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CASE HISTORIES FROM THE PĀLI CANON I:¹

THE SĀMAṆĀPHALA SUTTA
HYPOTHETICAL CASE HISTORY
OR
HOW TO BE SURE TO WIN A DEBATE

Case histories in contemporary psychology

It has been observed "that the great novels are source books for psychologists, or that they are case histories (i.e. illustrative, typical examples)."²

What is a case history?
In Western psychology, case histories are defined as follows:

"a compilation of information which includes all available data on background, test results, interviews, ratings, diagnoses, etc., concerning an individual subject of a study. The case-history method is most frequently utilized ... for the practical purpose of diagnosis and prognosis. However, after the study of a number of individual cases, the clinician or sociologist may formulate theoretical principles or generalisations about some aspect of behaviour."³

¹ These investigations were supported by the Foundation for Research in the field of Theology and the Science of Religions in the Netherlands, which is subsidized by the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.), and in part constitute Chapters VI and VII of my doctoral dissertation, Debates and Case Histories in the Pali Canon, Utrecht, 1991.
² Wellek and Warren, 1966 : 35.
³ Chaplin, 1975 : s.v. "case history".

"A record of an individual's experience, illnesses, education, environment, treatment, and, generally, all facts relevant to the particular problems involved in a medical or clinical case."\(^4\)

The case history method is explained,

"... This biographical method was developed and refined predominantly by the proponents of psychoanalysis ... as an instrument of research; to the analysis of life they added the investigation of experience. Case histories can be interpreted either qualitatively or quantitatively. The qualitative interpretation corresponds to the research approach of the psychology of "understanding" ... and thus psychoanalysis or depth psychology ... too."\(^5\)

The case history is thus an account of significant events in a person's life recorded for a particular reason and different types of case history will be produced for example by historians, sociologists, doctors or psychotherapists. Here we are concerned only with the type of case history produced by psychologists, psychotherapists, psychoanalysts, meditation teachers, and so forth.

The psychological case history sets out to address both practical and theoretical problems. Its starting point is the compilation of information. This information will include as much detail about the person's past as is relevant. It is collected so that the therapist can make a diagnosis of the client's present state, a prognosis: "a prediction of the outcome of a particular condition, including some indication of its expected duration, severity, and probably final status";\(^6\) and plan a course of therapy.

The second feature of a case history is regular assessment. The evolution of the case is recorded and diagnoses and prognoses are reviewed and kept up to date. This is the therapist's means of keeping track of the changes the client is going through. Fundamental here is the therapist's expectation that during the course of the treatment the client will enter a process within which he will make progress through certain stages, and reach a defined goal. The third feature concerns generalisations that may be made after the study of a number of individual case histories. These are especially interesting as they are, in fact, hypothetical case histories. They predict the stages a person will go through in his life and in his therapy. Among the most famous examples of these in contemporary psychology are Freud's oral, anal and phallic stages, Erikson's eight ages of man,\(^7\) Grof's Basic Perinatal Matrices,\(^8\) and Wilbur's Spectrum of Consciousness.\(^9\) The second definition mentions specifically medical or clinical cases, but Grof, for example, or Wilbur, could be regarded as providing spiritual hypothetical case histories, i.e. hypothetical case histories concerning the evolution of the Soul or of the Self, or of the Higher Self, or of the Not-self, depending on the word one chooses to use. These spiritual hypothetical case histories are, at the same time, paths to Enlightenment, however this "Enlightenment" is defined.

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\(^4\) Drever, 1964: s.v. "case history".

\(^5\) Eysinck, 1975: s.v. "case history method".

\(^6\) Chaplin, 1975: s.v. "prognosis".


\(^8\) Grof 1975: 102-103; 1985: 103-105.

Case histories in Buddhist psychology

Buddhist psychology presents itself as a psychology of Enlightenment. Among the theoretical aspects of this psychology are those concerned with certain defined states of consciousness and stages of attainment, the methods that will lead to achieving them, and the obstacles that may stand in the way. Whenever soteriological methods are described, they are shown to result in psychological processes, viz., sequences of mental acts of understanding or sequences of affective states or a combination of these or the attainment of trance states (jhāna). Particular processes lead to defined states or stages of attainment. The texts have a large variety of ways of presenting these processes, states and stages. Several schemas of stages exist side by side. No convincing mapping of one schema to the other, however, nor any discussion of the relationships between schemas is provided. One problem with which we are faced, therefore, is that of the relationship between these various systems of stages and sequences of states and processes.

Three different types of Case histories occur in these texts: (1) case histories of Buddhas, (2) hypothetical case histories, (3) actual case histories of converts and disciples. Among the case histories of Buddhas are the standard case history for Buddhas, that of Vipassī (DN 14), and the historical Buddha's case history: rather self-evidently the former is there to authenticate the latter. A hypothetical case history is a standard account of what the Buddha predicts will happen to somebody who follows his method. It describes the developmental process through which the serious practitioner who follows the method is likely to go. It describes how he is expected to develop in terms of cognitive and affective factors, particular experiences and insights, the acquisition of new abilities and the attainment of the Altered States of Consciousness whose sequential attainment is predicted upon the practice of the Buddha's method. It presents the general case, and provides the theoretical basis for a diagnosis. Most case histories come within this category. Actual case histories of converts and disciples, which unfortunately occur rather rarely, tell what happened to supposedly historical individuals through their practice of the Buddha's method. They occur most frequently in Consultations. In these situations the progress and attainments of a given individual are diagnosed and discussed, in personal interviews with the Buddha, or by the Buddha with other monks. These personal case histories contain brief information about the practitioner's background in the form of the religious or social group to which he belongs. They provide some sort of description of his present state and problems. They contain the counselling that was offered and the progress he made using it. These case histories provide an interesting and important contrast with the ideal or hypothetical model. They illustrate the human element, the individual problems encountered by individuals trying to follow the way.

The case histories face us with particular problems. Buddhist literature, as well as attempting to be an accurate record of the Buddha's Teaching, is propaganda. It is propaganda both for the purpose of attracting new converts and for the purpose of promulgating the Buddha's Teaching. Case histories are both demonstrations of the Buddha's method in action and proof of its efficacy. Many questions have to be asked about them. These include what purpose the individual case histories (of whatever type) serve in their contexts, and whether the different types of case history serve different purposes. Hypothetical case histories especially face us with the problem concerning the extent to

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11 See Barceau, 1970 for an attempt to differentiate the mythical from the historical material.
13 See Manné, 1990 : 61, Consultations.
which they genuinely relate to the actual experiences of any real practitioner. On the question of method, case histories show where the texts are consistent or otherwise in their presentation of the relationship between method and achievement. They confront us with the fact that there were several alternative developmental possibilities, each leading to its own particular set of achievements before arriving at the same final goal. On the question of processes of development, case histories confront us with the problem of the mutual relationship between the various sequences and stages of development. The case histories face us with particular problems but they also provide us with the means to solve them. They are presented in the texts in a highly schematised way and so they can be collected and collated, anomalies can be discerned, the problems referred to above appear in clear relief, and explanations are possible.

The Dīgha, Majjhima, Samyutta and Aṅguttara Nikāyas with the poetry of the Thera and Therigatha, are the texts, that contain the case histories. There are no case histories in the Abhidhamma texts except for the Paggalapatiñatti, and very few in the Vinaya. Certain types of case histories occur only in certain genres of suttas. I have chosen two frequently occurring case histories for this study.

THE SĀMAṆĀPHALA SUTTA
HYPOTHETICAL CASE HISTORY
- OR HOW TO BE SURE TO WIN A DEBATE

1 Introduction

The Sāmaññaphala Sutta (henceforth SPS), paragraphs 40–98, contains a hypothetical case history (henceforth HCH) a standard account of what the Buddha predicts will happen to someone who follows his method. The formula that I call the Sāmaññaphala Sutta hypothetical case history (henceforth abbreviated to SPS-HCH) has been much studied.15 My interest in this formula is in terms of its quality as a case history and in terms of its context: it is so frequently placed within the debate situation.16 The HCH which the Sāmaññaphala Sutta contains describes a training towards, and the attainment of, a sequence of soteriological achievements, a process which begins with the attainment of faith in the Tathāgata, and which ends with the attainment of Liberation. We know that this case history is hypothetical because the subject of this case history is introduced by the phrase, "a householder, or the son of a householder, or someone who has come to be reborn in a different group",17 i.e. any person who may belong to any of these (first two) groups or any other. In other words: the general case. This HCH is repeated in more or less similar form in various places in the Nikāyas,18 but most strikingly in the 11 suttas that follow the SPS in the DN. Schmithausen has already remarked that it does not occur at all in the SN.19 Because of its location in the Pali texts I will take Sāmaññaphala Sutta version as the basic version with which I will compare all of the others. This is simply a convenience, and does not imply in any way that I consider this version to be the original one.20 Equally it is for convenience that I refer to this genre of hypothetical case history as the SPS-HCH.

15 See, e.g. Meisig (1987), who has compared the various versions of it; Griffiths (1983), who has attempted a form-critical analysis; MacQueen (1988); etc.
17 gaḥapati vā gaḥapati-putto vā aññatarasmiṃ vā kule paccājīto.
18 DN, suttas 2 - 23; MN, suttas 27, 38, 51, 76, 79, 101, 112, 125; AN II 208 - 211, V 204 - 209.
19 Schmithausen, 1981 : 204, fn. 15.
20 The equivalent of the Ambattha Sutta takes a comparable position in the Chinese Dirghāgama.
2 The textual situations of the Case History genre SPS-HCH

The case history is presented in I.3 below in a schematised form comprising major five stages.

This case history occurs in these 12 DN suttas: the Sāmaññaphala Sutta (2), the Ambatțha Sutta (3), the Sonođana Sutta (4), the Kuttadanta Sutta (5), the Mahali Sutta (6), the Jāliya Sutta (7), the Kassapa Sihanāda Sutta (8), the Poṭṭhapāda Sutta (9), the Subha Sutta (10), the Kevaddha Sutta (11), the Lohicca Sutta (12), the Tevijja Sutta (13); and in 8 MN suttas: the Cūḷahatthipadopama Sutta (27), the Mahātanhausankhaya Sutta (38), the Kandaraka Sutta (51), the Sandaka Sutta (76), the Cūḷasakkaludāyi Sutta (79), the Devadaha Sutta (101), the Chabbisodhana Sutta (112), the Dantabhūmi Sutta (125); and in part in AN II 208 - 211, V 204 - 209. All of the DN examples are more-or-less exact repetitions of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta version with the exception of the Tevijja Sutta which introduces the brahmavihāras. For convenience I take the Cūḷahatthipadopama Sutta (27) as the basic MN sutta with which to compare all of the other MN versions. The principle difference between the DN and the MN versions is that in the MN the many similes are omitted. All of the MN examples are more-or-less exact repetitions of the Cūḷahatthipadopama Sutta (27), except the Mahātanhausankhaya Sutta (MN 38), which follows SPS-HCH up to the jhānas, Stage III, and then continues with a different practice or process (HCH) which leads to release through the destruction of craving, tanhausankhayavimutti. AN ii 208-211 follows MN 27, the MN model sutta, but omits all of Stage IV. AN V 204-209 follows the jhānas with the four āyatana.21

21 ākāsa-āyatana, viññāna-āyatana, ākīnaññāyatana, nevasaññānaññāyatana.

3 The developmental schema of the SPS-HCH

I first present the developmental schema of this hypothetical case history, and then, further on in this paper, discuss the psychological process it implies.

This HCH describes a process of development through certain defined stages. I call an entire sequence of stages of development a developmental schema.

The DN texts tend to divide this HCH into three parts, while the MN version is briefer and there this schema is not divided into sections. Although the DN is not entirely consistent in its naming of divisions, I will respect the divisions it uses most frequently.22 I will, however, divide these parts up further for ease of textual comparison, and to make the process of psychological development they describe easier to understand. Those portions that the MN basic sutta, MN 27, has in common with the basic DN sutta, DN 2, are marked with an * in the schema below. In section 1.6.2 I present the MN schema itself. All references unless otherwise specified are to the paragraphs of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, DN 2. Terms not translated in the schema will be found translated in section 4 below.

STAGE 1 The Pre-requisites, called SĪLA, "code of morality"

§§ 40 - 63

* i Hearing the Dhamma from a Tathāgata, acquiring faith, and going forth (§§ 40, 41)

* ii Practising the code of morality, sīlas (§§ 43 - 63; * MN has only §§ 43 - 45)

STAGE II The cultivation of the mind, variously named CARANĀ (DN 3), PAÑÑĀ (DN 4), CITTA (DN 8), SAMĀDHĪ (DN 10)

§§ 64 - 74

* i Guarding the door of the senses, indriyas (§ 64)\(^\text{21}\)

* ii Becoming endowed with sati and sampajānīna (§ 65)

* iii Contentment - santutthā (§ 66)

* iv Appropriate nourishment; seeking isolation (§ 67)

* v Abandoning the five hindrances - nivarana.

(§§ 68 - 74;\(^\text{24}\). MN has only § 68.\(^\text{25}\))

STAGE III Transcending the mind, variously included in CARANĀ (DN 3), PAÑÑĀ (DN 4), or SAMĀDHĪ (DN 10), or beginning a section called SIKKHĀ (DN I 182). §§ 75 - 82, * MN has §§ 75, 77, 79, 81.\(^\text{26}\)

The jhāna\(^\text{27}\)

i The first jhāna is "accompanied by thought and reflection, born from separation, and consists of joy and bliss."\(^\text{28}\)

ii "The second jhāna is the result of appeasing thought and reflection; it is an inner tranquilization, a unification of the mind, free from thought and

\(^{21}\) DN 9, I 182, may mean that this was considered a stage in itself.

\(^{24}\) This is the chief characteristic of the oppapātha in the Four Stages HCH, (see following chapter).

\(^{25}\) Here and in other places, indicated below, MN consistently omits the similes that so abundantly illuminate the DN version.

\(^{26}\) Once again omitting the similes.

\(^{27}\) The translations are paraphrases from Bronkhorst, 1986 : 16f. Bronkhorst translated MN i 247 which I have cited. In this sutta the Buddha is speaking about his experiences. I have kept the translation impersonal.

\(^{28}\) sāvītakkaṃ savicārāṃ vivekaṇāṃ pittisukhaṃ.

STAGE IV Developing the transpersonal Powers, variously named VIJJĀ (DN 3) or PAÑÑĀ (DN 4, 8, 10)

§§ 83 - 96.

The development of the following sequence of extraordinary abilities:

i Knowing and seeing, viz. awareness of the material nature of the body (§§ 83, 84).

ii The capacity to manifest a body through the power of mental intention (§§ 85, 86).

iii Various iddhis (§§ 87, 88).

iv Clair-audience (§§ 89, 90).

\(^{29}\) ajjhattam sampasādanam cetaso ekodhibhāvanam avitakkam avicāram samādhihājanam pittisukhaṃ.

\(^{30}\) pīṭiyā ca virāgā upekkhā ca vihāśin sato ca sampajāno, sukhāna ca kāvena pattisamvedesiṃ yan tam ariyā ācikkhati: upekkhā satimā sukhavihari 'ti.

\(^{31}\) sukhassā ca pahānā dakkhasa ca pahānā pubbe 'va somanassadomanassānam atthagāmā adukkhāhīm asukhām upēkhaśati pārisuddhiṃ.
v The capacity to deeply understand the heart and mind of others in a defined way (§§ 91, 92).

*vi Knowing the details of one's former lives (§§ *93, 94).

*vii Awareness of the transmigrational future of others, including the development of the dhamma-cakkhu (§§ *95, 96).

STAGE V Liberation

§§ *97, 98.

i Knowledge of the destruction of the āsavas, in terms of the existence of, the rising of, the ceasing of, and the path to the cessation of both suffering (dukkha) and the āsavas.

ii Knowledge that the mind is released from the āsavas.

iii Knowing that, according to precisely defined criteria, he has succeeded, viz. Khīnā jāti visiṭṭha brahma-cariyāṃ katam karaṇīyaṃ nāparaṃ itthattāya.

4 The quality of the process in the developmental schema

It is easy to see that a very beautiful and alluring process is described here. An ordinary person, no-one particularly special, no-one particularly endowed in any way, hearing the Tathāgata speak, is filled with faith in him, and is inspired and converted by his message. Because of this he changes his mind about the kind of life he has been leading, which has been a domestic life. He perceives that it is limited, and not suitable for one who wants to follow a religious life. He decides to become a monk and commits himself to various practices. He lives according to the restraints of the Pātimokkha, the Vinaya rules, perfect in his practice of right behaviour and perceiving the danger in the minutest transgression he trains, perfecting himself in the meritorious deeds of body, deed and word. He becomes completely pure in his means of livelihood and perfect in the code of morality (sīla-sampanna) - a very extensive and intense training for the most part in behaviour, but also in mental attitudes. He constrains his social behaviour: he refrains from taking life and using violence, stealing, and cheating. He disciplines his verbal behaviour: abstaining from false speech, deceiving others, malicious speech, the kind of gossip that stirs up trouble and disputes, coarse speech, frivolous talk, and arguments of particular types, and he cultivates truthfulness, being reliable and trustworthy, using uplifting speech, speaking at the appropriate time and with the appropriate content, namely atta, dhamma, and vinaya. He disciplines his eating and his dress. He gives away his property. He practises chastity. He gives up playing various games and earning a living in unsuitable ways, for example, through any sort of magic or prediction. He avoids harming any living thing, including seeds and plants.

He takes responsibility for the contents of his mind by cultivating certain mental attitudes: modesty, compassion towards all beings, and positive thinking, in the form of cultivating confidence that he will get the supplies of robes and almsfood that he needs. He is watchful over the doors of his sense faculties (indriyas). Thus he prevents covetousness and dejection (abhijjhā-domannassā) and other evil and unprofitable (mental) states from overcoming him. He makes himself perfect in awareness over mind and body (sati, sampajañña). He attains a state of contentment (santuṭṭha). At this point he seeks isolation. He finds a solitary place, adopts the appropriate body posture (by sitting cross-legged with his body erect) and begins his mental practice. Taking mindfulness (sati) as his object he sets about purifying his mind by expelling certain tendencies and thought-patterns and replacing them with others. He purifies his mind of covetousness for the world (abhijjhā
loke), ill-will (vyāpāda), inflexibility (ṭhāna)\textsuperscript{32} and torpor (mīḍḍha), agitation (uddhacca) and regret (kākkucca),\textsuperscript{33} and doubt (vicikiccha).\textsuperscript{34}

At the end of this process, "when he perceives that he has abandoned the five hindrances, delight arises in him, and joy at that delight, and his body calms down through consciousness of that joy, and his calm body feels happy, and the mind of one who is happy is concentrated." From this state he enters the jhānas: he experiences the first jhāna, "which is accompanied by thought and reflection, born from separation, and consists of joy and bliss"; the second jhāna, "which is an inner tranquillity, a unification of the mind, free from thought and recollection, consisting of joy and bliss that is born from concentration"; the third jhāna, which is attained through detachment from joy, attentiveness and mindfulness, and in which is experienced the bliss which the noble ones describe as "indifference, with attentiveness, residing in bliss"; the fourth jhāna, which is attained "as a result of abandoning bliss, and abandoning pain, [and] as the result of the earlier disappearance of cheerfulness and dejection, [and] which is free from pain and bliss, the complete purity of equanimity and attentiveness.\textsuperscript{35}

His mind (citta) is now in a particular condition. It is composed, cleansed, pure, free from blemish and without defilement. It is malleable, workable, steadfast, and imperturbable. At this point he cultivates transcendant insights and powers. He applies his mind to knowing and seeing (nānadassana) and thereby he recognises that his body is material (rūpin), is composed of the four great elements, comes about through mother and father, grows/is maintained by boiled rice and sour milk, and that its nature, on account of erosion, abrasion, dissolution and disintegration, is impermanent, and that his consciousness is dependent upon and bound to it. He applies his mind further, to producing a body made through the power of his mind (manomayān kāyam). He applies his mind to the modes of psychic power (iddhi): he multiplies himself, and re-becomes one; he transplaces himself, physical objects being no obstacle; he passes through the earth, and over the water, he goes through the air; he touches the moon and the sun with his hand; he transports his body to the Brahma world. He applies his mind to clair-audience, hearing both the sounds of gods and of men. He applies his mind to the knowledge that understands the minds of other beings and of other men, so that he recognises in them the presence or absence of passion,\textsuperscript{36} blemishes, delusion, attentive or distracted, greatness or littleness, inferiority or peerlessness; concentration or dissipation, and whether the mind is released or otherwise. He applies his mind to the detailed knowledge of his former existences including his pleasant and unpleasant experiences. He acquires clairvoyance, and applies his mind to the knowledge of the decease and rebirth of other beings, recognising in them as they transmigrate according to their deeds whether they are base or of good quality, well or ill-favoured, or in a good or unpleasant reincarnation. He recognises those beings who indulged in mispractices in body, speech and mind, who spoke against noble people, who held wrong views and attracted the karma and rebirth associated with this. He recognises those beings who practised correctly in body, speech and mind, who did not speak against the enlightened ones, who held right views and attracted the karma and rebirth associated with this.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{32} Frauwallner, 1953 : 166, "Starrheid".
\textsuperscript{33} "Reue", Frauwallner, 1953 : 167.
\textsuperscript{34} This is the accomplishment of the cultivation of the mind, or Stage II, DN 2, paras 64 - 74.
\textsuperscript{35} The translations of the descriptions of the jhānas are taken from Bronkhorst, 1986 : 16f but are somewhat freely adapted to fit in with this account of the case history. This is the accomplishment of the transcending of the mind, or Stage III, DN 2, paras 75 - 82.

\textsuperscript{36} See Johansson 1969 and 1979 for some discussion of the terms used here.
\textsuperscript{37} This is the accomplishment of the development of the transpersonal powers or Stage IV, DN 2, paras 40 - 62.
The SPS-HCH is subdivided or subcategorised according to convenience in order to provide the answer to the challenges of these Debate Suttas. Discussing every instance would serve no purpose, so I will illustrate this exploitation of the SPS-HCH with just two DN examples, the Ambattha Sutta (3) and the Sonandana Sutta (4). Further examples will occur in the ensuing discussion. In the Ambattha Sutta Stages I - III are taught as carana and Stages IV and V as vijja in order to explain to Ambattha a verse uttered by the Buddha. The origin of this verse is unknown but we may believe it to be brahmanical as the text attributes it to Brahma Kumara, the Buddha quotes it while debating with a brahman youth and one part of his line of attack in this debate is to prove that he knows more than either the brahman or their teachers do about their own religion. This verse claims that it is conduct (carana) and wisdom (vijja) that make a man best among gods and men, which accounts for these divisions in this sutta. In the Sonandana Sutta, Stages I and II are taught as sīla and Stages III - V as pañña, in order to explain the practical meaning of these terms to the brahmans who do not understand their import but know only that these are the essential qualities that make a man a brahman.

Where in the DN the use of this HCH is strictly limited to the dramatic (live) debate situation, in the MN, although this HCH serves the same purpose, i.e. that of winning the debate, the texts are freer in the way they use it. In the Cūlahatthipadoma Sutta (MN 27), where it is uttered to complete a simile that compares the four "footprints" of the Buddha to those of an elephant, and thus to bring to a conclusion a debate between the Buddha and Jánušsoṇi, a brahman, it is the recital of this HCH that brings Jánušsoṇi to concede defeat. In the Mahānāmasaṅkhaya Sutta (MN 38) this HCH is used in part (up to the five hindrances) when a foolish monk is drilled in the Teaching.

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38 Stage V.
40 See Manné, 1990.
41 A different HCH, i.e. not the SPS-HCH, follows at this point.
Kandaraka Sutta (MN 51) it is used to designate a certain character type: the implied debate situation here is that the other types described follow other religious practices (or wrong professions), ascetical or brahman, i.e. they are hypothetical opponents. In the Sandaka Sutta (MN 76), Ananda, having won a debate with a group of wanderers through different arguments, and having forced his opponent to question him, uses it to describe what the Buddha teaches. In the Cūja-Sakaludāyi Sutta it is used to explain why the monks follow the Buddha Teaching. In the Devadaha Sutta (MN 101), where it occurs within a reported debate between the Buddha and some Jains, this HCH is the way the Buddha concludes his answer to the Jain position on pain. In the Chabbisodhana Sutta (MN 112) the Buddha proclaims that when a monk answers with this HCH, applying it to his own personal process, then his claim to profound knowledge (ānātha) can be accepted; this may be an attempt by redactors to authenticate this HCH as a process of development. In the Dantabhūmi Sutta (MN 125) the Buddha informs a monk who had had no success in a debate with prince Jayasena that this HCH would have been the answer with which to defeat the prince.

6 The authenticity of the SPS-HCH as a case history

6.1 The question of authenticity

Authenticity and buddhavacana

The first problem to be dealt with on the issue of authenticity is whether we may justifiably believe that the Buddha actually uttered the utterances attributed to him in the texts. What we may justifiably believe depends on evidence. It seems a good idea to say that there is no evidence that could prove that the Buddha ever spoke a word among all of those attributed to him by any text whatever. What we can do is examine the texts on their individual merits and make judgements on the plausibility of their contexts. We can, I think, believe on the evidence that the Buddha engaged in debate with other religious leaders: the texts contain so much information on this subject that it is hard to believe that it is all pure invention, and moreover, there is great consistency of details between the Buddhist and the Vedic tradition. We can, I think, also trust the reciters

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42 See Manné, 1990.
sufficiently in this case, because it is relatively free of anomalies, and believe that if this passage was not the Buddha's way of winning a debate, then something like it which has suffered changes over time served this purpose.

**Authenticity and Case Histories**

By the term "authenticity" in the context of case histories, I mean whether we may be convinced that any monk, or the Buddha himself, experienced a particular sequence of developmental stages, through the practice of the Buddha's method.

### 6.2 The authenticity of the individual stages.

Let us consider the ingredients of this case history, considering the authenticity of each of the stages in turn.

**Stage I**

The authenticity of the elements of Stage I, the *sūtras* poses no problem. In the *Brahmajāla Sutta* (S.1) of the DN the Buddha describes Stage I, the *sūtras*, designating the virtues that they contain as those that any ordinary man (*puthujjana*) is capable of appreciating. This indicates that even the least and most minor religious leader was expected to adhere to this moral code, and that they were, therefore, common to all liberation-oriented religions or spiritual paths of the time.

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47 Unlike the example of the concept of the "lion's roar". See Manné, 1992: 121, fn.14 and forthcoming.
48 Paras. 40 - 62 here, = paras. 8 - 27 of the *Brahmajāla Sutta*.
49 *Idam kho tam bhikkhave appamattakam oramattakam silamattakam yena puthujjano Tathāgatassa vanāna vadamanā no vadeyya*. DN I 12. "These, brethren, are the trifling matters, the minor details, of mere morality, of which the unconverted man, when praising the Tathāgata, might speak." Tr. T.W. Rhys Davids, DB i 28.

**Stage II**

Here we find miscellaneous elements. I do not know how to evaluate their likely authenticity. Developing the *indriyas* is a requirement for the attainment of *opapātika* while abandoning the five hindrances is the criteria for *anāgāmi*. Both of these stages form part of the second case history which is the subject of the following article, 'Case Histories from the Pali Canon II: The Four Stages (*sotāpanna*, *sakadāgāmin*, *anāgāmin*, *arahat*) case history - spiritual materialism and the need for tangible results.'

**Stages III and V**

The authenticity and originality of the *jhānas*, which fall into Stage III of the schema I have proposed for this HCH, and the destruction of the intoxicants (*āsavas*), Stage V, have been firmly established by Bronkhorst, as has the practice of mindfulness (*sati*), Stage II, ii here. The authenticity of an individual element in this HCH, however, is not sufficient to prove the authenticity of the whole as a genuine process of development.

**Stage IV**

This is the stage of developing the transpersonal or paranormal powers. About these I quote at length from Lee Siegel's timely book, *Net of Magic: Wonders and Deceptions in India*,

"The confusion, Indian as well as European, of magician-entertainers with magician-yogis was natural and intentionally precipitated. Street performers earned their livelihood by capitalizing on the asocation, by imitating or

50 Bronkhorst, 1986: 88f."
impersonating those mendicant ascetics who, for over two thousand years in India, having renounced their domestic and social roles and having severed all attachments to the world to wander here and there in a penance for their birth, have been supported with the alms of pious members of society wanting, through their offerings, to have some redemptive share in the vagabond renouncer's holiness. Through ascetic practices, wandering sannyasis were (and are) believed to attain supernatural powers, the powers of Shiva, siddhis, which, like every other aspect of life and death in India, have been systematically catalogued and normatively categorized: animan (the power to become minute or, for the magician, disappearance) and mahiman (the power to become large); laghiman (the ability to become light, to levitate) and gariman (the power to become heavy); prāpti (the skill of attaining things, effecting materializations, or, as explained by the traditional commentators on the Yogasūtras of Patañjali [3.45], having the ability to touch the moon with one's fingertip); prākāmya (the power to will things so - telekinesis); iśīva (a power over the will of others - hypnosis) and vaśīva (a power to subdue one's own will - self-hypnosis). Demonstrations of any of these skills are proof of holy perfection and perfect holiness. The Buddha, that son of Maya, Queen Magic, is frequently referred to and depicted as a magician, a māyāvin. [here Siegel quotes Stage IV, iii.] ...

"I've seen versions of the same tricks performed by entertainers. ...

"The magical potencies of the Buddha, abhiñās and Rddhis - telepathy and telekinesis, clairvoyance, clairaudience, and clairsentience - were, it was postulated, acquired or realized in advanced meditation. ...

"Because there was money to be made, alms for ascetics and offerings for incarnate gods, money given in exchange for a participation in the holiness that supernatural feats were thought to express or represent, every street magician had a version of the siddhis, Rddhis and abhiñās. As the wandering holy man seemed to be a magician, so the wondering magician seemed to be a holy man. And there was (and is) power, cash or esteem, in holiness."51

I think this says eloquently and adequately what there is to be said about the attainments that belong to this stage.

In order to win the debate, the Teaching had to be shown to contain everything: moral discipline (Stage I), mental discipline (Stage II, i - iii), ascetic practice (Stage II, iv), altered states of consciousness in the form of trance states (Stage III), transpersonal and magical powers (Stage IV), as well as the Liberation which was its goal (Stage V).

6.3 The DN Version

The DN suttas are very keen to prove the authenticity of this HCH, which is hardly surprising. They put it into Ānanda's mouth in DN 10, where he teaches it as "the three factors the Buddha used to praise, which he would use to arouse the people, to bring them into his teaching and to establish them there: the noble factor of sīla, the noble factor of samādhi and the noble factor of paññā."52 This sutta contains so few of the features of the other debates that it is mainly classifiable as a "debate sutta" because it contains this HCH and because of its location in this

52 "Tīnām kho mānava khandhānam so Bhagavā vanā-vādi ahosi, ettha ca imam janatam samādapesi nivesesi patitṭhāpesi. . Ariyassa silakkhandhassa, ariyassa samādhikhandhassa, ariyassa paññakkhandhassa. (§ 6)."
Nikāya. It is evidence that at some stage the Digha bhānakas needed to put Ānanda’s authority behind their version of this account.

In spite of this attempt, many factors point against any attribution of authenticity to this HCH as an genuine case history and path to Enlightenment. One of these is the flexibility with which it is divided and adapted. Some examples were given above (the Ambatthā and the Sonaṇḍaṇa sutta, DN 3 and 4). There are, however, cases in the DN where this HCH is adapted with rather more serious implications regarding the Buddha’s Teaching. One of these occurs in the Poṭṭhapāda Sutta (DN 9); the Buddha is challenged to explain how the cessation of consciousness, abhisanā-nirodha, comes about. He replies by means of the HCH Stages I and II. Then he teaches the stages (āyatana) where “space is infinite” (ākāsānāca), “knowledge is infinite” (viññānānāca), “there is nothing” (ākīnca) and “there is neither ideation nor non-ideation” (nevasaḥṭanāsaḥṭa), known collectively as the four ariyā, which are an unusual interpolation in this context, and further he teaches that the process culminates in cessation (so nirodham phusati), which is also unusual. Bronkhorst has brought forward convincing evidence that points to a time when these stages were not accepted by at least some Buddhists and considers that they do not form a part of original Buddhism. Another instance where the HCH is adapted with rather serious implications occurs in the Tevijī Sutta (DN 13), where, rather suddenly, the qualities of mind mettā, karunā, muditā and upakhā, known collectively as the brahmavihāras, appear as elements in the HCH, and the bhikkhu pervades the world with these (paras. 76 - 79). These too Bronkhorst has shown to be neither uniquely nor originally Buddhist. Moreover, the “pēs”, or shorthand signals in the text that portions are to be repeated in this sutta make it uncertain whether the HCH in its entirety is included in the Buddha’s treatment of the path to companionship with Brahmā (brahmānām sahaṇātāya magga) and supplemented by the brahmavihāras, or whether Stages III is omitted and substituted by them.

6.4 The MN Version

The MN has its own version of this HCH which is much simpler than the DN version. The schema is worth presenting separately.

The MN Schema

STAGE I The Pre-requisites
i  Hearing the Dhamma from a Tathāgata, acquiring faith, and going forth (§§ 40, 41)
ii  Practising the code of morality, silas (MN has only §§ 43 - 45)

STAGE II The cultivation of the mind
i  Guarding the door of the senses, indriyas (§ 64)
ii  Becoming endowed with sati and sampajañña (§ 65)
iii Contentment - santutthā (§ 66)
iv  Appropriate nourishment; seeking isolation (§ 67)
v  Abandoning the five hindrances - nivaranas (§ 68)

53 Bronkhorst, 1986 : 82.
54 See Bronkhorst, 1986 : 86.
55 Bronkhorst, 1986 : 87f

56 PTSD, s.v. peyyāla, "On syllable pe Trencker, Notes 66, says: ‘The sign of abridgement, pe ..., means peyyāla which is not an imperative ‘insert, fill up the gap,’ but a substantive peyyālo or peyyālam, signifying a phrase to be repeated over & over again.”

57 DN I 250, fn. 5.
58 The paragraph numbers are those from the DN version.
STAGE III Transcending the mind

The jhānas (§§ 75, 77, 79, 81)

STAGE IV Developing the transpersonal Powers

vi Knowing the details of one's former lives (§§ 93)

vii Awareness of the transmigrational future of others, including the development of the dhamma-cakkhu (§§ 95)

STAGE V Liberation, § 97

i Knowledge of the destruction of the āsavas, in terms of the existence of, the rising of, the ceasing of, and the path to the cessation of both suffering (dukkha) and the āsavas

ii Knowledge that the mind is released from the āsavas

iii Knowing that, according to precisely defined criteria, he has succeeded, viz. Khinā jāti vusitaṁ brahmacariyaṁ katam karaniyaṁ nāparam itthattāya

The MN version lacks most of the paranormal or transpersonal powers that are so important in Stage IV of the DN version. Those that remain occur also among the Ten Powers of the Tathāgata and within Sāriputta's lion's roar. With regard to (vi), knowing the details of one's past lives, past life work forms an increasing part of the modern therapeutical experience in the work of therapists of different theoretical allegiances. knowing something about one's former lives seems to be useful for solving problems in the present life. This section of the MN is more plausible than the same section of the DN version.

