985 p. 20.
(fragmentary) Uighur version of the Ātānātiṣa-sūtra gives a Uighur “translation” of the mantras, accompanied by interlinear Sanskrit glosses.\footnote{Dieter Maue, “Sanskrit-uigurische Fragmente des Ātānātiṣa-sūtra und des Ātānātiṣa-hṛdaya”, Ural-Altaiische Jahrbücher, Neue Folge, Band 5, Wiesbaden, 1985, pp. 98–122. I am grateful to Dr. Lore Sander for this reference.} The interpretations are in terms of Sarvāstivādin abhidharma categories — the sixteen aspects (ākāra) of the Four Truths, the four immeasurables (apramāṇa), etc. — but this must be the work of later scholiasts. In his Tarkajvalā, Bhavaya offers a spirited defence of the “dhāraṇīs, mantras, and vidyās” of the Mahāyāna. He denies that they are meaningless, noting that “vidyās for the most part teach the six perfections (pāramitā), the truths of the noble (ārya-satyā), and the states that conduce to enlightenment (bodhipaksya-dharma)...”. “The unintelligible syllables of spells (vidyā-pāda) are taught in the supermundane (lokottara) language, or in the languages of gods, nāgas, or yakṣas, etc.”\footnote{3 See Edgerton’s remarks at BHSD 284b. While the Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden (Göttingen) does not record mantras, a card index is kept (personal communication from Dr. Siglinde Dietz, 1991).} The purpose of some of the recurrent phrases may perhaps be determined from their context when a sufficient number of examples have been collected. Unfortunately, the dictionaries or indexes that I know of do not list mantra elements.\footnote{4 Cf. the Jaina Pāma-ca-kō-śārya-parama-maṅgala (Roth, p. 130), which pays homage to five kinds of saints (arhats, siddhas, ācāryas, upadhyāyas, and “all sādhus in the world”) and is described as “the first maṅgala among all the maṅgalas”.} 

Among the unintelligible phrases are expressions of homage (nāmas) to Buddha(s) and other āryas or to the Three Gems (triratna), which are treated as a part of the mantra: in Tibetan versions, for example, they are not translated.\footnote{5 Q 306, Vol. 7, rgyud, ba, 73b4 foll.} The dhāraṇī of the Dhvajāgrakeyūra-dhāraṇī\footnote{6 Q 306, Vol. 7, rgyud, ba, 73b4 foll.} contains satya-vāk or paritta-like phrases: buddhasatyena, dharmasatyena, samghasatyena, satyavādinām-satyena; buddhaśatye mātikrama, etc., as do mantras in the Suvarṇaprabhāsa and Megha-sūtras, and the Sarvatathāgata-dhiṣṭhāna-vyāha.\footnote{7 Suvarṇaprabhāsa 58.3; Megha-sūtra 300.13 foll., 306.3 foll.; GM I 56.4–7.} The (Ārya) Prajñā-samutpādahṛdaya consists simply of the ye dharmā verse in Tibetan and Sanskrit, followed by the statement “when this hṛdaya is recited once, all sins (pāpa) will be purified”, and so on.\footnote{8 Q 222, Vol. 7, rgyud, pha, 301b7–302a2.} Other intelligible phrases in the Dhvajāgrakeyūra-dhāraṇī, the Mahābala-sūtra, the Hayagrīva-vidyā, and other texts are commands or admonishments: jambhaya, stambhaya, mohayā, hana, dha, paca, maha, pramaṇa.

It is noteworthy that certain common elements appear in the mantras of a wide variety of texts — of the Śrāvakayāna, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna — and that some of these, usually found in association, invoke the names of female deities. Examples include gaurī, gandhārī, candāli, and mātaṅgi, which occur in the Ātānātiṣa-sūtra,\footnote{9 Ātānātiṣa 54.24 (Tibetan); 68.9 (Tibetan); 69.8 (Sanskrit).} the Mahāmāyā-sūtra,\footnote{10 Q 979 (Vol. 39), mdo, su, 172a4.} the Mahāmāyā-sūtra,\footnote{11 SHT (II) 176, Bl. 21 R5.} the Mahāśāṭikā-sūtra,\footnote{12 SHT (III) 846, V7.} the Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra,\footnote{13 Q 308, Vol. 7, rgyud, ba, 77a1, 7.} and the Cauravidhavansana-dhāraṇī,\footnote{14 BST 6, ch. 21, p. 234.19.} the Cauravidhavansana-dhāraṇī,\footnote{15 Mahābala-sūtra 24.36, 39.} the Cauravidhavansana-dhāraṇī,\footnote{16 Q 534, Vol. 11, rgyud, a, 239a2.} the Cauravidhavansana-dhāraṇī,\footnote{17 Q 214, Vol. 7, rgyud, pha, 278b4; cf. also Q 454, Vol. 9, [rājn] rgyud, va, 101a6.} the Cauravidhavansana-dhāraṇī,\footnote{18 Q 214, Vol. 7, rgyud, pha, 278b4; cf. also Q 454, Vol. 9, [rājn] rgyud, va, 101a6.} the Cauravidhavansana-dhāraṇī,\footnote{19 SHT (II) 176, Bl. 21 R5.} the Cauravidhavansana-dhāraṇī,\footnote{20 SHT (III) 846, V7.} the Cauravidhavansana-dhāraṇī,\footnote{21 SHT (II) 176, Bl. 21 R5.} the Cauravidhavansana-dhāraṇī,\footnote{22 SHT (III) 846, V7.} the Cauravidhavansana-dhāraṇī,\footnote{23 SHT (II) 176, Bl. 21 R5.} the Cauravidhavansana-dhāraṇī,\footnote{24 SHT (III) 846, V7.} the Cauravidhavansana-dhāraṇī.
clear that for these and other recurrent phrases (hulu hulu, ili mili, and so on) the texts drew on a common pool of mantra elements.