The Mahātanāsāntākha Sutta (MN 38) makes a particular adaptation. It follows SPS-HCH up to the jhānas, Stage III, and then continues with a different process (HCH): release through the destruction of craving, tanhāsāntākha vimutti. This process comprises a certain relationship to the products of the workings of the six senses: the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body and the mind. The relationship is identical with regard to each of these senses. It is:

"When he has seen a material shape through the eye, [heard a sound through the ear, smelt a scent with the nose, savoured a taste with the tongue, felt a touch with the body, known a mental object with the mind] he does not feel attraction for agreeable material shapes, [sounds, etc.], he does not feel repugnance for disagreeable material shapes [sounds, etc.]; and he dwells with mindfulness aroused as to the body, with a mind that is immeasurable; and he comprehends that freedom of mind and that freedom through intuitive wisdom as they really are, whereby those evil unskilled states of his are stopped without remainder. He who has thus got rid of compliance and antipathy, whatever feeling he feels — pleasant or painful or neither painful nor pleasant — he does not delight in that feeling, does not welcome it or persist in cleaving to it. From not delighting in that feeling of his, from not welcoming it, from not

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59 Manné (forthcoming), quote (8), (viii) and (ix).
60 Manné (forthcoming), quote (14), (xvi) and (xvii).
61 Moody, 1976; Netherton and Shiffrin, 1978; Woolger, 1988. Moody is a psychiatrist. Netherton is a psychologist. Woolger is a Jungian analyst. The literature on this subject is much wider than the three books cited. I have chosen these because they are among the classics on this subject.
persisting in cleaving to it, whatever was delight in those feelings is stopped. From the stopping of his delight is the stopping of grasping; from the stopping of grasping is the stopping of becoming; from the stopping of becoming is the stopping of birth; from the stopping of birth, old age and dying, grief, sorrow, suffering, lamentation and despair are stopped. Such is the stopping of this entire mass of anguish. 62

These examples could be taken to show that the jhānas were a stepping stone for entry into various other altered states of consciousness. The two DN suttas that make adaptations are debates. The Mahātanāsāṅkhaya Sutta (MN 38), however, is a consultation. 63 I have argued 64 that whereas debates are exercises in publicity and opportunities for propaganda, consultations show the problems that arose and how they were dealt with and resolved. Consultations, therefore, may be more reliable as historical documents and may show aspects of the Teaching developing spontaneously in response to particular problems. Bronkhorst, while showing that the four arūpas and the brahmavihāras did not form a part of original Buddhism, showed at the same time that they came in to Buddhism rather early as influences from the Jains. 65 Under these circumstances it is possible that the attainment of the capacity to enter at will into the jhānas also gave access to various other altered states of consciousness, as one might indeed expect from the highly developed skill in meditation that this ability must imply.

In any case, these examples show that the SPS-HCH was a flexible vehicle for winning an argument.

6.5 Authenticity of Function

As I said above (section 5), the function of this HCH in the DN was certainly to win victory for the Buddha in debate. The texts themselves give further clues: this Hypothetical Case History is the standard utterance "which the Buddha used to arouse the people, to bring them into his teaching and to establish them there". 66 The process that these texts describe is - and is intended to be - inspirational. There is no mention of hardship, no insinuation of the difficulties lying ahead, no allusion to the problems involved. Success is implied in commencing the Path. The attainment of its end, Liberation, is presented as inevitable. There are other Case Histories which address the problems that come up in understanding or in practising the Buddha's method. This one is clearly propaganda. 67 It is the advertisement for the

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62 Tr. Horner, MLS I 323f. So cakkunā rūpaṃ disvā piyarīpe rūpe na sārajjati, appiyarīpe rūpe na byāpajjati, upatthakasati ca viharati appamāñ acetaso, tañ ca cetovimuttim paññāvimi tum yathāhūtām pajānāti yathā assa te pāpakā akusalā dhammā aparissesā nīrūjhanti. So evam anurodhavirodhippahaṇo yam kamīci vedanaṃ vedeti, sukham vā dukkham vā adukkhamasukkham vā, so tam vedanaṃ nābhikandato nābhivadato nāj灰尘ya tiṭṭhati. Tassa tam vedanaṃ anabbhikandato anabhivadato anajjhosāya tiṭṭhato yā vedanānasu nandi sā nirūjhanti, tassa nandinirodhā upādānirrodho, upādānirrodhā bhavanirodho, bhavanirodhā jātinirodho, jātinirodhā jaraṁaranaṃ sokaripadeva dukkhamanussupāyāsā nirūjhanti, evam - etassa kevalassa dukkakkhandhassa nīrodho hoti. MN I 270.

63 See Manné, 1990: 3.

64 Manné, 1990, 3.


66 DN 10, see above.

67 See also Macqueen, "The ... set of attainments [i.e. the HCH] is in the texts not merely listed but given in considerable detail with the use of striking similes. Great effort seems to have been spent in making even the most tortuous paths of spiritual training appear attractive to the common man having little experience of them, by appealing to the desire for self-control, peace and joy, purity and freedom, as well as to the longing to perceive and partake of realms of existence normally closed to people. One naturally assumes that the document is therefore (Continues...)"
Buddha's method and its results, and a means for final victory in debate. It contains everything: the existence of a fabulous being (the Tathāgata); morality (Stage I); mental discipline and spiritual progress (Stage II); trance states (Stage III); paranormal abilities and magical powers (Stage IV); transcendental attainment (Stage V). It contains everything, therefore it contains something for everybody, as witnessed in its efficacy to convert brahmans, wanderers, ascetics, kings, householders; in fact all the groups of people with whom the Buddha came into contact. Was the Buddha then cynical, offering magic and non-Buddhist states as part of his message just to convert followers? I think not. He knew his Teaching was hard to grasp and subtle. Few were the people who would comprehend it: the debates themselves offer only two examples of people who were converted through this HCH and went on to attain Arahatship. But many more were the people who could benefit at least a

intended to attract people from the household to the homeless life, to make monks out of laymen." 1988 : 280.

68 adhigato kho me ayam dhammo gambhīro dudaso durambodho santo panito atakkāvacaro nipunu panditavedaniyo. MN i 167. "This dhamma, won to by me is deep, difficult to see, difficult to understand, tranquil, excellent, beyond dialectic, subtle, intelligible to the learned." Horner, MLS i 211.

69 Kassapa, the ascetic, in DN 8, and Citta Hatthisari-putto in DN 9. There are, however, some problematic expressions:

(1) In DN 3 [I 110] it is said of Pokkharasādi, "And then the brahman Pokkharasādi, as one who had seen the Truth, had mastered it, understood it, dived deep down into it, who had passed beyond doubt and put away perplexity and gained full confidence, who had become dependent on no other man for his knowledge of the teaching of the Master .. " (Tr. Rhys Davids, DB I 135.)

dīthā-dhammo patta-dhammo vidita-dhammo pariyoḍgha-dhammo tiṁṇa-vicikiccho vigata-kathamkatho vesāraṇjappatto aparappacayo saithu sāsane... The same expression is used about Kūtadantassa brāhmaṇassā tasmin yeva āsane virājanī vītā-malam dhamma-cakkhūn udupādi: yaṁ kīcīci samudaya-dhammaṁ sabban tam nirodha-dhamman iti. Of this experience of gaining the "Dhamma-Eye", Harvey says "This experience is technically known as stream-entry .. " (Harvey, 1990 : 23. See also Lamotte, 1984 :53. Lamotte later qualifies this as being scholastic terminology, p.54. Malasekera in the DPPN, s.v. Aññā-Koṇḍañña, assumes this as well.) Harvey cites no evidence for this claim, and I know of no evidence for it in the DN, MN, SN or AN. I have not seen the two equated in any passage in the Pali texts. I think therefore that he is mistaken. The attainment of the "Dhamma-Eye" is the first recorded attainment after the Buddha preached his first sermon, and there is no mention at all of "stream-entry" in this sermon (SN V 420-424). The Sutta version of this event in the SN stops at Koḍañña's attainment of the Dhamma-Eye. The Vinaya version is longer and concludes by saying that each of the five first disciples attained Liberation (anupādāya āsavehi cittāni vimuccinsu).


71 But see Sharf, forthcoming.
The purpose of this passage was to win the debate. To do this, the "knowledge" it contained had to be more inspiring than that offered by the opponent. Hence it had to contain something for everybody, and it does. But this is not the whole story. I think that Griffith's view contributes to explain the capacity of this passage to win debates while it does not quite confirm to Griffith's definition of the meditational texts - some of its contents being spurious - it shares with them the capacity to inspire.

7 Further Textual Problems

7.1 Why the MN and the DN versions differ

Schmithausen has already suggested that different bhānakas had different versions of teachings.\(^{72}\) I agree with him about this. I wish further to propose that the reason the DN has the embellished version, while the MN has a simpler one can be accounted for by the difference in functions of these two texts. I have argued\(^{73}\) that the DN "derives from an original, probably spontaneously created, collection of publicity material for the early Buddhists, while the .. MN (is) the collection which arose to serve their need to introduce new converts to the character of the leader, the Buddha, and the important disciples, to integrate the new converts into their values and their way of life, and to provide them with the fundamentals of the Teaching and the Practice." To serve its purpose, therefore the DN needs an embellished version, to provide entertainment, to capture the imagination, to attract support and converts; the MN has no need for the embellishments: it is for those who have already been converted. Hence its version of this HCH is less embellished.

7.2 Why the SPS-HCH occurs primarily in dramatic debates

In the DN the SPS-HCH occurs only in dramatic debates and never in reported debates or debates with hypothetical opponents. In the MN it occurs in various types of debates in six of the eight suttas in which it is found.

A key feature of the brahman debates is forcing the opponent to ask questions. With regard to the person being questioned, "mere brazen assertion does not suffice: one must be able to prove one's knowledge".\(^{74}\) Perhaps we must believe that this HCH was genuinely important in debates of a certain period, although we cannot presume that it had its present form from the very earliest times.\(^{75}\) The Digha bhānakas, then, are using it in an authentic setting. If I am right about the purposes of the DN and the MN, then probably the DN bhānakas had more contact with brahman society and were more familiar with its customs. Statistics regarding the target groups of these two Nikāyas tend to support this. 29.41% (10 out of 34) of DN suttas are directed towards brahmans,\(^{76}\) while only 14.47% (22 out of 152) of MN suttas\(^{77}\) are similarly directed.

\(^{72}\) Schmithausen, 1981 : 204, fn 15.
\(^{73}\) Manné, 1990 : 4.3.
\(^{74}\) See Witzel, 1987 : 373.
\(^{75}\) See Pande, 1974 : 85ff.
\(^{76}\) Suttas no. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 23, 27.
\(^{77}\) Suttas no.4, 7, 27, 30, 41, 42, 82, 85, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 107, 108, 135, 150, 152.
In Conclusion

Many of the suttas of the Pāli canon are like novels, or at least like short stories. They are source books for psychologists and contain case histories. The serious study of these case histories can further our understanding of the history and the development of Buddhism as I have shown here, and as I show in the following case history.

La Conversion

CASE HISTORIES FROM THE PĀLI CANON II:¹

SOTĀPANNA, SAKADĀGĀMIN,
ANĀGĀMIN, ARAHAT –
THE FOUR STAGES CASE HISTORY
OR SPIRITUAL MATERIALISM AND THE NEED FOR TANGIBLE RESULTS

Robert H. Sharf has argued in a recent article called Buddhist Modernism and the Rhetoric of Meditative Experience that "while some adepts may indeed experience "altered States" in the course of their training, critical analysis shows that such states do not constitute the reference points for the elaborate Buddhist discourse pertaining to the "path". Rather, such discourse turns out to function ideologically and performatively -- wielded more often than not in the interests of legitimation and institutional authority."² In Section VI of his article Sharf is concerned with the contemporary rivalry between teachers of samatha and vipassanā and with their disputes between whether attainments are to be defined as jhāna or sotāpanna.³ Sharf says, "private episodes [i.e. as

¹ These investigations were supported by the Foundation for Research in the field of Theology and the Science of Religions in the Netherlands, which is subsidized by the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.), and in part constitute Chapters VI and VII of my doctoral dissertation, Debates and Case Histories in the Pali Canon, Utrecht, 1991. Further, I wish to thank Professor Dr. Oskar v. Hinüber for his many useful suggestions which allowed me to make various improvements to this article. The responsibility for the opinions expressed in this article remains, of course, entirely my own.

² Numen, forthcoming.

³ Sharf, (forthcoming): section VI.

potentially transformative experiences do not constitute the reference points for the elaborate discourse on meditative states found in Buddhist scholastic sources. In other words, terms such *samatha*, *vipassanā*, *sotāpanna* and *satori* are not rendered sensible by virtue of the fact that they refer to clearly delimited "experiences" shared by Buddhist practitioners. Rather, the meaning of such terminology must be sought in the polemic and ideological context in which Buddhist meditation is carried out." A study of one of the most famous case histories in the Pāli Canon will show that this has always been the case and will force us to further lose some illusions.

Buddhist case histories are treated in two quite opposite ways. Scholars treat them in one way, and contemporary meditation teachers and teachers of Buddhism treat them in another. Often the great scholars treat the case histories in a summary manner, pronouncing verdicts upon them which rest more upon the scholar's authority than upon the hard work of providing the proof demanded by an interested and enquiring colleague. A lineage of scholars then simply believes and quotes these authorities, but, once again, no evidence is brought forward. The modern monks and lay teachers of Buddhism and meditation, too, do not question these case histories, but take them for granted as representing a true description of the results of meditation at the time of the Buddha, and therefore of the potential results of meditation for the modern practitioner today. A detailed study of these case histories provides a mine of interesting and surprising information and forces us to separate from our projections and fantasies about the contents of the texts and the results of the practice of meditation.

THE FOUR STAGES HYPOTHETICAL CASE HISTORY
- SPIRITUAL MATERIALISM AND THE NEED FOR TANGIBLE RESULTS

1. Introduction

There are two suttas, the *Cūlasihanāda Sutta* of the MN (11) and AN II 238, §239, that permit the monks to roar a lion's roar on the subject of the existence of the four types of *samaṇa* in the Buddha's Teaching: the *sotāpanna* "the Stream Enterer", the *sakadāgāmin* "the Once-Returner", the *appānī* "the Non-Returner" and the Arahat. From the AN sutta we know that these terms designate sequential stages of development, i.e. that the sequence of types of *samaṇa* forms a HCH. Although these suttas have the assertion about *samaṇas* in common, they differ completely with regard to content and especially, neither of them provide either the defence of this aspect of the training or the support for it that the debate situation would require. How are we to explain this anomaly? The answer is that it is unlikely that this HCH has an authentic connection with the debate tradition, but rather that it was imposed upon it in the course of the development of the religion. The following long analysis of the appearances of these stages in the four Nikāyas will show that the religion required this HCH on many grounds. First the lists of stages and their elaborations (§2) will be presented. Then what the texts say about the individual stages is examined where there is enough evidence to do so (§3). This information is then reviewed and discussed (§4). A section presents the ways in which the texts use and abuse this hypothetical case history (§5). Finally the Four Stages hypothetical case history is discussed as a systematising and organising structure (§6), the

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4 An alternative name for this stage is *anāgāmin*.
5 Manné, forthcoming.
statement that the religion required this sequence of stages is justified and the grounds are provided.⁶

As I said, this sequence of types of samana forms a sequence of stages of development or a hypothetical case history (HCH). I call this HCH the Four Stages HCH. The Four Stages HCH occurs in many different contexts besides these debate contexts. It demonstrates one of the Buddhists' various attempts to provide and to sustain a theory of stages, viz., the theory that Liberation is achieved through attaining in sequence different stages of development, and that these stages can be defined in a way that makes them recognisable in themselves and discernible from each other.

The distinguishing feature of this hypothetical case history is that, unlike the stages of the Sāmaṇṇāphala Sutta HCH⁷ which take place over one life-time only, the developments it encompasses take place over more than one life-time. Two mutually connected Buddhist ideas require such a case history. One of these is the idea of transmigration, samsāra, the endless cycle of birth and death during which one is not necessarily always reborn as a human being but may be reborn as an animal, or in hell, or even in heaven, all of these types of rebirths being temporary by nature.⁸ It is this long series of existences which involve beings in suffering.⁹ The other, related idea is comprised in the term karma: a causal relationship (that exists) between the present life and the next, or, more generally speaking, between one life and the following, the determining factor of which is held to be one's actions in the present life.¹⁰ These connected ideas required a case history extending over more than one lifetime not only logically, but also at the very least to give hope to the practitioner who despair of making it "this time round".¹¹

The most important occurrences of this hypothetical case history are in the DN,¹² MN,¹³ SN and AN, and so these texts form the basis of

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⁶ For a different approach to these four stages see Horner (1936), Chapter VI; Masefield (1986), Chapter I.
⁷ See ‘Case Histories from the Pāli Canon I.
⁹ Lamotte, 1984 : 41.
¹⁰ Takasaki, 1987 : 129. Cf. Lamotte, 1958 : 36ff. Cf. also Gombrich (1984 : 12), "The Buddha declared karman to be purely an ethical matter, of thought, word or deed; and the quality of a karman, good or bad, virtuous or evil, lay solely in the intention behind it. The quality of an act depended only on the motive, regardless of who did it." See also Gombrich (1984 : 11f) on the relationship between the Buddhist interpretation of the concept of karman and its meaning in the context of brahman ideology.
¹¹ Horner, 1936 : 211f.
¹² In 8 DN Suttas: the Mahālī Sutta (DN 6), the Mahā-Parinibbāna Sutta (DN 16), the Jana-Vasabha Sutta (18), the Mahā-Govinda Sutta (19), the Sakka-Paśha Sutta (21), the Sampasādaniya Sutta (28), the Sāṅgīti Sutta (33) and the Dasuttara Sutta (34). Three are debates: the Mahālī Sutta (DN 6), the Lohicca Sutta (12), and the Sampasādaniya Sutta (DN 28); three are Fantasies (this category was not defined in Manné, 1990; it comprises those stories and accounts about various non-human beings which are not usually considered believable: they are fantastic; it includes all Stories, Legends, Myths, and accounts of previous lives of the Buddha): the Jana-Vasabha Sutta (18), the Mahā-Govinda Sutta (19), and the Sakka-Paśha Sutta (21); the remaining two, the Sāṅgīti Sutta (33) and the Dasuttara Sutta (34), are Sermons, and can be further categorised as Abhidhammic.
¹³ In full in 4 Majjhima suttas: the Akankheyya Sutta (MN 6), the Cīḷa Gopālaka Sutta (MN 34), the Nalakapāṇa Sutta (MN 68) and the Ānāpānasati Sutta (MN 118); in the form of the list of stages and fruits in the Dakkhinavibhanga Sutta (MN 142); in part in seven suttas: the Cūḷasahāna Sutta (MN 11) here by implication as none of the stages are named; the Āṭṭhakañṭhagāra Sutta (MN 52, the stages āsavānaṃ khayaṃ pāpuṇāti and opapāti); the Mahā-Mūlaka Sutta (MN 64, the opapāti); the Teviṭṭha-Vaccagottha Sutta (MN 70, aṭṭhā and aṇāgamāṇa); the Mahā-Vaccagottha Sutta (MN 73, stages (3) and (4) of the standard version); the Brahmīṣya Sutta, (MN 91, opapāti); and the Dhātuṣvibhanga Sutta (MN 142, opapāti). Seven of these suttas are Sermons (MN 6, 11, 34, 64, 68, 118, 140), two are (Continues...)
this study. The texts of the Khuddaka Nikāya and the Vinaya Pitaka show minimal interest in this sequence of four stages and have been excluded on this ground, while the Puggalapaññatti and the Kathāvadhthu of the Abhidhamma Pitaka, which do occupy themselves extensively with it, have been excluded on the ground that they are late texts.

2. The lists of stages and their elaborations

2.1. The lists of stages

The Four Stages HCH occurs in independent, sequential lists of stages or in sequential lists of stages associated with a particular practice. It has a standard version,14 Version A below, a brief version of the standard version, Version B, below, and a brief version with fruits, Version C, below. There are also elaborations on individual stages which involve the insertion of substages. In presenting the material I will not be cataloguing all the minor textual variations.

Version A. The standard version.

1. Idha .. bhikkhu tiṇṇaṁ samyojanānaṁ parikkhayā sotāpanno15 hoti avinipāta-dhammo niyato sambodhi-parāvano. "At this stage a bhikkhu, through the disappearance of the three fetters, becomes a Stream-Enterer, characterised by freedom from (falling back to) lower existences, restrained, having Enlightenment as his goal."

Puna ca param .. bhikkhu tiṇṇaṁ samyojanānaṁ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṁ tanuttā sakadāgāmi hoti, sakid eva imām lokam āgantvā dukkhass'a antam karoti. "After that, a bhikkhu, through the disappearance of the three fetters, and through the reduction of passion, hatred and delusionment becomes a Once-Returner: having returned once only to this world, he makes an end of suffering."

Puna ca .. bhikkhu parīcannam orambhāgīvāṇam samyojanānaṁ parikkhayā opapātiko hoti tattha parinibbāyī anāvatī-dhammo tasmin lokā. "And then, through the disappearance of the five fetters binding to the lower states, a bhikkhu becomes an Opapatika, and in that form he attains extinction; he is characterised by non-returning from that world."

Puna ca param .. bhikkhu āsavānaṁ khayaṁ anāsavam ceto-vimuttim parīññ-vimuttim diṭhe va dhamme sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharati. "And then, through the destruction of the intoxicants, he lives in the emancipation of mind and insight16 that are free from intoxicants, having experienced it himself in this very lifetime through his own higher knowledge. (DN 6 I 156; cf. e.g. DN 18 II 200, 19 III 251f; MN 73 I 490, Stages 3 & 4 only; SN V 346, 356-360, etc; AN I 231f; II 88f; 238; IV 12; etc.)."

(1) - (4) above comprise the most frequent version of this HCH.

The exact fetters, samyojanas, meant in (1), (2) and (3) must be inferred from various suttas; they are never specified in the Nikāyas either in the context of the Four Stages HCH or in the context of one particular stage. Where three fetters (samyojanas) are mentioned in these texts,

Consultations (MN 52, 73 begins as a consultation and changes to a Debate), and one is a Debate (MN 91). I am not able to categorise MN 142.

14 "Standard" because this is the version that occurs most frequently in the texts. This in no way implies that I think it is the original version of this HCH.

15 Lit. "he who has attained the stream". See also Masefield 1986, 130 - 136 for a discussion of the etymology of this term.

16 See C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Dhs. tr. p.16f.
these are "personality belief" (sakkāyadiṭṭhi), "sceptical doubt" (vicikicchā), and "clinging to mere rule and ritual" (sīlabbata-paramāsū). Where five fetters (saṁyojanas) are mentioned in the texts, "sensuous craving" (kāma-rāga) and "ill-will" (vyāpāda) are added. These five are called the "fetters binding to the lower states" (orambahāgiya-saṁyojana, DN III 234, vii; MN I 432; SN V 61; AN IV 459; etc.).

The stage opapāṭika may also be called the stage anāgamin (see versions B, C, and D below). These two terms are discussed in detail in §3.4. The relationship between opapāṭika and anāgamin has been totally overlooked by the CPD.

Variations in the MN.

MN has particular variations. Stage 4 may appear as:

4.i bhikkhū arahanto khīnasavā visutavanto katakaraniyā ohiṭṭhahā añnapassadatthā parikkiṅñabhavasaṁyojanaṁ samma-d-āniṁ vimutta. "Bhikkhus who are Arahants, in whom the intoxicants are destroyed, who have fulfilled their lives, done what they had to do, put down their burdens, who have attained their own well-being, in whom the fetters to existence are destroyed, who are possessed of the highest knowledge, liberated" (MN 34 I 226),17 or

4.ii āsavānaṁ khayaṁ pāpunāti - "One who reaches the extinction of the intoxicants" (MN 52 I 350, 64 I 436, stages 3 and 4.ii only), or

4.iii aṁñāya saṁthaḥi - "One who is established in the highest knowledge." (MN 68 I 466)

Stages (4) and (3) may be followed by the stage:

sāvako gihī odātavasano kāmabhogi sāsanakaro ovādapatiṅkaro tīmaviciciccho vigatakathamkatho vesārajaṭṭappato aparappaccayo satthusāsane viharati. "(A) layfollower who is a disciple, a householder clothed in white, and who, (though) an enjoyer of sense-pleasures, is a doer of the instruction, one who accepts the exhortation, who has crossed over doubt and, perplexity gone, fares in the Teacher's instruction, won to conviction, not relying on others". (MN I 491)

This citation shows that this stage is specific to lay followers.

Version B. The brief version

The standard version occurs occasionally in the brief form:

1. sotāpanna, "the Stream-Enterer"
2. sakadāgāmin, "the Once Returner"
3. anāgāmin, "the Non-Returner"
4. Arahat. (SN III 168, V 200, 202; AN V 85 stages (1) - (3) only.)18


18 The brief version, as far as I have been able to ascertain, does not occur in either the DN or the MN. Each of the DN, MN, SN and AN contain both the standard version, and the brief version with fruits.
Version C. The brief version with both stages and fruits

The brief version with both stages and fruits occurs more frequently than the brief version. In this HCH each of the stages of the brief version is attributed with a "fruit".

1. sotāpanna
1.i sotāpatti-phala-sacchikiriyāya patipanna - "one who has attained to the realisation of the fruit of stream-entry";
2. sakadāgāmi
2.i sakadāgāmi-phala-sacchikiriyāya patipanna - "one who has attained to the realisation of the fruit of the Once-Returner";
3. anāgāmi
3.i anāgāmi-phala-sacchikiriyāya patipanna - "one who has attained to the realisation of the fruit of the Non-Returner";
4. arahā
4.i arahattāya patipanna - "the attainment of Arahatship",\(^{19}\) or
4.1.b arahattaphalasacchikiriyāya patipanna - "one who has attained to the realisation of the fruit of arahatship".
(MN III 254)

Version D. The brief version with fruits only

This may occur in the form of a list expressed as in 1.i, 2.i, 3.i, 4.i.b above (AN I 44f) or in the form: 1.i sotāpatti-phalam, 2.i sakadāgāmi-phalam, 3.i anāgāmi-phalam, 4.i arahat-phalam. (DN III 227, §xv, 34 III 277, §x; SN V 25)

\(^{19}\) DN 33 III 255 attha puggala dakkhineyyā, cf AN IV 292 attha puggala āhuneyyā pāhuneyyā dakkhineyyā, AN IV 204; SN V 202, § 18(8), here linked with the Five Indriyas, see section 2.3.1.i below; etc.

2.2 The Elaborations

The Four Stages HCH in the standard version and its variations contains a minimum of information. The expressions for the stages are a code, expressions in brief with whole concepts comprised in single words or in terse phrases. The AN and SN are concerned with elaborations of this HCH. There are two principle elaborations, the elaborations of the stage sotāpanna and the elaborations of the stage anāgāmin. The lists of stages sometimes contain "pre-stages", and it sometimes contains expressions for Liberation or Arahatship which vary from the standard version.

\(^{20}\) MN III 254f cuddasa kho pan'īm; Ānanda, pāṭippaggalikā dakkhinā; AN IV 372 nava .. puggalā (this list includes the pathujana in the ninth place, see below); AN IV 373 nava .. puggalā āhuneyyā pāhuneyyā dakkhineyyā (this list includes the goṭrabhā in the ninth place, see below). Cf. AN IV 292 where the stages and fruits appear in the opposite order.

\(^{21}\) SN V 25. DN 33 III 227 §xv, 34 III 277 §x. The list of the fruits alone occurs in both of these suttas in their sections on Fours but neither section contains a list of the Four Stages. The section on Eights in DN 33 III 255, quoted above) contains a list of both stages and fruits.
2.2.1 Elaborations of the pre-stages

A variety of pre-stages are attached to the lists of the stages and fruits. A pre-stage may be simply the stage of putthujana "ordinary man"; or there might be further divisions:

0.a bāhiraka kāmesu viṭarāga - "one who is beyond, and without attachment to sense-pleasures"
0.b putthujana-silavat - "an ordinary person of moral habit"
0.c putthujana-dussīla - "an ordinary person of poor moral habit"
0.d tiracchānagata - "an animal." (MN III 255)

Pre-stages may comprise two types of followers, the dhammānusārin "one who lives in accordance with the dhamma" and the saddhānusārin "one who lives in accordance with faith" (SN V 200f, 12-15) or simply the gotrabhū "a member of the religious community" (AN IV 373), or the bhikkhu who is sutavā, "learned in religious knowledge" (SN III 167f).

2.2.2 Elaborations of the stage of Stream-Enterer, sotāpanna

The stage of sotāpanna is divided as follows:

1.a So tiṇṇaṁ samyojanānaṁ parikkhayā sattakhattuparamo hoti sattakhattuparamam deve ca mānuse ca sandhāvitvā samsaritvā dukkhassa antam karoti. 'Through the disappearance of the three fetters, he becomes one who will not be born more than seven more times; after transmigrating and being reborn seven more times among gods and men, he makes an end of suffering.'

1.b So tiṇṇaṁ samyojanānaṁ parikkhayā kolāṅkolo hoti āve vā āni vā kulāṁ sandhāvitvā samsaritvā dukkhassa antam karoti. 'Through the disappearance of the three fetters, he becomes one who will go from clan to clan; after transmigrating and being reborn in two or three more clans, he makes an end of suffering.'

1.c So tiṇṇaṁ samyojanānaṁ parikkhayā ekabhi jī hoti ekaṁ yeva mānusakāṁ bhavam nībbattvā dukkhassa antam karoti. 'Through the disappearance of the three fetters, he becomes one possessed of only one more seed (one more potential for rebirth) and once he has completed one rebirth among humankind, he makes an end of suffering.

1.d=2 So tiṇṇaṁ samyojanānaṁ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṁ tanuttā sakāgāmi hoti, sakid eva imam lokam āgantvā dukkhassā antam karoti. "After that, a bhikkhu, through the disappearance of the three fetters, and through the reduction of passion, hatred and delusion becomes a Once-Returner: having returned once only to this world, he makes an end of suffering." (AN I 233)

The last expression is the sakāgāmi formula as in Version A (2). The list may appear in the abbreviated form: sattakhattoparama, kolamkola, ekabhi jī (AN V 120).

The grammar of this passage gives equal weight to each of these four expressions. Further no past participles are used to indicate a

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22 SN V 202; AN IV 372.
23 Tr. Horner, MLS III 303. The subject of this sutta is the relationship between the worth and merit of an offering and the worth and merit of its recipient.
24 The first precedes the second in this list. These two stages occur in a different HCH in the Tevijja Vacchagotta Sutta, MN 70.
25 BHSD, s.v. gotrabhū.
26 BHSD, s.v. kula, "good family", "high social grade".
sequential development through these attainments. This passage, therefore, cannot be taken to describe three kinds of sotāpanna plus the sakadāgāmin, or three different transitional stages between sotāpanna and sakadāgāmin. Rather, it describes four different possibilities contingent upon the disappearance of the three fetters (śīnuṃ samyojanānaṃ parikkhāya) a phrase which we must take as a synonym for the term sotāpanna. As most usually the disappearance of the three fetters is presented as the characteristic of the sotāpanna, and this attainment coupled with the reduction of rāga, dosa and moha is presented as the characteristic of the sakadāgāmin (Version A), this passage points to a time when these two attainments were not yet clearly differentiated into separate and discrete stages of attainment. The question is, which of these two terms is the older? In §4.3,4 it is argued that the term sotāpanna is the older term.

2.2.3 Elaborations of the stage of Non-Returner, opapātika/anāgāmin

There are no elaborations for the stage opapātika.

The stage of anāgāmin is divided into two or into five substages. The two types of anāgāmin are defined thus:

i So aṅnataram santam cetovimuttim upasampajja viharati - "He experiences the peace of mind which has a certain calm."

ii So kāmānaṃ yeva nibbidāya virāgāya niruddhāya patipanno hoti - "He has followed a method leading to aversion towards,

absence of desire for, and cessation of sensual enjoyments." (AN I 64)

The five types of anāgāmin are defined thus:

3.e antarāparinibbāyin - "one who has passed into Nibbana before the term, i.e. before having passed the first half of life".  
3.d upahacca-parinibbāyin - "one who attains Nibbana more than half-way through his next existence".  
3.c asanakkāra-parinibbāyin - "one who attains Nibbana devoid of the (skandha) samkhāra".  
3.b sasamkhāra-parinibbāyin - "one who attains Nibbana with the (skandha) sakha".  
3.a uddhamsoṭā akinnathagāmin - "one whose stream of life tends upwards to the Akenīha heaven". (DN 33 III 237, xvii; SN V 201 §15, 16; 202 §17; 204 §24; AN I 233; IV 13f, 145f; 380)  

Both of these definitions into types of anāgāmin occur in the AN. To the best of my knowledge the first is unique to AN.

2.2.4 Elaborations of the stage Arahat

The following expressions for the attainment of the stage Arahat may precede the stages and fruits elaboration.

28 CPD, s.v. antarāparinibbāyin. The CPD for the most part follows the Kathavaṭṭhū.
29 CPD, s.v. upahacca-parinibbāyin, following Nāmoli, Pj I translation, p.199.
30 CPD, s.v. asanakkāra-parinibbāyin.
31 CPD, s.v. uddhamsoṭā Akinīṭṭhagāmin. In the DN there is no indication whether the list begins with the highest or the lowest of these stages. This may be taken to indicate that the DN has incorporated this list from another source.

27 See Masefield, 1986: 105 - 130 for an attempt to explain these terms, using both Canon and commentarics. This attempt is deemed magistral by Harrison (1987: 262).
2.3 The different interests of the DN, MN, SN and AN

In the DN the elaborations occur in the Sangīti (33) and the Dasuttara Suttas (34). The MN contains elaborations only in the Dakkhināvibhaṅga Sutta (142). In the SN and AN the elaborations of the individual stages frequently occur where the Four Stages HCH is imposed upon another independent HCHs. These two Nikāyas are independent in this respect.

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32 See Katz, 1982 : 19-20 for a discussion of the meaning of this term.
33 The context here is the Indriya HCH, see 2.3.1.i below.
34 Gethyn has interesting things to say about these texts in the context of the bodhipakkhiyā dhammā.
35 See Gethin, 1992 : Chapter IV for a full study of the indriyas.
ii. The Seven Factors of Awakening HCH

Two stages of Arahant (elaboration 2 in §2.2.4 above) and the elaborations of the stage of anāgāmin occur at SN V 69, within a HCH based on the seven factors of awakening (bojjhanga).

iii. The Seven Fruits of Mindfulness regarding the Breathing HCH

Two stages of Arahant (elaboration 2 in §2.2.4 above) and the elaborations of the stage of anāgāmin occur also at SN V 314, §5, where these stages are described as "the seven fruits of (the practise of) mindfulness regarding in- and out-breathing" ( Evaṁ bhāvitāya kho bhikkhave ānāpānasatiyā evam bahulikatāya ime satta phala sattānisamsā paṭikkanhā ti).

2.3.2. The AN

The AN is so constructed that "each section (nipāta) contains suttas dealing with subjects in some way connected with the number of the section".36

i The Three Trainings HCH. (AN I 233f)

The sequence of stages here is not influenced by its context (the Book of the Threees), which is the Three Trainings (tisso .. sikkhā): viz., the higher morality (adhisīla), the higher thought (adhisīciṭta), and the higher insight (adhipaṭiṇī).37 the sutta is rather an attempt to relate the theory of stages to this context. The Three Trainings are presented as a HCH in their own right. Stage one is the full development of the higher morality (adhisīla), with the other forms of training developed to a certain measure. The four attainments which are possible at this stage are the elaborations of the stage of sotāpanna (§2.2.2 above). The condition for the second stage is that the higher thought (adhisīciṭta) should be developed in full. The attainments which are possible at this stage are the elaborations of the stage of anāgāmin. The condition for the third stage is that the higher insight (adhipaṭiṇī) should be developed in full. What is attained at this stage is Arahantship as in Version A, 4.

ii The Three Categories of Fetters HCH. (AN II 134)

The stages are here defined in terms of an HCH based on a sequence of three discrete categories of fetters: (1) the fetters (binding) to the lower states (orambhāgiya); (2) the fetters binding to the taking up of rebirth (uppaṭtipatīlābhika); and (3) the fetters binding to the taking up of existence (bhavapatiṭlābhika). The stages of development offered are that of the sakadāgāmin where none of these fetters are eliminated, and that of two types of anāgāmin: the uddhamsota apanīṭṭhāgāmin (3a) where the fetter to the lower states (orambhāgiya) is eliminated, the antārāparinīṭṭhāvin (3e) where both the fetter to the lower states (orambhāgiya) and the fetter to the taking up of rebirth (uppaṭtipatiṭlābhika) are eliminated, and that of the Arahant where all of these fetters are eliminated (Cf. AN II 160).

The Anguttara Nikāya is a highly coded treatise. It emphasises aspects of the Teaching according to a numerical rule. To do this it is highly selective with regard to what it presents. Does it assume that stages 1 and 2 of the standard version of the Four Stages HCH will all be understood to be included by implication in the definition of the sakadāgāmin and similarly that the other four of the elaborations of the stage anāgāmin are comprised in the definition of the uddhamsota apanīṭṭhāgāmin? To the best of my knowledge the system of coding in the AN has not yet been fully studied, so it is impossible to say what may be implied in any particular case.

36 Norman, 1983 : 54.
37 Tr. Hare, GS I 211.
iii The HCH of the Three Trainings and the Three Categories of Fetters. (AN IV 13f, 145f)

This variation combines the Three Trainings and the Three Categories of Fetters HCHs. It's context is gift-worthiness, and it presents the stages as follows: the Arahant, as in 4 of the standard version, another variety of Arahant,\(^{38}\) and the elaborations of the stage of anāgāmin.

iv The Nine Types of Person HCH. (AN IV 379-381)

This variation, based on nine types of person in conformity to its situation in the AN Book of Nines. The basis for the discrimination between types here is the monk's degree of achievement with regard to moral practice (sīla), concentration (samadhi) and insight (pāññā). The list of stages it offers comprises the elaborations of the stage of anāgāmin, and the four elaborations of the stage of sotāpanna. Each of these stages is categorised:

\[sa-upādīsesa kālam kurumāṇa parimuttā nirayā parimuttā tiracchānayonīyā parimuttā pittivisayā parimuttā apāyaduggatavīnavatā.\] "(they) when they die with some attached remainder, are altogether freed from hell, rebirth in the womb of an animal, the realm of ghosts, the untoward way ... lower existences."\(^{39}\)

Either this is an expansion of the phrase avinipāta-dhamma - "characterised by freedom from (falling back to) lower existences" which defines the stage of sotāpanna in Version A (1) or avinipāta-dhamma is an abbreviation of this phrase. In either case, by implication, all of these are sotāpanna.

3. The Individual Stages

Individual stages receive individual treatment. They may be defined separately from, or in the context of other stages. This, however, happens only with the four stages of the standard version. It does not happen with any of the elaborations. This section presents these individual treatments. The individual stages are presented under the following headings:

1. Formulas relative to the stage, including attainment formulas.

   Attainment formulas are particularly important because they indicate a relationship between the declaration of the attainment of a stage and the challenge of the debate tradition. Attainment is frequently declared before the public of the Saṅgha, as well as before the Buddha or an important disciple. It may be challenged: monks will report to the Buddha that someone has proclaimed the attainment of a stage and ask for his verification. It may be defended.\(^{40}\)

2. Attainments.

3. The advantages concomitant on the attainment of the stage.

4. The method for the attainment of the stage.

\(^{38}\) Tassa apubbaṃ acarīman ăśavapariyādānaḥ ca hoti jivitapariyādānaḥ ca.

"For him the cankers' ending and life's ending are at the same time, not one before and one after." Tr. Hare, GS IV 9. The various types of Arahant are not studied in this work.

\(^{39}\) Tr. Hare, GS IV 252f.

\(^{40}\) It is possible that the declatation of Arahatship was the equivalent of announcing that one has some "esoteric secret knowledge". Cf. Witzel, 1987 : 410 and Manné, 1990 : 2.1, iii.
5 The relative frequency of the attainment of the stage.  
6 The subdivisions of each stage.

For reasons that will be evident, some of the stages require further headings. A review and discussion follow in §4.

3.2. The stage of Stream-Enterer, sotāpanna

The sotāpanna is defined in terms of his beliefs and practices, his behaviour, his attitudes, his knowledge, his attainments, and his advantages. Methods which lead to the attainment of this stage are provided. This stage is attributed with two attainment formulas.

3.2.1. Formulas that define the stage of sotāpanna

There are, besides the formula in Version A, three formulas that define the sotāpanna. These formulas describe his behaviour, A below, his beliefs and practices, B below, and his guaranteed attainment of Awakening, sambodhi, C below. Two of these formulas, B and C, are attainment formulas.

Two different sets of constituents, angāni, are attributed to the stage of sotāpanna. They may be called either sotāpattiyangāni "the constituents of the attainment of the stream", or sotāpannassa angāni "the constituents of the Stream-Enterer". The distinction between these two expressions is not tightly maintained in the texts although they are not strictly synonymous. This absence of distinction suggests that what was implied in attaining the stream, "the constituents of the attainment of the stream", and the nature or "constituents of the person who had attained the stream", may once have been distinguished. Although neither of these terms is specific to, or dominates, a particular Nikāya, the

different sets of constituents are text-specific. What I have called the Behaviour Formula, (A), occurs only in the DN and the SN while what I have called the Belief and Practice Formula (B), occurs only in the DN, SN and AN. It cannot be excluded that two separate schools of thought existed, for one of which it was the constituents of Stream-entry - sotāpattiyangāni that were important, while for the other it was the constituents of the Stream-Enterer - sotāpannassa angāni. The constituents in each group are rather general, and, rather self-evidently, comprise the qualities that any religion would require of its followers. The elements of A cover behaviour and require a more active dedication to the practice, whereas those in B form a sort of Credo: followers were encouraged to convert their friends and family to the faith, expressed in that way (SN V 364, §16). The Credo is the formula that occurs most frequently.

A. The Behaviour Formula

Sappurisa-sams evo, saddhamma-savanam, yoniso-manasikāra dharmānī dhamma-patipatti - "He is one who associates with the good, hears the true Teaching, pays proper attention, and practices the Teaching in its completeness." (DN 33 III 227, §xiii. Cf. SN V 347, 404, etc.)

I will refer to this expression as the Behaviour Formula because it describes what the sotāpanna does. Although this formula is rather vague, and none of its terms refer to specific practices, it indicates that practice was considered important.

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41 See Masefield, 1986 : 134f for a discussion of the etymology of this term.
B. The Belief and Practice Formula - a Credo

This is an attainment formula. The belief system and moral practice of the sotāpanna is described in a different set of four constituents, the first three of which concern his faith while the last is concerned with his moral practice. These features comprise not only the attainments of the sotāpanna, but also one of his attainment formulas, expressions which when uttered in the first person identify the speaker as a sotāpanna.

Cattāri sotāpannassa āngāni,
1 Idhāvuso arīya-sāvakā Buddhā avecca-ppasādāna samannāgato hoti – "Iti pi so Bhagavā arahām Sammā-Sambuddho vijā-carana-sampanno sugato loka-vidū anuttaro purisa-damma-sārathi satthā devaā-manussānām Budhā Bhagavā ti"
2 Dhamme avecca-ppasādāna samannāgato hoti – "Śvākhāto Bhagavaṭā Dhammo sandithiko akāliko ehi-passiko opanayiko paccattam veditabbo viṁśhūhi."
3 Samghhe avecca-ppasādāna samannāgato hoti – "Supañipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-Samgho, uju-pañipanno Bhagavato savaka-Samgho, ēka-pañipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-Samgho yadidam cattāri purisa-yugāni, atthā purisa-puggalā, eso Bhagavato sāvaka-Samgho āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo dakkhineyyo aḍḍhaḷi-kāraṇiyo anuttaram puṁsa-akkhettam lokassāti."
4 Ariya-kantehi sīlehi samannāgato hoti akkaṇḍehi acchiddehi asabalehi akammāsehi bhujissehi viṁśappasatthehi aparāmatthehi samādhisamvattānikehi.

"The four constituents of the Stream-enterer: In this connection, friends, the Ariyan disciple has absolute faith in: (1) in the Buddha: "So he too, the Exalted one, is Arahant, supremely enlightened, full of wisdom and goodness, Blessed One, world��ner, peerless driver and tamer of men, teacher of devas and men, Buddha, Exalted One!" (2) the Teaching: – Well proclaimed by the Exalted One is the Teaching, effective in this life, immediate, open to all, leading us onward, to be known personally by the wise. (3) the Order: – Well-practised is the Order of the Exalted One's disciples, living uprightly, practising right conduct and the proper course, which is the four pairs of persons; the eight classes of individuals; the view that this Order of the Exalted One's disciples is worthy of veneration, of offerings, of gifts, of reverent greetings, (and that it is) the unsurpassed field of merit of the world. (4) Endowed is he with moral practices lovely to the noble, fully observed, faultless, unspotted, unblemished, making men free, commended by the wise, uncorrupted, conducive to concentration.'(DN 33 III 227, §xiv. Also at AN IV 406; SN V 343f, 345 etc.)\(^{43}\)

I will refer to this expression henceforth as the Belief and Practice Formula because "1" - "3" above express the Credo of the sotāpanna and "4" his moral practice (sīla).

The moral practice requirement, "4" above, suffers several adaptations. Some of the adaptations may be regarded as creative (oral)-literary inventions, as poetic license or as mistakes, made in good faith, caused by the way the Teaching was promulgated. Other types of adaptations, by contrast, simply introduce other features of the Teaching where it seems that they did not originally belong. A further group of

\(^{43}\) Unless I have overlooked it, this expression is not found in MN in connection with the sotāpanna. These beliefs may appear under the name of "Four Dhammas" (SN V 342f, 346f, 351, 356, etc.), "Four Results of Merit: Four Skills" (puṇṇābhisandha kusalābhisanda, SN V 391f), or "Four Deva-paths to the Devas". (Tr. Woodward, KS V 337. devānam devapadāni. SN V 392ff.)
adaptations, however, are evidently purpose-serving in the worst possible sense of the term. These function in ways that help the institutionalised religion to control its lay-followers through a system of spiritual rewards. The adaptations all occur in the Sotāpatissamyutta, SN V 342-413.

One adaptation is simply synonymous. It introduces a condition based on the rules of the training for laymen. After hearing a sermon on the importance of conforming to the ānāgāni above, Anāthapindika, the house-father (gahapati), declares, in brief, that he conforms to conditions "1" - "3" and adds:

4.i Yāni cimāni bhante Bhagavatā gihisāmicikāni sikkhāpadāni desitāni nāham tesam kiṇci attani khandam samanupassāmi ti - "...as to those obligations binding on a housefather, pointed out by the Exalted One, I see not a single one of them which is broken in me." (SN V 387)\(^{44}\)

Upon hearing this, Ānanda praises Anāthapindika and acknowledges him as a sotāpanna. The obligations binding on the housefather and on all laymen, are to abstain from killing any living being (pāṇātipāta), from stealing (adinnādāna), from unlawful sexual intercourse (kāmesu micchācāra), from lying (mussāvāda), and from the use of intoxicants (surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhāna). These obligations are also known as the five sīla. As the standard fourth feature of this utterance concerns the sīla, this expression must be regarded as a variation upon it.

One evidently purpose-serving variation promotes generosity towards the monks. Here (SN V 348-352) the Buddha is in discussion with some chamberlains, functionaries of some position in the royal household.\(^{45}\) When he tells them under which conditions a person is a sotāpanna, instead of "4" above, he proposes:

4.ii vigatamalaccheraṇa cetasā ajjhāvasati / muttacāgo payatapāṇi vossagarato yācayogo dānasamvibhāgarato. "He lives at home with heart free from the taint of stinginess. He is open-handed, pure-handed, delighting in self-surrender, one to ask a favour of, delighting to share charitable gifts," (SN V 351.

and further on in the sutta:

4.iii Yāṁ kha pana kiṇći kule deyyadhamman sabban tam appatiṭibhattram silavantehi kalyāṇadhammehi. "In your family, whatever gifts of charity there be, are shared fully and impartially by the virtuous and the good." (SN V 352)\(^{47}\)

\(^{44}\) Tr. Woodward, KS V 306. In SN V 397 the questioner asks about the "the advanced (ariyā) disciple in whom the the constituents of the attainment of the stream do not exist" (ariyasāvakassatta sotāpattiyañgāni ...nāthi. The literal translation for ariyasāvakka is "the noble/exalted disciple", but I think that phrase is misleading in English and not really true to the Pali, being too literary and missing the sense.) The reply is that such a person (yassa) stands outside [all attainments] and is designated an "ordinary man" (puthujjana. Bāḥiro puthujjananapakkhe thito ti vadāmi). In the explanation that follows, however, the term ariyasāvakka is repeated without the qualification sattā sotāpattiyañgāni. It is easy to construe the text as if the term ariyasāvakka is meant to pick up and be synonymous with expression ariyasāvakassa sattā sotāpattiyañgāni. I think that is what the redactors want of their audience, and indeed I have followed it in my analysis. I have doubts, however, and I wonder whether an examination of this type of literary construction, namely the dropping of the qualifying phrase in a response, could provide some evidence that, for example, the phrase sattā sotāpattiyañgāni is in fact a later insert: it would prove it if the texts usually picked up the whole expression in these cases.

\(^{45}\) Tr. Woodward, KS V 303, see especially explanatory footnote no.1.

\(^{47}\) Tr. Woodward, KS V 306.
This freedom with the fourth condition did not escape remark by the inquiring minds of the time, and there is evidence that there was an unresolved question whether there were in fact three conditions, "1" - "3" above, or four conditions, "1" - "4" above, before one could be called a sotāpanna (SN V 371ff), i.e. whether faith was enough or whether some degree of practice was necessary. I say "unresolved" because the Buddha provides no solution in the sutta in which this problem comes up.\(^{48}\)

Despite this general blithe tendency to open the stage of sotāpanna to all and sundry through simplifying the required attainment to that of faith alone, one sutta contains a warning. When asked if a disciple who possessed "the constituents of the attainment of the stream", the sotāpattiyaṅgāni, could ever be described as "One who lives in indolence" (paṁḍavīhārī), the Buddha replies that indeed he could as long as he was content with these attainments and made no further effort (SN V 398).

C. The sotāpanna attainment formula

I refer to this attainment formula as the "sotāpanna attainment formula", simply because the term sotāpanna occurs within it and with no implication that it is more or less important than the Beliefs and Practices attainment formula. The existence of an attainment formula relates the attainment of stages to the Debate tradition where the assertion of one's religious expertise designates what one is willing to be challenged upon and to defend in public.\(^{49}\) Just as there are various attainment formulas that may be formally recited upon becoming an Arahant or which when formally recited indicate that the speaker is an Arahant,\(^{50}\) there are attainment formulas which, when recited, indicate that the speaker has attained sotāpanna. One of these is the Beliefs and Practices Formula, B above. The other is:

\[
\text{khīpanirayo } \text{mhi } \text{khānatiracchānayoni } \text{khīnapittivisayo } \text{khīnapāyaduggativinipāto, sotāpanno } \text{ham asmi avinīpāthadhammo } \text{nīyato } \text{sambodhiparāyano. } \text{"Gone, for me, is (a future existence in) hell, gone the realm of animals, gone the realm of spirits (peta), gone is suffering in the realms of misery; I am a Stream-Enterer, characterised by freedom from (falling back to) lower existences, restrained, heading for Enlightenment." (AN IV 405; DN 16 [II 93]; SN V 387, etc.)}\(^{51}\)
\]

This is the great advantage of the attainment of becoming a sotāpanna. These conditions correspond to the attainments in the standard version of the Four Stages formula.

These two sotāpanna attainment formulas are quite different in content: one concerns faith and practice while the other concerns rebirth in hell. Although the Beliefs and Practices formula has no reference to this freedom from low rebirths and this assuredness of awakening, at least one attestation links the attainments expressed in these two formulas: the SN says that once the four beliefs and practices, here called dhammas, are attained, "There is no terror, there is no panic, there is no fear of death in terms of (fearing) what belongs to the next world." (na hoti uttāso na hoti chambittattam na hoti samprāyikam maranabhayan s. SN V 387)

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\(^{48}\) Or the answer has been lost, or was inconvenient and so intentionally left out.


\(^{50}\) See e.g. Erhart, 1977 for those in the MN.

\(^{51}\) There is an indication at SN V 361f that this Buddhist attainment of liberation from rebirth in a hell is linked to brahmin beliefs concerning the importance of attaining rebirth in heaven: in this sutta the Buddha ridicules brahmin practices which purportedly lead to being reborn in heaven.
3.2.2 The attainments of the stage of sotāpanna

The attainments of the sotāpanna may be comprised in terms of the elements of Version A.1 of the Four Stages HCH, in terms of the formulas that define the sotāpanna, in terms of conditions for uttering the attainment formulas, or in terms of the attainment of specific skill in, or understanding of features of the Training.

The behaviour, the belief system and the moral practices of the sotāpanna are his general attainments: they are levels of conduct and thought that he has achieved. Whereas the Behaviour Formula is not much exploited by the texts and does not serve as an attainment formula, the Beliefs and Practices Formula is defined as an attainment formula and is extensively exploited. The conditions under which it may be uttered are specifically defined. Sometimes these conditions relate directly to the Beliefs and Practices formula, sometimes they relate to it indirectly. The conditions for uttering the sotāpanna attainment formula overlap with those for uttering the Beliefs and Practices formula.

The most obvious condition for pronouncing the Beliefs and Practices formula is that the disciple is possessed of the Beliefs and Practices in the formula (cf. also SN V 357). The conditions may also be defined under the poetic name of the Fivefold Guilty Dread (pañca bhavāni verāni, SN II 68f). The Fivefold Guilty Dread comes about if the moral requirements (sīla, the fourth condition of the Beliefs and Practices Formula), are not fulfilled. This is a "behaviour" condition. According to some suttas this formula may be pronounced on the sole condition that the Fivefold Guilty Dread is removed (AN IV 405 and SN II 68ff, V 387ff).

The formal requirements that permit the utterance of the sotāpanna attainment formula overlap extensively with those for uttering the Beliefs and Practices formula but are defined in a somewhat different way. The conditions are not always consistent.

The requirement of behaviour may here also be expressed as the removal of the Fivefold Guilty Dread. The requirement of belief and moral practice may be tautologically defined as the possession of the beliefs and moral practices of the sotāpanna (here called sotāpattiyaṃgāni). Further, a requirement of knowledge called "the noble rule, well-seen and well-penetrated by insight" (ariya nāya), may be added (ariyo cassa nāyo paññāya sudiṭṭho hoti supraṭīvuddho. SN II 70; cf. SN V 387f). The attainment ariya nāya is a specific, rather than a general attainment and refers to a particular aspect of the Teaching. It means thoroughly and systematically giving the mind to "dependant origination" - paticcasamuppāda: "This being, that comes to be; this not being, that does not come to be. From the arising of this, that arises; from the ceasing of this, that ceases" (iti imasmiṃ sati idaṃ hoti / imasmiṃ asatī idaṃ na hoti / imassuppaddā idam uppajjati / imassa nirodhā idam nirujjhati). The processes that depend sequentially upon each other for their coming into existence are: "ignorance, activities, consciousness, name and form, the six sense-modalities, contact, feeling, craving, clinging, becoming, rebirth, and death" (avijjā, sankhāra, viññāna, nāmarūpa, saḷāyatana, phassa, vedanā, taṇhā, upādāna, bhava, jāti, maraṇa).

Further conditions for the utterance of the sotāpanna attainment formula may be expressed in terms of the attainment of "seven good practices and four desirable states" (sattahi saddhammehi samannāgato ...caṭṭhi ākānkiyehi ṭhānehi. SN V 352-356). The seven good practices are divided into two in the form of purity in bodily conduct: not taking life and not stealing; one in the form of purity in personal conduct in terms of abstaining from wrong practices in respect of sense desires (the example in this sermon is based on not committing adultery); and four in

52 Tr. Woodward, KS II 47.

53 For a study of this process see Johansson, 1979.
the form of purity of speech: avoiding lying, slandering, harshness and aimless chatter. Both personal purity and abstention are required, as is encouraging like behaviour in others. The four desirable states are the contents of the Beliefs and Practices formula. These conditions amount to the moral requirements (sīla), with the exclusion of the condition regarding intoxicating substances. They are particularly offered to lay people who describe themselves as materially ambitious - wanting houses, children, perfumes and money, and who have among their desires the wish to be reborn in heaven.

3.2.3 Attainments defined in terms of specific skills in, or understandings of the Teaching

The attainments of the sotāpanna are defined according to many different features of the Teaching. The suttas containing these further aspects are very much a feature of the Sotāpattiyāgāna, SN V 342-413, although they are not limited to this textual location.

A definition of the constituents of Stream-Entry (sotāpattiyāgāna. SN V 347f) in terms of the Noble Eightfold Path - atthangika magga is attributed to Sariputta. In this sutta the Buddha and Sāriputta may be said to be in a game of definitions or riddles. Sariputta defines these constituents thus: sota is the Noble Eightfold Path which comprises right view, right aspiration, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration (ariya atthangika magga: sammā-diṭṭhi, -sankappa, -vācā, -kammanta, -ājīva, -vāyāma, -satī, -samādhi), and the sotāpanna as someone who has achieved that path. This is a problem because a classical aspect of the attainments of the Arahat is that he has completely followed and fully achieved the path leading to the extinction of the āsava, which is precisely this Noble Eightfold Path (MN I 55; etc.). Later in this chapter of the SN the Buddha praises Sāriputta for his ability to divide the sotapattiyāgāna in ten ways. It is not clear what is meant as Sāriputta has enumerated aspects "1" - "4" of the beliefs of the sotāpanna, the factors of the Noble Eightfold Path (as above), right knowledge (sammānāna) and right release (sammāvimutī). Perhaps on this occasion the Buddha did not count individually the elements of the sotāpanna beliefs, or did not count them at all.

A stipulation is made in SN III 203, 23 that when doubt regarding six⁵⁴ points has been abandoned and also when doubt about suffering, the arising of suffering, the ceasing of suffering and the path to the ceasing of suffering has been abandoned, then the person can be called a sotāpanna.⁵⁵ The six views, as the MN (I 135f) explains so much more clearly, are that whatever depends on (1) physical form (rūpa), (2) feeling (vedanā), (3) perception (saññā), (4) conditioned states (saṅkhāras), (5) consciousness (viññāna) or (6) a mental activity⁵⁶ is impermanent (anicca) and suffering (dukkha) and is liable to change (viparīṇāmadhamma). A person who is not clinging to what is impermanent, suffering and liable to change will not take up various defined wrong ideas. These wrong ideas - a truly marvellous compendium of them - are, in brief:

- "Winds do not blow, rivers do not flow, pregnant women do not bring forth, moon and sun neither rise nor set, but (all) are stable as a pillar" Na vatā vāyanti na naijho sandanti na gabbhinyo

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⁵⁴ The Burmese text has ca here, so it is possible that the expression means doubt about the points made in the sermon. Woodward comments, "It is hard to know how six are made out". (KS III 165, fn.1) ⁵⁵ sotāpanno avimīpādaghammo nivato sambodhiparāyano ti. SN III 203, and in each of the suttas in this chapter of the SN. ⁵⁶ Yam pidam dīthham sutam mutam viññātam pattam paryesitam anuvicaritam manasā "what is seen, heard, sensed, known, attained, sought after, thought out by the mind". See Gombrich, 1990: 15f for the relationship between these views and Yājñavalkya's views in BāU.
vījāyanti na candimāsūryā udenti vā apenti vā esikāṭhāyīṭhītā ti.⁵⁷

- "This is mine, this is me, this is my self" Etam mama eso ham asmi eso me attā ti.⁵⁸

- "This is the self, this is the world, this I will be after death: permanent, lasting, eternal, not liable to change" So attā so loko so pecca bhavissāmi nicco dhuvo sasso avipariṇānadharmoti.

- "I would not be, and it would not be mine; I shall not be, and it shall not be mine" No cassam no ca me siyā na bhavissāmi na me bhavissatiti.⁵⁹

- The annihilationist doctrine that there is no fruit of good or evil deeds, not beings who have attained perfection, nor life after death.⁶⁰

- The heresy that there is neither evil nor merit.⁶¹

- The accidentalist heresy that there are neither conditions nor causes.⁶²

- Another wrong way of viewing the world including ideas of permanence, and ideas that there are no causes.⁶³

- "The world is eternal" sassato loko ti.

- "The world is not eternal" asassato loko ti.

- "The world is limited" antavā loko ti.

- "The world is unlimited" anantavā loko ti.

- "The soul is the body" Tūm jīvam tām sariran ti.

- "The soul is one thing, the body is another"aññam jīvam aññam sariranti.

- "The Tathāgata exists" hoti tathāgato.

- "The Tathāgata does not exist" na hoti Tathāgato.
- "The Tathāgata both exists and does not exist" hoti ca na ca hoti Tathāgato.
- "The Tathāgata neither exists nor does not exist" neva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato. (SN III 202-216)

The attainment of the sotāpanna in this respect is that he has no doubt that bodily form and mental processes are impermanent (anicca), suffering (dukkha) and liable to change (avipariṇānadhamma), and is hence free of the wrong views above, although is not yet liberated. The SN here, as in the previous example, opposes the sotāpanna with the Arahat. It points out that the person who is liberated, the Arahat, has turned away from (nibbindati) all of these processes (SN III 224, §20).

There are also conditions based on the attainment of certain qualities, indriyas.⁶⁴ Several variations on the definition of the sotāpanna each with a new condition for the attainment of this stage, and a different Arahat formula from the one that usually occurs in this context (Version A, 4) occur further on in the SN in a series of four suttas in a chapter on indriyas (SN V 193f ii–v). Instead of being defined in terms of the more usual Three Fetters condition, the sotāpanna is defined in terms of a Five Indriya condition:

Yato ... ariyasāvakā imesam pañcannam indriyānaṁ samudayaṅca atthagamaṅca assaṅgāṅca ādīnavaṅca nissaraṅgaṁ yathābhūtam pañjānīti / ayam vuccati bhikkhave ariyasāvako sotāpanno avinipāta-dhammo niyato sambodhi-parāyano ti. "A noble disciple, brethren, is called “A noble disciple, a Stream-Enterer, characterised by freedom from (falling back to) lower existences, restrained, having

⁵⁷ Tr. Woodward, KS III 164.
⁵⁸ Tr. Gombrich, 1990: 15.
⁶⁰ The doctrine of Ajitakesakambalas, cf. DN I 55, § 23.
⁶¹ The view of Pūraṇa Kassapa, cf. DN I 52, § 16.
⁶⁴ This term may refer to qualities of conduct or to the six sense faculties.
Enlightenment as his goal, when he understands as they really are, the rising, the disappearance, the satisfaction, the danger, and freedom from these Five Qualities.\textsuperscript{65}

Here the five qualities (indriyas) are faith (saddhā), energy (viriya), mindfulness (sati), concentration (samādhi) and insight (pāññā).\textsuperscript{66} Once again the stages of sotāpanna and Arahant are contrasted with each other. The stage of Arahant\textsuperscript{67} is attained by "seeing" (vidivā) the five indriyas above, whereas the activity or attainment of the sotāpanna is "understanding" (pajānāti) them.

Further new definitions for the attainments of the stage of sotāpanna, which use the same formula as above, are expressed in terms of a Six Sense-Faculty condition, (also indriyas):\textsuperscript{68} the faculties of the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body, and the mind (cakkhuniyāra, sotindriya, ghānindriya, jīvindriya, kāyindriya, manindriya. SN V 205 para 26.(5)) and a different five Indriya condition: happiness, suffering, joy, dejection, and equanimity (sukh-, dukk-, somanass-, domanass- and upokhindriya. SN V 207, §32.(2)).\textsuperscript{69}

In this section of the SN, indriyas of all sorts are very important.

\textsuperscript{65} SN V 193 § 3, cf. SN V 193, § 2 which omits samudayañca attangamañca. The last part of this formula appears in the formula through which the attainment of sotāpanna is declared. See 3.2.5 below.

\textsuperscript{66} Tr. Woodward, KS V 169.

\textsuperscript{67} Here this stage is described by a different arahant formula from that which usually occurs in this context ((4) above), araham khīnāsava vissatā katakaranīyo ohiabbhāro anuppattasadattih parīkkhābhavo, samyojano sammadāññhā vimutto.

\textsuperscript{68} Tr. Woodward, KS V 181.

\textsuperscript{69} In both of these cases the subsequent sutta defines the arahant in terms of these indriyas, and uses the formula Yato... ariyasañvako... above.

3.2.4. The advantages of having attained the stage of sotāpanna.

The advantages of having attained the fruit of Stream-Entry are, of course, implied in all of the attainments and all of the formulas above. They will not be repeated here. The texts, however, also specify them in this way: the sotāpanna has: (i) certainty as to the True Teaching, (ii) no tendency to diminution (of attainment, presumably), (iii) none of the suffering of a limited person, and (iv) endowment with uncommon knowledge; (v) he has both understood the cause and the dhammas that have come about through the cause (saddhammaniyato hoti, apariññadhammo hoti, pariyantakatassa dukkham na hoti, asādhāraṇena āṇena samanāgato hoti, hetu c’assa sudīṭho hetusam-mappanna ca dhammā. AN III 441, XCV). The sotāpanna has gone beyond simply hearing the Teaching and having faith in it; he has entered upon certainty. There is no mention of freedom from rebirth in this list.

Summary of §§3.2.1-4

What we have observed is that the Beliefs and Practices formula fulfills several functions. It both expresses and defines sotāpanna attainments, it functions as an attainment formula and it expresses the conditions under which a person may declare himself a sotāpanna. These conditions are to a certain degree uncertain. Even if the requirements of this formula are fulfilled, further conditions may be added. Attainment may be declared through this or through a different formula. The conditions under which this formula may be declared are similarly not always consistent. Neither formula mentions freedom from rebirth though this aspect may occur in a sutta that contains the formula.\textsuperscript{70} We have further observed that attainments may also be expressed according

\textsuperscript{70} See e.g. SN V 387. I have not searched for more examples.
to many different features of the Teaching. The essential attainment of the sotāpanna is the moral code, sīlas, more or less strictly adhered to. The inclusion of other attainments is unconvincing. One is left with the impression of attainments in search of a named stage, the stage being a definable measurement.

3.2.5 The method for attaining the stage of sotāpanna.

Several methods are provided for attaining the stage of sotāpanna. These methods are expressed in two ways: what must be thought or done specifically for attaining this stage; and what must be done in terms of a particular element of the Teaching which, through being cultivated, will lead to Stream-Entry and to each of the other three stages progressively. Methods may be specified or implied. The sotāpanna formula in Version A implies a method which leads to the disappearance of the three fetters. The basic method for attaining this and the other stages is the cultivation of the moral requirements (sīla, AN I 231f). It is further necessary to aim to fulfil the qualifications of the Behaviour formula and the Beliefs and Practices formula, to be generous and charitable to the monks; to understand dependent origination (paṭiccasamuppāda); and to conform to certain indriya conditions.

Some suttas specify that the method for development through the stages depends on more practice of the same thing. For example, in order to attain this stage and the three further stages one needs to develop progressively the practice of "mindfulness centred on the body" (kāyagatā-sati AN I 44). The correct contemplation of the five grasping groups (pañcupādānakkhandā), in order to be able to see them as "impermanent, suffering, a disease, an abcess, a sting (arrow), a pain, an affliction, alien, decaying, empty, and without self" (anicatokukkhataro gandato salatto aghato ābhādhatoparato palokato suṁñato anattato yoniso manasi kattabbā. SN III 167f, §122) will also lead to this attainment. Instead of the initial requirement that the monk be well-taught (sutavā), the requirement that he have his moral practice in order (sīlavā) may be found (SN III 167f, §123).

The method for attaining the fruit of Stream-Entry is defined in terms of the Behaviour formula: it requires the development and the practice of these behaviours (SN V 410f).

Conditions that preclude the attainment of this stage and, obviously, of any of the others, are also described. This implies that training to avoid these specified conditions forms an aspect of the method for attaining the stage. Thus a bhikkhu who perceives permanence in the conditioned states (sankhāras) cannot achieve the appropriate intellectual receptivity for attaining any of the four stages. So he must train himself in the direction of perceiving impermanence (AN III 441, XCVI).

There is no record in DN, MN, AN or SN of an individualised or personal instruction for the attainment of this stage.

3.2.6 The Relative Frequency of the Attainment of the stage of sotāpanna.

With regard to relative frequency of attainment of the four stages, there is only one sutta, SN V 406 (§§ 6-8), that gives any information. This sutta says that there are few (appakā) monks who are arahats, more (bahupātā) who are opapātikas (§ 6), even more who are sakadāgamins (§ 7) and even more who are sotāpannas (§ 8). The stage of sotāpanna is, thus, the most frequently attained stage.

3.2.7 Types of sotāpanna

i The Once-Returner (sakadāgamin) as sotāpanna

The lists of §2.2.2 offered four types of sotāpanna defined according to the number of rebirths each could expect, sattakkhattparama, 7

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71 BHSD, s.v. amulomikā khanti.
rebirths; kolankola, 2 - 3 rebirths; ekabhijin, one seed or potential; sakadāgāmin, 1 rebirth. The structure of this passage shows that it regarded the sakadāgāmin as a type of sotāpanna.\textsuperscript{72}

\textit{ii The Non-Returner (anāgamin) as sotāpanna}

An AN sutta (V 120) defines five sotāpannas, who are perfected here on earth (idha niṭṭhā): the sattakkhattuparama, the kolankola, the ekabhijin, the sakadāgāmin, and one who is an Arahat in this lifetime (yo ca diṭṭhe' eva dhamme arahā); and a further five Stream-Enterers who, having abandoned this place, i.e. the earth, (idha vihāya), are perfected: the antarāparinibbāyin, the upahaccaparinibbāyin, the asankhāraparinibbāyin, the sasankhāraparinibbāyin, and the uddhamsota akaniṭṭhagāmin (see §2.2.3. Cf. also AN V 119f). As the latter group attain their liberation from a different world from this one, they are anāgāmin.

\textit{iii The Arahat as a sotāpanna}\textsuperscript{73}

The sotāpatti-samyutta (SN V 342-413) shows that the category sotāpanna could be very wide, and that the Arahat too could fall within it. An AN sutta (V 120) is clear about this. In it the Buddha is says, "All those who have perfect faith in me are Stream-Enterers" (ye kett bhikkhave mayi aveccappasannā, sabbe te sotāpannā). In any case it makes sense that each advanced stage of development includes the attainments of the previous less advanced stage.

\textit{3.3. The stage of Once-Returner, sakadāgāmin}

Although this stage has considerable importance in the AN elaborations of the brief standard version, I have barely been able to find a passage that makes a more individual reference to it and its contingent qualities and attainments. Hence most of the headings which I proposed in the introduction to this section are empty.

\textit{3.3.1 Formulas that define the stage of sakadāgāmin}

The only formula attached to this stage occurs in Version A of the Four Stages HCH. This stage has no attainment formula.