To whom are the Buddhist mantras addressed? In some cases, such as that of the long mantra of the Viśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra, they are spoken to malignant spirits, after invoking the power or grace of the Buddha, pratyekabuddhaḥs, āryas, and various deities. In some cases, such as those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, they seem to invoke goddesses. In other cases, but probably not in the Śrāvakayāna raksā, they are addressed to a specific deity, such as Avalokiteśvara in the Hayagrīva-vidyā and Ekādaśamukha or the goddess Dhvajāgrakeyā in the Dvajāgrakeyā-drāṇā. A complete answer can only be made after further research.

No inventory has yet been made of the mantras found in (Mūla) Sarvāstivādin texts.¹ Those that I know of are as follows:

1) the mantra of the Viśālīpraveśa-sūtra, which is essentially the same in the Bhaisajyavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, the independent Tibetan Viśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra, and the Nepalese Sanskrit Mahāmantrānusārini. It is probably the longest Mūlasarvāstivādin mantra;

2) the Mahāmāyūri-mantra of the Bhaisajyavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, as preserved both in Sanskrit and in Tibetan translation. In an expanded form, it also occurs in the Mahāmāyūri-vidyārājini;²

3) the 9 mantras of the Āṭānātiya-mahāsūtra as preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translation. The Central Asian Sanskrit recension, the

---

¹ Cf. Mppś IV 1860 for a brief notice.

Āṭānātiya-sūtra, probably contained the same mantras at the same places, and at least 3 additional mantras;
4) the 19 mantras given in a prose “appendix” to the Mahāsamājamaḥāsūtra as preserved in Tibetan translation only;
5) the sādakṣāri vidyā of the Śārdūlakārnāvadāna;¹
6) the mantras of the Sanskrit Upasena-sūtra from Central Asia,² its Tibetan version as incorporated into the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinayavicbhangā,³ and its Chinese version in the Samyuktāgama;⁴
7) (probably) the mantras of the Bhadrakarātri-sūtra as preserved in Tibetan.⁵

This incomplete list is sufficient to show that mantras were fully accepted by the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

I do not believe that any true mantras are found in the canon of the Theravādins, which seems to have been closed before the influence of the mantra movement could be felt. Mantras are found in later extracanonical paritta texts: the Yot bhrahkandatraiaviṭṭaḥ (hulu 3; viṭṭi 3; mitṭi 2; citṭi 2; vatti 2), the Mahādibbamanta (hulu 3),⁶ the Dhāranaparitta (iḷī mili iḷī atiḷī),⁷ the Sut Catuvik (hulu 2),⁸ and the Giniparitta (citti, viṭṭi, etc.),⁹ ending in svāhā(y)a. That such mantras belonged not only to popular literature but were also accepted by at least
some scholars is shown by the fact that the anonymous author of the (Ayuthaya-period) Buddhapādamāyala introduces the mantra “hulī hulī hulī svāhāya” into his commentary, and explains it in turn. The term dhāranī is rare in Pali, where it only occurs in extra-canonical texts such as the Gīni Paritta. The term dhārana occurs in the sense of dhāranī in the title and text of the Dhārana-paritta. The author of the Mahāprajāpāramitā-sāstra, who is well versed in the tradition of at least the Sarvāstivādins, notes that dhāranīs are not found in the system of the Śrāvakas, but allows that “lesser dhāranīs” can be obtained by universal monarchs, rṣis, and others.

I have not seen any mantras in available Lokottaravādin literature. I have shown above, however, that the Mahāsāṃghikas are reported to have had a Mantra-piṭaka and the Siddharthas, Purvāśilas, and Aparaśilas a Vidyādhara-piṭaka, none of which are extant. The Dharmaguptakas are said to have had a similar piṭaka, of which the Sanskrit title is uncertain, and their Vinaya describes the joint recitation of the Arapacana syllabary by monks and laymen.

1 Supaphan Na Bangchang, Vivadhanākāra Varrnagati sai Braḥ Suttantapiṭaka ti Daeng nai Pradeśa Thai, Bangkok, 2533 [1990], pp. 296–97.
2 It is not listed in the Pali Text Society Dictionary or the Pāli Tipiṭakaṃ Concordance. Other forms derived from the same root are used in the sense of retention or memory of the teaching of the Buddha: see Mṛṣī IV 1854 and Braervig 1985 p. 21.
3 L. de Silva, p. 10.
4 Mahābuddhavamsa 20.8, imam dhāranam amitam asaman. At Vinaya IV 305.27 the phrase dhāranam pariṣṭapati is immediately followed by gauttāhāya pariṣṭapati pariṣṭapati, but the meaning is obscure. I am grateful to Prof. Oskar von Hinüber for this reference.
5 Mṛṣī I 328, IV 1876–77.

7. The rakṣā literature and cults

The rakṣā literature was strongly influenced by popular cults, both Buddhist and pre- or non-Buddhist. The former include the cults of the Seven Buddhas and their trees, of past Buddhas, pratyekabuddhas, and of śrāvakas. The latter include the cults of the Four Great Kings; of yakṣas (including the 28 yakṣasenāpati, frequently mentioned), nāgas, and the whole inventory of divine or daemonic beings in the Mahāmāyūrī, and of female goddesses as shown in both verse lists and in the mantras that invoke the goddess under various epithets.

It is noteworthy that one of the longest and most influential of the Śrāvakayāna rakṣas, the Ātānātiya-sūtra, is introduced and spoken by the Great King Vaiśravaṇa: the next day the Buddha repeats it to the monks, and recommends that they master it. This seems to be a device to “convert” a non-Buddhist text by giving it the sanction of the Buddha. In the Jātakamālā (XXXIII, Mahāsa), a yakṣa gives a rakṣa to the bodhisattva in his birth as a buffalo.

1 MhMVR(T) pp. 13, 43–45, 56–57; Ātānātiya Pali, DN III 195.27–96.10.
2 MhMVR(T) p. 13.
4 Isigili-sutta, MN 116 (note the concluding admonition vandathā, following the list of paccakabuddhas), classified as a paritta in some Āṭṭhakathā lists (Table 1.4) and the Catutbhānavāra.
5 Mahāmantrānudharaṇi, D 563, 155a7 foll.; Jinapañjāra-gāthā.
6 Āṭṭhāti, Mahāsāmaṇa, MhMVR(T) pp. 15 foll., 46, Mahāsīṭavāna, Saddharmapundarika, chapter 21; Suvannaprabhāsa, chapter 7.
7 Āṭṭhāti, Mahāsāmaṇa, MhMVR, Mahāsīṭavāna.
8 Āṭṭhāti, Mahāsāmaṇa, Mahāmāyūrī, Āśīrāvāsa-gāthā.
8. Rakṣa and the Mahāyāna

The rakṣa movement, with all its characteristic phraseology, mantras, and association with cults, influenced the composition of many Mahāyāna sūtras. A number of examples have already been cited. Chapter 21 of the Lotus Sūtra, the Dhāraṇīparivaṃśa, contains rakṣa mantras spoken by Vaiśravaṇa and Viriṣδhaṇa, by rakṣāsasi, and by bodhisattvas. Chapter 9 of the Lankāvatāra-sūtra, which bears the same title as the preceding, contains rakṣa mantras delivered by the Buddhas of the three times. The Suvannaprabhāsottama (which is classed under Tantra in some Kanjurs) contains several long chapters on protection. Chapter 3 of the Asṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā extols protections and other benefits derived from the Prajñāpāramitā, which it describes as a vidyā, though no mantra is given. Chapter 14 of the Pratyutpanna-buddha-sammukhāvasīthita-samādhi-sūtra and Chapter 27 (the last) of the Lalitavistara deal with the protection granted to those who preserve the sūtras. Shorter rakṣa passages occur in the Bhadrakalpiṇa-sūtra and the Śūramgamasamādhi-sūtra, and no doubt in many other sūtras of the Mahāyāna. Sāntideva’s Śikṣāsamuccaya devotes several pages to rakṣa mantras.

At an uncertain date the great and voluminous Mahāyāna sūtras were themselves condensed into mantras or dhāraṇis, often of only a few lines: various Prajñāpāramitā sūtras, from the recension in 100,000

ślokas down, the Saṃādhīrṣaṇa, and the Lalitavistara. The Avataṃsaka, six volumes in Tibetan translation, was reduced to a dhāraṇi less than one line in length: “by retaining this, the Ārya Avataṃsaka will be retained”. Hsüan-tsang used the Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya as a rakṣa to ward off “all sorts of demon shapes and strange goblins” in the deserts of Central Asia; “whenever he was in danger, it was to this [text] alone that he trusted for his safety and deliverance”.

9. Śrāvakāyaṇa rakṣa literature and the Tantra

Śrāvakāyaṇa rakṣa texts classed under Tantra (rGyud) in the Kanjur include the following:

1. Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra
2. Āṭānātiya-mahāsūtra
3. Vaiśāli-praveśa-mahāsūtra
4. Saḍakṣari-vidyā
5. Bhadrakāraṇī-sūtra
6. Mahāmāyuri-vidyāraṇī
7. Mahāsahasrāśramadāraṇī-sūtra
8. Mahāśītavāna-sūtra
10. Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇi.

Numbers 1 to 4, and most probably 5, belong to the Mūlasārvāstivādin tradition. The affiliation of the Pañcarakṣa texts (numbers 6 to 10), all of which are highly composite, is not clear. All ten are classed under

Kriyā-tantra (Bya ba'i rgyud), the lowest of the four classes of Tantra. In addition, many of the short dhāranī texts — often connected with Indra, Brahma, yaksas, and the Four Great Kings — included in Kriyā-tantra show no Mahāyāna or Vajrayāna influence, and may be described as Śrāvakayāna raksās. Among those translated by Feer, these include the Sapta-vetādaka-dhāraṇī, the Sarvarogapraśamani-dhāraṇī, the Jvaraprasamani-dhāraṇī, and the Aksiropaprasamani-sūtra.¹

10. Archaeological evidence for the raksā literature

Apart from the famous list of dhammapaliyāya of the Ašokan inscription (which does not include any raksās), the only aspects of early Buddhism for which we have concrete evidence are the life of Śākyamuni Buddha along with the related jātakas, the cult of the Seven Buddhas and their trees, and the cults of the Four Great Kings, Indra, yaksas, nāgas, and goddesses. These are represented in relief on those encyclopaedias in stone, the gateways and railings of Bṛharhut, Bodh Gayā, Sāñchi, and other scattered sites. The cults of yaksas and nāgas are also represented by the massive free-standing stone figures found in the regions of Patna, Mathurā, Bhubaneswar, and elsewhere; the cult of female deities is well-represented at numerous sites.