\textit{3.3.2 The Attainments of the stage of sakadāgāmin}

Besides the attainments of reducing passion, hatred and delusion (rāgadosamohānaṃ), expressed in the standard formula, this stage is not attributed with clear conditions under which its attainment can be ascertained. Only at SN V 411 does this stage appear at all individually. There four dhammas are proclaimed which when developed lead to the attainment of the fruit of this stage. The sutta stops there. The repetitive nature of this part of SN must mean us to understand these dhammas to be the same as the four constituents of the sotāpanna (3.2.1.B), and specified in the preceding sutta (SN V 410f), and to apply to the fruits of the attainment of the stage of anāgāmin and Arahat (see SN V 411, the following suttas). It may be that the text wants in this way to make the point that each attainment includes the accomplishments of the previous attainment. If this is the case, it is not very clearly put. In any case, at this point in this part of the SN, everything seems to be the same as everything else and all distinctions seem to be falling away.

\textsuperscript{72} The arguments in favour of this position can be found in §§ 2.2.2 and 4.3.4.

\textsuperscript{73} See Bareau, 1955 : 261.
3.3.3 The advantages of having attained the stage of sakadāgāmin.

The advantages contingent upon the attainment of this stage are not set forth in the texts under study beyond their appearance in the standard version of the Four Stages HCH. By implication, and as the etymology of the name indicates, the great advantage to this stage was that only one reincarnation was required before liberation would be attained.

3.3.4 The method for the attainment of the stage of sakadāgāmin.

There is no method given in these texts for moving up to this particular stage from the stage of sotāpanna besides that to be inferred from the standard formula, namely, effort towards the attainment of the diminution of passion, hatred and delusionment (rōga, dosa and moha).

3.3.5 The Relative frequency of attainment of the stage of sakadāgāmin.

The stage sakadāgāmin is more frequently attained than the stages arahat and opapātika, and less frequently attained than sotāpanna. (SN V 406, cf. §3.2.6)

3.3.6 Types of sakadāgamin

Rather than there being types of sakadāgamin, the lists of §2.2.2 suggest that the sakadāgamin was a type of sotāpanna. (See §3.2.7.)

3.4 The stage of Non-Returner, opapātika/anāgāmin

This stage presents us with two particular problems: (1) its terminology, as this stage is known under two names; and (2) the way it is defined. In defining this stage, the central issues that the texts are involved with are the difference between a Returner and a Non-Returner, the different types of Non-Returners, and the difference between the Non-Returner and the Arahant. Passages devoted to defining the psychology or the mental state of the anāgāmin him- or herself are rare, and there are none devoted to defining that of the opapātika.

In this section I will begin by considering the terminology. After that the headings will conform to those of the previous sections. The issue of the difference between a Returner and a Non-returner will be treated in the section on attainments (§3.4.2). The issue of the difference between the Non-Returner and the Arahant is treated in its own section, after a brief section on the Arahant (§3.5).

The Terminology

This stage is designated by two terms: opapātika and anāgāmin. The term opapātika is rather precise and comes from what we might call a biological context, but which in terms of ancient India is probably more accurately considered philosophical; it means "born by spontaneous generation". The word anāgāmin means simply "not coming back". These terms are not used interchangeably in the same expressions; rather, each one has its own territory. The term opapātika is standard where all four stages are expressed in the standard version of this case history, where the attainment of this stage is expressed separately from the other stages but in terms of the standard expression (MN ii 146), and in debate and mythical contexts. In formulas related to psychological aspects, including attainments, but with the exception of the standard version, the
term anāgāmin is used. Neither of these terms appear in the elaborations of this HCH.

i The term "opapātika".

Both the contexts and the formulas within which the term opapātika occurs independently of its connection with the other stages, suggest that it is an ancient term. The context is either a Debate or it is connected with mythology.

The debate context concerns the wrong view: "There is no gift, no offering, no sacrifice; there is no fruit or ripening of deeds well done or ill done; this world is not, the world beyond is not; there is no mother, no father, no beings spontaneously reborn (opapātika); there are no recluses and brāhmīnīs in the world who have gone right, who fare rightly, men who by their own comprehension have realised this world and the world beyond and thus declare."

A similar expression occurs in the Brahmajāla Sutta (DN 1 I 27). Here the "evasive arguer" (amarā-vikkhepika) will avoid giving an answer to a number of points including whether the opapātika exists, does not exist, both exist and does not exist, neither exists nor does not exist (Aththi sattā opapātikā? N'atthi sattā opapātikā? Aththi ca n'atthi ca sattā opapātikā? N'ev' aththi na n'atthi sattā opapātikā), whether deeds have results (sukātadukkaṭānaṁ kammānaṁ phalāṁ vipāko), whether a world beyond exists - paraloka, and whether the Tathāgata exists. Further there is Kassapa's argument in the Pāyāsi Sutta (DN 23): the whole of this suṭta is a debate about this view. One of Kassapa's points in this argument is that the world beyond, opapātikas, and the results of deeds cannot be seen by the physical eye (mamsa-cakkhu), but only by a sufficiently trained person who has developed the Divine Eye (dībba cakkhu).

The term opapātika occurs also in contexts which demonstrate that it formed part of contemporary mythology, although at the time it might have been believed to express a biological fact. One occurrence is concerned with defining types of birth: "There are four types of birth: oviparous, viviparous, from moisture, spontaneously" (Catasso yonīyo. Andaja-yoni, jālābujja-yoni, samsedaja-yoni, opapātika-yoni. DN 33 III 230. §xxvi; MN 12 I 73; SN III 240-5. That this context is mythical is shown in the SN (III 240-246), which concerns Nāgas, who are mythical beings. Their birth is described as being of four types as above, with the opapātika being the best type. Each of these types of nāga, however, is equally keen to keep the sacred days in order to achieve rebirth in heaven. The following book of this volume (SN III 246-9) occupies itself with the relationship between the Supāṇḍa, a mythical bird, and the Nāga. Supāṇḍas are subject to these four kinds of birth. A further mythical context occurs where the opapātika appears among beings that one might come across teaching the Dhamma in a celestial state (devaniyāya) if one was reborn there (AN II 186).

The contexts in which the term opapātika occurs suggests that this is an ancient term and indeed also an old issue. The debate contexts connect Buddhism with a more ancient Indian tradition. If we accept them as evidence, then the issue of whether or not a being that comes into existence without the occurrence of a sexual act exists was debated. This would imply that different groups held different views about it and that the Buddhists were themselves required to take up a position. This notion

74 natthi dinnām natthi yiṭṭham natthi hutam, natthi sukaṭadukkaṭānaṁ kammānaṁ phalāṁ vipāko, natthi ayaṁ loko natthi ayaṁ loko, natthi mātā natthi pīṭā natthi sattā opapātikā, natthi loke samanābrāmanā sammaggata samāpattiṭṭhāna, ye imaṁ ca lokām paraṁ ca lokām savam abhiṁnā sacchikativā pavedenā ut. AN V 265 (tr. Woodward, GS V 178) and variously. This expression occurs in each of DN, MN, AN and SN. See CPD, s.v. opapātika. The relationship between opapātika and anāgāmin has been overlooked by the CPD.

75 See Witzel, 1987; Manné, 1990.
therefore cannot be taken to be a Buddhist invention. The fact that this term has a mythological context also supports this view. It too entitles us to think that this concept was not original to Buddhism. From the character of these contexts the likely history of the term opāpātika is that it was imported by the Buddhists into the context of stages of development from mythical and philosophical or biological contexts. Through the consistent use of opāpātika in the standard version of this HCH, which is also its most frequent expression, it is possible that opāpātika is an older term than anāgāmin. It's possible history within Buddhism is that it was originally a metaphor which later became a technical term.

ii The term anāgāmin: the issue of the difference between the Returner and the Non-Returner

The etymology of this term shows that it designates a state of not returning, of not coming back. The issue of the difference between a "Returner" and a "Non-Returner" is particularly an AN preoccupation.

The difference between a "Returner", and a "Non-Returner", is defined: the grounds for discrimination are whether their fetters (samyojana) are internal (ajjhatta) or external (bhāvidhā AN I 63ff). Both the Returner and the Non-Returner "live (in obedience to) the moral practices, restrained with the restraint of the obligations; proficient in following the practice of right conduct, (they) see danger in the slightest faults: (they) take up and train (themselves) in the rules of morality" (silavā hoti pātimokkha-samvarasamvuto viharati ācāra-gocara-sampanno anumattasu vajjesu bhayadassāvi samādāya sikkhati sikkhāpadesa. AN I 63). Each finds himself in a certain company of gods after death (so kāyassa bhedā param maraṇa aññataram devanikāyang uppaññati. ibid.). The āgāmin, however, on leaving that existence, comes back to this world (so tato cuto āgāmi hoti āgantā iṭhātam. ibid.). He suffers this fate because his fetters are personal or internal.

3.4.1 Formulas, including attainment formulas

The anāgāmin, like the sotāpanna and the arahat, has his attainment formula:

Yāni cīmāni bhante Bhagavatā pañcārambhāgiyāni samyojānāni destitā nāhaṃ tesaṃ kiṃ cattāri appaconstitution samanupassāmi "Moreover, as to those five fetters of the lower sort shown by the Exalted One, I do not see a single one of them in myself that is not abandoned." (SN V 177f)\textsuperscript{76}

This formula, however, exists only in the SN, and is declared only by the gahapatiś, (Sirivaṭṭha (V 177) and Mānadiṭṭha (V 178). Although it is acknowledged by the Buddha to indicate their attainment of the stage of anāgāmin, one cannot attach any weight to its existence. There is not enough evidence to believe that this anāgāmin attainment formula was ever used in a debate situation.

3.4.2 anāgāmin attainments

The standard definition of this stage of attainment under the designation anāgāmin, and the key condition for its attainment, as the standard version shows, is the abandoning of the five lower fetters (orambhāgiyāni samyojānāni, cf. SN V 159f), and the diminution of the destructive emotions of passion, hatred, and delusion. Various texts describe the five lower fetters (see under Version A, §2.3) but these specifications are never given in the context of the anāgāmin. From this one may conclude that abandoning the five lower fetters was a recognised stage of development that existed prior to the invention of the anāgāmin and that it got attributed to the him after he was invented.

\textsuperscript{76} Tr. Woodward, KS V 156f.
Beyond the above there is very little further information about this stage. One sutta defines conditions for the attainment of the fruit of this stage. Unless one has given up six things: "disbelief, shamelessness, recklessness, indolence, forgetfulness in mindfulness and foolishness" (assaddhiya, ahirika, anottappa, kosajja, muthasacca, duppaññatā. AN III 421) one cannot realize its fruit. Depending on whether or not one follows suttas that place the fruit before the stage (§2.1, Version C) the anāgāmin either has, or is developing these qualities.

Other attainments are implied, especially that the anāgāmin has all the sotāpanna attainments but at a higher level. This is sometimes specified: e.g. the anāgāmin will have progressed further with regard to his comprehension of the five grasping groups (pañcupādānakkhandā), than have the earlier stages (SN III 167f, §122).

I have found no information regarding the behaviour and beliefs attained by those who have attained the stage of anāgāmin.

3.4.3 The advantages of having attained the stage of anāgāmin

The advantage in attaining this state is the assurance of non-returning.

3.4.4 Methods for the attainment of the stage of anāgāmin

A method is given to attain this stage. This is the method to transcend the five fetters which belong to the lower world. This can be achieved by becoming clear about the teaching, "Were I not then, it would not now be mine. It shall not be, and mine it shall not be (No cassa no ca me siyā na bhavissati na me bhavissati. SN III 56)."

3.4.5 Relative frequency of attainment

This stage is rather frequently attained either in its own right (AN I 64, II 160, IV 63 etc.), or as one possibility among the first three stages of this HCH (AN V 86), or specifically in opposition to Arahantship. It is more frequently attained than the stage arahat, but less frequently than the other two stages (See also §§ 3.2.6 and 3.3.5).

3.4.6 Types of anāgāmin

The texts may divide the anāgāmin into two types or into five types (see §2.2.3). Both of these definitions into types of anāgāmin occur in the AN. To the best of my knowledge the division into two types is unique to AN while DN, SN and AN support the division into five types. The relationship between the two types and the five types of Non-Returner described here, is neither made explicit through clarification in the suttas nor indicated implicitly through an overlap of vocabulary between substages.

In general none of the substages of the anāgāmin receive any further clarification, except on one occasion in the AN (IV 70-74). Here a bhikkhu has achieved certain attainments: he has reached the idea: "If it were not, it would not be mine; it shall not become, for me it shall not

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77 Tr. Hare, GS III 297.
78 Tr. from Woodward, KS III 48; see also fn* for reading of text. SN III 205, quoted under "Sotāpanna attainments", above has no cassam.
79 dūvinnam phallānaṃ aṅñataram phalam pāṭkākkham dittheva damma aṅkā satī vā upādāse anāgāmiṇī. DN II 315; MN I 63, etc; AN III 82, 143, etc., SN V 129, 181, 285. "of two fruits one may be expected in this very life, to wit: realization, or, if there be any substrate left, the state of non-return." Tr. Woodward, KS V 159.
become; what is, what's become, that I abandon" (no c'assa, no ca me siyá, na bhavissati, na me bhavissati, yad atti yam bhûtam, tam pajahámi ti (AN IV 70);\(^{80}\) the first part of which is the method for attaining this stage, he has obtained equanimity (upekkhá) and, "He is not attached to rebirth or to birth; he has seen through the highest insight the peace which is the path to the greatest advantage Nibbána, but he has not seen this path completely, and he has not completely abandoned the tendencies to pride, to lust for rebirth, and to ignorance" (So bhave na rajjati, sambhave na rajjati, attuttarirn padam santam sammapaññ̄ya passati; tañ ca khvassa padam na sabbena sabbam sacchikatam hoti, tassa na sabbena sabbam mânänusayo pahîno hoti, na sabbena sabbam bhavaragànusayo pahîno hoti, na sabbena sabbam avijjänusayo pahîno hoti. AN IV 70). Once the five fetters binding to the lower states disappear, he becomes one of the five types of anàgàmin. Here, these different types are distinguished by means of the simile of an iron slab which is heated and beaten, and gives off fragments which take different amounts of time to cool down, and whose cooling down has different effects on the environment. A fragment may simply cool down, or cool down having risen up into the air, or cool down without harming the ground: this is comparable with the substage antaràparinibbiràyn. A fragment which cools down having harmed the ground, is comparable with the substage upahaccaraparinibbiràyn. A fragment which falls on and sets fire to a small heap of grass and sticks which, for want of fuel, becomes extinguished when this is used up is comparable with the substage asankhàraparinibbiràyn. A fragment which falls on a large heap is comparable with the substage sasankhàraparinibbiràyn and a fragment which sets fire to a large heap of fuel and whose fire spreads to the surrounding shrubland and woodland and so forth before cooling down, is comparable to the uddhàmsoto aknìtthagàmin. The final paragraph is devoted to explaining amupádà parinibbiràna. "Nibbána that does not take up any more fuel". This is done by means of an arahant formula, but not that of the Four Stages HCH (àsavànam khàyà .. pe .. sacchikatvà upasampajja vihàrii. AN IV 74). This simile is based on the way the Buddhists understood the etymology of the word nìbbàna,\(^{81}\) which provides the metaphor of the going out of a fire. It's use here is beautiful and poetic, and enhances the idea of "extinguishing", which is used to explain Nibbána, by providing an illustrative image, but it provides no real facts or standards for discriminating between the different types of anàgàmin.

3.5 The Arahat.

An adequate study of the variety of descriptions of this stage in the context of Case Histories would require a very long book of its own, and no efforts in this direction will be made here. The authenticity of this stage is not, I think, in question at least the word is not disputed as an epithet for the person who has attained liberation, the ultimate goal in Buddhism. What is interesting in this context is the vague and undefinable line between Arahat and anàgàmin that is so often evident in AN and SN, and that occurs in DN also.

3.6 anàgàmin vs Arahat.

It is evident that at a certain point in the history of Buddhism there was a confusion between the stages of Arahat and anàgàmin, and a problem in separating them, and the issue was their individual attainments. This confusion shows up primarily in the AN. Thus, one who develops five dhammas which are the constituents of psychic power (idhipadhàna): the concentrations on will, mind, effort and investigation (chanda-, citta-, viriya- and vimânsà-samàdhi) will attain either the fruit

\(^{80}\) Tr. Hare, GS IV 40f.

\(^{81}\) PTSD, s.v. nibbàna.
of anānā (a synonym for Arahatship as §2.2.4, 4.i and 4.ii above show), in this very life-time (dīṭh'æve dhamme) or, should there be any remainder (upādisesa), the state of non-returning (anāgāmitā, AN III 82. Cf also SN V 129-133, 236 § 65 (5); MN I 481 above). There is no information regarding the conditions under which a remainder would exist, and thus no explanation why one stage rather than another should be attained. Similarly, when the mind of a bhikkhu is encompassed about his going forth according to rule and evil, unskilled dhammas that have arisen do not occupy his mind, and it is encompassed about the concepts of impermanence (anicca), non-self (anatta), the repulsive (asubha) and danger (adīnava), and about knowing the equal and the unequal (sama, visama) and the production and annihilation (sambhava, vibhava) and the creation and destruction of the world (samudaya, atthaṅgama), and about abandoning (puññāna), absence of passion (virāga) and cessation (nīrodha), then he will either have attained anānā or anāgāmiṇī, as above (AN v 108). Further it is said that the attainment of any of the four jhānas will result either in the attainment of the stage Arahat, or in that of the stage anāgāmiṇī, both stages expressed in conformity with the standard version (AN V 343). No reasons are given why one of these stages rather than the other should be the result of any jhāna.

In general, the difficulty of recognising stages was recognised in the AN. It addresses itself also to the difficulty of identifying stages in relation to attainments. Three great sages of Buddhism, Savīṭṭha, Mahākoṭṭhita and Sāriputta, discuss which is the most excellent, persons with the attainment of kāyasakkhi, dīṭhippatti or sādhasīvumutta. Each has a different preference, and so, to decide the matter, the Buddha is consulted. The Buddha's response is that it is not easy to tell: any among them could be either a sotāpanna, a sakadāgāmin or a anāgāmiṇī (AN I 118).

82 See Katz, 1982.

4 Review and Discussion

This discussion will begin with a consideration of the authenticity and the history of the list of the stages with their fruits. It will then go on to treat the elaborations of this list of stages. After that the authenticity of the individual stages will be considered, and finally the differences between the DN, MN, SN and AN will be examined. Section 5 concerns the way this hypothetical case history is used, and abused, in the texts. Section 6 will consider how this HCH came about.

4.1 The stages and their fruits

The most regularly occurring variation of this HCH is that of the stages and their fruits. The relative frequency with which this version occurs poses the question whether it is a variation of the Four Stages HCH or whether it is an elaboration of the brief version which it came to replace. Two particular features show that it is indeed an elaboration. The first is its inconsistency: as was said above, sometimes in this listing the stage will precede its fruit, and sometimes the fruit will precede its stage. The second shows also the cause of these irregularities: it lies in the structure of the original expression. The Pāli phrase which most usually introduces this formula: sotāpanno sotāpattiphasacchakiriyāya patipannno (DN III 255 = AN IV 204 = AN IV 292 = SN V 202, §18(8)), can be translated, "the Stream-Enterer, who has entered upon", or "obtained", or "who regulates his life by, the experience of the fruit of stream-entry", in other words, the phrase sotāpattiphasacchakiriyāya patipannno, may be construed to qualify the term sotāpanno. In this case why take the phrase to indicate two distinct stages? The reason is both because certain texts give these specifically as separate stages (MN III 254), and because others indicate in their introductory phrases that this list contains eight items (AN IV 292). But are they right? I think not. It makes sense that if one has attained something, one will, by definition,
enjoy its fruit, i.e. the reward for one's efforts, afterwards, and that the
fruit of some action cannot be obtained before the completion of the
action, i.e. the attainment of the purpose or goal. Both the grammar of the
formula and the inconsistency of the ordering of the stages and their fruit
indicate that the division into stage and fruit is spurious.

This list may have came into the tradition in the following way. During
the process of evolution of this HCH, it became necessary to
attribute a stage with bringing certain benefits, and, obviously, if stages
exist, they must indeed do so. In a passion for categorising, i.e. making
dhammas of, everything, the rather intangible benefits became
transformed into the rather tangible fruits. This process was assisted by
the misconstruing of the structure of a phrase. The artificiality of this
procedure is evident in the confusion of the texts with regard to what
comes first: the stage or its fruits. This elaboration, therefore, cannot be
taken to refer to genuine stages in a process of development. This is
despite the attempt to authenticate it in the AN, where the Buddha is
attributed with each of these fruits (AN I 23). This attempted
authentication is not carried as far as the chief disciples who, to the best
of my knowledge, are never attributed in the DN, MN, SN or AN either
with any of the stages lower than Arahant, or with their fruits, with the
exception of sotāpanna. We can thus see that both the list of stages and
fruits and the list of the fruits alone are the result of a misunderstanding
of an expression. This misunderstanding has created a tradition.

4.2 The Elaborations

As was shown in §2, these standard versions suffer various
elaborations. These elaborations, or parts of them, occur as integral parts
of AN and SN, but are evidently imported into the DN via its
Abhidhammic-style suttas (DN 33 and 34), and do not occur at all in
MN.

4.2.1 Elaborations of the stages sotāpanna and anāgāmin,
and of the pre-stage: the Buddhist interest in measuring
attainment

The elaborations seem to have come about through a fascination
with measuring attainments. This had led to two of the original stages, the
stage of sotāpanna, and the stage of anāgāmin, receiving subdivisions
(see §2.2.2 and 3). The subdivisions take place according to specific
criteria. One important criterion for the division of the stage of sotāpanna
is the number of rebirths to be expected, rebirths which take place in this
world, and which are human incarnations.

The stage anāgāmin is divided in different ways. One of these
ways is in terms of the location and period of the rebirth that will be
obtained: among various kinds of gods, for various lengths of time, and
under various conditions. Other criteria may seem to be highly technical
as in sasankhārā, asankhārā, the state of the sankhāras, and
upakacca- or antarā-parinibbāyi hoti, the exact moment of attaining
Nibbāna. There is also the metaphor of the fragments of the iron slab
which illustrates the very fine nuances between the divisions of this stage
(§3.4.6).

The wish to create a system of measurable attainments extends
to the stage prior to entry into the stages of this HCH. This pre-stage may
be called that of the Ordinary Man, (puthūjana MN, SN), or of the
disciple "who lives in accordance with the dhamma", (dhammadusārin),
or "who lives in accordance with faith" (saddhānusārin - SN), or of the
person who is "beyond, and without attachment to sense-pleasures",
(bāhiraka kāmesu vītarāga), or at its lowest level, an animal
(tiracchānagata). The three terms dhammadusārin, saddhānusārin and
bāhiraka kāmesu vītarāga attest to a certain minimal level of attainment
(§2.2.1).

4.2.2 The elaborations connected to other aspects of the Teaching

The SN connects this HCH with the Indriyas HCH, the Seven Factors of Awakening HCH, and the Seven Fruits of Mindfulness on the Breathing HCH (§2.3.1). The AN connects this HCH with the Three Trainings HCH and the Three Categories of Fetters HCH (§2.3.2). The questions that have to be asked here are: (1) How can we be certain that these are indeed elaborations of the Four Stages HCH rather than separate HCHs, or stages intrinsic to the other HCH? and (2) How can we be certain that it is the Four Stages HCH which is imposed and the other HCH which "receives" this imposition, and not vice versa? The answer to the first question is that this can be inferred from the texts through their use of a particular vocabulary, including synonyms, and also through their structure, that these elaborations belong to the Four Stages HCH. The answer to the second question is that if all reference to the Four Stages HCH were omitted from any of the "receiving" HCH, these HCHs would still stand as independent HCHs. I think there can be no doubt in these cases that the various attainments existed in the form of independent HCHs, and that the concepts and terminology of the developing Four Stages HCH were imposed upon them.

4.3 The individual stages

4.3.1 The Arahat

I do not put this stage in question, nor do I put in question the use of this term to designate the stage of the attainment of Enlightenment or Liberation. It was in general use in this sense among various groups who sought liberation.\(^{84}\) Its usage throughout the Canon is consistent. It always occurs in the expression for the Buddha's credentials in the debate tradition.\(^{85}\) It is very frequently used in many other circumstances in phrases qualifying the term "Buddha". It is used to designate the attainment of the monk who has achieved Nibbāna, the goal of the Buddha's teaching. On all of these grounds, I take the view that it is an early term, in use at the time of the Buddha himself, and with this meaning.

4.3.2 The stage of the Non-Returner, \(\text{opapātika/anāgāmin}\)

The attainments of the stage of Non-Returner are rather cursorily given and not much attention is paid to the method for obtaining them (§3.3.4).

I suggested that the term \(\text{opapātika, } \text{"born by spontaneous generation"},\) was a metaphor which became a technical term and a synonym for "Non-Returner" (§3.4). This idea is precisely expressed in the term \(\text{anāgāmin}\) whose etymology leaves nothing to be guessed, and which, as in the case of the Once-Returner, \(\text{sakadāgāmin}\), shows that it was invented to cover one particular situation: that of having escaped the

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\(^{84}\) "... this same term (or its equivalent ...) was also used by the Jainas, and perhaps the Ājīvikas ... to designate those who have reached the highest stage possible while still embodied as human beings." See Bronkhorst, 1986 : 6.

\(^{85}\) Manné, 1990 : 2.1.ii.b, quote 16.
destiny of coming back. What could have been the issues that gave rise to the need for this notion? It is generally agreed that the Buddha taught that Enlightenment could be attained in this very lifetime (ditth'eva dhamme). That leaves a rather problematic issue: what would happen if the practitioner nearly became an Arahat in this very lifetime - but not quite. If there was a possibility of losing all that one hoped to have gained in pursuing a goal whose attainment could not be guaranteed, what could persuade or encourage more than the minimum amount of ardent disciples - almost certainly not enough of them to sustain the religion - that the effort was worth it. The notion of rebirth was very likely available and elegantly solved the problem. It therefore seems likely that the notions and terms Once-Returner (sakadāgāmin) and Non-Returner (anāgāmin) were incorporated into Buddhism at a time when the Buddhists needed to emphasise the effectiveness of their practice, whether death intervened or not. The important feature with regard to the promulgation the Teaching at that time was that it lead, not only to the high goal of Arahatship, but also, as the names show, to not coming back.

The attention paid to the issue of the difference between the anāgāmin and the Arahat, and the lack of clarity and precise definition suggests that the invention of the notion of anāgāmin created difficulties in this direction.

4.3.3 The stage of the Once-Returner, sakadāgāmin

Of all of the four stages of this HCH, the stage of sakadāgāmin, receives the least attention in the texts. The etymology of this word shows that the stage was invented to cover one particular situation: that of having as one's destiny only one more occasion of rebirth. Behaviour, beliefs, advantages connected with this stage, methods for its attainment, and an attainment formula are all sadly missing, with the exception of the contents of the phrase in the standard Variation 1A. That expression tells us that the sakadāgāmin potentially destructive emotions of anger, hatred and delusionment are diminished, and that he will only be reborn one more time.

4.3.4 The stage of the Stream-Enterer, sotāpanna

The attestations in §3.1 show that the primary characteristic of the sotāpanna, his chief attainment, is his faith (the Beliefs and Practices formula, §3.2.1.B) although attention was also drawn to the possibility that originally practice was important (the Behaviour formula, §3.2.1.A). The adaptability of the fourth condition of the Beliefs and Practices formula, especially when used as an attainment formula, provides evidence that the reward of this stage of attainment was offered for supporting the Sangha. Occasionally more difficult attainments were required for this stage, for instance achieving the Noble Eightfold Path (§3.2.2) which is often represented as the attainment of the Arahat, or applying one's mind to the Causal Law - paticcasaṃuppāda (§3.2.2). Sometimes going beyond doubt with regard to certain aspects of the Teaching was a required attainment, or attainments are required with regard to certain indriyas (§3.2.3). These additional requirements, however, can safely be regarded as late as, first of all, they do not appear in either of the attainment formulas, and besides that they occur only in

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86 See Bronkhorst, 1986 : 93.
87 I do not wish to give the impression that this was the only reason and means through which the notion of Liberation after death entered Buddhism. See Bronkhorst, 1986 : 94f for several interesting textual examples of the tendency in Buddhism to postpone liberation until after death. These examples show that this notion was coming into Buddhism in many different ways.
The multiplicity of the information regarding the _sotāpanna_, and its many contradictions, suggests that this notion is an early element in the development of Buddhism which has evolved and been intensely elaborated in the course of time. With regard to the designation of the stage of _sotāpanna_, at least in the view of AN, all of the other stages of this HCH are simply types of _sotāpanna_. (AN V 120) This passage provides an important key to our understanding of this stage. I argued above (§4.3.1) that the stage of Arahat may be taken to have existed from the beginning of Buddhism. I have argued too (§4.3.2) that the stage _anāgāmin_ solves the problem of what would happen if the practitioner nearly became an Arahat - but not quite, by offering a sort of guarantee, a saving clause for the promise that enlightenment was attainable during this lifetime. The stage _anāgāmin_ contradicts the basic Buddha teaching that Enlightenment is attainable in the present lifetime. This discrepancy shows that this stage was invented later, and most likely after the time of the Buddha. The same must be said about the stage of _sakadāgāmin_ which is so minimally developed in the texts. The close comparison between the etymological structure of these two terms suggests that they came into being together to serve the same purpose. This brings us to the question of the stage of _sotāpanna_. What is the origin of the stage of _sotāpanna_? The answer is that it was originally the stage, or perhaps more accurately the _state of convert_. The _sotāpanna_ was originally no more and no less that someone who had converted to Buddhism. Converting means having faith, conforming to a certain belief system and following a minimum number of rules of morality (sīla). The _sotāpanna_ does all of these things. Originally, then, at the time of the Buddha, there were converts, and Arahats - practitioners who had attained Liberation. The invention of the stages of _anāgāmin_, and _sakadāgāmin_, however, necessitated the elaboration of the state of being a convert into the stage of _sotāpanna_. In this way the four stages HCH came about. This being the situation, there is no surprise in the fact that the texts present the _sakadāgāmin_ as a type of _sotāpanna_, as they do the _anāgāmin_ and the Arahat (AN V 120). There is also no surprise either in the fact that _sotāpanna_ is the most frequently attained stage (SN V 406).

In this way the four stages HCH came about.

### 4.4 The difference in interest in this HCH between the DN, MN, SN & AN

#### 4.4.1 The standard version, the brief version and the elaborations.

The standard version of this HCH and the brief version with fruits occur consistently in all of the four Nikāyas of this study except for the brief version which appears to be absent in the DN and the MN. Other elaborations occur minimally in the DN and MN and then only in texts that are undoubtedly late additions to these collections. Only the MN has variations within the context of this HCH of the expression for the fourth of the Four Stages, the Arahat.

It is the SN and the AN which are most interested in the elaborations of this HCH. In general these texts agree on the elaborations as they appear in the lists. There are, however, interesting differences between them. One concerns the pre-stages, another concerns the sub-stages of the stage of _sotāpanna_, and a further difference concerns the fact that with regard to the elaborations connected to other aspects of the Teaching, the SN (§2.3.1) and AN (§2.3.2) contain completely

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88 See Bronkhorst, 1986 : 93f.
89 See Rhys Davids DB I 200, where he translates _sotāpanna_ with "a converted man". Cf. Masefield, 1986 : 135 who equates the _sotāpanna_ with the _sāvaka_ and the _dīthiṣampanna_. Masefield is more interested in showing homogeneity than in investigating differences and therefore follows the first methodological approach that Schmithausen (1990) has defined.
different and unrelated information. With regard to the first point, the SN offers two pre-stages which are undoubtedly designed to accommodate two types of followers, those who live in accordance with the dhamma-(dhammaṇusārins) and those who live in accordance with faith (saddhānusārins), while the AN offers no pre-stages. This may be taken to indicate that the SN reciters were more in touch with their lay followers, and more required to please and to accommodate them, than their AN colleagues. This position is supported by the SN’s generally greater interest in the stage of sotāpanna (see below). With regard to the second point, the substages of the stage sotāpanna occur only as a list of terms in the SN, while the AN explains the terms. This suggests that the AN may have originated these ideas or at least that the SN took them over from the AN. With regard to the third point, this gives the impression that the SN and the AN had a somewhat different view of the Teaching.

4.4.2 The individual stages

i The stage of Stream-Enterer, sotāpanna.

The Nikāyas show distinct and different interests in the individual stages. MN shows no interest in defining the sotāpanna, nor in attributing qualities to him. It contains only the standard version and the brief version with fruits. The DN contains both the Behaviour Formula and the Beliefs and Practices formula, but both of these occur only in the Sangīti Sutta (DN III 227). It contains the sotāpanna attainments, but these occur only in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta (DN II 93), which is also a particular case. The AN contains the Beliefs and Practices Formula (AN IV 406) and the condition for uttering it (the Fivefold Guilty Dread condition AN IV 405). It contains the sotāpanna attainments, and it alone contains a list of advantages on the attainment of the stage of sotāpanna (AN III 441). It contains certain recommendations regarding the method for attaining all of the stages (AN I 44; 231f). It incorporates all the other stages into that of sotāpanna, by dividing sotāpannas up into 10 types and subsuming the various types of anāgāmin into this stage, and by taking the view that all those with faith in the Buddha are sotāpanna (AN IV 120). It is the SN, however, that is really interested in the sotāpanna. It contains the Behaviour formula (SN V 347, 404, etc.), the Beliefs and Practices formula (SN V 343f, 345, etc.), and the conditions for uttering these formulas (SN II 68f; V 387f). It contains the variations on this formula that adapt it for laymen (SN V 387) or that adapt it in the direction of generosity towards the monks (SN V 352), as well as the doubts about these adaptations (SN V 371; 398). It adds qualifications beyond those of the Behaviour, and the Beliefs and Practices formulas, such as application to the causal law, patīcasamuppāda (SN V 387), the attainment of seven good practices and four desirable states (SN v 352-356), a condition based on views (SN III 202-224), and two five indriya conditions (SN V 193f; SN V 207), and a six indriya condition (SN V 205). It proposes methods, such as contemplating the five grasping groups, pañcupādānakkhandhā. It is concerned with the differences between the Stream-Enterer (sotāpanna) and the Arahat (§3.2.3).

ii The stage of Once-Returner, sakadāgāmin

When it comes to the sakadāgāmin, none of the texts have a particular interest.

iii The stage of Non-Returner, opapātika / anāgāmin.

On the subject of the opapātika / anāgāmin there is once again difference and specialisation between SN and AN, while, as in the case of the sotāpanna, DN and MN contain only the standard expressions. SN, however, contains an attainment formula. It emphasises the condition for the attainment of this stage of abandoning the five lower fetters (SN

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V 177f), and offers a method for this (SN III 566). It demands further progress than the sotāpanna with the five grasping groups, pañcupāḍānakkhandhā (SN III 167f). AN says where, i.e. in which heaven, one might encounter an opapāti (AN II 186). It is concerned with the difference between a Returner, and a Non-Returner, discriminating between these two stages through a conditions based on fetters (AN I 63), qualifying the non-Returner through his mental capacities (AN I 64), or through a simile (AN IV 74). It offers a method for attaining this stage, and says that this stage is rather frequently attained (AN I 64, II 160, IV 63, etc). It is aware of the difficulty of distinguishing between stages (AN I 118). This specialisation shows that of the two Nikāyas which interested themselves most in the Four Stages HCH, the SN was primarily concerned with the stage of sotāpanna, while the AN was primarily concerned with the stage of anāgāmin.