Since Bṛharhut dates from about 100 B.C., and since the stone reliefs presuppose well-established (presumably oral) traditions as well as figurative prototypes, whether in wood or painted on cloth or other materials, we may say that the elements listed above go back to at least the second century B.C. It is noteworthy that some of them — for example the descent from Trayastriṃśa, depicted at both Bṛharhut and Sāñchi — are paracanonical for at least the Theravādin tradition.

These early monuments can only be understood in the light of such texts as one of the greatest raksās, the Āṭānātika-sūtra. What did monks, nuns, and lay-followers do when they visited the early stūpas? I do not think they wandered about aimlessly, silently staring, like the modern tourist. Rather, they would have performed deliberate circumambulations, and, when making offerings, would have recited verses of homage: to the Buddhas along with their trees, to the Four Great Kings, and other deities — if not the exact verses preserved in extant texts, then certainly their prototypes. The stūpas themselves imply the existence of a lore and liturgy which belongs in part to the raksā literature.

The railings with their gateways functioned as an outer protective mañḍala around the stūpa. At Bṛharhut the Four Great Kings (the three surviving pillar reliefs identified by inscriptions) stood guard at the four cardinal points; similarly, the verses on the Kings and their retinues in texts such as the ĀṭānātiKA-sūtra (in all versions), and the verses on the nakṣatras, devakumāris, and Kings in the Āśīrvedagathā follow the traditional clockwise pradakṣinā, so that their recitation would invoke a "magic circle" of protection. I have noted above that the open palms that sometimes adorn the early reliefs might signify the abhaya-mudrā. The concept of svasti or maṅgala is strongly represented in the various auspicious signs that adorn almost every relief: the svastika, the śrīvatsa, the conch, the sunshade, and so on. The cult of the Seven Buddhas was well established by the time of the Bṛharhut and Sāñchi stūpas, where they are represented aniconically by their trees. Verses of homage to these, and perhaps other past Buddhas — the prototype of the verses of the Mahāmāyūri, the Mahāśītavana, and the Pali Āṭānātiya — must have been current by that time.

Literary evidence, such as a Chinese version of the Śārdūla karṇāvādāna (for the Śrāvakayāna) and the Drumakinnāraṇa-paripṛcchā (for the

¹ AMG V 453–66.
Mahāyāna) shows that protective mantras were in vogue by the 2nd century A.C.¹ In the *Jātaka-sūtra (Sheng ching) translated by Dharmarakṣa in 285 A.C., “magic spells for averting the influence of thieves, evil spirits, and demons are explained by the Buddha”.² Indeed, since the Wu dynasty Chinese translation of the Anantamukhanirādhāraṇī proves that mantras had already gained a spiritual application by the same period,³ it seems safe to conclude that rakṣā mantras were employed by the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier. The available archaeological and literary evidence suggests that the heyday of the rakṣā movement was from the second century B.C. to the third century A.C. During this period the cults described above flourished in India (including here regions of present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan, as well as parts of Central Asia). By the third century the influence of the popular cults diminished (although they still persist in rural India), to be progressively eclipsed by the more sophisticated cults of bodhisattvas.

¹ Divy, Appendix A, p. 657. The reference is to the *Mātāṅgī-ṣūtra, translated into Chinese in 230 A.C.: see T 1300, KBC 766, and M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, [1933] New York, 1972, pp. 286–87. In the early third and the fourth centuries, a number of mantra texts were rendered into Chinese by various translators: see Chou Yi-liang, “Tantrism in China”, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 8, 1944–45, pp. 242–43, Matsunaga 1977 pp. 169–70, and Upasena-ṣūtra (2) p. 238. For the interesting figure of the “dhāraṇī master” Śrīmītra, who translated three “collections of spells”, moved in court circles in the early decade of the 4th century at Chienk ‘ang, and was the first known person to have had a caitya built for him at the order of the Emperor, see Zürcher, op. cit., 103–04.

² Matsunaga 1977 p. 169; the reference is to T 154, KBC 799.

³ Inagaki 1987: the Wu version was translated between 223 and 253 A.C. (p. 24); the mantras of that version are shown in the comparative table of the mantra, pp. 310–52. For this sūtra, see also Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, Vol. I, fasc. 4, pp. 548–50. For an early date for the origins of “Tantra”, see Matsunaga 1977, de Jong 1984, and John C. Huntington, “Note on a Chinese Text Demonstrating the Earliness of Tantra”, JIABS Vol. 10, no. 2, 1987, pp. 88–98. For a detailed bibliography of Japanese and other studies on mantra and Tantra, early and late, see Hajime Nakamura, Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes, Hirakata, 1980, Chapter VI, Esoteric Buddhism.

for the Buddhists, and of deities such as Viṣṇu and Śiva for the Hindus. Both in India and abroad, certain cults, such as those of Indra, Brahma, and the Four Great Kings, gained a literary and iconographical longevity, which has allowed them to survive up to the present day in the Buddhist world.

11. Rite and ritual

I stated at the outset that a hallmark of the rakṣā literature in general is that the texts were actually employed in the day-to-day life of both monks and lay followers. For the paritta, there is no need to give any evidence: wherever Theravādin Buddhism is established, the recitation of paritta is a regular practice. A detailed description of the paritta rites of Sri Lanka has been provided by Lily de Silva in the study frequently referred to.