Only AN is concerned with the problem that each stage could seemingly be attained in a variety of ways. It asserts that all sotāpannas are equal, as are all sakadāgāmins, anāgāmins and Arahats (AN IV 364).

5 The Use - and Abuse - of the Four Stages Case History

I said in the introduction to this chapter that the concepts saṃsāra and karma required a HCH that extended over more than one lifetime. The original purpose of this HCH may have been to provide this, but its appearance in the texts shows how manifold its utility was. In this chapter we will look at how the DN, MN, SN and AN use, and abuse, this case history. In order to facilitate the comparison, common headings will be used. These will be:

1 The Use of the Four Stages HCH in Debates: the Four Stages HCH as the main reason for following the Buddha's Teaching.

2 The Four Stages HCH and the promotion of the efficacy of the Buddha's Teaching: the need for measurable and definable attainments.

3 The Four Stages HCH as conferring status and rewards.

4 Attempts to relate the Four Stages HCH to other aspects of the Teaching:
   i the attempt to relate it to other sequences of development.
   ii the attempt to relate it to technical aspects of the Teaching.

5 The abuse of the Four Stages HCH.

6 Actual CH's.

7 The differences between the Nikāyas in their treatment of the Four Stages HCH.

5.1 The Use of the Four Stages HCH in the Debates: DN, MN, AN:
The Four Stages HCH as the main reason for following the Buddha's Teaching

The Four Stages HCH is connected with the debate tradition in two ways: (1) it is proposed as a means for winning a debate, and (2) it has attainment formulas connected to some of its stages.

In the Mahāli Sutta (DN 6), replying to a challenge, the Buddha says that the reason for following his Teaching is in order to attain the four stages (expressed as in Version A). On two other occasions it is claimed that it is precisely the existence of these four stages that differentiates the Buddha's system from other systems, and that this is the

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91 This sutta has been discussed in Manné, 1990 : 4.1.
basis for an assertion (a lion’s roar) in a debate. However determinedly the importance of the Four Stages HCH is proclaimed, it never wins a debate! Debates are won on the Sāmaññaphala Sutta hypothetical case history. This fact rather detracts from the force of the assertions in the suttas cited above.

5.2 The Four Stages HCH and the promotion of the efficacy of the Buddha’s Teaching: the need for definable and measurable attainments

This case history shows that it was necessary and important for the Buddhists to have definable and measurable attainments. In this way they were true psychologists! The Four Stages HCH is used to prove that the Buddha's method works. There is an emphasis that everyone who practises, attains. The Buddha says, "There is indeed in this Order of monks no doubt or misgiving in a single monk as to the Buddha, the Order, the Dhamma, the Way or the Practice. Of these five hundred monks here, Ānanda, the most backward is a Stream-Winner, one saved from the Downfall, assured, bound for Enlightenment" (AN II 80). Similarly, the Buddha states that simply by following his method for a day and a night, one of the stages: that of either the sakadāgāmin, the anāgāmin, or the sotāpanna, would be attained (AN V 86).

The attainment of stages is used to quantitatively demonstrate the effectiveness of hearing a sermon preached by the Buddha. In the SN, thirty monks who still have fetters (saṅyojanā) come to see the Buddha for help. The Buddha recognises their state, and, in order for them all to attain release, preaches a sermon. They all duly attain release (bhikkhūnam anupādāya āsavehi cittāni vimuccimsu. SN II 187ff). The instant freeing from intoxicants (āsavas) by means of a sermon preached by the Buddha is most characteristically a SN feature, although it occurs in other texts (SN II 187ff, III 68, 132; IV 20, etc.).

The four stages HCH is imposed on other HCHs (§2.3), thus providing for them a terminology capable of making vague notions of progress measurable.

5.3 The Four Stages used to confer status and rewards

There is a certain innocence in the way the texts exploit this aspect of the utility of the Four Stages HCH. The Four Stages are mentioned in three fantasy suttas: the Jana-Vasabha Sutta (DN 18), the Mahā-Govinda Sutta (DN 19), and the Sakka-Pañha Sutta (DN 21). In the Jana-Vasabha Sutta (DN 18), the Buddha’s affirmation that there are large numbers of people in a certain region, Nādika, who have attained one or other of the first three stages after death is of central importance. Ānanda immediately realises that if such attainments are confirmed for the faithful of one area, politics and good public relations require that they had be confirmed for the faithful of another. The issue is corrected by means of a fantastical story. The sutta emphasises the importance of the possession of a named, defined stage of attainment.

The Mahā-Govinda Sutta (DN 19), the second of these Fantasy suttas, asserts that every disciple has attained one of these four stages: it is comparable in function with the suttas in the previous section. This sutta’s position on the Four Stages HCH is that merely becoming a disciple is enough to be rewarded with the stage of sotāpanna. This

92 Cūḷasīhanāda Sutta (MN 11); AN II 238; see Manné, forthcoming (a). Also in the AN the stages and their fruits are called the 8th marvel (attha accariyā abhuddha dhamma) of the Buddha’s dhamma and discipline (dhammavinaya). AN IV 204.
93 See Manné, forthcoming (a), 2.1.
94 See fn.12.
suggests that this sutta has its origins at a time when the term *sotāpanna* meant simply "convert".

Only the stage *sotāpanna* is mentioned in the third of these fantasy suttas, the *Sakkatimana Sutta* (DN 21), and here it is the god Sakka who lays claim both to being a disciple of the Buddha and to having attained this stage. It forms part of his credentials when he presents himself to the Buddha and in this way demonstrates the link between stage and status. This sutta demonstrates that a stage could convey status. A god must have some measurable attainment!

The innocence with which the texts exploit this HCH is somewhat betrayed, however, in the *Aśāktrapāna Sutta* (MN 68). This sutta explains why the Buddha uses the 4 stages .. "the Tathāgata does not have the purpose of defrauding people nor the purpose of cajoling people not the purpose of gains, honour, fame and material advantages, nor the thought: 'Let people know me thus' when he explains the uprisings in which are disciples who have deceased and passed away, saying: "Such a one has risen in one, such a one has risen in another." But there are, .. young men of family who have faith and are of great enthusiasm, of great joyousness and who, having heard this, focus their minds on suchness. .. this will be for their weal and happiness for a long time" (MN I 465). The text that follows shows clearly that the "uprisings" spoken about are the four stages. This explanation suggests that the four stages are an invention whose purpose was to inspire dedication to the practice and to endow it with a tangible result.

The *Tevijja-Vacchagutta Sutta* (MN 70) is forthright in offering stages as rewards. It proclaims, "For a disciple who has faith in the Teacher's instruction and lives in unison with it, monks, one of two fruits is to be expected: profound knowledge here and now, or, if there is any basis (for rebirth remaining), the state of no-return" (MN I 481). The second option can only be attested by the Buddha or another of like capacities, who can see the arising of beings as they transmigrate from life to life. When it comes to faith and practice, this categorisation ensures that there are no losers.

Finally, in the *Dakkhinavibhanga Sutta* (MN 142), the four stages are used explicitly to grade the reward concomitant upon the giving of gifts. The higher the stage of the recipient, the greater his status and the greater the reward for the donor.

5.4 Attempts to relate the Four Stages HCH to other aspects of the Teaching

5.4.1 The Four Stages HCH in relationship to other sequences of development

Several examples of this from the SN and the AN have been presented in §2.3. Although the two abhidhammic suttas of the DN, 33 and 34 may be said to be doing this, their organisation seems more random than structured. The same applies to the list of the monks attainments and practices in the Ānāpānasati Sutta (MN 118), quoted below, as the exposition in the sutta has little relationship to this list. The difference between the MN, whose examples I will quote below, and the AN and SN, whose examples were given in §2.3, is that the MN is trying to collate as many as the elements of the Teaching as possible,

95 See Mannē, 1990 : 2.1.ii.
96 upapatti "rebirths". the translator is capturing the play on words in the Pali.
97 'Qui s'excuse s'accuse.' Obviously this utterance has been made in defense against just such an accusation.
98 Tr. Horner, MLS II 138.
99 Tr. Horner, MLS II 156. Saddhasa bhikkhave savaṇṇassa satthu sasane pariyojaya vaattato dvinnam phalinaṃ aṇṇataravam phalam pātkathāṃ: dithe va dhamme aṇṇā, sati va upādise anāgāmitā ti. Note the term anāgāmin is used here.
while the SN and AN are imposing the Four Stages as a system of measurement upon other HCHs, or sequences of development.

An attempt to locate the four stages in a larger developmental schema is described in the Akāṅkhēyya Sutta (MN 6). Its stages are touchingly expressed in the form of a sequence of aspirations a monk may have. These are:

i  "May I be agreeable to co-practitioners and pleasant to them, esteemed and respected" (sabrahmacārīnāṁ piyo c'assāṁ manāpo garu bhāvanīyo cātī. MN 1 33).

ii "May I be one who receives the requisite of robes, almsfood, lodgings, and medicines for the sick" (lābhi assāṁ cāvara-pindapat̄a-senāsana-gilāna-paccaya-bhesajja-parikkhārānan ti).100

iii "May the services of those from whom I enjoy (the above) be of great merit, of great advantage".101

iv "May the benefit be great for those of my kith and kin who are spirits who have passed on, and who are aware of it with peaceful minds" (ye me niṭṭisālohiṭā petā kālakātā pasannacitā anussaranī tesam tam mahapphalaṁ assa mahānāsamsan-ti).

v "May I be one who overcomes aversion and liking, and may aversion not overcome me, may I fare along constantly conquering any aversion that has arisen" (aratiratisaho assam na ca maṁ arati saheyya, uppannam aratim abhibhūya vihareyyan-ti).102

vi "May I be one who overcomes fear and dread, and may fear and dread not overcome me, may I fare along constantly conquering any fear and dread that has arisen" (bhayabheravasaho assam

100 Tr. Horner, MLS I 41.
101 Tr. ibid.
102 Tr. Horner, MLS I 42.

103 Tr. ibid.
104 Tr. ibid.
105 See Manné (forthcoming b) §3, 6.
āyatanas (äkäsanañcāyatanas, viññānañcāyatanas, ākīnañcāyatanas). A refrain occurs at each stage in the sequence: "Firm in this he attains the destruction of the intoxicants. If he does not attain the destruction of the intoxicants then by this attachment to dhamma, by this delight in dhamma, by the destruction of the five fetters binding to this lower (shore), he is of spontaneous uprising, one who attains nibbāna there, not liable to return from that world." The refrain suggests that this attainment could happen at any time the jhānas, the brahmavihāras and the three āyatanas were being experienced. This close relationship between the attainment of the 3rd and the 4th stage occurs frequently in MN (52, 64, 70, 73), SN and AN.

In the Ānāpānasati Sutta (MN 118) there is a list of attainments of the Order of monks which starts with the Four Stages as its first members, and then continues with various practices:

i  Arahant
ii  āsava
iii  satipaṭṭhāna
iv  samādhi
v  "the four applications of mindfulness" (cattāro satipaṭṭhānā)
vi  "the four right concentrations of mind" (cattāro samāppadāni)
vii  "the four bases of psychic power" (cattāro iddhipadā)
viii  "the five controlling faculties" (pañca indriyānā)

106 Cf. the MahāMālunkyasa Sutta (MN 64) which links Stages 3 an 4 with the jhānas as above and with two of the āyatanas.
107 Tr. Horner, MLS II 15. Horner translates the term āsava by "canker". I have replaced this with the term "intoxicant" for the sake of consistency within this article. So tatthaṇha āsavānaṃ khayaṃ pāpunāṭi; no ce āsavānaṃ khayaṃ pāpunāṭi ten eva dhammasāgaṇaṃ tāya dhammanandaya pañcannām orambhāgīvaṃ samayojanānaṃ parikkhyā opapātiko hoti tatthaparinibbāyi anāvattidhammo āsmaṃ lokā. MN I 350.

ix  "the five powers" (pañca balāni)
xi  "the seven links in awakening" (satta bojjhangāni)
 xii "the Noble Eightfold Path" (ariya atthangikā magga)
 xiii "friendliness" (mettā)
 xiv "compassion" (karunā)
 xv  "sympathetic joy" (muditā)
 xvi  "equanimity" (upekkhā)
 xvii "on the unpleasant" (asubhā)
xviii "perception of impermanence" (aniccasāṅkha)
 xix "mindfulness on in-breathing and out-breathing" (ānāpānasati).

This list does not make a lot of sense as an ordered sequence of development. It is followed in the sutta by a detailed exposition of the practice of "mindfulness on in-breathing and out-breathing" (ānāpānasati, no. xviii. above), which, we are informed, is the practice that causes the complete development of the four applications of mindfulness (no. v. above), which practice, in its turn, causes the complete development of the seven links in awakening (no. x. above). No link between these practices and the Four Stages HCH is offered. Although this process of development forms an interesting HCH in itself, there is no link between its features and the sequence of practices listed in the earlier part of the sutta. The Four Stages HCH is here attached to an already existing list.

5.4.2 The Four Stages HCH in relationship to technical aspects of the Teaching

While DN and MN do not concern themselves with this, SN and AN show a large concern for the technical aspects of the Teaching.

108 This list is exhaustively studied in Gethin, 1992.
5.5 The abuse of the Four Stages HCH

There are no examples of this in DN, but MN has several. With reference to the utterance cited above, "the Tathāgata does not have the purpose of defrauding people nor the purpose of cajoling people not the purpose of gains, honour, fame and material advantages, nor the thought: 'Let people know me thus' when he explains the uprisings in which are disciples who have deceased and passed away, saying: "Such a one has uprisen in one, such a one has uprisen in another," one must be forgiven for saying again what was first said in a footnote (see §5.3), "Qui s'excuse s'accuse!" There are examples in MN, SN and AN which show how this system was abused in just the way denied above.

The use of the Four Stages HCH to provide measurable attainments seems honest enough, as does their capacity to confer status. The use of Stages 3 and 4 as rewards, as in the Tevijja-Vacchagotta Sutta (MN 70, see §5.3), comes close to manipulation. Certain suttas show an inventive abuse of this system of attribution and classification of attainments.

The attribution of the attainment of the stage opapātika in the Dhātuvibhaga Sutta (MN 140) is the Buddha's way of getting out of a fix. The monk Pukkusāti has received lengthy instruction from the Buddha without guessing the identity of his teacher until the end of the discourse. Pukkusāti apologises for this transgression and asks for ordination, and the Buddha sends him away to fulfill the requirements with regard to bowl and robe. Unfortunately, while trying to obtain these, Pukkusati is killed by a cow. The monks who report this to the Buddha, refer to Pukkusati in their report as "(that) young man of family who the Lord (just) instructed by means of a brief instruction," and ask to be informed of his future condition of rebirth. Obviously in this situation the Buddha has to say something. Pukkusati's earnest commitment to the Teaching, which forms the substance of this sutta, requires some recognition. Nevertheless, the Buddha's words in the situation seem to indicate that he finds the question tiresome. He prefaces his response with this description of Pukkusati, "Pukkusati, the young man of family, was wise; he entered the path of application to the dhamma; he did not plague me with disputatious questions about the dhamma," and goes on to confer the state of opapātika upon him (MN III 247).

The situation is resolved the same way upon the death of the brahman Brahmāyu, who was of immense importance and very highly venerated, and who became a lay disciple (Brahmāyu Sutta, MN 91). The texts use the same formulaic expression in both cases (MN II 146 = MN III 247). This stage is regularly conferred on sick bhikkhus who die after hearing a discourse from the Buddha. It is the only stage that is conferred after the death of the disciple (e.g. MN 91, 140; SN V 346 Dhīgavu). The practice of conferring the stage of anāgamin on an ailing bhikkhu who has died after hearing a discourse from the Buddha is attested also (AN III 381). This attests to the power of the Buddha and his Teaching.

People's fears were played upon in order to entice them to convert. Followers are especially encouraged to convert their friends and family, to ground them in the Credo (SN V 264f), especially in order that they escape from the fear of all evil destinies (rebirths) and states of punishments.

There are rewards in terms of the Four Stages HCH simply for being a lay disciple. Dhammadinna, a lay disciple, tells the Buddha that he does not have time to learn the Buddha's discourses, because he lives a householder's life, has a family, and indulges in luxuries like perfumes and money, and asks the Buddha for a different way. The Buddha recommends that he train himself as in the Beliefs and Practices formula. Dhammadinna claims that he already fulfils these conditions. The Buddha acknowledges him, "It is an advantage for you, Dhammadinna, it is a
The most flagrant example of the abuse of this system is at the same time not without its charm. This is the occasion where the Buddha proclaims that the monk, Sarakāni, who had died, had become a sotāpanna (SN V 375ff). This proclamation is seriously questioned and challenged by the other monks. "A strange thing indeed! A wonder indeed! Nowadays anyone may become a stream-winner. Sarakāni failed in the training and took to drink!" they say, evidently disgusted (SN V 375). The Buddha replies, "How could a lay disciple who had for a long time taken refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha go to hell?" The reason the Buddha takes up this position becomes clear in the following sutta (SN V 378): it is because the Teaching is correctly taught by a Sammāsambuddha that it always leads to results, just as well sown seeds always grow into plants. Obviously in the case of failure, the credibility of the Buddha is in question and must be defended.

A further amusing example shows that the stages were treated as a means of promotion or demotion, in terms of the prestige which the acknowledged attainment of a stage automatically conferred. The disreputable bhikkhu Kokālika taunts the Brahmā Tudu who has come from his brāhma world out of compassion to pay him a visit, "Didn't the Buddha call you a Non-Returner? And now you have come back here! Look how far you have gone wrong!" (Nanu tvam āvuso Bhagavatā anāgāmi byākato // atha *kañcarahi idhāgato // passa yāvača te idam aparaddhan-ti. SN I 149 = AN V 171).

5.6 Purportedly Actual Case Histories

There are none of these in the DN. The case histories of Pakkusati (MN 140) and Brahmiyū (MN 91) are purportedly real, that is, a named individual is attributed with making the transition from one stage to another. This type of case history must, however, be regarded as most doubtful. The circumstances which surround them show that this is simply a device to inspire conviction in the efficacy of the Buddha's Teaching.

There are purportedly actual case histories in the SN. One of these is that of the disciple Dighāvu, who is ailing. This case history contains three steps: two comprise the Buddha's directions regarding his practice; the third comprises his attainment after death. In step one, the Buddha advises Dighāvu to train himself in such a way as to become a sotāpanna, as in the Beliefs and Practices formula (SN V 344ff). Dighāvu claims that he already has this attainment. In step two, the Buddha advises him to, "to dwell contemplating impermanence in all the activities, conscious of Ill in impermanence, conscious of there being no self in what is Ill, conscious of abandoning, of dispassion, of cessation" (sabbasankhāresu aniccāuppatti viharāhi // anice dukkhasamānī dukkhe anattaṃ eva pahānasamānī virāgasaṃnī nirodhasaṃnī // SN V 345). Dighāvu claims that he already possesses this attainment. At this point Dighāvu admits that he is worried about the state his father will fall into should he die. This shows some remaining attachment on his part. His father promptly reassures him, and directs him to follow the Buddha's teaching. Dighāvu dies shortly after this. In step three, Dighāvu, posthumously, attains the stage of anāgāmin: when the Buddha is

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109 I am grateful to Professor Dr. Oskar v. Hinüber for help with this translation.
110 The more usual form is carasi.
111 Tr. Woodward, KS V 400.
112 For contemporary cases of death after parental permission see Levine, 1986; Siegel, 1986.
informed of his demise, and asked about his destiny, he confers it upon him.

A further purportedly real case history in the SN concerns the ailing monk Khemaka, whose self-diagnosis with regard to his own stage of development is that, "I do not say 'I am' with regard to body, or feeling, or perception, or *sankhāra*, or consciousness, nor in relationship to what is different from any of these. But, friends, I still possess the 'I am' with regard to the five grasping groups" (na rūpam asmīti vadāmi na pi aṭṭha rūpā asmīti vadāmi// Na vedanam/ Na saññām/ Na sankhāre/ Na viññānam asmīti vadāmi na pi aṭṭha rūpā asmīti vadāmi// Api ca me avise pañcasu upādānakkhandhesu asmīti adhipatam ayam aham asmīti ca na samanupassāmi. SN III 130). Upon teaching how the last subtle remnant of the "I am" conceit can be got rid of, Khemaka gets rid of it himself, and, together with 60 of his audience, attains freedom from the āsavās (SN III 126-132). This teaching shows how to make the transition from *anāgamin*, expressed in the text as "pāncorambhāgyāni saññojanāni pahināṁ", to Arahant (SN III 130). The method prescribed is to "contemplate the rise and fall of the five grasping groups thus: this is body, this is the arising of body, this is the cessation of body; (and so forth for all the others)." This case history has unusual, non-stereotypical details.

The AN authenticates the Four Stages HCH by attributing the Buddha with the fruits of each of these stages, thus making them a part of his personal case history (AN I 23).

### 5.7 The differences between the Nikāyas in their treatment of the Four Stages HCH

These differences can be summarised if we take the original headings for this chapter and mark which categories are common to all of these Nikāyas. This is done in Table I below. This schema gives an indication of the differences of interest between the DN, MN, SN and AN. There are certain evident differences between the Nikāyas which have been referred to above, and which therefore only need mentioning here. This HCH appears in the DN mainly in lists or in debate suttas. Because there is nothing original in the DN's usage of this HCH, I conclude that the DN incorporated it because it existed in the material of the reciters of the other Nikāyas (or their early versions). With regard to the MN, however, I think the case is quite different: there is evidence of original usage of this HCH. I argued that the MN "was the collection which arose to serve the need to introduce new converts to the character of the Leader, the Buddha, and the important disciples, to integrate new converts into their values and their way of life, and to provide them with the fundamentals of the Teaching and the Practise."113

One important requirement of a text with this purpose would be to encourage the converts by providing them with attainable goals. MN does indeed encourage disciples in many ways that they can and will attain the stages during their lifetimes or in the worst of circumstances, after their deaths.

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113 Manné, 1990 : 4.3.
TABLE I. Categories common to these Nikāyas.

1. The Use of the Four Stages HCH in Debates: the Four Stages HCH as the main reason for following the Buddha's Teaching.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DN</th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>AN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

2. The Four Stages HCH and the promotion of the efficacy of the Buddha's Teaching: the need for measurable and definable attainments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DN</th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>SN</th>
<th>AN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

3. The Four Stages HCH as conferring status and rewards.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DN</th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>SN</th>
<th>AN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

4. Attempts to relate the Four Stages HCH to other aspects of the Teaching:

i. Its relationship to other sequences of development.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DN</th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>AN</th>
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</table>

ii. Its relationship to technical aspects of the Teaching.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>SN</th>
<th>AN</th>
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</table>

5. The abuse of the Four Stages HCH.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>SN</th>
<th>AN</th>
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</table>

6. Purportedly actual CH's.

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MN</th>
<th>SN</th>
<th>AN</th>
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</thead>
</table>

What we notice in MN is best shown in a table and appears as Table II. The stage number appears at the top of the table and corresponds to the stage as in the standard versions. The number in each column is the number of the sutta in which the stage appears. The table shows the preponderant concern for the final stages, stage 3 and stage 4. Stages 1 and 2 are named in only four suttas, MN 6, 68, 118, and 142.

TABLE II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>(1)</th>
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<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>142</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>142</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

They are never referred to on their own, but only occur in the context of the Four Stages HCH. Stage 3, besides occurring in the four above, occurs in three other suttas, MN 52, 64 and 73, where it is named with stage 4, and two suttas, MN 91 and 140, on its own. There is no great
regularity in the naming of the final of the four stages which occurs in the four first named suttas with all of the other stages, and in four other suttas, MN 52, 64, 73 and 68, where it occurs with stage 3. Usually when all four of the stages are named the last stage is expressed as in (4) of Version A, but once, under these conditions, stage 4 is named anāha (MN 68). This preoccupation with stages 3 and 4 shows MN’s concern to guarantee results with regard to the purpose of the Teaching: the end of rebirth.

Insofar as the SN and the AN are concerned, the large proportion of quotations from these texts in §§2 and 3 attest their attempts to understand and to make sense of the Teaching of the Four Stages HCH. These texts take an "academic" approach to the Four Stages HCH. Probably only intended for monks with a certain commitment and experience they do not need to make compromises. They study the system and the technical details. In adding further conditions they attempt to add detail and clarity. Although it contains its share of suttas abusing this system, the SN’s inclusion of the case of Sarakāṇi shows a critical attitude not found on this theme in the other Nikāyas.

I have discussed the individual character of the DN and the MN (Manné, 1990) and none of the information here points to a need to change my position. This chapter does, however, permit us to modify the current view on the SN and the AN, especially with regard to their purpose, and the nature of their composers and reciters. Bronkhorst has said that these Nikāyas attained their peculiar shapes at "a time when efforts were made to distil from the tradition lists of items that could be considered to embody the essence of the teaching of the Buddha, being rearrangements of traditional utterances." What kind of people were attempting to "distil from the tradition"? Who were these "distillers"? and were they really only "distilling"? We can infer from this study that the "distillers" were not ordinary practitioners, ordinary monks or followers, but a highly specialised kind of practitioner: scholar-practitioners or practitioner-researchers: monks dedicated both to their practice and to preserving as accurately as possible the method and technique of their practice and the knowledge surrounding it. The questions they address are: "What is it?" "How is it done?" "How does it fit together?" These are questions worthy of any scholar. The SN and the AN show a much smaller interest in telling stories than do the DN and the MN. The interest of their compilers was in finding out as comprehensively as possible on a practical level what exactly the Buddha taught and how it worked.

6 HOW THE FOUR STAGES HCH CAME ABOUT

I have argued (§4.3) that the stages sotāpanna and arahat can be regarded as pertaining to early Buddhism. In the beginning, therefore, there were just two stages: that of convert and that of (full) attainer. How then did the other two stages and the Four Stages HCH come about? As the Four Stages HCH cannot be taken to form part of Original Buddhism it must be either an entirely new and independent invention or an organising structure for some original elements. The first possibility can be rejected. As Bronkhorst has said, religious traditions tend to be conservative and do not as a rule invent complete novelties. This leaves us to explore the notion that the Four Stages HCH is an organising structure for original elements.

It is certainly an organising structure.

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114 Bronkhorst, 1985 : 316.

115 Bronkhorst 1986 : xii.
6.1 The Four Stages HCH as a systematising and organising structure

The Four Stages HCH is first of all an organising structure for the number of rebirths awaiting the practitioner. The terminology indicates beyond any doubt that the terms sakadāgāmin and anāgāmin were created to express the attainment of having to suffer only one more, or no more rebirths in human form. The original, elemental version of the Four Stages HCH must have started as a way of defining soteriological attainment in terms of number of rebirths. See Table III.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE III. Freedom from rebirth in terms of a diminishing number of rebirths.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sotāpanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakadāgāmin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anāgāmin/ opapātika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arahant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE IV. Freedom from suffering.

| sotāpanna | freedom from hell or from punishment |
| sakadāgāmin | after only one more rebirth he makes an end of suffering |
| anāgāmin/ opapātika | no rebirths in human form |
| Arahant | (end of suffering). |

Once this terminology existed, however, its implications would have to be explored, in particular its relationship to other aspects of the Teaching. Certain attainments had already been defined, perhaps even by the Buddha himself. The compilers of the texts were faced with the problem of how these related to the newly existing Four Stages HCH. Very many different elements of the Teaching become united through being attributed to one of the stages (§2.3). The standard version includes also freedom from certain mental and emotional problems. See Table V.
TABLE V. Freedom from certain mental and emotional problems.

| sotāpanna  | the disappearance of 3 fetters
|            | tinnam saṁyojānānām parikkhayā |
| sakadāgāmin| the diminution of passion, hatred and delusion
|            | rāga-dosa-mohānām tanuttā |
| anāgāmin/ | the disappearance of the five fetters which
| opapātika  | belong to the lower world
|            | pañcannam orambhāgiyānām saṁyojānām
|            | parikkhayā |
| Arahant    | having seen for himself in this very lifetime,
|            | through his own higher knowledge, the release
|            | of heart and mind that is free from āsavās
|            | anāsavaṃ cetovimuttim paññāvīmuttaṃ dīṭhe va
|            | dhamme sayaṃ abhinā sacchikatvā |

Evidently the tradition had handed down an attainment, or a sequence of attainments related to being free of certain fetters or bonds. There are several problems here for the contemporary researcher. One is that the original researchers, or distillers, did not specify consistently what the relationship was between these bonds and this case history: the bonds also appear independently in the texts or linked to other hypothetical case histories (e.g. that of the dhammacakkhu at AN I 242). There is the further problem that the concept of fetters (saṁyojana) is in itself an organising or systematising concept, linking various ideas. The AN, for example, defines 10 of these: the five fetters which bind to the lower states (orambhāgiya)\(^{116}\) and five which bind to the higher states (uddhambhāgiya): craving for fine-material existence (ūparāga), craving for immaterial existence (arūparāga), conceit (māna) restlessness (uddhaccā), and ignorance (avijjā, AN V 17; SN V 61f).\(^{117}\) The AN also has the three substantially different categories of fetters: those binding to the lower states, those binding to the taking up of rebirth (upattipaṭṭhābhika) and those binding to the taking up of existence (bhavapaṭṭhābhika) which it relates respectively to the stages sakadāgāmin, uddhamsota akīriṇāgāmin, antarāparinibbāyin and Arahant (AN II 134; IV 13f, 145f). Besides this attainment in terms of fetters, as Table V shows, the tradition inherited the notion that soteriological evolution included the diminution of certain emotions: those of passion and hatred (rāga-dosa), and also diminution of the state of delusionment (moha). The evidence that the tradition found these aspects important and relevant is that it included them within the Four Stages HCH organising structure.

There were also other attainments, which seem to have been floating around, so to speak, and these were brought into this structure rather less coherently than the above examples by having it imposed upon them. Among these, particularly with regard to the sotāpanna, is morality in terms of training in the silas; familiarity with important aspects of the Teaching such as the Causal Law (paticcasamuppāda); the Eightfold Path (atthangika magga); freedom from a number of wrong views; a vision of impermanence (anicca), suffering (dukkha) and liability to change (aviparināmadhamma); and the possession of qualities (indriyas) of various sorts; and with particular regard to the anāgāmin clarity about

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\(^{116}\) See §2.1. The first five fetters may also be called nīvarana, (AN III 63) or upakkilessa (AN III 16).

\(^{117}\) Tr. Nyānatiloka, 1980.
teachers of meditation are debating among each other - among other things - what sotāpanna is. They are debating indirectly, rather than publicly, each implying rather than saying so obviously, that the version of this state arrived at after practising their particular variation of Buddhist meditation is better than that of their rivals and leads to faster results. The impression conveyed is of people chasing after altered states of consciousness, as if they were material goods in the Harrods Xmas sale, each trying to get hold of the best one!

In a religion that preaches detachment, the spiritual materialism demonstrated by excessive attachment to measurable, qualifiable attainments is inappropriate. That is perhaps why muddle exists about all of the proposed stages both in the early texts and at the present time.

La Conversion

Joy Manné

AND TODAY?

I started off with Sharf’s article and I will end with it.

Sharf refers to the four levels of Enlightenment twice in his article (section V) - "the fourth and final stage of sainthood (arahat)" and "sotāpanna - the first of four levels of enlightenment" - without comment, thus it may be that he takes the existence of these stages for granted. Sharf shows us in §VI that the use - and abuse - of at least one element of this case history continues today. Contemporary Buddhist
TRANSLATIONS

BIBLIOGRAPHY


(forthcoming) ‘Sīhanāda - the lion’s roar or what the Buddha was supposed to be willing to defend in debates.’ Buddhist Studies Review.


The Nigamanas of the Sumanagalamasini and the Kanikkavittarani

Pāli texts usually end in a brief paragraph called nigamana, which corresponds in meaning and content to the explicit of medieval European manuscripts. In two instances these brief, though highly valuable, texts have been omitted from the respective PTS editions for reasons unknown. Consequently it seems useful, if not necessary, to provide the relevant paragraphs here on the basis of the Chaṭṭhaśāṅgāyana Edition (B⁸), because they contain information important for the composition or history of the respective texts.

I. Sumanagalamasini
(B⁸ 1968 III 250,1-251,6)

Nigamanakathā

cattāvatā ca
āyācito Sumanagalaparivenanivāsinā thiraguṇena
Dathāṇāgamasamghatherena theravamsanvayena | 1 |
Dīghāgamabarassy dasabalaguṇaparidipanassa atṭhakathāṁ
yaṁ ārabhiṁ Sumanagalamasiniṁ nāma nāmena | 2 |
sā hi mahaṭṭhakathāya sārām adāya niṭṭhitā
esa ekāsitipamāṇa pāliyā bhāṇavārchi | 3 |
ekūnasaṭṭhimatto Visuddhamaggo pi bhāṇavārhi
atthappakāsanatthāya āgamanāṁ kato yasmā | 4 |
tasmā tena sahā 'yaṁ atṭhakathā bhāṇavāraṇanāya
suparimtaparicchinnaṁ cattālisatāṁ hoti | 5 |
sabbaṁ cattālisadhikasataparimāṇāṁ bhāṇavārehi evam
samayam pakāsantim Mahāvihāre nivāsinam | 6 |
mūlaṭṭhakathāsārām adāya mayā imaṁ karontena
yaṁ puṇṇaṁ upacitaṁ tena hotu sabho sukhi loko ti | 7 |
A bhāṇavāra comprises 8000 syllables corresponding to 250 ganthas. Each gantha or gāthā contains 32 syllables, because it consists of 4 pādas of 8 syllables (akkhara) according to:

ettha ca bhāṇavāro ti:
   atthakkharo ekapadam ekagāthā catuppadam
gāthā c’ekā mato gantho gantho ca bāttiṃsakkharo | 1 |
bāttiṃsakkharagāthānam paṇīṇāsadvisatam pana
bhāṇavāro mato eko sv-attthakkharasahassako | 2 |
evam attthakkharasahassaparimāṇo pātho vuccati. bhaṇitabbo vāro yassā ti hi bhāṇavāro. ekena sajjaṇyanamaggena kathetabbavāro ti attho, Sv-nṭ B* 1967 I 81,8-15 (on Sv-pṭ I 23, 19 on Sv 2,12), cf. Sadd 113 (5.3.3.1).

II. Kaṅkhāvītāraṇi
(B* 1968 356,6-357,14*)

Nigamanakathā
eṭtavatā ca
vanṭanam Pātimokkhassa Sopaththera yācito
vinaye jātakakhaṇām kaṅkhavītāraṇatthiko | 1 |
ārābhīm yam ahām sabbāṃ Sihaḷatthakhathānayaṃ
Mahāvihāravāsināṃ vacanāmagganissitam | 2 |
nissāya sa ayaṃ niṭṭham katā ādāya sabbaso
sabbāṃ attthakkathāsāram pāliyathañ ca kevalam | 3 |
na h’ettha taṃ padam atthi yaṃ virujheyya pāliyā
Mahāvihāravāsināṃ poraṇatthakhathāhi vā | 3 |
yasmā tasmā akatvāna ettha kaṅkhām hitesinā
sikkhitabbā va sakkaṃ ca Kaṅkhāvītāraṇi ayam | 4 |
yathā ca niṭṭham sampattā Kaṅkhāvītāraṇi ayam
dvāvisati bhāṇavāraparimāṇāya pāliyā | 5 |
Sihalamātikaṭṭhakathāyaṃ atthasāram ādāya imaṃ Kaṅkhāvitaranīṃ karonto Vinayaṭṭhakathāsu pi idha vinicchaye yogakkhemāṃ atthaśāram ādāy' eva ākāsi.

idāni sadevakassa lokassa accantasukhādhigamāya attano puṇṇāṃ pariṇāmento yathā ca niṭṭhaṃ sampattā ti adigāthādavyam āha. kalyāṇanissitā ti kusalanissitā. sabbasattānaṃ ti kāmāvacarādi-bhedānaṃ sabbesaṃ sattānaṃ.

Nigamanakathāvaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā.

This explanation is followed by the nigamana to Kkh-t, which was composed by Buddhānāga, a pupil of the commentator and author Sāriputta under Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186), during the late 12th century AD.

Freiburg i. Brsg. O. v. Hinüber
CATALOGUE OF THE PĀLI MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION IN BURMESE & SIAMESE CHARACTERS KEPT IN THE LIBRARY OF VIJAYASUNDARARAMAYA ASGIRIYA

A historical bibliotheca sacra siamica in Kandy, Sri Lanka

Jacqueline Filliozat
Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient
November 1994

As an unforgettable souvenir to Mr K. D. Somadasa, Honorary consultant for Sinhalese Collections in The British Library, my expression of gratitude for all the help and encouragement he showered on me.

A mon collègue et ami Jinadasa Liyanaratne qui m'a permis d'accéder à cette prestigieuse collection, en hommage reconnaissant.

Asgiriya Burmese 1

[Pājīnighaṇṭuva buruma akuru – Abhidhānappadīpikā] CPD. 5.6.1

Olas 1 to 2a, bl.

Beg. ola 2b(ka) : namo tassa ... (1st words missing as the ola is slightly damaged, we supply : [tathāgato] ) line 2 text is legible : yo karunākaro karo | payātamo sajja sukhappadām | akā parathathā kalisambhaye bhave | namāmi taṃ kevala dikkara kara | apujayum yan muni kujārā jars ...

ola 28a(ga) 2 | araṇādivaggo niṭṭhito | dutiyo bhūkaṇḍa niṭṭhito |
" 29b(2) 2 | pāto(!)lavaggo niṭṭhito |

End. ola 33a(ge) 4 | vyatatayo vipariyayo | vipariyayo tikkamo | tva tipato upaccayo ti | samkhiṇnavaggo niṭṭhito | nibbānapacca hotu | ola 33b, bl.

Burmese paraphrase line to line in minute script between Pāli text engraved in medium Burmese script. Cf. Burmese eds. Abhidhānappadīpikā, Rangoon 1898; Kyaw Aung San Htā : Hsaya, Rangoon 1900 (BL. shelfmark 8° 14098. C. C. C. 30. (2); see for the Pāli text only the Singh. ed. Waskaduwe Subhūti, Abhidhānappadīpikā or dictionary of the Pali Language by Moggallāna Thero with English and Singhalese interpretations, notes and appendices, Colombo 1865, pp. 1-106; see similar mss. BN PALI 489, 492.

33 olas, 500 x 62mm, 2 cord holes, 7 lines, 90 char.—medium and minute Burmese script—Numb. Burmese letters— in ink in Singhalese: pājinighaṇṭuva buruma akuru

Asgiriya Siamese 1

1. Paritta

A. Sattaparitta / Dvādasaparitta

Beg. ola 1a(ka) : first top line half missing, wanting: [sarañjaṃ saṣenam sabandhum narindaṃ parittānubhāvo sadā rakkhatu ti ... bhaṇantu], supplied by a transcript in Sinhalese characters : saga kāme ca rūpe girisikharataṭe cantalikhe ... then text in Kham characters starts: ... yantu deva jatathalaivasama yakkhagandhabhanāgā tiṭṭhantā santike yam munivaravacānaṃ sādhavo me suṇantu | dhammassavanakālo ayambhaddantā ... 

Cf. Bhāṇa 1

B. Maṅgalasuttappakāsana

Beg. ola 1a(ka) 3 : namo tassa ... ye santā santacittā tisaraṇāsaraṇā ettha lokantare vā bhummābhummā ca devā guṇāgaṇā ... 

ola 2a(ka) : pamādaraḥtā hontu ārakkhasu visesato | sāsanassā ca lokassā vuḍhi bhavatu sabbādā | sāsanampi ca lokaṇa ... 

Cf. Bhāṇa 3
C. Ratanasuttapakkāsana

_End._ ola 3b(ki) 2 : yassāṇampatīgaṇhānti yaṅca vesāliyampure | rogamanussadubbhikkhasambhūtanti vidhambhayaṁ | khippamantaradhāpeti paritthaṁ tam bhaṅgama he |

_Cf._ Bhāṣa 7

D. Maṅgalasutta & Ratanasutta

_Beg._ ola 3b(ki) 5 : evam me sutam ... sāvatthiyaṁ ... jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ... atha kho aññatarā devatā | abhikkāyā rattiya abhikkantavaṇṇā | kevalakappaṁ ... bahū devā manussā ca maṅgalāṇi acintayuṁ | acaṅkhamānaṁ sotthanaṁ brūhi maṅgalamuttamaṁ | ola 10a(ko) 2 | ratanasaṇuṁ | "

_Cf._ Bhāṣa 4-10

E. Karaṇiyamettasutta

_Beg._ ola 10a(ko) 2 : yassāṇubhāvato yakkha neva dassenti bhīmsanaṁ | yamhi ceva ... |

_End._ ola 12a(kah) 3 | karaṇiyamettasuttaṁ |

_Cf._ Bhāṣa 10-11

F. Khandhaparitta

_Beg._ ola 12a(kah) 4 : sabbāsavisajātināṁ dibbamanṭāgadoṁ viya | yam naṁ seti visaṁ ghoraṁ sasaṁcā pi pariṣayaṁ |

_End._ ola 13b(kha) 2 | khandhaparitthaṁ |

_Cf._ Bhāṣa 11-12

G. Moraparitta

_Beg._ ola 13b(kha) 2 : pureṁtambodhisambhāre nibbatam | morayoniyaṁ | yena saṁvihitārakkham mahāsaṁtan vane carā |

_End._ ola 15a(khi) 1 | moraparitthaṁ |

_Cf._ Bhāṣa 12-13

H. Dhaṭṭagaparitta

_Beg._ ola 15a(khi) 1 : yassāṇussaranena pi antalikkhe pi pāṇino | patīṭhhamadhiṭhacchanti bhūmiyaṁ viya sabbadā |

_End._ ola 21a(khai) 1 | dhaṭṭagaparitthaṁ |

_Cf._ Bhāṣa 14-17

I. Āṭānātiyaparitta

_Beg._ ola 21a(khai) 1 : appassannehi nāthassa sāsane sādhusammate | amanusah e caṇḍehi sādā kibbissakāribhi |

_End._ ola 23b(khaṁ) 3 | āṭānātiyaparitthaṁ |

_Cf._ Bhāṣa 17-20

J. Aṅgulimālaparitta

_Beg._ ola 23b(khaṁ) 3 : parittaṁ yambhānantassa nissinnaṭṭhānadhovanaṁ | udakampi vināseti sabbameva pariṣayaṁ |

_End._ ola 24a(khaṁ) 4 | aṅgulimālaparitthaṁ |

_Cf._ Bhāṣa 20-22
K. Bojjhaṅgaparitta

Beg. ola 24a(khaḥ) 5 | bojjhaṅgo satisaṁkhāto dhammānanāṁ vicayo tathā | viriyampitipassaddhi bojjhaṅgā ca tathāpare |

End. ola 26a(gā) 5 | bojjhaṅgaparittāṁ |

Cf. Bhāba 57-58

L. Jayaparitta

Beg. ola 26b(gā) 1 | mahākāruṇiko nātho hitāya sabbapāṇināṁ ... sambodhitattāṁ | etena saccavajjena hotu | te jayamaṅgalāṁ | jayanto bodhiyā mule ... | evaṁ tvam | vijayo hohi ... | aparājitapallāne ... | abhiseke sabbabuddhānaṁ ... | sanakkhaṭaṁ | suṁmaṅgalayām ... | sukkho | sumahutto ... | padakkhiṇaṁ | kāyaṁkammāṁ ... | padakkhiṇaṁ ... | padakkhiṇaṁ ... | so athaladdho ... | arogo sukhito ... | sā athaladdhā sukkhitā ... | aroga sukkhitā hohi | te attha laddhā sukkhitā ... | aroga sukkhitā hotha ... |

Cf. Bhāba 60-61

M. [ Some stanzas from Abhayaparitta ?]

sakkatvā buddharatanāṁ ... | hitaṁ deva ... | nassantupaddavā | sabbe ... | sakkatvā dhammaratanāṁ ... | nassantupaddavā | sabbe ... | sakkatvā saṁgharatanāṁ ... | nattithi me saraṇaṁ ... | me saraṇaṁ varaṁ | etena saccavajjena ... | yaṁ kiṁci ratanaṁ ... | ratanabuddhasmaṁ | dhammasmaṁ | saṁghasmaṁ | nattithi tasmā sotthi ... |

Cf. Bhāba 24-25 ?

N. Āṭānātiyaparitta fragments ?

sabbītyo ... | mā te bhavavantarāyō ... | abhivādanāsīlissa ... | cattāro dhammā ... |

End. ola 29a(gi) 1 | āṭānātiyaparittāṁ |

Cf. Bhāba 55

O. [ Some stanzas from Maṅgalacakkaṇāva ?]

bhavatu sabbamaṅgalāṁ rakkhandu sabbdevatā sabbabuddhā | dhammā | saṁghā | nubhāvena saddā sotthi bhavantu te | nakkhatayakkhabhūtanāṁ pāpaggahanivāra | bra cettatāṁnaṁ capparipūṇa | olas 30b(gu), 31, bl.

Cf. Bhāba 64-65 ?, Mahāpiripta 316-317 ?.

2. Paritta list of incipit & explicit
Pāli-Siamese nissaya

Ola 1a, in the middle : Siamese language ; ola 1b, bl.

Beg. ola 2a (ka) : | sarajjam | sasenaṁ | sabandham | narindaṁ ... (Bhāba 1, Sattaparitta ; Bhāba 31, beg. Dvādasaparitta. Pāli text is mixed with colophons and commentary in Siamese in minute script).

Ola 2b (ka) 3 : | saddhiṁ | hotu | sukkhi | sabbe | parivārehi attano | ( Bhāba 4, line 6, Maṅgalasuttappakāsaṇa) ... | line 4 : | etādisāni | katvāna | sabbatthaparājītā (Bhāba 6, 37, 132 end. Maṅgalasutta) |

Ola 3a (kā) | panidhānato | patthāya | tathāgatassā ... (Bhāba 6, 37, beg. Ratanasuttappakāsaṇa) ... | line 3 | khippamantaradhāpesi ... | line 4 | yāṇidha bhūtaṁ ... (Bhāba 7, 38, beg. Ratanasutta) ... | line 5 | yāṇī ( Bhāba 10, 35, end.
Ola 6b (ku) 1: atha saṅghañḥ sareyyatha puññakhetṭan evam buddhām saratanām dhammaṃ saṃghānca bhikkhavo bhayaṃ vā chambhatattāṃ vā lomahāṃso vāṃ sona hesattāti (Bhāṣa 17, 49, end. Dhajaggaparittha; 147, end. Dhajaggasuttapāṭha) apassanne (Bhāṣa 17, 50, beg. Āṭaññiyaparittappakāsana) ... vippassi (Bhāṣa 18, 50, beg. Āṭaññiyaparittha; 171, beg. stanzaś Āṭaññiyaparittasuttapāṭha (pubbabbhāga); 184 beg. stanzaś Āṭaññiyaparittasuttapāṭha (pacchimabhaḍha) ... sabbadukkhaṃ panunānāṃ ... ye cā pi nibbutā loke yathā bhūtam vippassituṃ te janā apiṇaṃ mahānā ṅaṭasārdo hita devamanussānāṃ yaṃ manassassamanti gotamaṃ (Bhāṣa 171) ... name sabbavuddhānāṃ uppānānāṃ mahāsenāṃ taṇḍhāṅkaro mahāviro medhāṅkaro mahāyasaṃ saranaṅkaro lokahiito ...

Ola 8a (ke) 1 ... kasapo sirisampanno gotamaṃ sākyapañcaviko ete pañño ... nibbuto catuṛṣṭbhavato tesāṃ saccena silena khantimettabalena ca te pi tumhe anurakchantu ārogyaṃ sukheṇa ca (gives the list of 28 Buddhist = Āṭavisi pīrīta v. Samaṇa sahiṭṭa mahāpiriṭiṭpotvahāṇaṃ, ed. Devindara Vācissara, Colombo, 1959, p. 321, stanzas 1-8 only) purattihmasmi disā bhāge santi bhuttāmahiddhikā te pi tumhe ... dakkhiṇasmi disā te santi deva ... pacchhamasmi disā bhāge santi nāgā ... uttarasmi disā bhāge santi yakkhā ... parimadisaṃ dhadhavarāṭṭhā dakkhiṇo viruṭhāko vā pacchimena virupakkho kuvero uttarāṃ disamā cattāro te mahārājā lokapāḷayassino te pi tumhe anurakchantu ... aṅkāñṭā ngā bhūmāṅṭā deva nāgā mahiddhikā ... te pi tumhe anurakchantu ārogyaṃ sukheṇa ca (Sabbadisaparittha v. EFEO PALI 75) naththi me saranaṃ añāṃ (Bhāṣa 24, mid. Sattaparittha, 54, mid. Āṭaññiyaparittha; 95, beg. Saccakiriyaṅāṭṭha yam kīci ratanaṃ (Bhāṣa 25, Sattaparittha) sakatvā (Bhāṣa 24, mid. Abhayaparittha) sabbiṭiyā (Silva 1981 p. 25) ... parataṅcambhaṅchāntassa nisinnā (Bhāṣa 20, 20, 56, beg. Aṅgulimalaparittappakāsana) ... yatoḥāṃ (Bhāṣa 20, 56, beg. Aṅgulimalaparittha) saṃsāre saṃsarāntāṃ sabbadukkhaṅvānāsane ... sattadhamme ca bhojhaṅge mārasena-pamaddhino buṇjītva yepisame sattā tibhavaṃ muttakuttamā ajaṭīṃ ajaraṃdyādhi amatāṃ nibbhaṅgar gata evamadguṇṭupetaṃ anekagunāṃ sāṅgāhāṃ osadaṅca imaṃ mantāṃ bhojhanām tam bhaṅhma he bhojhaṅgo satisaṃkhātā ... pahīna te ca abādā tiṇanampi mahesināṃ maghaṭhakaleśa vā pattānupatti dhammatām etena saccavajena sothī te hontu sabbadā ... (Bhāṣa 56-57 Bhojhaṅgaparittappakāsana, Bhojhaṅgaparittha, stanzaś of beginning and end only) puññalābhāṃ mahātejaṃ vaṃṣākittimahāyaṃsaṃ sabbasattaha taṃ jātaṃ taṃ suṇantu asesato attaparāhitām jātaṃ paritaṃ tam bhāṇamahe vaddunimitaṃ (Bhāṣa 22, 58, Abhayaparittha) dukkhapātā (Pāli Chant 26) vā ... sabbe buddhā bhalappāt (Bhāṣa 59, end Abhayaparittha) jayaṃ devamanussānāṃ jayo ho parājito mārasena abhiṅkantā samantaṃ dvādassayojanā (Bhāṣa 59, beg. Jayaparittapakāsana).
End. 10b (kai) 1: i khantimettā adhiññhānā
vimaṃsetvāna cakkhumā i bhavābhave samśāranto
dibbacakkhu visodhayi i pariyāpannādisothānaṃ hitāya ca
sukhāya ca i buddhakiccam visodhettvā paritan tam
bhāṇamahe i sabbamaṅgalaṃ i nakkhatyakkhabhūtanāṃ
(Bhāra 30, 65 Maṅgalacakkavāla) i + Siamese language...

ola 11a (no n°, damaged, beginning missing), table of
contents giving only the first words of the parittas, I
transliterate the text of the ms. in bold, giving the
concordances to printed texts in brackets: ... sabbetiyo 4
(v. sabbitiyo infra Silva 1981 p. 25) i parittam yambha
(= parittam yambhaṇantassa nisinnatāhāna dhovanaṃ udakam pi
vināseti sabbameva parissayaṃ ... cf. Bhāra 20, 56,
Āṅgulimālaparittappākasāna) i yatoḥam (= yatoham bhagini ariyāya
jātiyā jato nābhi jānāmi sañcicca ... cf. Bhāra 20, 56,
Āṅgulimālaparittita) i bojjhaṅgo (= bojhāṅgo satisankhāto
dhammānaṃ vicayo tathā viriyam piti passaddhi bojhaṅgā ca
tathāpāre Bhāra 57, Bojjhaṅgaparittita) i yandu ... (= yandunimittam
avamaṅgalaṃa yo cāmanāпо sakuṇassa saddo pāpaggahā dusupināṃ
Bhāra 22, 58, Abhayaparittita, or: Yandunimittam dukkhhappattā ca
niddukkhā Bhāra 22) i dukkappattā (= dukkappatta ca
niddukkha bhayappattā ca nibbhayā sokappattā ca
nissokā hontu sabbepi pāṇino ... Pāli Chant 26, end of Aṭavisirītta Mahāpīrit pota 321, Liyanarate
1983 p. 78) i sabbu bhudda (= sabbu bhuddha balappattā
pacekkānaṃa yambalaṃ arahantānaṇa tejena rakkhaṃ bandhāmi
sabbaso Bhāra 59, Abhayaparittita) i mahākaruṇiko
(= mahākāruṇiko nātho attthāya sabbappāninaṃ pāretvā pārami sabbā
patto sambodhim uttamannaṃ Bhāra 97, 2nd § Ariyadhanaṅgāthā, or:
mahākāruṇiko nātho sskhannaṃ so atthaladdho Bhāra 23, or:
mahākāruṇiko nātho hitāya sabbappāninaṃ Bhāra 60, Jayaparittita, or:
mahākāruṇiko buddho sāvakānaṃ hitesko Bhāra 343, Bhikkhu-
apariyāniyadhambhasuttappākasāna) i jayanto (=Bhāra 60 or ed.

Sattaparitta-Dvādasaparitta, Phnom Penh 1935 p. 67= 2nd stanza
jayaparittagāthā; cf. Pou NIC 1989 p. 129; Jayaparitta Pāli Chant 23
i so atthaladdho (= Bhāra 60, end Jayaparitta) i sakkatvā
(= sakkatvā buddhataraṃnaṃ osatham uttamaṃ varam hitam deva-
manussaṇaṃ buddhacejena sotthiṇaṃ Bhāra 24, mid. Abhayaparittita)

nattthi me (= naththi me saraṇaṃ aṇiṣṭa buddho me saraṇaṃ varam
etena saccavajjena sotthi te hotu sabbadā Bhāra 95, beg.
Saccakiriyaṅgāthā) i yaṃ kiṃci rattanaṃ (= yaṃ kiṃci rattanaṃ
loke viṭṭhīt i vidhānaṃ puthurattanaṃ saṅghasamāṃ naththi tasmā sotthi
bhavantu te Bhāra 25, Sattaparitta) i sabbetiyo (= sabbitiyo
vivajjantu sabbaro vinnassatu mā te bhavatvantarāyo sukhi dighāyuko
bhava : cf. Silva 1981 p. 25 "May all calamities cease. May all
diseases be wiped out. May no danger beset you. May you enjoy long
life."; Mahājaya manoṭalagāthā, Mahāpīrit pota 316) bhavatu
sabba (= bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ nakkhatyakkhabhūtanāṃ Bhāra
29, or: bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ rakkhantu sabbdevatā
sabbabuddhānubhāvena sādā sotthi bhavantu te Bhāra 29, 64, mid.
Maṅgalacakkavāla, or: bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ rakkhantu sabbdevatā
sabbasāṅghānubhāvena sādā sotthi bhavantu te Bhāra 109,
Buddhājayaṅgāla; 111, Visesānumodanā-Maṅgalacakkavāla?)
nakkhattayakkha (= Nakkhatyakkhabhūtanāṃ Bhāra 65)
parittāsāṅubhāvena hantuṃ tesāṃ upaddave
(= parittāsāṅubhāvena hantuṃ tesāṃ upaddave
nakhatyakkhabhūtanāṃ pāpaggahanivāranā parittāsāṅubhāvena hantuṃ
tesāṃ upaddave Bhāra 30, 65 Maṅgalacakkavāla) ola 11b,
engraved with Sinhalese script.

Some minute Sinhalese transcripts between the Kham script
lines on a few olas.
11 olas, 270 x 50mm, gilded edges, round-off corners, 1 single cord hole, 5 lines; Kham and Sinhalese scripts—Numb. Kham letters—slightly damaged on borders.

No date.

**Asgiriya Siamese 2**

**Quotations from some Jáatakas [Nandivisálajáataka ? & Tittirajáataka]**¹

fragments CPD.2.5.10,1

**Starts** ola 3b (no n°) line 2 ... satam kañāsahassāni tātha kho āmutamañīkunḍalā sakalajambūdi-parajadhitaro cāti imasmā ettakā lābhā vihāraṃ gachhuntassa tasmiṃ soṣasikalasaṅkhāte padese laṅghhana sādhana vasena ...

For: "satam kañāsahassāni āmutamañīkunḍalā", see Liyanaratne 1983 pp. 33-34 a few words belonging to the introductory stanza of Ummaggajāataka in Sinhalese ?; see also Somadasa 1987 vol I p. 176 VI. Padavīthāra Jáatakaya: satam hatthi ... ?

Ola kè b line 3 : ... brāhmaṇaṃassa nandavisālo nāma balibaddho ahosi i atha kho bhikkhave nandavisālo baddho taṃ brāhmaṇaṃ etadavoca i gaccha tvaṃ brāhmaṇa seṭṭhinā saddhi sahasena abbhuddham karohi mayahaṃ balibaddho sakāṭhasataṃ atibaddham apavajjessaṭṭi i atha kho bhikkhave so brāhmaṇo seṭṭhinā saddhiṃ sahasena abbhudaṃ akāsi ...

¹ Identified by Prof. Oskar v. Hintüber.
Asgiriya Siamese 3

Abhidhammaṭṭhakathā abridged recension

A. [Atthasālinī] — Dhammasaṅgaṇī-āṭṭhakathā

Ola 1a, in the middle: bra saṅgīṇī phūk 1 bl olas 1b to 2a, bl. ola 2b transcript in ink in Sinhalese: abhidhammasaṅgaṇīaṭṭhakathā; ola 3, bl.

Beg. ola 4(a)ka: itvā karaṇa viya sattsu paññā yassa mahesi i āyeyadhammesu sabbesu pavattitha yathāruciṃ dayāya tāya sattsu ...

End. ola 39-ba(gh) 4: bra saṅgīṇī aṭṭhakathā tāṃ prasaṅgaparipūraṇa niṭṭhitā nibbānapaccayo hotu i olas 40 to 42, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS, Atthasālinī

B. [Samohavinodanī] — Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā

Ola 43a, in the middle: bra vibhaṅga phūk 2 i transcript in ink in Sinhalese: vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā; olas 43b to 47a, bl.

Beg. ola 47b(gha): catusaccadasso nātha catudhā dhammasaṅgiṃi pakāsavitvā sambuddho ...

End. ola 67-b(ī) 5: dhammānupassanānideso niṭṭhito i olas 68 to 70, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS, Samohavinodanī

C. [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā I] — Dvātukathā-āṭṭhakathā

Ola 71a, in the middle: bra dhvātukathā lee aṭṭhakathā tāṃ pranisaṅgaparipūraṇa phūk 3 i ola 71b, bl. ola 72a, transcript in ink in Sinhalese: dhvātukathāṭṭhakathā; ola 72b, bl.

Beg. ola 73a(ño): it nim aṭṭha i aṭṭhārasahi bhedehi vibhaṅga mārabhūnjano desayitvā mahāviro ...

End. ola 86b(caṃ) 5 e evameva kho mahārāja yānimāni pañcāyanāni ca nānā kammehi nibbattā i natthi ekena kammēnā ti i ola 87, bl.


D. [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā II] — Puggalapaññatti-āṭṭhakathā

Ola 88a, in the middle: bra puggalapaggāpaññatti (!) i 4 i transcript in ink in Sinhalese: puggalapaññatti aṭṭhakathā; olas 88b to 91, bl.

Beg. ola 92(a)cha: it tāṃ atham i nipuṇattham pakaraṇa dhvātubhedappakāsano satthā dhvātukaṭha nāma ...

End. ola 113ajjo 1 ekacam niḍdeso niṭṭhito ... ekapuggala lā ... dasapuggala i puggalapaññatti nathito i cap puggalapaññatti i nibbānapaccayo hotu i in the margins, additions engraved in minute Kham script. Olas 113b to 115, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS, [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā II] Puggala-Paññatti- Āṭṭhakathā, JPTS 1913-14 pp. 170-203

E. [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā III] — Kathāvatthu-āṭṭhakathā

Ola 116a, in the middle: bra kathāvatthu lee aṭṭhakathā cap paripūṇaḥ ... phūk 5 i transcript in ink in Sinhalese: kathāvatthu aṭṭhakathā; olas 116b to 117, bl.
F. [Pañcapakaraṇatṭhakathā IV] - Yamakaṭṭhakathā

Ola 135a, in the middle: i brah yamaka lee aṭṭhakathā tām prasāṅgaparipūṇṇa lee phūk 6 i transcript in ink in Sinhalese: yamakaṭṭhakathā; olas 135b to 136, bl.

Beg. ola 137a(fā): i namatthu i attha i saṅkhepeneva devānaṁ devadevo surālaye kathāvatthupakaraṇaṁ desayitvā …

End. ola 154b(te) 2: i dukkhasaacaṁ ca cutimitipatiśandhi supicavatte pi labbhati tatridanayamakaṁ i sabbesaṁ upparajjantānantī anantamaso suddhāvāsānaṁ pi i olas 155 to 156, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS, [Pañcapakaraṇatṭhakathā IV] Yamakappakaraṇatṭhakathā, JPTS 1910-12 p. 52

G. [Pañcapakaraṇatṭhakathā V] — Mahāpaṭṭhānataṭṭhakathā

Ola 157a, in the middle: i brah mahāpaṭṭhāna lee atṭhakathā tām prasāṅgaparipūṇṇa … phūk 7 i transcript in ink in Sinhalese: mahāpaṭṭhānaya atṭhakathā; olas 157b to 161a, bl.

Beg. ola 161b(te (!) bis?): i attha i devātidevo devānaṁ devatānarapūjitā desayitvā pakaraṇaṁ yamakaṁ suddhasañamo …

End. ola 172a(tthū) 4: i sokadukkhadhamanassāti dukkhaivedanā eva i paridevo pi doso upāyāso somanassa doso vāti i olas 172b to 176, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS, [Pañcapakaraṇatṭhakathā V] Tikapaṭṭhāna part I Paccayavibhaṅgavāra together with Buddhaghosa's Commentary from the Pañcapakaraṇatṭhakathā [Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Paṭṭhāna, Tikapaṭṭhānavaṇṇanā] p. 8; many similar mss. BN PALI 266 to 282, 284 etc.; In this collection see Asgiriya Siamese 12.

7 bundles, 176 olas, 550 x 50mm, 2 thick wooden covers, gilded edges, 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 60 char. —Kham script—Numb. Kham letters—very few additions and corrections in ink. Bundle n° 6 is a little shorter in size than the others.

No date.

Asgiriya Siamese 4

1. Paññasajātaka fragment

Ola 1a, in the middle: bra paññasajātaka … phūk 17; olas 1b to 3, bl.

Beg. ola 4a(kya): tam atthaṁ pakāsento satthā āha i puṇasāro paṇātaro puṇiakammena sijjhati muṇce puṇam katva na sabbasukhaṁ rammati so katapuño sadā loke puṇakhettesu tādisu …

ola 7b(kyu) 4 i siddhisārajātakaṁ niṭṭhitam i "18a(khyi) 1 i narajivakathinajātakaṁ "

End. ola 26a(khyam) 5 i atidevarājātakaṁ kathinadānaṁ niṭṭhitam i tetimsajātakasamaṁ olas 26b to 28, bl.
This ms. is very similar to EFEO PALI 54 (same foliation for same chapters):

"ôle 423b(kyu) 4 i saddhisarajatakam niṣṭhitaṃ (éd. PTS n° 48)
"434a(khyi) 1 i narajivakathinajatakam niṣṭhitaṃ (éd. PTS n° 12 ?)
"441a(khyam) 4 i atidevo lokanātho eva dharetha jātakanti
atidevarajatakathinadanaṃ niṣṭhitaṃ i
tetimsajatakam samattam i; cf. Paññāsajataka EFEO PALI 123:
37. Siddhisāra p. 283 (éd. PTS n° 48)
38. Narajīva (éd. PTS n° 12 ?)
39. Atidevarāja p. 301 (éd. none)". No concordance with the Camb. ed. Paññāsajataka; cf. for some other fragments, BL. OR. 12524; BN PALI 324-325-628; EFEO PALI 54-60-123; FEMC PALI A 48; B 14; D 70; ME PALI 7-8-30

28 olas, 530 x 55mm, 2 cord holes, gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle, 5 lines, 62 char.—Kham script—Numb. Kham letters—

No date.

2. [Jātakathavāṇṇanā—Mahānipāta]—Vidhurajataka fragment

Ola 1a, in the middle: bra vidhurajatakam
paripūṇṇam navamaṃ bhūk 12 i olas 1b to 2a, bl.

_Beg._ ola 4b(nū): paṇḍu kisīyāi dubbhalā ti ida satthā
jetavane viharanto pāṇapāramī ārabba kathesi i

_Stop._ ola 36b(jī) 5: ... kathamaṃ samānāsana bhaveyya
yathā siṅgālo sihassa samānāsana na hoti tattheva mayham
thumhākan ta(!) i imam panassa katham sutvā putaddhittaro ca
nātisuhjadā (in ink: tuñhi ahesum i) olas 37 to 40, bl.

cf. ed. PTS vol VI, pp. 292 line 4 -329, another recension.
This bundle does not belong to the previous ms. but the text exactly follows and completes the story.

40 olas, 540 x 52mm, gilded edges, 2 cord-holes, 5 lines, 62 char.—Kham script—Num. Kham letters—many additions, corrections and notes in ink. Perfect state of conservation.

No date.
4. [Jataktathavaṇṇana—Mahānipāta] fragments

A. Temiyajātaka / Mūgapakkhajātaka

Ola 1a, in the middle : bra temiyajātaka kambujjaksaracānnāhācanda taṃ paripunṇa i phūk 1 i olas 1b to 2a, bl.

Beg. ola 2b(ka) : mā paṇḍiccayaṃ vibhāvayā ti idaṃ satthā jetavane viharanto ...

Stop. ola 39b(gha) 2 : i tadā chatte adhivatthā devatā uppallavaṇṇā ahosi sārathī sāriputto ahosi sakko anuruddho ahosi mātāpitaro mahārājakulāni ahesuṃ i sesapurisā buddhaporisā ahesuṃ i muggapakkhapanḍito pana aham eva sammāsambuddho ti i olas 40 to 43, bl.

cf. ed. PTS vol VI, pp. 1-30 line 2, another recension.

B. Mahājanakājātaka

Ola 1a, in the middle : bra mahājanaka paripunṇa i phū 1 +Siamese; in ink, in Sinhalese script: mahājanaparipunṇa; olas 1b to 4a, bl.

Beg. ola 4b(ka) : koyaṃ majjhe samuddhasmin ti idaṃ satthā jetavane viharanto... Stop. ola 51b(ṇa) 1: i svākkhāto bhagata dhammo sadiṭṭhiko akāliko chipassiko opaneyyiko paccattāṃ veditabbo viññūhi ti suppatipanno bhagavato sāvakasamgho khujiyatiyipanno bhagavato sāvakasamgho nāya patipanno bhagavato sāvakasamgho sāmīti patipanno bhagavato sāvaka
olas 52 to 54, bl.


C. Suvaṇṇasāmajātaka

Ola 1a, in the middle : bra suvaṇṇasāmajātakaṃ phūk 1 i in ink, in Sinhalese script : suvaṇṇasāmajātakaṃ; olas 1b to 5a, bl.

Beg. ola 5b(ka) : ko nu maṃ vi usunā vijjhi ti idaṃ satthā jetavane viharanto ...

Stop. ola 39a[gaṃ] 3 : i suvaṇṇasāmajātakaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ i yattha yattha bhave jāto puriso hotu paṇḍito abhirūpo mahāpaño dhārento paṭikkatayaṃ i olas 40 to 43, bl.

cf. ed. PTS vol VI, pp. 68-95, another recension.

D. Nimijātaka

Ola 1a, in the middle : nimirajātaka phūk 2 i olas 1b to 3a, bl.

Beg. ola 3b(ka) : accheranā vata lokasmin ti idaṃ satthā mithilam upanissāya ...

End. ola 43b(yu) 5 : i nimirajātakaṃ catutthaṃ niṭṭhitam i olas 44 to 46, bl.

cf. ed. PTS vol VI, pp. 95-129, another recension.

E. Mahosadhajātaka / Mahāummaggajātaka

Ola 1a, in the middle : mahosatha phūk 1 + Siamese; in ink, in Sinhalese script : mahosadhajātaka; olas 1b to 3a, bl.

Beg. ola 3b(ka) : pañcālo sabbasenayā ti idaṃ satthā jetavane viharanto ...

Stop. ola 32a(ge) 5 : i sādhu bhadde imam varaṃ gānḥāḥti ti i sirikālakaṇṭi paṇḍho niṭṭhito ...
cf. ed. PTS vol VI, pp. 329-349, another recension.

Ola 36b, in the middle: brah mahosathajātakka phūk 2 in Sinhalese script: mahosadhajātaka; in ink, in small bent kham script, one sentence also repeated on ola 36b: dasane kathinuddāve(re?) dhammikanti vassānassa pacchime māse attathe kathine sabbāsaṃ bhikkhunīnaṃ akāsa(ia?) civaramā dātukāmene upāsakkena yathhako kathinaṭṭhara-mūllako anisaṃso ta(i)ko anikam vā samakaṃ vā dabbā yā pitakkena bhikkhunisaṃghena samaggena yaṃ kathinaṃ uddharyati tassa uddhāro dhammiko ti vuccati ī.

Ola 37a(di): bodhisatto taṃ āha bhadde mayhaṃ phalaṃ dehī ti sā imaṃ paṇḍitaṃ vā apanitaṃ vā na jānāmi visāmisaṃ nantī cintetvā evamāha sāmi unphalahām khādissali atha vālittaphalanti ī ola 40, bl.

Resumes, ola 41a(tha): aparasmīṃ divase rājā katapātarāsabhakkicco pāsādassa dighantare caṅkamanto ... Ola 71b(dhē) 3 ī devatā paṇhio niṭṭhito ī

cf. ed. PTS vol VI, pp.349-378, another recension.

F. Mahosathajātaka / Mahāummaggajātaka

Ola 1a, in the middle: brah mahosathajātaka phūk 4 ī in ink, in Sinhalese script: mahosadhajātaka; olas 1b to 3, bl.

Beg. ola 4a(jo) ī atheka divasaṃ ka(!)vaṭṭo [for: kevaṭṭo] ādāsena mukhaṃ olokonto lalāte vaṇaṃ disvā ...

cf. ed. PTS vol VI, p. 409 line 26

Stop. ola 43b(ṭṭha) 4 ī niṭṭhavā nānattarasā bhojanaṃ bhūjitvā sayanavargato manoratho me matthakaṃ pattoti āvajjento nippajji ī olas 44, 45, bl.