Several of the early rakṣā texts contain internal information about their purpose and use. In the Dhvajagāra-sūtra the Buddha recommends the recollection of the Buddha, or the Dharma and the Sangha, to monks beset by fear when in the jungle or in lonely places. In the Āṭānikata-sūtra, Vaiśravaṇa delivers the protection to be learned by “the disciples of the Lord — monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen — who dwell in lonely places” for their own security and protection against malignant non-humans; the next day the Buddha repeats the protection to the monks, and recommends that they learn it. In each case it is not the whole sūtra in its current form that was to be recited, but only certain parts; at a later date, however, the whole text would have undoubtedly been recited, as is the case with the corresponding Pali parittas.

I have not been able to uncover much information about how the Mūlasarvāstivādin Mahāsūtras were used. The Vinaya-vibhanga passage mentions their recitation as a protection against vetāḍa, without further
detail (although it does mention a number of alternate rakṣās). The commentary thereupon describes the function of the Mahāsūtras, but says nothing about how, on what occasions, or by whom, they were to be used. The only information about their ritual use is found in the "appendix" to the Tibetan version of the Mahāsamāja, which is not found in the Pali, Sanskrit, or Chinese versions. There the Four Great Kings recommend the recitation of the sūtra, along with their own mantras, over a thread (sūtra) or over (a vessel containing) water, and then tying knots in the string or sprinkling the water. The most detailed rites are given by the Buddha himself, who delivers further mantras. Here there are references to fasting; to specific days of the lunar cycle; to the recitation of the mantra 100 or 108 times while holding and knotting a thread; and to the marking of a boundary (sīmā).

The Samantapāsādikā (5th century) refers to the use of thread and water in paritta ritual (parittodaka, parittasutta),¹ as does the Vinayavinicchaya, which de Silva dates to the 4th or 5th century.² The commentary on the Ratana-sutta (5th century) states that Ānanda sprinkled water from the Buddha's alms-bowl as he went through Vesāli reciting the sutta.³ In the Suppāraka-jātaka the bodhisatta performs an act of truth (saccakiriya) holding a bowl full of water (punnapāti).⁴ A detailed description of a paritta rite is given in the commentary to the Āṭānātiya-sutta.⁵ Interesting information about ritual practices connected with the uposadha ceremony in India and the "Islands of the Southern Sea" in the 7th century is supplied by I-ching. There is much in common with the paritta rituals described by de Silva (including the overfeeding of the monks and the offering of betel-nut).¹

Brief rites are given at the end of the Sanskrit Mahāmāyūrī and the Tibetan Mahāśīlatavāna. A number of rites are described in the Mahāsahasramṛdani, where they are spoken by the Four Great Kings, Brahma, and Vaiśravana.² The "Chapter on Sarasvati" in the Suvarnaprabhāsa describes several rites.³ Other texts in the Tantra section of the Kanjur refer to recitation of mantras over thread and the tying of knots.⁴ The spiritually charged thread and water⁵ are common not only to the paritta but also to Mahàyāna and Vajrayāna rituals, and no doubt belong to early pan-Indian magical or protective rites. Matsunaga has given a chronological account of texts containing ritual elements translated into Chinese, starting with the first half of the third century.⁶ There is clearly a great deal to be learned here from Chinese sources.

The texts also recommend that rakṣās be written down, on paper or cloth, and tied as amulets to parts of the body or to standards (the latter in battle) or deposited in stūpas. This aspect awaits further exploration.⁷

---

² Iwamoto 30–31, 36–37, 38, respectively.
³ L. de Silva, p. 16.
⁴ L. de Silva, p. 17.
⁵ Jātaka 463, Vol. IV, p. 142.

² L. de Silva, p. 16.
³ L. de Silva, p. 17.
⁵ L. de Silva, pp. 17–18.
Conclusions

Rākṣās, in one form or another, are an integral part of mainstream Buddhism. The present paper came into being as a result of my work on a critical edition of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Mahāsūtras as preserved in Tibetan translation. In the course of my research, I discovered that the Mahāsūtras were themselves employed as rākṣās, and uncovered the numerous cross-references that led me to conclude that the rākṣā phenomenon was extremely influential in early Buddhism. The parittas of the Theravādins, the Mahāsūtras, rākṣās, and mantras of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, and the svastigāthās, rākṣās, and mantras of these and other schools of both the Śrāvaka- and Mahāyānas were not independent or isolated developments. The chanting of certain auspicious verses or texts for protection against disease and malignant spirits and for the promotion of welfare was no doubt a “pan-nikāya” practice, common to all branches of the saṃgha from an early date; indeed, on the internal evidence of texts like the Dhvajāgra and Āṭānātika Sūtras, the practice should predate the early schisms. The two sūtras just referred to are both parittas and Mahāsūtras; the Ratana-sutta is a paritta, a svastigāthā, and the key element of a Pañcarākṣā text. In some schools or communities the practice of rākṣā developed further with the use of mantras or vidyās, by the beginning of the Common Era at the very latest.

The Āṭānātika-sūtra seems to have been the prototype of much of the phraseology, and some of the verses, of the Buddhist rākṣā literature (when one considers that the sūtra would have been memorised by members of the saṃgha from an early date, this is not surprising); but this very phraseology and some of the verses were clearly adopted and adapted from contemporary popular magical and cult traditions. The prototype for at least some of the svastigāthās may well have been the Ratana-sutta. The Buddhist mantras derived some of their efficacy from intelligible elements such as expressions of homage (nāmas) invoking the power of the Buddha(s), other āryas and deities, and the Triple Gem (triratna), and from the “profession of truth” (satyavāk). These were combined with unintelligible phrases; the origin and precise significance of these remain obscure, but it is clear that the texts drew on a common stock of elements, perhaps again from popular magical lore. In all cases the oral tradition, seamless in comparison with the written text, would have played a significant role in the permeation of Buddhist literature with such rākṣā and mantra phrases.

By definition the rākṣā literature is devoted to worldly ends: protection against physical or material threats, and promotion of physical and material well-being. Many of the texts, however, presuppose a certain level of spiritual development for the recitation to be efficacious, in particular the practice of loving-kindness: maitrī or mettā. And for all Buddhists, of whatever nikāya or yāna, the ultimate rākṣā was always nirvāṇa, described in the early texts as a refuge (tāna, lena, and so on).

The rākṣā literature is a vast topic: in its broader sense, it involves the study of the entire corpus of Buddhist literature in all of its languages. In this paper I have only been able to give an outline, a rough sketch of the rākṣā elephant as glimpsed here and there in the profuse jungle of Buddhist literature. Many questions remain to be considered. Who or what offers protection, and through what mechanism? How can past Buddhas offer protection? To what degree does the protection depend on the supplicant, to what degree on the reciter, to what degree on the beings invoked? I hope other scholars will contribute to this somewhat neglected field of research.

Bangkok

Peter Skilling
Bibliographical Note

References to Pali texts are to the editions of the Pali Text Society (PTS), with standard abbreviations, unless otherwise noted. References to Tibetan texts are by catalogue numbers of the Peking (Q) (in most cases) and Derge (D) (for the Pañcaraksā) editions; Peking volume numbers refer to the volumes of the reprint edition and not to the original potis. Chinese texts are cited by Taishō (T) and Korean Buddhist Canon (KBC) catalogue numbers; information about dates of translation is derived from the latter.

Abbreviations


BST  Buddhist Sanskrit Text series, Darbhanga

D  Derge (sDe dge) edition of the Tibetan Canon


JA  Journal Asiatique

JIABS  Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies

JRAS  Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

KBC  L.R. Lancaster, The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue, Berkeley, 1979 (reference by catalogue number)

Q  Peking (Qianlong) edition of the Tibetan Canon

PraS (I)  Paul Harrison (ed.), The Tibetan Text of the Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Samkhāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra, Tokyo, 1978

PraS (II)  Paul Harrison (tr.), The Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present, Tokyo, 1990

MhMVR(T)  Shūyo Takubo (ed.), Ārya-Mahā-Māyūri Vidyā-Rājīni, Tokyo, 1972


SHT  Ernst Waldschmidt et al. (eds.), Sanskrit handschriften aus den Turfan-Funden, Wiesbaden, 1965–

T  Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (reference by catalogue number)

Sanskrit and Pali titles

Anantamukhanirhāra-dhāranī, see Inagaki

Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā, ed. P.L. Vaidya, BST 4, Darbhanga, 1960


Upasena-sūtra (1), E. Waldschmidt, Das Upasenasūtra, Göttingen, 1957


Divyāvadāna, see Divy

Pratyutpannabuddhasamkhāvasthitasamādhi-sūtra, see PraS

Mahādībbamanta, see Jaini

Mahāpratisarasā, ed. Yutaka Iwamoto, Pañcaraksā II (Beiträge zur Indologie, Heft 3), Kyoto, 1938

Mahābrāhmaṇḍhamanta, Matcharoen Thiraphatsakun (ed.), Nangsu Suat Manta Mahābrāhmaṇḍhamanta, Bangkok, 2532 [1989] (reference by section numbers)

Mahāmāyā-vidyārājī, see MhMVT(T)


Mahāśīvata, ed. Yutaka Iwamoto, Kleinere Dhāraṇī Texte (Beiträge zur Indologie, Heft 2) Kyoto, 1937, pp. 1–6

Mahāśāhasrākṣamadhanī, ed. Yutaka Iwamoto, Pañcarakṣa I (Beiträge zur Indologie, Heft 1), Kyoto, 1937


Lalita-vistara, ed. P.L. Vaidya, BST 1, Darbhanga, 1958

Śikṣāsamuccaya, ed. Cecil Bendall, St. Petersburg, 1902


Saṅghadharmalankāvatārasūtram, ed. P.L. Vaidya, BST 3, Darbhanga, 1963

Sīrimeṅgalaparittā, Rangoon, 1986

Suvarṇaprabha-sūtra, ed. S. Bagchi, BST 8, Darbhanga, 1967

Other works


Dhammānanda, 2535 [1992], Aggamahāpañḍitañusaraṇa, Brahddhammānanda-mahāthera, Wat Tamao, Lampang

Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, 1961–, Colombo

Finot, Louis, 1917, “Recherches sur la littérature laotienne”, in Bulletin d’École Française d’Extrême Orient XVII, no. 5

Rakṣā literature

Inagaki, H., 1987, The Anantamukhānirāhā-Dhāraṇī Sūtra and Jñānagarbha’s Commentary: A Study and the Tibetan Text, Kyoto


de Jong, J.W., 1984, “A New History of Tantric Literature in India”, in Studies of Mysticism in Honor of the 1150th Anniversary of Kobo-Daishi’s Nirvāṇa (Acta Indologica VI), Narita, pp. 91–113


Royal Chanting Book, 2526 [1983], Suat Manta Chabap Luang, 13th ed., Bangkok


Skorupski, T., 1985, A Catalogue of the Stog Palace Kanjur, Tokyo
Table 1: Early paritta lists

1. Milinda-pañha

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTS</th>
<th>ChS</th>
<th>Mm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>150.27</td>
<td></td>
<td>206.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Ratana-s</td>
<td>1. Ratana-s</td>
<td>1. Khandha-p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Āṭānātiya-p</td>
<td>5. Dha Jagga-p</td>
<td>5. Āṭānātiya-p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Aṅgulimālī- p</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.1. Sumāṅgala-vilāsini (Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā on Sampasādaniya-s)