G. Mahosathajātaka / Mahāummaggajātaka

Ola 1a, in the middle: brah mahosathajātaka phūk hā cap pariṣṭhī 15 ī Siamese in small script; in ink, in Sinhalese script: mahosadhajātakaṃ pariṣṭhī; olas 1b to 3, bl.

Beg. ola 4a(yi) ī athassā rattiyā accayena cuḷaṇīrājaśenaṃ vicāryamāno taṃ nagaraṃ upāgami ī tamathhāṃ pakāsento satṭhā āha ī ...

End. ola 39a(vā) 4 ī mahosathajātakaṅca paṅcakamaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ ī nibbānappacayo hotu ī phūk 5 ī olas 40 to 43, bl.

cf. ed. PTS vol VI, p. 478, another recension

H. Bhūridattajātaka

Ola 1a, in the middle: brah bhūridatta phūk 1 ī Siamese; in ink, in Sinhalese script: bhūridattathkathā(!); olas 1b to 2, bl. Ola 3, in ink 3 lines in Siamese language.

Ola 4a, bl.

Beg. ola 4b(la) ī yaṃ kiñci ratanaṃ atthi ti idam satthā sāvatthiyāṃ upaniśāya jetavane viharanto ī ...

Stop. ola 33a(sū) 4 ī rājaṅgalo maṅcā ti maṅce bandisīṃ ī ālambāyanaṃkaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ ī olas 33 to 36, bl.
Ola 37a, in the middle: brah bhūridatta phūk 2 in ink, in Sinhalese script: bhūridattatthakathā(!); olas 37b to 38, bl.

Resumes, ola 39a(cai) : 1 ālāmbāyanena bodhisattassa gahitadivase ...

End. ola 71b(jhi) 5 : bhūridattajātakaṃ chaṭṭhamaṃ niṭṭhitāṃ olas 72 to 73, bl.


I. Candakumārajātaka / Khaṇḍahālajātaka

Ola 1a, in the middle: bra candakumārajātaka paripuṇṇā niṭṭhitā phūk 1 in ink, in Sinhalese script: candakumārajātaka paripuṇṇā niṭṭhitā; olas 1b to 4a, bl.

Beg. ola 4b(ka) : 1 rājāsi luddakammoti idam satthā giįjhatute pabbate...

End. ola 39b(ga) 4 : candakumārajātakaṃ sattamaṃ niṭṭhitāṃ 1 buddhapūjā dhammapūjā saṅghapū olas 40 to 43, bl.


J. Mahānāradajātaka

Ola 1a, in the middle: bra mahānāradhajātakam aṭṭhamaṃ paripuṇṇam 1 + Siamese in ink, in Sinhalese script: mahānāradajātakam aṭṭhamaṃ paripuṇṇam; olas 1b to 3a, bl.

Beg. ola 3b(ka) : 1 ahu rājā videhānan ti idam satthā laṭṭhivanuyyāne viharanto...

End. ola 44b(gth) 5 : mahānāradajātakam niṭṭhitāṃ olas 45 to 46, bl.

cf. ed. PTS vol VI, pp. 219-255, another recension.

13 bundles: 43+54+43+46+71+88+43+73+43+46 olas, 540 x 50mm, gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle, 2 cord-holes, 5 lines, 62 char. —Kham script—Num. Kham letters—many additions, corrections and notes in ink. Perfect state of conservation.

No date.

Asgiriya Siamese 5

Sārasaṅgaha fragment CPD. 2.9.3

Bundles 1 & 2 missing. Ola 1a, margins in Siamese; in the middle: ṇa ca brah sārasaṅgaha ṭ phūk 3 in ink, Sinhalese script: sārasaṅgaha; olas 1 to 3, bl.

Start. ola 4a(ṇa) : 1 etāni pana mahāparinibbānasuttavanāṇayaṃ vuttāni 1 tattha gumbamattani āḷhamattāṃ ekaccō hi paññasamutthāpetum yeva sakkoti nanicchetum ... olas 28 to 30, bl. Ola 31a, margins: contents in Siamese; in the middle: cha ja bra sārasaṅgaha phūk 4 in ink, Sinhalese script: sārasaṅgaha. Olas 31b to 33, 58 to 60, bl. Ola 61a, in the middle: ja ṇa sārasaṅgaha phūk 5; olas 61b to 63, 88 to 90, bl.

Ola 91a, in the middle: sārasaṅgaha phūk 6; olas 91b to 93, 120 to 122, bl. Ola 123a, idem ... phūk 7; olas 123b to 126, 151 to 153, bl. Ola 154a, idem ... phūk 8 ṇa ta; olas 154b to 158, 179 to 183, bl. Ola 184a, idem ... phūk 9 thā da; olas 184b to 186, 211 to 214, bl. Ola 215a, idem ... phūk 10 dha na ... olas 215b to 220, 245 to 249, bl. Ola 250a, idem ... phūk 11 pa pha; olas 250b to 253, 278 to 280, bl. Ola 281a, idem ... phūk 12; olas 281b to 283, 308 to 310, bl.
Ola 311a, idem ... phûk 13; olas 311 to 313, 337b to 339, bl. Ola 340a, idem ... phûk 14; olas 340b to 342, bl.

End. ola 366b(laḥ): i sārasaṅgahāṇandhācariyena saranacittā samattā nīṭhitā i olas 367 to 369, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS pp. 51 line 7 -344 ?; ed. singh.Vidyasagara Press, Brendiawatta 1898, p. ; Godakumbura 1980, introd XXX, pp. 60-61; cf. Godakumbura 1983, pp. 50-52; Saddhatissa DPLT 318; BN PALI 296, 297, 795, EFEPO PALI 14, 59 ; Somadasa 1987 vol I p. 354-360 mentions Hugh Nevill: "This is a rare work, but I have seen a very old manuscript in Sinhalese alphabet, and a Siamese copy brought to Sri Lanka at the commencement of the last century..." As Siamese mss. are not so common in Sri Lanka this ms. may be the one alluded to by Nevill.

369 olas, 12 bundles, 555 x 50mm, 2 thick wooden covers, gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle, 2 cord-holes, 5 lines, 72 char. —Kham script—Num. Kham letters—many additions, corrections and notes in ink. On each bundle, 1st cover, in ink, Sinhalese script: sārasaṅgaha [or ] sārasaṅgha. Perfect state of conservation.

No date.

Asgiriya Siamese 6

1. Pāṭha Buddhavaṃsa

CPD. 2. 5. 14

Ola 1a, in the middle : pāṭhabuddhavaṃsa phûk 1 ; in ink in Sinhalese script : pāṭhabuddhavaṃsaya; olas 1b to 7a, bl.Beg. ola 7b(k)a : namo tassa ... brahmā ca lokādhīpāti sahampati katañjali anadhivaraṃ ayācatha santīdha sattā apparajakkhājīkā desehi dhammaṃ anukampi maṃ pajjanti bhagavā lokādhipati ... olas 31 to 36, bl. Ola 37a, in the middle : pāṭhabuddhavaṃsa phûk 2; olas 37b to 42, 67 to 72, bl. Ola 73a, in the middle : idem ... phûk 3; olas 73b to 78, 103 to 108, bl. Ola 109a, in the middle : idem ... phûk 4; olas 109b to 118, bl.

End. : ola 133b(j)i 3 : dhātubhājaniyakathā nīṭhitā i varakutanigammarupenisanno dhanadhaṅsasampannakulo ahosi mahājane thaipivā setamayuttabhayam vihārasimaṇca kahaṇca akāsi ramme tassa netto mahāpaṇe nāmena paduttaro so theru likkhati catuvisati pāliyam catthuvisati buddhavaṃso nīṭhito i olas 134 to 143, bl.


2. Madhuratthavilāsini—Buddhavaṃs-aṭṭhakathā

CPD. 2.5.14.1

Ola 1a, in the middle : aṭṭhakathā buddhavaṃsa i phûk 1 i parilapuṇṇa; in ink, Sinhalese script: buddhavaṃsa... ; olas 1b to 7a, bl.

Beg. ola 7b(k)a : namatthu i anantaṇāṇaṃ karupālayam layaṃ malassa buddham susamāhitam hitaṃ namāmi dhammaṃ bhavasamvaram varaṃ guṇākaraṇceva niraṅgaṇaṃ gaṇaṃ paṇāya seṭṭho jinassvākānaṃ ... olas 31 to 36, bl. Ola 37a, in the middle : idem ... phûk 2 i olas 37b to 42, 68 to 73, bl. Ola 74a, in the middle : ki i idem ... phûk 3 ņa ca; olas 74b to 79, 104 to 109, bl. Ola 110a, in the middle : ki i idem ... phûk 4 i cha ja i ola 110b to 115, 140 to 145, bl. Ola 146a, in the middle : idem ... phûk 5 jha ņa; olas 146b to 151, 176 to 181, bl. Ola 182a, in the middle:
Asgiriya Siamese 7

Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā fragments CPD.2.5.2,1

Because we could not make clear the many different foliations and numberings of the independent bundles (original letters or figures added later, engraved or in ink), we have chosen to describe each bundle separately, beginning foliation each time at ola 1 without paying attention to any of the numbers we may find on the covers. We have roughly arranged the present catalogue according to the text of the PTS ed.

1. Ola 1a, in the middle: 1 bra dhammapada mat plāy phūk 1; margins, in minute kham script bent, table of contents engraved and in ink.

Olas 1b, bl. ola 2a, in the middle = 1a in ink + phūk 21(engraved + same table of contents); ola 2, 3, sewn together = covers engraved with a former text, not inked(reused); ola 4a also reused, ola 4b, bl.

Start. ola 5(jyī): 1 abhiṇṭhathe ra ḍha kalyāṇe ti imaṃ dhammadesanaṃ satthā jetave ṇa viharanto culekasāṭakabrāhmaṇaṃ ārabba kathesi vi pās addasabalassa kālasmiṃ hi mahākasāṭakabrāhmaṇaṃ nāma ahosi āyaṃ pana etarahi sāvatthiyaṃ culekasāṭako nāma... Ola 9(jyē) 1 culekasāṭakavattthu 9b 5 seyyasakathamavattthu 13a(jyē) 2 lājādevadhitāvattthu 17b(jhyī) 1 anāthapiṇḍikavattthu 18b(jhyu) 1 aseyakavattthu 21a(jhyē) 1 vilārapadikasēṭṭhīvattthu 23a(jhyo) 1 mahādhanabānijjavattthu

143 olas in 4 bundles + 471 olas in 13 bundles, 550 x 52mm, 2 thick wooden covers, gilt edges, 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 72 char. — Kham script — Num. Kham letters — many additions, corrections and notes in ink. On each bundle, 1st cover, in ink, Sinhalese script: pāṭhabuddhavamsaya or buddhavamsa ... Perfect state of conservation.

No date.
2. [Wanting phūk 2] 3 isolated olas numbered kya, gyā, gyī that could not find place in any bundle. Ola gyī a line 3:

\[ \text{kukkuṭamitavatthu} \]

Cf. ed. PTS vol III pp. 24-31

3. Ola 1a, in the middle: bra dhammapada mat plāy phūk 3

Margins, table of contents. Ola 1b, bl. ola 2a, repeats 1a, phūk 23; ola 2b, bl. ola 3a, small bent script engraved and in ink, auspicious formulas; ola 3 b, reused ola already engraved but not inked.

Ola 5b(ṇa) 3:

\[ \text{mahāmoggallānattheravatthu} \]

"10a (ṇe) 1 bahūbhāṇḍakabhikkhu vatthu \]

"13b(ṇo) 4 santatīmahāmattavatthu \]

"16a(ca) 1 pilotikathavatthu \]

"25b(co) 1 sukhasamāneravatthu \]

\[ \text{danḍavaggavaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā} \]

\[ \text{dasamo vaggo} \]

ola 28a, in ink, list of chapters from another book (it seems from Paṭhamasambodhi!): maṅgalavivāha 1 tusita 2 ... rājābhiseka 5 mahābhīnīkhamana 6 dukkarakiriya 7 buddhapūjā 8 māravijeyya 9 abhisambodhi 10, etc.

Ola 28b, bl. Olas 29, 30, bl. sewn.

Cf. ed. PTS vol III pp. 65-99

4. Ola 1a, in the middle: bra dhammapada mat plāy phūk 22

Margins, table of stories and in ink: phūk 4; olas 1b 2a, bl. Ola 2b, 1 line in Siamese language.

Ola 3a(cha) 3 surāppivavatthu samattaṁ

"6b(chī) 5 sirimāyavatthu \]

"7b(chu) 3 uttaratherī°

"8b(chū) 2 adhimānakabhikkhu°

"12a(cho) 5 panandhāthera°

"15a(jā) 1 mallikāya°

"17b(jī) 2 lōjūdāyi°

"18b(ju) 3 pathamabodhi°

"25a(jaḥ) 2 bodhirāja°

Olas 26, 27, bl. reused as covers, sewn.

Cf. ed. PTS vol III pp. 100 (Visākhāya Sahāyikānaṁ Vatthu?) -139°

5. [Wanting phūk 5] Ola 1a, in the middle: bra dhammapada phūk 26 mat play

Margins, table of stories and in ink: phūk 6; olas 1b, 2, bl. sewn, reused as covers. Olas 3, 4, bl.

Ola 5a(ji) 5 pesakāradhiṭāvatthu

"6b(jī) 1 tiṃsabhikkhuvaṇṇanā samatā°

"10a(lē) 1 cincamānavikāvatthu

"14a(laḥ) 3 asadisadāna°

"21a(dhye ?) 1 māgaṇḍībrāhmaṇa°

Ola 27, reused as cover, olas 28, 29 bl.

Cf. ed. PTS vol III pp. 170-199
6. Ola 1a, in the middle: bra dhampapada mat pläy phûk 27
Margins, table of stories and in ink: phûk 7; olas 1b, 2, bl. except 1 line in ink, sewn.

Start. ola 3a(nya): n̄ gotamo gaṇḍ̄ambarukkhamûle pāṭhiriyaṁ kariyaṁ karissatī tumbehi yojanabbhantare tadahu jātá ambapotakā uppātāpitā gaṇḍ̄ambo nāma ayanti vatvā...

Ola 23a(pyai) 1 te pi tāpāsa jivitapariyosāne brahmalokaparāyanā ahesuṁ jātakaṁ samodhānesi 1 tadā jetṭhante vāsiko sāriputto hotī mahābrahmā pana ahamevā idaṁ jātakaṁ viṭṭhārena kathesi ti 1 devorohanavatthum 1 kiccho manussapatilābhō ti imaṁ dhammadesaṅanaṁ satthā bārāṇasiṁ upanissāya sattasirisarukkhamûle viharanto...

Stop., ola 26b(pyaḥ) 4 satthā tassa kathāṁ suttāva mahārāja manussattaṁ nāma dullaḥham eva tathā saddhammasavanaṁ tathā buddhuppādo idaṁ hi kiccena kasirena labhaṁ ti vatvā dhammaṁ desento imaṁ gāthāṁ āha 1 kiccho manussapati

Olas 27, 28, bl. sewn.

Cf. ed. PTS vol III pp. 207 line 23 to p. 235

7. Ola 1a, in the middle: bra dhampapada mat pläy phûk 28
Margins, table of stories and in ink: phûk 8; olas 1b, 2, bl. reused, sewn. Ola 3, engraved and in ink, small Kham script.

Ola 4b(phya) 1 erakapattanāgarājā vatthu samattāṁ 1
"6a(phyi) 3 ānandapanāṁ vatthuṁ 1
"8a(phyu) 2 ānabhīrata° 1
"13a(phyo) 1 aggidatta° 1
"13b° 4 ānandavisaįjanapanāha° 1
"14b(phyaṁ) 4 pathamabhānāvāram nīthitāṁ 1

8. Ola 1a, in the middle: bra dhampapada mat pläy phûk 29
Margins, table of stories engraved, small Kham script and in ink: phûk 9 11; olas 1b, 2, reused, sewn. Ola 3, bl.

Ola 4a(bhya) 4 tayojanavatthum 1
"8b(bhyu) 3 katumbyaputtamattā° 1
"9b(bhyū) 1 visākāhayanattāmarāna° 1
"10a(bhye) 3 lacchavi° 1
"12b(bhyai) 3 anitthigandhakumāra° 1
"14b(bhyāh) 3 dārakapuvadāna° 1
"15b(mya) 3 anāgāmithera° 1
"22a(myē) 4 rohiṇiğaṅña° 1
"23b(myai) 5 rukkhachedabhiphakkhu°

Ola 27, bl. olas 28, 29, reused as covers, sewn.

Cf. ed. PTS vol III pp. 273-302

9. Ola 1a, in the middle: bra dhampapada mat pläy phûk 30
Margins, table of stories half in ink, half engraved, small Kham script and in ink: phûk 10; olas 1b, 2, reused, sewn. Ola 3a, one line in small script in ink, ola 3b, bl.
Ola 8b(yyu) 1 1 uttarāvattthuṃ 1
"10b(yye) 1 1 moggallanaṇapāṇhaṃ vattuṃ 1
"13a(yyo) 2 1 brāhmaṇabuddhapīvatthu 1
"17b(ryā) 1 1 puṇḍadasi° 1
"20a(ryu) 1 1 atulyaupaśāka°
"20b 5 1 chabbatiya°
"24b(ryai) 5 1 goghātaka°
"26b(ryam) 1 1 brāhmaṇasāla°
"28b(nra ??) 3 1 tissatthera°
Olas 34 to 36, reused as covers, 35, 36, sewn.

Cf. ed. PTS vol III pp. 302-344

10. Ola 1a, in the middle: 1 bra dhammapada mat play phūk 31 1 Margins, table of stories in ink: phūk 11; olas 1, 2, reused, sewn.
Ola 4a(pā) 4 1 culasārībhikkhuvatthu 1
"10(pē) 1 1 paṇcaupaśāka°
"19a(phu) 3 1 meṇḍakaseṭṭhi°
"19b " 4 1 ujjhāyanasaññithera°
"22a(phē) 3 1 vinicchayamahāmatta°
"24a(pho) 4 1 ekudānathera°
Olas 26, 27 reused as covers, sewn.

Cf. ed. PTS vol III 351-384

11. Ola 1a, in the middle: 1 bra dhammapada mat play phūk 32 1 Margins, table of stories in ink: phūk 12; olas 1b, 2, bl., sewn.
Ola 4a(bā) 2 1 [h]atthatatheravatthuṃ
"5a(bi) 1 1 aṇñatarabrāhmaṇavatthu°
"6b(bi) 3 1 titthiya°

12. Ola 1a, in the middle: 1 bra dhammapada mat play phūk 33 1 Margins, table of stories in ink: phūk 13; olas 1b, Siamese language in ink, 2, reused, olas 1, 2, sewn. Ola 3, bl.
Ola 4a(mā) 1 1 mahābānijjavatthu 1 cf. ed. PTS vol III p. 429
"5a(mi) 1 1 kīsāgotami°
"6a(mi) 1 1 paṭācārā°
"7a(mu) 1 1 bhaddiyabhiṣkhu°
"16b(yi) 2 1 kukkuṭa aṇḍakāhādika° cf. ed. PTS vol III p. 451
Olas 27, 28, reused, sewn.

13. Ola 1a, in the middle: 1 bra dhammapada mat play phūk 34 1 Margins, table of stories in ink: phūk 14; olas 1b, 2a, bl. Ola 2b, one line in small script in Siamese language.
Ola 3a(ra) 4 1 cittagahapativatthu 1
"8a(rū) 4 1 paksiṇakavaggaṇṇā niṭṭhitā ekavisatimo vago 1
"12b(ro) 1 1 dakkapijitasattavatthu 1

Olaus 6a(vi) 2 | pariṣiṣṭaśrāhmanassa puttavatthu
"11a(vē) 5 | sānusāmaṇeraṇa vattu
"12a(vai) 3 | pāverakahatthi (ed. = bhadderaṅgī K = pāveyyaka)
"14b(vāṃ) 3 | sambhulabhiṅkku
"26a(saṃ) 1 | sukaraṇa
"27a(saḥ) 4 | vibhantakabhikku
Olaus 29, 30, reused, sewn.

Cf. ed. PTS vol IV pp. 7-53

15. Ola 1a, in the middle: bra dhammapada mat pay phuk 36 Margins, table of stories and in ink: phuk 16; olas 1b, 2, reused, sewn.

Olaus 3a, smaller, round edges, 2 lines in ink in Siamese language. Ola 3b, bl.
"6a(hi) 2 | khamāyavatthu
"14b(hañ) 4 | māra
"18b(li) 4 | sakkāpamā
"21a(lū) 2 | aputtakaseṭṭhi

Cf. ed. PTS vol IV pp. 463-491

16. Ola 1a, in the middle: bra dhammapada mat pay phuk 37 Margins, table of stories in ink: phuk 17; olas 1b, 2, bl., sewn.

Olaus 16a(krā) 1 | sansāmaṇeraṇa vattu
"16b " 2 | pañcasatābhiṅkkhu
"17b(krī) 1 | sansāmaṇeraṇa
"20b(krū) 1 | vakkaliṭṭhita
Olaus 27, 28, reused as covers, sewn.

Cf. ed. PTS vol IV pp. 53-86.

17. Ola 1a, in the middle: bra dhammapada mat pay phuk 38 Margins, table of stories in ink: phuk 18; olas 1b, 2, 3, reused, sewn.

Olaus 8b(khrū) 1 | sansāmaṇeraṇa vattu
"bhikkhu vāggaṇaṇa niṭṭhitā pañcaviṃśatimī vaggī
Olaus 9a(khrū) 5 | pasādahulabhāraṇavatthu
"9b " 5 | sambhulabhikku
"10a(khrē) 4 | māra
"10b " 4 | aṅgaraṇaṇa
"11b(khrē) 5 | anandatthita
"12a(khrē) 5 | aṅgaraṇapabbajjita
"14b(khrē) 1 | sāriputtaṭhita
"15a(khrē) 3 | mahāpajāpatigotumu
"15b " 5 | sāriputtaṭhita

Cf. ed. PTS vol IV pp. 101-119
"16a(grā) 4  jāṭilbrāhmaṇa°
"19a(gri) 1  kisāgottami°
Olas 29, 30 reused, sewn.

Cf. ed. PTS vol IV pp. 120-157

18. Ola 1a, in the middle: bra dhammapada mat plāy phāk 39 syarapālla gya ghya | Margins, table of stories in ink: phāk 19; Olas 1b, 2, reused, sewn. One line in Pāli in ink on 2b, 3a; in ink 3b, table of stories.
Ola 4b(ggha) 4  aṇñatarabhikkhu vatthu | "7a(gghi) 4  sāmānera°
"8a(gghu) 2  māhāpanṭhaka°
"9a(gghū) 1  pilindavacchatthera°
"10a(gghe) 2  aṇñatarabhikkhu°
"11a(gghē) 1  sāriputtaṭhēra°
" 5  moggallānanṭhēra°
"12a(gghai) 2  revattathēra°
"15b(gghah) 5  candabhattēthēra°
"17a(gghhā) 5  simbali°
"21a(gghhū) 4  sandarasamuddhathēra°
Olas 27, 28, reused, sewn.


19. Ola 1a, in the middle: bra dhammapada mat plāy phāk 11 (?), in ink: phāk 20; margins, in minute kham script, table of contents (names of the stories and letter of the folio.) Olas 1 to 2b, sewn together = covers engraved with a former text, not inked (reused); in ink, Siamese language.

Cf. ed. PTS vol IV, p. 205 line 22 to p. 234; Cf. also similar mss.: BN PALI 93 to 120-637- 647-820-858; EFEQ PALI 6; ME PALI 24-42. I was not able to list all the stories contained in this ms. Many more could be found by reading it thoroughly.

19 bundles, 27+3+30+27+29+29+29+36+27+28+28+28+28+30+29+28+30+28+27 olas, 2 thick wooden covers, gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle, 540 x 50mm, black lacquered then gilded.
edges, 2 cord holes, covers of each bundle protected with mica roundels around the left cord hole, 5 lines, 7 char.—Kham script—Numb. Kham letters—Punctuation of stanzas & chapters magnified in red and black paint; olas especially thin, flexible and smooth, very fine calligraphy, many additions, notes, corrections in ink and yellow paste. Each bundle, transcript of the title in Sinhalese script in ink: "dhammapadaṭṭhakathā". Wrapped in 2 different printed cotton fabrics with floral motifs in red, brown, blue and white, doubled with a floral motif of garlands, brown on white.

No date (possibly middle 18th century).

Asgiriya Siamese 8

[Vinayapiṭaka—Suttavibhaṅga—Nissaggiya—Pācittiya] CPD. 1. 2

Ola 1a, in the middle: bra pācittiya phûk 1, kaḥ khaḥ 1, margins engraved with one line in minute kham bent script, Siamese language (date: buddhasakkarāj... 2379); olas 1b to 3a, bl.

Beg. ola 3b(ka): tena samayena buddho bhagavā sāvatthiyāṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassārāme tena kho pana samayena aññatarassa bhikkhuno kosalesu janapadesu sāvatthīm gacchantassa antarāmagge ējakalomāni upajjimāsu ātā.

Ola 59b(ña) 5, tena samayena buddho bhagavā sāvatthiyāṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassārāme tena kho pana samayena aññatarassa bhikkhuno kosalesu janapadesu sāvatthīm gacchantassa antarāmagge ējakalomāni upajjimāsu ātā.

Ola 71b(ca) 3, kosiyavaggo dutiyo ātā.
Olas 83 to 84, bl.

Ola 85a, idem previous bundles but phûk 14, cha ja 1, olas 85b to 86, bl.

Ola 107b(jai) 3, nissaggiyānaṃ tatiyo vaggo ātā.
Olas 111 to 115, bl.

Ola 116a, idem previous bundles but phûk 15 jha ātā. Some notes in Siamese; olas 116b to 117, 142 to 143, bl.

Ola 144a, idem previous bundles but phûk 16, aksarapāla taḥ tṭhaḥ ātā. Olas 144b to 145, 170 to 171, bl.

Ola 172a, idem previous bundles but phûk 17, aksarapāla da ḍha ātā. Olas 172b to 176, bl.

Ola 180b(di) 3, musāvādavaggo pathamo ātā. "200a(ḍhaḥ) 1, bhūtagāmavaggo dutiyo ātā.
Olas 201 to 205, bl.

Ola 206a, idem previous bundles but phûk 18, aksarapāla ṗa ṭa ātā. Olas 206b to 210, 235 to 239, bl.

Ola 240a, idem previous bundles but phûk 19, ṭha da ātā. Olas 240b to 241, 266 to 267.

Ola 267a, idem previous bundles but phûk 10, dha na ātā. Olas 267b to 271, 296 to 300, bl.

Ola 301a, idem previous bundles but phûk 11, pa pha ātā. Olas 301b to 304, 329 to 333, bl.

Ola 334a, idem previous bundles but phûk 12, ba bha ātā. Olas 334b to 338, 363 to 367, bl.
Ola 368a, idem previous bundles but phûk 13 i maya i olas 368b to 372, 397 to 401, bl.

Ola 402a, idem previous bundles but phûk 14 i raḥ lanṭ i olas 402b to 406b, bl.

End. ola 429b(laṃ) 3 i mahāvibhaṅgaṅca samatattam paripuṇṭam nitthitam i cattāro pasatāpattā catupatthā ca nālīkā nālīkā ca cattāro catu āḷhā ca doṇīkā doṇīkā cattāro pete ambhanantī pavuccati i dhanuṇaṅcasatām kosaṃ catukosaṃ catuvaṭṭam gāvutāni ca cattāri yojanantī vuuccanti i bra pâteyyaparipuṇṭam Ā

Olas 430 to 434, bl.


14 bundles, 434 olas, gilded edges, 550 x 50 mm, 2 thin wooden covers, edges lightly gilded, 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 74 char. —

Kham script, large for Pāli and minute, bent, for Siamese—Num.

Kham letters—Each bundle has a transcript of the title in Sinhalese script in ink: "pácittiya" and is numbered with Sinhalese letters ka, kā, etc. Most probably a Sinhalese reader has read this text, adding a typically Sinhalese punctuation to show the different chapters. The usual marks of the daṇḍas ⊔ are now looking like double kuṇḍaliya — — ! Some additions and corrections in ink and yellow paste. Fine calligraphy, very good state of conservation.

Dated BS. 2379 = 1835 AD.

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[Vinayapitak}—Pātimokkha CPD 1.1

Ola 1a, in the middle : i braḥ pāṭimokkhāṃ niṭṭhitaṃ i phûk 1 ... i in ink Sinhalese transcript: bhikkhu-pāṭimokkhaṃ ; olas 1b to 4a, bl.

Beg. ola 4b(ku) : i namathu ratanattayassa i namo tassa ... i suṇātu me bhante saṃgho yadi saṃghassa pakkallāṃ ahaṃ āyasmanāṃ itthāniṣṭaṃ vinayaṃ pučheyyaṃ i namo tassa ... i suṇātu me bhante saṃgho i yadi saṃghassa pakkallāṃ ahaṃ itthāniṣṭaṃ vinayaṃ puṭṭho visajjeyyaṃ i sammaṃjanī padīpo ca udakaṃ aṣanena ca uposathassa etāni pubbakaraṇantī vucaṭi ...
"33b " 4 | sattadhikaranasamathā niṭṭhitā |
End. 34a(ge) 1: ...uddīṭṭhā sattādhikaranasamathā
dhammā ettakan tassa bhagavato suttāgataṃ
suttapariyāpannaṃ anvāḍhāhamāsaṃ uddesaṃ āgcchati
tathā sabbe eva samaggehi sammodamānehi avividamānehi
sikkhitabbanti i bhikkhupātimokkhaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ i Olas 34b to
38, bl.

Cf. Dickson 1876 p. 70-96

38 olas, 560 x 50mm, gilded edges, 2 cord holes, 5 lines, 70
char. —Kham —Num. Kham letters—Fine calligraphy, very good state
of conservation.

No date.

Asgiriya Siamese 10

Mūlakaccāyanāma fragment Pāli-Siamese nissaya
Ola 1a, in the middle : mūlakaccāyaṇānaṃ phūk 1
olas 1b to 6, bl.

Beg. ola 7a(kha) : jinavacanayuttaṃhi jinavacanayuttaṃhi iccetaṃ adhikārattham veditabbam liṅgaṇi ca nipaccate yathāyathā jinavacanayuttaṃ tathātathā idha liṅgaṇi ca nipaccate i...

End. ola 30b(gaḥ) 3 i iti nāmakkappe dutiyo kaṇḍo i
olas 31 to 35, bl.

Cf. Senart 1871 pp. 33-83

35 olas, 580 x 60mm, gilded edges, 2 cordholes, 3 lines in
Pāli, 3 lines commentary in Siamese—Large et minute Kham scripts—

Ola 1a, in the middle : i bra abhidhammatthaṇaṃ phūk 1 i in pencil and also engraved, transcripts in Sinhalese
script; olas 1b to 2a, bl.

Beg. ola 2b(ka) : i sammasambuddham atulam sasaddhammagāṇuttaṃ abhivādiya bhāsissam abhidhammatthaṇaṃ i...

Ola 7b(kū) 2 i iti abhidhammatthaṇaṃ cittasaṅgahavibhāgo nāma pathamo pariccchdeo i
Ola 13a(kaḥ) 2 i iti abhidhammatthaṇaṃ cetasaṅgahavibhāgo nāma dutiyo pariccchdeo i
Ola 17b(khi) 4 i iti abhidhammatthaṇaṃ pakṣaṅkasaṅgahavibhāgo nāma tatiyo pariccchdeo i
Ola 22b(kai) 1 i iti abhidhammatthaṇaṃ vithisaṅgahavibhāgo nāma catuttho pariccchdeo i Ola 26, bl.
Ola 27a, in the middle : i bra abhidhammatthaṇaṃ phūk 2 i in pencil and also engraved, transcripts in Sinhalese
script; ola 27b, bl.

Ola 31a(gti) 2 i iti abhidhammatthaṇaṃ vithimuttaṇaṅgahavibhāgo nāma pañicamo pariccchdeo i
Ola 36a(gai) 3 i iti abhidhammatthaṇaṃ rūpasaṅgahavibhāgo nāma chaṭṭho pariccchdeo i
2. **Abhidhammatthavibhāvinīṭīkāsaṅgaha** fragment CPD 3.8.1, 1

Wanting phûk 1. Ola 1a, in the middle:  bra abhidhammatthavibhāvinīṭīkāsaṅgaha phûk 2  engraved, transcript in Sinhalese script: abhidhammatthavibhāvanīṭikā; ola 1b, bl.

**Start.** Ola 2b(ga): [vaḍḍe]ṭī ti vā pīti  sā sampiyāyanalakkhanā i ārammaṇaṁ kallato gahaṇalakkhanā ti vuttaṁ hoti  sampayuttadhamme sukhayatī ti sukham i taṁ iṭṭhānubhavanalakkhanāṁ subhojanarasassadako rājā viya i tattha ārammaṇapaṭṭilabhē …

Ola 26, bl.

Ola 27a, in the middle:  bra abhidhammatthavibhāvinīṭīkāsaṅgaha phûk 3  engraved, transcript in Sinhalese script: abhidhammatthavibhāvanīṭikā;olas 27b, 52, bl.

Ola 53a, idem previous bundle but phûk 3  olas 53b, 78, bl.

"79a, idem previous bundles but phûk 4  olas 79b, 104, bl.

"105a, idem previous bundles but phûk 5  olas 105b, 130, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS 1989 pp. 1-51

"131a, idem previous bundles but phûk 6  olas 131b, 156, bl.

"157a, idem previous bundles but phûk 7  olas 157b, 182, bl.

"183a, idem previous bundles but phûk 8  olas 183b, 184, bl.

End. ola 211b(thi) 1  bra abhidhammatthavibhāvinīyā nāma abhidhammatthasāṅgahavanāṇanāya navamaparicchedavaṇṇanā niṭṭhita  …

ola 212a(thi) 2  jotayantam tadā tassa sāsanaṁ suddhamānasa passeyyaṁ sakkareyyaṁ ca gurum me sārisambhavaṁ i dinehi catuvīsehi tīkāyaṁ niṭṭhita yathā tathā kalyāṇasaṁkappā simgham ījhantu pāṇīnanaṁ ti abhidhammatthasāṅgahaṭṭikā niṭṭhita i

Cf. ed. PTS 1989 p. 70 line 31 to p. 212; ed. Bangkok 1923 Abhidhammatthasāṅgahapāli—Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī Vidyodayaṭikā Publications, Sumaṅga Thera's Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī or Abhidhammatthasāṅgahaṭṭikā Colombo 1933; v. similar mss. BN PALI 379, 796, 845; EFEO PALI 57, 89; FEMC PALI D 39, D 124

9 bundles, 53 + 212 olas, 582 x 52mm, gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle, 2 cordholes, 5 lines, 66 char;— Kham script—Numb. Kham letters—Fine calligraphy, very good state of conservation.

No date.
Asgiriya Siamese 12

Abhidhammaṭṭhakathā abridged

A. Atthasālinī—Dhammasaṅgaṇīṭṭhakathā

Ola 1a, in the middle: 1 bra dhammasaṅgniṃ lee aṭṭhakathā tāṃ prasaṅgaparipūraṇa phūk 1 transcript in ink and numbering in Sinhalese: dhammasaṅgaṇīṭṭhakathā ka kha ga; olas 1b to 4a, bl.