ChS [III] 81.10; Mm III 109.5; PTS III 897.28

1. Āṭānātiya-p
2. Mora-p
3. Dha Jagga-p
4. Ratana-p
— ādi

1.2.2. Pāpañcasūdanī (Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathā on Bahudhātuka-s)

ChS [IV] 79.19; PTS IV 114.6; Mm III 522.11

1. Āṭānātiya-p
2. Mora-p
3. Dha Jagga-p
4. Ratana-p
— ādi

1.2.3. Manorathapūraṇī (Aṅguttaranikāya-aṭṭhakathā, Ekanipāta, on atthāna)

ChS [I] 358; PTS II 9.23

1. Āṭānātiya-p
2. Mora-p
3. Dha Jagga-p
4. Ratana-p
— ādi

1.2.4. Sammohavinodani (Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā)

ChS 411.27; Nalanda ed. 434.14; PTS 430.33

1. Āṭānātiya-
2. Mora-p
3. Dha Jagga-p
4. Ratana-p
— ādi

---

1 In the table, -s = -sutta, -p = -paritta. PTS refers to the romanized editions of the Pali Text Society, London; HOS to the romanized ed. of the *Visuddhipi* in the Harvard Oriental Series; ChS to the Burmese script Āṭṭhakathā (Puttakathā) editions, Rangoon, Mm to the Thai script editions published by Mahāmakuta Press, Bangkok (consulted as accessible).
2 ChS and PTS omit -paritta here only.

---

3 The same list occurs at Mp IV (PTS) 114.
4 Nalanda and PTS omit -paritta.
1.3.1. Visuddhimagga

ChS II 44.15; HOS 349.21; PTS 414.24;  
Mm II 258.20

1. Ratana-s  
2. Khandha-p  
3. Dhajagga-p  
4. Āṭānātiya-p  
5. Mora-p

1. Ratana-p  
2. Khandha-p  
3. Dhajagga-p  
4. Āṭānātiya-p  
5. Mora-p

1.3.2. Samantapāsādikā I, Venaṅkaṇḍavaṇṇanā

ChS 129.10; PTS I 159.31  
Mm I 178.7

1. Ratana-p  
2. Khandha-p  
3. Dhajagga-p  
4. Āṭānātiya-p  
5. Mora-p

1. Ratana-p  
2. Metta-p  
3. Khandha-p  
4. Dhajagga-p  
5. Āṭānātiya-p  
6. Mora-p

1.4. Mahāniddesa-āṭṭhakathā (Tuvaṭaka-s)

ChS 336.26; Mm II 92.6; PTS II 383.5

Manorathapūraṇī (Tikanipāta)

ChS II 210.27; PTS II 342.1

1. Āṭānātiya-p  
2. Isigili-p  
3. Dhajagga-p  
4. Bojjhaṅga-p  
5. Khandha-p  
6. Mora-p  
7. Metta-p  
8. Ratana-p

1.5. Sumaṅgalavilāsinī (Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā on Āṭānātiya-sutta)

ChS [III] 150.23; Mm III 201.20; PTS III 969.15

1. Āṭānātiya-s  
2. Metta-s  
3. Dhajagga-s  
4. Ratana-s

5 The list of the Chinese version agrees with ChS, except that the Āṭānātiya is called *sutta* rather than *paritta* (but it would be interesting to know the Chinese term rendered here as *paritta*): P. V. Bapat and A. Hirakawa, Shan-Chien-P’i-P’o-Sha, *A Chinese Version by Sanghabhadra of Samantapāsādikā*, Poona, 1970, p. 116. The same list occurs at Patīś-a (PTS) 367.35.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paritta</th>
<th>Sri Mahanga-pārīttha, Dvādaśa-pārīttha, and Sattapārīttha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| A. Paritta | 1. Maṅgala-sutta  
2. Ratana-sutta  
3. Metta-sutta  
4. Khandha-sutta  
5. Mora-sutta  
6. Vajja-sutta  
7. Dhamma-sutta  
8. Ānāthaya-sutta  
9. Angulimaṭha-sutta  
10. Bojhanga-sutta  
11. Puṇṇaṁgā-sutta  
12. Ānattā-sutta  
13. Aparīṭṭhā-sutta  
14. Ākkheṇa-sutta  
15. Āpo-sutta  
16. Vīsapā-sutta  
17. Tustha-sutta  
| B. Sīrīmaṅga-pārīttha | 1. Maṅgala-sutta  
2. Ratana-sutta  
3. Metta-sutta  
4. Khandha-sutta  
5. Mora-paritta  
6. Vajja-paritta  
7. Dhamma-paritta  
8. Ānāthaya-paritta  
9. Angulimaṭha-paritta  
| C. Dvādaśa-pārīttha | 1. Maṅgala-sutta  
2. Ratana-sutta  
3. Metta-sutta  
4. Khandha-paritta  
5. Mora-paritta  
6. Vajja-paritta  
7. Dhamma-paritta  
8. Ānāthaya-paritta  
9. Angulimaṭha-paritta  
10. Bojhanga-paritta  
11. Jaya-paritta  
| D. Sattapārīttha | 1. Maṅgala-sutta  
2. Ratana-sutta  
3. Karaniyamaṇḍita-sutta  
4. Khandha-paritta  
5. Mora-paritta  
6. Dhamma-paritta  
7. Ānāthaya-paritta  
8. Ānattā-sutta  
9. Angulimaṭha-paritta  |