Beg. ola 4b(ka): 1 tvā karunā viya sattesu pañña yassa mahesino ēyyadhammesu sabbesu pavattiṭṭha yathārucīṃ dayāya tāya sattesu ...

End. ola 39b(gaḥ): 5: dhammasaṅgaṇīpakarana niṭṭhitaṃ olas 40 to 42, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS, Atthasālinī

B. Sammohavinodani —Vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā

Ola 43a, in the middle: 1 bra vibhaṅga lee aṭṭhakathā tāṃ prasaṅgaparipūraṇa phūk 2 transcript in ink and numbering in Sinhalese: vibhaṅgaṭṭhakathā gha na ca; olas 43b to 44a, bl. ola 44b, 3 lines in ink, large kham script; olas 45, 45a, few lines in ink.

Beg. ola 45b(gaḥ): catusaccadassad nātho catudhā dhammasaṅgniṃ pakāsayitvā sambuddho ...

End. ola 70a(cā): 4: dhammāṇupassanāṇiddeso niṭṭhito vibhaṅgapakaraṇaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ olas 70b to 73, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS, Sammohavinodani

C. [Pañcapiyakanṇaṭṭhakathā I] — Dhātukathā-āṭṭhakathā

Ola 74a, in the middle: bra dhātukathā lee aṭṭhakathā tāṃ prasaṅgaparipūraṇa phūk 3 transcript in ink and numbering in Sinhalese: 5(!) dhātukathāṭṭhakathā ca cha; ola 74b to 78, bl.

Beg. ola 79a(ca): 1 nītaṃ attha aṭṭhārasahi bhedehi vibhaṅgaṃ mārabhaṭṭhano desayitvā mahāvīro ...

End. ola 92b(cha): 5: evam eva kho mahāraja yānimāni pañcaya tanāni nāṇa kammehi nibbatthi 1 natthi ekena kammēna ti dhātukathā niṭṭhita olas 93 to 96, bl.


D. [Pañcapiyakanṇaṭṭhakathā II] — PuggalaPaññatti-āṭṭhakathā

Ola 97a, in the middle: bra puggalapaññatti lee aṭṭhakathā tāṃ prasaṅgaparipūraṇa phūk 4 21 pē transcript in ink and numbering in Sinhalese: puggalapaññatti aṭṭhakathā cha ja; olas 97b to 101, bl.

Beg. ola 102a(cha): 1 tāṃ attha nipaṭṭhattham pakaraṇaṃ dhātubhedappakāsano satthā dhātukathāṃ nāma ...

End. ola 123a(jo): 1 ekakaniddeso niṭṭhito ... ekapuggala 1 la ... dasapuggala 1 puggalapaññatinīṭhita olas 123b to 126, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS, [Pañcapiyakanṇaṭṭhakathā II] Puggala-Paññatti-Āṭṭhakathā, JPTS 1913-14 pp. 170-203
G. [Pañcapakaraṇaṭṭhakathā V] — Mahāpaṭṭhānaṭṭhakathā

Ola 188a, in the middle: bra mahāpaṭṭhāna lee aṭṭhakathā täm prasaṅgaparipūraṇa phûk 7 transcript in ink and numbering in Sinhalese: 7 paṭṭhānaṭṭhakathā da ḍha; olas 188b to 195a, bl.

Beg. ola 195b(da) : attha devātidevo devānāṃ devadānavapūjito desayitvā pakaranaṃ yamakarn sudhasaṅamo ... 

End. ola 206a(daḥ) 3 : sokadukkhadomanassā ti dukkhabhedanā eva paridevo pi doso upāyāsomanassa doso vāti mahāpaṭṭhānapakaranaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ olas 206b to 212, bl.

Cf. ed. PTS. [Pañcapakaranaṭṭhakathā V] Tikapatṭhāna part I Paccayavibhaṅgavāra together with Buddhaghosa's Commentary from the Pañcapakaranaṭṭhakathā [Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Paṭṭhāna, Tikapatṭhānavanaṇanā] p. 8; many similar mss. BN PALI 266 to 282, 284 etc. In this collection see Asgiriya Siamese 3.

7 bundles, 2 wooden covers, recto painted in green and red, 212 olas, 582 x 52mm, gilded edges, red lacquered in the middle, 2 cordholes, 5 lines, 70 char.— Kham script—Numb. Kham letters—Fine calligraphy, very good state of conservation. A label made of a small ola piece is appended to bundle 1, engraved in Sinhalese: abhidhammasattapakarana ṛtuvaṅka.

No date.

Mss. 11 & 12 are wrapped in a large piece of silk woven with fine geometrical motifs, in red, yellow and green, doubled with off white cotton fabric.
Abbreviations & Bibliography

Bhāṇa Bhāṇavārāpāli, Institut bouddhique, Phnom-Penh 1936

BL British Library, London

BL Or. Oriental manuscripts, Oriental Collections British Library & India Office, 197 Blackfriars Road London SE 1 8NG (UK)

BN PALI Pāli collection, Département des manuscrits, division orientale de la Bibliothèque de France, 58 rue de Richelieu 75002 Paris (FRANCE)

Camb. ed. Cambodian edition

CPD A Critical Pāli Dictionary, begun by V. Trenckner, revised, continued, and edited by Dines Andersen, Helmer Smith, and Hans Hendriksen. Epilegomena to vol 1, by Helmer Smith, Copenhagen 1948, pp. 37*-69*

Dickson 1876 J. F. Dickson, "The Pātimokkha, being the Buddhist Office of the Confession of Priests. The Pali Text, with a Translation, and notes" JRAS 1876


Dvādasaparītta v. Sattaparītta

EFEO PALI Pāli manuscript collection, Bibliothèque de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, 22 Avenue du Président-Wilson 75116 Paris (FRANCE)

FEMC PALI Fonds pour l'Édition des Manuscrits du Cambodge, Pavillon du FEMC Pagode d'Argent, Porte Est, Enceinte du Palais Royal, Phnom Penh B.P. 878 (CAMBODIA)


ICI PALI Pāli manuscript collection, Institut de Civilisation Indienne, 52 rue du Cardinal Lemoine 75005 Paris (FRANCE)

ICP PALI Grimblot collection, Institut Catholique de Paris, Bibliothèque de Fels, 21 rue d'Assas, 75270 Paris Cedex 06 (FRANCE)

JPTS Journal of the Pali Text Society

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Pou NIC 1989 Saveros Pou, Nouvelles inscriptions du Cambodge, EFEO Paris 1989 (Collection de textes et documents sur l'Indochine XVII)

PTS Pali Text Society

Sattaparitta Dvādasaparitta suivis de quelques sūtras et de diverses stances tirés de Bhāṇavāra Pāli, Bibliothèque Royale, Phnom-Penh 1935

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Senart 1871 Emile Senart, Kaccāyanāṃa et la littérature grammaticale du pāli Paris 1871


Mahāpiriṭṭa v. Sanna sahīta mahāpiriṭṭpotvahansē

ME PALI Pāli manuscript collection, Missions étrangères de Paris, 128 rue du Bac 75007 Paris (FRANCE)
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THE MONK IN THE PĀLI VINAYA: PRIEST OR WEDDING GUEST?

I recently attended a meeting of a committee controlling a charity at which the treasurer was supposed to present a report. However, he did not turn up. He was attending his daughter’s graduation ceremony. Inconvenient though his absence was, no one present thought it improper. Everyone recognised that parents are normally under an obligation to attend their children’s graduations. On the other hand, no one thought that the proud father was officiating at the ceremony, or that it could not have been carried out without him. The event centred on a ritual, but the father’s obligation to attend was a social, not a ritual obligation.

Not only in South Asia, but in many (or all?) traditional societies the world over, when a family solemnises an important event in the life of one or more of its members, everyone associated with that family is expected to attend. Legally, technically, a Hindu couple are married if they have had the correct ritual performed by a qualified officiant. But they will feel bad about it unless their relatives, friends and acquaintances come to the festivities and accept food from them. Conversely, it is offensively rude not to attend a wedding feast to which one has been invited and to eat at least a token amount.

Since the guests are felt to be an essential component of such occasions, one might perhaps very loosely speak of them as part of the ritual, in so far as one can describe almost any set social occasion as a ritual. But every participant understands the difference in role performance between an officiant at such a ritual – a marriage, for instance – and a guest, and therefore understands the difference (in whatever language it may be expressed) between the ritual obligation and
the social obligation to attend. To blur this distinction where it is relevant casts darkness where there was light.

In a recent number of this journal Gregory Schopen, who is recognised as a leading historian of early Buddhism, published an article entitled “The Ritual Obligations and Donor Roles of Monks in the Pāli Vinaya”.

The donor roles are fine; but I dispute the ritual obligations. Moreover, I think maybe it falls to me to reply, because his article begins with the sentence: “More than once recently it has again been suggested that Buddhist monks had little or no role in life-cycle ceremonies in early India”; and to this is keyed a footnote with two references to words published by me. Let me here reproduce those words.

“Monks preserve Buddhism; but it is not their function to provide religious services to the laity. The life crises of Buddhists (birth, puberty, marriage) are mostly either treated as secular events or solemnized by specialists in the religious systems which co-exist locally with Buddhism. There are however quite a few exceptions to this general principle. The major one is death: Buddhist monks everywhere officiate at funerals.”

That passage attempts to generalise about Buddhism as a whole. The other one which Schopen cites has the same focus as his article.

“The Theravāda Buddhist monk hardly ever acts as what we would call a priest. He officiates at no life-cycle crisis rituals except funerals – and even then he can claim to be present as preacher and consoler, not as officiant. We do not know whether the monk assumed this funerary role for Buddhists in ancient India, but it is quite logical for him to do so.”

Schopen calls this the “received wisdom”, and disagrees. His reasoning is as follows. The Pāli Vinaya gives a long list of occasions on which a monk should interrupt his rains retreat. Many of them are invitations from lay supporters. In some cases the lay supporter wants to make a donation, e.g. of a building, to the Sangha. In other cases the layman merely wishes to celebrate the construction of a building or something similar for himself. In yet other cases, the invitation may be occasioned by illness, or by the wedding of one of the layman’s children. The monk is supposed to accept these invitations.

Schopen argues that the invitations are “ritual obligations”. Of the passage which includes wedding invitations, he says that it “presupposes something like a ‘client relationship’ between monks and lay brothers”, a relationship which entailed “a sense of obligation” (p.91). With the latter remarks I agree; but again point out that a farmer’s tenants, for example, play quite a different role at his family’s weddings from the officiant.

When any guest comes to an Indian home, he has to be fed; in fact, for the visitor not to be fed is unthinkable. This holds true for monks too. Besides, the very relationship between a monk and his lay patron/supporter revolves around feeding: in return for “raw flesh” (āmisa), i.e., material support, the monk bestows the greater gift of the Teaching. Since ancient times, this transaction has been conventionalised into set forms. On p.101 Schopen cites a text which shows how the monk’sformulae of teaching while accepting food (or other material gifts) are to be adapted to the occasion. What is appropriate to a happy occasion, says the text, will

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1 JPS XVI, 1992, pp.87-107.
not fit a death. One can call that stereotyped exchange of food for teaching a ritual; but the fact that a monk who has responded to an invitation is ritually fed does not mean that his feeding is a part of the actual ceremony to which he is invited.

Schopen suggests (p. 92, fn.) that his quotations from the Pāli Vinaya cast doubt on what Obeyesekere and I have written about recent Buddhist weddings in Sri Lanka, but this shows the same confusion: it is the role of the monks (or other Buddhist sacralia) in the wedding rites which we claim to be an innovation.

In the second passage cited above, I wrote that we do not know whether monks officiated at funerals in ancient India, but that they may well have done so, and Schopen seems to agree with both points. As he says, we do know that they were sometimes invited to weddings. But how regularly? Impossible to say. But I offer the following reflection.

In traditional Sinhala Buddhist society there is an ambivalence about monks. They are associated with death. To see a monk first thing when you leave your house in the morning used to be considered a bad omen. Similarly, many laity do not wish monks to attend an auspicious occasion, such as a wedding. It is fine for the couple to invite or visit a monk shortly before or soon after the wedding to receive some moral instruction and blessings, but another matter to bring the monk into the wedding ceremony itself. However, this view of monks as inauspicious is strictly a lay view; I do not remember hearing it voiced by a monk, and indeed some monks argue that it is quite wrong. Naturally, monks see themselves positively. The Vinaya texts cited by Schopen were composed by monks and are indeed invaluable evidence for ancient Indian social history, but one would expect them somewhat to exaggerate how popular monks were as guests at weddings, house-warming parties, or other lay celebrations.

The texts do not show that the presence of monks on such occasions was a regular occurrence; nor do they show that it was not. However, that is subsidiary to my main point: that they had no ritual role at life crises (except perhaps death). Had they had such ritual duties, the Vinaya would surely have had to prescribe just how those duties were to be performed. Instead, we find the Vinaya almost devoid of liturgy but full of prescriptions for table manners.

I suggest that for anyone familiar with traditional Indian culture it is easy to envisage what the texts in question are about. When a high-caste Hindu family celebrates such a happy occasion, it is customary for them to feed brahmins. This feeding (brāhmaṇa-bhōjanam) always takes place away from the arena of the ceremony itself. The brahmins would indeed take umbrage at being closely associated with the officiant, because the very fact of his being there as an officiant means that he is doing a paid job and so lowers his status below theirs. They have no duties; they are gracing the occasion. If, ideally, they demonstrate the kind of people they are supposed to be by debating some abstruse topic, the host will be particularly gratified.4 Here, as so often in ancient Buddhist theory and practice, the monk is the Buddhist answer to the brahmin – but to the ideal brahmin, not to the priest.

Schopen calls the paragraphs I wrote on this topic “received wisdom”. They are surely not wisdom, and it is far more fun to overturn accepted ideas – as Schopen often succeeds in doing – than to reiterate them. But these just happen to be right.

Oxford

Richard Gombrich

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4 I am indebted for this picture to my wife, Dr. Sanjukta Gupta Gombrich.
The Oldest Known Pali Texts, 5th-6th century; Results of the Cambridge Symposium on the Pyu Golden Pali Text from Śrī Kṣetra, 18-19 April 1995

The Cambridge Symposium met to reassess Pali materials which were discovered long ago (in one case almost a century ago) and, in all but one very important case, had already been transliterated, translated and published. The principal subject of the Symposium was the Golden Pali Text of twenty leaves, jointly studied for the first time by specialists in Indian palaeography, (Pali, Sanskrit and Prakrit), Buddhist canonical texts, history of Buddhism and Buddhist and Burmese archaeology. The interplay of these specializations made it possible to establish the exceptional significance of the Golden Pali Text and also to draw attention to the other early Pali sources preserved at Śrī Kṣetra. Though the participants at some of the sessions of the Symposium brought wider interests to bear, it is appropriate to record here my deep appreciation of the highly specialized research contributions and cooperation of Harry Falk (F.U.Berlin), Oskar von Hinüber (Freiburg) and Richard Gombrich (Oxford) both before and during the Symposium.

Though this preliminary note may be amended by our further research, it is intended to alert Pali scholars to the main results of work carried out so far (both earlier and current), and to provide a note on the context in which the texts were found at the last and greatest of the Pyu capitals of Burma, Śrī Kṣetra. Śrī Kṣetra was established before or during the fourth century AD and sacked by the Nanzhao of Yunnan in 832 AD. The Golden Pali Text was found during excavations in the cool season 1926-7 inside the ancient urban area of Śrī Kṣetra, in a mound on
the land of a farmer named U Khin Ba. (The text is therefore sometimes referred to as the Khin Ba mound text). The mound contained the only undisturbed reliquary chamber in the whole of Śrī Kṣetra (an area of more than 20 sq. km). In the light of what follows about the palaeography of the Golden Pali Text, I note here that the influence of the Andhra school of Buddhist architecture is especially strong in Śrī Kṣetra and in the still older Buddhist monuments of Beikthano. The Khin Ba relic chamber was a square, brick-lined pit of c. 1 x 1 x 1 m, under a ruined brick stupa, at the centre of which stood the Great Silver Reliquary (whose newly deciphered Pali inscription is discussed below). Around it were carefully assembled a treasury of sacred objects, mainly in silver and gold, the Golden Pali Text being in the South-East corner of the chamber. Although many other relic chambers were discovered at Śrī Kṣetra, this was the only one to survive intact, and its contents exceeded - in number, quality of workmanship and concentration of precious metals and stones - even the relic chamber of the Bhaṭṭiprōṭu stupa in Andhra.

Pali Sources

The principal early Pali materials from Śrī Kṣetra are listed below, in their order of discovery (present whereabouts are given when known):

1. The Maunggun Gold Plates (2 leaves, 3 ll. of Pali on each), found by chance in 1897 at Lēbaw village 11.5 km (7 miles) South of the centre of Śrī Kṣetra; read, transcribed and translated by U Tun Nyein in Epigraphia Indica, 5, 1898, who considered the script corresponded to a large extent to that of the inscriptions of Pagan of the fourth and fifth century. In fact nothing originating at Pagan is of such antiquity. His dates were based on the chronologies given in the Burmese Chronicles, which are not easy to convert or interpret. U Tun Nyein correctly identified the contents of both plates as versions of the well-known "Ye dhammā hetupābhavā...".

Finot's reassessment of the Maunggun Gold Plates in 1912-13 makes leaf 1 the "ye dhammā," plus nineteen categories in numerical order, and leaf 2, praise of the triratna (Journ. Asiat., XX, 1912 and XXI, 1913). Finot considered the script of the Maunggun Gold Plates closely related to the Kadamba script of the fifth century and dated them to the fifth-sixth century. The Kadamba script has been invoked in studies of the epigraphy of the Pyu ever since and been applied to their inscriptions in Pali, Sanskrit and their own language. The "Kadamba hypothesis" was finally laid to rest during the Cambridge Symposium. The Maunggun Gold Plates are in the British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections.

2. The Bawbawgyi Stone Inscription, two inscribed stone fragments found during clearance and conservation work on one of the terraces of the great Bawbawgyi stupa (the largest of three great Andhra-inspired cylindrical stupas of Śrī Kṣetra), in 1910-11, and a third the following year. Finot thought the Bawbawgyi Stone Inscription (which he erroneously termed "terra cotta") was an extract from the Vibhaṅga, and the script related to Kadamba, dated to the sixth century (Journ. Asiat., XX, 1912).

3. The Khin Ba Mound Golden Pali Text (20 leaves, 3 ll. on each except leaf 19 with 4 ll. and leaf 20 with 2 ll.). Found in 1926-7 during archaeological excavations, it was one item in the relic chamber (inventory of treasure in Dufoiselle, ASI, AR 1926-7, 1928). The Golden Pali Text was not transcribed, translated and annotated until twelve years later by U Lu Pe Win (Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of Burma), who considered the script of South Indian type of the
fifth century (*RS ASB* 1938-9, 12-22, 1940). The text is now kept in the strong-room of the Archaeological Department, Rangoon.

4. The Great Silver Reliquary of the Khin Ba Mound, has a 1 l. Pali inscription on its upper rim plus names of four Buddhas. It was briefly described in Duroiselle 1926-7, *op. cit.*, but the inscription was never read or published. It is on loan from the Archaeological Department to the National Museum, Rangoon.

5. The Kyndawzau Gold Leaf, single leaf; 2 ll. of Pali, was a chance find in the village of that name within the ancient outer walls of Śri Kṣetra in 1929. It was read and published by Duroiselle (*ASI, AR*, 1928-9, 108, Pl. LI, a) as "iti pi so bhagavā araham...", as in the *Vinaya* and the *Sutta Pitakas*.

**Current Reappraisal**

In completing my research for Vol. II on *The Ancient Pyu of Burma* (Stargardt, n.d.), I re-examined all the available records on archaeological excavation, monumental conservation, and epigraphy at the first millenium Pyu cities, Śri Kṣetra and Halin (cf. Stargardt, 1990 repr. 1991, *The Ancient Pyu*, Vol.I, which mainly deals with the oldest Pyu site, Beikthano). The Pyu left a relatively large body of inscriptions, by South East Asian standards, in Pali, Sanskrit and Pyu, and they appear to have been early in adapting Indian scripts to their own, non-Indian language. It was clear that little note had been taken by Pali scholars of the existence of early canonical Pali texts at Śri Kṣetra (an exception being the brief mention by von Hinüber 1981, of both the Maunggun Gold Plates and the Golden Pali Text). I therefore sent images, transcriptions and translations of the texts to Professors Gombrich, Falk and von Hinüber (in that chronological order) in 1994, during 1994-5 exchanged research data with them, and obtained new photographs of the main texts either by photographing the objects myself or by purchase from the photographic archives of the Archaeological Department, Rangoon.

While it is true that without the 20-leaf Golden Pali Text, the other Pali texts from Śri Kṣetra (published between 1898 and 1928) were either very short or fragmentary, or both, it is still surprising that the antiquity of their script and their status as true canonical Pali had received so little scholarly attention (a notable exception being Professor Niharranjan Ray). Historical circumstances at the time of the belated publication of the Golden Pali Text in the *Report of the Superintendant, Archaeological Survey of Burma*, Rangoon in 1940, meant that few copies found their way out of Burma at that time. In the post-war world, the Golden Pali Text remained little-known except to the specialists on Burma, most of whom were unaware that there was anything unusual about a Pali text of the fifth century. The Cambridge Symposium met to try to break down such disciplinary barriers and to look at the early Pali texts of Śri Kṣetra as a unique body of surviving sources in pure Pali. Its results are summarized in the rest of this paper.

**Current Research Results**

The Golden Pali Text consists of twenty leaves of gold put together like a small palm-leaf Pali manuscript inside thick end-boards of gold. It is held together with thick gold wires. The leaves measure 16.5 x 3.1 cm; each contains three ll. of very clear, perfectly preserved script except for the last two leaves which have four and two lines, respectively. The leaves contain a total of eight excerpts of canonical Buddhist texts in a pure form of Pali. Below, I shall summarize the main opinions of U Lu Pe Win, (*LPW* 1940), who originally read and published the Golden Pali Text, and Professor Harry Falk (HF) in correspondence to me (in 1994-5), and in his papers at the Cambridge
Symposium (1995). I do not propose to present here HF's detailed arguments on which his opinions are based as they will appear in full in his own study of the Golden Pali Text and the Great Silver Reliquary, which is now in preparation for publication (see Bibliography, Falk forthcoming). I shall also draw upon the numerous and valuable observations of Professor Oskar von Hinüber and Professor Richard Gombrich during the Cambridge Symposium (OvH, RG).

The identifications made by U Lu Pe Win of the eight excerpts contained in the Golden Pali Text have been sustained by the Cambridge Symposium. Many of his notes of scribal error in the texts (LPW 1940, footnotes) are not considered significant errors by HF and OvH, while there are other scribal variants, slips or perhaps errors in the text that were not commented on by him. In some cases they throw an interesting light on the intellectual horizons of the monastic community, such as those variants that reveal a knowledge of Sanskritic grammatical rules.

Whereas LPW considered the text written in "the so-called Pyu script...similar to the Telegu-Canara alphabet of the Kadambas and early Chālukyas...about the fifth century," HF sees the closest parallels for the Golden Pali Text in the scripts employed in the Copper Plate Grants of the Pallavas of the fifth century. HF has made an extensive scrutiny of all the major aksara forms in the Golden Pali Text and compared them with aksara forms in use from 300-600 AD among the Pallavas, Śālāṅkāyanas, Gaṅgas and Kadambas. In HF's view, the similarities are strongest between the first two and definitely do not support the Kadamba hypothesis launched by Finot. No texts in Pali survive from either the Pallavas or the Śālāṅkāyanas, but in some of their copper plates up to c. the mid-fifth century a form of Prakrit was used (together with Sanskrit) that approaches Pali closely. After the mid-fifth century, Sanskrit tends to predominate. The arrangement of their texts, with 3 ll. per plate and numbered on the left, is similar to the Golden Pali Text.

The archaeological evidence of the oldest Pyu capital, Beikthano, shows that by the early- to mid-fourth century, Buddhism spread to Central Burma from the Iksvāku capital, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, on the Krishna River. By the mid- to late-fourth century, the Iksvākus had been conquered by the Pallavas. In Śrī Kṣetra, as already noted, Andhra traditions of Buddhism are evident in many ways.

It has never been noted before that many different monastic hands were involved in the composition of the Golden Pali Text (HF to JMS 4.10.94 and HF in the Cambridge Symposium). This very important discovery by HF provides insights into the mode of composition of the Golden Pali Text, and by extension, into monastic organization at Śrī Kṣetra during the fifth century. All the writing styles belong to an homogeneous South-East Indian tradition, with the striking exception of the author of the short second excerpt - squeezed into the end of the bottom line of leaf 5. His writing belongs to a North-West Indian tradition of the mid-fifth century, and his excerpt appears to be a very compressed paraphrase of seven kinds of Vipassanāṇa, instead of the eight kinds (Visuddhimagga, PTS ed. v.II, 639; LPW 1940, 13) or ten kinds (Abhidhammatthasangaha). The last excerpt, on leaf 20, is written in a more archaic form of the South-East Indian script than all the others, leading HF to consider whether this may have been inscribed by the oldest, and perhaps most senior, monk of the monastery. (For details of the other excerpts, see LPW 1940.)

As for the insights into the mode of composition and monastic organization that the Golden Pali Text provides, the very use of leaves of gold for the creation of this text suggests to me that the monastery concerned stood under royal patronage and was reputed for its Pali learning. Royal patronage is also indicated by the extraordinary concentration of gold and silver votive objects in the relic chamber. Finally, there is a dedicatory inscription in Pyu ending with two Sanskrit
royal titles (Śrī Prabhuvarna[n] and Śrī Prabhudevī), inscribed around the lower rim of the Great Silver Reliquary at the centre of this relic chamber.

The correlation between hands, excerpts and leaves in the GPT is complex. According to HF, in general the change from one hand to another occurs with each change of excerpt, but in a number of cases there is a change of hand within an excerpt and within a leaf - in two cases at least, the changeover occurs within a phrase of the text (for further discussions of the Golden Pali Text, including metric analyses, see HF forthcoming).

Excerpt 5 has particular interest for us. It is meant to list the fourteen kinds of wisdom (ñāna) of a Buddha according to the Paṭisambhidāmagga, but the scribe has omitted two of them. Below I point out the consequences of this error (which was not noted by LPW).

The second major result of the Cambridge Symposium on early Pali sources at Śrī Kṣetra concerns the Pali inscription on the upper rim of Great Silver Reliquary. In his original excavation report of the Khin Ba Mound (Duroiselle 1926-7), Duroiselle mentioned the presence of a line of "bilingual Pyu-Pali" on the Great Silver Reliquary, "in early Telegu-Canarese script of South India, very closely allied to the Kadambas of Vanavasi and the Pallavas of Kancipuram." He thought it practically the same as the script of the Maunggun Gold Plates and the Bawbawgyi Stone Inscription and dated it to the sixth or early seventh century. He gave no reading of this inscription other than to note that the names of the four Buddhas: Konāgamana, Kakusandha, Kassapa, and Gotama appeared over the heads of the four Buddha figures spaced evenly around the cylinder of the reliquary.

In January 1994 and from February-March 1995, I was able to work in the Library of the Archaeology Department, Rangoon, on the photographic archives of Pyu materials and on Pyu objects on loan to the National Museum from the Archaeological Department. I should like to record here my gratitude to H.E. the Deputy-Minister of Culture, U Soe Nyunt (alias the poet Htila Sithu), the Director of the Department, U Nyunt Han, and its Librarian, Daw San San Maw, for permission to study, obtain and make photographs and for their most valuable cooperation during my work. The close-up photographs I made of the inscription around the upper rim of the Great Silver Reliquary were laid before the participants in the Cambridge Symposium a month after my return from Yangon in 1995. The photographs show that the names of the four Buddhas were engraved clearly into the silver above each head, with the result that the inscribed areas between those fixed points were at times very compressed indeed, even though the general appearance of the inscription is elegant and controlled. During the sessions of the Cambridge Symposium, Professor Gombrich was the first to recognise that the text mentioned the wisdom of the Buddha, and he and Professors von Hinüber and Falk went on to recreate the full text from the highly abbreviated forms inscribed on the rim. It was thus established that this was a purely Pali text (cf. Duroiselle's Pyu-Pali) and that it included the two nāna omitted from excerpt 5 of the Golden Pali Text, as recorded above.

This fact provides extraordinary insights into the creation of the whole ritual assemblage contained in the relic chamber at the Khin Ba Mound, in which the Great Silver Reliquary and the Golden Pali Text were undoubtedly the most outstanding elements. Before the Golden Pali Text was closed and bound up in its golden wires, it must have been noticed that excerpt 5 was incomplete in two respects and therefore ritually imperfect. Those defects were made good by the representation on the upper rim of the Great Silver Reliquary, even if in abbreviated
form, of both the qualities of a Buddha's wisdom missing in the Golden Pali Text. The ritual completeness of the deposit was thus assured, and we have an extremely rare example of two canonical texts, one of which was composed in direct relation to, and after, the other. This is also born out by the character of the writing on the upper rim of the Great Silver Reliquary. Though closely related to that of the Golden Pali Text, it is not identical.

Conclusion

To summarize the provisional conclusions of the Cambridge Symposium, and especially those of HF, concerning the characteristics, dating, and closest Indian affinities of the five early Pali texts from Śrī Kṣetra enumerated at the beginning of this paper: the Golden Pali Text script forms display a considerable number of archaic features, including some that were common prior to 350 AD, others current in the first half of the fifth century and a few that came into use around the mid-fifth century. Within all the constraints that prudence dictates when it comes to dating on palaeographic grounds, it can be said that the Golden Pali Text should be dated to around the mid-or late fifth century. On the basis of certain unique aksaras found in the Golden Pali Text, which reveal a further development in the Maunggun Gold Plates, it may be concluded that the Maunggun Gold Plates are later than the Golden Pali Text. HF has identified certain features of South-East Indian script adopted in the Maunggun Gold Plates script that indicate a sixth century date, but emphasizes other features which are unique. He suggests that both the Golden Pali Text and the Maunggun Gold Plates were composed in Burma, not India.

It was evident to me that the script on the upper rim of the Great Silver Reliquary is not identical to that of the Golden Pali Text, though it is closely related. The differences - most immediately evident in the superscript of certain aksaras - may (according to HF) be due to a different cultural influence within the East Coast region, or to a slightly later date of composition. The relationship already noted between the contents of the Golden Pali Text and the Pali inscription on the upper rim of the Great Silver Reliquary certainly prove that the latter was inscribed after the former. If the Golden Pali Text was inscribed locally, then so was the Great Silver Reliquary.

The Kyundawzu gold plate contains the same text as excerpt 8 of the Golden Pali Text. According to HF it is pure Pali (HF to JMS, 4.10.94). Provisionally, he considers it may be older than the Maunggun Gold Plates, and may be contemporary with the Golden Pali Text.

Thus all four gold and silver inscriptions in canonical Pali preserved at Śrī Kṣetra reveal palaeographical features relating to the East Coast scripts of southern India.

At Śrī Kṣetra there survived four early texts in pure canonical Pali inscribed on precious metals - gold and silver - and one on stone. The total of twenty-three leaves of precious metal that have survived in legible form are only a tiny fraction of what once existed at Śrī Kṣetra. Numerous passing references in the annual Reports of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma Circle, mention chance finds of crumpled fragments of "silver and gold scrolls" with inscriptions. If the dates mentioned above are sustained by further research, then the Buddhist Pali texts from Śrī Kṣetra are far earlier than the previously known earliest palm leaf Ms. of Kathmandu - an isolated find dating to c. 850 AD - and they advance the written record of true Pali by some four hundred years. Unlike the Devnimi and Ratnagiri fragments of similar date (von Hinüber, 1985), the Śrī Kṣetra texts preserve a selection of "mainstream" Pali canonical literature in a
language and in recensions that do not differ significantly from those recorded in the Pali Text Society editions, themselves based on written sources of much later date. These facts are of the greatest significance in proving how scrupulously such texts were transmitted throughout the Buddhist world of the first and second millenia AD, whether by oral or written means.

One of the most important aspects of the Śrī Kṣetra Pali texts is that they together form a corpus belonging to the cultural context in which they were found. Three of the five elements of this corpus, the Golden Pali Text, the Great Silver Reliquary, and the Bawbawgyi Stone Inscription, possess a specific archaeological context. Taken together, as they should be, with the archaeological evidence of the monuments, the statuary and the votive tablets, these texts suggest to me that Pyu civilization at Śrī Kṣetra was the scene of a flourishing Buddhist culture by the fifth century, enjoying royal patronage, and supporting a monkhood well-versed not only in the Pali canon, but also possessing some knowledge of the Pāñinian principles of Sanskrit grammar. The foundations of such Buddhist culture had already been laid in Beikthano in the fourth century AD, when the tradition of powerful Buddhist influences flowing into Burma from the Krishna River Valley began. During the fifth century at Śrī Kṣetra, these traditions widened to include the Pallavas and the Śālāṅkāyanas along the Godavari River Valley right up to Ter (Stargardt 1990, Ch. VI, VII).

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REPORT OF THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY FOR 1994

During 1994 the Society continued to fulfil its primary duty of publishing editions and translations of Pali texts, and works ancillary to the study of Pali. The following new works appeared during the year:

*Dhammapada* ed. O. von Hinüber and K.R. Norman [£10.95]
Geiger's *Pāli Grammar* revised by K.R. Norman [hardback £12.95; paperback £6.75]
*Pāli Atthakathā Correspondence Table* by Sodo Mori, Y. Karunadasa, Toshiichi Endo [£12.50]
*The Udāna* trans. Peter Masefield [£17.95]
*Mahāsūtras. vol. I: Texts* ed. Peter Skilling [£34.25]
*A Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories* by Leslie Grey second edition, revised and enlarged [£31.25]
*Jinakālamāli Index* by Hans Penth (co-publication with Silkworm Books, Chiang Mai) [£12.50]
*Collected Papers* vol. V by K.R. Norman [£18.95]
*Selected Papers on Pāli Studies* by O. von Hinüber, trans. Kate Crosby [£18.95]
*Journal of the Pali Text Society* vols XIX and XX [£17.25 each]

The following were reprinted between January 1994 and the end of March 1995:

* Dīgha Nikāya II
* Majjhima Nikāya III
* Samyutta Nikāya V
* Āṅguttara Nikāya III

*Yamaka I and II
* Theragāthā Commentary I
* Mohaviccchedani
* Dhammapada (with corrections)
was an increase in our net income, though this was not large enough to outweigh the increase in commitments which we have undertaken by supporting research.

Income from subscriptions showed a healthy increase. At the end of the year we had 295 Sponsoring Members and 87 Ordinary Members. We still think that there is considerable scope for increasing membership, which at the same time furthers the Society’s objects by diffusing knowledge of Pali texts directly and helps the Society by increasing income.

COUNCIL

Two meetings were held, on 18 March and 30 September 1994. Both ran concurrently with meetings of the Directors of PTS Ltd. At the September meeting Prof. Norman declined to stand for re-election as President. At the subsequent Annual General Meeting this decision was regretfully accepted and Prof. Gombrich was elected as President, while continuing to hold the office of Hon. Treasurer. Dr. S.B. Hamilton, Prof. Nalini Balbir and Dr. E.V. Kahrs were elected as new members of Council, and Dr. Hamilton to hold office as Hon. Secretary.

August 1995

R.F. Gombrich
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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:

The President,
Pali Text Society,
73 Lime Walk,
Headington,
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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 the President, at the above address.

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