* = same text under different titles

---

19. Maha-ānāthaya-sutta
20. Abhinna-sutta
21. Anatta-sutta
22. Dhamma-paccayena-sutta
23. Maha-siham-paccayena-sutta
24. Paṭṭhānapālī-paccayena-sutta
25. Chādisāpālī-sutta
26. Cakkara-sutta
27. Cakkara-sutta
28. Parimita-sutta
29. Uppasami
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3: The seven <em>Pañcarakṣā</em> in relation to other <em>rakṣā</em> and <em>paritta</em> texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**A. Mahāyāna**

(1) **Mahāpārśasarā-vidyārājī**  
= *Rig pa'i rgyal mo so sor 'bras ba chen mo*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Iwamoto, Chandra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan</td>
<td>D 561, Q 179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tr. Jinamitra, Dānaśila, Ye šes sde, ca. 800 A.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>T 1154, KBC 454, tr. Ratnacinta, 693 A.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T 1153, KBC 1349, tr. Amoghavajra, 8th cent.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Parallels  
*None traced*

**B. Śrāvakayāna**

(2) **Mahāmāyiṛi-vidyāraṣṭī**  
= *Rig snags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo*  

*Śrāvastī-jātaka / Mora-jātaka*  
*Ātānāṭika-sūtra / Ātānāṭiya-sutta*  
*Upaśeṇa-sūtra / Khandha-parītta*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Oldenburg, Takubo, Chandra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan</td>
<td>D 559, Q 178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tr. Śilendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha, Ye šes sde, ca. 800 A.C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Chinese        | 6 translations between 317 and 907  
                 (see Aalto 1954 p. 7) |

**C. Mahāśāhasrapramardani-nāma-mahāyānasūtra**  
= *sTon chen po rab tu 'joms pa žes bya ba'i mdo*  

*Śrāvastī-jātaka / Mora-jātaka*  
*Ātānāṭika-sūtra / Ātānāṭiya-sutta*  
*Upaśeṇa-sūtra / Khandha-parītta*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Iwamoto, Chandra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan</td>
<td>D 558, Q 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tr. Śilendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha, Ye šes sde, ca. 800 A.C.; rev. gZon nu dpal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>T 999, KBC 1096, tr. Dānapāla, 983 A.C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**D. Mahāśīdavana**  
= *bSil ba'i tshal chen mo*  

*Cp. Ātānāṭika-sūtra / Ātānāṭiya-sutta*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>not extant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan</td>
<td>D 562, Q 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tr. Śilendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha, Ye šes sde, ca. 800 A.C.; rev. gZon nu dpal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**E. Mahāśīdavātī-vidyārājī**  
*None traced*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Iwamoto, Chandra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tibetan</td>
<td>D 606, Q 308, tr. Jinamitra, Dānaśila, Ye šes sde, ca. 800 A.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>T 1392, KBC 1104, tr. Fa-t’ien, 984 A.C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME

Professor R.H.B. Exell,
Division of Energy Technology,
Asian Institute of Technology,
P.O. Box 2754, Bangkok 10501,
Thailand.

Jacqueline Filliozat,
École française d'Extrême-Orient,
22, Avenue du Président Wilson,
F-75116 Paris,
France.

Professor O. von Hinüber,
Orientalisches Seminar
(Indologie),
Humboldstr. 5,
D-7800 Freiburg,
Germany.

Laurence C.R. Mills,
Wat Buddha Dhamma,
Wisemans Ferry,
N.S.W.,
Australia.

K.R. Norman,
6, Huttles Green,
Shepreth,
Royston,
Herts SG8 6PR.

Professor Gregory Schopen,
SSB 4.126,
Center for Asian Studies,
University of Texas at Austin,
Austin, TX 78712,
U.S.A.

Peter Skilling,
49/20 Soi Ruam Rudee 3,
Ploenchit,
Bangkok 10330,
Thailand.

---

(5A) Mahāmārtamādaratī

Sanskrit: not extant
Tibetan: D 563, Q 181, Tr. Silendrabodhi, P. Tshultrim, Sūnyaprabha, Ye sles sde, ca. 800 A.C.
Chinese: none

(SB) Mahāmārtamāsūtra

Sanskrit: not extant
Tibetan: T 11048, KBC 1102, Tr. Pa-tien, 984 A.C.
Chinese: none

NOTICE FROM THE COUNCIL

RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS IN PALI STUDIES

The Council of the Pali Text Society invite applications for Research Fellowships from suitably qualified persons, working in the field of Pali studies. Applicants will usually be in the fourth year of a course of graduate research, or its equivalent. The course of research will be expected to lead to publishable material, on the publication rights of which the Pali Text Society will have first option.

Fellowships will be tenable for one year in the first instance, with a possibility of renewal. When fixing the value, account will be taken of the appropriate level for a comparable research worker in the applicant’s country of domicile. Letters of application and requests for information should be sent to:

Mr K.R. Norman,
c/o Pali Text Society,
73 Lime Walk,
Headington,
Oxford OX3 7AD.

EDITORIAL NOTICE

The Council of the Pali Text Society plan to continue publication of the Journal on an ad hoc basis, as and when sufficient material of a publishable standard is received.

The Journal will publish short Pali texts, translations, and commentaries on texts, catalogues and handlists of Pali books and manuscripts, and similar material.

Papers should be sent to Mr K.R. Norman, at the above address.

To reduce printing costs, contributors are urged, whenever possible, to present their papers in a camera-ready copy form.